



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Nawaz (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 142

The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives (continued)

1. Mr. NATORF (Poland): My Government shares the grave concern of the international community over the continued deterioration of the situation in Central America, which seriously threatens international peace and security.

2. The present tension and increase of military threats in Central America is seen by my Government as, first of all, a result of actions undertaken by the present Administration of the United States. The United States is in fact engaged right now in an undeclared war against the Government of Nicaragua and the people of that country. At the same time, it continues its military engagement in the Salvadorian civil strife, taking part in direct operations against forces of the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation [FMLN], and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR]. Cuba is another object of United States aggressive actions. No effort is being spared to isolate Cuba in the Western Hemisphere and to blame it for failures of the United States policy in the region.

3. The armed intervention of the United States in Grenada was yet another manifestation of the policy of strength pursued with total disregard for the norms of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, as well as for universally recognized rules of international behaviour. This inadmissible use of force has to be seen as one of the links in a long chain of threats, intimidation, pressures and aggression against Latin American and Caribbean nations.

4. Speaking on the Grenadian issue in the Security Council on 26 October, Poland, as a member of that body responsible for maintaining international peace and security, condemned the armed intervention of the United States in the strongest terms.¹ We demanded the immediate cessation of the invasion and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the island. This aggression has shown clearly that the objective of the present United States Administration's policy is not to defend human rights or democracy, as it claims, but to subordinate other nations to American interests.

5. The undeclared war against Nicaragua, originally planned to be clandestine and covert, has now taken the form of open operations aimed at destroying airports, bridges, energy sources and food supplies. It is being conducted and financed mainly through the United States Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]. Former members of Somoza's National Guard are being trained in neighbouring Honduras by the CIA and the United States Army.

They are provided with United States weapons and given instruction and advice by United States military experts. Sent across the border into Nicaragua, they have caused extensive damage to the economy and brought immeasurable suffering to the people of the country. Joint United States-Honduras military exercises are conducted on an unprecedented scale in order to exert military pressure on the Government of Nicaragua.

6. The aim of these sinister activities of the United States Administration is clear. It is to destabilize and ultimately to overthrow the Sandinista Government and impose on Managua a regime of United States choosing, which would be made up of repudiated émigré Nicaraguans. It is an action to impose anti-communism on the Latin American countries in general and on neighbours of the United States in particular. The United States intervention in Nicaraguan domestic affairs constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and virtually every set of international laws in this respect.

7. By accusing Nicaragua of exporting revolution with the imaginary aim of expanding the Soviet and Cuban sphere of influence in Central America, the United States Administration seeks in fact a justification for curbing all progressive changes that could occur as a result of the natural process of the emancipation of Latin American and Caribbean nations.

8. The civil war in El Salvador, as well as the defensive measures undertaken by the Government in Managua, are conveniently presented in Washington in terms of East-West confrontation. However, it is obvious that the fundamental causes of domestic conflicts lie in the unjust social, political and economic structure existing in some countries of the region, El Salvador in particular. Attempts to attribute the process of change in Central America to East-West confrontation constitute in fact overt efforts to distort the real picture of the situation prevailing in the region and to justify the American policy of intervention in domestic affairs therein.

9. The build-up of tension in the Central American region, and on the Nicaraguan-Honduran and Nicaraguan-Costa Rican frontiers in particular, has reached extremely dangerous dimensions. The aggressive statements in Washington are increasing. There are open justifications for practising covert activities. This cannot be considered otherwise than as a call to introduce the law of the jungle into international law.

10. It was with equal concern that we noted the statement of the United States Under Secretary of Defense, Mr. Fred Ikle, that it will not be possible to speak of Central American stabilization as long as the Sandinist Government remains in power. So, by its own admission, it is a military solution in Central America and not a negotiated agreement that is being sought by the United States Administration. Hypocritical concern for democracy or human rights constitutes in reality only a smoke-screen for geopolitically and cold-war motivated aggressive action.

11. The United States aggressive policy in the region is in fact a result of conservative and extremist trends in

the present Administration in Washington, which are often questioned or deplored internally and even by the closest allies of the United States. These dangerous trends dominating United States foreign policy should be exposed and internationally condemned.

12. The problems of the situation in Central America were in fact the subject of an extensive debate in the Security Council this year when that body considered the Nicaraguan complaint against the United States Government. The debate revealed real dangers to international peace and security. On the other hand, it offered an opportunity to present the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group and the Nicaraguan Government. There was no doubt on which side international sympathy was concentrated. However, the Security Council was unable to take a decision on this issue. Therefore, the discussion of the situation in Central America in the plenary meeting at the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly, should, in our opinion be helpful in reducing tensions and in protecting the countries in the region that remain under the threat of interference.

13. Awareness of the dangers stemming from the present situation led the four countries of the Contadora Group to search for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the region. Speaking in the Security Council on 18 May 1983, my delegation expressed its appreciation of the efforts undertaken by the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.² The importance of the *Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America* [A/38/303], issued by the Heads of State of the four countries, and the Contadora Group's Document of Objectives³ should be commended by the Assembly. My Government welcomes and supports Nicaragua's official proposal, submitted at the 47th meeting, to guarantee the peace and security of the States of Central America. It is worth recalling that this complex proposal is formulated within the framework of the Contadora process and based on its Document of Objectives. These documents and proposals constitute a broad basis for a just and peaceful diplomatic settlement of the conflicts in the region.

14. Taking into account the seriousness of the situation, my delegation considers it indispensable for the General Assembly to condemn the aggression against Nicaragua, call upon the United States Government to stop military pressure against that country, urge the Contadora Group to continue its search for political solutions and welcome Nicaragua's peace initiative.

15. There can be no just and lasting peace in the region until the Salvadorian internal conflict, too, is resolved. Therefore, we should call for the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador and the suspension of all types of military assistance to the Salvadorian Government, and request the Contadora Group to use its good offices to recommence and develop the dialogue between the Salvadorian Government and the FMLN-FDR.

16. The United Nations should spare no effort to promote the relaxation of tension, to put an end to situations of conflict in the area and to encourage dialogue and understanding in Central America. While reasserting the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the inalienable right of peoples to determine their own form of government, we should call for abstention from any action that might endanger security and stability in the region. The most important objective is to ensure strict compliance with the principles of international law and on this basis to create political conditions guaranteeing the international security, integrity and sovereignty of the States of the region. We still have a chance to avert negative developments there. We

still have a chance not to allow this part of the region to be gradually converted into a permanent hotbed, comparable to the one in the Middle East. If the maximum good will is shown, we may yet establish the basis for understanding and co-operation in the area.

17. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The inclusion of the item now before us in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly was intelligent and timely. The events taking place in Central America demand unequivocal political resolve by Member States and consistent decisions by the organs responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

18. During the general debate the large majority of delegations referred to the Central American crisis with profound concern, and advocated respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and search for negotiated political solutions. The dramatic events that have occurred in recent days in the Caribbean have made even more urgent the peace-making efforts that we have undertaken, and the appeal to all States to refrain from political interference and military actions that might lead to widespread confrontation.

19. Regional tensions have reached a danger-point. There is a constant increase in the number and intensity of armed incidents, border conflicts, acts of terrorism and sabotage, cases involving arms trafficking, and external threats. All of this heightens militarism and limits the political space needed for negotiations.

20. Particularly alarming are the growing number of manoeuvres and demonstrations of force, the reactivation of military pacts, the establishment of military bases, and the proliferation of overt and covert activities aimed at destabilizing the Government of Nicaragua and at obstructing peace initiatives.

21. The moral awareness of the world is on the alert with respect to the Central American situation and is concerned about the consequences of its deterioration for the security of all the peoples on earth. This consensus rejects attempts to change the balance of power through persistent foreign interference and unilaterally to impose decisions which should be made only by sovereign States themselves.

22. The President of Mexico, Mr. Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, has stated in this connection that no one can allow himself to take decisions against the will of the people, thus violating fundamental norms of international law. He has stated that:

"No one is unaware that imperial wars are the recourse of those who seek destruction and who, to achieve pointless designs, invoke the defence of imaginary geopolitical principles to usurp the genuine security of human beings. We vigorously reject those attitudes, which violate the legitimate aspirations of peoples."

23. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico stated on 30 September, from this very rostrum:

"In the present Central American crisis there are three basic aspects of international policy. First, there is the quest for new forms of organization that will meet the needs and aspirations of all the peoples. Secondly, there is the struggle for a regional coexistence that will take into account the legitimate interests of all the countries concerned, quite apart from global strategic confrontations. Finally, there is the certainty that there is still room for the political solution of the disputes, as the only alternative to the use of force."
[13th meeting, para. 143.]

24. He also affirmed that Central America is suffering from the age-old conflict between those who wish to keep an obsolete order unchanged and those who seek to transform it. Resistance to change, he said, prolongs and aggravates the crisis and exacerbates ideological confrontation [*ibid.*, para. 146].

25. Mexico has repeatedly stated that peace in Central America can be achieved only through strict observance of the principles of the self-determination of peoples and of non-intervention. We have stressed that the conflicts in the region must not be distorted by East-West confrontation. The solution of the Central American crisis requires the cessation of all attempts at foreign domination, as well as constant action in the fields of political negotiation and economic and social progress.

26. The Mexican Government has made untiring efforts to promote respectful coexistence and the development of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. We have repeatedly called for the threat of force to be used no longer and for respect for the right of all countries to choose the political and economic system most suited to their interests, in obedience to the principles of political pluralism and the self-determination of peoples.

27. The problems of Central America are closely inter-related, but this must not make us forget the individual identity of each country and its political institutions, or the existence of national revolutions and their deep-rooted causes. Mexico has stressed that a change in the *status quo* in one or several countries need not endanger regional coexistence or necessarily threaten the world balance of power.

28. We should, on the contrary, foster conditions conducive to autonomous development of each people without improper interference. We should put an end to the very long cycle of foreign interference which has afflicted Latin America, and which, by strengthening the ring of domination, has contributed to the perpetuation of internal systems of oppression.

29. In keeping with these cardinal principles of its foreign policy and with its earlier initiatives, Mexico has this year joined efforts with Colombia, Panama and Venezuela in order to promote dialogue in Central America, with the agreement of the States directly involved and the support of the international community.

30. Last July, the Presidents of the countries members of the Contadora Group adopted the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [A/38/303], which established a basic frame of reference for the negotiating process through a set of commitments which would make it possible to ensure lasting peace.

31. In September, a Document of Objectives³ was approved and later ratified, identifying the essential common ground in the proposals presented by the five Central American countries. The Document includes the commitment to begin immediate negotiations to prepare for the conclusion of agreements and to adopt the legal instruments needed to achieve the proposed objectives.

32. However, it is absolutely clear that a negotiated settlement of the conflicts in Central America requires a climate conducive to dialogue. As long as force is still used, attempts at destabilization are made and foreign intervention of the most overt forms of flagrant character is practised, the chances of establishing the political framework essential for peacemaking efforts will be slight.

33. This is why Mexico has insisted on the need for deeds to be in line with speeches and commitments. That is why the position adopted in this connection by the Member States of the United Nations is highly relevant and timely. In spite of the doubts harboured by some at

the beginning, Security Council resolution 530 (1983) has made a valuable contribution to the peacemaking process. We hope that the General Assembly will confirm the trust that the international community is placing in the peace-making efforts and that it will strengthen the protective wall that we are building against foreign aggression.

34. In no way could the decision of the Assembly, faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, be interpreted as an obstacle to the Contadora Group's efforts. On the contrary, it will reflect the state of the international conscience on the question of Central America, and will therefore represent significant encouragement of our work.

35. Central America is passing through a crucial time. Either we advance along the path of negotiations, or we leave ourselves at the mercy of the irresponsible ploys of violence. The highly delicate situation in which the region finds itself makes it advisable, and even urgent, for the Assembly to take a stand on the various aspects of the Central American conflict.

36. The most recent events in the Caribbean make it necessary to reaffirm the right of all the countries of the area to live in peace and to determine their own future, free from foreign interference or intervention, as well as to reaffirm the obligation to respect strictly the sovereignty and independence of those countries.

37. Any aggression against the integrity of the States of the region, particularly against Nicaragua, which is being attacked, should be condemned. All States should refrain from continuing or from initiating actions or military manoeuvres to impose improper political pressure, and from intervening in the armed conflict in El Salvador, and they should also, as the General Assembly has asked [*resolution 37/185*], suspend all military assistance to the parties there, in order to facilitate a negotiated solution to the internal conflict in that country.

38. We consider it appropriate that the mandate given to the Secretary-General by the Security Council be clarified and supplemented, so that all the competent bodies of the system can act in accordance with the duties assigned to them by the Charter of the United Nations and in keeping with the will of the international community. No one with the responsibility and competence to act should remain outside the peacemaking efforts.

39. My delegation hopes that the United Nations will be able to ensure the observance of the principles that govern it, through the resolute political action of its Member States. The President of Mexico has said: "Every time the axe hits the trunk of the Central American family it affects each and every one of us, and it affects us even more when a policy of force is applied openly against the right of peoples." If we do not react in time, catastrophe in Central America will be inevitable, and the dangers to world peace will be more imminent than at any other time in recent history.

40. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 4 October my delegation spoke at the 3rd meeting of the General Committee on the proposal to include the item before us on the General Assembly's agenda. We advanced some fundamental arguments demonstrating the harmful effects that a debate on that item might have on the progress made in the regional forum, consisting not only of the Contadora Group but also of the countries directly concerned, the Central American countries, and might also have on the great hopes, based on the ratification of the Document of Objectives prepared in that forum by the five Central American countries, that the continuation of regional and global negotiations, by simultaneously solving the various

problems raised by the present Central American situation, would soon lead to a general peace agreement for Central America.

41. On 12 October 1983 the Nicaraguan delegation requested the inclusion of an additional item which it entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". That title, it should be pointed out, is quite different from the one formally announced by Mr. Ortega Saavedra in his statement at the 7th meeting of the General Assembly on 27 September, when he said that:

"Nicaragua is asking that the question of Central America—threats to peace, sovereignty, the exercise by the Central American people of the right to self-determination and peace initiatives—be considered as an urgent item on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly." [7th meeting, para. 134].

42. The considerable differences between what was announced in plenary meeting by Mr. Ortega Saavedra and what was actually done by the Nicaraguan delegation, can be seen in the deliberate omission of the words "threats to peace, sovereignty, the exercise by the Central American people of the right to self-determination". There was no explanation for that change, either in the General Committee on 4 October 1983, or in the Assembly when the inclusion of the item was approved, or this morning at the 47th meeting, when the Nicaraguan delegation spoke at the beginning of this debate. It is clear that the Nicaraguan delegation was aware that to announce a debate on threats to the sovereignty of Central American States and to the exercise of the self-determination of the peoples of those States, would imply that they themselves would be opening the possibility for two essential issues of the Central American question to be discussed, issues that derive from the attitude of the Sandinista Government, that is, its disrespect for the sovereignty of the four other Central American countries and the insurmountable obstacles that have thus far prevented the Nicaraguan people from exercising their right of self-determination. That is why they decided to replace these specific concepts with a more general one, that of international security. Even though the latter might include those other issues, it would be possible for them to continue to manipulate elements that only meet their own Governmental interests and to exclude the interests of the other States, as well as the expression of free will by the Nicaraguan people.

