



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

AGENDA ITEM 142

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

1. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When the item on the situation in Central America was included in the agenda, the delegation of Costa Rica expressed its concern to the effect that a debate in the United Nations might do more harm than good to the peace-making activities of the Contadora Group. Today, faced with what we had so much feared, the debate becomes an opportunity to fulfil an obligation of historic importance and to ask the international community to adopt a constructive attitude in the difficult efforts to improve the lot of the people of Central America. This constructive attitude should be the outcome of a positive effort and of a clear understanding of the process that has led to the situation prevailing in Central America.

2. The tensions which threaten peace in Central America stem from the historical evolution which explains the existence of national structures unable to channel the needs of the peoples, to which has been added today the foreign presence, which sometimes inclines more to war than to peace. The blood which flows and threatens to drown our people is shed in the service of causes which are alien to the needs of the men and women of our region. It is true that the crisis of Central America is rooted in the history of our lands, but the global confrontation between the major blocs is evident also in Central America, as indeed in every corner of the world. To disregard that would be madness. To seek peace without striving to achieve a constructive attitude on the part of all the outside forces involved would not be realistic.

3. More than 40 years ago the social democrats in my country saw with anguish how military dictatorships stifled the aspirations of the peoples of Central America. The international militarists exploited the wealth and the labour of sister countries. It seemed natural for those oppressed and exploited peoples to give vent to their frustration in convulsive struggles for development. Today's revolutions in Latin America have been, and continue to be, the response to inadequate development. What is not natural or fair is for modern glass bead peddlars to come and sell their mirages and extract more blood from the long-suffering peoples of Central America.

4. Costa Rica is not part of the problem of Central America, but Central America is part of the problems of Costa Rica.

5. Costa Rica, the poorest and least populated of the Spanish colonies in Central America, made these deficiencies and its relative isolation the starting-point of a unique history. Because of this special history, Costa Ricans did not at that time take their culture to their peasants

in massive efforts to spread literacy. However, 125 years ago we promoted the idea of free compulsory primary education. To this day we are devoting one third of our national budget to education.

6. Thanks to its very special evolution, Costa Rica has for many years now been devoting 10 per cent of its gross national product to public health. The life expectancy of Costa Ricans was more than 72 years in 1982. The struggle of the people of Costa Rica for better health has led to levels comparable to those in many developed nations. Years of persistent work have resulted in the eradication of illnesses common to our latitudes.

7. Our history is not lacking in achievements and sacrifices to bar the way to foreign interests intent on depriving us of what is ours. After long years of struggle against the privileges of the banana empire, sovereignty over its own resources returned to our people. We have also struggled to recover for our nation control of our railroad network and of the production of electricity. Enormous efforts have enabled us to explore our soil and exploit our resources. Early in the life of our nation—in 1856—we took up arms to expel from Central America the slave traders who were attempting to subjugate our people. Today we are continuing to strive, just as we did at that time, to ensure that the peoples of Central America may choose their own future without hegemonist interference.

8. But this struggle for our sovereignty was not limited to the political struggles that have marked our history. Also early in our life as a nation we fought for community control over the economic machinery that is indispensable for development. In 1924 the State of Costa Rica nationalized the resources generated by the insurance business. In 1936 the State claimed for itself a monopoly in issuing currency. In 1944 the public machinery necessary to ensure stability of prices of basic consumer goods was created. In 1949 we granted the public banking sector the exclusive right to accept deposits in current accounts, as a means of mobilizing considerable national resources for development. Also in 1949 we nationalized the production of electricity and communications. We have created a system whose effectiveness makes it possible for us to sell electrical energy to neighbouring countries. With regard to communications, Costa Rica occupies first place in Latin America with respect to the number of telephones in operation.

9. While mentioning this process of recovery of national sovereignty in various fields, I should like to point out that before the happy initiative of Mexico became a reality, the leaders of my country acted in keeping with the spirit of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

10. Our juridical and institutional development began when we were still a very young nation. In the legal field, we have accomplished a great deal since the 1821 Basic Social Pact and the 1840 General Code. Today we pride ourselves on having a legal system and judicial institutions which effectively guarantee the rights of the individual and of legal entities. In the political field, we have developed our institutions, which, as representatives know, do

not include an army. Democracy has increased by the improvement of suffrage, political parties, trade unions and citizens' associations. Suffrage advanced from the indirect forms characteristic of the nineteenth century to direct and secret suffrage in 1912, male universal suffrage in 1924 and, finally, the right to vote of all men and women in 1949. To give one more figure, the participation of more than 80 per cent of the citizens in the primaries held every four years attests to the solid and broad base of suffrage in Costa Rica. Proof of the impartiality of the Costa Rican electoral system is the fact that of the last eight elections seven have been won by the opposition to the present Government.

11. Our Political Constitution gives every guarantee for the establishment and functioning of political parties. The requirements for establishing them are so democratic that there are eight such parties at the national level. At the local level, there are some 20 parties participating in the primaries. Parties of every ideological orientation function regularly, even though some of them do not obtain more than 0.2 per cent of the vote. It is important to point out that the State contributes to the financing of the electoral campaigns of those parties which obtain more than 5 per cent of the vote. The Marxist-Leninist parties have obtained that minimum and have received State financing to carry out their campaign activities.

12. I repeat that Costa Rica is not part of the problem of Central America, but Central America is part of the problems of Costa Rica.

13. As long ago as 1942 a labour code was promulgated containing certain legal provisions governing labour relations, and our Constitution incorporates guarantees which promote associations of workers, free of all interference, to protect their interests. These legal and constitutional provisions channel the militant actions of our workers, who more than 50 years ago were able to carry out the "banana strike"—industrial action that was unprecedented in the region.

14. No, Costa Rica is not part of the problem of Central America, but Central America is part of the problems of Costa Rica.

15. I have attempted to describe in a few words the struggle of our people to create a society working for progress, social justice and freedom, in the belief that these most precious assets cannot be taken for granted, but must be won; a society that understands that today is the result of the struggles and sacrifices of the past and that tomorrow will be the achievement of today's efforts and dreams. I have ventured to do so in the hope that representatives may understand that our only motive for participating in the current debate is the desire for peace—the peace that we need to preserve what we have already achieved and to continue to build upon it.

16. The lot of the peoples of Central America has deteriorated of late, both as a result of the international economic crisis and because of the fratricidal struggles ravaging our peoples and the tensions which keep our countries from the peace which we need for our progress and development. It is estimated that in real terms the per capita income of the Salvadorian people is still at the 1957 levels; the Nicaraguan people earn the same per capita income as they did in 1962; the Hondurans earn the same as they did in 1966; we in Costa Rica have returned to the figures of 1972; and the people of Guatemala earn the same per capita income as they did in 1973. Ten or twenty years of wasted efforts are a punishment added to the bloodshed and sacrifices of the peoples of Central America. Those in Central America, and in other lands too, who believe that war can serve to establish

justice or to defend their interests are trying to take our peoples back 100 years and force us to build a future on the ruins of the work of many generations of Central Americans.

17. We in Costa Rica do not believe in martyrdom or the expiation of the guilt of others. We refuse to be hurled into the abyss of war and destruction. In an era of turmoil and political upheaval we shall prevail not by being as hard as stone, but by showing flexibility and a willingness to change.

18. It is for the States of Central America to take a constructive attitude towards the solution of the problems affecting the region. It is for the international community to give its resolute, unequivocal support to the efforts of the nine countries which are meeting on the initiative of the Contadora Group. Attempts to come up with political declarations expressing political support for only one of the peoples suffering because of war and aggression can only weaken these efforts. Those who do this will bear the historical responsibility for having contributed to tensions and having left in oblivion other Central American peoples whose flesh also feels the scourge of war and aggression.

19. Great efforts have been made in Latin American countries to give unity and strength to peace-making initiatives. The Co-operative Group for the Economic and Social Development of the Central American Countries, with the participation of the five countries of the region, met a short time ago in Brussels in order to channel assistance—above all, that from the industrialized countries—to the development of our peoples. No one was excluded from this process of resource management, and no one will be excluded from the allocation of these resources. Furthermore, the Council of Ministers of the Latin American Economic System has decided to set up an Action Committee for the Support of Economic and Social Development in Central America as a way of co-ordinating the region's co-operation efforts. No one will be excluded from this initiative either.

20. It is the moral duty of the international community to support these joint efforts, not hinder them by making unrealistic statements which will change nothing and which steadily undermine the work of the nine Contadora Group and Central American countries.

21. At a solemn ceremony to be held at the National Theatre of Costa Rica on Thursday, 17 November 1983, at 8 p.m., President Luis Alberto Monge will proclaim Costa Rica's permanent neutrality in any military conflict.

