



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/41/PV.73

21 November 1986

ENGLISH

Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 17 November 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian SSR)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique)
(Vice-President)

- The situation in Central America: Threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives [42] (continued)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

In the absence of the President, Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 42 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA: THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND PEACE INITIATIVES

Mr. GUTIERREZ (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): For eight years Central America has been undergoing a crisis that arose, like all crises, from the disturbance of a previously existing balance. To refer back to the causes of that crisis and to the factors that brought it about would exceed the rational limits to which a statement in a United Nations debate should be subject. The point of departure here is the existence of that crisis and the concern of the international community with regard to it. The international community's interest in what is happening is clear from the inclusion of the item in the agenda of the General Assembly. There can be no doubt that our concern and interest as Central Americans is even greater. It is well that the United Nations today - and the Organization of American States last week - should address what is occurring in Central America. In the final analysis, no human event should be alien to us. But those that are most concerned and whose particular duty it is to analyse, discuss and search for solutions are the Central Americans. For us, the interest is neither academic nor an expression of international solidarity. It is the peace and security of our societies, the future of our institutions and the well-being of our peoples that are at stake.

Let us look at the crisis in its positive aspects and, in order to do so, compare the years 1978 and 1986 to see what progress there has been.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

In 1978 four authoritarian Governments and one democracy coexisted in Central America. In 1986 four democracies and one authoritarian Government coexist. The democracies are not, of course, perfect; ours, despite the fact that it is nearly 100 years old, seems to us Costa Ricans to be filled with shortcomings and with problems that demand the attention of our Government and people, some of them very difficult to solve. If this is true of Costa Rica, how could it not be true of the new democratic Governments that have arisen after long periods of dictatorship.

At the same time, the authoritarian Government that remains is also not totally authoritarian; it has not yet entirely suppressed freedoms. Nevertheless, while on the one hand the building of a State based on the rule of law with greater independence for the judiciary and greater respect for human rights goes forward, on the other there is an accelerated movement towards greater militarization; even greater powers are being granted to the rulers, the state of emergency is becoming an increasingly permanent feature and subjection to the dictates and ideology of a sole political organization is growing, as restrictions on the rights of the citizens increase daily.

The Central American crisis has become more complicated by having been converted into an East-West confrontation. The internal problems of each of the countries and those of the subregion have been heightened by the presence of both super-Powers, the support that they give to certain countries and the struggle they carry on through the medium of certain Central Americans to determine their zones of influence. The dispute has reached the point of an armed confrontation and it seems inevitable that it will grow in the months to come, unless efforts are made to find a peaceful solution to prevent this happening.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

The Government of Costa Rica has stated clearly and unequivocally its policy of neutrality and its desire not to participate in armed action. All its actions have been designed to uphold that decision. Instead of competing in the processes of militarization, we have maintained our 40-year-old decision to abolish the army as a permanent institution and limit our expenditures on security to the minimum necessary for our society to function without disorders or conflicts.*

*Mr. Turkmen (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

Similarly, in the Central American crisis there is an ideological battle that nourishes, stimulates, sharpens and supports the armed confrontation. It is the dispute about what system of government will provide the framework for political decisions and the way in which citizens will live together, and about the basis on which the economy should develop and the needs of the people should be met. That confrontation is taking place on every continent. Latin America's special characteristic at the present time is that those who have chosen and are attempting to impose an authoritarianism of the "left" are doing so against the current of history, with their backs to the dominant trend. There is nothing more difficult than to oppose the implementation of an idea whose time has come, an idea which has taken root and can be realized. That is what is happening at this time in Latin America in the case of representative democracy. Of course, a substantive foundation and an ideological ferment have been developing for a long time in this respect. However, without disregarding those realities, it must be emphasized that this, unlike any other before, is the hour of representative democracy in Latin America.

There remain vestiges of authoritarianism of the "right", but these will shortly be eliminated. There are also cases, such as the one we have in Central America, where it is believed that a change in the ideological hue of authoritarianism and the replacement of a 40-year-old right wing dictatorship by a 7-year-old left-wing authoritarian régime constitutes progress. The truth is that rightist military dictatorships are forms of government that can ensure neither the order nor the security they claim to represent and that Marxism-Leninism as a political and economic system has come too late to Latin America. It has been overtaken by material circumstances and by the intellectual development of the region, which has long been oriented towards the values and lifestyles

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

characteristic of the Western world. It has nothing to offer our people as a means of satisfying their immediate material needs, given its inefficiency as regards production and its functional rigidity. Attempts to put it into practice lead to situations like the crisis that we are discussing today.

The confrontation in Central America is between those who are seeking to strengthen democracy and those who do not wish democracy to be achieved by their people - those who want to make democracy impossible in their country and who dream of exporting their authoritarianism to neighbouring nations, as they have done continuously with respect to El Salvador and are trying to do on a smaller scale with respect to Honduras and Costa Rica.

The formula for solving the problems of Central America continues to be the global approach set forth in the Contadora Act. It would appear that prospects of the signature or ratification of this Act, as an international treaty, are becoming more and more remote with each passing day. Nevertheless, that in no way detracts from the validity of the statements it contains; the validity of its analysis and the boldness and precision of its solutions remain intact. To believe that the problems of peace and security in Central America can be solved by accepting the failure of one of the Central American countries to move towards representative democracy, free elections, political pluralism and full acceptance of human rights, is to ignore an essential element of the problem and to believe that the problem can be resolved piecemeal. The main feature of the Central American crisis is its indivisibility and the interrelationship between its individual elements, which makes it impossible to deal with one while disregarding the others. Whatever the final outcome, we Central Americans will always be grateful for the improbable task carried out, first by the countries of the Contadora Group alone, and then with the help of the Support Group, as a generous and fraternal effort to co-operate in the

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

solution of our problems. But there has undoubtedly been something more: a Latin American formula for the solution of Central American problems has been found. However long the present crisis may last, the formula embodied in the Contadora Act must never be discarded, because it is only through this comprehensive approach to the problems created by the crisis that a solution can be found.

That is why the refusal of one of the Central American countries to initiate a truly democratic process and the clear intention of that country to continue attempts to export a revolution that has been betrayed on its own territory, play such an important role in today's growing crisis. The Contadora process was affected first by the refusal to negotiate fundamental aspects of the Act; this refusal was justified by invoking principles of internal sovereignty which were, however, denied to neighbouring countries, in whose internal affairs that country is interfering up to the point of armed conflict. That country, moreover, has brought its differences with neighbouring countries before the International Court of Justice. In the light of the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty on the peaceful solution of disputes - the Bogota Pact - this decision dealt a severe blow to the Contadora process. This process, having reached the stage of becoming embodied in the articles of an international treaty, required firm decisions and therefore could no longer be used for propaganda purposes.

In speaking of the Central American crisis, mention should be made of commitments assumed in 1978 in respect of the Organization of American States. The position adopted by the majority of the Latin American countries must be borne in mind. Progress must be made towards the rule of law. Human rights must be effectively protected. Free elections must be held in which all political groups have an equal opportunity to accede to power. Democracy must be built up.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

Only then will Central America have resolved its crisis and be able to embark upon a period of growth towards societies better than the ones we now have. We then can stop being the subject of East-West confrontation, disappear from the list of permanent issues before the General Assembly of the United Nations, and experience the feeling that we are solving our own problems, at home, as masters of our own destiny.

Mr. McLEAN (Canada): The General Assembly is once more being called upon to consider the question of Central America. The four years that have elapsed since this question was first debated here have been marked by serious efforts to further the cause of a comprehensive peace settlement in the region. Unfortunately, those efforts have met with frustration. Canada is deeply dismayed at the slowness of progress and the elusiveness of an agreement that would advance the cause of peace in Central America. The deliberations of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Guatemala City last week showed once again how difficult is the search for progress.

Canada believes that only a genuine process of dialogue, undertaken in good faith and supported by the entire international community, can overcome the lack of mutual confidence that characterizes relations between the parties to the disputes. The distances that separate the positions of the opposing sides in Central America are substantial and none of us should allow ourselves the easy comfort of believing that those differences, which are part historical and part ideological, will be easily bridged. The establishment of an ongoing process of dialogue is, however, we believe, a starting point.

While the obstacles are great and the odds at times seem most disheartening we - and, more important, Central Americans - must not turn away from the search for reconciliation. It is our hope that all concerned will be strengthened in that resolve as they look at the stark alternative of rising violence and continued destruction.

The ConCadora process has encountered a series of difficulties. We appeal to all the parties involved to demonstrate the necessary political will not to abandon the efforts of the last three years. Let us not close what has been the principal channel of dialogue for regional reconciliation.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

It is Canada's view that the wishes, and indeed the needs, of the people of Central America can be met only by responsive political systems. The revival of democracy in Guatemala and its strengthening in Honduras are testimony to the desire of the peoples of the region for peace and stability. More important, they also open the prospect that the underlying causes of the conflict will indeed be addressed.

Canada is willing to help, to the extent possible, in the consolidation and strengthening of the democratic institutions of the countries of the region. We have, for example, responded to the requests of the Governments of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras to monitor elections in those countries. In each case the reports of our observers have been very positive.

A further encouraging development has been progress towards the creation of a Central American Parliament. It is our hope that the declaration of intent will now be followed by concrete steps to transform that idea into reality. Such a body could provide the mechanism for negotiation and co-operation among nations of the region and so help to counteract the tensions that now affect the entire area.

I should like to reiterate Canada's position concerning the roots of the tensions in the region. We believe that those tensions are the results of social and economic injustice and the failure to institute the most basic reforms. Such reforms cannot, of course, be imposed from outside. While Canada affirms the social and economic roots of the tensions, we also recognize the ideological dimensions of the current conflict. We believe that Central Americans must make their own decisions without outside interference. As Prime Minister Brian Mulroney recently stated:

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

"We are not in favour of exporting revolutions, any more than we approve of third-party intervention anywhere in Central America - whoever the third party may be and regardless of its legitimate interest in the area. We regret the extension of East-West disagreement into the area and we do not approve of any country supplying arms to any faction in the area."

That policy was one of the considerations that led Canada to support the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 3 November on the issue of the ruling of the International Court of Justice concerning the case presented by Nicaragua.

Together with our strong support for the Contadora Group we view development assistance as an essential element of our policy towards the region. Without development there can be little hope of lasting peace and democracy, so we link development and peace. Canada has therefore substantially increased its bilateral assistance to Central American countries in recent years.

The guiding principle of our development assistance policy is that our aid should promote the development of the neediest segments of society. We try to help them break the bonds of poverty through their own resourcefulness so that they can create a better life for themselves and their children. Our assistance does not imply unqualified Canadian Government support for the Government of the recipient country. We remain deeply concerned by human rights violations in Guatemala and El Salvador. Canadian Church and non-governmental organizations have long experienced social and humanitarian work in Central America and they have persistently expressed to members of Parliament, to the Government and to the international community at large, their concern that these violations continue to exist, although, thanks to the commitment of the elected leaders of those countries, the scale of such abuses has diminished markedly as compared with earlier years. However, killings and disappearances continue and are a grim reminder of this ongoing human tragedy, this blot on the human landscape.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

We are aware of the complexities of the region. We are also aware of civil rights violations in Nicaragua and we deplore the closing of the newspaper La Prensa. We regret also the ban imposed on certain members of the Nicaraguan Catholic Church. Canada invites the Sandinista leadership to recall the spirit in which its revolution was born.

Canadians have become increasingly aware of the situation in Central America through intensive news coverage and because thousands of refugees from the region have recently come to Canada. As a people we Canadians were particularly proud to be presented with the prestigious Nansen Award by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We are committed to helping as much as we are able in alleviating the sufferings of the peoples of Central America.

In that light Canadians were distressed at the earthquake of 10 October, which brought new forms of death, destruction and hurt to the people of El Salvador. In collaboration with ~~the~~ Churches and non-governmental organizations, the Canadian Government has joined in the relief efforts undertaken by the Government and people of El Salvador to cope with the tragic aftermath of that disaster. Our sympathies are with them at this trying time.

The past year has been difficult for those who have sought to further the cause of peace in Central America. Some have questioned the usefulness of the Contadora process. They point, not without cause, to the inability of the group to achieve a decisive breakthrough at key moments in history. In many aspects of the regional conflict the prospects for a successful outcome of negotiations have appeared to be on the verge of materializing, only to slip away again. I am thinking, for example, of the negotiations between the Government of El Salvador and the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FDR/FLNFM).

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

Even though these, and other practical and partial solutions, may have their own merit, we believe, none the less, that we must not weaken our resolve and enthusiasm to work for a comprehensive peace settlement in the region. Canada is not inattentive to other proposals. But, to the extent possible, they should be designed to complement the work of Contadora. Canada is, and will continue to be, vigilant in its search for ways in which we can contribute practically and tangibly to the cause of peace. In this respect, Canada followed closely the discussions held at the meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Guatemala City this week.

In recent submissions to a Special Parliamentary Committee on Canada's foreign policy, Canadians from all sectors of our society have given testimony, day by day and week by week, of their deep concern at the problems in Central America. The Government of Canada shares that concern. Central America needs peace, based on social and economic justice, to allow its peoples, first of all to develop; secondly, to enjoy individual freedoms within democratic societies, and, thirdly, to look to the future with confidence rather than fear and anxiety. Our efforts will be guided by these three goals.

The Central American environment remains an uncertain one. Too frequently it is scarred by human rights abuses, extremes of poverty, lack of respect for civil rights, and the spectre of 10 per cent of the region's population displaced from their homes. However intractable these problems may appear, however arduous their solution, Canada is committed to do what it can to promote and support a non-military solution.

Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): In spite of great efforts on the part of the international community designed to bring about a just political settlement of the urgent problems of Central America, the crisis in that region is becoming ever more serious and threatening the stability of the situation throughout the world.

Intervention in the internal affairs of the sovereign State of Nicaragua, a country which has chosen an independent course for its development, is on the rise.

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic fully endorses the view of the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, which he expounded in his statements before the General Assembly on 10 October and 3 November of this year, and also in today's statement of the Permanent Representative, Mrs Nora Astorga Gadea, with regard to the reasons for and consequences of the exacerbation of the crisis in Central America.