43. Nicaragua's intentions in coming before this body, undermining the activities and the credibility of the current Latin American efforts at negotiation, are becoming clear.

44. On 10 October, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras, Mr. Paz Barnica, in his statement before this General Assembly, pointed out the causes and the different attitudes concerning all the aspects of Central American problems and the regional mechanisms for peaceful settlement. I refer to that statement and to the verbatim record dated 12 October. None the less, we wish to remind members of the specific words of the Minister:

"The Government of Nicaragua has requested the inclusion of an item on Central America in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. The request to bring that item to the United Nations for debate hampers the work for peace which the Central American countries have entrusted to the Contadora Group and places the consideration of the problems of the area outside the continental context and within the framework of East-West confrontation, with the

obvious desire to polarize and give a universal character to the crisis which is afflicting Central America." [26th meeting, para. 28.]

45. The President of Colombia, on behalf of the Contadora countries, also made the following statement in Europe on 6 October:

"The Central American crisis is the manifestation of a deeply felt rejection of social injustices, backwardness and waste and oppression by leaders who have continued to hold sway or adventurers who plundered national wealth and then fled. It is a protest against ignorance and against oppression. That is why I consider, just as do all of us who have taken on the task of finding formulas for the solution of conflicts, and particularly the members of the Contadora Group, that it is necessary to tackle the ill at its roots and not in its apparent manifestations. The solution is economic and social, but it is psychological as well; dialogue is already a beginning of a solution, that is a dialogue among those concerned in the conflicts and the maintenance of that dialogue within the subregional framework, without allowing it to be contaminated by the venom of East-West confrontations. What we have done thus far does not meet and cannot meet the original expectations of the Governments of Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia, but I do not believe that matters. What is significant is that it does not satisfy, nor can it satisfy, the expectations of the peoples who are struggling in the midst of violence. That is why we must continue the struggle in a spirit of hope and optimism, looking at reality in order to change it and not to perpetuate it."

46. It should furthermore be recalled that almost all the Heads of State and Government or Ministers of Foreign Affairs who spoke in the general debate both supported and encouraged those subregional negotiations.

47. For all these reasons, the exercise of the Assembly's option was untimely. Moreover, we cannot fail to mention the magnitude of the precedent being created, one which could logically be invoked in connection with any dispute in any part of the world. Honduras is aware of the competence of the General Assembly to discuss the item before us, but what Honduras wishes to recall is that the competence provided for in Articles 11 and 35 of the Charter of the United Nations is optional, not automatic or obligatory. This is logical, since we cannot set aside Chapter VIII of the Charter regarding activities taking place on the basis of the existence of regional arrangements or agencies whose aim is to deal with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security that can be resolved by regional action. Furthermore, the Security Council, in its resolution 530 (1983), notes the existence of the regional forum composed of the Contadora Group together with the Central American countries, and takes note of the broad support expressed for the Contadora Group's efforts "to achieve solutions to the problems that affect Central American countries and to secure a stable and lasting peace in the region".

48. In paragraph 2 of its resolution, the Security Council commends those efforts and urges the Group to pursue them. Those efforts have continued and have made it possible to lay a foundation for negotiations through the conclusion of a Document of Objectives of peace, security, pluralist and representative democracy and co-operation for the development of Central America.

49. The Honduran delegation cannot disregard the significance of the initiation of a debate of this nature, which directly concerns the rights and interests of Honduras. That is why we must state our country's position

that the international community may have a clear idea of what is occurring in our region and may therefore be wary of biased, tendentious and propaganda-oriented information designed to influence it through this forum and through certain communications media.

50. Honduras is seeking peace in its threefold dimension: internal, bilateral and multilateral. We say internal peace, because the real origin of the conflict situation in Central America today is a breach of the prevailing internal social order, of harmonious coexistence, mainly in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Internal conflicts have altered the balance of bilateral relations and have broken the previously existing terms of regional security. That does not mean that bilateral questions in the narrow sense between States cannot be dealt with as part of that dimension. Internal conflicts have not been restricted to the purely national framework but, rather, have extended to the other countries of the region, creating an overall crisis with complex political, military, economic and social implications.

51. The Central American crisis, therefore, cannot be seen in a simplistic way or with a traditional approach, since that crisis is a profound and complex one and involves factors and conflicts that appear in different dimensions, or in several at once, and with very distressing acuteness, and have to be treated multilaterally. Hence our insistence on a comprehensive regional solution to the crisis afflicting the peoples of Central America.

52. Security is a primary factor in the restoration of peace, co-operation and the development of democracy. There are at least three important factors in this area: the arms race with all its implications, the destabilization of established Governments, and the presence of extra-regional and extracontinental forces in Central America.

53. It is known to all that the Nicaraguan revolution has been structured to produce an offensive military Power, with superiority in weaponry and a military force greater than that of all the Central American countries put together. That is a very important factor of imbalance and insecurity. Another destabilizing factor in the region is the geopolitical reasoning of the Government of Nicaragua, as expressed by its Minister of Defence when he said: "El Salvador is our shield". That indicates his view that an essential pre-condition of the strengthening of his country's revolution is the triumph of insurrection in El Salvador and the destabilization principally of the neighbouring representative democracies of Costa Rica and Honduras. Moreover, Salvadorian leaders of the Liberation Front for National Liberation have declared that Central America is not experiencing a series of isolated revolutionary processes but, rather, a single regional revolutionary process.

54. Our Minister for External Relations denounced at the 26th meeting the examples of overt Nicaraguan intervention in El Salvador; the attempts to destabilize the democratic Governments of Honduras and Costa Rica; the declarations by the military leaders who govern Nicaragua that their army is prepared to cross the borders of Honduras and Costa Rica, that they will extend the war from Guatemala to Panama and that they will support guerrilla movements being organized in Honduras. Furthermore, the Head of Nicaraguan diplomacy, who was present this morning in this Hall, declared to Panamanian newspapers that if a peaceful solution to the conflict were not found, his Government would be forced to declare war on Honduras; and he said that even on 9 September last, at the very time when the deliberations of the nine Foreign Ministers who adopted on that date the Document of Objectives³—which Nicaragua commends and is willing to implement—were under way.

55. That kind of reasoning clearly indicates a threatening attitude that takes concrete form in acts of aggression against the other countries of the region. The logical consequence is that the other countries of the region must seek forms of co-operation in order to meet the threat and repel aggression. Such circumstances make the Central American picture more tense and more complex.

56. This explains our insistence in our peace proposal for Central America—the first put forward by a Central American country since 23 March 1981—on the cessation of the arms race, the limitation of weapons, and the prohibition of the importation of certain types of particularly dangerous or cruelly destructive weapons.

57. For those same reasons we have clearly highlighted the importance of promoting political understandings that will lead to the establishment of a democratic and pluralist system throughout Central America; the need scrupulously to respect borders as drawn and the traditional lines and jurisdictional line of the States of the region; and the need to put an end to the clandestine arms traffic and any form of support for groups seeking to overthrow established Governments. That is why we Hondurans are zealously seeking the establishment of international supervisory machinery effectively to control the fulfilment of commitments undertaken in security matters.

58. It is clear why our peace plan, since it was geared towards eliminating the real causes of the conflict, was not accepted by Nicaragua, which has been the object of exceptional military presence and co-operation from countries and organizations from outside the region, which have imposed upon it the decisions that it must adopt. Therefore it is not correct to say that it has lost its decision-making capacity, since it never had it.

59. The Foreign Minister of Nicaragua made many biased and tendentious statements this morning at the 47th meeting. I shall not refer to all of them, but by way of example I would mention his statement that:

"In April 1982, on the occasion of my visit to Tegucigalpa, I officially presented Honduras with a seven-point peace proposal, the main point of which concerned the signing of a non-aggression agreement between the two countries. Honduras rejected Nicaragua's proposal outright." [47th meeting, para. 34.]

60. Such a statement is really unheard of, since on 23 April he received a note signed by the Foreign Minister of Honduras, which in part states:

"During your welcome visit to this capital, Your Excellency submitted a seven-point proposal to me, which, because of the importance of clarifying our respective positions, calls for certain comments by my Government.

"In fact, the first point of Your Excellency's proposal mentions the 'immediate convening of a meeting of the Army Chiefs of Honduras and Nicaragua, reflecting the spirit of the El Guasaul agreements'. In this connection . . . as we agreed, I have transmitted to the President of the Republic a record of our discussions concerning the convening of that proposed meeting so that it can take place. At the same time I remind Your Excellency that it was within the context of the above-mentioned Honduran initiative that we met in Tegucigalpa and that we shall meet again in Managua and shall attempt to meet with the other Foreign Ministers of the region.

"I understand that your proposal is bilateral in nature and is aimed at improving the relations between our two countries, while the Honduran initiative is broader, of a regional character, and perhaps with more ambitious aims. Nevertheless, my Government considers

that the regional approach should prevail, since most of the problems facing the Central American countries are not susceptible of a bilateral solution. Suffice it to recall that the most serious problem is the violence prevailing in some of them, since it gives rise to other equally painful problems, such as the refugee problem. If there were no violence, there would be no refugees. Furthermore, something is obviously promoting the outbreaks of violence, and that is the arms traffic existing in the area. Here we must determine where the arms come from and to whom they are going, so that the traffic can be curbed. These few examples show us that we must seek regional solutions, because, I repeat, the problems are regional.

“It is none the less encouraging to see that our two proposals are not necessarily mutually exclusive. There are some points in Your Excellency’s proposal that are perhaps indirectly covered in the Honduran initiative.”

61. This is the rejection that was described by the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua when he addressed the international community.

62. Honduras, a free, sovereign and independent State with a domestic and foreign policy of peace, security, democracy and development, maintains and preserves its own decision-making power for the attainment of those objectives within the context of the principles inspiring the inter-American system. We can well understand that for those who are more interested in relating to countries outside our continent and in applying their foreign-inspired ideologies, anything contrary to those objectives implies a “loss” of decision-making power.

63. The Foreign Minister of Nicaragua made another tendentious statement when he said that the presence of United States troops in Honduras is connected with attempts at war movements or invasion. The excessive Nicaraguan arms buildup, the exorbitant increase in the number of its troops and its attempts at ideological expansionism have induced Honduras, on the basis of a public military assistance agreement with the United States, dated 20 May 1954, to request the holding of joint manoeuvres, which have been conducted since 1965 and which, in the present case, are designed to train our soldiers better to deal with possible subversive action, that is, a disruption of internal order by gangs of subversive elements with surreptitious support from abroad in a given part of our national territory. It should be recalled that on 19 July, the day Nicaraguans were celebrating the anniversary of their revolution, the Nicaraguan Government had a hand in the crossing from its territory into Honduras of the first one hundred armed subversives, who were duly brought under control, thanks to the support of the people of the countryside. However, the information obtained from the subversives who were captured or who deserted reveals that about 2,000 men are undergoing military training to enter Honduras from Nicaragua as subversives.

64. Democracy is unquestionably an essential concern of all Hondurans. After almost 20 years of irregular or *de facto* régimes, at the very time of the great Central American disturbance, Hondurans have made a 180-degree turn in the direction of their political system. This change has been more than beneficial for the national interest of peace, freedom, justice and development. All Hondurans now have the historic responsibility of strengthening, defending and consolidating their emerging democracy.

65. That national responsibility must also be projected at the international level. Furthermore, we are constitutionally obliged to promote the strengthening of the democratic system throughout the world.

66. In the present circumstances in Central America the establishment of democratic, participatory and pluralist régimes is clearly an essential factor for the achievement of peace and security.

67. A large part of the acute regional crisis situation stems, in the first place, from the internal conflicts caused by the lack in some countries of the region of genuinely democratic systems in the political, economic and social spheres.

68. In the second place, if the old régimes are not replaced by new ones of a truly democratic character, the result will be renewed violence, since the principles of freedom and justice are deeply rooted in the conscience of the Central American people, who rise up against all forms of tyranny and exploitation, whatever their source.

69. The attempt to establish an authoritarian régime in Nicaragua is not only a cause of internal violence but also gives rise to distrust and insecurity in Central American relations. This situation leads to new and unexpected elements of international tension when a new régime of a Marxist-Leninist bent, such as that of Nicaragua, attempts to extend its political model to the other States in Central America through violent means and the destabilization of Governments that are not of a like character.

70. If the factor of insecurity involved in the establishment of new totalitarian régimes and their interventionist activities is compounded by the alignment and intervention in a region such as Central America of forces and States from outside the region and the continent, the result is a profound and complex crisis that reflects the conflict between the political systems that are vying with each other.

71. As the representative of the Government of Honduras noted in the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States [OAS] in July 1983:

“It is well to recall also that the regime that Nicaragua has had since 1979 was born under the inspiration and with the support of OAS. The following was established at that time as essential bases for its historical viability:

“1. The immediate replacement of the Somoza régime;

“2. The setting up in Nicaragua of a democratic Government to include the principal groups representative of the opposition to the Somoza régime and to reflect the free will of the people of Nicaragua;

“3. Holding of free elections as soon as possible, leading to the establishment of a truly democratic Government which would guarantee peace, freedom and justice.

“Of these bases established at the Seventeenth Meeting of Consultation and accepted fully and with notable emphasis by those who headed the Revolutionary Junta of National Reconstruction in Nicaragua, only the first has been effected. The others, which constitute the ethical and juridical commitment of the new régime to this Organization, have been mocked, as has the collective will of the hemisphere.”⁴

72. Non-compliance with the commitment to hold elections leading to the establishment of a truly democratic government with the participation of all groups represented and reflecting the free will of the Nicaraguan people, together with the socialization of the Nicaraguan economy, the violation of the political, civil, economic, social and human rights, the exodus of ethnic minorities because of anti-human practices, the censorship of the press and the restrictions on religious activities, all these things have led to an internal conflict in Nicaragua that

has caused thousands of refugees to flee to other countries, has altered the balance of bilateral relations in the region and has produced since the very beginning of the Sandinist regime an excessive military build-up and an increase in the number of troops under arms, as well as an influx of thousands upon thousands of military advisers from Marxist-Leninist countries and organizations. These have not led the Sandinist leaders to look for democratic solutions to their internal problems but have, rather, influenced them to create or to attempt to foment as a diversionary tactic, violent ideological struggles in neighbouring countries, and to attempt to destabilize systems chosen by the peoples, such as those of Honduras and others of the region. This lies at the root of the arms race in Central America. It underlies the destruction of the climate of security, trust and development that should prevail in the region.

