



Wednesday, 24 October 1984,

at 3.10 p.m.

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 25

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

1. Mr. NOWAK (Poland): The international community continues to be legitimately disturbed by constantly rising tensions in Central America, which threaten to degenerate rapidly into a confrontation of unimaginable dimensions. The situation in the region has even deteriorated since the time it was discussed by the General Assembly a year ago and since the adoption of resolution 38/10. Aware that the development of the situation threatens international peace and security, the delegation of Poland feels obliged briefly to present its position on the conflict. At the same time we feel obliged to raise our voice and express concern whenever the sovereignty and well-being of other States of the Organization may be at stake.

2. We share the point of view of those who consider the present crisis to be the result of a combination of destabilizing factors and who do not attribute the essence of existing tensions to East-West rivalries. On the contrary, we believe that efforts to explain the conflict in terms of ideological confrontations are superficial and aimed, willingly or unwillingly, at a distortion of the real picture of the situation. Briefly, our position on the origins of the problem is as follows.

3. On the one hand, the roots of the crisis are linked with the lack of economic development, poverty, grave social injustices and age-old exploitation and repression by privileged minorities of unprivileged majorities. On the other hand, the instability of the region is exacerbated by an increased readiness to resort to the imperialist policy of interference and intervention. This readiness is manifested, *inter alia*, by increased United States military activity in the region, including the establishment of foreign military bases and the utilization of neighbouring territories for aggression against other States.

4. The most disturbing result of such a policy is the danger of direct intervention in Nicaragua, Cuba and other countries of the region. The essence of a dramatic announcement made here before the General Assembly on 2 October by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Re-

public of Nicaragua [16th meeting], was that his country's ultimate ordeal by fire may be at hand. The facts testify that since 1979 Nicaragua has been under a virtual state of siege by the neighbouring big Power and subjected to covert and overt attempts, with the use of mercenaries, to destabilize the Sandinist Government, such as the notorious mining of its main ports in violation of international law, as well as other numerous acts of direct or indirect aggression, pressure and economic coercion against it. The international community was shocked by the official admission by the United States authorities that the ports of Nicaragua had been mined by special commandos of the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] and was then astonished that the United States would not recognize the authority of the International Court of Justice in judging the recent events in Central America.

5. The threats to Central America are not restricted to Nicaragua alone. In his statement before the General Assembly [18th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba drew our attention to threats of force against his country also. In El Salvador the situation continues to be tense, notwithstanding the demonstrated readiness of the Salvadorian democratic forces sincerely to search for a negotiated political settlement of the problems of that country. The memories of the invasion of Grenada in violation of the Charter of the United Nations remain vivid as a dangerous example of the policy of resorting to force.

6. There is another aspect of the situation which should not escape our attention. It is the human aspect, the immense sufferings of innocent populations. Aerial and naval war has resulted in the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans. Heavy economic losses worsen the already dramatic conditions of everyday life. In his report to the General Assembly the Secretary-General points out that "the continuation of the upheaval in Central America, with its grievous impact on the civil population, is still causing a flood of refugees." [See A/39/562, para. 14.] The human aspect of the situation in Central America is yet another source of concern to the international community.

7. To sum up, we feel that all those who warn that the situation in Central America is taking an alarming and dangerous course and that proper action by the General Assembly is necessary are perfectly right.

8. Agenda item 25 is composed of two inseparable elements: the first refers to threats to international peace and security stemming from the developments in Central America, and the second urges peace initiatives to improve the situation. It is on the second element that my delegation now wishes to state its position.

9. First of all, it is the obligation of the United Nations to undertake measures to decrease the

danger of generalization of the conflict. While declaring our unreserved solidarity with Nicaragua, we call for an immediate end to all threats, attacks and covert and overt actions against the people and the Government of that country and Cuba, as well as against other nations in the region.

10. The members of the Contadora Group, with their knowledge of the substance of the problem, have greatly contributed towards finding a solution in Central America. The important statements made this morning [35th meeting] by the representatives of Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela have strengthened us in this conviction. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex] is designed to open the way for lasting peace, in particular by reducing the dangerous increase in military action in the States of the region. We fully share the conviction expressed in the final communiqué of the meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held from 1 to 5 October 1984 that "the Contadora process represents a genuine regional initiative and the best opportunity to achieve a solution to the crisis through political means" [see A/39/560, annex, para. 84]. We reiterate our respect and support for the endeavours of the Contadora Group.

11. Poland joins those delegations which have welcomed Nicaragua's immediate subscription to the Contadora Act in its totality and without reservations. It is with disappointment that we have learned of the so-called modifications to the Central American peace pact proposed by four other Central American States, as they may negatively affect the positive development of the Contadora process.

12. A realistic evaluation of the situation in Central America leads us to the conclusion that a lasting solution requires dialogue, negotiations and mutual commitments, with the participation of the Central American nations and of the United States. It is a general conviction, one fully shared by Poland, that agreement on the basis of the Act can be meaningful only if the Government of the United States formally commits itself to abide fully by such an agreement. We expect the United States to subscribe to and ratify the Additional Protocol to the Act, without reservation, and at the same time to cease all actions against Nicaragua. Compliance by the United States with the Provisional Measures set out by the International Court of Justice in its order of 10 May 1984¹ would improve conditions for a political solution to the problems of the region. Undoubtedly the international community will now be expecting proof of good will from a big Power, which, as such, has a particular responsibility for preserving peace in the world.

13. No people, including the people of El Salvador, can be denied the right to determine freely its own destiny. The democratic forces and groups in El Salvador, led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [FMLN] and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR] by agreeing to meet with President José Napoleon Duarte, have shown their readiness to negotiate a political settlement. Clearly, in this case too the international community expects the Government of the United States to adopt a constructive approach and contribute to a negotiated, just and peaceful solution of the problem, embracing all democratic forces in that country on an equal footing. We would encourage both sides in El Salva-

dor to continue the dialogue until the achievement of a comprehensive settlement ending the armed conflict and bringing peace based on justice and respect for human rights.

14. In conclusion, permit me to reiterate that Poland will support all initiatives that will lead to a lasting peace, guarantee a climate of security in the region and in the world at large and allow the people of the region freely to build their own future. It is in that spirit that Poland will support the draft resolution presented by the four members of the Contadora Group [A/39/L.6] and that presented by Nicaragua [A/39/L.7].

15. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In expressing their concern on the situation in Central America, the States Members of the United Nations, and in particular those of Latin America, are referring to a region in which the tensions and acts of violence could endanger not only the peace of our continent but also the world situation in general, above all if the tendency to assume the characteristics of East-West confrontation becomes more pronounced.

16. Ecuador believes that the problems of Latin America must be resolved, preferably by Latin Americans, and thus from the outset has given its complete support to the work of the four countries of the Contadora Group, so that they might speed up their consultations and promote negotiations so that it may be possible to sign the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America at the earliest date and thereby bring an end to the bloodshed and economic paralysis suffered by so many Central American countries.

17. Both the Security Council and the Assembly have given their most resolute support to the Contadora Group, and Ecuador has reaffirmed its support in both forums, urging the Group to persevere in its efforts, with the support of the international community and the concrete and resolute co-operation of countries within the region and outside it.

18. In the work accomplished by the Contadora Group and the action of the Central American countries there is a dedication and a sense of democracy that should be underscored, as democratic institutionality is a characteristic inherent in all Latin American countries. The elections held in the region, such as that in El Salvador and the announcement of elections in Nicaragua, betoken this fact, and we commend those countries. It is democratic and commendable also that President Duarte of El Salvador has made the valiant gesture of inviting the leaders of the armed resistance groups in his country to direct talks in order to achieve an agreement based on national understanding to leave violence behind and reach peaceful solutions to the national dispute.

19. Ecuador firmly believes in the effectiveness of free elections as a solution for political differences and as the root and foundation of all constituted authority. Generally, those who promote and practise violence as a means of gaining power are afraid to resort to the honest method of the popular vote, which is the way to achieve political victory in a democracy. But for an election to be described as the legal basis for the State it must be universal; in other words it must include all the political forces of the country. That is the type of electoral process that Ecuador would like to see in all Central American countries. In this connection, in accordance with its

constant policy of defending the principle of self-determination of peoples, Ecuador, in expressing on various occasions its support for the work of the Contadora Group countries, has affirmed the need for all foreign elements to leave the area in order to promote a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis, highlighting the special importance of the strict and effective application of the commitments undertaken in the Contadora Act, in particular those on disarmament and free elections, as the basis of an authentic democracy.

20. The effectiveness of the commitment underlying the Contadora Act lies precisely in the viability of the follow-up machinery. That applies to the disarmament process as well as to full electoral participation and the clarity of the suffrage system in all its stages, since the outcome of the elections can only be a wide-ranging decision of the people in response to the problems of the day, in exercise of universal and genuinely free elections.

21. The Foreign Minister of Ecuador, addressing the General Assembly at the current session, said:

“Ecuador rejects any form of violence, destabilization of States, intervention or deployment of forces of any foreign origin in Central America. That is why Ecuador has given its full support to the actions taken by the Contadora Group of Latin American Governments and trusts that they will achieve practical results.” [*See 13th meeting, para. 64.*]

22. In this connection, due attention should be paid to the joint communiqué issued on 20 October at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of four Central American countries at Tegucigalpa [*A/39/599, annex I*] because of the intention it reiterates to make the signing of the Act viable and the initiative it cites that “the five Central American States can harmonize their points of view so as to ensure that the Act is accepted by all parties” [*ibid., para. 5*].

23. My delegation will therefore support draft resolution A/39/L.6 proposed by the four members of the Contadora Group. We would be in favour of having any other draft on this issue incorporated in that text if the Central American countries and the Contadora Group members agree, as part of the combined subject-matter under this item 25.

24. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): The General Assembly’s thirty-eighth session took up consideration of this item in an atmosphere of guarded optimism created by the adoption of the Document of Objectives² at Panama City on 9 September 1983 by the Foreign Ministers of Central America, with the participation of the Contadora Group. My delegation shared that optimism because at least those countries directly involved had reached the political judgement that agreement on the set of proposals embodied in the Document could provide a political framework within which a just and lasting solution to the conflict in the region could be reached. While this assumption remains a constant element of the efforts expended over the last 12 months in search of a solution, little progress has been recorded on the ground. As we resume consideration of the question at this session, resolution 38/10 remains unimplemented.

25. Conditions in the region continue to deteriorate because of the aggravation of conflicts and the increase of foreign interference and aggression. As a consequence, the threat to international peace and

security has become more real despite sustained diplomatic activity by the international community to bring about peace in the region. Indeed, in the communiqué of their seventh joint meeting, held at Panama City on 7 September 1984, the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries expressed concern at “the fact that, despite the progress made in the negotiations and the widespread international support for that process, militarization of the area, acts of armed aggression, border incidents, attempts at destabilization and foreign military presence all continue” [*see A/39/495, annex II*]. It is in a sombre mood that the Assembly takes up consideration of this question during its present session.

26. The problems of Central America are not new. They are manifestations of underlying systematic imbalances imposed upon the people of the region over many generations, which had of necessity to precipitate resistance. That resistance has taken various forms, including that of armed struggle, especially in the face of the brutalities of the systems which have over the years refused to respond to the pleas for peaceful change. That is why my delegation believes that these problems can be adequately addressed only if there is a clear perception and understanding of the nature of the conflict and if the process of finding solutions recognizes and deals with the rights of the people and the legitimate claims of countries. The suppression of a people, the use of foreign military force or the deliberate misinterpretation of facts for political expediency cannot provide a viable framework for lasting peace.

27. The civil war in El Salvador continues unabated. But, while the problems of Central America extend to more than one country in the region, none has been targeted for aggression more than Nicaragua. Since their victory against the Somoza dictatorship, the people of Nicaragua who desire peace have seen no peace. They have been victims of all forms of destabilization, sabotage, military intervention and economic strangulation, including the mining of their ports and harbours. Threats of an outright invasion are commonplace and are now complemented by an unprecedented arms buildup around the country’s borders and along its shores.