22. Costa Rica's permanent neutrality is the culmination of the process of unilateral and voluntary disarmament begun by our democracy in 1948 and made a constitutional requirement in 1949 by our National Constituent Assembly, which banned the army. Since then a 7,000-man police force has sufficed to maintain security and order in our country. Many countries accept the risk of having an army; Costa Rica accepts the risk of not having one.

23. For our external defence we rely on the principle of collective security set out in the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of American States. Twice in the past Costa Rica has been the victim of military invasions, which were repelled with the weapons of international law. Costa Rica has never been an aggressor country. Our explicit renunciation of war, a basic factor in our permanent neutrality, confirms the spirit of disarmament, neutrality and peace which is a characteristic of the historical development of our people.

24. At the 17 November ceremony the draft reform of our Political Constitution to incorporate the right of

neutrality in our legal code will be made public. Also, President Luis Alberto Monge will make a proclamation defining the duties and rights of permanent neutrality which Costa Rica will assume in full sovereignty before the international community.

25. It is from the perspective of a society living in peace with itself and with others that Costa Rica appeals earnestly to the international community as represented in the Organization to speak with good judgement on the Central American crisis and to put its confidence in the Contadora Group; to charge the nations of the Group to remove all traces of outside interference; to call on the nine countries involved in this difficult task to conclude binding agreements to implement the Document of Objectives,¹ to which the five Central American countries subscribed; and to set aside the temptation to adopt positions which could lead to heightened tension, conflagration and war.

26. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): El Salvador is participating in the debate on the situation in Central America in the knowledge that it will contribute nothing to the cause of peace and understanding in the region. On the contrary, it will serve to polarize positions, increase suspicions between countries, and even encourage acts of force by groups that wish the echo of such acts of violence to be heard in the forum of the United Nations. Furthermore, this debate has been distorted by the dissemination in the corridors of specious lies about political and military events which have not taken place in Central American countries.

27. Needless to say, in the context of the work of the Contadora Group this debate has a completely negative effect. In fact, there is an attempt to manipulate and even to create a political diktat concerning the work of the Contadora Group through the General Assembly. The obvious result will be to destroy the work of the Contadora Group on two fronts: externally, by putting pressure on the Contadora countries in an attempt to impose certain parameters on their good offices, and undermine their freedom to take initiatives; and internally, by prescribing in advance formulas which are unacceptable to countries of the subregion.

28. Nicaragua, in a dangerous political trick—dangerous because it could result in the cancellation of the regional dialogue, which is still going on—is trying to tread a fine line between the two forums, which are neither parallel nor identical. On the contrary, what could emerge from this would be different from and even incompatible with the very essence of the Contadora process, which is based on the understanding of means that have been accepted unanimously by the five Central American countries. The sovereign will of each of our countries cannot be superseded by non-binding decisions coming from bodies outside the region. El Salvador will never permit its sovereignty to be replaced by recommendations harmful to its national interests and to the subregion in general.

29. Nicaragua, in its hallucinations on the effectiveness of the United Nations, has lost track of the real prospects of what the Organization can do in practice and is ignoring its inherent limitations. It has forgotten that the entire Contadora process rests on the fact that there must be a convergence of views of all Central American countries. No formula or suggestion can be imposed on the Contadora Group. The process is a totally voluntary one and is 100 per cent the outcome of the free consent of the people, and this basic fact is one that can be neither modified, changed, transferred nor delegated.

30. Therefore when Nicaragua informally circulated a draft resolution custom-tailored, as though this were some kind of suit, one could not help asking oneself whether it was acting in all seriousness, or whether its bad faith was such that it clouded the judgement of the author of the text. In this distorted vision it does not realize that it is actually leading to the destruction of the Contadora Group. Or maybe it is doing that on purpose. We must consider this latter option in light of Nicaragua's conduct during the current session. Without heeding the advice of statesmen of countries involved in Contadora's efforts and disregarding the opposition of the other four Central American countries, Nicaragua asked for the inclusion of this item. Then, forcing a quasi-compromise, it asked that it be assigned to this body, and finally it asked that it be discussed at this time. In other words, Nicaragua is leading us unceremoniously into a debate that is both inconvenient and harmful. But that conduct does not stop there. It submits what it calls peace initiatives to those whom it should not, namely, the Government of the United States of America, instead of having done so solely to the Contadora Group—as though that group was not deserving of respect. Clearly this action undermines the Contadora Group.

31. One cannot act in this manner, with one foot in the door and the other out.

32. I should like to refer to El Salvador's policy based on what we have already stated on previous occasions. We know that Central America is now a region in turmoil, and hence we have acted with the most scrupulous respect for the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of our neighbours. Nicaragua, on the contrary, has followed an interventionist policy, and the accumulation of evidence singles out the Government of Nicaragua as the primary factor in the instability of Central America.

33. Thus my country has been the victim, among other warlike and hostile acts, of a continuing traffic in weapons, with Nicaragua as the last link in the chain. From there orders are sent to armed groups of the extreme left operating in El Salvador. These groups have their headquarters in Nicaragua and logistic support is channelled through them. Here by way of illustration I should like to refer to two publications

34. In *Time* magazine of 9 May 1983, under the heading "Like a Sears Roebuck Catalogue", we read:

"According to a Sandinista military defector interviewed by *Time*, the building of a Nicaraguan arms link to El Salvador began almost as soon as the victorious revolutionaries took power in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua in July 1979. Says the defector: 'It took nine months to plan the operation. The arms that eventually went to El Salvador were first taken from our forces who fought against Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle. After the triumph, they were instructed to turn in their weapons, which were put in warehouses and held for shipment to El Salvador. Then it was discussed who would take them there. It was decided that the organization to run this was [Sandinista] military intelligence. As former guerrillas, we knew that different routes could be used to make it difficult to prove that this was happening. We studied the environmental and human factors to determine the possibility of the mission's success.'

"According to the defector, arms were secreted in trailer trucks with dummy fuel tanks, then driven from Nicaragua through Honduras to El Salvador. Some of those runs were detected. In 1981 the Reagan Administration displayed photographs of such a truck containing a cache of U.S.-made M-16 rifles in its false

bottom. The serial numbers on some of the rifles showed that the weapons had been left behind by U.S. forces in Viet Nam.

“ . . .

“Since those days, the Nicaraguan arms smugglers have turned to more sophisticated methods. An insight into their tactics came last March, when Honduran police intercepted a group of green-uniformed Salvadorian irregulars backpacking near the town of Nacaome, 50 miles from the Nicaragua-Honduras border. After a gunfight, the Salvadorians fled, leaving behind notebooks that mapped out, in unusual detail, an important arms infiltration route . . . The arms routes are interchangeable and almost impossible to patrol on a constant basis.

“Other military shipments come in by air and sea. Sandinista smugglers have been known to move supplies directly across the 20-mile-wide Gulf of Fonseca. When the going is safe, the Nicaraguans make night-time forays from the Pacific gulf port of Potosí aboard small fishing boats equipped with false bottoms, or 50-foot frame canoes.

“ . . .

“U.S. intelligence sources insist that there is a constant chatter of coded radio traffic between the Salvadorian rebels and Managua. When Salvadorian guerrilla units stop fighting, says a U.S. expert, ‘You can hear them order supplies [from Nicaragua]. A unit says, ‘I need candles, boots, batteries, diarrhea medicine, bullets and mortar rounds’. It’s like a Sears Roebuck catalogue. If they don’t get what they ask for, they . . . The fact that they . . . shows that they’ve got a pipeline that they think they can depend on’.”*

Out of courtesy to members, I have omitted a rude word.

“Along with foreign supplies, the guerrillas can also depend on foreign training. Cuban advisers frequently sit in on Salvadorian guerrilla strategy sessions. Rebel cadres have all taken extensive training courses in Cuba.

“*Time* has learned from a Central American source that virtually all of the commanders of the all-important Unified Revolutionary Directorate, the topmost level of Salvadorian guerrilla leadership, have been living in Managua for the past two years.”*

35. Again in *Time* magazine, dated 6 June 1983, it is stated, *inter alia*:

“Additional evidence of that intervention came last week in the form of a one-time high-level Salvadorian guerrilla. In an interview with *Time*, Alejandro Montenegro, 28, a former member of the Salvadorian rebel faction known as the People’s Revolutionary Army, declared that, starting in 1980, Salvadorian guerrillas ‘were sent to Managua for training’. Communications between the rebels and their leaders are also funnelled through the Nicaraguan capital via hand-held Japanese two-way radios. Regarding arms shipments, Montenegro said, ‘I would get a radio signal to go to [San Salvador]. Teams had gathered together the arms shipments as they came in, and they had the responsibility for transporting them to us’. The source of the clandestine arms shipment was Cuba, via Nicaragua.”*

36. Again, in the same magazine of 3 October 1983 we read the following:

“Newsmen visiting an island near a small fishing village on the north-western coast, just 40 miles from the

Salvadorian border, uncovered the remains of what appears to have been a depot for smuggling arms to guerrillas in El Salvador, including a Sandinista army banner, rifle shell casings and a radio antenna. The discovery buttressed U.S. claims that Nicaragua routinely supplies the Salvadorian rebels by boat across the Gulf of Fonseca.”*

37. El Salvador has already stated that:

“Those who have followed closely the way in which the regional situation has been further complicated will have noted that the truth about the traffic of arms to El Salvador which has continued from Nicaragua—although alternative routes have been used—has become more evident every day, even to those who initially felt that ideological pluralism would prevail in Nicaragua, and that the latter would therefore safeguard in international relations the principles of non-aggression and non-interference in the internal or external affairs of other States.”