73. These factors must be taken into account by the earnest countries that are attempting, through the General Assembly, to understand the true situation in Central America, for it is incredible that the Sandinist Government should continue to disseminate propaganda that puts it forward as the victim when, in fact, that Government is to a great extent the cause of the Central American tragedy.

74. With all due respect, and because we are now dealing with the question of Central America, we should like to refer to the words spoken on 26 September, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, with reference to non-intervention in the exercise of self-determination by the peoples of Central America. He stated:

“Self-determination is the foundation of non-intervention, because, starting from the essential freedom of man, it follows that there must be freedom for peoples. There can be no excuse for invoking non-intervention in order to deprive people of their freedom, since universal solidarity, whose roots lie in one and the same human condition, prevails over national differences.

“If we, the peoples of the third world, have been the most active defenders of non-intervention as a fundamental principle of international order and the coexistence of nations, it has been precisely because intervention practised by powerful nations has prevented the will of our peoples from being universally expressed.

“Today we consider the principle of non-intervention to mean that every people may exercise its self-determination. We cannot accept non-intervention as a rhetorical expedient under the cover of which some men or groups of people thwart the will of peoples.

“In 1979, when the situation prevailing in the Nicaragua of the Somoza dictatorship was being debated in the Organization of American States, Venezuela, in joint action with the other countries of the Andean Subregional Pact, pushed for recognition of the principle of solidarity among peoples, superseding national barriers, because what was at stake was the fight for respect for human rights and for the very principle of self-determination of peoples.

“Repeated and periodic expressions of the will of the people, free and untrammelled, is a prerequisite for peace among nations. Accordingly, we believe that establishment of a stable peace in Central America presupposes a sustained thrust to institutionalize democracy in the region.” [5th meeting, paras. 140-144.]

75. For the benefit of some well-known Latin American countries that tend to forget Latin American options, and by way of guidance for certain States outside our region

which, on the basis of their proclaimed ideological solidarity, support that and other types of amnesia, we should recall some of the facts so wisely described in the Declaration entitled “Manifesto to the Peoples of Latin America” issued on 24 July 1983 by the Presidents of the Bolivarian Republics of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela on the occasion of the bicentenary of the birth of Simón Bolívar, the Liberator.

76. Clearly reflecting the views of Latin Americans with regard to such issues as “Peace and violence” and “Democracy, freedom and pluralism”, the Presidents stated the following:

“Likewise shared by us and of fundamental importance is the unshakeable determination of our countries to defend the stability of their institutions, and their right to live in peace, freedom and democracy, against those who resort to violence with a view to replacing that mode of life by another, totalitarian, mode.

“The exaltation of the use of indiscriminate force to achieve the ends they pursue leads to an infinite series of crimes of every kind committed against innocent people.

“In addition to our individual and collective condemnation and rejection, effective victory over violence demands a special political, social and cultural movement which seeks to identify the origin of these phenomena and to apply appropriate solutions in a constructive spirit.

“What is required is a social reform effort which will enable the mass of the people to have access to the benefits of contemporary society and to improve their quality of life in terms of food, clothing, housing, education, health and recreation, as rights inherent in the dignity of the human person. Social justice and political liberty are the foundations for a stable peace which will end the state of generalized violence.

“The frequently-heard proposal to ensure that the problems of Latin America are solved by Latin Americans takes on a special meaning in these times through the action of the Contadora Group, but this goal can be fully achieved only with the resolute determination of all Latin American peoples, acting together and guided by the solidarity that is demanded by their common struggles, interests and hopes.

“This unity of purpose is particularly necessary in order to deal with the serious situation affecting Central America, where violence has now acquired the most tragic dimensions.

“The establishment of genuinely democratic regimes is an essential factor in restoring peace. That is possible only through the free expression of the popular will, exercised by means of elections in which pluralist participation, an honest election process and respect for election results are guaranteed.

“Equally important in achieving these ends is to overcome the economic and social problems that over the years have gradually created a situation of social injustice which has a severe impact on the phenomenon of violence prevailing in the region.

“The consolidation of democracy, the institutionalization of freedom and the introduction of effective political pluralism constitute fundamental conditions for bringing to life the political thought of the Liberator.

“The struggle for emancipation was indissolubly linked with the ideals of freedom, defence of human rights, self-determination of peoples and the necessary continental solidarity of unity.

"The beleaguered efforts of the countries of America to build democracy in over 150 years of life as Republics, far from representing a sociological determinism which would turn the system of popular freedoms into a Utopia far removed from reality, testify to the unequivocal desire of the peoples of our continent to establish, against all kinds of adversities, an effective political system of genuine popular representation in the service of the common good of the various national communities.

"The systematic and recurrent practice of holding elections not only represents the sole means of legitimizing the exercise of power, but also—through the natural alternation characterizing this system, when accompanied by the necessary safeguards to ensure that the will of the people is effectively expressed through those elections—constitutes the most effective means not only of enabling pluralism to provide a vehicle for the expression of ideas, tendencies and opinions in the utmost freedom, but also of ensuring that respect for the rights of others on an equal footing with one's own is instilled in the hearts of men and becomes a permanent way of life, since this is the only means for society to develop in peace." [A/38/325, paras. 18-21.]

77. Our international Organization in its universal and regional dimensions, movements of such international prestige as the movement of non-aligned countries, resolutions such as 2625 (XXV) on the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, 36/103 on the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Internal Affairs of States and 2734 (XXV) on the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security all repeatedly affirm respect for principles such as the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of legally established international borders, non-interference and respect for the right of peoples to free national and social development. However, it is clearly stressed that there must be strict mutual respect for those principles. This is why it is disquieting as regards the future of international relations when a Government, because it calls itself revolutionary, asks for and often obtains support for resolutions that do not recognize the right of others to defend their sovereignty, their integrity, their borders, their self-determination, but explicitly call for the avoidance of measures that might violate those principles in relation to a Government that emerged by force of necessity out of violence but which is established in a totalitarian form and which attempts, through support for subversive and terrorist groups, to spread its ideological views to and impose them on its neighbours.

78. Our Constitution, in its article 15, states:

"Honduras supports the principles and practices of international law, that promote the solidarity and self-determination of peoples, non-intervention and the strengthening of universal peace and democracy."

Those principles and practices guide the foreign policy of Honduras, which is based on the search for peace, security, democracy and co-operation for development.

79. If international order is to prevail every country must exercise its rights but also fulfil its corresponding duties and respect the fundamental elements of the principle of equal sovereignty, namely that all States are equal in the eyes of the law and that every State must respect the legal personality of other States.

80. It is in the light of all I have said before that all viable resolutions, the negotiation and conclusion of agreements and the effectiveness of treaties depend on

the enshrinement of those principles through consideration for the interests and rights of all the parties concerned in a given conflict.

81. Contrary to certain attitudes aimed at creating tensions between Governments, the initiatives being taken by Honduras are aimed at promoting solutions that offer a better standard of living and work for the Central American peoples. Hence we have expressed to the European Communities and to various European Governments and we reiterate here in the Assembly our support for what was stated on behalf of the Contadora Group by the President of Colombia, Belisario Betancur, at Brussels on 6 October 1983 in his statement entitled "Latin America and the Caribbean vis-à-vis Europe". He said:

"The international community and personalities and organs, including the United Nations, Pope John Paul II, the European Parliament, the Organization of American States and the Non-Aligned Movement, have all expressed their support for the Contadora Group's actions. The time has come to translate international solidarity into programmes of assistance, because peace is one and indivisible and any peace is fragile if it is not supported by the objective conditions which ensure for all peoples minimum levels of well-being and eliminate the motives for subversion."

82. Honduras supports the statements made on that occasion in relation to a "development plan for Central America" emphasizing a blueprint for massive employment in Central America and the channelling of technical and financial resources for the development of the region.

83. For all those reasons, Honduras welcomes the resolution adopted on 12 October 1983 by the European Parliament concerning economic and trade relations between the European Communities and Latin America, as we consider it an expression of concrete and constructive solidarity. Where it directly refers to Central America, it

"Calls on the Commission and Council to propose an economic co-operation agreement as a sign of the EEC's commitment to Central America, and to supplement this general offer of a co-operation agreement through bilateral agreements with the countries in the region which have or are developing democratic structures or which are particularly under-developed and do not belong to the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of countries".⁵

84. Honduras hopes that the invitation by the European Parliament will be welcomed and that it will be acted upon by the European States concerned, which themselves are examples of the ideals of genuine representative and participatory democracy. That is why we attach great importance to the plans of economic and social co-operation which the United States is trying to implement in the Central American region on the basis of the priorities established by the Central Americans themselves.

85. Honduras supports and encourages the good offices of the Contadora Group, because the five countries of the Central American region, acting on their own and without extraneous intervention or any type of imposition, are finding solutions to the problems they are experiencing. Our belief and our attitude is that this dispute, like all disputes, must be resolved exclusively by peaceful means and in full conformity with the purposes, principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as within the framework of, and consistent with, the principles of the regional organization and the inter-American system.

86. In this context we recall our ratification of the document adopted recently in the regional forum composed of the five Central American countries, with the assistance of the Contadora Group, containing 21 objectives that lay the foundations for multilateral negotiations, which, through a global and regional approach, may lead to the signing of simultaneous legally binding agreements aimed at achieving peace in Central America.

87. Distortion of that document must be avoided; what interests one country alone must not be taken out of context and exclude the interests of the others. Honduras, the first Central American country to establish a peace plan for Central America, recognizes the importance of having all the Central American countries make proposals for negotiations towards that objective in order to resolve the crisis of the region. But we cannot fail to mention the unilateral and partial nature of the latest official proposal of Nicaragua—which was made public and disseminated by all the means available to it and communicated to the Government of Honduras only on 25 October—a proposal which is aimed, not at making negotiations in Central America effective, but, rather, at attaining, through propaganda, worldwide acceptance of the Nicaraguan position. In view of the foregoing, the international community and the States represented in this forum must avoid being manipulated by such a biased presentation of the solution to the Central American problems. To achieve a solution, they must take a good look at this proposal and compare it with the Document of Objectives.

88. In this way it will be possible to see that the Nicaraguan position is concerned merely with the security of the Sandinist Government and that it completely omits the right of the other four States to their own security. It does not include compliance with the political, economic and social commitments relating to human, political, civil, economic, social, religious and cultural rights. In sum, it covers only the points that are of interest to the Nicaraguan Government and cuts out the heart of the Document of Objectives; what is more, it makes the few points contained in the proposal conditional upon acceptance of one of them. Proof of this is the note dated 25 October sent by the Nicaraguan Minister to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras, in which he transmits the proposal of the Nicaraguan Government entitled, "Legal bases to guarantee international peace and security for the States of Central America", which includes three proposed treaties and an agreement which would guarantee only the security of the party making the proposal. The Nicaraguan Minister stated that, if that proposal is accepted, "it will be possible to consider other items, such as military development and security"—a euphemism for the arms race—"foreign military advisers and economic, political and social questions".

89. The Government of Honduras has taken note of this and hopes and trusts that the elements of propaganda, partiality and distortion of the Document of Objectives, contained in Nicaragua's proposal, will be excluded, so that, as is pointed out in the last paragraph of that Document, there can begin ". . . negotiations with the aim of preparing for the conclusion of the agreements and the establishment of the machinery necessary to formalize and develop the objectives contained in this document, and to bring about the establishment of appropriate verification and monitoring systems."

90. With a view to achieving that proposal, the Honduran Government has already proposed the convening of three working groups composed of representatives of each of the countries which would be entrusted, respectively, with the following areas: political, security, and economic and social affairs. There would also be created

supervision and monitoring machinery at the international level for matters requiring such control. All this would make it possible to reach simultaneous commitments, duly guaranteed and verifiable internationally, as an effective means of achieving a solid and lasting peace in Central America.

91. The Central American question can be resolved only if, simultaneously and on a regional basis, actions against peace and security are all eliminated in favour of the establishment and, in turn, the development of democratic, representative and pluralistic systems meeting the development needs of all the countries of the region. Towards this end, the best contribution the international community could make would be to encourage mutual respect among all Central American States, promote regional machinery for a peaceful solution such as that already established with the participation of the countries of the Contadora Group, and express concrete support for the efforts made by the Central American States to promote economic and social justice for their peoples.

92. My Government, I repeat, has placed its total trust in the action of the Contadora Group and, faithful to its international commitments, is speaking on this occasion in order to inform the international community of its position that a solution should be found to the Central American conflict—a solution completely consistent with strict mutual respect for the principles of international law which I have just mentioned. Through the implementation of those principles and through the thus far successful action and good offices of the Contadora Group, our country would like to discourage East-West confrontation, because it is for us, the Central American countries, to solve our own problems, as was stated by the Presidents of the countries of the Contadora Group at their meeting in Cancún on 17 July last.

93. There are no well-founded reasons at present to extract the Central American question from the regional framework. For the moment, the subregional forum of the good offices of the Contadora Group must be allowed to pursue its valuable participation in efforts to bring peace to the area. Meetings are planned for the coming weeks; processes of consultation are being developed; and our Government feels that if there exists on the part of the Central American countries the sense of historic responsibility that should be characteristic of this time in Central American life, if there is good faith in the negotiations and in the agreements that might be adopted in our region, if there is a firm and positive political will on the part of our countries to achieve harmony, agreement and coexistence—principles which Honduras practices and upholds—then no country involved should act in a way inconsistent with those objectives, so vital to the prosperity of the region, either through unilateral acts of provocation by means of sudden and passing acts of aggression or by weakening the Contadora negotiations by means of polarization of the question in the General Assembly.

94. Finally, in the view of Honduras, through this debate Nicaragua is attempting to attain several ends. First, it wishes to escape from the future Contadora Group negotiations because of their global and regional character. Secondly, it wishes to obtain the support of countries outside the continent. Thirdly, it wishes to polarize the Central American issue through East-West confrontation. Fourthly, it wishes to strike a harsh blow at the Latin American process of negotiation. Fifthly, it wishes to obtain support for its recent proposal to conclude four treaties: one multilateral treaty among the five Central American countries, two bilateral treaties—between the

United States and Nicaragua, on the one hand, and Honduras and Nicaragua, on the other—and a fourth treaty, to be called an agreement among the countries interested in helping to solve the crisis in El Salvador. The latter project is aimed only at protecting Nicaragua, guaranteeing it impunity for its acts of intervention; it does not provide even the very minimum guarantees for the other countries of the area—least of all for Honduras. Furthermore, the four treaties do not fulfil the Contadora agenda, nor do they deal with the 21 objectives recently approved by the five Central American countries.