28. We share the anxiety and anguish of the Central American people, for they have been unduly subjected to so much suffering. We believe therefore that further delay in resolving the crisis on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations would only exacerbate tensions and prolong their suffering. To avoid this it is imperative to bear in mind the urgent need to abandon the politics of force, threats of confrontation and war. The countries of the region should seek solutions which derive legitimacy from their relevance to the needs of the situation, not solutions imposed from outside with the use of military or other force. To ensure, these solutions must take an approach which emphasizes the importance of regional initiatives, and ideological fixations which place the problems of the region in the arena of East-West confrontation must be rejected. Above all, these countries should endeavour to respect each other’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

29. We wish peace for all countries. That is why we reject the unjustified political hostility and military aggression against Nicaragua. We wish to point out, however, that we are encouraged to note that since

the initiation of dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States earlier in May several high-level meetings have been held and that both sides have welcomed the fact that these talks have now entered their substantive phase.

30. The people of El Salvador, like all peoples, cannot be denied the right to struggle for a course of development which ensures maximum enjoyment of the fundamental human rights and the broadest participation in the political process. The continued denial of these rights, whether as a consequence of internal oppression or of external intervention, will only prolong and intensify the civil conflict, with its attendant human and material destruction. That is why we believe that all democratic forces and groups, and in particular the FDR and FMLN, have to be encouraged to participate on an equal footing in the elaboration of a programme which will bring peace to that embattled country. In this regard we are encouraged by the new spirit of political accommodation which made possible the exploratory talks between the liberation movements and the authorities in El Salvador only a couple of weeks ago. Brief as they were, they none the less ushered in the beginning of a process of contact which, if sustained, holds the key to peace in that country. We hope that both sides will keep the spirit alive and speedily agree to enter into substantive negotiations. We equally hope that the international community will endeavour to desist from actions which would either dampen that spirit or encourage the obstinacy of either side.

31. My delegation is convinced that it is by encouraging the spirit of co-operation in the search for regional solutions that conditions conducive to development for the people of Central America can be fostered. This is an essential element in the attempt to put an end to the cycle of foreign interference and intervention which has been imposed on Central America and which has provided the umbrella for the internal systems of oppression. It is this spirit which the Contadora Group seeks to rekindle, for we cannot expect to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict unless we allow for the evolution of an atmosphere conducive to dialogue. Acts of aggression cannot provide for the negotiation of political arrangements which can deliver the region from the current strife and state of siege. Nor can the constant search for pretexts to carry out armed intervention or muscle-flexing bring peace. This is the position taken by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/10. This is also the position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

32. Whether in Nicaragua or El Salvador, the Contadora Group has spared no effort in addressing itself to the problems of Central America. Since the adoption in July 1983 of the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America³ and of the Document of Objectives the following September, which was endorsed by the countries of the region, the Group has, by striving to narrow the differences among the parties to the conflicts, steadily built conditions for eventual negotiation. In this exercise these countries have recognized the existence of ideological pluralism in the region as well as the need to undertake political commitments which would not only ensure the removal of threat to the States of the region, be it from within or from outside the region, but preserve respect for the right of self-determination and political as well as economic independence. Thus the underlying conviction is that co-operative regional

efforts can facilitate the establishment of mutual confidence and conditions conducive to the working out of permanent arrangements for peace and security in the region.

33. Above all, ultimately the solutions to these problems can be genuinely sought through the commitment of the countries of Central America to the rules of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is this fundamental consideration that the latest initiative, namely, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex], submitted in Panama on 7 September 1984, seeks to subsume. The initiative addresses itself to the present and the future of the region. As correctly pointed out, the Act is the culmination of a long and intense process of negotiations. Above all, in the Act the countries of Central America are enjoined, for the first time, to reach a consensus that would be reflected in legal commitments to be undertaken by the parties. The Contadora Act also defines commitments of a political, security, economic and social character, as well as institutional arrangements to facilitate the fulfilment of these commitments.

34. The tentative commitments embodied in the Contadora Act are the following: to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; to adhere to the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; to co-operate in the resolution of international problems; to recognize the equal right to self-determination of all peoples; to promote respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; to refrain from discriminatory practices in economic relations between States and to foster mutual respect for different political, economic and social systems; and to fulfil in good faith obligations undertaken under international law. These represent a solid basis for peace. These are the rights and obligations of all States of the region, and we hope no country shall claim exemption from their fulfilment. For it is essential to realize that it is not just Nicaragua, or any single country, that needs peace; ultimately it is all the countries. Individually and severally they must realize that no military solution, whether from within or from outside the region, can bring peace. Rather, policies which promote regional harmony and which seek to exclude extra-regional power involvement hold a promise of peace and stability.

35. Indeed, this was emphasized by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group in their communication of 7 September to the heads of State of the five Central American countries when they observed:

“In the light of persistent threat to peace, we believe that the Governments of the region must expedite the process of assuming the legal commitments contained in the Contadora Act. Similarly, it is imperative for other Governments with interests and links with the region to respect the right of self-determination of the Central American peoples and demonstrate unequivocal support for political negotiation in place of force, and for understanding and co-operation among all the Governments of the region.” [See A/39/495, annex I.]

36. My delegation wishes to echo that appeal. At the same time we note with satisfaction the constructive position taken by Nicaragua in expressing its complete readiness to accept the Act in its entirety

and to sign it immediately, without modification despite the obvious reservations it rightly ought to have, especially in view of the historical hostility of the countries that have brought tremendous and undue pressure upon it since the heroic victory over the Somoza dictatorship. We call upon the other countries of the region to respond positively to this appeal. We equally call upon all other Governments with interests and links in the region to encourage this process and desist in particular from further action which could derail this delicate process.

37. In paying a tribute to Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, my delegation realizes that theirs is an uphill task. They need our encouragement and co-operation. But we hope that, as an indispensable condition of their success, all parties to the conflicts will appreciate their services and demonstrate the necessary political will.

38. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It was almost a year ago that for the first time we considered the item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". In the view of my country, the tenseness of the situation in that region has become steadily more acute and is a source of indignation, concern and regret for the entire international community. Serious events have been occurring in the Central American region since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10. The most flagrant violations of international law have been repeated through the criminal policy of State terrorism applied by the United States against Nicaragua and the systematic interference and acts of aggression that continue to be unleashed against the Sandinist revolution.

39. It is in this context that we see the rejection by the United States Government of the order of the International Court of Justice,¹ which demanded an immediate cessation of its actions against Nicaragua. The military and paramilitary actions against the efforts of the Nicaraguan Government to reconstruct the country and institutionalize democracy have continued and have created an alarming record of human losses and material damage for that sister nation, accompanied by the most vile press campaign to denigrate and distort the image of Nicaragua and its leaders.

40. Nicaragua has continued, particularly in recent months, to be the victim of an unjust and illegal war waged by the United States, which bases itself in neighbouring territories to launch air and sea attacks against economic, civilian and military targets. Information on this situation refers to daily spy flights over Nicaragua, together with steady military manoeuvres and exercises conducted by the United States since the beginning of this year on Central American soil. These are the longest military manoeuvres in history. This is a deployed combat force which can act against Nicaragua and other peoples of the region if the order to intervene is given. Those that have lent their territories to perpetuate aggression against Nicaragua must not forget that today they are occupied countries and will be judged as such by their peoples and history.

41. Hordes of mercenaries are concentrated in territories bordering on Nicaragua and act from them to bring death and destruction to a people which today is struggling stalwartly to escape from the frightful underdevelopment in which it was sub-

merged by the Somoza dictatorship, the offspring of Yankee intervention in the 1930s. The undeclared United States war against the Sandinist revolution takes steadily more subtle turns, making the region one of the most serious hotbeds of tension in the world, where peace and security are very precarious indeed.

42. Why that aggressive attitude towards Nicaragua? The sole reason is that the Nicaraguan people has determined to follow an independent course, free from the diktat of Washington and the transnationals. Why these flagrant violations of international law? Why does the United States Congress debate whether or not it is relevant to approve a budget to help the counterrevolution in Nicaragua? What right does the United States Government have to do that? Why does the CIA prepare a manual to train Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries in the assassination of Sandinist leaders?

43. Now, no light has been shed on who prepared the crime manual and who ordered its drafting. How can it be that such very important matters are not known? Now it seems that they want to cloak with alleged ignorance what is purely and simply an imperialist policy. The methods advocated in that manual have already been applied against my country and other revolutionary processes. The "ignorance" of today will inevitably lead to the murder of Nicaraguan women and children, and public opinion will find out only when it is horrified by the reports in newspapers.

44. Why are the aircraft carriers and military forces deployed in Central America not sent to South Africa to put an end to the crime of *apartheid* and thus make a substantive contribution to the struggle to make a reality of the strictest respect for human rights?

45. As for recent events in El Salvador, it is impossible to imagine a negotiated, political solution to Central American problems if it is not accompanied by a negotiated political solution to the civil war in that country. Therefore, as has been stated by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, "the solution of the problems of El Salvador is a *sine qua non* for the solution of the problems of Central America".

46. For more than three years the Salvadorian revolutionary movement had been seriously and consistently affirming the need to seek a negotiated political solution to the situation in that country. That, *inter alia*, was because they were trying to avoid a worsening of the conflict and affording a pretext for Yankee intervention. Therefore, the beginning of political talks between the FMLN-FDR and the Government of El Salvador is not only the outcome of that will, expressed by that revolutionary movement, but also a result of the military, political and diplomatic gains made over all these years which can no longer be concealed or disregarded.

47. At the same time, following its now customary policy, the United States Government continues to promote military solutions and to increase its financial and military assistance to the Salvadorian régime, while it increases the direct participation of United States personnel in military operations, as could be seen last week in the downing of a military aircraft in a combat zone in El Salvador, in which four CIA agents died. They must now be buried anonymously—as though that could cover the

shamefulness of the type of dirty work to which they had devoted their lives.

48. We reiterate our most profound support for the Salvadorian people's struggle under the leadership of the FMLN-FDR. We condemn the systematic attacks by the governmental forces of El Salvador against the civilian population in the regions controlled by the insurgents. Those actions afflict even the least sensitive of human beings, and it is really incomprehensible that the international community—and this Organization in particular—should remain passive in the light of those events.

49. The Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries, who met in New York from 1 to 5 October last, also expressed, *inter alia*, their deep concern at the serious deterioration of the situation in the region, which can be seen in the use of military bases, overt and covert activities and attempts to destabilize the Nicaraguan Government, such as by the mining of ports, as well as other acts of aggression and pressure and economic coercion. They recognized also that the danger of direct intervention against Nicaragua and Cuba has increased alarmingly.

50. Throughout the past two years the countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—have been making a commendable effort, which our country has supported from the very outset, to promote peace in the region. Those efforts have commanded the broadest support and encouragement of the international community and the General Assembly in particular.

51. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group, on 7 September last at Panama City, submitted to their counterparts of the Central American countries the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex], a valuable instrument designed to contribute to the region's stability. We support the efforts of the Contadora Group, because they seek a political solution on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of peoples, respect for the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for self-determination, which implies respect for the right of each country to have the political, economic and social system of its choice. These are elementary principles of international law which we must all heed, including the United States.

52. We welcome the decision immediately taken by Nicaragua to sign the Act, and we urge the other Central American Governments to commit themselves to it and, in particular, the United States Administration, which has a very responsible role to play pursuant to the content of the Additional Protocol. We welcome the position of the members of the European Economic Community, as well as Spain and Portugal, which supported that Act at a meeting held on 28 and 29 September at San José.

53. Our delegation wishes once again to reaffirm that only an honourable and worthy solution of the Central American conflict, based on mutual commitments, can preserve the Central American area from a conflagration of greater magnitude. The Republic of Cuba endorses and will continue to endorse any negotiating process undertaken by Nicaragua along these lines and will support any such agreement signed.

54. In his recent statement before the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, stated:

“Cuba, as President Fidel Castro pointed out over a year ago, desires an honourable solution, one based on mutual commitments, to the Central American conflict. That is the only real solution.”

He then added:

“It is quite clear that the United States must participate in such negotiations, since the real problem both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador results from United States interference and since no real, lasting solution of the situation in Central America will be possible without the establishment of mutual commitments, with the participation of the United States.” [See 18th meeting, paras. 149 and 150.]

55. Nicaragua is now preparing for its general elections set for 4 November, while at the same time the United States Government is making plans against that process and the CIA and the Pentagon are bringing further pressure to bear on that country by carrying out extensive and menacing military manoeuvres in the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Fonseca. The policy of a Government that verbally proclaims its support of the Contadora Group and promotes bilateral dialogue while in practice it systematically and brazenly increases hostility and the level of aggression against Nicaragua to the point of considering in its plans the prospect of direct intervention is unacceptable. This is the old carrot-and-stick practice.