The United States Administration attempts to justify its subversive and financed war against the independent and sovereign State of Nicaragua by alleging an artificial and fabricated threat, posed by Nicaragua, which is inconsistent with the national interests of the United States of America.

But the facts, and indeed recent facts, show that the opposite is true. The signing by the United States President of a bill appropriating \$100 million for military and financial assistance to the contra gangs and the revelation of the participation of highly placed officials in the Reagan Administration in so-called private operations against Nicaragua, only serve to confirm even further the dangerous expansion of aggression against that Central American country.

Such actions are incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the norms of civilized conduct on the part of States. The international community has

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

repeatedly expressed its support for the just and legitimate struggle of the Nicaraguan people and continues to do so, and has demanded that the United States renounce its aggressive actions in Central America. In particular, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 562 (1985), which, inter alia, confirms the sovereignty and inalienable right of Nicaragua and other States to determine their own fate and to develop their external relations in accordance with the interests of their own people without outside interference. The General Assembly, in its resolutions, has repeatedly stressed the need for a peaceful political settlement of the Central American crisis. The supreme legal body of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, has handed down a decision to the effect that the United States, in its subversive actions against Nicaragua, is violating principles of international law, in particular the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, and non-encroachment on the sovereignty of other States, non-use of force, and others, and also the provisions of bilateral agreements between the United States and Nicaragua. The Court found that the United States should immediately halt its hostile actions and desist from such actions in the future.

However, in spite of the appeal by world public opinion for it to abide by the findings of the International Court of Justice, the United States, to this day, has failed to renounce its aggressive policy towards the sovereign State of Nicaragua.

It should be recalled in this regard that the United States and its closest allies have always declared their commitment to the binding nature of decisions of the International Court of Justice. So where is the consistency here?

The Mongolian delegation believes that the Government of the United States, in accordance with paragraph 1 of Article 94 of the United Nations Charter, and also

(Mr. Nyandoo, Mongolia)

General Assembly resolution 41/31 adopted on 3 November of this year by an overwhelming majority of the international community, must fully and immediately comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986 with regard to actions of a military and paramilitary nature in Nicaragua and against that country.

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

The Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in Harare at the end of August, unanimously condemned the escalation of aggression, military attacks, coercive economic measures and other actions against Nicaragua's sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, stability and self-determination. They called for the immediate cessation of all threats and hostile acts against Nicaragua.

The Sandinist Government of Nicaragua, which came into being as a result of the heroic victory of the peace-loving Nicaraguan people over the Somoza dictatorial and terroristic régime, has responded with peaceful, constructive proposals to the appeals by the Contadora Group and has expressed its readiness to sign an agreement for a peaceful settlement of the problems of Central America. The Mongolian people are firmly behind the fraternal Nicaraguan people in their just struggle for the independence and freedom of their homeland and for peace and co-operation in Central America.

The Nineteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, held at the end of May, reaffirmed that. It emphasized its

"firm solidarity with the heroic people of Nicaragua and categorically condemned the undeclared war now being waged by the United States against revolutionary Nicaragua".

The Mongolian People's Republic supports the constructive efforts of the Sandinist Government aimed at preserving peace and easing tension in Central America. We support also the proposals of the Contadora and Lima Groups designed to bring about a peaceful solution to the urgent problems of Central America and the Caribbean. We share Nicaragua's position that a peaceful settlement to conflicts in the Central American region is possible only on the basis of equal security for all countries in the region, including Nicaragua; the elimination of

(Mr. Nyamdo, Mongolia)

foreign military bases from the area; the withdrawal of foreign troops; the cessation of military manoeuvres; and the renunciation of the use of the territory of one country for interference in the internal affairs of another.

Our delegation confirms again our Government's position that the root cause of the Central American crisis cannot be sought in the context of the East-West confrontation. Rather, the root cause lies in the imperialistic policy and oppressive actions of the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and for ensuring respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States.

In conclusion, the Mongolian delegation expresses the hope that the current discussion of the situation in Central America will help to bring about an early solution to the explosive problems of the Central American region, thereby making the necessary contribution to the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In the year that has passed since the consideration by the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the item on the situation in Central America, the situation in that region has not changed; it remains extremely tense. The reason for that is the processes under way in the countries of Latin America and the attitude taken towards them by imperialistic circles.

I stress that the countries of Latin America are now going through a period in which the national liberation movement is on the rise. The victory of the Nicaraguan revolution and Nicaragua's successful rebuffing of all attacks against it by the forces of reaction, as well as other events in the region, have alarmed the imperialistic circles, which fear above all that the example of the liberated

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

States will be followed by other peoples. It is precisely for that reason that efforts are under way to bridle the revolutionary processes in the region and to bring them under control.

The cutting edge of that policy is aimed first and foremost against Nicaragua, because certain circles in the United States cannot countenance the idea of the people of a small Central American country which they have been accustomed to view as their own preserve choosing the path of independence and social justice. Those circles are flagrantly interfering in Nicaragua's internal affairs, are arming and financing counter-revolutionary gangs; and, in effect, are waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua.

The United Nations has been devoting considerable attention to the problems of Central America. Last June the International Court of Justice in The Hague considered the case of the military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua and handed down its Judgment. It found the United States guilty of flagrantly violating international law by equipping the contra gangs, undermining the sovereignty of Nicaragua, mining its territorial waters, imposing a trade embargo, and engaging in other illegal actions. The International Court determined that the United States policy against Nicaragua was in violation of the elementary rules of law and the obligation assumed by that country as a Member of the United Nations not to use force against other States.

Thus, that harsh verdict by the International Court is further - and, this time, juridical - testimony to the growing condemnation by world public opinion of the policy adopted by the United States towards Nicaragua.

Three times this year the Security Council has been seized of the problems of Central America. On two occasions it was on the point of taking a decision in

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

regard to the Judgment of the International Court, but on both occasions the United States vetoed draft resolutions supporting the demand of the International Court for the cessation of the subversive actions designed to undermine Nicaragua.

Only recently, the question was considered by this session of the General Assembly, which, in its resolution 41/31, urgently called for full, immediate and unswerving compliance with the Judgment of the International Court of Justice.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

A great deal of work continues to be done by the Contadora and Support Groups, which have made considerable effort to find ways of bringing about a peaceful solution to the problems of Central America.

At the same time, the United States continues to heighten tension in that part of the world. The Administration of that country has embarked upon a new, dangerous step in escalating an undeclared war against Nicaragua. It has obtained the Senate's approval, after that of the House of Representatives, for appropriation by the White House of an additional \$100 million for military assistance to the contras. To this day the many millions appropriated for the struggle against the Sandinist leaders have been secretly channelled through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Pentagon. The \$100-million handout to the contras has been sanctioned by the United States Congress, and for the first time it has done so openly. It is also openly acknowledged that the funds appropriated will be used essentially for the acquisition of American equipment for the mercenaries.

In other words - and this is the view of realistic statesmen and politicians in the United States itself - the green light has been given for preparations for an outright armed intervention in Nicaragua. This is a dangerous and disgraceful decision. After all the United States maintains diplomatic relations with Nicaragua and at the same time is openly subsidizing an armed struggle against that country.

There continue to be flagrant economic pressure and all kinds of economic sanctions against Nicaragua to bend that country to the will of the United States. In addition to the hundreds of millions of dollars damage already done to the Nicaraguan economy by actions of the Somozists contras, the damage done by the middle of this year as a result of the trade embargo against Nicaragua - according to document A/41/596/Add.2 - is estimated to be in the amount of \$93.3 million.

(Mr. Gudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

In this regard we must point out that, on the one hand, the United States has imposed arbitrary, discriminatory economic sanctions against Nicaragua, a peace-loving State, which has refused to bow to the will of a foreign Power. On the other hand, it is stubbornly disregarding the appeal of the international community to support effective economic sanctions against the criminal apartheid régime which, incidentally, the United States considers its historic ally.

Thus, we have two diametrically opposed approaches to the problem of Central America. One of them is to prevent a political settlement in the region at any price, to undermine the Contadora process, to impose the United States will on the countries of the region, and to deprive them of the right to independent development without interference. The other is Nicaragua's constructive approach, which has consistently stood for preventing armed conflict and has persistently sought ways and means of bringing about a peaceful settlement of controversial issues by means of negotiations.

The Government of Nicaragua has stated its readiness to discuss and sign with the United States a mutual security treaty which would facilitate turning Central America into a neutral zone, and has pointed out once again that it considers the only possible way of achieving a political understanding that would ensure peace and co-operation in the region to be diplomatic negotiations based on the Contadora process.

Lasting peace in Central America is impossible until there can be guarantees of the internal and external security of all States in the area. An agreement between the Central American countries on a settlement of the conflict would have real force only if the United States ceased its aggression against Nicaragua. We support the efforts of the Latin American countries, including members of the Contadora and Support Groups, to bring about a just settlement of the problems of Central America by means of negotiations without outside interference.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Ukrainian SSR expresses its wholehearted solidarity with the people of Nicaragua which is waging a just struggle for its independence and freedom, peace in Central America and, ultimately, the dignity of all sovereign States. We want to see an immediate solution to the problems of the region by peaceful means in the course of constructive negotiations.

Mr. BUI XUAN NHAT (Viet Nam): Two months ago, at their Eighth Summit Conference held at Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, in their Final Declaration, expressed their deep concern that

"the prevailing situation in Central America constitutes one of the major points of tension at the international level ... [and] the crisis has worsened because of imperialist policies of interference and intervention which, along with the conditions of poverty and oppression from which the region traditionally suffers, represent a real threat to international peace and security". (A/41/697, annex, para. 224)

More than a month ago, in their statement dated 1 October 1986, the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora and Support Groups also expressed their preoccupation at the crisis in Central America which is "becoming more serious every day, and the risk of war is increasing". (A/41/662, annex, p. 2)

Developments since then have confirmed all the more the aforementioned concerns which find expression in the statements made by representatives of various countries at repeated meetings of the United Nations Security Council on Central America and in the general debate in the General Assembly, especially the statements of Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, on 10 and 21 October and 3 November 1986, and that by Mrs. Nora Astorga-Gadea this morning.

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

The causes of the tense, explosive situation - as has been reiterated time and again in relevant resolutions of the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations and other international organizations, as well as the Contadora and Support Groups - are not East-West confrontations, as has been claimed by the imperialist and reactionary forces in an attempt to confuse public opinion. The deep-rooted and immediate causes of this worsening situation lie not only in the poverty and backwardness left by history in each country but is due mainly to the United States Administration's acts of aggression and interference and its use and threat of use of force against the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and self-determination of the peoples of the countries in Central American and Caribbean region, in particular Nicaragua, their common aspirations for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The events which have taken place over the past year, especially in recent months, show that the situation in Central America has become very serious with the undeclared war against Nicaragua escalating to a new, dangerous point, on a larger scale and in a new form. The covert war carried out during the past seven years against that young Republic has now become an overt war officially conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). United States military advisers have taken part directly in training and equipping the contra reactionary forces who, from their sanctuaries in neighbouring countries, carry out intrusions into and attacks against Nicaragua's territory.

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

The allocation of \$100 million has been signed into law to finance the counter-revolutionary mercenaries so that they may intensify their acts of terrorism, sabotage and destabilization in and around Nicaragua. Moreover, together with the continued economic blockade of Nicaragua, the mining of its harbours and the military manoeuvres conducted off its shore, massive amounts of weapons, ammunitions and other war supplies have been sent to the contra reactionary forces in an attempt to exert pressures in all fields to force this young revolutionary Power to submit itself to the United States diktat.

The capture of the American prisoner, Eugene Hasenfus, after his C-123 plane was shot down on 5 October and his confessions to the international press in Managua on 9 October that he worked for the CIA, under the direct orders of two CIA agents, Max Gomez and Ramon Medina, who co-ordinated the airlifting of weapons and ammunitions to the counter-revolutionary forces, give undeniable evidence of the United States Administration's deeper involvement in this dirty, criminal war, which has so far killed more than 30,000 Nicaraguans and caused heavy damage, amounting to \$2 billion, to Nicaragua's economic, cultural and educational establishments, threatening the peace and security of the whole region.

Those adventures of the United States Administration against Nicaragua have been strongly condemned throughout the world. The Heads of State or Government of more than 100 non-aligned countries, at their recent Summit Meeting in Harare "condemned the escalation of aggression, military attacks and other actions against Nicaragua's sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, stability and self-determination".

They

"considered that these acts of political and economic pressure, in addition to the military actions, should be discussed within the framework of the wider plan to destabilize and overthrow the Government of Nicaragua".

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

They expressed outrage at

"the allocation of further funds totalling \$100 million to [the] mercenary contra army, authorizing the open participation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in its direction and control as well as the participation of military advisers, members of the Special Forces of the United States Armed Forces in the training of the mercenary forces for the purpose of overthrowing the legitimately-constituted Government of Nicaragua. ... They emphasized that this blatant act of aggression against the Republic of Nicaragua not only violates the sovereignty, political independence and self-determination of that country, a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, but also constitutes an affront to the principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Charter of the United Nations." (A/41/697, pp. 104 and 105, paras. 225, 226 and 227)

The International Court of Justice on 27 June last also gave an unambiguous decision condemning United States hostile acts against Nicaragua and demanding that it respect the fundamental principles of international law, as follows:

"THE COURT ...

"Decides that the United States of America, by training, arming, equipping, financing and supplying the contra forces or otherwise encouraging, supporting and aiding military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua, has acted, against the Republic of Nicaragua, in breach of its obligation under customary international law not to intervene in the affairs of another State"

and

"Decides that the United States of America is under a duty immediately to cease and to refrain from all such acts as may constitute breaches of the foregoing legal obligations". (S/18221, pp. 137 and 140)

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

The Court also decided that the United States should make reparations for the damage caused to the Republic of Nicaragua.

More recently, on 3 November, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority resolution A/41/31, demanding that the United States Administration immediately implement the decision of the International Court of Justice.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam joins other peace- and justice-loving countries in strongly condemning this new dangerous escalation of war by the United States Administration against the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and self-determination of the peoples of the Central American-Caribbean region, the Nicaraguan people in particular, and demand that the United States imperialists and other reactionary forces put an immediate end to these dangerous, criminal acts.