95. By means of all those tactics, the Government of Nicaragua is trying to escape from future negotiations within the Contadora Group, to obtain political support against alleged acts of aggression, and not to be censured for its own acts of aggression against the rest of the Central American countries. Moreover, it does not undertake to comply with the original objectives of the revolution—pluralism, a mixed economy, non-alignment and elections—which were adopted by Nicaragua in OAS. Nicaragua is trying to evade a commitment to cease its arms race and to restore the military balance and security of the region. Furthermore, it is attempting to extend the competence of the United Nations to cover the Central American crisis, through a total rejection of the work of the Latin American forum and of OAS, the continental body.

96. In that spirit, Honduras has joined its voice to those of the other delegations that have participated in these deliberations in order to reaffirm its constitutional Government's will for peace, its faith in the process of negotiations sponsored by the Contadora Group and its complete commitment to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization.

97. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Central America, which is the subject now before the General Assembly, is a matter of particular urgency. It is obvious that this is a profoundly critical situation which has been caused by the aggressive actions of the United States, a situation that is a serious and real threat to the peace and security not only of the region in question but of the entire world.

98. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is gratified that the General Assembly decided to include the question of the situation in Central America on its agenda and to discuss it at the present time, when the armed intervention by the United States against Grenada has particularly heightened tension, which was already at a very dangerous pitch, in that part of the world.

99. The General Assembly had an opportunity during the general debate at this session to hear a number of delegations express their profound disquiet at the critical situation in Central America that has been created by the United States. This year the Security Council has also had to deal repeatedly with the situation in that region, in connection with the subversive activities and the aggression planned and directed by the United States against Nicaragua and, quite recently, in connection with the armed intervention by the United States against Grenada. Only a few days ago, after the United States had vetoed in the Security Council the resolution on its intervention against Grenada, the General Assembly took up this question as a matter of urgency and adopted resolution 38/7 condemning the intervention and calling for an immediate cessation to it and for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island.

100. The tension in Central America is growing apace. The aspirations of the peoples of that part of the world to peace, national independence, development and social

justice have collided with the constant efforts of United States imperialism to maintain its neo-colonialist domination. Despite the obvious truth—repeatedly confirmed from the rostrum of the United Nations—that the conflicts in that part of the world have been caused by the cruel exploitation by transnational corporations and the centuries-old brutality of oligarchic dictatorships, Washington continues to trot out its tiresome fabrications regarding so-called “foreign instigations”. In that way, Washington endeavours to justify the brutal armed violence against peoples by which it attempts to hold up progressive development in that part of the world.

101. The United States is once again attempting to force sovereign States and peoples to give up their independent policies in order to serve the interests of United States imperialists; it does this by resorting to diktats, to threats and to the direct use of armed force.

102. While unscrupulously and brutally flouting the norms of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, Washington arbitrarily claims the right to decide the destinies of various peoples and countries and to play the role of international policeman. The most reactionary forces of imperialism are at present endeavouring, on the basis of their position of strength and by resorting to diktat, including overt armed intervention, whether in Central America, southern Africa, the Middle East or the Caribbean, to determine what the political system and the foreign policies of various countries should be.

103. The act of brutal armed intervention by the United States against Grenada on completely groundless pretexts—pretexts which have been denounced even by their closest allies and recently by the American press—the victims among the civilian population, the bombing of civilian targets, including a hospital where a number of patients were killed, and the usurpation of the right of the people of Grenada to self-determination constitute new, clear evidence of the cynical way in which American imperialism is pursuing its vital strategic interests.

104. The United States is persisting in its aggression against Nicaragua, in violation of Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which the United States in fact voted for and which quite explicitly reiterated the right of Nicaragua to live in peace and security free from outside interference.

105. Only a few days ago the United States once again earmarked millions of dollars for the purpose of exporting counter-revolution to Nicaragua, which they termed “covert aid”. We all know what sort of aid that will be. The idea is to send to the territory of Nicaragua fresh bands of Somoza mercenaries, recruited, trained and directed by the United States and its special services, so that they may carry out armed terrorist acts against the people of Nicaragua. This also means that new consignments of arms will be given to those mercenaries. There will be further victims among the civilian population. There will be fresh instances of destruction of the economic and cultural wealth of that independent country.

106. Mr. Boland, the Chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives of the United States, has said that the American Administration “is waging war in Nicaragua. Let no one make any mistake about it. This is precisely what the United States is doing”.

107. A political commentator in the United States, when referring to the lack of good will evinced by the American Administration concerning the initiation of negotiations to try and settle the problem of Central America, wrote in *The New York Times* of 21 October 1983 that

“the Reagan Administration, by its own admission—notably that of Under Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle—seeks military victory in Central America, not a negotiated agreement; and it’s the ultimate hypocrisy that it does so for geopolitical and cold-war reasons, not from any real concern for the democracy or the human rights . . .”

108. The direct military pressure which the United States exerts against Nicaragua is constantly growing. Economic targets are destroyed; there are hundreds of victims among the civilian population. At the same time, there is a steady and ostentatious concentration along the two coasts of that country of dozens of American warships. Close to the frontiers of Nicaragua the armed forces of the United States, in conjunction with the Honduran army, are carrying out manoeuvres which are paving the way for a subsequent invasion of Nicaragua and ensuring a free hand for the Somozist bands.

109. In order to sap the vitality of the national liberation movements in Central America, the American Administration is relying increasingly on aggressive military blocs of its own creation. We have already seen the real purpose of the so-called regional security forces, which played the part of a smoke-screen to make it possible for the armed forces of the United States to carry out their punitive expedition against sovereign Grenada. There can be no doubt that the other agreement of this type, which is hypocritically entitled “Central American Democratic Community”, is intended to be used as a means of stifling the people’s power in Nicaragua.

110. It is not only Nicaragua that is threatened. During the past four years the United States has intervened in the internal affairs of a number of other countries in that region—something it has been doing for many years now, while promoting neo-colonialist solutions in Latin America.

111. American political and military advisers have the same function in El Salvador as in the days of the ill-famed United Fruit Company. Washington decides what tactics should be used in the armed acts against the peoples of that country. It fixes and finances sham elections and brutally tramples under foot the legitimate aspirations of the people of El Salvador, putting obstacles in the way of a political settlement of the problems of the country through negotiations.

112. The hostile policy of the United States against the Republic of Cuba continues to be a particularly destabilizing factor in the Central American and Caribbean region. The absurd and groundless accusations levelled at Cuba by Washington serve as a cover for the United States’ own policy of terrorism and aggression against the people of that country. The United States resorts to the most dangerous type of diversionary tactics. It is constantly stepping up its political, economic and military blackmail against this member country of the non-aligned movement. It openly plans blockades and military provocation.

113. The concern felt by the international community over the threats of the United States to resort to force in the future is completely justified. The sinister scenario which was followed against Grenada is already under way in Nicaragua: a slander campaign promoted by the most powerful propaganda machine in the world; the outright refusal to discuss various proposals which are aimed at a peaceful solution of the problems; the constant search for pretexts for carrying out armed intervention; a new display of muscle-flexing to allow American imperialism to restore its complete supremacy in that part of the world.

114. It is essential in this situation that the international community make active efforts to find a solution to the problems of Central America on the basis of the rules of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in the interest of the achievement by the peoples of that region of their legitimate aspirations to peace, development and social justice.

115. The general elements of such a solution are set out specifically in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983. These include: respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for the right of every country freely to choose its political, economic and social systems.

116. We welcome the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, which was adopted by the Heads of State of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela [A/38/303], and we follow with sympathy the Contadora Group’s efforts to find a political solution to the problems through negotiations, which is the only way to achieve a just resolution of the situation in Central America.

117. In my delegation’s view, the fair and flexible proposals and specific terms set forth once again by the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D’Escoto Brockmann in his statement at the 47th meeting, which serve the interests of all the countries of the region and of world peace and security, constitute a reasonable and realistic basis for a comprehensive settlement of the problem.

118. The People’s Republic of Bulgaria is deeply convinced that among the most urgent steps which should be taken to resolve the situation in Central America and the Caribbean are the immediate withdrawal from Grenada of all occupying troops, a halt to acts of aggression and to all subversive activities against Nicaragua, an end to interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador so that a political solution can be found to that country’s problems through negotiations, the cessation of American military manoeuvres on the territory and in the waters of Central America, and a halt to threats of force against the States of the region.

119. All of this would make it possible for the peoples of Central America to build their own future in full freedom and sovereignty, in the way they themselves choose in accordance with their own national interests.

120. The People’s Republic of Bulgaria wishes to reiterate its sympathy with their struggle for liberation, national independence and social progress.

121. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is only natural that the General Assembly should be considering the situation in Central America at a time when that region, as well as other regions in the world, is experiencing a continuous escalation of acts of aggression, direct interference, military invasion and other manoeuvres carried out by the United States Administration in utter contravention of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, thus constituting a threat to international peace and security.

122. Over the last year or so the Security Council has held a number of emergency meetings devoted to consideration of the provocations, threats and acts of direct and indirect interference perpetrated by the United States against a number of other countries. In April 1982 the Security Council met to consider the escalation of United States military activities and intervention against Nicaragua. In May 1983 the Security Council met once more to consider the military invasion of Nicaragua organized,

financed and trained by the United States. In February and August 1983, the Security Council met to consider the provocations and threats against the Libyan Arab people resulting from the presence of the American Sixth Fleet along the Libyan coast.

123. The history of the United States Government, through all its various stages, is replete with acts of aggression, interference, invasion and occupation. Is there anyone who does not remember the United States war of aggression against Viet Nam, or the never-ending interference of the United States in the internal affairs of Cuba and Korea, or in those of the Iranian people, as manifested by its support for the Shah's dictatorship? Is there anyone who does not remember the provocations, threats and acts of aggression carried out by United States Administrations against the Jamahiriya from 1969 to this day? The whole of Libya used to be a military base for the United States of America; American corporations controlled the economy of Libya and ran it in their own interest. The revolution of 1 September 1969 put an end to the puppet regime, dismantled the United States bases, ended the oil monopolies, led Libya towards economic emancipation, nationalized the petroleum industry, supported the forces of national liberation in southern Africa and Palestine, and pursued a non-aligned foreign policy opposing colonialism, racism and zionism.

124. Needless to say, all of this was not to the liking of the United States. Hence in 1969 the chain of United States aggression against the Jamahiriya, which has not been broken to this day, was forged. Since that time, the Jamahiriya has been the victim of many provocations and direct and indirect acts of aggression on the part of the United States. These terrorist acts have taken several forms, including direct attack, economic pressure, the threats posed by the United States Sixth Fleet along the Libyan coast in the vicinity of the Gulf of Sidra, military manoeuvres near Libya's eastern borders, and calculated media campaigns aimed at distorting the image of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in international forums.

125. This policy of occupation and invasion is not new to the United States. Its history is full of acts of aggression against various peoples. In the name of "democracy" and support for "freedom-fighters", the United States has planned and carried out a number of manoeuvres and plots against the States of Latin America and, in particular, Central America.

126. In 1855, William Walker went to Nicaragua, annexed the whole of Central America to the United States, and declared himself President of Nicaragua. In 1873, during Panama's struggle for independence from Colombia, United States forces landed in Panama and interfered in that country's affairs. In 1898, United States naval forces blockaded Cuban ports during the Spanish-American War. In 1909, the United States intervened in Nicaragua, overthrowing the Government of José Santos Zelaya. In 1914, United States naval forces landed in Haiti. In 1926 they returned to Nicaragua to occupy it once more. That military occupation lasted until 1933, when the United States forces were compelled to withdraw by the heroic resistance of the Nicaraguan people and army. In 1954, acting through its CIA, the United States overthrew the Government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in Guatemala. In 1961, the United States used its military mission to engineer a military *coup d'état* against the National Council of El Salvador. Also in 1961 the United States attempted to invade Cuba in what was known as the Bay of Pigs operation. In 1964 United States forces, then using Panama as one of their bases, attacked a civilian demonstration, killing 30 Panamanians. In 1965 the United States landed 22,000 troops in the Dominican

Republic with the aim of invading it. The United States was the country that occupied Mexico, imposing its control over more than 40 per cent of its territory. The United States is still occupying Puerto Rico to this very day, and it is the country that repeatedly tried to invade Cuba, to blockade it politically and economically, and to subjugate it to its hegemony. It also assassinated President Allende of Chile, as it has assassinated other national leaders in other parts of the world.

127. Since the establishment of the progressive regime under the Sandinists in Nicaragua, on the ruins of the repressive puppet Somoza regime, the United States has been financing, preparing and directing all military actions against Nicaragua. To implement its schemes it uses its own territory and the territories of the countries bordering Nicaragua to train the counter-revolutionary forces. Its jet aircraft and vessels have violated the airspace and territorial waters of Nicaragua. The United States finances the acts of sabotage and military attacks on civilian targets in Nicaragua, which have led to huge material damage and heavy loss of life.

128. In view of this American involvement, President Reagan could not deny that the United States was the party directing and financing the aggression against the legitimate regime in Nicaragua. That confession was made by the Head of the American Administration himself, who declared on 4 March this year in a speech to Congress that the United States had a role in the dirty war being waged against Nicaragua.

129. The history of the United States, its interference in the affairs of other countries, contrary to international principles and even to treaties and agreements signed by the United States itself, lead us to ask what justification there is for American interference in the internal affairs of other countries and for invading and occupying them. The justifications are crystal clear. The recent invasion of Grenada, still fresh in our minds, affirms beyond any doubt that the law of the jungle rather than international law is what governs the behaviour of the United States. It also affirms that the Charter of the United Nations is being violated today, as it was in the past, by the United States, which in the twentieth century is still thinking in colonial terms and logic and is striving to impose its hegemony, influence and aggression and to control the wealth of peoples and their economies. The reasons that the United States has given to justify its act of aggression and its interference in the affairs of other States give grounds for ridicule and denunciation.

130. What democracy is the United States defending? What human rights does the United States believe it has the right and the duty to defend outside its borders? The democracy defended by the United States is very clear. It is the democracy of corporations, monopolies and the white man. The American concept of democracy means that peoples must accept the dictatorships imposed on them by the United States Marines and that the monopoly of the multinational corporations must be re-established. It also means that no one in the world should dare say "No" to the American Administration, for otherwise in its eyes he will be seen as a terrorist, as an undemocratic rebel.

131. The flouting of the United Nations by the United States has become very clear. The American President himself declared a few days ago that the condemnation by a hundred delegations at the United Nations did not upset his breakfast. That is how the Americans see the United Nations and its Charter.

132. The situation in Central America, as in many other regions in the world, threatens a serious explosion. The

United States' invasion and occupation of Grenada deserve the keenest attention of the international community, because that recent invasion is a vivid example of a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. The international community must not allow the policy of aggression pursued by the American Administration to govern international affairs, whether in the Middle East, Africa, Asia or Latin America.

133. The threat or use of force in international relations leads the international community to lose faith in the principle of collective security. Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter states:

"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."