56. On three different occasions during the past year the Security Council was compelled to consider the delicate situation in that area. In spite of this, the regional stability has become steadily imperiled.

57. Threats have materialized against Cuba as well and we wish to recall here the words of Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, when he stated:

“anyone who would send troops against Cuba must be ready to face an all-out war—everywhere, all the time; a multifaceted war of the people which would turn every inch of land under the invader's foot into a veritable inferno, a war in which there would be no surrender or truce but a fight until final victory, regardless of the time and the sacrifices required” [*ibid.*, para. 155].

58. As Members of the Organization, it is our obligation to see that the Charter and the principles that gave life to the United Nations are respected and that we adopt urgent measures necessary to maintain the peace of peoples living in the Central American region. The situation now requires that we take a forceful stand and that we stop the aggressor before more blood is shed in a massive conflict which would undoubtedly not see a truce or surrender until final victory by the peoples of Central America.

59. May I recall here what was stated by Fidel Castro on 28 July 1983:

“I believe that the Latin American peoples and the people of the United States are called to live on the same continent in conditions of equality, respect and friendship.

“I believe that we must struggle to avoid the worsening of conflicts.

“I consider that a solution in Central America cannot be achieved by one party imposing itself on

the other; I believe that a solution would have to be based on equitable and honourable principles.”

60. In conclusion, we add our voice and our strength to all those who sincerely call for peace for Central America. Our thoughts are with the men and women who in Central America are demanding peace, freedom and justice.

61. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): A year has elapsed since the General Assembly considered for the first time the question, introduced by Nicaragua, of the situation in Central America. In the resolution then adopted [*resolution 38/10*], the Assembly expressed its deep concern over the serious worsening of tensions in Central America, condemned acts of aggression against the countries of the area and requested all States to desist from initiating military operations intended to exert political pressure, which aggravate the situation in the region. It also reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of Central America to determine their own form of Government and freely to choose their own economic, political and social system.

62. The question of the situation in Central America has also often been examined by the Security Council, which in its resolution 530 (1983) reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference, and commended the efforts of the Contadora Group. The Security Council paid great attention to this question last year. However, the wish of its members to prevent the continuation of illegal actions, such as the mining of Nicaraguan ports, was blocked by one member State of the Council.

63. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has also often evinced serious concern over the situation in Central America. In the communiqué of the meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held from 1 to 5 October [*A/39/560, annex*], it is stressed that the situation in this area continues to deteriorate as a result of the imperialist policies of interference and intervention, of numerous acts of aggression, pressure and economic coercion against the countries in the region.

64. One must note that despite all these efforts the situation in Central America has not become calmer, for well-known reasons. Certain forces have transformed this area into a dangerous hotbed of tension, pregnant with serious consequences. A real threat to international peace and security has been created.

65. The development of events has caused legitimate alarm among all peace-loving States. Obvious confirmation of this can be seen in the recently concluded general debate in the General Assembly. The statements of many delegations contained an appeal unprecedented in its urgency to eliminate the threat to peace in Central America and to find just political solutions. As during the debate last year, attempts to conceal foreign intervention by assertions that there was an East-West confrontation in this area were rejected. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, Mr. Morán, correctly noted, during the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, that “the deep causes of the long-standing crisis in the region are unjust economic and social structures” [*see 9th meeting, para. 213*].

66. The facts convincingly show that the main source of the continuing increase in tensions in Central America is the United States policy of flagrant interference in the affairs of sovereign States and peoples, military pressure and threats against them. The Charter of the United Nations is being blatantly flouted, as are the most elementary principles of international law. In order to maintain its domination in Central America, the United States strives to set up obedient régimes in that area, increase its military presence and create strongholds for punitive operations. Whole countries have been transformed into forward bases of aggression and strongholds to maintain the peoples of the region in a state of obedience.

67. In recent years, threatening waves have swept across Central America in the form of land, sea, technical and other military manoeuvres, with an openly interventionist objective. These militarist preparations, called “Big Pine”, “Ocean Venture” and “Granadero”, have become as pernicious a part of the scenario in the region as the large groups of warships constantly cruising off its shores. Tens of thousands of United States troops have been deployed in the area.

68. It is no secret that the main target of the military pressure and political blackmail is Nicaragua. There is open hostility to the right of the Nicaraguan people to take independent decisions on internal and foreign policy. The United States tries to dictate with which countries Nicaragua can or cannot have relations and how elections should be organized in the country. It is attempting to subvert the social and political system chosen by that people.

69. Washington proclaims that as long as the present Government of Nicaragua is in power, there can be no peace with that country. There is an openly proclaimed policy of flagrant interference in the affairs of that non-aligned State, of destabilizing its Government and of terrorizing the Nicaraguan people. To this end, bands of mercenaries have been assembled and equipped in the territories of neighbouring countries and have been sent into Nicaragua, killing peaceful citizens and sowing destruction on Nicaraguan soil. Representatives of United States special services are part of these bands and direct their activities. The same special services are directly involved in the mining of the approaches to the shores of Nicaragua, for which Washington is fully responsible. Such terrorist acts are a direct violation of one of the key principles of international law, the right of the freedom of navigation, and they cannot be tolerated.

70. Of late these acts have been taking on ever-greater scope. The mercenaries have now embarked upon open terror against the civilian population of Nicaragua. One can judge the crimes to which the mercenaries are incited by their bosses from the CIA manual on terrorism recently made public. Political assassination, kidnappings, the refined terrorization of the population, the use of hired killers—this is a far-from-full list of the means used against Nicaragua, which have now become open knowledge, even appearing on the pages of the American press. These facts have caused indignation and disgust even among those Americans who could hardly be counted among partisans of Sandinist authority. Showing contempt for the United Nations and violating its Charter, the United States is acting counter to resolution 38/10, adopted unanimously. The United

States is defying decisions of the International Court of Justice, which demanded an end to interventionist acts against Nicaragua.

71. One need not resort to examples taken from ancient history to understand how a policy of domination, use of force and interference in the internal affairs of States can express itself in the end. Exactly one year ago the world witnessed an act of banditry against tiny Grenada. A country which dared to protect its sovereignty and independent course in foreign and domestic affairs was occupied and deprived of its independence.

72. Today, throwing down the gauntlet at the United Nations, which stigmatized the invasion of that island, they are celebrating the anniversary of that crime. It may sound cynical, but according to the press the main event of this "celebration" will be not the rebuilding of the hospital destroyed by the United States aircraft—it is still in ruins—but the opening of the very airport whose construction supposedly threatened practically all of Latin America. Through the efforts of Washington, that airport, earmarked for the development of tourism, has been transformed into a base which the uninvited bosses of the island are already using for servicing their military air force.

73. There is no doubt that the main condition for the restoration of a normal situation on the island must, as provided for in the resolution on Grenada adopted at the thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/7*], be the immediate cessation of intervention and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island. The United Nations is duty-bound to raise its voice in defence of the Grenadian people.

74. Threats continue unabated against another country in the area—heroic Cuba—as does blatant interference in its internal affairs. It seems that some cannot accept the existence of a socialist State in Latin America. The courageous Cuban people have for many years been confronted by terrorist acts, economic blockades and armed aggression and sabotage. But attempts to compel Cuba to turn away from the policy to which it has consistently demonstrated its fidelity in words and deeds always come to naught. Proof of this can be seen in the will and firmness of the people of Cuba and the international support it enjoys.

75. There is no doubt that the sense of the world is that the situation in Central America must be settled by political means on the basis of the unconditional ending of American interference in the internal affairs of that area. As Mr. Gromyko, head of the Soviet delegation, stressed in the general debate at the current session: "Possibilities for such a settlement have been opened up thanks to the constructive approach of Nicaragua and Cuba and to the initiative of the States of the Contadora Group." [*See 10th meeting, para. 156.*]

76. Recently the whole world has seen clearly how dedicated the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua is to such a settlement in Central America. The ground has been cut from under the feet of those who strive to show the Sandinists as opponents of the activities of the Contadora Group. The position of the Nicaraguan Government, which expressed its readiness to accept without amendment the document prepared by the Contadora Group, deservedly received high praise and understanding. The proof is

the numerous statements at the present session of the General Assembly.

77. In contrast to that is a different policy with regard to the efforts of the Contadora Group. No one in Washington any longer conceals what is most unacceptable to them in the Contadora settlement—namely, the provisions designed to limit the possibility of unleashing aggression against Nicaragua at any time, provisions aimed at the strict observance of the right of peoples freely to determine their own path of national development.

78. The recurrent efforts to sabotage a political settlement of the problems in the Central American region are eloquent testimony to the true aims of the opponents of any relaxation of tension in Central America.

79. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the efforts of those who strive for a peaceful settlement of existing conflicts. As noted on 2 September this year by the head of State of the Soviet Union, Konstantin Chernenko, in reply to questions asked by the newspaper *Pravda*, "Conflict situations—and we are firmly convinced of this—can and must be settled only by peaceful means that take full account of the interests of those directly concerned and are guided by the broad objectives of strengthening international security." This fully applies also to the problems of Central America, and above all to the situation in the area of Nicaragua. The Soviet Union consistently supports the solution of these problems through political and diplomatic means, on a multilateral and bilateral basis, since our main goal is the elimination of hotbeds of international tension.

80. The Soviet delegation considers that the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Nicaragua [*A/39/L.7*] is correctly aimed at protecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of that State and at ending hostile acts against the Nicaraguan people. Therefore, the delegation of the Soviet Union is prepared to support that draft resolution.

81. The positive efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group and their desire to arrive at a speedy conclusion of negotiations and to formalize agreements also deserve our support. The policy of the Latin American States in favour of the solution of problems without diktat or foreign pressure has been consistently supported by the United Nations. The Soviet delegation hopes that such efforts will be pursued, despite all attempts to arrest the peace process, and will reach a successful conclusion. It is in this light that we regard favourably the draft resolution of the four countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela [*A/39/L.6*].

82. In the view of the Soviet delegation it is indispensable, with regard to the situation in Central America, to make full use of the potential of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. The efforts of Member States must be directed towards preventing a further worsening of the situation in that region, erecting a barrier to intervention and interference and contributing to the normalization of that situation. The peoples of Nicaragua, Cuba and other countries of the Central American region must be assured of the possibility to determine their fate independently without any foreign pressure.

83. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

84. The members of the European Community view the situation in Central America with deep concern. Ours is a concern based on the unique historical and cultural ties which link the peoples of Europe with those of Central America. We share with the people of the region a firm commitment to the ideals of genuine democracy based on authentic political pluralism, human rights and economic and social justice. We recognize that it is only through progress towards the full achievement of these ideals and values, which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, that the crisis of Central America can be overcome.

85. The problems of Central America have no single simple cause. In many of the countries of the region the strains of economic underdevelopment, unjust economic and social structures and neglect or violation of human rights have combined over many years to produce a crisis of government and of society. The result for large numbers of people has been a life dominated by violence; a life where recourse to the democratic process in the fight against injustice has all too often been imperfect.

86. The Ten have frequently expressed their conviction that the problems of Central America can be resolved only on the basis of a political settlement emerging from the efforts of the countries and people of the region itself. We are convinced too that a real and lasting peace cannot be brought about by the use of armed force, the intervention of forces from outside the region or interference by one country in the affairs of another. It is for these reasons that the Ten have consistently given their full support to the work undertaken by the Contadora Group of countries for a peaceful settlement. The Contadora initiative is a genuinely regional one, whose goals, as set out in the Document of Objectives² approved by all the Governments of the region in September 1983, respond fully to the requirements of a durable and just peace.

87. When the representative of Greece spoke at the thirty-eighth session on behalf of the Ten in the General Assembly's first debate on the situation in Central America [7th meeting], he announced that the Ten had already established direct contacts with the Contadora Group. These contacts and those with the Central American countries have been pursued and expanded in the past year. An historic meeting of foreign ministers was held at San José on 28 and 29 September 1984 between the European Community and its member States, Spain and Portugal, the States of Central America and the Contadora States. The joint communiqué issued following the meeting has been circulated to delegations [A/39/539, annex].