We also demand that the United States Administration implement without delay the decision of the International Court of Justice. At the same time we reiterate once again the firm support of the Government and people of Viet Nam for the heroic people and Government of the Republic of Nicaragua, and our militant solidarity with them, in defending the fruits of the Sandinista Revolution, and in exercising their right of self-defence, with a view to safeguarding their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the wicked schemes and adventurous acts of imperialism and reaction. We strongly support the good will and constructive efforts of the Republic of Nicaragua as well as the initiatives and active endeavours of the Contadora and Support Groups to find a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the disputes and the crisis in Central America. We welcome the Secretary-General's untiring efforts in contributing to the search for such a settlement.

Finally, we are of the view that, like all other regional problems, the Central American problems must be solved by the peoples in the region themselves,

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

without outside interference. Like other seething areas in the world, Central America needs early peace and stability, so that the peoples of the countries of the region may concentrate their efforts and energy on building their respective countries according to the paths they have chosen, after so many decades of imperial and colonial exploitation.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): The dangerous deterioration of the crisis in Central America, which is rooted in deep social, political, economic and historic contradictions and injustices, and the attempts to preserve outdated forms of foreign domination and exploitation cause increasing anxiety and concern to the international public and the Organization.

The ever more overt attempts, through a policy of force, interference and economic and political pressures, to stop the processes of democratic changes that have begun, processes which are an expression of the authentic aspirations and interests of the peoples, have in the last two months brought about a new escalation of tension and an increasing danger of the outbreak of a broader regional conflict.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

It is, therefore, understandable that the crisis situation in Central America and its various aspects have been for a number of years now the subject of discussion in the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice, non-aligned gatherings and appropriate regional forums and groups.

What all these discussions have in common is the agreement that the solution to the crisis is possible only on the basis of full respect for the sovereign right of the peoples of the region to independence, freedom and to choose its own internal development and foreign policy. Similarly, each and every attempt to deal with the situation in Central America in the context of the confrontation between East and West is a simplification of the problem and leads to further polarizations and complications.

In a gesture meant to avoid controversies and to contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and the conditions for a fruitful dialogue conducive to the solution of the crisis, the General Assembly did not adopt a resolution on Central America at its fortieth session. However, developments took a different course, the situation worsened and the existing differences deepened.

This is especially true in relation to the situation around Nicaragua, which in the meantime has had to face even more serious threats, as well as external pressure. This was the subject of a broader discussion in the Security Council, and the General Assembly recently adopted an appropriate resolution on the subject.

Yugoslavia reiterates its firm and full support for the legitimate right of the people of Nicaragua freely to choose the pattern of its social system and development. In the case of Nicaragua, just as in any other similar case, Yugoslavia is opposed to external attempts to change its Government by the use of force, intervention, interference and pressure of any kind.

Yugoslavia has pointed out all along that the solution of the crisis in Central America is possible only through dialogue and negotiations in accordance

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the policy of non-alignment and the generally recognized and accepted norms of international law, with full respect for the independence and the sovereign right of the countries and peoples of the region to decide freely on their own destiny. Similarly, it has been steadfast in asserting that attempts to impose solutions contrary to the will and aspirations of the countries and peoples of the region through the policy of force, interference in internal affairs, intervention and the imposition of foreign models are unacceptable. Accordingly, we have supported, and will continue to support in the future also, every initiative directed towards reducing tension and creating the conditions for a peaceful solution of the crisis.

We are deeply convinced that the proposals contained in the Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, worked out by the Contadora Group, and the elements stressed in the report of the Secretary-General (A/40/1136), present a true picture of the interests and aspirations of the countries of the region and provide a widely acceptable basis for a comprehensive and lasting solution of the problem.

The Contadora peace initiative is gaining ever more widespread support. The policy of non-alignment and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries are a consistent and reliable source of support for the Contadora efforts. At all their meetings since the emergence of the crisis the non-aligned countries have resolutely condemned the policy of pressure and interference in the region of Central America and pledged their support for a political solution based on respect for independence and the right to self-determination.

The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries assembled at their Eighth Conference, in Harare, Zimbabwe,

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

"appealed to all parties concerned to facilitate the establishment of the atmosphere of mutual trust necessary for achieving a just and durable settlement of the crisis in the region ..." (A/41/697, p. 108, para. 235)

They, inter alia,

"welcomed and fully supported the diplomatic efforts of the Contadora Group ... aimed at securing a negotiated solution to the crisis in Central America. They reiterated their conviction that the Group represents an authentic regional initiative for solving the Central American problem by peaceful means and urged all States concerned to increase their efforts in order to bring the peace process spearheaded by the Contadora Group to fruition." (p. 106, para. 230)

And they reiterated

"their firm solidarity with Nicaragua and demanded the immediate cessation of all threats and hostile acts against ... the people and Government of that country". (p. 105, para. 228)

We are encouraged that the Foreign Ministers of the States members of the Contadora and Support Groups expressed at their meeting in New York on 1 October 1986, their readiness to assume full responsibility and decided to embark on a series of consultations and political negotiations in order to initiate, with the assistance of the Central American Governments and the international community, measures that would contribute effectively to the attainment of the goals of peace and unity.

We hope that these noble efforts of the Contadora Group will yield results, that the conclusion of the Act on Peace and Co-operation will be possible in the near future and that it will guarantee respect for the legitimate interests and inalienable rights of all peoples of the region.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

The new round of talks between the Government of El Salvador and the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FDR-FLNFM) could also be a hopeful sign for the people of El Salvador and have a positive effect on relations in the region.

The ongoing debate and the draft resolution which the General Assembly should adopt on this issue will give an important impetus to the quest for the solution of the problem on the basis of respect for the purposes and principles on which the world Organization rests. As in the past, Yugoslavia will fully support these efforts.

Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In recent years, the General Assembly has followed with unflagging attention the situation in Central America and has quite rightly noted that the situation there represents a threat to international peace and security. Three years ago the General Assembly adopted a fundamental resolution on this question - resolution 38/10 - without a vote, that is by a consensus among all States. At the same session the Assembly also adopted resolution 38/7 in which the United Nations called for the immediate cessation of the United States armed intervention against Grenada and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops.

Nevertheless, the aggressive and subversive actions of the imperialist forces, their stooges and mercenaries against the countries of Central America and the Caribbean, far from ceasing, are being stepped up. The threat of force against Cuba, aggressive actions against Nicaragua and interference in the internal affairs of other States of the region continue unabated - all by the United States of America or with its direct support.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

These actions constitute a blatant breach of the commitment under the United Nations Charter to refrain from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State.

The inalienable right of peoples to decide their own destinies, to determine for themselves the form of government they wish and to choose their economic, political and social systems free from any foreign interference, duress or limitation, is being violated.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

The clear-cut United Nations opinion that conflicts in Central America should not be viewed in the context of East-West relations is being ignored. The efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group to find ways of settling the problems of Central America by peaceful means through negotiations are being undermined.

Now it is Nicaragua that has become the main target of United States aggressive activities in the Central American region. This is demonstrated, inter alia, by the relevant judgement of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986.

The Byelorussian SSR has actively supported in the General Committee the Nicaraguan proposal to include in the agenda of the forty-first session of the General Assembly a new, urgent item, to be considered separately, entitled, "Judgement of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986 concerning military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua: need for immediate compliance".

As is known, the International Court of Justice, which is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, rejected the assertion by the United States that the latter took legitimate action against Nicaragua in accordance with "the right of collective self-defense". Such assertions represent, in essence, a mockery of the United Nations Charter. The International Court of Justice condemned the actions of the United States, such as aiding the contras, military and paramilitary actions against Nicaragua, air attacks against Nicaraguan ports and facilities, mine-laying in Nicaraguan territorial waters, the imposition of a trade embargo on Nicaragua, the circulation among the contras of a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) manual on psychological warfare, and other aggressive activities against that non-aligned State Member of the United Nations.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

The International Court found that the United States had violated generally-accepted rules of international law prohibiting interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the use of force against another country. The United States has violated the sovereignty of Nicaragua, the Treaty on Friendship, Trade and Shipping, signed in Managua between the United States and Nicaragua on 21 January 1956, as well as humanitarian laws and other generally-recognized legal norms.

The International Court ruled that the United States of America should immediately cease and refrain from any such acts that may constitute breaches of the foregoing legal obligations.

The Court also ruled that the United States should make reparation for the damage inflicted on Nicaragua, the total of which has already exceeded several billion dollars.

Everything would seem to be quite clear. The world community is calling on the United States to end its aggressive activities against Nicaragua. Because it is precisely these activities that have triggered the crisis, their cessation would lead to the defusion of the conflict in Central America, and thus international peace and security would be strengthened. However, this is not what has happened. The United States refused to do so, and instead engaged in all kinds of pettifogging. The United States, as far back as 1946, voluntarily recognized the binding jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and has repeatedly demanded that other countries do likewise, but it suddenly reneged this commitment when it realized that the International Court would condemn its aggressive activities and demand that they cease and not be repeated in the future.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

And what of United States obligations under the United Nations Charter, the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Protocol on Non-Interference, adopted in Buenos Aires in 1936 - obligations which prohibit everything that the United States is doing to Nicaragua.

By way of illustration, I will quote article 15 of the charter of OAS:

"No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. This principle prohibits not only interference involving the use of armed force but also any other form of interference or threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural basis".

After all, the United States has not yet formally renounced these obligations, or at least, it has not yet made a public statement to that effect. Therefore, these obligations must be complied with.

The United States Administration is violating not only international legal norms in this respect, but also the laws of its own country. Under the 1794 Neutrality Act, those who are guilty of financing or taking part in any military action carried out from United States territory against any other State with which the United States is at peace, may be punished by a fine or imprisonment. This Act, in the view of United States legal experts, does not make any exceptions for acts committed by the Government of the country. Nevertheless, those who break the law are at large, continuing their unlawful deeds and even bragging about them.

United States aggressive activities against Nicaragua are also at variance with Security Council decisions, United Nations declarations and the declarations of various international forums, including Inter-American Conferences, all of which

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

are unambiguous about the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of other countries or the use of force against them. It should be stressed that all these documents were adopted with the participation of the United States and with its consent.

Let us also recall that the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries at their Summit Conference in Harare once again condemned the escalation of United States aggressive acts against Nicaragua and demanded that they cease and that the judgement of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986 be complied with.

The Byelorussian SSR strongly condemns United States aggressive activities against Nicaragua and the fact that the United States has allocated \$100 million to that end for this fiscal year. I would note in passing that this sum is roughly equal to the unpaid amount of the United States compulsory contribution to the United Nations regular budget due this year. We condemn the supply of arms to the contras, the subversive activities of the CIA, the intention to train - on the territory of Puerto Rico - mercenaries for the fight against Nicaragua and the training of commandos on United States territory for the same purpose, and demand that all United States aggressive acts against Nicaragua and other Central American countries be halted immediately and never repeated in the future.

We actively support the proposals and peace initiatives of Nicaragua, Cuba, the Contadora Group and other countries aimed at normalizing the situation in the Central American region and the Caribbean, so that the peoples of that region can live in peace and freedom and carry out their plans for social and economic progress without outside interference.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

We consider it to be unworthy for the leaders of a great Power like the United States to make such declarations as: "I am also a contra" or "the contras are freedom fighters". As was rightly noted by the well known United States political figure, who at one time was a presidential candidate, George McGovern:

"The contras neither know freedom nor have any record of practising it. They are largely a bunch of bullies, similar to the death squads that we are inadvertently associated with in El Salvador. They are not advancing freedom; they are killing innocent people, blowing up homes and running drugs." (The New York Times, 10 August 1986)

We regard as offensive any comparison between the American internationalists who fought the Fascists in Spain and the contras. We reject the attempts to attack Nicaragua and its people who are building a new life and defending their inalienable right to do so.

We condemn the economic blockade illegally imposed by the United States against Cuba and Nicaragua and demand that it be lifted. At the same time, we stress that the United States is preventing the Security Council from imposing mandatory comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, as called for in United Nations decisions. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR rejects the assertions, which have recently been made in the United Nations, to the effect that Nicaragua "itself created its problems". The problems of Nicaragua and of the entire region of Central America have been created by the policies of the United States. And the whole world knows that.

The Byelorussian SSR is convinced that a solution to the crisis situation in Central America is possible only along the lines of a peaceful political settlement, on the just basis of generally recognized rules of international law.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

Acting on the basis of what we have said, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has already supported the adoption of the resolution concerning the need for the United States to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice and is ready to contribute to taking additional effective measures by the United Nations in order to achieve the complete settlement of the situation in Central America in the interests of the peoples of that region.

Mr. PAPUCIU (Albania) (interpretation from French): Central America is an area where the situation is tense and the course of events is aggravating it still further. The situation created constitutes a serious danger to the freedom and independence of the countries of that region and for international peace and security. The principal cause of the deterioration of the situation in the region is the policy of the United States of America in the form of open and brutal interference against Nicaragua, continued threats of aggression and support of subversive activities aimed at overturning the Sandinist Government, which American imperialism has declared undesirable. Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Labour Party of Albania, in his report to the Ninth Party Congress which recently took place, emphasized:

"The struggle waged in Central America is experiencing new developments. The people of Nicaragua which overturned the fascist dictatorship of Somoza, is successfully grappling with the undeclared war waged against it by American imperialism and its Somozist mercenaries."

American imperialism is concerned with the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Nicaragua and other peoples of Central America to overturn pro-American dictatorial régimes, to conquer their freedom and to defend their national independence. The United States is seeking to safeguard its imperialist interests

(Mr. Papuciu, Albania)

in that part of the world. With that end in view, they have undertaken an overt, deeply aggressive campaign, through pressures and blackmail, military provocations and the use of force. Likewise, they are constantly conducting lengthy manoeuvres near the borders of Nicaragua, introducing into that country bands of Somozist mercenaries trained, armed and financed by the United States. Not long ago the United States Congress approved more than \$100 million to aid the mercenaries and Somozist forces to step up their attacks to overturn the legitimate Government in Nicaragua, in order to overcome the determination of the Nicaraguan people to safeguard their national independence and to create opportunities for direct armed intervention by the United States in that country. At the same time, efforts are made to attack the liberation struggle of the people of El Salvador and other peoples of Central and Latin America. Such brutal acts constitute direct interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. For that reason, there has been a vigorous reaction against those acts and the Latin American peoples and world public opinion have condemned them.