134. The United States has trampled on all international agreements and instruments. It trampled on them not in defence of the right of the Namibian people to independence, of the right of the Palestinian people, whose land was usurped, or the right of Lebanon, which is being occupied by the Zionist entity, or the right of the struggling peoples to freedom. Rather, it trampled on them to repress freedom and to kill people in Namibia, Palestine, Lebanon, Grenada and many other parts of the world, as happened in Viet Nam.

135. The killing, destruction and sabotage carried out in all parts of the world by the United States Marines have stifled all the hopes of peoples to live in freedom and dignity. What happened in Grenada, which has also happened recently in a number of other countries, not only stifles the freedom of the people of Grenada, as it has stifled freedom in those other countries, but also destroys the civilization of the twentieth century and exposes its falsity.

136. The international community should vigorously condemn the invasion by the United States of other countries, and its flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. The international community must also affirm the right of peoples to determine their future and to establish the economic, social and political regimes of their choice. What is happening today in Central America and the Caribbean region could be repeated tomorrow in any other country. The crimes perpetrated by the American Administration against the peoples of that region could also be perpetrated against all peoples. Therefore, the international community is today called upon to put an end to the flouting of the Charter by the American Administration and firmly to face up to that aggressive policy against peoples.

137. I reaffirm that we in the Jamahiriya vigorously condemn the policy of aggression and interference pursued by the United States Administration. We denounce the conspiratorial schemes aimed at destabilizing many parts of the world and threatening their security and independence. Once again we reaffirm our absolute solidarity with the peoples of Central America and other regions of the world. We are confident that the struggling masses will be victorious, that the acts of aggression and imperialist schemes are destined to failure, and that the United States, regardless of its might, its plots and the puppets it creates, will not be able to turn the clock back. The struggle of peoples will inevitably be crowned with victory.

138. As we discuss the situation in Central America, we see that there is another part of the world where a serious explosion threatens as a result of the aggressive policy

pursued by the United States Administration. In the Mediterranean, and in particular in the Arab region, the United States is mobilizing its fleet to attack the Syrian Arab Republic and to impose puppet regimes in the region.

Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.

139. The existence of thousands of troops and hundreds of American jet aircraft in that region threatens peace and security, not only in the Arab region, but in the world as a whole.

140. This explosive situation in the Arab region must be condemned, and we are now compelled to draw attention to it. Is the United States now planning a new invasion of Syria and Lebanon, like that which has taken place in Grenada? History will tell us. We must take a unified stand against this aggression and invasion now being prepared by the United States Administration.

141. The policy of stirring up conflicts between the countries of Central America and between Arab States which is being pursued by the United States Administration is not in the interests of security or peace. The policy of blockade and the imposition of reactionary puppet regimes does not serve the cause of peace. The United States will not reap any benefit from its blockade, its intimidation or its military manoeuvres. It will only achieve peace and co-operation between peoples if it pursues a policy of dialogue, and not a policy of aggression. History has shown the failure of military dictatorships. Hitler occupied large parts of Europe, but where is Hitler today? Hitler is gone, and just as Hitler is gone, just as nazism has been totally eradicated, so American aggression will not succeed, because there is a deterrent. That deterrent consists in the closing of our ranks and the waging of a holy war to stop that aggression and those provocations. It may be too late, however, if we do not all take a unified stand on what is happening in Central America and in the Arab region.

142. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The French writer Georges Bernanos once wrote that: "The worst, the most corrupting of lies, are problems poorly stated". The purpose of those who brought the issue of Central America to the General Assembly today, who asked for this debate, is to enlist the United Nations in defining the problem in Central America in a manner that corrupts the truth. Their goal is to cloak their own aggressive and violent policies in a mantle of United Nations rhetoric about non-intervention and the non-use of force. Their goal, quite specifically, is to use the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to justify actions that, precisely, violate and subvert those principles of the United Nations Charter.

143. The representative of Nicaragua would like to have the United States endorse his own Government's perverse definition of the problem in Central America. According to this definition, Nicaragua is a peace-loving State with no designs on its neighbours. It maintains fraternal relations with Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Bulgaria, Libya and several other similarly inclined peace-loving States, simply for the purpose of promoting social justice, international peace and self-determination. Of course, it also maintains a large military establishment, "four times as big and eight times as strong" as the late dictator Anastasio Somoza's Guardia Nacional, as the present commander of Nicaragua's forces put it last year. But this, of course, is only for the purpose of self-defence, which presumably is required against Nicaragua's neighbours.

144. The Government of Nicaragua is convinced—or so it would like to have us believe—that an invasion of Nicaragua by the United States is imminent. The Government of Nicaragua has brought this issue of Central America to the Security Council three times over the past year and a half, always alleging that a massive military invasion by the United States is imminent. Now it has come to the General Assembly with the same charge. This imminent invasion, of course, never takes place, nor does the Government of Nicaragua ever produce a scintilla of evidence to demonstrate that it is about to occur. It is reduced to complaining that the United States assists Nicaraguans struggling inside Nicaragua for their right to self-determination and self-government.

145. What we have in the Government of Nicaragua's claims is a combination of bravado and paranoia, induced for the purpose of justifying a tightening of internal repression and the further build-up of military force, with the hope doubtless of increased Soviet bloc military aid. The United Nations is then enlisted to give the appearance of international legitimacy to these plans.

146. The mind-set of the Nicaraguan regime—this combination of bravado and paranoia—was perhaps exemplified best in a speech which Interior Minister Tomás Borge Martínez gave before members of the national fire-fighting system on October 29th of this year. Nicaragua would defeat the United States Army, said Tomás Borge Martínez, “even if they reduce our cities to ashes. If the United States had to call on elite forces to defeat Grenada” said Comandante Borge, in a reference to the rescue mission by the United States and several Eastern Caribbean States in Grenada several days earlier, then, he continued, against Nicaragua it would have to resort to “Batman, Superman and Spiderman”.

147. The substance of Nicaragua's case before this body has about as much relation to reality as do the childish fantasy figures invoked by Mr. Borge. What is the reality? What is an accurate statement of the problem in Central America?

148. The reality is that the Sandinistas came to power in 1979 through armed struggle and thereafter proceeded to violate all of the promises they made to OAS and made to the Nicaraguan people regarding internal pluralism and democracy and peaceful relations with their neighbours. The Sandinista revolution, then, has not only betrayed the promises made to OAS, the promises made to its own people, it has betrayed as well the values and traditions of its own namesake. Augusto Cesar Sandino was not a Marxist-Leninist; as I have repeatedly reminded colleagues in the United Nations, he supported nationalism and not the Soviet empire. On that basis, he would have criticized Cuba's submission to Moscow's so-called internationalism; desired sovereignty for his country; and desired a free country. He was very harshly criticized by communists while he was still alive for bourgeois and counter-revolutionary tendencies. The communist attacks against Sandino began when he was in Mexico, because he refused to adjust his fight for “country and liberty” to the plans of the Mexican communists. For that reason, the Secretary-General of the Mexican Communist Party called him a traitor and denounced him upon his death.

149. It is precisely country and liberty that the so-called Sandinistas have betrayed in imposing a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship over the Nicaraguan people, in subordinating Nicaragua to Cuba—and in a larger sense to the objectives of the Soviet Union and its global empire. Instead of the elections promised to the Nicaraguan people, the so-called Sandinistas provided subjugation and dictatorship. Instead of self-government promised by the so-called Sandinistas, they provided a rigged Council of

State. Instead of the pluralism promised the people of Nicaragua, the so-called Sandinistas have purged all democratic opposition. Instead of pluralism and respect for human rights, the so-called Sandinistas have driven the Meskito Indians—that harmless indigenous people which seeks only the right to live its own life peacefully—from the Atlantic coast. Instead of the freedom of religion pledged by all signatories to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the so-called Sandinistas have repressed the Church and the Pope on his visit. Instead of respect for the right to organize free trade unions and bargain collectively, the so-called Sandinistas have repressed free trade unions in Nicaragua. Committees in defence of Sandinismo have multiplied, alongside the mobs which seek to impose the arbitrary decisions of those committees.

150. Of course, Nicaragua is only a pawn in a larger game, a game in which one of the larger players is Cuba, which is itself a pawn in a still larger game, a mere proxy for the Soviet Union. It is no secret in this body that the Soviet Union has targeted various nations in Latin America as particularly attractive objects for its expansionist designs. The Soviet Union has quite clearly, quite openly, beginning in the late 1960s, begun to identify the armed road as the way to power and influence in this hemisphere. Their theoreticians writing in Soviet military and strategic journals have since noted that in Latin America only the armed struggle has so far succeeded as an instrument for the establishment of Marxist-Leninist Governments and the spread of revolution.

151. I am always struck by the frank way in which Soviet theoretical journals and theoreticians discuss their reliance on violence as an instrument of expansion. The Soviet *Military Encyclopaedia* of 1978, for example, in an article on Latin America commented:

“The change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism has led to the activization of the struggle by the peoples of Latin America, which opens the way to socialism in the western hemisphere.”

What is it that has opened “the way to socialism in the western hemisphere”? Not changes in economic conditions, not changes in social conditions, but “change in the correlation of forces in the international arena”. Listen again:

“National liberation struggle is a form of war waged by peoples of colonial and dependent or formerly colonial Territories in which socialist countries become the decisive factor when peoples launch an armed struggle against internal reactionaries.”

That is, national liberation struggle is a form of war in which socialist countries—like the Soviet Union and Cuba—become the decisive factor when the peoples launch an armed struggle against so-called internal reactionaries. This is very straightforward. It gives us a lot of insight into the role of force—quite specifically, the role of Soviet force, Soviet military strength—in such areas as, for example, Central America today. Where people have launched an internal struggle, then Soviet military force—directly or by way of Libya or Cuba—becomes the decisive instrument, or at least is intended to become that.

152. The complement to the Soviet use of force is the effort to sell this policy in the United Nations and in influential circles outside this body; to sell the perverse doctrine which grants to national liberation movements—that is Soviet-backed, Soviet-defined national liberation movements—a monopoly of the legitimate use of force. According to this doctrine, the use of revolutionary violence, that is, violence committed by those linked to the

Soviet Union and its clients, is defined as a just protest against by definition "unjust social and political circumstances".

153. Small bands of violent men have discovered in our times that, by the skilful use of violence and propaganda, they can win power against overwhelming numbers. They begin with terror—which has been aptly defined as the deliberate, systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear in order to gain political ends. Such deliberate use of terror is relied upon to produce a revolutionary situation; it has become the preferred tactic of contemporary revolutionary conflicts. This now familiar cycle is accompanied today by a chorus of moral outrage from a self-designated constituency of client States linked to the Soviet Union who apply in bodies like this one to win symbolic support for the violence used outside. The pattern is by now discouragingly familiar. Choose a weak Government, organize a national liberation front, add a terrorist campaign to disrupt order and provoke repression, which serves to weaken an already weak economy, then intensify the violence. The brittle institutions of many, conceivably even most, third-world Governments will crumble under such strains. The skilful use of what used to be called fifth columns enables the Soviets to foment *coups* and civil wars under the guise of indigenous politics.

154. That is not all. Once a transfer of power has been achieved and a dictatorship friendly to the Soviet Union has been established, the Soviets seek to guarantee its irreversibility by providing thousands and thousands of technicians, advisers, troops—"workers", such as we saw in Grenada—to prop up and guide the new Government. Thus the extraordinary array of Soviet-bloc military and civilian personnel in Nicaragua, Angola, Benin, Ghana, the Congo, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Syria, Ethiopia and so forth. In these countries one finds extraordinary international brigades accumulated from East Germany, from Czechoslovakia, from Bulgaria, from Libya—the same Governments we hear speaking to the problem here—from Viet Nam, from the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], from all parts of the Soviets' world-wide empire brought to bear on the weak institutions and the relatively helpless people who almost invariably desire above all to be left alone to solve their problems, enjoy their own national self-determination and seek the development of their countries.

155. The Soviet Government and its allies do not—we should be clear—rely on the laws of history or the appeals of communism to bring about what they call revolution, or to ensure its irreversibility. They rely instead on the manipulation of values and the technology of violence.

156. Frankly, the United States has grown weary—as I am certain this body has grown weary—of the repetitive appeals of Nicaragua to discuss the same subject here under the same circumstances, each time with no more evidence to support its fictitious charges than it had the time before. The United States has grown weary of Nicaragua's repeated efforts to come to this body seeking international approval for its right to engage in repression at home and subversion abroad and to pretend all the while that it is seeking peace. This Assembly knows by now, I should hope, a good deal about Nicaragua's peace-seeking in Central America. There has at least been an opportunity for our colleagues in the United Nations to learn about that. Meanwhile, Nicaragua acts in Central America to subvert its neighbours, with terrorist training camps, with arms depots, with arms shipments. On 21 September, for example, there was reported in the United States press the destruction by anti-Sandinista

forces of an arms trans-shipment camp used by the Sandinistas to supply Salvadoran guerrillas. Those arms trans-shipment activities were, as the story made amply clear, no secret at all to the people of the region. Last month the Honduran Government discovered over 100 guerrillas who had been trained in Cuba and had been infiltrated into Honduras through Nicaragua for the purpose of setting in action in Honduras just such a process as I have described.

157. Nicaragua purports to support the Contadora process. Yet I hope this body has taken note that each time that the Contadora process seems about to make progress, Nicaragua comes to the United Nations seeking, in essence, a change of venue, a new beginning whose purpose presumably is to undo what the hard work of other nations involved in the Contadora process is on the verge of achieving. Now it has happened again. Nicaragua has come so often to this body with charges that the United States is about to undertake a military invasion just as the Contadora process seemed, in fact, about to make progress towards ensuring that the States in the region could live in security, each from the other, each comfortable in its own knowledge that no one would arm or subvert anyone, that it has become a pattern.

158. It has been cited here in the last days, repeatedly, that the Charter of the United Nations prohibits the use of force—which of course it does, and that is a very important provision in the Charter. But the Soviet Union and Cuba and Nicaragua and their friends claim an exemption from that prohibition in the Charter for wars of national liberation. That claim of exemption for wars of national liberation is made clearly and repeatedly. It has been made clearly and repeatedly as well by spokesmen for the Nicaraguan Government. The use of force by the Soviet Union and States allied to it is described not as a use of force, but as a war of national liberation. But Article 51 of the Charter does not require that a nation render itself a sitting duck, that a nation acquiesce in its own terrorization by its neighbours, that a nation acquiesce in being overrun by something defined not as force but as a national liberation movement. Either there are no exemptions from the prohibition against the use of force, or one exemption paves the way for another. The Charter was designed to protect peace and human rights. No constitution designed to protect peace and human rights can be used to destroy those values. If one side in a struggle violates international law, as in the use of violence on behalf of national liberation movements, then the victim may use force to compel the other side to comply with the provisions of international law. This body cannot grant Nicaragua the right to repress its own people and destabilize its neighbours. Nobody has that right. Nobody can grant such rights.