88. The San José meeting inaugurated a new structure of political and economic dialogue between Europe and Central America. The Ten believe that the decisions taken at this meeting and the increased practical co-operation that will result from them will provide an important reinforcement of the efforts of the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group to bring an end to violence and instability and to promote social justice, economic development and respect for human rights and democratic liberties in the region. Ministerial representatives of the 21 countries present were united in the view that the

problems of Central America cannot be solved by armed force but only by political solutions springing from the region itself. They expressed the conviction that the Contadora process is the best opportunity to achieve a political solution to the regional crisis. Specifically, they noted that the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex] is a fundamental stage in the negotiating process for the attainment of peace in the region.

89. The meeting also took significant decisions on the development of economic co-operation between the European Community and the Central American countries, including agreement that discussions should begin as soon as possible with a view to the negotiation of an interregional framework co-operation agreement.

90. The Ten believe that such co-operation based on concern for the political and economic development of the region will contribute to progress towards the achievement of real and lasting peace. But for peace to be achieved it must be primarily through the efforts of the countries in the region. The Ten note recent developments which have brought some degree of hope to the Central American region. These include the elections in El Salvador and the dialogue initiated at the recent meeting for peace at La Palma between President Duarte and the leaders of the opposition forces in El Salvador, as well as the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua, which it is hoped will lead to the establishment and consolidation of a genuine democracy in that country.

91. The Ten call on the States concerned to continue to make every effort to realize the goals of the Contadora process through the signature of a comprehensive agreement which would bring peace to the region. They stress the necessity for a practical commitment to the implementation of any such agreement by all the States in the region and all other countries which have interests there, and the necessity for the verification and control of that implementation. The Ten for their part will continue to support in whatever way they can the efforts of the countries and people of Central America towards the achievement of a lasting peace in the region.

92. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Since the last session of the General Assembly, the situation in Central America has remained volatile, causing general concern and anxiety in the international community. With the mediation efforts of the Contadora Group, there has appeared a tendency for the countries in the region to enter into contacts, dialogues and negotiations with each other. At the same time, however, we must not fail to see that over the past year armed conflicts have gone on unabated in the region, the presence of foreign military forces has continued and interference and infiltration from outside have only increased. Once Nicaraguan ports were even mined. All this shows that the various factors that have caused the internal and external contradictions and crises still pose a threat to peace and stability in Central America. Therefore, it is highly necessary for the current session of the General Assembly to consider once again the situation in Central America.

93. We believe that in the final analysis there are internal economic and social causes for the upheaval in Central America. The peoples of that region have waged unswerving struggles to safeguard national

independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to remove external interference and to achieve social justice and progress. However, intervention and infiltration by the super-Powers have aggravated the turbulent situation in the region. They have used all kinds of pretexts to obstruct the struggle of the people in the region for political rights and social reforms, have increased their overt and covert military aid and other forms of intervention and infiltration and have even resorted to a show of force and threat of force, and so forth. This has greatly complicated the situation, threatening international peace and security.

94. We maintain that in order to relax the tensions in Central America, all kinds of external interference must be opposed. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries in the region should be strictly respected. The problems of the Central American countries should be solved by the peoples of those countries themselves.

95. In the past two years, the Contadora Group has made every effort to help persuade the parties concerned to seek a negotiated settlement of their disputes, promote the social and economic development of Central America and achieve regional peace and co-operation. The General Assembly and the Security Council have both adopted resolutions explicitly supporting the mediation efforts of the Contadora Group.

96. Recently, the Contadora Group has formulated the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which covers such principles as refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and respecting the systems of political, economic and social organization of States; and which sets forth such important measures as agreeing not to authorize the installation in their respective territories of foreign bases and on the removal of foreign military advisers. It has thus made significant contributions to the settlement of the Central American question, the promotion of understanding and co-operation among the countries in the region and the attainment of regional peace. Both the joint communiqué of the conference of foreign ministers from 21 countries held at San José [A/39/539, annex] and the final communiqué of the meeting of ministers and heads of delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly [A/39/560, annex] have also expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

97. The Chinese delegation wishes to reiterate here its firm support for the Contadora Group's efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Central American question and for the work done by the Secretary-General in this regard. We sincerely wish them success. It is also our hope that the countries concerned will take a positive attitude and assist the Contadora Group in its efforts so as to achieve early results, and that they will assume their due responsibilities for the realization of peace and stability in Central America.

98. Mr. LEE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): The continuing hostility and tension in Central America remain a source of anxiety for Canada. This crisis is of immediate and deep concern to us, not only because it is happening in our hemisphere but above all because it divides our friends and neigh-

hours and because it brings suffering and impoverishment to the peoples of the region. Canada regrets the extension to Central America of East-West confrontation and the resulting militarization of the area.

99. Canada believes that the crisis in Central America is highly complex and not susceptible to easy analysis or solution. The roots of the problem are socio-economic; problems of distribution of land and resources, indifference to human rights and the absence of political systems reflecting the will of the citizens have been part of the history of this area, with the notable exception of Costa Rica. Change is an inevitable result of these conditions, and, in much of the region, changes have developed at great speed, sometimes accompanied by violence and instability. Into this difficult and combustible setting has been inserted East-West confrontation. Economies have been damaged by civil conflict, families and individuals have been dislocated, and regional, bilateral and multilateral relations have suffered.

100. It is against this challenging background that Canada applauds the initiative, skill and tenacity of the Contadora Group countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—in their efforts to build a framework for peace. We appreciate in particular the arduous work that led to the original and then the revised forms of the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America. We believe that, as a regional group sharing the confidence of all Central American States, Contadora represents the only international instrument with the potential for reconciliation in Central America. As such, it merits the strong and widespread support of the international community for its efforts of the past two years and for its future endeavours.

101. There have been other positive developments which also deserve international attention. The remarkable collective efforts which have led to the peace accord have been strengthened by the opening of a direct and continuing dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua. We regard this dialogue as a positive and essential step towards regional reconciliation. The bold initiative taken by President Duarte to embark upon discussions intended to halt the terrible civil war in El Salvador is also to be encouraged, as are the positive response of the insurgents and the agreement by both sides to meet again next month. Together, these developments have created a unique opportunity for the reversal of an historical trend to violence in El Salvador.

102. There can be no doubt that the peoples of the region have a profound wish for peace and stability. This has been demonstrated by recent elections, particularly in El Salvador. However, until a peace settlement is implemented, the dislocation of families and individuals and other problems caused by regional conflict and tension will continue to grow. For this reason, Canada has undertaken to increase the number of refugees it will accept, thus complementing efforts by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in order to re-establish displaced persons.

103. Canada's present aid commitments to Central America, which encompass a variety of humanitarian and development projects, stand and will be increased as soon as conditions permit effective implementation. In this way we hope to help redress the fundamental problems facing the region. We are encouraged by similar responses from other devel-

oped countries and by the interest of the European Community in developing a closer and more productive relationship with the Central American States, as demonstrated at the recent San José meeting.

104. When speaking before the Assembly last month [7th meeting], the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Joe Clark, emphasized that Canada regrets the militarization of Central America, which has polarized views and heightened tensions. The challenge has been and continues to be to persuade the parties to the conflict to talk over their differences and prepare a comprehensive and workable agreement which would guarantee a durable peace. We understand that discussions are under way with a view to tightening and strengthening existing provisions of the Contadora Act so that it better serves the interests of peace in the region. It is our hope that the strenuous efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group and of Central America, which have been meeting and consulting in a number of capitals, including Madrid and Tegucigalpa, will lead to a regional agreement in the very near future.

105. We believe the outcome of the debate taking place here today should be unanimous support for the Contadora efforts now being pursued to bring about peace, stability and social justice in Central America. We are also hopeful that there will be renewed support for a number of complementary measures to foster dialogue in the region, such as the United States-Nicaragua talks and the discussions between the Government of El Salvador and the insurgents.

106. Mr. WIJEWARDANE (Sri Lanka): Since this is the first time that I have spoken at the thirty-ninth session, I wish personally to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this high office. I have no doubt that with your vast experience and known diplomatic skills, you will guide the session to a very successful conclusion.

107. In his report on the item under consideration [A/39/562], the Secretary-General refers to the persistent gravity of the situation in Central America. Although Sri Lanka is situated at some considerable distance from the area, we have nevertheless been following carefully the developments in Central America, not only because of the inherent gravity of the situation, but also because the principles which need to be endorsed in respect of that region in order to guarantee its peace, security and development are principles which have universal validity.

108. While the instability and conflicts in the region stem basically from political, economic and social factors within Central America, the situation has unfortunately been aggravated by the encroachment of external factors. There have been claims and counter-claims about the movement of arms into the region and the activities of foreign military advisers, as well as other manifestations of foreign military presence, the use of irregular forces to carry out destabilization operations against States, and so on. Such external interventions have brought with them an increasing threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the five Central American States, as well as the danger of the conflicts in this region escalating well beyond it.

109. Regrettably, developments in Central America have been forced into the context of an East-West confrontation. Polemical arguments which clearly have no relevance to the Central American situation

have been advanced, confusing rather than clarifying the issues involved. Tragically, the end result has been that the interests of the Governments and peoples of the region have become the prime casualty in the process.

110. The initiatives of the Contadora Group of countries in this context have a very special significance, particularly because these initiatives have been pursued in close consultation with the Central American States concerned and in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is the culmination of a long and painstaking process of dialogue and discussion between the Central American countries, promoted and encouraged by the Contadora Group, and offers a firm basis for strengthening peace, security and development in Central America.

111. The revised version of the Contadora Act [*ibid.*, annex] upholds, *inter alia*, the vital principles of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, the sovereign equality of States, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. These principles have a universal application and a special importance for small countries like those in the Central American region, for whose security they are being advanced in this particular document.

112. The document also expresses the conviction that the restoration of peace and confidence in Central America may be achieved only through unconditional respect for the principles of international law, particularly the principle of the right of peoples to choose freely their own form of political, economic and social organization. It further recognizes the importance of creating, promoting and strengthening democratic systems in all countries of the region. It affirms that the destabilization of the Governments in the region, through encouragement or support of the activities of irregular groups or forces, acts of terrorism, subversion or sabotage and the use of the territory of a State for operations affecting the security of another State, is contrary to the fundamental norms of international law and peaceful coexistence. All foreign forces should be withdrawn in a manner which will not confer undue advantage on any one party.

113. Sri Lanka wishes to reiterate its full support for the initiatives of the Contadora Group and to express the hope that these initiatives will meet with the success that they richly deserve.

114. Last year the General Assembly expressed its firmest support for the Contadora Group and urged it to persevere in its efforts.

115. We recognize, of course, that despite the patient efforts that have culminated in the Contadora Act, not all the Central American countries have been able to accept it *in toto*. The document goes into considerable detail not only on political and security matters, but also in regard to economic and social matters. The draft Act recognizes, for example, the urgent need for substantial investment for the development of Central America and for efforts undertaken jointly by these countries to obtain financing for specific priority projects. In our view, it would be essential that the security and safety of investments be guaranteed if confidence is to be built into the viability of new investments.

116. This debate on the situation in Central America will not be in vain if it carries with it a universal call to the five Central American States to complete their consultations so that a framework can be constructed for enhancing their peace and security and for their economic and social development. Any delay in reaching a regional consensus will only increase the danger of extraregional intervention and interference and attempts to impose settlements from outside. Further delay in finalizing agreement could also pose a set-back to the present climate of accommodation and dialogue among the five States as well as to the talks between conflicting groups within some of the States.

117. What needs to be emphasized is that the five States of Central America should carry forward the process of consultation decisively, with the assistance of the Contadora Group of countries. The international community, for its part, must not only encourage and assist this process, but must eventually accept and guarantee the results of the regional process.

118. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): The General Assembly is considering the item "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" against the background of growing political and military tensions not only in the volatile region of Central America but also in many other parts of the world. The serious socio-economic imbalances which have prompted struggles for improvement of the quality of life and for a fuller participation in the political processes of some of the countries involved are at the root of the turbulence in the region. These struggles in our interdependent world, though not implants of block rivalries, affect mankind and may, if they remain unresolved, cause a wider conflict, with calamitous consequences for Latin America and for international peace and security in general.

119. The concern of the international community over the developments in Central America was amply evidenced by the adoption in November 1983 of General Assembly resolution 38/10, which was carefully prepared after long negotiations among the members of the Contadora Group and the countries directly concerned. The resolution affirmed, *inter alia*, the right of the countries in the region to decide their own future, free from any interference or intervention, and called for respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States as an essential prerequisite for ensuring their peaceful coexistence.