38. Nicaragua is also guilty of an arms build-up in the region. On that matter El Salvador has stated the following:

“Past experience of the way in which nations deal with one another clearly shows that no country remains unmoved in the face of the disproportionate increase of its neighbour’s arsenal, although the latter may give as a reason threats to its integrity. Not even an endless arms build-up can hide the absurd nature of that argument. For that, the economic and technological gap between developed and developing countries would have to disappear, particularly when the latter are poor in financial and investment resources.

“We would like to ask whether there is truly a legitimate security need, and the clear answer is no. In trying to achieve absolute security in the face of a super-Power, it is absurd to extend such hegemonistic schemes.”

39. We have said that the irrational arms build-up, in addition to being of an insulting nature in its internal effects in a poor country, sows the seed of discord in the region.

40. El Salvador has constantly pointed out, through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the crisis in Central America has been aggravated by violence, terror and destruction, threat of war in the region and the intention of others to apply political and ideological concepts that are diametrically opposed to the type of social structure adopted by our people.

41. Totalitarian ideological aggressiveness is supplemented in the region by logistic and propaganda support to like-minded armed groups encouraged by allies abroad which nurture a strategy of world-wide expansion. Attempts are being made to carry out this strategy of political and ideological expansion in Central America by drastically inhibiting our own national aspirations to build a truly humane, just, pluralistic and participatory society.

42. Thus, the situation in Central America is complicated by various external factors which at this time have a decisive influence in harming the national dignity of our countries, broadening the conflict and including new protagonists, all of which limits our capacity for self-determination in an ideological struggle which has an international character and is alien to the national interests of our own sovereign will.

43. The doctrine maintained by the Salvadorian Government is as follows. The problems of the region must

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

be solved by the Central Americans themselves. Only thus will the solution obtained rest on firm foundations capable of leading to a harmonious balance, political stability and social tranquillity. That is why we have accepted the Contadora Group as a framework in which to conduct this regional dialogue, and also because we do not wish to play either an active or passive part in the East-West conflict, nor be the victim in a dramatic scene in which foreign actors, including this Assembly, critics and gratuitous spectators, tell us what course we must follow.

44. We insist that "democracy in the region constitutes a prerequisite for peace. If a single country fails to encourage the democratic process and to promote its values, stability and harmony are upset. If democracy cannot be institutionalized we cannot bring about balance. Undemocratic processes, inspired by Marxism, are expansionist by their very nature".

45. The political organs of the United Nations such as the General Assembly and the Security Council have become arenas for polemics where propaganda has prevailed over substance. We have thus lost the true reason for the creation of the United Nations. Many times, for no reason at all, and without first exhausting the solutions offered by the regional systems, it is used for publicity purposes, without realizing that the credibility and authority of the system are thus undermined.

46. The equation whereby the more numerous the problems brought before the United Nations without the possibility of a viable political solution, the greater the loss in its authority does not seem to be an adequate argument for those who seek other goals.

47. It would be insane for a Government attacked from outside—such as mine—to remain passive in the face of those whose foreign policy is reflected in official actions and statements with regard to propaganda, training camps, logistics and the training of guerrilla groups, as is the case with our neighbour Nicaragua. We have reached the point where the Co-ordinator of the Sandinist Junta, Mr. Ortega, claimed to represent the guerrillas in El Salvador in international forums, including the General Assembly.

48. In this connection, the Salvadorian Government wishes to reject the tendentious context of the allusion to our country in Nicaragua's statement at the 47th meeting. We should like to protest the fact that the Sandinist Junta of Nicaragua has arrogated to itself the right to speak of El Salvador. The fact that a small group of leftist radicals, trying in vain to seize power by violence, has authorized the Sandinist Junta of Nicaragua to act as its spokesman does not in any way mean that Nicaragua is legally entitled to express opinions on behalf of the people of El Salvador. The people of El Salvador is represented only by its Government, which was freely chosen by means of suffrage on 28 March 1982 in an election witnessed by the entire world, thanks to an extensive press coverage and the presence of many international observers who were invited for that purpose.

49. Nicaragua's aggression has therefore gone hand in hand with a violation of the principle of non-intervention. In the face of these clearly aggressive and hostile acts that violate the rights of the people, we cannot fail to repeat our denunciation and condemnation. As long as the Sandinist régime maintains as a pillar of its policy the enthronement of Marxism-Leninism as a system which should be instituted throughout Central America, seeking to impose it first on El Salvador and then on neighbouring countries, it will be impossible to maintain peaceful coexistence and a minimum of harmony in the region. Once the destabilizing factor has been removed, peace

and normalcy will return to the area. That is the overriding prerequisite in view of what is happening in Central America. Once that climate has been achieved it will be much easier to establish a community where social justice, human rights and civil liberties will truly exist.

50. A side effect of this destabilizing factor is the increase in armaments, with all its harmful results. How can the armies of the neighbouring countries remain indifferent to the huge arms build-up in Nicaragua, in conjunction with the presence of thousands of military advisers from the Communist bloc?

51. In approximately three years, under the pretext of national defence, Nicaragua has acquired offensive weapons whose combined power is greater than that of all the other Central American States, with the sole aim of implanting Marxism-Leninism in the region on a permanent basis, through violence, and with impunity, knowing that with such an imbalance of forces the other Central American countries, if they have to rely solely on their own resources, cannot stand up to this machinery of war and expansion.

52. In the light of all this, there is not the slightest doubt that Nicaragua is part of the Soviet bloc. What other conclusion can we reach, when it is being used by that super-Power as a pawn in the world power game? Its foreign policy, which reflects its internal policy, where ideological pluralism is not an aim but is rejected by the Sandinist dictatorship, confirms this leaning.

53. It is relevant to recall here that El Salvador has always tried to find a formula for peace in Central America. Our ideas, together with those of the other Central American countries, were later taken up by the Contadora Group as valuable elements in its diplomatic efforts. We must also recall that the Contadora Group is a force for peace, which must gradually emerge as a clear, up-to-date manifestation of the basic wishes of the other five countries. Success means obtaining a consensus among the five through the good offices of the four—Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and Mexico.

54. Therefore, each of our countries must truly believe that sincerity, objectivity and absolute impartiality will motivate the actions of the Four. What gives weight to the Contadora Group is the trust which we, the countries directly concerned, place in it. We hope that we shall continue to have that trust in the future.

55. El Salvador does not need to emphasize its faith in the Contadora Group. Its record is crystal clear and unequivocal. It is reflected in deeds, not words. However, we shall not permit any manoeuvres designed to enable other forums to thwart the Contadora efforts. We would rather see the Group dissolved than see it yield to outside pressures or manipulations. If that happens, though I hope it will not, we shall have lost an opportunity for calm discussion at the negotiating table, and only confrontation will be left. Through its attitude, Nicaragua is leading Central America towards the latter. We are giving a timely warning.

56. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): The Assembly takes up consideration of the situation in Central America against a very worrying background. Just last week the Assembly deplored the invasion of Grenada and considered its direct implications on regional and international peace and security. Likewise, the threats of foreign intervention in Nicaragua and the unprecedented arms build-up around its borders and along its shores continue to be a source of serious concern, posing a genuine threat to international peace and security. That is why the Security Council has already considered the question of Nicaragua and is still seized of it.

57. In its resolution 530 (1983), the Council reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference. This position has been strongly supported by the non-aligned movement, both during its Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau, which took place at Managua from 10 to 14 January 1983.

58. The problems of Central America are not restricted to Nicaragua. If Nicaragua is a victim of aggression, it is because false explanations are being given for the problems in some countries of the region to justify militarization and ideological confrontation. Regrettably, some of the countries of the region have allowed the preoccupation of an extra-regional Power to hamper their collective judgement on the real problem. The net result of this has been to render useless all attempts at political accommodations, so necessary if peace and security are to be restored in the region. For it is unrealistic to expect that the mere imposition upon an oppressed and exploited people of a military solution can be of any lasting consequence. What is required is a sincere demonstration of political will to tackle the real sources of conflict. The perpetuation of some of the local violence in certain Central American countries, for example, must be recognized for what it is—a result of the preference for force over negotiation.