These aggressive acts constitute a flagrant violation of the most basic principles of international law and of the rules that govern relations among sovereign States.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Central America for freedom and democracy is not a sporadic phenomenon nor is it limited to that region. It has become widespread and has taken on major proportions in other parts of the world. It has become an invincible force that is becoming stronger every day. The web of well-known imperialist tactics to oppress that mighty movement of peoples through military aid and the financing of mercenaries who are to be used as cannon fodder against the struggle of peoples defending their freedom, independence,

(Mr. Papuciu, Albania)

national sovereignty and democracy through diplomatic manoeuvres, the dispatch of emissaries and the promotion of so-called negotiations to distract peoples from their just struggle are all part of the strategy of American imperialism and of the other imperialist Powers.

Against this background, it is no accident that in the bickering between the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, emphasis is placed upon regional problems. The efforts of the Soviet Union, which is seeking to exploit anti-imperialist feeling and channel the struggle of Central American peoples for its own interests, make the situation still more complicated and provide further pretexts for American imperialism to intervene brutally by portraying itself as the saviour of the region from Soviet danger.

The Albanian people and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have followed carefully and have consistently supported the just struggle of the people of Nicaragua, El Salvador and other peoples of Central America against American imperialism, for their national freedom and social progress and for the defence of their independence and sovereignty. We have firmly condemned the aggressive acts and brutal interference in the internal affairs of Central America.

(Mr. Papuciu, Albania)

The problems of Central America can and must be solved by the peoples of that region, without interference by the super-Powers or other imperialist Powers.

The Albanian delegation reiterates that in the future the people and Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will continue to give their sincere support to the struggle of the Nicaraguan people in defence of their freedom, independence and national sovereignty and the just liberation struggle of the people of El Salvador and that of other peoples of Latin America.

Mr. MARTINEZ ORDONEZ (Honduras) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again the General Assembly is discussing the item, "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". A great deal has already been said in this Hall and in other United Nations forums as well as in many regional organizations about the Central American crisis, the efforts to reach peace and the obstacles that have arisen in the way of those efforts. Unfortunately, a great many of those statements have been made with prejudice, or are the result of alignments - not carefully thought through - containing pre-conceived ideas that will not help in finding ways of overcoming the crisis but which bring about serious confusion as to the situation in the area.

It is not that my delegation disregards the great value of new ideas intended to contribute in the search for solutions when such ideas emerge in statements, but the situation in Central America being of vital importance to my country, since we are situated at the geographical centre of this critical area, we are concerned about the negative effect of the confusion that such positions can introduce into an item of such importance to us.

To understand the true origins of the regional crisis it is necessary to be aware of the interdependence that is imposed upon Central American countries by their particular geography and history, and by their common roots in the Central American Federation, which emerged from their common colonial experiences. Blood

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

ties that disregard borders, the traditions and experiences of our common history, the common political instability that has characterized our independent life, together with economic and social backwardness and external dependence that we have shared, have left in the area dangerous social tensions. In some areas of Central America these have reached the point of generating social violence and internal struggles which, though limited geographically by borders have on many occasions involved men and women from all the countries of Central America, even when the questions under discussion were apparently limited geographically within one of the countries of the region.

In the course of time the Central American countries have forged their own identities, but that has not changed the fact that they have also had to share a common heritage, as testified by the common efforts of the countries of the region to create and strengthen their systems of trade within a common market. With the gradual unification of their monetary and fiscal laws and educational systems, the common development of communications and the creation of a central development credit entity. The conclusion may therefore be drawn that, together with the free movement of peoples in the area, the life of the Central Americans has been characterized as being more of an invaluable form of togetherness than simple coexistence and that there are many more things uniting Central Americans than separating them.

The foregoing explains what impels the Governments of Central America and motivates their peoples to seek global and regional solutions, a search which should rally full international support because that would be the way leading to peace with dignity and security without fear.

Internal conflicts as a result of social dissatisfaction have generated conflicts within certain countries, conflicts which since 1979 have been converted into instruments of East-West confrontation. The success of the popular movement

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

against the dictator Somoza in Nicaragua, which was the result of a long struggle by the people of that country for freedom with democracy and for a more promising future, a struggle which had the support of virtually all the peoples of Central America, was cancelled out by the decisions of some of its leaders to establish and consolidate a system which is absolutely aligned with totalitarian countries, thus thwarting hopes for democracy and establishing a system of government which denies freedom, freedom of expression and the right of self-determination. Moreover, hopes for achieving a prosperous economy were thwarted by the design of those very same leaders to create a true war machine unprecedented in the region, which placed its great size and offensive capacity at the service of the hegemonistic and expansionist desires of its leaders. Those facts brought insecurity, mistrust and tension into the Central American region. The contradiction between the democratic aspirations and the imposition of internal repressive measures made the division between the Government and its own population ever more acute, causing massive flows of refugees and people who were persecuted for their political beliefs and who fled, and continue to flee, to neighbouring countries and ultimately led to the emergence of an armed opposition which is attempting to restore the original orientation of the popular insurrection.

Speaking to the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States (OAS) in reference to the problems of Central America, the President of the Republic of Honduras, Jose Ascona Hoyo, stated:

"On repeated occasions it has been said that in Central America there are three kinds of problems: internal problems, which in open confrontations disrupt their own societies; bilateral problems as a corollary of internal conflicts and the cause of international tension; and those resulting from the clash of political ideologies and which take on a multilateral character

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

affecting the entire region because of the participation in them of extra-regional hegemonistic States.

"I believe that every Government should have the moral integrity at least to face conflicts generated by its own acts and not to blame other Governments for the rebellions of their peoples, claiming betrayed ideals or frustrated aspirations.

"It is universally recognized that it is for each people to decide their own form of political, economic and social organization, but that right does not belong exclusively to a particular group of especially enlightened people or of any State that feels that it is predestined to guide the future of mankind. So long as there are Governments which refuse to recognize that freedom is inherent in the human person there will always be a conflict between those denying men their freedom and those struggling for self-determination.

"Honduras, because of its central geographical position, has throughout history been the victim of the internal conflicts of the countries around it. Aware of that reality, we encourage the holding of dialogues of national reconciliation that may give rise to systems characterized by democratic, representative and pluralistic coexistence. Democracy is a prerequisite for peace."

Particularly in Honduras, through the freely expressed political will of our people at the polls, we have reaffirmed our faith in a democratic form of life and Government.

(Mr. Martínez Ordonez, Honduras)

We firmly believe that that political system is essential to improve our living conditions. This latter aim and the consolidation and development of democracy, are fundamental objectives pursued by the Government of Honduras, supported by the people and by means of public and private honest and effective action. But, of course, to achieve those basic aims we require a favourable environment, a peaceful and secure setting, which guarantees that the process of economic and political development can take place in justice and freedom. A prerequisite for this is to preserve our internal peace and protect the people of Honduras from the scourge of war.

It is well known that today Central America is facing a crisis characterized by the disruption of internal peace in the countries neighbours of Honduras. The effects of those armed struggles, given the conditions of permeability and profound inter-connection in the area that I have described, have strong repercussions in my country and are obstacles to our efforts towards economic, political and social development. The other countries of the area not experiencing the same kind of internal conflict are affected in the same way as Honduras.

There is a serious deterioration in international trade, the flight of capital and a decline in investment, with their effects upon the living standards of our peoples. To this has been added the Sandinista Government's attitude to security. From Nicaragua there has been a stimulation of subversive movement and the provision of training, supplies and communication and information facilities. The territories of Honduras and Costa Rica have been subjected to activities ranging from frontier incidents to indiscriminate shelling and massive incursions of the Sandinista army into our territory, such as that which occurred in March of this year, as recognized even by the Sandinista Government itself. Simultaneously, Nicaragua has been endeavouring to discredit neighbouring countries through campaigns of propaganda and disinformation.

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

It is clear to us that since 1979 the Government of Nicaragua, supported and advised by Governments and organizations linked with the Eastern bloc, has been working with three principle aims: firstly, to form an impressive State security apparatus; secondly, to build up the most powerful army in Central America; and thirdly, to convert Nicaragua into a centre for the export of its own political structure, through promotion of and support for subversion in other countries.

In six years the Sandinistas have managed to establish the largest and best equipped military force in Central America. Their army has 46 battalions, including artillery, infantry, engineering and support corps, and 160 battalions of reservists and militia men. Their armaments exceed 152 tanks and amphibian vehicles; multiple 56 rocket launchers; about 600 guns of various calibre, from 37 mm to 152 mm; and large numbers of SA-7 missiles. Their naval force is made up of 35 patrol boats of Soviet, North Korean and Polish manufacture. In its Air Force, in addition to 17 combat aircraft and a support squadron of 14 aircraft of different kinds, Nicaragua possesses a large number of sophisticated helicopters of Soviet manufacture. There are also three radar facilities. In short, Nicaragua has a military establishment that far exceeds not only that of any Central American country, but even the sum of the Central American military capacity.

With foreign aid, Nicaragua has built military airports, such as Punta Huete, which, with 3,200 metres of runway, on a concrete base, is designed to take the most sophisticated combat aircraft. Thus, a country which hardly more than 3 million inhabitants and facing serious economic and social problems has created an army of nearly 150,000 troops. To demonstrate the magnitude of this, suffice it to recall that in that same Nicaragua, when the dictator Samoza was defending himself against the rebellion of his people, his army numbered less than 20,000 men.

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

Referring to this question in his statement to the General Assembly during the present session, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country,

Dr. Carlos Lopez Contreras, stated

"Likewise, under the leadership and with the advice of its political and military allies, the Sandinista Government has developed an arms build-up without precedence or parallel in the Central American region and has imposed strong militarization on its society, to the detriment of the security of other countries. It is well known that Nicaragua has received thousands of tons of weapons valued at hundreds of millions of dollars. ... Here we should recall resolution 1514 (XV), adopted by this Assembly in 1960, which affirms the right of all peoples to choose the type of government which best suits them and declares that this should be done through democratic procedures, impartially applied, and based upon universal adult suffrage. Obviously, this resolution can be applied only if every State guarantees the full exercise of democracy internally.

"The Government of Honduras is aware of the fact that the best guarantee of its national sovereignty and independence rests with the faith of its people in a democratic way of life. Thus the true foundations of its security are the existence of a state of law, respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual, free and periodic elections and an improvement in the economic, social and cultural living conditions of Hondurans. ..."

(A/41/PV.28, pp. 32, 33)

Honduras bases its internal security not only on its own means of defence, which it has developed in accordance with its condition as a sovereign independent State, responsible for its foreign relations and its own security, based on international law, the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the foundation of the American regional system regarding peace and collective defence.

We would recall here that in a statement in the General Assembly at its present session the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua said that my country, with external aid, had built

"27 United States military bases and 21 landing-strips and air bases for military use ... along with dozens of other types of military installations" and that

"The Honduran armed forces have swelled from 23,000 to almost 50,000 soldiers." (A/41/PV.32, p. 53)

He added that the Honduran air force had increased from 137 war planes to some 330 aircraft, including modern F-5 aircraft.

In all this the Minister was not only exaggerating, but departing from the truth. It is appropriate and necessary to put things before the international community in a proper perspective.

There are no United States military bases in Honduras. Those that there are, are Honduran and there are 10 times fewer than stated. Honduras has improved and modernized some of its military facilities because of the irregular situation prevailing in the area, and the five airfields it has developed are earth airfields, in no way comparable to the Punta Huete airfield.

The total manpower of the Honduran forces, including the police force, is 16,600 - that is, approximately one third of the figure indicated by Minister d'Escoto. Honduras does not have F-5 aircraft. In short, none of the facts stated by the Minister is anywhere near the truth.

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

In any event, I must repeat here what I stated on behalf of my country at the meeting in which the statements in question were made. I said:

"within the ... discussions we have had in the Contadora Group my country has repeatedly stated that it is prepared to set a limit on the armaments of each of the countries so as to make possible fraternal coexistence. It is Nicaragua that does not wish to set such a limit."

And I added:

"Honduras, on the other hand, reiterates in this Assembly that if, in order to achieve peace in Central America, it is necessary that the last international adviser leave our countries, Honduras is ready to do so at precisely the same moment as that at which Nicaragua is prepared to act likewise ... within a scheme which would be verifiable and would set limits on the excessive arms build-up which, with the aid of the Soviet bloc, has been occurring ever since the revolution expelled the dictator Somoza from Nicaragua." (A/41/PV.32, p. 76)

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

Of course, we take the same attitude in regard to the number of troops. I urge Nicaragua to demonstrate its will for peace to the General Assembly by expressing a position similar to that of Honduras.

From the very beginning, my Government has participated actively and with a high sense of responsibility in the negotiating efforts under the auspices of the Contadora Group. Our recognition of the peaceful, fraternal efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela is real and sincere. We understand full well that their participation has on many occasions prevented the crisis from becoming even worse, and we cannot but acknowledge that that participation has made it possible to overcome obstacles, has provided foundations for understanding and has set aims and principles acceptable to all Central Americans. Similarly, the support for the endeavours of the Contadora Group that has been shown by the countries of the Support Group deserves our special recognition.

Much has been achieved within that framework of discussion by the Central American Governments, which are essentially responsible for their own fate. Unfortunately, there are still obstacles to the comprehensive and simultaneous solution, including appropriate verification procedures, that we regard as indispensable - in keeping with the aspiration of the Contadora Group and the hopes of Central Americans - to the strengthening in our subregion of peace with security and dignity, the kind of peace that will enable us to envisage a future in which our own efforts can afford a higher standard of living to our peoples, in a climate without fear or inappropriate international pressures.

On 6 June this year, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Contadora Group transmitted to their Central American counterparts a draft Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, setting forth the noteworthy achievements made possible by civilized dialogue by the Central American

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

themselves, with the support and solidarity of the Contadora Group. But that draft does not solve the problem as a whole, because its text and structure do not yet provide sufficient guarantees in regard to security, democratization and national reconciliation - all of which are essential to the establishment of peace in our subregion. In transmitting that valuable document, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group stated that their mediation role on the substantive aspects of the document had come to an end, but that they remained available to co-operate in negotiations on the operative aspects of the document.