120. This year the Security Council has had to convene on three occasions to consider complaints by Nicaragua relating to military activities mainly along the northern borders of the country and to the serious incidents of the mining of a number of Nicaraguan ports. The International Court of Justice, in paragraph 41.B.2 of its Order of 10 May 1984, indicated:

"The right to sovereignty and to political independence possessed by . . . Nicaragua, like any other State of the region or of the world, should be fully respected and should not in any way be jeopardized by any military and paramilitary activities" [which are prohibited by] . . . "the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, principles embodied in the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of American States."¹

121. As was natural, the situation in Central America and its international ramifications have led the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to deal with the problem on a number of occasions. Thus the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement met in urgent session on 15 March 1984 in New York. In its communiqué, the Bureau called for "an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities on Central American territories and coasts, the installations of foreign military bases as well as to all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua" [see A/39/135, annex, para. 5]. Moreover, the communiqué expressed the Co-ordinating Bureau's

"deep concern over the new escalation of these acts and condemned the reported mining of Nicaraguan sea ports, which has caused the loss of human life and heavy material damage and which endangers international navigation. It expressed its firm opposition against any measure directed towards a blockade of any State of the region." [Ibid., para. 6.]

The Bureau "reiterated its solidarity with the Government of National Reconstruction and the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and their right to independence" [ibid., para. 8].

122. What is more, as recently as three weeks ago, at the meeting of ministers and heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York, the view was expressed that

"new developments since the last Ministerial Meeting, which are mainly manifested in . . . an aerial and naval war, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans and heavy economic losses with the objective of destabilizing and toppling the Government of Nicaragua, increase the dangers of a regional war and obstruct the dialogue necessary for a negotiated and political solution to the problems of the region" [see A/39/560, annex, para. 82].

123. Concerning the situation in El Salvador, the Ministers and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries reiterated their concern, observed that the armed conflict had become worse and acknowledged the need "to promote a comprehensive political solution by means of negotiations, with the participation of all representative political forces including the FMLN-FDR" [ibid., para. 89].

124. It is obvious that since last year, when the item "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" was considered by the Assembly, the situation has deteriorated. Foreign interference and intervention in violation of international law has not ceased, and political pressures and economic coercion have even increased.

125. We cannot but express deep regret at these developments and reiterate our grave concern at the dangers they pose to regional as well as to international peace and security. It has been pertinently said that international peace and security depend not only on the ability of this Organization to act decisively to contain threats and acts endangering international peace and security but also, and perhaps to an even more important extent, on the ability of the countries of the region, where the flames of conflict and confrontation are burning out of control, to rise to the occasion and through joint consultations and co-

operation be in a position to check further acts of escalation and conflict in their areas.

126. Cyprus, a non-aligned country which has itself experienced the evils of foreign intervention, has persistently stood by the fundamental principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the Charter of the United Nations. We have consistently and firmly advocated that the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of all countries must be fully respected; that non-involvement in the internal affairs of others must be at the foundation of international relations; that bilateral, regional or international problems must be solved peacefully; and that the rights of peoples to choose freely their own political, social and economic systems, without external interference and intervention, should be fully respected. It is in this spirit that we firmly support the need for non-interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and of any State in the region and, indeed, in the world.

127. It is also in this spirit that Cyprus, sharing common aspirations with many Central and Latin American countries, unreservedly supports the peace efforts of the Contadora Group. We are convinced that these efforts represent a regional initiative in its finest traditions and an excellent opportunity for achieving a solution to the crisis through political means. The good faith demonstrated by the Central American countries and their determination to co-operate with the Governments of the Contadora Group in their efforts to find a peaceful solution are a hopeful sign and offer a unique opportunity for the international community, which must be fully and effectively utilized.

128. In this respect we welcome the progress achieved so far and the elaboration of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America of 7 September 1984. As is noted in the report of the Secretary-General on this item, "the revised version of the Act is the result of a process of intensive consultations and a broad exchange of views with all the Central American Governments" [see A/39/562, para. 5].

129. We welcome the fact that Nicaragua has already agreed to subscribe immediately to this Act in its totality and without reservations, and we hope that all the States concerned will continue to make every effort to bring the Contadora process rapidly to final fruition through the signature of the Act, which would bring peace to the region. We are also encouraged by the recent meeting of President Duarte of El Salvador with the representatives of the FMLN-FDR. We hope that this will be the beginning of a process which will lead to effective and lasting conciliation.

130. Finally, we wish to express our appreciation for the commendable efforts of the Contadora Group of countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—in assisting the process of negotiation and peace in Central America and express the belief that with the co-operation of all parties concerned and with perseverance and tenacity their endeavours will culminate in tangible results in the direction of defusing an otherwise explosive situation.

131. Short-sighted approaches which seek solutions based on military confrontations must not be allowed to substitute the ongoing process of peaceful settlement of these disputes. What is much needed now is concerted action within the United Nations to assist

the parties and the Contadora Group of States to promote a peaceful, negotiated, political settlement to the problems of the region. To this end we pledge our modest but whole-hearted moral support.

132. Mr. KAM (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is highly significant that the consideration of the question of Central America is taking place on this date, 24 October, when the United Nations is celebrating two important anniversaries. Today we are celebrating the thirty-ninth anniversary of the entry into force of the Charter of the United Nations and the fourteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV), annex]. These two instruments take on new vigor today as we consider the situation in Central America, since in their fundamental purposes, principles and provisions reside the norms whose strict observance and correct application would lead to an honourable peace in the region.

133. It is our sincere hope that that same spirit of peace, understanding and co-operation which presided in 1945 over the adoption of the Charter in San Francisco, and then in 1970, over the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), will prevail in the consideration of the item now before us. This would be just tribute to the founders of the Organization and a well-deserved tribute to the peoples of the world who with such expectations have joined the aspirations for peace in Central America.

134. My country, united to the peoples of Central America by unique geographical, historical and cultural links and, above all, by unswerving brotherhood, has from the very outset followed with growing interest and concern the situation in Central America. At an early date we underscored the seriousness of the situation and warned of the dangers of its worsening if urgent action was not taken to find political negotiated solutions to put an end to the conflicts of the area. Unfortunately, instead of solutions what we saw was an increase in tension and a deterioration of the political climate in the region, endangering international peace and security.

135. Given these facts, Panama declared its readiness to contribute to finding a solution to the crisis in the region, serving constructively as a bridge for agreement and understanding and not as a party to the conflict. This induced my country to join efforts with Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela to set under way a peace-making undertaking for Central America, which became a reality on 9 January 1983 on the Panamanian island of Contadora.

136. Beginning with the Contadora declaration of 9 January 1983, this process has gone through increasingly important stages, including the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, of 17 July 1983;³ the formulation of the Document of Objectives, of 9 September 1983;² the adoption, on 8 January 1984, of the document entitled "Measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives" [see A/39/71, annex I]; and, finally, the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984 [A/39/562, annex].

137. This painstaking process, in which the Central American countries have been the main protagonists, has been given the unanimous support of the interna-

tional community, which has expressed its adherence to it as the most effective means to achieve dialogue and negotiation in the region. In this context it is fitting to mention Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10, which constitute important political encouragement to the work of the Contadora Group and confirm the correctness of its action.

138. We attach particular value to the fact that Contadora has contributed to restoring dialogue among the Central American countries and that an atmosphere conducive to negotiation and understanding among them has been established, making it possible for them to make progress towards pinpointing more precisely the problems of the region and towards establishing commitments and general and specific agreements aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace and at promoting economic and social co-operation.

139. This complex and intense process of consultations and negotiations has produced the instrument called the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which seeks to harmonize the interests of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. The Act contains the provisions and agreements that are essential to guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity, security and mutually respectful co-existence of all Central American countries, as well as provisions for confidence-building in the region and for the normalization and strengthening of fruitful co-operation of all types among the peoples of the area.

140. The revised version of the Act has been published in its entirety as a United Nations document. But by way of illustration we should like to point out that the Act is inspired by the conviction of the States of the region that the objective of restoring peace and trust in the region can be achieved only through unrestricted support for the principles of international law, in particular that concerning the right of peoples freely and without external interference to choose the model of political, economic and social organization that best suits its interests, through institutions that represent the will of the people freely expressed and with the conviction that it is important to create, promote and strengthen democratic systems in all the countries of the region.

141. The Act is also based on the need to establish political conditions designed to guarantee the security, integrity and sovereignty of the States of the region in the conviction that: the attainment of genuine regional stability resides in the adoption of agreements for security and disarmament and that, for the adoption of measures aimed at stemming the arms race in all its forms, account shall be taken of the national security interests of all the States of the region; that military superiority as a political objective of the States of the region, the presence of foreign military advisers and other foreign elements and the arms traffic imperil regional security and constitute destabilizing elements in the area; that agreements on regional security should be subject to an effective system of verification and control; and that the destabilization of the Governments in the area, reflected in general in promotion or support of activities of irregular groups of forces, acts of terrorism, subversion or sabotage and the use of the territory of one State for actions that affect the security of another State, is contrary to the basic

norms of international law and peaceful co-existence among States.

142. Furthermore, it is based on the conviction that it is highly appropriate to establish maximum limits for military development in keeping with the need for stability and security in the region and that the establishment of instruments making it possible to apply a policy of détente should be based on the existence of political trust between States, which can effectively reduce political and military tension among them.

143. Towards that end, the Act establishes a set of binding commitments on political issues in respect of regional détente and confidence-building, in connection with human rights, national reconciliation, electoral processes, security issues, military manoeuvres, armaments, foreign military bases, foreign military advisers, commitments regarding prohibition of support for irregular forces and commitments regarding terrorism, subversion or sabotage, as well as commitments in the economic and social spheres and with respect to refugees.

144. In order to make effective the commitments assumed, Central American States establish mechanisms in the Act for implementation and follow-up, and towards that end plans are made for a Verification and Control Commission for Security Matters, an *Ad Hoc* Committee for Evaluation and Follow-up of Commitments concerning Political and Refugee Matters and an *Ad Hoc* Committee for Evaluation and Follow-up of Commitments concerning Economic and Social Matters.

145. The Act, which is undoubtedly the result of patient, steadfast and imaginative work on the part of the Central American countries under the auspices of the Contadora Group, is now in its final stage of improvement and polishing. We urge the Governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to intensify their consultations so that, with the same resolve and political will that has guided them thus far, they may find formulas for conciliation which will make a full and irreversible reality of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America and so that it may be signed without delay and the commitments thus assumed may be faithfully implemented.

146. Furthermore, we appeal to all States, in particular, those with interests and links in the region, strictly to respect the purposes, principles and commitments of the Contadora Act, and we ask them in no way to frustrate or undermine the objectives and purposes of the Act. Adherence by those States to the Additional Protocol to the Act would be a demonstration of the political will for which we are calling.

147. My delegation wishes to record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for the constant interest and concern with which he has followed the development of the situation in Central America, which can be seen in his reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly. We have always found in him a voice of encouragement and a valuable support for the work of the Contadora Group.

148. We attach particular importance to the meeting that was held at San José on 28 and 29 September 1984 by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community, Spain and Portugal, the Central American States and the States of the Contadora Group. That meeting made it possible to establish a new structure of political and economic dialogue between

Europe and Central America and to increase effectively the co-operation existing between those two regions in order to strengthen the efforts that the Central American countries themselves are making to put an end to violence and instability and to promote social justice, economic development, respect for human rights and democratic freedoms in the region.

149. We believe that the spirit of dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation promoted by the Contadora Group is gaining ground in the region little by little, although with some difficulties. In this context, we are pleased to see that the Government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation-Revolutionary Democratic Front began on 15 October a process of dialogue which we hope will progress steadily until a negotiated political solution is found which can establish a just and lasting peace in the sister republic of El Salvador. Furthermore, we consider it significant and encouraging that a direct dialogue has been undertaken between the Governments of the United States and of Nicaragua. We hope that those talks will soon yield fruit for the benefit of peace and stability in Central America.

150. As a founding member of the Contadora Group, Panama wishes to record its gratitude for the granting of the 1984 Prince of Asturias Prize to the Contadora Group for the diplomatic efforts and political negotiations undertaken for peace in Central America. This encourages Panama to persevere in its work and to continue to act in harmony with the confidence and the vote of praise given by the international community to the Contadora Group.