59. The problems of the region apart, there is at the core of the current crisis a deliberate refusal by some countries outside the region to accept the existence of ideological pluralism in the region. This has dangerous implications, especially as it disregards the right of a State to choose its social, economic and political system, without outside interference, and to pursue the foreign policy of its choice. It is therefore particularly disturbing that some countries are now even questioning treaties between independent sovereign States. This attempt to deny other countries the right to an independent and sovereign existence is a matter for most serious concern.

60. The Contadora Group is still actively dealing with the problems of Central America. The countries involved have recognized that ideological pluralism has a place in their midst. They equally realize that genuine peace and security can prevail in the region if political commitments regarding the future of the region can be obtained. Therefore, removal of the threat to the States of Central America, whether from inside or outside the region, and respect for the right to self-determination and political, as well as economic, independence, constitute a firm basis for any successful negotiations on permanent arrangements by the countries involved to ensure lasting peace and security in the region. Naturally, the re-establishment of peace and co-operation between the countries will have to be preceded by the establishment of conditions conducive to that co-operation and of a climate of mutual confidence, demonstrated by a clear resolve by all the parties to seek authentic regional solutions.

61. Principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations can be effectively and meaningfully invoked only when the States themselves are prepared to act in a manner consistent with them. It is this spirit which the Contadora Group has sought to rekindle as it continues to help the countries of Central America to narrow their differences and come to terms with the realities of the region. But the work of the Contadora Group can be meaningful only if the rest of the world refrains from fomenting tension and strife and prolonging destruction and suffering.

62. In this case, however, the countries of the region themselves have a duty to realize that in the long run their security lies in the undertaking of policies which seek regional harmony and solidarity and which exclude external involvement in all its manifestations. The problems of Central America are complex enough. It would thus be foolhardy for some to think they can shoot themselves out of the current quagmire.

63. Meeting at Panama City on 9 September 1983, the Foreign Ministers of the Central American countries and of the Contadora Group approved a set of proposals which provide a political framework for a just and lasting solution to the conflict in the region. The initiative addresses itself to the present as well as the future of the region. The Document of Objectives¹ represents a regional consensus incorporating principles on which the eventual solution will have to base itself. Also, the Document defines specific areas of negotiation, including the terms of reference for working out the legal instruments and the machinery which would facilitate peaceful coexistence in the region.

64. To date, the States directly concerned have expressed their continued adherence to the understanding. The Assembly must therefore call upon countries external to the region to refrain from exacerbating the conflict, and give a chance to the Contadora Group to search for regionally negotiated resolutions. This, and the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [A/38/303], which preceded it, represents a sound beginning which must be built upon if the peaceful future of the region is to be secured. It is in the same spirit that Nicaragua has made offers seeking to commit itself and other countries involved to a mode of behaviour which seeks to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States in the region. This commitment has repeatedly been reaffirmed by the authorities of that country. Despite the fact that none of these offers has been reciprocated, Nicaragua again, just last month, presented a set of draft treaties embodying the elements of a legal arrangement which would take into account the security concerns of all nations of the region as well as of the United States. It is important, as those drafts rightly demonstrate, that the problems of the region be addressed in their totality, and that is why my delegation supports the approach suggested by Nicaragua that those texts be negotiated as an indivisible whole, it being borne in mind that the problems they address are interrelated.

65. The Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, speaking at the 47th meeting, reiterated his Government's position of commitment to political modalities that would restore peace to Central America. He made it clear that the call for dialogue and the negotiation of legal frameworks within which peace can be achieved and consolidated is a standing one. Until such time as firm agreements are reached on certain fundamental principles of international law, including respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States, the non-use of force or the threat of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-intervention—as the Document of Objectives already agreed upon rightly points out—there can be no genuine and lasting peace. Also, it is only under such conditions of peace and confidence that the nations of the region can pursue co-operative relations, based on the promotion of human rights and justice. We thus appeal to the other countries to respond favourably to the Nicaraguan appeal for dialogue for the promotion of peace in the region.

66. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The item which the General Assembly is considering today relates to one of the gravest concerns in

Latin America: the situation in Central America. In keeping with its consistent position on this question, Ecuador supports the right to raise matters involving our region at either the regional or the world level. Thus, our delegation has taken part in the debates in the Security Council and today we take part in the debate in the General Assembly.

67. The President of Ecuador, Mr. Osvaldo Hurtado Larcea, speaking before this Assembly, said:

"My country has witnessed with much distress the Central American conflict generated by the authoritarian and exploitative regimes which held sway in the region, a conflict which today is promoted by foreign intervention intent on settling the East-West conflict. Ecuador once again reiterates its support for the Contadora Group and makes a fervent appeal to all parties concerned to co-operate with the Group. There can be no further talk of peace in Central America with weapons in hand. For so long the only language heard has been that of weapons, and the time has come for the voice of the people to be heard." [12th meeting, para. 19.]

68. It is true that, while we recognize the right of Member States to deal with any item involving any region of the world, we believe that with regard to Latin America it is the countries of the region themselves that are best qualified to use their good offices and contribute to the search for viable solutions.

69. Ecuador bears in mind, with regard to this matter and other matters discussed by the Assembly, its guiding international principles, such as those of non-intervention and non-interference by any State in the internal or external affairs of any other State, the peaceful solution of disputes, the non-use of force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or sovereign independence of any State, and the right of a people to exercise self-determination and freely to choose its system of government and its social and economic system.

70. It is a fact that the crisis which affects Central America endangers international peace and security, and the security and peace of our region in particular. Hence Ecuador has supported from the outset the initiative that led to the establishment of the Contadora Group, which is made up of four sister countries with clearly democratic institutions. In this connection we wish to recall Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which praised the efforts of that Group. Ecuador has on many occasions indicated its readiness to co-operate in these efforts in order that solutions may be found to the differences that divide the sister countries of Central America. Thus my country viewed with sympathy and hope the adoption by the Governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, on 9 September last, of a text inspired by the Cancún Declaration, namely, the Document of Objectives.¹

71. My delegation believes that the General Assembly should most strongly support the efforts of the Contadora Group and urge the States of Central America, on the basis of the Document of Objectives, to agree on immediate measures to put an end to the tension, which could well become exacerbated or turn into generalized conflicts in the region. At the same time, other States must be asked not to take any action that could worsen tensions or hinder the efforts of the Contadora Group to create a climate favourable to dialogue and negotiation. To that end, it is indispensable that all foreign forces withdraw, as well as all kinds of advisers or agents who are encouraging processes of destabilization of the region. That withdrawal must take place so that, without any outside

pressure, the people of each country can decide their own fate through free and democratic elections.

72. We therefore hope that any resolution or recommendation adopted by the Assembly will have the full agreement of each and every member of the Contadora Group and will be supported by the Central American countries, which are the most directly concerned in this vital question.

73. Ecuador firmly and loyally supported the sister Republic of Nicaragua in its struggle against the Somoza dictatorship and has been at the side of the new Government of Nicaragua from the very outset. We trust that the optimism and hope about the rebirth of the freedom of this sister country will yield the results that all those who share with Nicaragua the great fatherland of our Latin America have independently agreed should be attained. We stated that in the Security Council on 23 March last² and we state it again here today.

74. We are sure that the countries, large and small, of the international community will co-operate, as it is their duty to do, to bring an end to this wasteful shedding of blood in Central America, and that fratricidal weapons will be replaced by peaceful negotiation, understanding and good-neighbourliness, as is expected of sister countries that are all founding Members of the United Nations and, therefore, are bound by its principles and by their commitments to the international community.

75. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): From day to day the situation in Central America is deteriorating and becoming a matter of greater concern. Tension in the region is growing constantly, and no one knows what the morrow will bring.

76. It is on behalf of peace and security in Central America and throughout the world, on behalf of the obligation that the Charter of the United Nations imposes on all Member States, large and small, to 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, that my delegation has seen fit to speak in this debate.

77. Recently, the Security Council, called into session by the precariousness of peace in the region, had to devote many long meetings to a search for solutions to prevent wholesale conflagration. Many speakers at that time clearly identified the deep-lying causes of the situation and appealed for a cessation of the aggression against Nicaragua, a small, non-aligned country that cherishes freedom, social justice and peace, and for a peaceful solution, as soon as possible, to this situation that without any doubt constitutes a threat to international peace and security. It is obvious that that appeal was not heeded, since the General Assembly has been compelled to take up the question and, hence, to include it in the agenda of the current session.

78. Indeed, in my delegation's view, the obstacle that so seriously jeopardizes any possibility of achieving an easing of tensions stems from the obstinacy of the United States, which wishes at any cost to prove to the international community that Nicaragua is a black sheep.

79. No political regimes, including those that today are trampling under foot the elementary principles of good-neighbourliness and the many links between them and the people of Nicaragua, can fail to understand the deep-lying reasons for the tensions which are so obstinately and steadily being maintained and fanned in Central America. We all know that, beyond the red threat which is brandished in order to salve consciences, beyond the East-

West confrontation that is worn to death, we are confronted by a stark and painful reality. That reality is nothing other than the grave political and economic crisis from which Central America is now suffering and which is essentially the result of the persistence of the traditional structures of a repressive Power, going hand in hand with national economic structures that generate poverty, inequality and suffering—all of which is exacerbated by the acts of intervention and interference that the countries of the region, without any exception, have been subjected to for a century now.