In that regard, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country said the following before the General Assembly:

"In the sphere of disarmament, the Contadora proposal deferred negotiations on the limitation, reduction and verification of military weapons and troops to some time after the entry into force of the Act. This is especially serious, because its acceptance would amount to legal approval of a de facto situation: the military hegemony of one Central American State over the others.

"Most Central American Governments have affirmed their political will to sign the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America when it contains verifiable agreements on security, democratization and national reconciliation. But the intransigence of the Sandinist Government has prevented such essential commitments from being included, with the necessary guarantees of implementation.

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

"I reaffirm the willingness of the Government of Honduras to continue exploring new and imaginative formulas to overcome the obstacles to the agreement, with the understanding that a just solution must take account of the legitimate interests of all Central American States". (A/41/PV.28, pp. 36 and 37)

The Minister for Foreign Affairs added that the Government of Honduras was ready to contribute to any other efforts designed to achieve internal pacification and national reconciliation and to maintain peace and strengthen democracy on the continent.

Once the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America had reached the hands of the Central American Governments, Nicaragua - within little more than a month - raised a new obstacle to the process of negotiations. On 25 July the Nicaraguan Government filed with the International Court of Justice an application instituting proceedings against the Governments of Costa Rica and Honduras. It did that at the very moment when it was entering into a negotiating process in the Contadora context. Now, all the Central American Governments are committed to remaining within that context in the quest for a solution to our problems, and not to have recourse to other forums, since that would be an obstacle to the negotiating process. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, referring to that fact, said:

"We must ... eliminate the impediments to fluidity in diplomatic activity, since such activity is inconsistent with Nicaragua's continued improper recourse to the highest international jurisdictional organ, [frustrating] the prospects for a political solution of the crisis in Central America". (A/41/PV.28, p. 37)

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

It is also relevant to recall article 4 of the Bogota Pact, which makes any other procedure when direct negotiations are in process inadmissible. So far as Honduras is concerned, that process has not yet been exhausted. Nicaragua should be reminded that it should abandon other procedures in order to keep the Contadora negotiations alive.

In Honduras, at the levels both of the Government and of the people, there is the political will to continue offering all our support to the peace initiative of the Contadora Group. The people of Honduras have faith in the resolute will of all the peoples of our region and all the Governments which those peoples have democratically elected to contribute their maximum efforts to the attainment of this aim that unites us. We recognize that the peoples of Central America have not only a common history but also a common destiny. We believe that the international community is obliged to support the satisfaction of our genuine aspirations. We must save our subregion from East-West confrontation. Honduras has reaffirmed to the General Assembly its determination to contribute to that end. We hope that the other sister countries of the area will understand that fact and will act in conformity with it, taking measures to adopt a similar position which will make possible the success of the praiseworthy efforts of the Contadora Group.

Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Since the General Assembly considered this item at its last session, the situation in Central America has remained turbulent and volatile. The potential destabilizing factors in the region have become a source of universal concern. The turmoil in the Central American region has its profound internal and external causes. Some countries in

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

the region have been faced with economic difficulties and social contradictions of varying proportions. And the direct and indirect, overt and covert interference and infiltration by outside forces, especially by the big Powers, as well as their incessant arms shipments, have aggravated even further the turbulent situation in the region. A case in point here is that a big Power, in disregard of international law and norms governing international relations, has openly supplied military hardware and other aid to the anti-Government military forces of a country with which it maintains diplomatic relations. Such a move is bound gravely to affect the situation in Central America.

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

In the light of the actual situation in the Central American region, the Chinese delegation believes that the key to the relaxation and elimination of tension in the region lies in the removal of all outside interference. In seeking a political settlement of the existing conflicts, all parties concerned must strictly abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the basic norms governing international relations, in particular the principle of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries in the region. The problems among the Central American countries should be solved by themselves in observance of the aforementioned principles. The problems between the United States and Nicaragua should be settled peacefully through consultations on an equal footing, not through the use or threat of use of force.

To promote the peace process in Central America the Contadora Group and the Lima Support Group have put forward successively this year the Caraballeda Message, the communiqué of Punta del Este and the Panama Message. Those documents stress the important principles of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and represent a positive effort in endeavouring to reach an early agreement on the Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. For reasons that are well known, so far the Act has remained unsigned.

Nevertheless the Foreign Ministers of the eight members of the Contadora and Lima Groups once again expressed, in their statement of last October entitled "Peace is still possible in Central America" their willingness to resume their mediation role in a continued effort to achieve a political settlement. Over the years the Contadora Group has made significant contributions to finding a solution to the Central American dilemma, promoting understanding and co-operation among the countries and bringing about peace and development in the region, thus winning ever

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

more sympathy and support from the Central American countries and the international community at large. We are also glad to note that the the non-aligned countries, the European Community countries and Mr. Perez de Cuella, Secretary-General of the United Nations, have also contributed considerable efforts towards the peaceful settlement of the Central American issue.

The Chinese delegation wishes to take this opportunity to reiterate that it resolutely supports the Contadora Group and the Lima Group in their endeavours towards the relaxation of tension in Central America and the political settlement of the existing conflicts. We sincerely wish the Groups success in their efforts. In the meantime, we hope that the countries concerned will shoulder their responsibilities, respect the aspirations of the Latin American countries that a peaceful settlement of the disputes be arrived at within their own region, free from outside interference, and halt immediately all acts of subversion and interference, so that the Central American countries can soon free themselves from turmoil and realize their long-desired goal of peace and development.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): In the Declaration entitled "Peace is still possible in Central America", the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and the Support Group have stated the following:

"The crisis in Central America is becoming more serious every day, and the risk of war is increasing.

"Those who believe in a military solution are disregarding the true dimension of the problem. We wish to draw attention to what is at stake: expansion of the conflict, intensification of the confrontations, and war.

"The crisis in Central America can create serious tensions and conflicts throughout the continent." (A/41/662, p. 2)

My delegation fully shares that view. We believe that there is a need for urgent and effective action to reverse the trend of events in that subregion,

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

otherwise generalized war will be inevitable. I would hasten to say that that war is already on.

As we speak on this issue in the Assembly the agents of destabilization and terror, the contras, like their fellow travellers in Angola and Mozambique, are sowing death and misery in Nicaragua. The contras, the armed bandits and terrorists operating in Nicaragua, maim, kill and destroy economic and social infrastructures.

We have come here to defend peace wherever and whenever it is threatened. We have come here to reaffirm our commitment to fight from this rostrum the only war that we believe in - the war for peace.

Four years ago the Government of Nicaragua requested the inscription on the agenda of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". In so doing, Nicaragua brought to the attention of the international community, and this Organization in particular, the dangerous situation then obtaining in the region.

For four years in succession we have held debates on the issue and recommended the adoption of an approach and solutions that are not only in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter but also conducive to the promotion and preservation of peace and stability in the region. However, here we are today saying that peace and stability in Central America are as elusive as never before.

What is wrong in Central America, one wonders. It is true that the root cause of the crisis in Central America can be found in the economic exploitation of the natural resources of the countries of the region, which has plunged the peoples of the region into poverty and misery.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

We all agree that the conquest, domination and plunder of the region by foreign companies, the centuries of ravage, oppression and repression carried out by military expeditionary forces and the atrocities committed by successive dynasties of dictatorship installed by outside Powers are true facts without acceptance of which we fail to comprehend the crisis in the region.

However, that alone would not have made this debate necessary. The Security Council would not have met on many occasions to discuss Central America. The Non-Aligned Movement would not have expressed and reiterated its deep concern at the situation in the region; nor would it have held a meeting of its Bureau in Managua devoted solely to the region's problems. The International Court of Justice would not have been called upon to intervene in the affairs of the region.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

The fact of the matter is that something extremely dangerous is happening in the region, particularly in Nicaragua. We are witnesses to an escalation of acts of destabilization and sabotage unleashed against Nicaragua. Covert and overt operations are being carried out against that country, in systematic and gross violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. There is external intervention and indirect aggression in Central America.

What we see in Central America are attempts to deny the peoples of the region the exercise of their long sought and hard-won right to self-determination and genuine independence, attempts to reverse the course of history in the region and to restore feudalism and backwardness. That is what is wrong in Central America.

The international community has missed no opportunity to address the deteriorating situation in Central America. Calls for peace and understanding, coexistence and co-operation between the countries of the region and its neighbours have come from every corner of the globe.

The Contadora Group, joined by the Support Group, has been engaged in a highly complex and time-consuming process in its attempts to bring about a peaceful and genuinely Latin American solution to the problems afflicting the region. Despite the support of the international community and despite their firm commitment to peace, development and justice in Central America, the Contadora Group and the Support Group have not succeeded in their efforts to reach a comprehensive, peaceful and diplomatic solution to the problems of the region. Many obstacles have been put in their way in order to paralyse their noble initiatives.

As the members of the Contadora Group and the Support Group have themselves have put it:

"We are fully aware that powerful interests oppose our efforts. War cannot be avoided if the protagonists want war."

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Indeed, war cannot be avoided if the instruments of war are dispatched to Central America, particularly Nicaragua, for the contras. Early last month the international community learned about the shooting down by the Nicaraguan army of an aircraft carrying war supplies for the terrorists operating in Nicaragua.

Peace cannot see the light of day in Central America if it is not given a chance. A well-known Latin American writer once said about the struggle of the Nicaraguan people:

"The people's war did not only make possible the dismantling of the foundations of the Somoza family's power and the recovery of the natural resources usurped by imperialism, but also had favourable consequences at all levels; it strongly shook all the little branches of the tree of life, and it is making possible the blossoming of flowers and fruits unknown to the Nicaraguans themselves until now. The redemption of the people's culture and the disclosure of the cultural plurality of the country form part of the process of the 'Nicaraguanization' of Nicaragua."

My delegation agrees with that writer. The Sandinista revolution has indeed brought hope where there was none. It gave the people of Nicaragua something to believe in: the future, a prosperous future.

However, some circles would like to convince us otherwise. Blinded as they are by their geopolitical and geostrategic interests, they cannot face a political and social reality in the region that does not conform to their designs.

That is not surprising. It is the logical consequence of policies based on the assumption that small and poor nations are nothing but chess pieces, pawns that cannot move by themselves, but have to be moved by the players.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

It is obvious that this understanding of relations between sovereign and independent States dates back to the time when might was right. The international community must strongly reject this policy.

The founding of the United Nations inaugurated a new era in international relations; an era of the development of friendly relations between nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; an era of the strengthening of universal peace; an era of co-operation and peaceful coexistence between States, irrespective of differences in size or ideology; an era of right is might.

Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter states that all Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered. Paragraph 4 of the same Article stipulates that all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

It may be worth recalling at this stage that the purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security through the prevention of and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. The efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group are consistent with this purpose. Just as consistent are the steps taken by Nicaragua in search of a peaceful solution to the problems of Central America.

I therefore wish to reiterate the support of my delegation for the efforts of the Contadora Group. I appeal to those States with interests in the region also to pursue solutions consistent with the purposes and objectives of the United Nations and international law.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

I commend the Government and people of Nicaragua for their commitment to peace, as demonstrated by their efforts to explore all possible avenues for a peaceful solution to the problems in Central America.

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): This is the fourth year that the General Assembly has considered one of the most volatile and explosive hotbeds of tension in the world, Central America, under the agenda item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives".

The situation not only remains tense, but has become fraught with additional dangerous factors that pose a very serious threat to the peace, security and stability of Central America and of Latin America as a whole.

The international community has been almost unanimous in identifying the causes at the root of the tension and hostility: the backward and unjust political, social and economic conditions that prevail in the overwhelming majority of Central American countries. That incontestable fact remains, despite the painstaking efforts by the present United States Administration to explain the situation within the context of East-West confrontation.

An additional factor of equal import and implication has been the increasing resort to force by the United States in dealing with situations whenever and wherever it claims its so-called national interests are threatened. Under that pretext the United States has arrogated to itself the right to intervene in the internal affairs of sovereign countries by invading and occupying them, by organizing mercenary and terrorist groups against them, by staging coups d'etat against their national Governments and by applying political and economic pressure and other coercive measures to destabilize the political system, undermine the national economy and sabotage the social and cultural fabric.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

These actions, all of which constitute gross and flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter and all norms and principles of international law, have been accompanied by a simultaneous effort to render fruitless the endeavours of the international community to find an early solution to the problems affecting Central America.

On 27 June 1986 the International Court of Justice delivered a judgement vindicating unequivocally the charges brought by the Government of Nicaragua against the Government of the United States. Far from putting an immediate end to its illegal acts against Nicaragua as required by the Court's judgement, the Reagan Administration has further fuelled its criminal war, as evidenced by the signing of a Bill into law, on 18 October 1986, allocating \$100 million for the contra terrorist groups.

The large number of violations that have occurred since the publication of the Court's judgement, including the aborted flight of the United States tactical cargo plane C-123 carrying weapons and other supplies to the bandits waging a sordid war on behalf of the United States Administration, prove that there has been a dramatic escalation in that war. That incident occurred only four days after the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and the Support Group presented their declaration to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, stating:

"The crisis in Central America is becoming more serious every day, and the risk of war is increasing.

"Those who believe in a military solution are disregarding the true dimension of the problem. We wish to draw attention to what is at stake: expansion of the conflict, intensification of the confrontations, and war.