151. Lastly, jointly with Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, my delegation has submitted the draft resolution A/39/L.6, whose main goal is to encourage the prompt conclusion of negotiations aimed at the signature and implementation of the Contadora Act and to urge States, particularly those with interests and links in the region, to adhere to the Additional Protocol to that instrument. We hope and ask that, in keeping with the unanimously expressed feelings of the international community, the draft will be approved by consensus.

152. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 8 November last year, at the thirty-eighth session, the first debate took place in the General Assembly on "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". On that occasion I stated [*48th meeting*]*—and I wish to repeat today—*that my delegation could not fail to take part in a debate which is directly connected with the rights and interests of Honduras and which makes it possible for us to state the position of our country so that the international community might have a comprehensive idea of what is taking place in our region, and not only listen to what is being communicated partially to it by one of the parties to the conflict.

153. Certainly, practice has demonstrated that when one does not react to the manoeuvres of others one finds oneself subordinated to the goals pursued by them. Indeed it is well known that one should not feed on illusions: in the international competition which the technical civilization is constantly promoting and from which no nation can be isolated, those who do not act are dominated by the manoeuvres of others. The only reasonable hope is that the foreign

policies of those countries will tend towards conciliation of rivalries more than towards exacerbation of conflicts.

154. It is with that idea in mind that we participate in this debate, since we are firmly convinced that the world Organization must serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common goals of maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting international co-operation.

155. Honduras, a founder State of the United Nations, is one of the least developed countries of the Latin American region. Its situation, in the heart of Central America and between the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, compels it to be open to the world and, at the same time, means that it is affected by the political, economic and social problems that afflict its neighbours, both close and distant. That geopolitical situation also confronts it with a regional conflict, compels it to make efforts to rid itself of the obstacles standing in the way of its development and to co-operate so that in its region and in the other regions of the world it will be possible to find solutions to the various problems and disputes. Because of our interdependence it is not possible to believe in economic recovery or effective relations of co-operation in peace and security while the situations of tension throughout the world are continuously exacerbated.

156. However, that interdependence is compatible with our conviction of our own independence and of our ability to fulfil our own domestic responsibilities as well as those that fall to us within the context of international relations. Hondurans have entrusted the direction of the State to a Government which is democratic in origin and development and whose authority is based on the will of the people, which will be freely expressed again next year through genuine elections that guarantee the free and honest exercise of the right to vote. Honduras has returned to democracy and intends to reinforce that form of government, with its presupposition of respect for human dignity, which is an essential value if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

157. Honduras sees democracy not as a formal goal but as a form of collective behaviour which must be translated into the progressive improvement of the quality of life for all. It is with this in view that we are striving to deal with the serious economic and social crisis that we are experiencing. We are adjusting expenditure on the development of the armed forces to the real capacity of our national economy and trying to strengthen our ability to negotiate with Governments and international organizations.

158. However, we are confronted with the fact that there are certain Governments which seem not to know that their sovereignty stops where ours or that of other neighbours start and whose attempts at ideological expansionism cause them to ignore the fact that respect for the fundamental rights and duties of States is a reciprocal principle of behaviour. What is more, a State which invokes rights should not have to be reminded of the obligation under international law for it to respect the rights of other States.

159. When Honduras reaffirms its obligation to protect its people and its national territory there are attempts, through press campaigns and by various ideological groups, to give a different meaning to an attitude that cannot be called into question in relations among nations: no State can allow its fundamental rights to be ignored.

160. With the intention of concealing expansionist ambitions and obtaining support by posing as the victim, attempts have been made to present a distorted picture of the security measures that Honduras has adopted. For instance, reckless accusations are being disinterred to which we have already duly responded, with facts and documents, to the Organization of American States [OAS], to this international Organization and to international public opinion. We must now insist to each State Member of this Organization and to the peoples represented here who live in other regions that our attitude is a reaction to a neighbour which, far from devoting itself to putting its own house in order, is attempting to create disorder in the houses of others and whose defence forces have increased enormously and now number 130,000 men, in comparison with the 17,000 fighting men at the disposal of Honduras. No country could react otherwise when it sees its neighbour embark upon a frenzied arms race to maintain its military superiority as a political goal in the regional context and to impose its ideological hegemony.

161. In the face of public threats and surreptitious deeds in order to subvert my country, terrorist acts, violations of our territory and its utilization for trafficking in arms destined for other countries of the region—in the face of all this my country cannot and should not remain with its arms folded, because it is obvious that a people can act in a self-determined way domestically only to the extent that it affirms its independence *vis-à-vis* others. If a people through its Government does not make the efforts appropriate to its dignity as a sovereign nation, if it does not assume responsibility freely to make its own choices and defend its positions, its interests and its ideals, then that people in the end will find another imposing its will on it.

162. Thus it is important for the international community to know that the enormous phantasm created around the military manoeuvres in Honduras does not correspond to the real dimensions of those exercises.

163. Honduras, on the basis of the Bilateral Military Assistance Agreement with the United States, dated 20 May 1954⁴—registered and published by this Organization pursuant to the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter—agreed with the United States on the conduct of joint military exercises in order to improve the quality of our army. It was necessary for us to train our soldiers so that they might be better able to repel any aggression from without and threats to our internal security, just as certain attempts from without have been frustrated in the past.

Mr. Helgason (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

164. If such complete information is available on the places where the manoeuvres have been conducted, the number and the nationality of the participants and the type of exercise conducted, it is simply because all this has been duly announced. Military attachés accredited to the Honduran Government

have been present, as have journalists from our country and from abroad. On more than one occasion the Government of Nicaragua itself was invited to send observers, an invitation which it decided not to accept.

165. The Government of Honduras has stated and repeated that the United States military presence is temporary. Indeed, what damage, what harm has been done by the manoeuvres that have been conducted for several years now? None, except perhaps to frustrate expansionist dreams and aspirations to affect other States that seek to consolidate their political organization on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy.

166. There has been talk of the use of Honduran territory and of that of other countries allegedly to attack the neighbouring Government. But it has not been mentioned that there were hundreds, if not thousands of Sandinists—and they themselves have recognized this—who travelled to the Honduran forests, to our tropic zones and tropical jungles, to escape the repression of Somoza's army, to recuperate and then to return to struggle until victory was achieved on 19 July 1979. If anti-Sandinist forces travel from Honduran territory to Nicaragua, it is not known to our authorities. They escape the border vigilance of our country just as did the Sandinists during their years of struggle.

167. But if harmful use is made of Honduran territory, it is being done by the very neighbouring Government which protests, because with the training of our armed forces we are gaining control and improved vigilance, which has in various circumstances affected the illegal and systematic trafficking in weapons from that Government to the territory of El Salvador to destabilize the Government of that country. May I recall and stress that since March of this year the Honduran Government has redoubled its efforts to oversee and control the activities of foreigners on its national territory and furthermore has thwarted the organization of political groups from sectors opposing the Sandinist régime in order to reaffirm our political resolve not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

168. It has been irresponsibly affirmed that in Honduras there are United States military bases. We have already explained, in this Organization too, the basically Honduran nature of the Regional Centre for Military Training. Some have had the audacity to produce maps of Honduras indicating alleged foreign bases. This is ridiculous for anyone who is familiar with Honduras, but an attempt is being made to deceive those who do not know our country by showing places where our own national military units are located along the whole length and breadth of our territory as though they were foreign installations; and then, in order to try to prove all this, they mention the presence of United States personnel as though it were not public knowledge that military manoeuvres or joint exercises would presuppose such temporary presence and the corresponding troop deployment.

169. A protest campaign has been launched because in Honduras there are, for the aforementioned reasons, approximately 1,200 United States troops, but it is deliberately concealed that on Nicaraguan territory there are, it is estimated, more than 10,000 foreign advisers and counsellors and other forms of foreign military presence.

170. As our army has strengthened its military calibre, and as the danger has retreated, the number of United States troops in Honduras has decreased. It is important to stress, as international press at large already has, that we Hondurans have also in a sovereign way taken the initiative of starting talks to review the framework of our relations for military and economic co-operation. It is clear that this attitude can emerge only from a country whose leaders are faithful to their commitments to the people and to the identity of their nation, and whose ties with undeniably democratic countries give them the option to respect the dignity and sovereignty of States concerned over those relations.

171. The openness of our Government contrasts with the secrecy of the Nicaraguan Government. What is the exact number of foreigners dealing with military and security affairs in Nicaragua? What kinds of military treaties exist between Nicaragua and those countries that, by their presence and motives, offend the dignity of the Central American region? These questions and the growing arms buildup are what really constitutes a factor of constant concern in Central America.

172. We have made these comments in order to face up to the attempts at disorienting public opinion. May these comments be taken solely as an expression of the other side of the coin, which some have attempted to conceal from those peoples far from us and from whose Governments support is sought for the exclusive goals of the internal and international policy of a certain country. The only thing we have always wanted, therefore, is for all the Governments that are in good faith concerned about our tormented region to take account in their analysis of the positions of all the Central American countries so that their interests may be reflected impartially and not be used as instruments of a régime for selfish purposes.

173. The aspiration of Honduras is to strengthen its domestic democratic process, deeply rooted in a political system where the people can freely choose its destiny through free and periodic elections guaranteeing the participation of the various currents of opinion and the election of leaders who can guide and accompany the population towards economic and social well-being.

174. If Honduras, as a part of Central America, believes that the peoples of the entire region call for democracy as an inevitable imperative it is, as the facts show, because this is the only way to respond to their expectations and thus to strengthen peace in the region. This belief is also inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 21 of which points out that:

“Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

“Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

“The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.”

175. We also upheld that conviction in the reaffirmation by the OAS in article 5, paragraph *d*), of its Charter that “The solidarity of the American States

and the high aims which are sought through it require the political organization of those States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy”.

176. The facts show that in those countries of the region where democracy does not exist the flagrant violation of human rights replaces it, compelling the individual either to resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression or to emigrate to the territory of neighbours that live in peace.

177. The exorbitant weapons buildup by one Government in the region not only threatens the security of other Central American countries but has also diverted funds that should normally have been allocated to improving the living conditions of people in Central America.

178. The presence of foreign military and other advisers has caused disquiet, and in the country where an arms buildup has been a constant it has caused a distortion of national identity. The illegal arms traffic has served to encourage domestic violence in other States. There is a flagrant lack of respect for borders, as can be seen in terrorist, subversive actions and in the aforementioned arms traffic.

179. The need to find solutions to these fundamental aspects and to guarantee their effectiveness prompted the present Government of Honduras to submit the first peace initiative from a Central American Government, in March 1982, in which it proposed the cessation of the arms race, the reduction and eventual elimination of foreign military and other advisers harmful to Central America, the cessation of the illegal arms traffic, respect for international borders, the establishment of appropriate machinery for international supervision and control and an ongoing dialogue of a multilateral character that could facilitate domestically in each country the strengthening of a democratic and pluralist system. This demonstrates further that Honduras has from the outset been committed to the idea of discussing, negotiating and concluding a peace and security agreement for the region, as is also seen from its participation in the Contadora process and in the formation of the group of countries promoting regional negotiation.

180. The valuable work of the Contadora Group has contributed significantly to the efforts of the five Central American States to resolve their disputes by themselves. The contributions of Honduras have been and are familiar to the members of this General Assembly. At present we shall confine ourselves to the process that led the four countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—to present the initial version of the Contadora Act and, more recently, the revised version of that Act [A/39/562, annex].

181. The Government of Honduras issued an official statement [A/39/325, annex], the first of its kind in the region, accepting the first version of the Act as a basic text for purposes of negotiating a complete agreement. Thus once again we were demonstrating our political will to encourage negotiations among the five Central American States so that, preserving the integral nature of the Document of Objectives,² they would reflect the simultaneous and non-discriminatory satisfaction of the fundamental interests of all the States of the region, respect the principle of reciprocity and simultaneous provisions and avoid as

inequitable formulas that work by stages or that are delayed for the benefit of one country and to the detriment of others. Thus the need was demonstrated for an adequate and effective verification and control mechanism to complement and ensure the fulfilment of a realistic and equitable agreement.

182. Since there was agreement among most of the Central American States on the need for such regulations, the Technical Group in the Contadora negotiating process continued to meet. On the basis of the suggestions and observations presented to the Technical Group by the five Central American Governments, the four countries of the Contadora Group made another contribution in an attempt to reduce the differences and thereby to provide the Central Americans with a basis for negotiations among themselves. It was hoped that they would then produce conciliatory language that would meet the interests and respect the rights of each of them. That is how the four countries came to prepare a new draft agreement called "Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America (Revised Version)".