80. To love one's country, to defend it at the cost of one's life against anything that may be prejudicial to sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence: surely that is the greatest common denominator in the world, as a French philosopher said. And does this not apply too to the Sandinista regime, which, because it dared to throw off the shackles of the subjugation and exploitation of its people, now finds itself the target of destabilizing actions by some of its neighbours which, to the greatest misfortune of our peoples, have agreed to play the role of middlemen of aggression?

81. The question facing the General Assembly must be approached with the utmost seriousness. But that cannot be done, in my delegation's view, unless we concede that at the very centre of this issue is the existence in Nicaragua of a regime which, like any progressive regime, disturbs certain quarters.

82. To be with one's people, to love them, to wish a better standard of living for them and to act to ensure social justice and equality constitutes the supreme obligation of our Governments. To be with one's people and affirm their right freely and in all sovereignty to choose their own political, social and economic system is part of the supreme responsibility of our Governments. These are all simple truths which, if they had been accepted and understood by all, would have sufficed in themselves to ease the tension in Central America and establish there a climate of peace, tranquillity and mutual confidence.

83. It is to that end that we call on all the parties to work, particularly those that are the most affected. We are convinced that the time has come for constructive action, for action to generate stability and peace, for action that will make it possible for the international community to prevent the irreparable.

84. In spite, and even because, of the criticisms we have levelled, our contribution to the debate is aimed essentially at seeking conditions for the establishment of a climate of peace, tranquillity and mutual confidence, so sorely needed by Central America to enable it to focus its efforts on productive activities.

85. We are convinced that these conditions can be met if there exists in all quarters the same impulse towards peace, the same will to sit down and talk. It is illusory to imagine that peace and security can be brought about by reliance on force rather than on dialogue and negotiation. For the history of peoples teaches us that no power, no matter how unbounded, has ever succeeded in quenching the peoples' thirst for freedom or in crushing their determination to be independent.

86. This debate should, consequently, lead to initiatives which will set in motion dialogue and negotiation, not only between the States in Central America, but also between these States and the United States, if it is the wish of the General Assembly to help to bring about a peaceful ending to the drama in this region. Serious proposals have been made to this end not only by Nicaragua, but also by Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama.

87. My delegation fully associates itself with these proposals. We reiterate the appeal, made to the Governments of the United States and Honduras by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at the Seventh Conference held at New Delhi last March, for them to adopt a constructive attitude promoting peace and dialogue in accordance with the principles of international law.

88. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): I have asked to speak on behalf of the Ten member States of the European Community, to express our deep concern over the situation prevailing in Central America.

89. It is the repeatedly expressed view of the Ten that the crisis in Central America is closely related to the processes of change in which the countries of the region are immersed. The endemic social inequalities, injustice and economic underdevelopment are at the root of the present crisis, which is aggravated by outside interference. In some countries violence and violation of human rights have become a fact of everyday life.

90. The situation in Central America is particularly threatening because of the risk of a more comprehensive armed conflict. It is our firm belief that the problems of Central America cannot be resolved by military means, but only through a political settlement springing from the region itself. The peoples of Central America should choose their own political status, free from outside interference. Differences should be resolved by dialogue in a spirit of national reconciliation.

91. At the meeting of the European Council at Stuttgart, in June 1983, the Heads of State or Government of the Ten clearly stated the principles on which a peaceful solution of this serious situation should be based, including non-interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the establishment of democratic conditions and the strict observance of human rights throughout the region. They also expressed their full support for the efforts of the Contadora Group aimed at finding solutions, through negotiations, to the problems besetting their region.

92. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece mentioned in the statement he made on behalf of the Ten member States of the European Community at the 7th meeting, earlier this year, the Ten noted with appreciation that the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, adopted by the Heads of State of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela [A/38/303], contained many useful suggestions. Elaborating on the Cancún Declaration, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and their five colleagues from Central America drafted the Document of Objectives.¹ This Document has already been ratified by all the Governments concerned. We, indeed, feel that this comprehensive Document contains essential elements and constitutes a very helpful regional framework, within which the countries of the area could promote a peaceful dialogue which could lead to the settlement of their differences.

93. In conclusion, the Ten European States reiterate their readiness to contribute, in whatever way they can, to the further development of the area, in order to promote progress, which is the only road to stability. To this effect we have established direct contacts with the Contadora Group. The Foreign Ministers of Greece, France and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the President of the Commission of the European Communities to the United Nations, met in New York in September this year with their counterparts from Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, in order to exchange views and seek ways in which the Ten member States of the European Community could positively contribute to

a solution that would finally remove the danger of conflict and ease the tensions in Central America.

94. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Today, Central America enjoys the grim privilege of constituting a flash-point in the world, a zone of particularly high tension, a region where the combination of a series of destabilizing factors is threatening to degenerate rapidly into a conflagration whose dimensions it will be difficult to imagine.

95. Consequently the international community is fully justified in being alarmed. In all international meetings, this alarm has been unanimously and vigorously expressed, and so has the need to find negotiated political solutions to the problems of the region. Both in the two debates in the Security Council and in the general debate in the General Assembly, this twofold concern has been strongly emphasized.

96. Within the same context the non-aligned movement, fully appreciating the threats to the region, and hence to international peace and security, has called, with all the responsibility and weight conferred upon it by its moral and political authority, for the urgent pursuit of political solutions to problems troubling this region, on the basis of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and of strict respect for the rights of peoples.

97. For the non-aligned countries, the first task was a diagnosis, with special regard for the profound significance and the real stakes in the situation currently prevailing in Central America. Accordingly, the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 4 to 7 October 1983, reaffirmed that the processes of change in Central America could not be attributed to an ideological confrontation between military blocs or explained in those terms. The heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries noted at their Seventh Conference at New Delhi:

“... 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.]

98. Hence the victory of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua was rightly welcomed throughout the world as the triumph of freedom and justice over oppression and despotic government.

99. From the outset the non-aligned countries supported that victory and worked for its consolidation in order to give the Nicaraguan people the opportunity to bind its new and old wounds, to strengthen its national independence and to devote its energies to reconstruction free from any interference, pressure or outside intervention. All the statements on the subject made at various meetings of the non-aligned movement were on those lines.

100. The Extraordinary Ministerial Session of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held from 9 to 14 January 1983 at Managua, took place in this spirit and was intended as an expression of the solidarity of the movement with Nicaragua, especially in view of the threats and provocations of all kinds directed against it.

101. The aim of the current debate is in fact to enable Member States once more to assess, collectively and individually, the growing dangers arising from the pre-

vailing situation in a particularly sensitive area and recent threatening developments there.

102. However necessary and important it may be to take stock of the situation and weigh all the dangers thus revealed, our debate should also look resolutely to the future, so that it can make a maximum contribution in opening the way to a dialogue through which peaceful solutions—that is to say, negotiated political solutions—to Central America's problems can be worked out and implemented.

103. This fundamental element of the debate can be found in the very title of the item before us, in the words “peace initiatives”. That was the purpose of the appeal contained in the statement of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries at the current session inviting members of the movement to take an active part in this debate.

104. Clearly, the situation affecting the whole Central American region is complex. In addition to the age-old internal struggles in many countries, of a more or less unchanging nature, there is also the powerful sentiment of national freedom and dignity, and external interference must inevitably exacerbate this twofold conflict.

105. So the problems of Central America cannot possibly be settled by force, that is to say, by stifling the smallest breath of liberty, repressing the claim for justice and democracy, simply denying the patriotic feelings forming part of the dignity and self-determination of peoples.

106. To work today for solutions to the various problems plaguing Central America means that there must be a clear perception of the nature of the conflict there and a conscious resolve to deal with the legitimate claims put forward. Neither the use of force nor the suppression or denial of these claims can provide the basis for lasting solutions.

107. That is why we welcomed the various peace initiatives which, on the basis of a clear analysis of the problems, advocated a settlement that replaced confrontation by dialogue. The Contadora Group made sure that its actions were undertaken precisely within this context of indispensable dialogue. And here I should like once again to pay a tribute to Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, whose happy initiative is to be welcomed and whose persevering efforts must be encouraged. That Group's efforts have already produced two important documents: the Cancún Declaration and the Document of Objectives, which was subsequently ratified by the five Central American countries. We express the hope that these efforts will continue and that the mission of the Group, undoubtedly difficult but of such great importance, will be successful. To that end, it is also to be hoped, as an indispensable condition for the success of the mission undertaken by the Contadora Group, that all parties concerned or involved will demonstrate the necessary political will.