"The crisis in Central America can create serious tensions and conflicts throughout the continent. The peace of Central America is therefore our own peace." (A/41/662, p. 2)

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

There is a striking resemblance between United States policies and actions in Central America and those in South-West Asia. In both cases a non-aligned, independent country which had thrown off the shackles of a despotic and tyrannical régime has been singled out as the target of United States aggression. In both cases territories of certain neighbouring countries are used as centres for training mercenaries and as launching pads for aggression. In both cases operatives of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) recruit, organize, train, finance and arm mercenaries and then infiltrate them into the territory in question to wage an undeclared, dirty and immoral war. In both cases the military hardware and tactical guidance are provided by the CIA. In both cases the recruits are selected from among the remnants of the former oppressive régimes and their lackeys. In both cases the most sinister and bestial acts are committed as a method of terrorizing the people. In both cases the targets are selected from among defenceless civilians and public and private economic installations. In both cases the terrorists, renegades and hired mercenaries are awarded the title of "freedom fighters" by the United States to equate them with the fathers of that nation. In both cases medieval tyrants and professional murderers in their pay are alleged to be fighting for democracy and freedom. In both cases the United States asserts that it is protecting itself and other nations from the expansion of the so-called Red plague. And in both instances the United States pays demagogic lip-service to the process of political negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the problem while it makes every effort to torpedo any measurable sign of success.

There is a difference, however, in these two situations. In one case the United States proclaims on its Machiavellian banner "democracy and pluralism"; in the other case it calls hypocritically for "Islam and self-determination".

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

There is also another difference. The United States has spent \$200 million on arms and other military equipment, including \$100 million this year, to keep the flames of its war ablaze in one of these regions, while it has invested more than \$2 billion dollars, including \$500 million this year, to continue and escalate its war in the other region. In one region the appropriated fund is geared to feed, equip and arm 15,000 to 20,000 mercenaries; in the other it is intended to provide only weapons and ammunition to 200,000 to 300,000 mercenaries.

I need not say that the first case in question is Nicaragua, in Central America, and the second is Afghanistan, in South-West Asia.

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan feel that they are in the best position to appreciate the intensity and scope of the threat posed to the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Nicaragua. That is why our solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend the achievements of their revolution is but a natural manifestation of the camaraderie and unity that should exist among all independent, democratic and progressive nations and forces in their struggle against imperialist plots and intrigues.

While strongly condemning the United States unlawful war against Nicaragua, we hail the exemplary determination of the Nicaraguan people and Government to defend themselves against the greatest of odds.

We strongly commend the peace efforts of the Contadora Group and its Support Group and vehemently condemn the United States designs to bury the process of negotiation. We fully associate ourselves with the analysis of the situation made by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States members of the Latin American Economic System and recorded in paragraph 7 of the communiqué of the Latin American

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

Council issued in Lima on 17 October 1986, and demand that the United States put an end immediately to its political, military and economic aggression against Nicaragua.

We call for full compliance with the judgement of the International Court of Justice and for the strictest application of the United Nations Charter and other well-established norms of international behaviour in the relations between the United States and Nicaragua.

The international community should make every effort to revitalize the peace process initiated by the Contadora Group, with a view to establishing harmonious, stable and friendly relations among the peoples of that region.*

*Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. MEZA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): The question of peace in Central America has been under debate in this world forum as well as in the regional forums of the Organization of American States (OAS), that is in Brasilia, Cartagena and Guatemala, to mention only the most recent meetings, in a verbal struggle. Meanwhile, in Central America, the sounds of war are becoming daily louder.

At all those meetings there has been definite support for the Contadora peace initiative. Why then is it that the Central American situation has not changed in accordance with the efforts of Contadora and its Support Group to promote that noble objective? My country, like others in Central America, has expressed its support for the 21 points of the Contadora Act. Little by little, the difficulties have been ironed out and the provisions of the Act have supplemented the common effort of the Contadora Group, the Support Group and the Central American Governments. Moreover, there remain two points that are decisive and crucial for the pacification of the region upon which there is not yet agreement: military manoeuvres and control and verification of weapons.

My delegation believes that if, in this world forum, problems such as these are not promptly and effectively resolved it is not because of procedural or organizational difficulties. Nor is it because of doubts about the continuing underlying validity of the convention on which the Organization is based. Rather, it is because Governments lack the political will to find and define solutions and carry out the corresponding resolutions. That lack of will is reflected dramatically in Central America in terms of the deterioration in the living standards of the peoples. The generous aid of the specialized agencies of the United Nations is not enough to put an end to this situation. Its effects are as destructive of peace as war itself. That is how I interpret the final paragraphs of the Secretary-General's report (A/40/1136) to the General Assembly, of 2 July 1986.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

The scriptural message that peace on earth is for men of goodwill does not seem to apply to Central America. Is this because deeds belie words? Is it because statements and covenants are not necessarily instruments with practical content but rather expressions of goodwill?

My Government views with concern the two ambivalent points that single out two countries whose deeds belie their stated good intentions and good offices. These are the disproportionate arms build-up by Nicaragua and the twofold role played by Mexico as a diplomatic agent for peace in Central America on the one hand and as a negotiator of resolutions which do not reflect the progress achieved by the Government of El Salvador with regard to human rights on the other.

Reliable documents indicate in detail the disproportionate build-up of men under arms and the quantity and quality of armaments accumulated by Nicaragua. The military might is greater than that of all the other armies of Central America taken together, in terms of both troops and land, sea and air weapons.

There is no need for such documents to prove this. On a clear morning last summer Revolution Square in Managua looked like a replica in miniature of Red Square in Moscow on 1 May. Company after company, battalion after battalion, of the men of the Sandinista People's Army and their militia, their Soviet combat rifles on their shoulders, paraded for hours, beneath the stern gaze of the Commanders of the Revolution and the gigantic posters of Sandino and Carlos Fonseca Amador. Soviet tanks, logistical support trucks, and artillery awakened the city destroyed by the earthquake of 1972 and not yet rebuilt. Above this impressive military display flew Soviet helicopters, their rockets and machine guns gleaming in the sunshine. Thousands and thousands of men and modern weapons demonstrated to the world this was the most powerful army in Central America. The intent was clear. Arms control and verification may be part of the Contadora Act, and there are declarations of willingness to sign the Act at any moment but the

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

facts, the realities, which speak more loudly than the words of the Covenant, demonstrated the opposite. This was a message to the internal opposition, to the Central American neighbours of Nicaragua, to the world as a whole; but especially it was a message to Contadora.

Is that the way to peace that Nicaragua wants? Is that the way to peace proposed by Contadora? It is not enough for the Government of Nicaragua to express its willingness as it has since last year, to sign the Contadora Act without refining an arms control and verification system as proposed by the other Central American countries. In the interim, while the formal subtleties are being debated, Nicaragua has doubled, if not tripled, its military might.

These are the facts that belie the stated intentions. Nicaragua cannot argue that it needs to keep more than 10 per cent of its population on a war footing in its struggle against internal armed subversion and in expectation of an external invasion. It is the Sandinista Government itself that has declared that the internal armed subversion has neither the capacity nor the popular support to destabilize its régime. And, if this arms build-up is not justified by the danger of internal guerrilla activity, we must admit that, large and powerful though the Sandinista army may be, it could do little to contain invasion by a super-Power.

So all this is rhetoric piled on rhetoric to conceal the disastrous living standards of the Nicaraguan people, the rigid state control of the society, the violations of the fundamental freedom of expression and belief, the expulsion of priests, and even bishops, and the brutal violations of human rights in the country of Sandino.

But even more reprehensible from a moral and political standpoint, and even from the standpoint of the Contadora process, is the attitude of Mexico. First, it is a member of the Contadora Group, which is offering its good offices to the Central American Governments in the pursuit of their noble objective of a

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

negotiated peace in the area. It was to be expected that the illustrious Government of Mexico, the better to carry out its work for peace in Central America, would demonstrate impartiality and respect in its analysis of the situations prevailing in each of the countries of the area. El Salvador notes with great concern that Mexico did not content itself with recognizing as belligerents the armed members of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation, which is the primary obstacle to the establishment of peace in the country, but rather, year after year since 1983, has been arguing obstinately in this world forum for condemnation of the Government of El Salvador as a violator of human rights, since it cannot deprive that popularly elected Government of its legitimacy.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

It is the Mexican Government's double moral standard that my Government considers inexplicable. I shall not mention here that Mexico lives under a fragile glass roof as far as habitual electoral fraud, administrative corruption and an unenviable record in terms of protection of human rights and the deterioration of the living standard of its own people are concerned.

No! Amnesty International's report for 1986 reveals this record of atrocities in a country that permits itself the luxury of judging another only because it is small and helpless. The first paragraph of that report is clear and eloquent. It states:

"Amnesty International was concerned about continuing reports of torture and the use of practices which facilitate torture, such as arrests without warrant and incommunicado detention. Amnesty International was also concerned about reports of killings of members of independent peasant organizations and rural trade unions in the context of land disputes. The killings were attributed to civilians said in many cases to be members of the official peasant organization, the Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC), the National Peasant Confederation. In a number of such cases Amnesty International urged the government to ensure that prompt and thorough investigations were undertaken and all those responsible brought to justice. There had been similar cases in previous years in which the authorities had failed to take effective action against those responsible and appeared thereby to have acquiesced in the abuses." (Amnesty International Report 1986, p. 174)

The most spine-chilling aspect of this report is to be found on page 176. I describe it in these terms because it took the earthquake of 19 September 1985 in Mexico to bring to light the fact that in the basement of the destroyed building of

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

the Federal District Attorney General's headquarters torture had been practised.

The text states:

"Further evidence of torture was obtained in September when rescue workers found a number of bodies which reportedly showed signs of torture in the ruins of the Federal District Attorney General's headquarters, which was destroyed during the 19 September earthquake. One of the victims, 19-year-old Johnny Hernandez Valencia, was one of a group of Colombians detained on suspicion of committing a series of bank robberies. The detainees included his mother, Miriam Giraldo Valencia, who was rescued from the ruins of the building. She reportedly told a judge on 28 September that she and her son had been tortured by the Federal District Judicial Police by electric shocks and beatings, and that they had not been given anything to eat for five days. The Federal District Attorney General admitted that the Colombians had been detained without warrant, but an internal inquiry carried out in November by the Federal District Attorney's Office was reported to have found no medical evidence of torture.

"Also found in the ruins of the Federal District Attorney General's office on 22 September was the body of Ismael Jimenez Perez, a student of accountancy at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico (UNAM), the National Autonomous University of Mexico. His body was reported to have been bound and gagged and visibly marked by torture. Another person, Miguel Guzman Padilla, was reported to have been found alive in the ruined building and was ostensibly taken by the Judicial Police to hospital for medical treatment. His body was later said to have been located in the morgue of San Lorenzo Tezonco, marked identity unknown. Amnesty International called for a full and impartial investigation into all these cases." (p. 176)

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

And why continue with these murders for political motives that are documented by the report on the following pages?

But no, that is not my argument.

What I wish to emphasize here is that no Government can play a good offices role with respect to a Government that it is systematically seeking to discredit internationally by means of clever devices, disregarding the progress achieved by the latter in the respect and promotion of human rights. A modicum of courtesy and responsibility would make it clear to that large country that it must choose one of the two roles that it is playing in this case: that of good offices within the Contadora Group or that of the promoter of the Salvadorian insurgency and a gratuitous agent bent on discrediting a legitimate Government.

Just as attempts are made to disregard my Government's attempts to promote full respect for human rights in the country, calculated disinformation is also circulated on President Duarte's attitude concerning dialogue with the insurrectionary forces with a view to putting an end to the internal conflict.

The insistence with which several resolutions have been presented to the Commission on Human Rights and to the Third Committee requesting my Government to resume dialogue with the FMLN is not based on reality, not only because my Government has factually demonstrated its broad willingness to engage in such a dialogue, but also because the round of dialogue scheduled by common agreement in Mexico to be held in September at Sesori, El Salvador, at the suggestion of the insurgents themselves, could not be held because of the untimely demands made by the subversive groups, which were merely a subterfuge to avoid holding the dialogue.

Nevertheless, President Duarte, faithful to his commitments to his people and to his international obligations, left the question of dialogue open, without conditions of any kind.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

My Government cannot understand why a formula that the sponsors of resolutions such as those I have mentioned, considered so conducive to internal peace in El Salvador - which my Government accepts and practises - cannot also be valid for Nicaragua in its dialogue with the insurrectionists opposed to the Sandinist régime, a dialogue which the Nicaraguan Government has rejected from the outset. Why this twofold treatment for similar cases? Why are the Nicaraguan guerrillas receiving open public aid from a foreign Power? Has it not been demonstrated for six years that they receive logistic support from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through Cuba and Nicaragua, for the insurrectionist forces of the FMLN in El Salvador? If the Nicaraguan argument is a valid one for refusing to engage in dialogue with the armed opposition, it should equally be valid for the Government of El Salvador with regard to the FMLN. However, my Government is observing and following the request of this world forum.

Moreover, at the beginning of this year, President Duarte made before the world a proposal for holding simultaneous dialogues: he would conduct a dialogue with the FMLN and simultaneously Commander Ortega would engage in a dialogue with his armed opposition. The reply of the Sandinist front was a categorical "never" and it was accompanied by a frenzied campaign to the effect that President Duarte was only seeking a pretext not to talk to the rebels in El Salvador. But facts have demonstrated the contrary and if the Sísori dialogue did not take place, it was because of the intransigence and the specious excuses made by the guerrillas at the last moment. Why is it that the champions of dialogue in El Salvador did not then pressure Nicaragua in the same way in which, year after year, they have been pressuring my Government, without there being any need to do so?

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

This was an internal peace initiative in the two countries that were engaged in the greatest conflict in Central America which could well have deserved the sponsorship of the Contadora Group.

I return to what I said at the beginning of my statement, to express our idea of what good will means in the solution of problems relating to peace in Central America. It implies a firm, personal and collective decision to arrive at the truth and to achieve justice in Central America, not as theoretical values subject to formal approximations but as what is practised in the everyday life of the peoples and Governments of Central America.

It is high time that we ceased to use this world forum, its committees and its specialized agencies for the purpose of propaganda that is contradicted by the facts so that words and formal devices obfuscate the reality of a firm determination to achieve the peace to which our people aspire.

I wish to emphasize my Government's support for the efforts being made by the Contadora and Support Groups to achieve a comprehensive and lasting peace in Central America. My criticism of the ambivalent attitude of one of its members is intended to prompt that member to consider the inappropriateness of its attitude regarding the aims that the noble Contadora initiative has set for itself. It should not be interpreted or misconceived as yet another obstacle in the way of the open-minded efforts of the Contadora Group. My Government fully endorses the attitude of the Contadora Group and wishes to associate itself with the confidence expressed by the Secretary-General that there is no acceptable substitute for the peaceful, negotiated solution of the problems of Central America other than the noble and magnanimous initiative of the Contadora Group.