159. What this body can and should do today, and the United States very much hopes will do, is to act resolutely in support of the Contadora process, without ifs, ands, buts, without any conditions whatsoever. The Contadora process provides the best hope existing in the world today for the peaceable resolution of the conflict which today renders life dangerous in Central America. The Contadora process provides the best hope for an end to violence and for the foundation and restoration of co-operation among the countries of the isthmus, especially the countries of Central America. The Contadora process has developed a Document of Objectives,³ which calls attention to the principles of international law governing the actions of States in areas of self-determination. It affirms the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the rejection of the threat or use of force and the export of terrorism and subversion, respect for

the promotion of pluralism in its various manifestations, support for democratic institutions, the promotion of social justice. The ratifying States declared their intention to achieve the 21 objectives designed to promote the development of democratic institutions, to promote detente, to reduce tensions within the region, to enhance respect for territorial boundaries, to end the arms race and the export of terrorism and subversion, to promote economic and social development.

160. We believe that the General Assembly has a solemn obligation to grant unequivocal, unconditional support to the Contadora process. That is what the Government of the United States does, and we would like to invite and encourage all other Governments here today to join us. We think that there is an unusually clear choice before us today, before this body in this debate; either we can promote peace or, by globalizing and ideologizing and exacerbating differences, we can promote a continuation of insecurity, subversion, arms race, tyranny in Central America. We very much hope that this body will decide to promote peace and to do so by way of unequivocal support for the Contadora process.

161. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): The countries of Central America have many similarities—the overwhelming majority are small, poor and in desperate need of development; they have a centuries-old background of oppression and exploitation and a heroic resistance to colonialism and imperialism. They are third-world countries, non-aligned, members of OAS and of the United Nations.

162. This constellation of small defenceless countries in Central America has always faced threats of actual use of force from their giant, towering neighbour to the north. The most recent and dramatic example is the invasion and continuing occupation of the sovereign State of Grenada.

163. The Grenada invasion was a "loud" aggression. There are a number of "silent" United States actions, equally insidious, debilitating and dangerous, that have been going on for some years now, in particular against the people and the Government of Nicaragua. Ever since the 1979 victory of the people of Nicaragua, led by their Sandinist heroes, and the destruction of one of the ramparts of Western imperialism, Nicaragua has been under a siege imposed by the United States, with political and economic blackmail attempts, overt and covert destabilization attempts and a massive show of military might in the form of naval manoeuvres involving a fleet of warships and thousands of United States troops.

164. In other areas the people are waging a courageous struggle to rid themselves of all forms of exploitation while the imperialist forces attempt to maintain their position and their interests in the country. The pattern is the same all over the third world. The one phenomenon that imperialism cannot face, accept or defeat is the nationalist aspirations of a people who wish to chart their own course, who desire to be in control of their own national and human resources, who continue to struggle against any form of colonialist oppression, who wish to be truly non-aligned and who struggle against any violation of their territorial integrity and their sovereignty.

165. The international community has been informed by the people of Central America, through their able representatives here, of their desires. It has also been advised on a number of occasions as to the negotiations and solutions being proposed by the people and Governments of the region regarding their problems.

166. The Assembly would be well advised to support the regional initiative, which is backed not only by the

region itself but also by Governments and peoples in Asia, Africa and Europe, namely, the framework proposed by the Contadora Group, within which the regional problems stand an excellent chance of being solved with due respect for the inalienable rights of all peoples involved and for the principles of international law.

167. At the same time, the Assembly should call for the immediate cessation of the United States naval manoeuvres and the cessation of covert but massive United States support to the forces of destabilization in the area.

168. The Government and the people of Nicaragua have officially and publicly displayed their readiness to enter into negotiations, and my delegation wishes in particular to commend them for their progressive attitude and for their heroic resistance to the unbearable pressure being exerted on them on every front by the regional super-Power.

169. For our part we, the non-aligned countries, should stand firmly committed to the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the inadmissibility of pressure exerted by a super-Power on small countries in the region.

170. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Thanks to the initiative of Nicaragua the General Assembly is considering an additional item, which is one of the most important items on the agenda of the current session. It is entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives".

171. There is no doubt that the discussion of this item is very timely. The situation in Central America, in the Caribbean and in other regions of the world is jeopardizing international peace and security. This is a constant threat that is causing a constant deterioration in the situation and escalating tension, and it presages the proliferation and expansion of conflict. The invasion of Grenada was a foretaste of what could happen in Central America.

172. There is a conflict that is reflected in a tragic and bloody fashion for the peoples of Central America. There is no doubt that this conflict results from the policies of hegemony and domination forcibly implemented by American imperialism. Those policies are a flagrant violation of the principles that should have governed international relations, most important among which is the principle of the non-use or threat of force, the principle of non-interference or intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the principle of respect for the exercise by the peoples of their right to self-determination and to choose the social and political systems which best suit their conditions, the stage of their development, their culture and their history. Those American policies have undermined the right of States to equality, independence and sovereignty. Today the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*] and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103*] all have become pieces of paper blown about by stormy winds.

173. The grave crisis jeopardizing the peace and security of Central America and destabilizing its peoples is due to the conflict between the forces of progress which achieved success and great accomplishments in liberating their societies from exploitation, internal domination and foreign dependency and the mean and bloody forces which spare no effort to regain the lost advantages that they had

wrested from the weak and exploited peoples. At the same time, these forces of aggression exert every effort, foremost among which is the use of military force, to protect institutions and parasitical social and economic structures which are like leeches and blindly exploit the natural, human and economic wealth of the peoples of Central America. Despite all this, those people are described in a manner that is an insult to international morality. They are called "banana republics" or are given other epithets which vary with the crops produced by their countries, crops that are needed by the world and exploited by the monopolistic American and multinational corporations in the worst way.

174. We hold the United States of America responsible for the deteriorating crisis in Central America. That crisis takes many forms. There are civil wars. There are local wars, and there is an external aggression which, on the one hand, is current and, on the other hand, potential. There is no doubt that Nicaragua is the victim of direct and indirect American aggression that is financed, protected and armed by Washington. Since March 1983, having been warned of a plot being hatched against the people and Government of Nicaragua, we have cautioned against the consequences that would ensue from that plot. The fighting along Nicaragua's borders waged by mercenaries, counter-revolutionary or Somoza groups; the sabotage of Nicaragua's vital infrastructures by saboteurs who are the puppets of imperialism; the wide-scale United States naval manoeuvres being conducted in Central American waters; and the policy of the show and threat of force against Nicaragua are all manifestations of the first step in waging aggression against the people and Government of Nicaragua, to deprive that people from completing its great achievement, that of building a society free from oppression and exploitation.

175. One thing that we all find repugnant is the statement made by the President of the United States that the insurgents in Nicaragua receiving covert aid from CIA are freedom fighters who oppose a Government which, according to the President's claim, betrayed the principles of their revolution. The United States has thus, on the basis of the logic of might, arrogated to itself the right to classify States and to evaluate the accomplishments of revolutions while fighting the Sandinist revolution with all its means, visible and otherwise.

176. The United States has no qualms about describing its intelligence agents as freedom fighters, although their basic activity is sabotage and the undermining of progressive regimes. I need not on this occasion go into the series of crimes perpetrated by CIA which are well known to all here. We in the Middle East suffered from the deadly tactics employed by American intelligence agents with the full co-operation of the Israeli intelligence agents, and yet in Washington they have no qualms about calling those intelligence agents freedom fighters. The President of the United States even sought to justify those intelligence operations as a right. He said: "I believe in the right of a country, when it believes that its interests are best served, to practise covert activity."*

177. As a non-aligned State, we declare once more our full commitment to the decisions adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries concerning Central America, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983 [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2]. On this occasion we cannot fail to refer to the fact that, by its arrogance, Washington placed itself in a position of continuous confrontation with the non-aligned countries, which on more than one occasion

denounced the measures taken against Nicaragua, including the destabilization of that country with a view to undermining its system of government, threatening it and carrying out that threat by waging a military invasion of Nicaragua.

178. It is now clear that the American intervention in Latin America has become the rule and not the exception. The record of the United States is replete with examples of this. As evidence, it is sufficient to refer to the acts of aggression committed by the Washington Administration against Latin American States detailed in a statement made by the representative of Nicaragua in the Security Council. In view of the time constraint, I shall not read out the sequence of terrorism and aggression which started in 1984 and is still going on.

179. It seems to us that aggression is an aspect of American democracy. If it is not an aspect of that democracy, it is a tendency, and if it is not a tendency, it is an instinct. This is an extremely dangerous phenomenon.

180. While the item on our agenda covers all of Central America, we must nevertheless realize that Nicaragua is the country most directly threatened. Professor Richard H. Ullman, in an article in the Fall 1983 edition of an American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, pointed out the obsessions plaguing the American mentality. He wrote:

"The Reagan Administration is at war with Nicaragua. Like other wars the United States has fought since 1945 it is an undeclared war. It is also a small war. No U.S. serviceman has yet fired a shot, but American-made bullets from American-made guns are killing Nicaraguans, and the President of the United States has made the demise of the present Nicaraguan Government an all-but-explicit aim of his foreign policy.

"Indeed, the President and his closest advisers seem obsessed with Nicaragua, and their obsession has infected their Government at all levels."*

181. The representative of the United States of America, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, came up with an additional theory to justify aggression when she spoke in the Security Council on 27 October 1983, following the aggression against Grenada. She said: "The prohibitions against the use of force in the United Nations Charter are contextual, not absolute."⁶ If this theory were true, there would be no need for the Charter or for the United Nations, which was established in the wake of the Second World War, a war described as "the war to end all wars".

182. The aggressive intentions against Nicaragua and the accompanying acts of aggression and military manoeuvres by land, sea and air are exacerbating the situation, at a time when Nicaragua, in co-operation with the States of the Contadora Group, is sparing no effort to find a political solution to the problems of Central America. The note by the Secretary-General of 13 October 1983 transmitting the Document of Objectives to the Security Council,³ proves that there are real possibilities of achieving a peaceful settlement in accordance with the Document of Objectives drawn up in Panama City on 9 September 1983. My Government does not doubt the ability of the States concerned to find a *modus vivendi* themselves, free from American intervention. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General in keeping with Security Council resolution 530 (1983). We also support the Nicaraguan proposals with a view to guaranteeing peace and security for the States of Central America, on the basis of the Document of Objectives. But the results of the contacts of the Secretary-General and the efforts of the Contadora Group depend basically on the renunciation by the United

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

States of the policy of violence, threat and force and on that super-Power's adopting a rational policy and behaving responsibly and in accordance with the principles of international law, the most important of which is that of the non-use of force or of the threat of force.

183. Peaceful coexistence in Central America and the establishment of friendly relations among the States of the region cannot be achieved unless the United States of America relinquishes its grip on Latin America, and leaves its peoples to exercise the right of self-determination free from acts of terrorism, sabotage, economic blockade, boycott, sanctions and interventions. The contaminated environment created by the American Administration, the latter's aggression against Grenada and the accompanying American military build-up in the Caribbean and elsewhere do not give grounds for optimism that the parties concerned will achieve a solution that will ensure stability and peace in that part of the world.

184. On the one hand there are global American threats and acts of aggression and on the other there is mobilization and there are operations by the American rapid deployment forces in our area under pretexts and slogans that deceive no one. Those forces participated in the shelling of Lebanese villages and cities, claiming innocent victims. The United States of America has mobilized the largest fleet since the Second World War off the Lebanese shores, comprising 30 warships, in addition to carriers, and 300 military aircraft, and there are statements by American officials which are consonant with certain Israeli statements—all of which poses an explicit threat to the Syrian Arab Republic. But these threats do not frighten us. We defend our rights and the dignity of the Arab nation against aggression and hegemony.

185. In conclusion, I should like to bring to the attention of the Assembly the fact that tension in the Middle East is accompanied by increased tension in Central America, which, in turn, is synchronized with tension in southern Africa. From these indications, we conclude that American imperialism, world zionism, and the States allied with the *apartheid* regime of Pretoria work as part of an integrated plan to reimpose hegemony on the peoples of the third world and to persist in oppressing them.

186. Yet, we are certain that these schemes will fail, thanks to the solidarity of the peoples and the countries of the third world in opposing the forces of exploitation and occupation. It is time that the General Assembly adopted resolutions embodying the sentiments of our peoples. It is time that the General Assembly unambiguously condemned the American-Zionist conspiracy against the countries of Central America, foremost among which is Nicaragua.

187. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The General Assembly is now examining one aspect of the imperialist policy of the United States, a policy that is creating a threat to world peace and security. The United States is pursuing this policy of aggression, pressure and blackmail in all regions of the world. In Europe this takes the form of attempts at nuclear blackmail against the States of the socialist commonwealth; in Africa, it takes the form of encouragement of bandit-like actions by the South African racists against the peoples of the continent and direct participation in the events in Chad; in the Middle East, there are the joint military operations with Israel against the Arab people; in Asia, we see subversive acts in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea. Taken together, this is interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and States in all regions of the world.

188. Such is the policy of the United States. It is a direct challenge to all States and is in complete contradiction

with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and of international law. As a result of the aggressive acts of United States imperialism, a serious threat to the sovereignty and security of many countries has been created, in particular in Central America, as well as a threat to world peace.

189. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has already condemned the clear act of aggression by the United States against Grenada and has demanded that an immediate stop be put to it.

190. United States armed forces have been carrying out various kinds of manoeuvres in Central America for more than a year now, with the direct participation of United States aircraft carriers and the Marines—a symbol of aggression and brutality towards the intended victims. We see subversive operations on a hitherto unknown scale against countries that do not please the United States—in particular, Cuba, Nicaragua and other Latin American countries. A total violation of generally recognized standards of international law and the rights of other countries is obvious from statements by President Reagan in regard to the permissibility of subversive actions against other countries when that best suits the interests of the United States. There, as in other regions of the world, the United States Administration resorts from time to time to the weapon of economic sanctions and blockade.

191. Dictatorial regimes hated by the peoples are implanted in the region and maintained in power by United States bayonets, tanks, truncheons and tear-gas bombs, as well as by so-called United States advisers and, in many cases, by direct United States expeditionary forces.

192. Recently, the situation in Central America and the Caribbean has been increasingly deteriorating as a result of the more frequent use by the United States of its military bases in its colonial dependency, Puerto Rico, and on the territory of other States of the region, in order to carry out punitive and subversive actions against countries of the region. The continuation of such a policy could lead to an extreme escalation of tension.

193. Any unprejudiced person analysing the actions of the White House in Central America, as in any other region of the world, must immediately conclude that Washington acts in accordance with a carefully planned scenario of evil and aggression. To act out that scenario, it uses a whole range of unsavoury methods: intervention, killing, *coups d'état*, bribery, corruption, lies and disinformation at the governmental level, sabotage, blackmail and so forth. This scenario is not only horrible but criminal, and it cannot be camouflaged by any statements by the United States Administration about its desire to normalize the situation, to defend democracy and human rights. The United States has had a long-standing hypocritical policy towards other peoples; this has been referred to earlier in the meeting by the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Indeed, Theodore Roosevelt, a President of the United States, was the first to give very frank instruction in this respect. He said, "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far".