108. In this respect we note the constructive attitude of Nicaragua, which has already been reflected in the six-point peace proposal constituting a positive response to the proposals for a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Central America. Even more recently, the same Government, on the basis of the Document of Objectives produced in Panama by the Contadora Group,¹ took the initiative of proposing the conclusion of a series of non-aggression and non-interference treaties. We are convinced that, if all the other parties display a constructive attitude, negotiations can proceed rapidly. If such negotiations are undertaken in good faith and with the determination to succeed, there is every ground for

believing that existing difficulties and objections which can be raised will not prove insurmountable.

109. The Assembly has a duty to encourage the start of such a process and facilitate its continuation. If our debate today, whose purpose is preventive, succeeds in this respect, we shall undoubtedly have contributed to avoiding the worst for tomorrow—that is to say, war with its retinue of tragedy, death and destruction.

110. Mr. SIKAULU (Zambia): Our consideration of the item before us comes in the aftermath of the invasion of Grenada. The General Assembly has rightly deplored the invasion as constituting a flagrant violation of international law and of that country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

111. Events in Grenada have compounded the already grave situation in Central America and the Caribbean. Those events have also demonstrated that the international community can ill afford to take lightly the situation in the region. The inclusion of the item on the situation in Central America in the General Assembly's agenda was, therefore, most appropriate and timely. There is an urgent need for the international community to deal with and find solutions to the problems of Central America in order to avoid an explosion which could have serious consequences for international peace and security.

112. Those of us in the non-aligned movement have long been concerned about the situation in Central America. In January this year, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held an extraordinary ministerial meeting at Managua, devoted exclusively to the problems of Latin America and the Caribbean. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi in March this year, the problems of Latin America, and particularly Central America, were high on the agenda.

113. Essentially, we see the disturbing situation in Central America as one which emphasizes all the more the relevance and importance of the principles of non-alignment. It is evident to us that the conflicts and tensions in the region have been aggravated by the violation of the principles of non-alignment, which are an important factor in international relations. Hence, at both the Managua and the New Delhi conferences, the non-aligned countries stressed the imperative necessity of respecting the basic principles and objectives of the movement, in particular the principles of self-determination, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, peaceful coexistence, and non-use of force.

114. It is also significant that the Security Council has had to consider the situation in Central America. Indeed, the Secretary-General has been most preoccupied with that situation, as can be seen from his note of 13 October 1983.¹ The gravity of the situation is underscored in that report, in which the Secretary-General pointedly states that "in view of the nature and possible ramifications of the convulsive situation currently prevailing in the Central American region, the unavoidable conclusion is that it threatens international peace and security."

115. The countries of the region are naturally most concerned about the situation in Central America. The Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have undertaken a major initiative aimed at resolving the problems of Central America by peaceful means. They have spelt out principles for a settlement, principles which are compatible with the position of the non-aligned movement and with the Charter of the United Nations.

116. Zambia therefore strongly supports the initiative of those countries which make up the Contadora Group. We are glad that the other countries of the region, in particular the parties most directly concerned, have expressed support for the initiative of the Contadora Group. The initiative and efforts of the Contadora Group deserve the support and encouragement of the entire international community.

117. Zambia hopes that all those concerned will co-operate fully with the Contadora Group in the interest of peace and security in Central America. While the efforts to find lasting solutions to the problems of the region continue, it is necessary in our view that restraint be exercised in order to prevent the deterioration of the situation. Indeed, as the Secretary-General points out in his note to the Security Council, it is important that solutions adapted to the realities of the region be found without any intrusion derived from the East-West conflict.

118. I wish to conclude by making special reference to Nicaragua, which took the initiative to have the item under discussion included in the agenda of the General Assembly. I take this opportunity to reaffirm Zambia's strong solidarity with the Government and the people of Nicaragua who, since the triumph of the Sandinist revolution, have been constant victims of gross acts of interference in their internal affairs, as well as of other acts and pressures aimed at destabilization.

119. Nicaragua is clearly interested in peaceful negotiated solutions to the problems of Central America. Its willingness to co-operate with the Contadora Group is well known.

120. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation supported Nicaragua's proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly of the important and urgent item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". In our view, the seriousness of the threat to the security of the States of that region makes the consideration of this item urgent and necessary.

121. Recently, there has been a sharp rise in the aggressiveness of the United States of America, including in the area of Central America and the Caribbean; this confirms the special danger to international peace posed by the policies aimed at achieving a dominant position and military supremacy pursued by the present United States Administration. Its course of militarism, its flouting of the sovereign rights of peoples, its reliance on military force, and its intervention in the internal affairs of other States have recently come to a head in an act of naked aggression against the island State of Grenada, which is situated in the direct vicinity of Central America.

122. In that way the independence, freedom and non-alignment of a people which threatened no one were trampled underfoot. The Charter of our Organization has been violated in the most flagrant way, as have the universally acknowledged norms of international relations. "Might is right," they say, and a sovereign island has been occupied by United States Marines manning the most modern gunboats. And now Washington-style order is being established.

123. The aggressor is cynically defying the whole world and the United Nations, which unreservedly condemned this act of military intervention, calling for the immediate cessation of intervention and for the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the island. Contempt for world public opinion was once again demonstrated by the statement made by the President of the United States at a press

conference held on 3 November last, when he said that no United Nations decisions have, as he put it, "upset his breakfast". At that same press conference, the President made no attempt to deny the possibility of similar acts of aggression being carried out against other countries as well.

124. The recent events in Grenada, which is in the direct vicinity of Central America, have posed a serious threat to international security in that part of the world and have exacerbated what was already a very tense situation there.

125. The main target of the aggressive actions of the United States in Central America has long been Nicaragua. It is well known that the basic reason for this is the firm refusal of the Nicaraguan people to submit to the diktat of Washington or to go along with its policies. In response to the democratic reforms being carried out in that country, whose people threw off the pro-American dictatorial Somoza regime, an undeclared war has been launched against that sovereign State, with the aim of forcing the Nicaraguans by every means possible to submit to American diktat.

126. This war against the Nicaraguan people—whose description as "covert" must be some kind of mockery—is being waged cynically and, in fact, overtly. The President of the United States, on 19 October this year, said unequivocally:

"I do believe in the right of a country when it believes that its interests are best served to practice covert activity."

127. Thousands of professional mercenaries are being infiltrated into Nicaraguan territory, trained on American bases, and equipped with American weapons. Their attacks on border points, ports and oil tanks, their bombardments from the air, and their sabotage against very important economic targets are all designed to paralyse the peaceful life of the country. At the same time a ruthless trade war has been declared against a sovereign State, with its credit being blocked on the international financial market, and there has been a stepping up of the campaign of slander against the Sandinist revolution.

128. In the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans and off the shores of Central America we are witnessing whole crowds of ships with marines on board. For almost a whole year there have been major exercises—or, rather, militarist preparations—unprecedented in the history of the region. Even now there are tens of thousands of military personnel there and a colossal amount of United States military hardware.

129. There is no attempt to hide the fact that the task of the expeditionary force, made up of many thousands of men, concentrated in and around Central America, is to intimidate Nicaragua. We can clearly glimpse here also the intention of the White House to put its forces in Central America on a permanent basis in order to keep in its sights the peoples of the region. This policy is justly viewed by the Latin American countries as a direct threat to their security. Latin America is aware of the true intent of its northern neighbour in regard to what it high-handedly describes as its "backyard".

130. Not content with the use of counter-revolutionary dregs and certain other neighbouring regimes, the United States is threatening the people of Nicaragua with direct intervention by its military forces. As political leaders in the United States themselves acknowledge, recent military preparations in Central America mean preparation for armed aggression against it. The threat posed to Nicaragua is not being denied even by representatives of the United States Administration—witness, for example,

the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Caspar W. Weinberger, in the course of a television broadcast on 6 November.

131. We must stress particularly that in recent years the White House has been trying to do no less than arrogate to itself the right to dictate what economic and political systems should exist in Nicaragua and in other States of Central America and the Caribbean and what course they should follow in their domestic and foreign policies.

132. They attempt to justify their imperialist, hegemonist approach to the affairs of the region by referring to the "designs and subversive actions" of the Soviet Union, and to represent events in Central America as a manifestation of the East-West conflict. It is well known, however, that the United States is now acting in Central America in the same way as it always acted there long before the Soviet State appeared on the map of the world. The fallaciousness of the pretext adduced has been exposed everywhere in the world, among others by realistic thinkers representing the United States itself. I should like to recall in this regard the statement made in April this year by Senator Christopher Y. Dodd, who can hardly be counted as one of those who sympathize with revolutionary reforms. He said:

"Dictatorships and military regimes have crushed democracy and trampled under foot the rights of man in Central America. If there were no poverty, hunger and injustice, there would be no revolution."

We can only add that it is precisely the actions of American capital lording it in that part of the world that are the mainspring of the colossal economic and social injustice existing there.