Mr. DELPECH (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Whenever the situation in Central America has been discussed in the Security Council Argentina has said

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

that the crisis in that region, whose peoples are bound to us by blood, history and language, is a major source of concern to my country, and that we were confident that the United Nations could play an important role in the settlement of problems there.

There has been an aggravation of the conflict and the possibility of a military confrontation is a tragic reality that we must try to avoid. A military confrontation in Central America would have irreparable consequences for the entire hemisphere and cause profound division in the area. It could have a negative impact on the revival of the democratic institutions that have emerged in the last few years on the continent.

Legitimate concern about this gloomy prospect prompted the States members of the Contadora Group and the Support Group to issue the Declaration of 1 October this year entitled "Peace is still possible in Central America" which, we hope, will encourage all the countries of Central America and countries with interests in and ties to the area to pause and ponder. Time is not on the side of peace and the need for a negotiated solution is urgent.

The causes of the crisis in Central America should not be over-simplified or reduced to ideological confrontations. The peoples of the area have lived through centuries of backwardness, poverty, injustice, militarism, foreign intervention and other calamities which have all stood in the way of the economic and social progress and peace to which they are entitled.

At the present time the societies of Central America are living through a crucial period in their history as they try to change old structures which have favoured the state of affairs I have referred to. We must all try to see to it that this process of change will be peaceful and lead to the establishment of

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

democratic, pluralist systems which will permit the harmonious development of their peoples. The happiness and well-being of these peoples must ultimately be our primary objective.

We are convinced that in order to achieve a just and lasting solution of the crisis in Central America there must be full respect for the Charter of this Organization and the principles of international law, especially the principles of non-intervention, the non-use of force or threat of use of force, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and full respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all.

In January 1985 Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela set up the Contadora Group in order to achieve a global, negotiated settlement of the crisis in Central America. Since that time it has made enormous efforts and has produced very good results. Its work has been recognized by the entire international community in various resolutions of this General Assembly and of the Security Council which has been adopted unanimously.

As a result of this work, with which my country, as well as Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, associated themselves in 1985 in the Contadora Support Group, a set of agreements was drawn up and embodied the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. The preparation of a document of this nature seemed like a Utopian dream when work began, but its completion shows what dialogue can achieve. We are sure that, if the Act is accepted and its provisions are complied with in good faith by the Central American countries concerned and by countries having links with and interests in the region, peace and progress in the area can be guaranteed. No one - other than the Central Americans themselves - knows the problems of Central America so well as the members of the Contadora Group. For

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

this reason we firmly support their work and urge all other countries to do likewise.

This General Assembly also must express once again its support for the Latin American peace initiative, and we therefore hope that the draft resolution that will be submitted by the members of the Contadora Group and the Support Group will be adopted unanimously. The grave circumstances of the Central American isthmus provide ample justification for the United Nations, which was created to protect peace, to issue a clear and firm statement in support of reason and dialogue.

Mrs. CARRASCO (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): My Government has been following events in Central America with great interest. As we have already stated on past occasions, tensions in the area are due partly to historical factors which have led to economic and social dislocations.

My Government is convinced that this tension and these disputes can be resolved only by peaceful means and by negotiations through the parties concerned, with the valuable co-operation of the Contadora and Support Groups. My delegation regrets that, notwithstanding the efforts that have been made, it has not yet been possible to agree on the Revised Act. Nevertheless we hope that with the solidarity and support of the international community, and with the good will and co-operation of the countries concerned, the Contadora Group and the Support Group will succeed in resolving their differences amicably.

In 1983 the Security Council reaffirmed the right of all the countries in the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference; and the Council made an urgent appeal to the interested States to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group through a frank and constructive dialogue, so as to resolve their differences. The Council urged the Contadora Group to spare no effort to find a solution to the problem of the region. The same resolution recalled the principles of the Charter, particularly the obligation of States to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to respect the self-determination of peoples.

Similarly, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolutions 38/10, and also 39/4, which expressed its firmest support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to secure a peaceful solution to the problems in Central America, it urged all the parties concerned to co-operate with the Group, and reaffirmed the right of all the countries in the area to live in peace and security free from all outside interference.

(Mrs. Carrasco, Bolivia)

The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries met in Harare and expressed diplomatic support for the countries of the Contadora and Support Groups. They reiterated their conviction that this represented an authentic regional attempt to solve the Central American problem by peaceful means. They appealed to all the parties concerned to help establish the conditions needed for mutual trust necessary for achieving a just and durable settlement of the crisis in the region based on safeguards for the security of all States and respect for their sovereignty, national independence and self-determination, through the adoption of a constructive attitude toward the simultaneous implementation of the Caraballeda plan approved by the Central American countries in the Guatemala Declaration.

In his report on the work of the Organization (A/41/1), the Secretary-General recognized that the situation in Central America has deteriorated with the increasing intrusion of conflicting ideologies, the attempts to impose unilateral solutions to the problems of the region and the resort to force. He emphasized that the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group had helped prevent the outbreak of a generalized conflict, but that tension persisted in the area because an agreement that would bring peace to the region had yet to be achieved.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General that the only way to achieve an effective solution to the problem is to insulate the problem of Central America from the East-West conflict, and seek a Latin American solution that takes account of all aspects. There is no doubt that this is essential and that the international community must co-operate in the difficult task of achieving a peaceful consensus in Central America, and try to bring about a favourable change in the situation with the helpful co-operation of the Contadora Group.

(Mrs. Carrasco, Bolivia)

As contribution to dispelling mistrust and contributing to a dialogue between the parties, the Secretary-General, in document A/40/1136, indicates as positive elements the elections held in Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica, the preparation of a draft constitution in Nicaragua, and the meetings of the five Central American Presidents, and the convergence between the Central American Governments and the eight countries of the Contadora and Support Groups, regarding the elements on which a comprehensive settlement of the Central American conflict should be based.

On 1 October the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Contadora and Support Groups issued a Declaration entitled "Peace is still possible in Central America". In it, as members of the Latin American community, they called for time to act, time to offer both sides a just and lasting solution, a solution which is not easy to reach, but can be promoted by taking a suitable approach, based on an understanding of the essential causes of the conflict and the belief that the fundamental interests of Latin America are at stake in Central America. Consequently Latin America does not wish Central America to be transformed into yet another source of tension between East and West, or to become a threat to the stability or security of other States, nor does it wish the principles of self-determination and non-intervention to be sacrificed in the name of security or democracy.

In the opinion of my delegation, the primary responsibility for solving the problems of Central America rests with the countries of the region themselves. Consequently, my Government has from the outset fully supported the peace efforts of the Contadora Group, as a political and diplomatic initiative which, in conjunction with the efforts of the Support Group and of Governments, should lead to success so that we can prevent the tragedy of a conflagration among brother nations that could only deepen the differences between countries throughout our continent.

(Mrs. Carrasco, Bolivia)

Peace in Central America must be the result of the good will of the countries of Central America. It can be achieved with the sincere support of the countries of Latin America and without interference from countries outside of the region and unfamiliar with our problems.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): The situation in Central America continues to give rise to the serious concern of the international community. During the past year the situation in the region has deteriorated.

The build-up of tensions has become particularly evident in the case of Nicaragua, which has fallen victim to illegal acts, and to armed and other forms of interference. A complaint by Nicaragua has been considered by the International Court of Justice, which decided that United States was under an obligation immediately to cease this action and to make reparation for the damage. Also, the General Assembly, after a brief debate, on 3 November, adopted the resolution which calls for "full and immediate compliance" with the International Court of Justice judgement.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

Unfortunately, the events which continue to take place, in particular the appropriation of \$100 million to finance military and other activities in and against Nicaragua, are contrary to the foregoing decisions. Those actions have further aggravated the situation in Central America. As the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and the Support Group stated in their Declaration of 1 October this year:

"The crisis in Central America is becoming more serious every day, and the risk of war is increasing". (A/41/662, annex, p. 2)

Also, the leaders of the non-aligned countries observed that the danger of direct intervention in Nicaragua and other countries in the region had increased alarmingly.

In his report (A/40/1136) on the situation in Central America, the Secretary-General draws attention to the severe economic recession that the Central American countries have experienced during this decade, to the inherently uneven income distribution characteristic of most of the countries, and to the need to carry out infrastructural work and to transform their unjust socio-economic structures, which are at the root of the region's current political crisis. Also the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries reiterated in the Harare Declaration that the process of change in Central America was of a socio-economic nature and therefore could not be explained in terms of ideological confrontation between the military blocs.

Poland has repeatedly come out, in the United Nations and other forums, in favour of the normalization of the situation in Central America on the basis of respect for international law and through negotiations aimed at finding an equitable and comprehensive solution to the region's problems. A rapid settlement of the ongoing conflict would have beneficial effects not only for the peoples of

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

Central America but also for the improvement of the international atmosphere, in the interest of strengthening peace and security. It would thus contribute in a tangible way to upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

The key problem is respect for the right to self-determination, which means the right of all nations to choose freely and without outside interference their own forms of government and their own political, economic and social systems.

We support the efforts of the Contadora Group, the Latin-American-oriented initiative to solve the problem of Central America through dialogue between the interested parties, and the appeal of the Government of Nicaragua to the countries of the Contadora Group, in accordance with the Panama Message,

"to bring about the necessary conditions for signing the Peace Act".

(S/18143, p. 2)

We recognize Latin America's determination to deal with and resolve the conflicts that affect Central America.

In their letter dated 26 June 1986 the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Panama, Mexico and Venezuela stated, inter alia, that there are no unilateral solutions, particularly if such solutions favour, or are based on, the use of force. The letter contains the fundamental principles on which any genuine and lasting solution must be built, starting with the legitimate aspirations of the Central American States.

Poland welcomes the proposals made by the President of Nicaragua, Mr. Daniel Ortega, confirming the readiness of the Nicaraguan Government to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship with the United States on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and security, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes and the right to self-determination.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

We share also the opinion that, with respect for the right of Nicaragua to self-determination and independence and given the political will of all the countries of Central America and that of the Government of the United States, it will be possible to bring the Contadora negotiation process to a successful conclusion.

Poland joins many delegations that have taken part in this debate in appealing to all the interested parties to undertake measures to decrease tension and the danger of greater conflict. The problems of Central America can be solved only by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is important that our debate create the impetus for such solutions.

Mr. LUPINACCI (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The General Assembly is now considering a question of particular actual and potential significance for international peace and security: the situation in Central America.

Uruguay, as a member of the international community, is concerned over and affected by any situation that endangers or disrupts peace anywhere in the world, because peace is indivisible. But when the focal point of the disturbance - the serious disturbance - of peace appears on the Central American continent, then our national interests are more directly affected and our concern becomes vital.

Furthermore, as members of the Latin American family, we feel that we have a duty of solidarity that is deeply rooted in our common history and is reflected in an unavoidable responsibility to preserve values that have to do with our own national existence and our basic concept of the civilized and fraternal coexistence of our peoples.

A common feature of the history of Latin America has been the quest for two fundamental goals: the strengthening of national independence and the building of a community of States based on the rule of international law.

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

That is the reason for the tenacious, constant efforts of Governments, statesmen, leaders, jurists and diplomats to erect a structure of legal principles and rules guaranteeing our independence and serving as the foundation of our concept of international relations. Some of these principles were born of the Latin American legal conscience. They first became part of American international law and then they became principles and norms of international customary law and of international treaty law, with universal scope.

The countries of the Contadora Group and the Support Group are well aware that only full respect for those principles and norms can lay the foundation for a stable and lasting peace in Central America. In any event, peace must be the fruit of justice and must be based on a conception of the human being that recognizes his natural dignity and of a political society that respects individual rights and fundamental freedoms within democratic pluralism.

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

With this conviction, and responding to the duty of ensuring regional solidarity, the Contadora and Support Groups have assumed before the Central American brothers and the whole world, their responsibility to co-operate in this search for peace which today has been so seriously disrupted. Peace must be achieved through dialogue and negotiations; that is the only way to avoid war and to establish lasting peace.

The countries of the Contadora and Support Groups have channelled their efforts into initiatives and instruments which, in our opinion, point to the only reasonable way, the only realistic approach, to a peaceful, firm and lasting settlement of the conflict.

Those initiatives and instruments are based on the principles which are the corner-stone of the foreign policies of the countries of Latin America and, indeed, of the inter-American system in particular. They are the principles of non-intervention, self-determination, prohibition of the threat or use of force in inter-State relations, and the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means.

Respect for those principles has been the guiding light of the international conduct of the countries of Latin America, and ever since we became independent countries we have constantly advocated their implementation. They are part and parcel of our national life; they are immutable. They explain the tenacity and fervour with which we defend them, above and beyond any historical circumstances, and regardless of any political or ideological motivations.

The Caraballeda Message of 1^o January 1986, the Communiqué issued at Punta del Este, the Revised Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

submitted to the Central American Foreign Ministers on 6 June 1986 are all milestones in efforts by the Contadora and Support Groups to achieve peace. Those documents form the basis for a peaceful and just coexistence among the peoples of Central America together with respect for the inalienable rights of human beings within the framework of the aforementioned basic principles, as well as others, that are part of the legal and political heritage of Latin America, including the effective exercise of representative democracy.

We cannot fail to mention here the support and encouragement for those démarches received from many sectors of the international community, especially many States and United Nations bodies - the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice in its decision of 27 June 1986.

The time to reaffirm principles and lay foundations has passed; we must now, without any further delay, move on to the stage of concrete negotiations, specifically the negotiation process under the Contadora Act.

As always, primary responsibility for establishing lasting peace rests with the Central American Governments which, without exception, endorsed in the Guatemala Declaration of 14 January 1986, the purposes and principles of the Caraballeda Message.

The sovereign countries of Central America must shape their own destiny and, therefore, must be involved in any negotiating process. Without their political will there can be no negotiations, but it must not be forgotten that countries with ties and interests in the area play an important role - to some extent a complementary role - in the achievement of an overall settlement.

We urge all countries, inside and outside the region, to refrain from taking any action or adopting any measure that would stand in the way of dialogue or worsen the climate for negotiations.