194. To judge by what one reads in the United States press, highly placed United States officials not only recognize but boast about the fact that the Reagan Administration is using CIA to carry out its aggressive actions and sabotage against Nicaragua. The United States has brought together all the remnants of the Somoza regime, who were thrown out by the Nicaraguan people themselves, and has provided them with weapons, taught them to kill, brought them to bases in Honduras and Costa Rica and, from there, sent them into Nicaraguan territory

to carry out criminal acts. As a result, peaceful inhabitants of Nicaragua are dying; stores of fuel are being destroyed; attacks are being carried out against airports. And all this is done by the United States and its CIA.

195. According to *The New York Times*, bases in Honduras are the scene of action of 7,000 to 10,000 troops and there are 3,700 cutthroats in bases in Costa Rica—and they are all supported by the United States. And yet, United States legislation provides that the financing, training or preparation of military actions against a country with which the United States is at peace are criminal offences, for which the usual punishment is three years in prison. In the case of Nicaragua, though, we are talking not only about the financing and preparation of military actions but about actual armed aggression.

196. The undeclared, broad-scale war against Nicaragua being waged by the United States through its hirelings—who snap and snarl at each other for CIA handouts—is an attempt to use armed force to turn back the clock to the bloody Somoza dictatorship, which helped the United States monopolies to plunder the Nicaraguan people. Faced with the impotence of its foster children to divert Nicaragua from the path of the Sandinista revolution, Washington is not threatening direct invasion by United States troops. The Pentagon has dispatched dozens of warships to the Pacific and Atlantic coasts of Nicaragua. Under the guise of training, it has dispatched major military contingents of the United States Army to neighbouring Honduras to give direct assistance to the Somozist bandit formations. The refusal of the United States Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, to answer a journalist's question whether the United States was planning an invasion of Nicaragua causes foreboding in everyone.

197. Nicaragua, Grenada and other countries teach us lessons about what the fancy posturings of Washington about "freedom", "democracy" and "human rights" are really worth, and what moral standards really guide Washington. All of this verbiage is accompanied by the brutal military force of the present United States Administration. As soon as the peoples of various countries cast off the shackles of imperialist exploitation and set out on the path of genuine independent development, they are threatened.

198. This is demonstrated by the fact that the so-called "democratic forces", the American protectors of the El Salvador regime—which even according to former President Carter is "perhaps the most bloodthirsty in the world" automatically include terrorists and bloodstained death squads which have killed many thousands in that country.

199. The claims of the United States of America that its Administration supports a political settlement in Central America is the height of hypocrisy, when actually it is ignoring and rejecting the frequently expressed willingness of the Governments of Cuba and Nicaragua for a peaceful and political settlement of the situation in that region, in line with the initiatives of the Contadora Group.

200. The Government of Nicaragua proposed to the United States the conclusion of four agreements which would change the situation in Central America in the direction of peace and security for all States. But here again the United States immediately rejected this peaceful proposal of Nicaragua. This position shows that the United States is sabotaging the constructive efforts of Nicaragua and other Latin American countries and brazenly demonstrating its lack of interest in a political settlement of the problems of this region. In El Salvador,

for example, the United States is openly favouring a military and not a political resolution of the internal crisis in that country, and has taken almost a billion dollars from American taxpayers to support its puppets in El Salvador.

201. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the dubious laurels of the victory over a defenceless Grenada has made the American military machine restless. The American action against sovereign Grenada has once and for all torn away the mask from United States foreign policy, which is openly counting on the use of its military might to achieve its imperial goals by crushing other countries. For example, it is not an accident, but was rather a deliberate hint when *The New York Times*, in its communication about the American invasion of Grenada, published a map of the distribution of American armed forces in bases throughout the world and then quoted a highly-placed member of the American Administration as saying: "What is the purpose of manoeuvres and shows of force if you can never plan to use them?"

202. The aggressive actions of the United States confirm what was said by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Yuri V. Andropov, in a statement made on 28 September:

"Even if someone had any illusions as to the possibility of a turn for the better in the policy of the present American Administration, the latest developments have finally dispelled them. For the sake of its imperial ambitions, it goes so far that one begins to doubt whether Washington has any brakes at all preventing it from crossing the mark before which any sober-minded person must stop." [See A/38/459, annex.]

203. The profound isolation of the United States in the international arena because of its aggressive foreign policy and its act of banditry against Grenada can be seen in particular in the results of the vote on resolution 38/7 on this question in the General Assembly, and the previous discussion in the Security Council. Except by its yes-men in Israel, and its accomplices in this dastardly act, there was hardly one favourable word said in defence of Washington's action.

204. It must be a matter of concern that the United States is openly demonstrating indifference to the opinion and the demands of the world community. The President of the United States has issued a blatant warning that if a situation similar to that in Grenada arises elsewhere—and it would not be difficult for the United States to dream up something analogous—he could see no reason why the attitude of the United States would be different.

205. And today we saw how the Representative of the United States represents Nicaragua as one more centre of evil. She apparently thinks, to judge by her insinuations, that the General Assembly will here and now change the theme of the agenda item under examination and, indeed, present the United States with a mandate to destroy by armed force Nicaragua, Cuba and the other States which she mentioned in her speech, which was so full of hatred, and at the same time destroy also those disobedient countries which did not support the aggression of the United States against Grenada.

206. Naturally, this will not happen. But we all have something to think about, including the neo-colonialist views on the national liberation movements expressed by Mrs. Kirkpatrick. The present American Administration has only one answer to the revolutionary movement for national liberation. If secret operations, plots, political assassinations, economic blockades and psychological

warfare do not work, the United States, without giving it a second thought, will seize the big stick and use gun-boat diplomacy. We all know that that universal condemnation—and here I am using the very words of the President of the United States—does not make him down-hearted or spoil his breakfast. How dangerous this arrogance is for the cause of peace.

207. The events in Central America are one more proof of the urgent need to induce the Administration of the United States to respect the sovereignty and independence of other countries and the inviolability of their boundaries, to refrain from the use or threat of force against them, or interference in their internal affairs, and from undermining efforts for a peaceful settlement of disputes, and to respect equality of rights and other generally recognized principles of international relations.

208. If we do not give a decisive rebuff to the aggressive high-handedness of the United States, not one non-aligned country, if its policy is not to the taste of the White House, will feel itself secure. We cannot permit the world to be the witness of another tragedy like Grenada.

209. The non-aligned countries have quite rightly condemned the military intervention of the United States in Grenada, and have called for its immediate cessation and the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from that island. They have also given evidence of their firm solidarity with Nicaragua, and have called for an immediate end to all threats, attacks and hostile acts against the people and Government of Nicaragua. They have demanded the immediate and unconditional lifting of the economic blockade and the ending of all other forms of pressure brought to bear against Cuba by the United States of America, and have condemned the recent intensification of that blockade.

210. They have again declared the non-aligned movement's solidarity with Cuba and its full support of Cuba's just demand for the return by the United States of its military base at Guantánamo as well as compensation for the material damage caused the Cuban people.

211. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic joins in the strong demand of the peoples that the crude violence of the United States in Central America and the Caribbean, as well as in other regions of the world, be ended. That is a historic inevitability.

212. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*Interpretation from French*): I wish to begin my statement on the situation in Central America by recalling a significant date in the annals of United States foreign policy. On 9 May 1983, the Representative of the United States solemnly declared before the Security Council that "the United States does not invade small countries on its borders. . . Our neighbours need have no such concerns." Only a few months later, on 25 October to be exact, the United States Administration deployed sizeable armed forces on land, on the sea and in the air in order to invade and occupy Grenada, a neighbouring country thousands of times smaller and weaker than the United States of America, both in terms of area and population and in terms of economic and military capability.

213. Once more the world is obliged to recognize that the American leaders' professions of good will are never reflected in their actions. For them, high-flown words about "the protection of American citizens", "the defence of democratic institutions", "the defence of human rights" and so forth, together with the most absurd fabrications and slanders against other countries—repeated this afternoon in this Hall by the American representative—are nothing but false pretexts intended to mislead

public opinion and to camouflage their acts of intervention and aggression against the independence, sovereignty and right of self-determination of peoples.

214. Exploiting its economic and military superiority, the United States has been striving since the end of the Second World War to realize its dreams of world hegemony. The quest for absolute military supremacy through an unbridled nuclear and conventional arms race is considered by it to be the most efficient means of doing this. What is extremely dangerous about this for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is that such absolute military superiority has on many occasions been used against the peoples struggling for emancipation and against countries which refuse to submit to American diktat. Grenada has been the most recent victim.

215. The countries of Central America and the Caribbean, by virtue of their geographical location and since they are regarded by the United States as its own "private preserve", are the age-old victims of the hegemonist and expansionist policy of their great neighbour to the North. That neighbour has annexed a large portion of the territory of Mexico, has transformed Puerto Rico into a colony and has created conditions in which its national and transnational corporations can pillage the natural resources of the region and exploit the labour of its peoples. At present, this Power is protecting Fascist dictatorships which engage in the bloody repression of peoples rising up against their tyrannical regimes, regimes which are at the root of the poverty of those peoples. In El Salvador, dollars, weapons and military advisers are generously supplied to the junta in power for the purpose of suppressing the heroic struggle of the Salvadorian people, under the banner of the FMLN-FDR, against exploitation and for democracy and freedom.

216. Today, Nicaragua is facing a constant, most serious threat of military intervention from the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans and from certain neighbouring countries. The United States is waging an undeclared war against it, both directly and through its proxies, for the sole reason that the Nicaraguan people refuses to submit to American diktat and is staunchly defending its sovereignty and its democratic birthright acquired at the cost of a drawn-out struggle, involving great sacrifices, against the dictatorial and bloody Somoza regime.

217. My delegation listened with interest and careful attention to the important statement made at the 47th meeting by the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, in which he painted a tragic picture of the situation in his country and offered us a very convincing outline of Nicaragua's peace initiatives aimed at putting an end to the current crisis in Central America, which is due to the aggressive interventionist policies of the United States of America. My delegation wishes to assure the Foreign Minister that the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam continue to stand in unwavering solidarity with the Sandinist Government and the people of Nicaragua.

218. Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the triumph of the Cuban revolution, and yet those who harboured the illusion that they could reverse the situation in that country have still not renounced their evil designs. They are intensifying their economic blockade and all kinds of pressure, including the threat of military intervention. Successive United States Governments have been savagely opposed to Cuba, first and foremost because Cuba is a living embodiment of genuine freedom and democracy capable of arousing the spirit of the millions and millions of disinherit ed throughout the world, and, secondly, because Cuba symbolizes the right-minded alliance of patriotic revolutionary heroism with selfless

internationalism in its purest form, always ready to make the supreme sacrifice, either in defence of its own independence or in order to come to the brotherly aid of other peoples struggling for national liberation and reconstruction, whether in Viet Nam, in Angola, in Grenada or elsewhere.

219. The situation in Central America is especially dangerous because the American Secretary of Defense has cynically stated that his task is to win a military victory and clearly to draw the boundary of the "free world" in that region. The international community should be ready for the worst from those who egg on and protect the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and from the Zionist regime of Israel, their declared strategic allies, and who believe that they would win a so-called limited nuclear war.

220. It will be recalled that after the Viet Nam war the Washington authorities said that they would avoid becoming involved in a "second Viet Nam", without however renouncing their strategy of world hegemony. Yet only a few years later the new United States Administration embarked on a new phase of the arms race, pursuing a policy of aggression in the hope of recovering its "lost positions", advocating the use of force whenever and wherever it is sure of military victory. The recent invasion of Grenada is part of that policy. Thus with that invasion and other military activities in Central America the United States is now repeating the actions which led up to the Viet Nam war.

221. However, the age in which imperialism could call the shots has gone. Nowadays, the ability of peoples to defend their national rights and preserve peace is greater than ever. The opinion is held that if the forces of aggression obstinately pursue their foolhardy adventure in Central America they will inevitably confront a second Viet Nam in the western hemisphere. If the aggressors were to launch a large-scale war, it might bring great death and destruction to the populations, but it could never reverse the course of history or shake the resolve of the peoples to put an end to imperialist domination and the regimes which are at the heart of their suffering, nor weaken their determination to choose the course of development which suits them. If the aggressors persist in their excesses, they will be stopped short by the peoples' resistance and suffer a crushing defeat.

222. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, in analysing the situation in Central America, stated that:

"Central America faced a serious political, social and economic crisis brought about for the most part by the traditional repressive power structure and by national economic structures that produce poverty, inequality and misery and aggravated by the interference and intervention to which those countries have been subjected since the end of the last century." [A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 134.] It also "reaffirmed the right of all peoples of the region to national self-determination, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and their right to choose their own political, economic and social systems . . . free from any type of external interference or pressure." [Ibid., para. 145.]

223. Rejecting the tendentious arguments of those who describe the struggle of the peoples of Central America and other parts of the world against imperialism as East-West confrontation, the Conference declared that:

"The attempt to erroneously characterize the struggles of peoples for independence and human dignity as falling within the context of East-West confrontation

denies them the right to determine their own destiny and realize their legitimate aspirations." [Ibid., para. 12.]

224. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in the declaration made on 26 October by its Foreign Minister strongly condemning the aggression against Grenada, emphasized:

"Alongside the new American escalation of the siege, blockade, subversion and threat of aggression against the people of El Salvador, the Republic of Nicaragua and the Republic of Cuba, the American aggression against Grenada has created an extremely tense situation seriously threatening the peace and security of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean."

225. My country demands of the United States the cessation of the aggression against Grenada and the immediate withdrawal from that country of all the occupying troops; the end of the economic blockade and acts of subversion against Cuba; the end of acts of armed aggression, direct or indirect or through the use of mercenaries, against Nicaragua; and an end to the intervention in the internal affairs of El Salvador, and of the sending of weapons and military advisers to that country and other countries of Central America.

226. The peace initiatives by the countries of the Contadora Group, including the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [A/38/303], are praiseworthy efforts to find a peaceful solution to the current crisis in the region, and they have our firm support. Similarly, my country warmly welcomes the six-point proposal of 19 July and the draft treaties put forward by Nicaragua with the aim of mutually guaranteeing security and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the countries concerned. These proposals reflect the good faith of the Government of Nicaragua and its desire to make a substantive contribution to the restoration of peace and stability in that part of the world.

227. The General Assembly is considering the situation in Central America at a time when the aggressors have vetoed in the Security Council a draft resolution condemning the aggression in Grenada and have blocked the implementation of Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which appeals urgently to the interested States to resolve their differences through a frank and constructive dialogue. Moreover, all the signs are that they are feverishly preparing for a fresh military adventure, this time against Nicaragua. Faced with this extremely dangerous situation, the international community must take urgent, concrete and energetic measures to condemn the aggressors and to stay their criminal hands, to support the constructive proposals that I have just mentioned, which came from Nicaragua and the Contadora Group, and to encourage dialogue on a basis of equality in the search for a comprehensive political solution to the problems of Central America and the Caribbean.