133. The situation around Cuba continues to remain tense. From the moment that its people chose unequivocally a course so different from that of Washington, there have been incessant attempts by every possible means to divert that country from the path of socialist development. Particular indignation and dissatisfaction have been caused by Cuba's independent foreign policy. From the armed aggression in the Bay of Pigs to the economic blockade, from the infiltration of murderers to continuous psychological warfare, the endless train of unlawful actions against that sovereign State continues. In spite of the will of the Cuban people, we witness the continuing occupation of a part of Cuban territory.

134. Recently, subversive actions directed against the Cuban people have been stepped up and become part of the overall aggressive policy in Central America and the Caribbean. A new, serious act of provocation was the recent dispatch to the shores of the island of a large United States naval force, which was in a state of alert.

135. In the circumstances, the peoples of Nicaragua and Cuba are valiantly resisting the designs of the imperialists and do not intend to bow before them.

136. The policy of the United States of America and the threat which it is posing to Nicaragua and all Central America have aroused profound concern throughout the world. In describing it, the Soviet Government, in its statement of 25 October 1983, stressed the following:

"This is a direct challenge to all those States that have repeatedly stigmatized and repudiated the policy of interference in the affairs of sovereign States and peoples and a cynical hegemonistic attempt to introduce arbitrariness and lawlessness into international affairs. Washington's policies and practical actions represent a gross violation of the basic principles of international law, of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act." [See A/38/535.]

137. The representatives of more than 100 countries speaking at the current session of the General Assembly have expressed concern with regard to the development of events around Nicaragua and Central America as a whole and have called for a peaceful solution to existing problems. As will be recalled, the problems connected with Central America were considered from a different standpoint by the Organization earlier and have also been repeatedly discussed in the Security Council. In resolution 530 (1983), the Security Council unambiguously indicated the existence in that area of an acute crisis situation and reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all other countries in the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference.

138. The interventionist policy in Central America has been repeatedly condemned by the non-aligned countries—at the special meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau, held at Managua, at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government, held at New Delhi, and also at other international meetings. Of course, the course pursued by the White House particularly alarms Latin American States, which, following the example of Grenada, have once again had occasion to realize the true meaning of the words “search for a framework for peaceful negotiations”, which we have recently heard in this Hall.

139. Once again, having considered in October the situation in that part of the world, the Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries pointed out that

“the situation had now been further escalated by increased recourse to imperialist policies of interference and intervention through the utilization of neighbouring territories for aggression against other States, the installation of military bases and by covert and overt attempts at the destabilization of the Nicaraguan Government as well as the pressures, aggressions and economic discrimination against countries in the region. They reiterated the view that the processes of change in Central America should not be attributed to or explained in terms of ideological confrontation between the military blocs.” [A/38/495, annex, para. 64.]

140. It is well known, however, that the White House is sabotaging any constructive efforts on the part of the Governments of Nicaragua and Cuba and their proposals to eliminate tension in the Central American region and to create there a healthy, peaceful climate. These initiatives undoubtedly provide a good basis for negotiations.

141. Washington, in practice, has rejected the efforts of the Contadora Group of countries which favour the self-determination of peoples, non-intervention in the internal affairs of the States of Central America and peaceful mutually acceptable settlement of the problems of the region. The positive actions of the Contadora Group of States are in the mainstream of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of countries of the world and deserve our support. The decisions of the Security Council on this subject are aimed at the same approach.

142. As representatives will recall, in the note submitted by the Secretary-General¹ on the situation in Central America, the following is clearly stated:

“In view of the nature and possible ramifications of the convulsive situation currently prevailing in the Central American region, the unavoidable conclusion is that it threatens international peace and security.”

143. In so far as concerns the Soviet Union, it has unswervingly supported and continues to support a political settlement of conflicts, respect for the rights of peoples to determine their own fate, without any outside interference. In condemning aggression against Grenada

and the interventionist course pursued against Nicaragua and other countries of Central America, the Soviet Union is expressing its solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of that area for an independent, free development of their own choosing. Conflict situations in the region must undoubtedly be resolved exclusively by peaceful means. The interests of the peoples of Central America, and the broad interests of international security, as was pointed out by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Y. V. Andropov, in his statement on 18 August, urgently demand that everything possible be done to prevent the situation in the region from getting out of hand. In the protection of the sovereign rights of the Central American peoples an important role should be played by the United Nations.

144. All who cherish the ideals of independence and freedom and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations must raise their voices to prevent any escalation or further exacerbation of the dangerous tension in Central America. The preservation of peace demands the continuation of United Nations efforts to call a halt to militaristic ambitions in that part of the world and to enable the peoples of that region independently to determine their own fate.

145. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In their statements during the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly many representatives stressed that the prolonged turmoil in Central America was due to profound internal and external causes. They have all opposed outside interference and called for the peaceful settlement of the issues in Central America through negotiations.

146. This year the situation in that region has become even more turbulent. It should be pointed out that super-Power meddling has a direct bearing on the aggravation of the situation in Central America. To further their strategic interests, the super-Powers either openly resort to force in an attempt to hold back the tide for democracy and social reforms of the Central American people, or covertly take advantage of the national democratic movements in the region for the purpose of infiltration.

147. Two weeks ago the United States invaded Grenada by dispatching large numbers of armed forces. That was condemned by the entire world. Not long ago the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/7 solemnly calling for an immediate cessation of the armed intervention and the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Grenada. We hope that the parties concerned will implement this resolution in earnest. Moreover, we must be highly vigilant and must not allow armed intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, as happened in the Caribbean, to recur in Central America, and the Central American people to become the victims of the contention between the super-Powers for spheres of influence.

148. In the past year the Latin American countries and, in particular, the Contadora Group composed of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, have made unremitting efforts to ease tension in Central America by encouraging the parties concerned to settle their disputes through negotiations. Last June the leaders of the Contadora Group of countries met in Mexico and issued the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [A/38/303], in which they put forward a programme for resolving the disputes among the Central American countries. In September the Foreign Ministers of those countries met with the Foreign Ministers of five Central American countries and worked out the Document of Objectives¹ based on the Cancún Declaration, stating

explicitly the need to abide by such important principles as the self-determination of peoples, respect for the territorial integrity of States, non-intervention, sovereign equality of States, peaceful settlement of disputes and refraining from the threat or use of force. Their efforts have won widespread support and appreciation from the international community.

149. We also appreciate the considerable work done by the Secretary-General to solve the Central American problems.

150. The Chinese delegation supports the Contadora Group and the Latin American countries in their struggle against the attempt of the super-Powers to involve Central America in their rivalry and confrontation. We support the efforts of those countries to safeguard the right of the people in Central America to self-determination and ease the tension in that region. We firmly oppose interference by the super-Powers in the affairs of Central America on whatever pretext or in whatever form. It is our sincere hope that the Central American countries will remove all outside interference and will respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs and settle their differences and disputes in a peaceful, just and reasonable manner, in accordance with the norms guiding international relations as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations.

151. Mr. DASHDAVAA (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The present Washington Administration is responsible for the fact that the situation in Central America is steadily worsening. United States interference is causing new victims and new destruction. The Washington Administration's policy of military aggression in Central America and direct interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign States of the region creates a threat to the peace and security of the peoples. The delegation of Mongolia therefore welcomes with satisfaction the debate on the item on the situation in Central America at the current session of the General Assembly.

152. We express our hope that the debate by the international community on this important question will contribute to a peaceful solution of the conflicts in that part of the world, on a political basis, taking into account the interests of all the States involved.

153. Arbitrarily declaring specific areas of the world to be areas of its own vital interests, the Washington Administration is arrogating to itself the right to carry out punitive actions and trample on the sovereignty and security of independent States. A clear example of this attitude is to be found today in Central America. In its attempt to keep the Central American States within its neo-colonial orbit, the United States Administration is making use of various means, including threat, blackmail, pressure and armed intervention. In order to destroy the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people and overthrow that country's legitimate Government, the United States Administration has turned Honduras into an operating zone for its undeclared war against Nicaragua and is providing major military and financial support to the Somozist bandits. United States military circles, under the pretext of manoeuvres, have massed their warships near Nicaragua, thus paving the way for direct military aggression against that sovereign and independent nation. Along with the military threat, harsh measures of economic pressure are being taken, the purpose of which is to put an end to the Sandinist revolution by means of a total blockade. In this way, we can see quite clearly that the situation in Central America is ominously worsening as a direct result of Washington's gunboat and "big stick" policy.

154. The brutal and unjustifiable armed intervention of the United States against Grenada once again demonstrates that Washington intends to solve any international or regional issue not only through the threat of force, but also through its use.