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

We are all aware that the situation in Central America has become a serious threat to peace and security, not only in the region, but in America as a whole. In the New York Declaration of 1 October 1986, the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora and Support Groups dramatically noted that the risk of war is increasing, that an aggravation of the crisis in Central America could unleash sharp tensions and conflicts in the entire continent and, therefore, that peace in Central America is ultimately peace in Latin America. We are obliged to reissue that warning today and express once again our deepest concern.

We will not conceal our disappointment, but we will never spare any effort to carry out our responsibility to contribute to the best of our ability to peace in Central America. To achieve that we must bear in mind:

First, that strict respect by all States for the principle of non-intervention and the principles and norms of international law enshrined in numerous instruments that are binding on the American countries, especially the charter of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations Charter, are essential conditions, regardless of what formulas are negotiated, for achieving a stable and lasting peace in Central America.

Secondly, that a global settlement encompasses not only the political and military aspects of the Central American crisis, but social and economic aspects, as well.

Thirdly, that bilateral differences between the countries of the region and countries with ties and interests in the area are factors that profoundly disrupt the situation and must be overcome if we are to remove the obstacles to a final, comprehensive settlement of the crisis.

Fourthly, that the Governments of Central America are and must be the protagonists in any negotiated settlement, but all Governments, whether directly or

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

indirectly involved in the conflict, must assume some share of responsibility for achieving a solution.

As the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Contadora and Support Groups have said, "peace is still possible in Central America". With that conviction, we the countries of the Contadora and Support Groups are prepared to continue our efforts.

We continue to believe that we have offered the only just and realistic course of action on the basis of which a comprehensive solution can be negotiated. In any case, we are well aware of our responsibilities as Latin Americans to help one another in the search for a solution. In so doing we express once again our faith in the ability and maturity of our Central American brothers to achieve that goal.

We wish to co-operate in the building of peace among peoples whose spiritual, historical and geographical bonds with our peoples have transformed this co-operation into a duty and a right, the duty and the right to propose Latin American solutions to Latin American problems. That is the meaning of our actions, for which we confidently expect the support of the international community.

Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania): In considering the situation in Central America under agenda item 42 it has to be realized that the Nicaraguan problem is but part of a wider problem and must, therefore, be viewed in that context. Thus, consideration of the situation in Central America must include geopolitical, social, economic and peace and security problems relating to all the countries of Central America, namely, Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as Nicaragua itself. Therefore it is for the Central American States themselves to resolve that problem through their own efforts, with the United Nations and the international community as a whole playing the necessary supportive and catalytic role.

It is against this background that my delegation acknowledges the timeliness and usefulness of both the Secretary-General's report (A/40/1136) of 2 July 1986 and his note (A/41/662) of 1 October 1986, as well as the letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru of 21 October 1986 (A/41/772 and annex), submitted on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean countries which attended the Twelfth Regular Meeting of the Latin American Council of the Latin American Economic System (SELA) in Lima.

I should begin by repeating what the Secretary-General stated in his report - that the situation in Central America was last discussed by the General Assembly at its fortieth session and at a Security Council meeting in December 1985, when a complaint was submitted by Nicaragua against the United States of America, and that on both occasions most of the representatives who spoke expressed their support for the activities of the Contadora Group and their conviction that the problems of Central America could be resolved only by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the Charter. My delegation fully agrees with this view.

(Mr. Chagula, Tanzania)

On the question of the International Court of Justice judgement in the case entitled Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), as both the Security Council and the General Assembly have already discussed the matter, under agenda item 45, and as my delegation fully participated in both bodies, I consider it unnecessary to repeat the views we expressed there on the case between Nicaragua and the United States of America before the International Court of Justice. I might simply add that we maintain those views.

Next, my delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's statement in his report that:

"What should be particularly encouraging is the convergence between the Governments of the five Central American countries and those of the eight countries comprising the Contadora Group and the Support Group regarding the elements on which a comprehensive settlement of the Central American conflict should be based, particularly:

"(a) The need for a Latin American solution to the region's problems, which should be removed from the arena of East-West conflict;

"(b) The establishment of genuinely pluralistic democratic systems, and respect for the human rights of all citizens;

"(c) The right of all nations to self-determination, which means the right of all nations to choose freely and without outside interference their own forms of government and their own political, economic and social systems;

"(d) The need to carry out far-reaching economic and social reforms;

"(e) The prohibition of the use of a nation's territory as a base for attacks on another country or for the provision of military or logistical support to irregular forces or subversive groups;

(Mr. Chagula, Tanzania)

"(f) The cessation of support by any State within or outside the region to irregular forces or subversive groups operating in any country of the region." (A/40/1136, para. 10)

My delegation fully supports all these desiderata, on which a comprehensive settlement of the Central American conflict should be based, and we urge all Member States to co-operate in the implementation of that Contadora Group programme. In addition, we fully agree with the Secretary-General that the basic elements he listed in his report, for which implementation and follow-up mechanisms have been established, should constitute the basic pre-conditions for lasting peace in Central America.

To conclude, with regard to the Secretary-General's report, my delegation warmly welcomes what he calls "positive elements in an otherwise gloomy situation" (A/40/1136, para. 8) in Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, where democratic institutions are being re-established. My delegation equally welcomes the recent decision of the five Presidents of the region to establish a Central American Parliament in which the principle of political pluralism will be respected.

My delegation is gratified that the Contadora process has now culminated in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which was initialled in Panama City by all the five Central American countries on 6 June this year. Although the provisions for the reduction and control of armaments and for military manoeuvres have yet to be agreed upon, my delegation expresses its deep appreciation to the five Central American countries and to the eight Latin American

(Mr. Chagula, Tanzania)

countries constituting the Contadora Group and its Support Group for managing to reach an understanding on most of the contents of the Contadora Act and its four Protocols, which are contained in annex II to the Secretary-General's report. It is my delegation's view that the Contadora Act, containing a wide range of commitments by the Governments of all the five Central American States, should go a long way towards resolving the geopolitical, social, economic and security problems of Central America. It is our sincere hope that all the five Central American States will put every effort into ensuring that their commitments in the Contadora Act, when they are fully negotiated, are implemented as soon as possible.

However, whatever measures the Latin American countries take on their own through the Contadora Act will not be effective without the active co-operation of the international community as a whole. It is against this background that we warmly welcome the Contadora Group initiative for immediate action to bring about peace and security and the democratic development of Central America, contained in annex III to the Secretary-General's report, which formed the basis of their frank discussions with the Secretary of State of the United States of America on 10 February 1986. In particular, we would single out the following fundamental measures in the communiqué issued after these discussions, which should be taken by all foreign Powers operating or interested in Central America: first, cessation of outside support for the irregular forces operating in the region; secondly, a freeze on the acquisition of armaments and a scheduled reduction thereof; third, cessation of support for the insurrectionist movements in all countries of the region; fourth, suspension of international military manoeuvres; fifth, the gradual reduction and ultimate elimination of the presence of foreign military advisers and

(Mr. Chagula, Tanzania)

of foreign military installations; and, sixth, promotion of regional and international co-operation to alleviate the urgent economic and social problems afflicting the Central American region.

Although the measures in the Contadora Group initiative have received the explicit support of the countries of the European Economic Community and of the international community in general, it is my delegation's view that support for them by the United States of America would go a long way towards resolving most of the current problems in Central America. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the United States Administration will soon react positively to the Contadora Group initiative that I have already referred to. Once this happens, we shall all be happy to leave behind us the ever-recurring problems of Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and other Central American countries which consume much of our time and energy, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

(Mr. Chagula, Tanzania)

Let me say just a brief word on the economic problems of Central America. As one can deduce from the report of the Secretary-General, many of the current socio-political problems in the majority of the Central American countries are the result of the current economic recession, the decline of savings and investments, the plummeting of commodity prices, and the sharp drop in exports, which have led to a dramatic increase in the number of Central Americans living in desperate poverty. My delegation fully agrees with the Secretary-General that there is an urgent need for the international community to devise a co-ordinated plan of large-scale economic assistance to the five countries of the region with a view to helping those countries to overcome their present economic crisis and finance infrastructural work which could transform their present unjust socio-economic structures which are at the root of their current political crisis. At the global level, the acceptance and implementation of the new international economic order would go a long way towards ameliorating the socio-economic situation in Central America as, indeed, in most developing countries.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate what the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries stated in part in their recent Political Declaration in Harare on Latin America and the Caribbean:

"The Heads of State or Government recognized that the Latin American and Caribbean region is among those which have been more directly affected by the acts of aggression of colonial Powers and imperialism. Latin America and the Caribbean suffers the worst economic crisis since the Second World War, and is the most indebted region in the world, facing a growing deterioration of the living conditions of its peoples. In this respect, they referred to the profound historical significance of the anti-imperialist and democratic

(Mr. Chagula, Tanzania)

struggle of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean to consolidate their national independence and full exercise of their sovereignty, in accordance with the principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and with their inalienable right to choose their political, economic and social systems free from outside interference. They further expressed their satisfaction with the efforts made by the States of the region to strengthen their unity, solidarity and co-operation through various regional integration efforts. They noted the emergence of a common Latin American consciousness of the need to find solutions to the grave political and economic problems of the region, in particular, the Central American conflict and the enormous external debt.

The Heads of State or Government pointed out with deep concern that the prevailing situation in Central America constitutes one of the major focal points of tension at the international level. They further noted that, in spite of the constant appeals of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the overwhelming majority of States and the efforts of the Contadora Group of countries in the search for a diplomatic solution, the crisis has worsened because of imperialist policies of interference and intervention which, along with the condition of poverty and oppression from which the region traditionally suffers, represent a real threat to international peace and security. They reiterated that the process of change in Central America is of a socio-economic nature and therefore could not be explained in terms of ideological confrontation between the military blocs and further observed that the danger of direct United States intervention in Nicaragua and other countries in the region had increased alarmingly." (A/41/697, annex, pps. 102-104, paras. 223-224)

(Mr. Chagula, Tanzania)

That short excerpt from the Political Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries could not be more relevant to the current situation in Central America, and the speedy negotiation and implementation of the provisions in the Contadora Act by all concerned is the only peaceful way of resolving the present socio-political and security crisis in Central America.

The PRESIDENT: Two delegations have asked to exercise the right of reply.

May I remind members that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/41, statements in exercise of the right of reply will be limited to ten minutes for the first intervention, and 5 minutes for the second intervention, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. YOST (United States of America): The United States will present its full statement tomorrow. Nevertheless, we cannot refrain from speaking briefly to some of the more egregious statements made during today's presentations.

First, let me come to the rescue of a respected patriot of ours, Patrick Henry. One of our speakers this morning quoted from the speech that made the name of Patrick Henry familiar to every school child of my country: the speech in which he said "Give me liberty or give me death." Poor Patrick, he thought he was crying out against the repression of the people by an authoritarian Government. But to be quoted now in defence of another authoritarian Government many times more repressive than the one he was opposing, has no doubt set Patrick spinning in his grave. It is the Nicaraguan people's anguished cry for liberty that lies at the root of the Comandante's problems. This cry echoes through the empty chambers of the abandoned Nicaraguan revolution and it mocks the posturing on the international stage by the Comandantes and their coterie of foreign supporters.

(Mr. Yost, United States)

The Sandinistas speak of the destruction of a revolution, but they had already killed it as it was being born. They call on the people of the United States to help them, and trample with impunity on the rights of the people of Nicaragua. They ask for justice, and their courts are turned into political spectacles. They talk of armed might and they have armed themselves to the teeth, starting long before there were any pressures against them and while my own country was providing aid more generous than that from any other source. They talk of non-intervention, but I suggest we might ask their neighbours in Central America and elsewhere about the support the Sandinista régime has given to guerrilla elements in their countries, aided and abetted by advisers of all kinds from within and outside this hemisphere. They profane the words "human rights" by the nature of the police State they have installed with the fraternal help of another contry represented among our speakers this morning.

In sum, we have once more been treated to a propaganda show. We regret the continuation of such efforts to bury this very serious subject by playing it as the bullying of an innocent little country for selfish "imperialistic" goals.

Peace in Central America is too important to all of us, including Nicaragua's neighbours in Central America. If Nicaragua is a "peace-loving State", as averred today by one of its patrons, it has an unparalleled opportunity to prove it. The statements that representatives of the United States have made in the Security Council and the General Assembly have often enough pointed the way.

Mr. MONTAÑO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The General Assembly has heard with real dismay something quite unusual in its long history. This rostrum has been used for vituperation, insults and attacks of the lowest type. We have never shrunk from debate. We have always adopted an open-minded and positive attitude. We believe in the virtues of negotiation and of civilized and constructive exchanges of ideas.

(Mr. Montafio, Mexico)

The deepest divisions can be overcome when reason, intelligence and political will are brought into play. Today, the representative of El Salvador departed from his discussion of the item on the agenda and used this forum to unleash a series of vituperative charges against my country. We repeat: he was out of order in launching a series of insults against the people and Government of Mexico.

We should like to state here that we found his statement lacking in the respectful forms of address and level of discourse that should prevail in bilateral relations between States. We find it unacceptable that differences should be expressed in insulting and offensive language. This is not in keeping with our diplomatic and political traditions, and even less with those traditional bonds linking Mexico and Central America.

This morning, the delegation of Mexico expressed its views on the situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives. We recalled the undeniable force of the principles of non-intervention, the self-determination of peoples, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. We believe that those principles form the backbone of the position of the Contadora Group and of the Support Group. The explanation and practical implementation of those principles does not call for insults - which are unacceptable - but, rather, strict compliance with respect for international law.

We do not believe that the diatribe to which we listened patiently is likely to facilitate the dialogue or to strengthen the peace process in Central America. Nor, however, has it done damage to the peace process because, fortunately, that objective cannot be achieved when the moral authority to do so is lacking. The delegation of Mexico reserves the right to revert to the distorted statement of the representative of El Salvador in the appropriate forum, using language that is both appropriate and respectful in keeping with the best diplomatic and political traditions of our Organization and my country.

(Mr. Montafio, Mexico)

I would formally request that this statement by my country be made a part of the records of this meeting.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.