183. That draft agreement was submitted to the Central American Governments on 7 September, with the hope that they would reply by 15 October with their observations on whether the draft reflected a balance of interests and rights. Subsequently there were political consultations among the countries involved to negotiate the modifications needed to produce such a balance so that the Central Americans could convert the draft into a treaty that would allow for the establishment of peace on a sound basis.

184. In its official declaration of 18 September, the Government of Honduras stated:

"The 'Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America' contains, in its revised version, substantial changes in respect of the legal commitments relating to political matters which all the Central American countries are to undertake for the purposes of democratization, as well as in the area of disarmament and the limitation, reduction and control of existing armaments, armed forces and foreign military advisers—a series of obligations which may create conditions for the establishment of a suitable system of peace, democracy, security and co-operation in the Central American region.

"Honduras fully shares the view expressed by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group, in their letter addressed to President Roberto Suazo Córdova, to the effect that: 'The Central American Governments should now display the political will needed to give legal force to the commitments formulated during this process and should therefore adopt whatever realistic and equitable formulas for conciliation they deem appropriate'.

"With this aim, the Government of the Republic of Honduras declares that it is ready to assume its responsibilities resulting from the process of negotiation which is to continue and culminate in the signature of the 'Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America', maintaining the permanent political consultations agreed on by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central America and of the Contadora Group at the seventh joint meeting, held in Panama City on 7 September 1984, for the purpose of agreeing on any final adjustments deemed necessary." [A/39/512, annex, paras. 3-5.]

185. On 10 October, Honduras set out its specific observations in writing and sent them to the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua. A communication regarding those observations was distributed as document A/39/579 of 15 October 1984.

186. In connection with these observations and without going into detail, because the details will be the subject of negotiations between the Central Americans, I shall simply mention a statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Republic, Mr. Edgardo Paz Barnica, who stated in his address to the Assembly on 9 October:

"The Government of the Republic of Honduras accepts the substantive obligations in the Act and, as it has already stated, it reaffirms that it is ready to assume each and every one of the responsibilities deriving from the negotiating process which must continue, until the signing of that important document, for the present and future of Central America.

"Honduras does not shrink from any of the legal commitments it will enter into under the strictest compliance with the principle of the reciprocity of obligations and their fulfilment in good faith by all the Central American States.

"Honduras is prepared to have its political conduct governed by the tenets of representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy, as established in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

"Honduras is prepared to accept on-site international verification and control of its electoral processes and of the other political commitments it makes.

"Honduras is prepared to promote and respect human rights because it is deeply convinced that the guarantee by the State of the dignity of the individual is a moral and pragmatic duty.

"Honduras is prepared to begin negotiations immediately to limit, reduce and control its arsenal, its troops under arms and its military installations, within 90 days, as proposed by the Act, or sooner, and to agree on applicable timetables for reductions.

"Honduras is prepared to submit to a strict system of on-site verification and control of all the security obligations it undertakes.

"Moreover, Honduras is prepared to demand of any State that undertakes the same obligations that it faithfully fulfil them, for Hondurans are not seeking a truce which, through the kind of deception with which we are familiar, would only mask an opportunity to legitimize a system of oppression. We will not tolerate use of the Contadora initiative to conceal the madness of the arms race, or the preparation of campaigns of domination, or terrorism and sabotage, or intervention, or trafficking in arms. Honduras does not want a truce that merely meets the needs of the instant; it seeks rather a stable and lasting peace based on justice and nourished by freedom.

"Therefore, we shall insist on three basic points: security in the implementation of any agreement; effective verification and control in respect of the fulfilment of obligations; and determination of the fate of the irregular forces once they lay down their arms and once a solution is found to the internal

conflicts in which they are engaged. Those who have already affirmed their acceptance of the Contadora Act must prove their good faith in the negotiations to take place among the five Central American States, so that the Act may become a binding agreement, one that can be fully implemented and verified." [26th meeting, paras. 182-190.]

187. Those observations demonstrate the absence of the necessary reflection of the principles set forth in the Document of Objectives and in the observations made by Honduras since 17 June. Though we accept the substantive part of the present draft of the Act, we are still faced with the deplorable absence of equitable language that would ensure reciprocal and simultaneous obligations and performance. Missing also are realistic agreements with precise timetables that would guarantee the effectiveness of commitments in regard to democratic elections as well as matters of security concerning the halting of the arms race and the reduction of existing stockpiles of armaments and weapons, the withdrawal or elimination of foreign military advisers and other foreign elements, and appropriate machinery for verification and control.

188. On 2 October [16th meeting] in this Hall the Nicaraguan Government stated its decision to sign the Act of 7 September immediately without amendments or changes of any kind, exactly as it was drawn up by the Contadora Group. It called on the leaders of the Central American countries to state an equal willingness to do so in the interest of the peace and tranquillity of our peoples, and it welcomed the support given to the Act by the Governments of the member States of the European Community and by Spain and Portugal at the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at San José on 28 and 29 September.

189. With those elements as a frame of reference, that Government pursued the objective of giving the draft treaty called the "Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America" the nature of a final text, by announcing that it was prepared to sign the draft immediately, without any amendment. It was thereby trying to construct a whole strategy to induce the Members of this Organization to give it unrestricted support, to serve its interest of stopping the Contadora negotiating process.

190. But there is a shining reality, and it is very different from the picture that they seek to paint for public opinion. In fact, the revised version of the Act is a draft treaty drawn up by the Contadora Group on the basis of consultations with the parties, but it also contains new contributions by the Group designed to reduce the differences, with a view to achieving a consensus. That is why this text had to be submitted to the countries concerned for consideration.

191. This becomes crystal-clear when one reads the joint communiqué of 7 September by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries [A/39/495, annex II] and the communication of the same date which the Contadora Foreign Ministers addressed to the five Central American heads of State [*ibid.*, annex I]. In those texts we read the following:

"The Ministers of the Contadora Group:

...
 "Submitted the revised version of the aforementioned draft Act and a communication addressed to the heads of State of the Central American

countries in which they stressed that the text represented an effort to integrate the various contributions and reconcile those points on which there were still divergences.

...
 "This brings to a close the present phase of technical consultations in the process aimed at ensuring peace and co-operation in the region." [*Ibid.*, annex II.] "The Central American Governments should now display the political will needed to give legal force to the commitments formulated during this process and should therefore adopt whatever realistic and equitable formulas for conciliation they deem appropriate." [*Ibid.*, annex I.]

"... the Ministers agreed to maintain an ongoing process of political consultation which would ensure the necessary effective co-ordination, and set 15 October 1984 as the final date for the Central American Governments to give their views on the revised version of the Act." [*Ibid.*, annex II.]

192. The agreements and documents to which I have referred show that an effort was made to eclipse the very clear Contadora negotiating process. Fortunately, however, the facts spoke for themselves and the attempt to obscure them was not successful.

193. Thus, the negotiating process remains within its normal channels, based on the letter and spirit of the agreements reached—namely, first, what had been completed was not the Contadora negotiating process but the phase of technical consultations; secondly, the phase of political consultation has to continue in order to enable the five Central American Governments to adopt the realistic and equitable formulas they deem appropriate; thirdly, 15 October was the date contemplated for the five Governments to give their views on the revised version of the Act; fourthly, as is stated in the last paragraph of the communication of 7 September from the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group to the five Central American heads of State, the objective being pursued is the signing of the Contadora Act, once the improvements considered relevant by the Central Americans have been made.

194. Notwithstanding what I have just set forth, it has been said that the Governments of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal gave their support to the Contadora Act at the recent San José Conference of Foreign Ministers. But that is not all that is stated in the joint communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of those countries and the Foreign Ministers of the five Central American countries and those of the Contadora Group. They wrote:

"the revised draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is a fundamental stage in the negotiating process for the attainment of peace in the region. They called on the States concerned to continue to make every effort to bring the Contadora process rapidly to final fruition through the signature of a comprehensive agreement" [see A/39/539, annex, para. 6].

195. Since 15 October was set as the final date for the Central American Governments to state their views, the Governments of El Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras made their observations before that time limit expired. Nicaragua, in a communication circulated as an official document of the General Assembly [A/39/588, annex], recognized this in the first paragraph by stating that 15 October was the date set for the submission of comments on the Act.

196. No one is questioning the right of the Nicaraguan Government to say that it has no observations, if it considers that its interests are sufficiently protected. What is objectionable is that they are seeking automatic agreement, as an instrument of pressure to halt the negotiating process, stating the draft must be accepted immediately in its entirety, without any amendment. That position is contrary to the agreements made in good faith between the Central American countries and the Contadora Group, and it is a violation of the rights and interests of others, which must be respected if a solid and permanent peace is to be ensured.

197. Respect for the positions of the five Central American countries and the validity of the agreements already reached has been maintained. On 17 October, at Madrid, the countries of the Contadora Group, in their joint communiqué, expressed their appreciation

“to the Central American Governments for having expressed their readiness to sign the Contadora Act as soon as possible. The five Governments of the region put forward their positions prior to 15 October, the deadline established for that purpose at the most recent joint meeting of Ministers for External Relations. The comments made will undoubtedly be very useful in concluding the current stage of the process, through the finalization of the legal instrument proposed. All the above took place in accordance with the objective defined at the joint meeting of 7 September 1984 in Panama.

“On the basis of the above-mentioned factors, the Ministers agreed that it was appropriate to incorporate the comments made by the Central American countries in order to lend greater precision to the statements without modifying the balance achieved in the document.

“The Ministers observed that the revised version of the Act was, strictly speaking, the outcome of a long, arduous and complex process of consultations and negotiation. They remarked that the essence of any negotiation required each side to yield to some extent, in the interests of a higher purpose, and stated that the Contadora Act would have to reconcile the positions and the interests of the five countries directly involved.” [See A/39/604, annex.]

198. The stage of permanent political consultation has been initiated, during which the Central American countries must try to agree among themselves on realistic and balanced formulas which would make the signing of the Act meaningful and ensure that the Contadora negotiations would be successful. Thus the Foreign Minister of Honduras, on 8 October, invited his counterparts of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua to a meeting in Tegucigalpa on 19 October. Nicaragua did not attend, stating:

“The revised version of the Contadora Act is the culmination of an intensive process of negotiations and therefore is not subject to further negotiations for amendments or substantial or basic modifications. In any case, minor changes which the Contadora Act might require do not warrant a meeting of the Central American Foreign Ministers. Furthermore, Nicaragua considers that a meeting of the Central American Foreign Ministers without the participation of the Contadora Group would have a negative effect on its peace efforts

and would weaken the positive work that has been done.”

199. There is no need to stress the obvious. I will only stress Nicaragua's refusal to participate in a meeting of the five Central American States to resolve as soon as possible their problems and differences. I might also point out that its excuse was not compatible with the agreements and achievements of the Contadora process.

200. This contradictory conduct on the part of the Nicaraguan Government should also be viewed in the light of what has been said by the International Court of Justice and several distinguished internationalists, who have held that there must be good faith in the carrying out of negotiations. Negotiations must be conducted in an effective and fair manner, which prevents any participant from indulging in any conduct or activities contrary to the objective sought and condemns any systematic refusal to co-operate, any propaganda, any public promises which might adversely affect the balance in a negotiation to the prejudice of the other parties. Ambiguity and contradictions in statements or acts only encourage those responsible to make unfavourable interpretations. Disregarding the procedures and deadlines or making proposals adverse to the agreements is contrary to the obligations entered into in the negotiating process.

201. While the absence of that Government was regretted, the meeting did take place at the time and place scheduled, with the participation of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras. The communiqué issued on 20 October was circulated as a document of the General Assembly [A/39/599, annex I], together with the reply of the Foreign Minister of Honduras to Nicaragua's letter indicating that it would not be present [*ibid.*, annex II].

202. The communiqué of the four Central American countries made it clear that during this stage the direct participation of the Central American countries in the negotiations and the drafting of the text of the Act is important. It is also necessary that the five Central American Governments reconcile their views, in the interest of obtaining acceptance of the Act by all parties. The four Central American countries were able to harmonize in a single text the observations that had been presented and agreed to make this known to the Contadora Group and the Government of Nicaragua as a contribution to the achievement of a broad consensus leading to the signing of the Act.