155. The events in Central America demonstrate as never before the incompatibility of the imperialist, monopolistic interests of the United States, on the one hand, with the interests of the peoples of that region, on the other. The United States policy and attitude increasingly reveal the aspirations of the White House to impede the independent socio-economic development of the States of Central America. At the same time, the tense situation in that region stems from the present socio-economic problems, coupled with terror and repression. Contrary to the imperialist propaganda that tries to present the situation in Central America as an expression of East-West confrontation, the current debate in the United Nations on this question clearly shows that the struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala is the result of the poverty, backwardness and social and national injustice that prevail in those countries.

156. In his statement at the opening meeting of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 7 to 12 March 1983 at New Delhi, the President of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Mr. Fidel Castro, stressed that the struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala was an expression of protest, developed over decades, when the starving peoples of the banana republics, the landless peasants, weary of tyranny, exploitation and humiliation, decided to demand justice. We all know that the only thing that the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador wish for is to be masters of their own land, to enjoy a life of peace and progress and to be able to develop relations of co-operation with other nations, based on equal rights and mutual benefits.

157. In recent years, the Latin American States have achieved a better understanding of the true nature of the events in Central America, demonstrating this by means of constructive proposals and initiatives made by a number of countries and groups of States from that region and designed to bring about a just solution of the problem. Unlike Washington, which tries to suppress by force the desire for freedom of the Central American peoples and to stir up regional armed conflicts, the Governments of the States of the Contadora Group offer the alternative—to solve the problems of the region through political dialogue in an atmosphere of détente. As these initiatives demonstrate, the Latin American community believes that the solution of this crisis lies first and foremost in ending United States interference in the internal affairs of the Central American countries. This was stressed in the Manifesto to the Peoples of Latin America [A/38/325] adopted at Caracas on 24 July 1983, in the Cancún Declaration, and was also emphasized by the vast majority of representatives of the States Members of the United Nations in their statements in the general debate at the current session. In their Declaration, the participants in the Cancún meeting put forward a series of specific and important proposals for the normalization of the situation in the region. The Cancún Declaration was welcomed with satisfaction in many capitals in Latin America, including Managua and Havana.

158. In the complex situation in this region today, we must not underestimate the importance of the constructive and peaceful initiatives being undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua, particularly the proposal to sign a treaty guaranteeing mutual respect, peace and security between the Republic of Nicaragua and the United

States of America, the proposal immediately to sign a non-intervention treaty between Nicaragua and Honduras, the initiative on the suspension of arms deliveries to all forces fighting in El Salvador, the proposal to suspend all military aid and to prohibit the use of the territory of another nation for purposes of aggression, and so on.

159. Mongolia, like other countries, fully supports Nicaragua's constructive proposals. Our Government also attaches great importance to the statement by the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, who set forth a series of specific ideas for the peaceful solution of the problems of Central America. We fully agree with him when he says that the political solution of the situation in El Salvador is the key to the negotiated solution of the problems of Central America.

160. Mongolia is firmly opposed to United States military intervention in the affairs of the States of Central America and is in favour of a political solution to the problems of the region.

161. We wish to express our hope that the General Assembly, after a careful analysis of the question of Central America, will take decisions leading to the establishment of the ways and means to settle the problems in that part of the world, thus contributing to international peace and security.

162. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): This is the first time that the General Assembly is considering the situation in Central America. In this region, poverty, exploitation and social and economic inequalities have long existed, and there is a process of social change under way as part of the struggle for national, political, economic and cultural emancipation and independence.

163. The heritage of the past and the injustices of the present are at the core of the crisis facing the region today. Peoples of Central America, as well as all other peoples in the world, must have unimpeded access to free choice of the paths to their development and to decisions concerning their futures. The issues in the region are close to all of us and the crisis there has become a matter of deep concern to the international community at large. There is a growing awareness in the world of the roots as well as the possible consequences and solutions of this crisis.

164. The crisis in Central America stems from widespread attempts to impede the democratization of international relations and stifle the legitimate aspirations of peoples to independence and equality, and from ever-wider resistance to all forms of foreign domination.

165. We would like to recall that the Secretary-General, in a note of 13 October 1983,¹ pointed out that:

“In view of the nature and possible ramifications of the convulsive situation currently prevailing in the Central American region, the unavoidable conclusion is that it threatens international peace and security.”

166. We believe that any delay in resolving this crisis on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations would involve a risk of making that crisis a part of the equation of the relationship of the leading Powers.

167. To approach this crisis in the context of East-West confrontation is to blur the root cause and core of the problem. Such an approach would make the search for a lasting solution very difficult, if not impossible. Hardly any problem has ever been resolved on a lasting basis within the context of the East-West confrontation.

168. There is a dangerous tendency, whenever there is a conflict within a country or between countries, for outside Powers to try to extend their influence by engaging the co-operation of those involved in the conflict. If

such local partners were not so readily embraced and supplied, peaceful and negotiated solutions would be easier to achieve in all these situations.

169. Interference, intervention and the export of social and political models are unacceptable and pernicious wherever they take place, and we feel that there can be no pretext for such practices, since their very substance is expansion and spreading of spheres of influence, and since they are directed against the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination.

170. There is already too long a list of interventions by outside Powers on the basis of requests and so-called invitations by forces within the countries, by their neighbours or by various organizations. It is timely to express a warning that this is an alarming and dangerous development, particularly since recourse to such practices might lead to the rules of international behaviour being supplanted by the interests of the more powerful or the most powerful. This would undermine the foundations of the concept of international security built upon respect for independence and the right to self-determination as envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations.

171. We feel, furthermore, that attempts to subject independent States to a sort of trusteeship of one Power, group or organization, if the internal development of a particular country is not to their liking, are impermissible.

172. Differences in political systems are inherent in the contemporary world, and mutual respect for those differences is a *sine qua non* for a peaceful solution to the problems facing the world today.

173. In recent years during a continuous deterioration of the international situation, the non-aligned countries have repeatedly called for a return to détente, since it can hardly be expected that with the present level of tensions major issues can be resolved. The situation in Central America is a case in point. Without détente, without a dedicated effort to relax tensions, there can hardly be a dialogue on the basis of equality and mutual respect, and without that dialogue there can hardly be any hope for a peaceful solution of the crisis. Dialogue with the willing, responsible and creative participation of all countries of the region, and tolerance and respect for the rights of others, are indispensable.

174. Abstention by all regional and non-regional elements from any action leading to further deterioration of the grave situation in Central America is of the utmost importance.

175. The four countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—which share a common culture and historical background and are close to the Central American countries, are ideally suited to find a solution, because of their knowledge of the circumstances and the substance of the crisis and because of their vital interest in peace, stability, social justice and progress in the region. Solutions to the problems of this region can be sought only through negotiations and in compliance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

176. The principles contained in the Document of Objectives¹ of the Contadora Group were drafted in this spirit. They include the self-determination of peoples; non-intervention; the sovereign equality of States; the peaceful settlement of disputes; refraining from the threat or use of force; respect for the territorial integrity of States; pluralism in various forms; full support for democratic institutions; the promotion of social justice; respect for and promotion of human rights; and the prohibition of terrorism and subversion. Respect for these principles and active endeavours to implement them is the greatest

contribution that the Central American countries can make to their own security, to the stability of the region and to the maintenance of peace.

177. The unequivocal support for the Contadora Group expressed at the highest political level during the recent general debate in the General Assembly is of the greatest significance. That, along with the support extended to them by the non-aligned countries, will, we believe, be a source of additional encouragement to the countries of the Contadora Group to continue with their peace initiatives, and we hope that they will carry on with their tireless efforts. We also interpret this as a strong appeal to all the parties involved in the conflict to support the efforts of the Contadora Group.

178. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, clearly stated the relevance of the principles of the policy of non-alignment to the crisis in Central America and emphasized the need for respect for the right of all countries in that area freely to choose their political, economic and social systems.

179. Nicaragua should not be an exception in that regard. At New Delhi the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries condemned the increase in threats and attacks against Nicaragua and called for the cessation of hostile acts against that country. They called upon all countries to refrain from all acts that might add to the tension in that region, and this appeal was repeated again in the course of the general debate in this Assembly.

180. All of this reflects the fact that the overwhelming majority of Member States continues to make common cause with the people and Government of Nicaragua in their determination to repel any destabilization, aggres-

sion or interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and in their desire for peace in the region.

181. The people of El Salvador, like any other people, cannot be denied the right freely and independently to determine their own course of internal development without pressure and outside interference. All democratic forces and groups in that country, including the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation, should participate on an equal footing in resolving the Salvadorian issues in accordance with the true aspirations and interests of the people of that country.

182. Yugoslavia has from the very beginning supported and will continue to support fully Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the Contadora Group—in their search for a just and lasting solution to the crisis in Central America, a solution based on the authentic interests of all countries and peoples in the region and aimed at protecting the inalienable right of all the peoples in the region to decide independently on their future and to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unimpeded development. Once again, the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment are the basic criteria determining the position of Yugoslavia regarding the problems of Central America.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983, document S/16401.*

² *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Year, 2422nd meeting.*