228. The Vietnamese delegation is ready to offer its firm support to a draft resolution in the General Assembly to that end.

229. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Over recent years Austria has observed developments in the Central American region with ever-increasing concern, as numerous violations of human rights, growing interference by extra-regional forces, acts of violence and the use of force have contributed to escalating the tensions that persist in the area.

230. In his note to the Security Council on the situation in Central America, the Secretary-General expressed the opinion that in view of its nature and possible ramifications the situation currently prevailing in the Central

American region constituted a threat to international peace and security. It was, therefore, appropriate for the Security Council to include the situation in the Central American region in its deliberations.

231. In its resolution 530 (1983) on this subject, the Council recalled a number of important principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations as being of particular relevance. In this connection, the Council referred to the obligation of States to settle their disputes exclusively by peaceful means, not to resort to the threat or use of force and to respect the right of self-determination of peoples and the sovereign independence of all States. Those are indeed fundamental principles which govern the orderly and peaceful conduct of relations between States. Their faithful implementation is of paramount importance for the future development of Central America.

232. The inclusion of the item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" in the agenda of the General Assembly gives Austria an opportunity to express once more its views and profound concern about the development in this region. In June of this year the Austrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Erwin Lanc, issued a public statement in which he stressed that a solution to the problems of the region can only be reached by eliminating their root causes, such as the lack of economic development, social injustice and age-old exploitation and repression. Any approach to the Central American question which reduces this problem simply or primarily to a matter of East-West confrontation or to an issue of spheres of influence or competing ideologies misses the essential point and can only aggravate the situation. In our view, this crisis cannot be solved by military means. A settlement cannot be imposed from outside; it can only be achieved through free negotiations among all the parties directly concerned.

233. The Austrian Government is especially gratified by the initiative undertaken by the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—with a view to bringing about a peaceful solution to the crisis by way of negotiations and consultations. We are pleased to learn that over recent weeks these efforts have been further intensified and have resulted in marked progress by opening up a dialogue with and among the States concerned. Austria hopes that the Document of Objectives, jointly adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and those of the five Central American States,³ will prove to be a sound basis for further constructive efforts. This document defines the basic principles of an eventual solution as well as specific areas of negotiation. Among these principles, which include those that have been already recalled by the Security Council in adopting resolution 530 (1983), I should like to stress the objectives of non-intervention, the promotion of social justice, the enhancement of pluralism in its various forms, the full effectiveness of democratic institutions and respect for and promotion of human rights. The launching of negotiations with the aim of formalizing and developing the objectives contained in the document could, in our view, provide the mechanisms for the creation of peace in the region.

234. In this connection, however, the recent military intervention on the island of Grenada gives rise to serious concern. As a matter of principle, Austria is of the view that the use of military means for the solution of political conflicts can in no circumstances be justified. Austria was therefore opposed to the intervention of American and other troops in Grenada and voted in favour of resolution 38/7 of the General Assembly which, *inter alia*, deeply

deplored the intervention as a violation of international law and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Grenada. Austria furthermore shares the concern of many Central and South American States that the intervention in Grenada will cause additional difficulties for the ongoing search for a peaceful solution to the present conflicts dividing Central America.

235. As I have already indicated, the attainment of that aim will require the elimination of the unjust economic, social and political structures of the region and the creation of conditions which will allow all social groups to share in the economic progress of their countries and all political forces to participate actively in the political process.

236. Austria is firmly convinced that armed conflict has to be replaced by dialogue and negotiations. Efforts in this direction, therefore, deserve the support of the international community. We urgently hope that these efforts can be carried on unhampered by foreign interference, that they will gain further momentum and finally result in the elaboration of solutions adapted to the realities of this region, without any impediments resulting from the East-West conflict, and thus lead to the establishment of peace and harmonious relations in Central America. It must be possible for all States in the region to establish and maintain a truly democratic society. The remarkable model provided by Costa Rica has our admiration because it proves that pluralism, human rights and social development can be obtained and safeguarded in spite of the difficult conditions prevailing in Central America. As in the past, Austria will continue to contribute, through political, economic and cultural co-operation, to a peaceful evolution, social progress and democratic pluralism in that region.

237. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and in the course of the past year the Government of the Dominican Republic has constantly expressed to the international community its profound anxiety in the face of the crisis affecting the Central American region. Throughout all this time, we have unequivocally and unswervingly maintained our most profound belief that a settlement of the crisis can be valid and durable only if it is the result of dialogue and the political will to reach an understanding among the parties directly involved. It was therefore necessary to create propitious conditions for this climate of confidence and to promote genuine willingness on the part of the interested parties to enter into constructive dialogue. This aspect of the crisis, happily, is now being tackled and we must recognize that the commendable work of the Contadora Group has made a fundamental contribution in this connection.

238. The simple fact that the threat of a widespread conflagration which might become general throughout the area has been prevented is one of the most valuable services rendered by the Contadora Group to the cause of peace. The aspect to which I am referring became more hopeful and promising with the meeting in Cancún, Mexico, in July, of the Heads of State of the Contadora Group.

239. The Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, [*ibid.*] a remarkable document which encompasses general, valid and essential guidelines for the attainment of peace in the region, has given fresh impetus to Contadora's activities. Proof of this is the result of the Group's meeting with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, held in Panama in September. Taking as a frame of reference and as its inspiration the Cancún

Declaration, together with other no less valid proposals, a Document of Objectives was drafted and won the acceptance of all parties and might therefore represent a basis for understanding in future negotiations. It is our hope and prayer that this Document of Objectives will lead to fresh, clear and valuable guidelines for action in the situation.

240. Now, there is another aspect of the Central American situation which gives us extreme cause for concern and we believe that it should be paid the most careful attention by the international community. We are, I think it is obvious, referring to the aggravation of the warlike situation, the arms race and the increasing foreign interference in internal affairs which are essentially within the exclusive competence of Central American countries. This gloomy picture, which is in sharp contrast with the other aspect with which I have already dealt, shows a continuing tendency to deteriorate.

241. Given that dangerous situation, we fully share the position of the Heads of State signatories of the Cancún Declaration who said that "the use of force is an approach that does not dissolve but aggravates the underlying tensions". Thus, in our quest for a peaceful solution to the crisis prevailing in the region, it is necessary for the fundamental principles of the international legal order to be reaffirmed and reinforced, above all those principles which guarantee harmonious and civilized coexistence among nations, including non-intervention, self-determination, the sovereign equality of States, the obligation not to permit the territory of a State to be used for the commission of acts of aggression against other States, ideological pluralism, the prohibition of the use or threat of use of force to settle international conflicts, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States, and co-operation for economic and social development.

242. In this context we should like to refer to the following statement made by the Dominican Minister for Foreign Affairs in the general debate.

"The Cancún line of thinking, the essence of which is regional political understanding based on respect for the principles of non-interference and the self-determination of peoples, necessarily implies a strengthening of democratic institutions, the guarantee of the observance of human rights and a programme of socio-economic development leading to social justice." [21st meeting, para. 185.]

243. In the hope that the new phase in the peace-making process which began with the preparation of the Document of Objectives will lead to the implementation of concrete measures designed to promote détente, eliminate hotbeds of conflict in the region and establish the right kind of machinery and procedures to bring about the achievement of those objectives, we repeat once again our gratitude to and support of the work being carried out by the Contadora Group, which has the greatest appreciation and encouragement of the Dominican Government.

244. In conclusion, we reaffirm our constant readiness to contribute to the noble task of restoring peace through peaceful methods for the solution of conflicts as an expression of our unswerving devotion to peace and a sincere expression of Latin American solidarity and brotherhood.

245. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is profoundly concerned at the intensification of tension in Central America. Our concern over this was expressed during the general debate of the current session of the General Assembly by the majority

of States Members of the United Nations. The result of the efforts aimed at the prevention of the free and democratic development of peoples in that region has been an increase in the danger of the outbreak of an armed conflict that would not only bring about immeasurable suffering to the millions of peace-loving inhabitants of the Central American region but also create a serious threat to world peace.

246. Czechoslovakia has traditionally maintained good relations with the overwhelming majority of the Central American countries. These relations are based upon mutual benefit, respect and the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. The basic prerequisite for the successful development of those countries is that they should be able to implement their social programmes aimed at liquidating their historically unjust backwardness of former colonies and throw off the fetters of neo-colonialist dependence on world imperialism, primarily by strengthening their economies.

247. The viable national economies which are least dependent on the world market, which is controlled by transnational corporations, and objectively are included in the process of integration within the framework of the given region are necessary for improving those countries' ability to defend their national cultural heritage and their cultures against destruction and colonization, thereby enabling the peoples of those countries to make their own individual contribution to the achievement of universal progress as equal partners.

248. For these reasons, Czechoslovakia not only provides full moral support to the endeavours of those countries for emancipation, but also offers and makes available to those countries, in accordance with their desires, the technology that would help them make use of their own resources and assistance in training their technical personnel at the levels desired. This position of principle in Czechoslovakian foreign policy is not merely suited to the moment; it is a long-term and unswerving course that has been set forth in a number of treaties and other instruments of a legal character concluded with the separate Governments of a given region. Therefore we categorically reject the statements of the Government of the United States of America to the effect that the present highly tense and dangerous situation in Central America has been provoked by the "expansion of communism". On the contrary, we fully support the position of the overwhelming majority of the world community, a position adopted by a number of Governments, regardless of their political persuasion, including public opinion and the voices of realistic political figures in the United States itself, according to which the reason for the tension in Central America is the desire of the United States Government to maintain by all means available the outmoded relations of subordination of the countries of that region to its own economic and political strategic interests.

249. The United States Government is maintaining an undeclared war against Nicaragua "in defence of democracy". Yet the Fascist terror of the dictator Somoza did not prevent the granting of unlimited assistance to Nicaragua so long as that country played the role of a policeman defending the interests of the United States in the region. The reason for the change in its attitude to that country is that Nicaragua decided freely and in the light of its own historical experience to choose its own social structure. The Government of the United States, striving to prevent this, has let loose its special services created in this region, enabling it to promote dictators to leading positions in the political systems of the neighbouring countries, so that on the basis of manufactured contradictions they can stir up old conflicts and unleash new ones.

250. The objective pre-condition for the flourishing of countries in a region is co-operation and friendship between them. The Reagan Administration finances and arms professional cutthroats and terrorists in order to destroy the national heritage and the economic bases created by the people of Nicaragua, thereby preventing the Government from carrying out its social programmes. The United States is sabotaging development in Nicaragua in the fields where it artificially maintains instability, such as energy, the production of basic foodstuffs and so on. It is thus trying to deprive the Government of the support of the national masses. Confirmation of the fact that the United States Government has decided by every possible means to liquidate the progressive Government of Nicaragua, which enjoys the support of the whole people, can be seen in its stubborn refusal to enter into negotiations proposed by the Government of Nicaragua in order to settle their mutual relations.

251. Similar goals are also being pursued by the United States in El Salvador, where the opposition of the national masses, as a result of the unbearable social conditions after all political instruments had been used, has taken the form of armed struggle. Here again the United States brandishes arguments about "expansion of communism", while the people are struggling for elementary living conditions and for their first right, the right to life. The United States Government has in fact turned El Salvador into a protectorate to which there is a flow of weapons and other instruments to maintain the existing *status quo* in the hands of the repressive governmental apparatus, as the *status quo* is beneficial to the United States. Again, in the interests of "the defence of democracy", regardless of the tens of thousands of people killed, the present United States Government is striving in vain to distract its own and world public opinion and does not want to end the blood-letting, although the unified national resistance is proposing negotiations.

252. It is impossible to demand that FMLN and FDR lay down their weapons and enter their names in electoral lists under conditions where the mere suspicion of sympathy for the progressive movement is sufficient basis for a death sentence as an example to others.

253. Czechoslovakia is of the view that the demand of FMLN and FDR to enter into negotiations without preliminary conditions, to set up a provisional government with proportional representation, to purge Fascist elements from the army and to prevent further activity by the "death squads" responds to the given conditions and we fully support it.

254. Czechoslovakia is also convinced that the settlement of the Salvadorian problem is one of the key steps towards a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America in general.

255. The way to a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America can be found in the constructive proposals put forward by Nicaragua and Cuba. Those extremely useful proposals are also contained in official documents of the non-aligned movement. In that connection, Czechoslovakia views as exceptionally useful and urgent the sincere efforts of the Heads of Government of Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela aimed at bringing about a peaceful settlement of the present tense situation in Central America. Czechoslovakia actively supports those efforts.

256. In our opinion, the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America is of the highest importance. In that

Declaration the Governments emphasized that peace in Central America can become a reality only if there is respect for the basic principles of the coexistence of nations: non-intervention; self-determination; the sovereign equality of States; co-operation for economic and social development; the peaceful settlement of disputes; and free and authentic expression of the popular will.

257. However, the efforts of the United States to aid and abet the activities of the Central American Defense Council in order to develop co-operation among the reactionary régimes of that region against the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua, and its attempts to crush the liberation movement in the region, are a cause for anxiety and concern. Recent events in Grenada are a graphic illustration of how the present United States Administration uses the regional organizations for its own imperialist ends. That Administration does not consider the legitimate interests of individual Governments and peoples, nor does it heed the voice of the world community or the basic norms of international law.

258. In the present circumstances we also view the deliberate efforts being made by the leaders of Nicaragua and the Government of National Reconstruction with regard to the solution of the complex Central American problem in accordance with the recommendations of the Contadora Group as a very important forward step. The fact that at the present juncture in that complex situation, compounded as it is by imperialist aggression, Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction has abandoned its original position with regard to bilateral negotiations between the Governments concerned in the dispute, has accepted the idea of conducting such negotiations on a multilateral basis, and has agreed a priori with the six fundamental and most important points contained in the Cancún Declaration, is a demonstration of Nicaragua's sincere desire to put an end to the very dangerous escalation of tension in that region and to prevent further suffering, not only by the people of Nicaragua but by the peoples of the other countries concerned in the conflict as well.

259. The Czechoslovak Government hopes that the Government of the United States will, in the interests of universal peace, manifest at least equal wisdom, end its aggression and enter immediately into negotiations. At its meeting in January this year the Political Consultative Committee of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty called for those negotiations to begin immediately, convinced as they are that such negotiations are the only way of achieving a just solution of existing international problems.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year*, 2489th meeting.

² *Ibid.*, 2436th meeting.

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-eight Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

⁴ *Ibid.*, document S/16021, annex III.

⁵ See *Official Journal of the European Communities*, No. C 307, 26th Year, pp. 39 and 40.

⁶ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year*, 2491st meeting.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2431st meeting.