203. Last year in the debate here on this subject Honduras took initiatives with the objective of promoting international co-operation to assist the Central Americans to confront the economic and social crisis in the region, to strengthen our interdependence and promote self-sufficiency in the region for the enhancement of our own Central American identity. Honduras continues to advocate the establishment and implementation of a development plan for Central America with special emphasis on a massive effort in regard to employment, health and technical and financial resources. To that end we believe that among other things there must be co-operation from the United States, Canada, Japan, the Arab countries, the Nordic countries, the European Communities and Spain and Portugal.

204. The Foreign Minister of my country, in his address to the Assembly [26th meeting], has also referred to the most recent initiatives of Honduras

within the framework of the actions taken at the historic Conference of Foreign Ministers at San José. The results of that meeting were highly positive, inasmuch as a new structure for political and economic dialogue between Central America and Europe was created, which seeks "to reinforce the efforts of the countries of Central America themselves, with the support of the Contadora States, to bring an end to violence and instability in Central America and to promote social justice, economic development and respect for human rights and democratic liberties in that region" [see A/39/539, para. 3].

205. I must also mention the efforts that Central American Governments themselves made on 7 September when the Economic Ministers of the Central American isthmus met at Tegucigalpa. They stressed the important role which the strengthening of interregional relations could play in promoting peace in the area and indicated specific measures to this end.

206. Special reference should be made to the meeting at La Palma. It was the result of a special initiative by the President of El Salvador, who, from this rostrum [24th meeting], invited his compatriots in the armed opposition to a meeting to prove genuine their political will to promote national reconciliation in a country that has long suffered from violence. This gesture, this attitude, offers an example to be followed in other Central American countries where there are profound divisions in society and violence as a consequence of those divisions. This shows that every Central American Government can, if it so wishes, promote internal reconciliation in its own country, and that in the same spirit, the five Central American Governments can and should themselves seek equitable solutions that can put an end to the differences which separate them.

207. The unhappy situation in Central America has been a source of constant concern for my Government. For that reason, we have taken many initiatives in the negotiating process sponsored by the Contadora Group so as to ensure that efforts continue to work out together formulas for the peace, security, co-operation and democracy for which we Central Americans yearn as we confront our regional problems and endeavour to find solutions to them.

208. In my address in the General Assembly last year I referred to the risks involved in debating Central American issues, because we thought there was a danger in discussing the problems of the area outside the Central American context, for East-West tensions could enter into such discussion. Unfortunately, we have seen how, with regard to what should have been strictly Central American problems, there has been a tendency to polarize positions and universalize the crisis, and how those debates outside the context of the Contadora process interrupted the progress of negotiations to promote peace without any unnecessary delay.

209. However, we must welcome anew the spirit that finally prevailed in this body, when the five Central American countries, despite ideological pronouncements, were able to agree on a draft resolution that was adopted by consensus, setting aside the one that was originally presented by a single country and thus preserving the hope of attaining the objectives we pursue in the negotiations among the Central American countries directly concerned.

210. If the agenda item "The situation in Central America: threat to international peace and security and peace initiatives" is to be objectively understood and impartially analysed, account must be taken of the legal equality and personality of each of the five Central American countries in the context of the conflict and the negotiations to settle it. This rational attitude is precisely that called for in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in which the General Assembly

Solemnly reaffirms the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems and declares that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever" [see resolution 2734 (XXV)].

211. In closing, I wish to refer to the draft resolutions that have been distributed.

212. The representatives of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have presented a draft resolution [A/39/L.6] the purpose of which is to convey the dynamics of the negotiating process aimed at a speedy conclusion of an agreement on peace and co-operation in Central America. The five representatives of the Central American countries were informed of the contents of that draft resolution before it was issued.

213. Honduras supports that draft, since it seeks consensus support for the Contadora negotiating process and avoids the unilateral drafts which last year served only to provoke confrontation and problems which undermined the confidence of the countries directly concerned in the Central American conflict.

214. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Government of Nicaragua has again today insisted on presenting a unilateral draft resolution [A/39/L.7]. With all due respect, we must say today what we shall state in greater detail on another occasion, that, although this unilateral draft resolution claims to recall General Assembly resolution 38/10, in fact it is incompatible with that resolution; and, although it says that it takes into account the Provisional Measures of the International Court of Justice,¹ in fact it distorts the considerations put forward by the Court, which showed respect for the sovereignty of all five Central American countries, not just Nicaragua. Furthermore, while the Government of Nicaragua is self-congratulatory about what it has done but which is not binding at this stage of the negotiating process, it seeks support which will exert pressure to stop the present negotiations, thereby undermining the process reflected in draft resolution A/39/L.6 submitted by the Contadora Group.

215. We are only stating the facts and we want every delegation to draw its own conclusions.

216. Mr. IMDURID (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In spite of the numerous calls and decisions by the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the situation in Central America is becoming increasingly complex, and this is due to the dangerous escalation of the acts of aggression and the direct interference, armed invasion and manoeuvres by the United States of America, all of which are entirely contrary to the principles of international law and the Charter

of the United Nations and which threaten international peace and security.

217. The primary factor in the aggravation of the crisis in Central America is the obstinacy of the United States Administration, which is increasing its provocations, threats and aggression and stubbornly adhering to its outdated convictions, which cause it to reject any progressive régime. It tries continuously to impose its influence upon Central America, which it wishes to remain a simple producer of raw materials to be exploited for its own interests and those of its monopolist companies. It is constantly trying to eliminate progressive revolutionary régimes which are in conflict with its own exploitative interests. In Nicaragua the heroic people, following the great sacrifices it made and with the assistance of the Sandinist revolutionaries, was able to overthrow the Government of the dictator Somoza and has thus established a socialist system which has proclaimed its dedication to reform efforts.

218. Instead of providing encouragement and assistance, the United States determined to eliminate that régime. With planning and direct supervision by the CIA, it is now carrying out a series of provocations, threats and acts of intervention, direct and indirect, against Nicaragua. It has thus imposed upon that country an economic boycott to destabilize it. It has laid delayed-action bombs in Nicaraguan ports to kill innocent people. It has financed and equipped all the military operations that have been launched against Nicaragua and has engaged in training counter-revolutionary mercenary forces. It has also been granting material and financial assistance to the enemies of Nicaragua. In addition it has financed clandestine activities which have resulted in acts of terrorism and armed attacks, assassinations, blowing up bridges and other acts of subversion aimed at overthrowing the revolutionary Government of that country. All this has resulted in hundreds of dead, wounded and missing since 1979, in addition to considerable material damage which has affected the services and infrastructure of Nicaragua. The presence of American warships in Nicaraguan territorial waters and the reconnaissance flights carried out by American spy planes, the joint manoeuvres by the United States and Honduras on the Nicaraguan border and other acts are all part of the United States strategy of intervention in the affairs of States which refuse to submit to its policy and its colonial interests.

219. Various stages in the history of the United States show numerous examples of acts of aggression, interference, invasion and occupation. My delegation has already enumerated a large number of acts of aggression in Central America from 1855 to the present day. This record of aggression confirms that the behaviour of the United States is not governed by international norms but by the law of the jungle. The United States is today violating the Charter, as it has in the past, and continues to be guided by colonialist logic. It is trying to impose its domination and extend its influence and aggression and control over the wealth of the people and its hegemony over their economy. The United States Administration has trampled underfoot all the international instruments and conventions, and its contempt for the United Nations has become flagrant.

220. The delegation of my country wishes to reaffirm that if as a consequence of the circumstances involved the United Nations is not in a position to stop the United States, the peoples of the world can

do so. We must remember what happened in Viet Nam, Cuba, Iran and Lebanon. We have recourse to the United Nations because we respect its Charter and its resolutions.

221. It is impossible to understand the justifications for intervention put forward by the United States Administration in terms of what it calls its "readiness to participate in the defence of democracy and human rights in Central America", at a time when everyone is aware that it is the policy of the United States to support the dictatorial régimes which are violating human rights. It continued to support the régime of the dictator Somoza for more than 45 years, to the day when that régime was overthrown by the Nicaraguan revolution. It continues to support the dictatorships in El Salvador and Honduras. It organized the assassination of the democratically elected Chilean President, Salvador Allende, in order to replace him by a fascist dictatorship which is curbing freedom and torturing the Chilean people in all kinds of ways. The democracy which the United States claims to defend is the subjection of peoples to a dictatorship imposed upon them by the United States Marines.

222. The situation in Central America and in many parts of the world is a threat to international peace and security. Recourse to force or threat of force in international relations could bring with it the loss of all confidence by the international community in the principle of collective security. The Charter of the United Nations provides in Article 2, paragraph 4, that

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

223. My country, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is also suffering from American threats and terrorism. Those acts of terrorism have taken various forms, including direct aggression, economic pressure, threats and the provocation by the Sixth Fleet in the proximity of Libyan shores and the Gulf of Sidre, as well as repeated violations of Libyan airspace and military manoeuvres near our borders. To this must be added the tendentious information campaigns aimed at damaging the reputation of the Jamahiriya on the international scene.

224. The international community must put an end to the defiance of the United States Administration and resolutely confront its policy of aggression against the peoples. It must strongly condemn all acts of aggression committed by the United States Administration and its flagrant violations of the Charter. We in the Jamahiriya condemn all the policies of aggression and interference practised by the Government of the United States. We denounce the plans and plots hatched to destabilize the situation in a large number of regions of the world which threaten the security and independence of the countries concerned. We reaffirm our absolute solidarity with the peoples of Central America in their just struggle and their right to independence.

225. The situation in Central America was a source of preoccupation at the Meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October. My delegation wishes to endorse what is stated in the final

communiqué adopted at that meeting [A/39/560, *annex*], in which the participants expressed their concern with respect to the serious situation prevailing in Central America in spite of the appeals made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The communiqué calls for an immediate end to all threats to and attacks on the people of Nicaragua and emphasizes the need for an overall settlement of the serious situation in El Salvador.

226. The delegation of my country also supports the Contadora Group in the efforts it is making for the second successive year now, which resulted, thanks to patient and intensive negotiations with the parties concerned, in a revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America being presented on 7 September 1984. We express our appreciation and satisfaction that the Government of Nicaragua immediately accepted that instrument without any reservations. We invite all the parties to sign the document in order to eliminate any possibility of action by the enemies of peace and stability.

227. The delegation of my country feels that the efforts of the Contadora Group could bring about a comprehensive, lasting settlement of the problems of the region and the establishment of peace, if the United States abstains from interfering in the affairs of these States and supporting the dictatorships imposed on their peoples, and also withdraws its bases from Cuba and ends its blockade there.

228. Mr. MURÍN (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The events of the past few months in Central America and the Caribbean Basin show how explosive the situation in this region has become as a result of the aggressive policies of the United States of America. Those who have occupied defenceless Grenada are now coming out with undisguised threats against other States of that region that do not wish to submit to the policy of diktat, first of all, Cuba and Nicaragua. The threats are strengthened with active militaristic preparations which include an increase in the contingents of American troops in Central America, the concentration of attack forces and the naval forces, a considerable number of provocative manoeuvres with landings of marines, and utilization of the territories of certain States of the region as staging areas for subversive actions against Cuba and Nicaragua. The mining of Nicaraguan ports, an action which was qualified throughout the entire world as State terrorism, has led to a serious escalation of tension.

229. All those who are faithful to the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations cannot fail to protest such violations of the Charter. The Members of the United Nations cannot reconcile themselves with the occupation of Grenada, especially as there are those who would very much wish to appropriate the right to carry out gunboat diplomacy against other independent States.

230. Czechoslovakia, which together with the socialist and other States, has been striving to strengthen the role of the United Nations in its efforts to safeguard peace on our planet, is seriously concerned about the current tense atmosphere in Central America. We share the views of those who see the cause of the explosive situation in Central America and in the Caribbean Basin not in what is called the global East-West confrontation, but as a serious political, social and economic crisis which has been brought about by

the flagrant interference and the cruel exploitation on the part of imperialism.

231. The peoples of the Central American countries are struggling to improve social conditions in their countries and for genuine independence. They are not alone in their struggle; they are being supported by the entire progressive community. Czechoslovakia is among those countries which stand in full solidarity in this just struggle of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean Basin.

232. Five years ago Nicaragua embarked upon a course of development in an atmosphere of genuine independence. On 19 July 1979, the people did away with the Somoza anti-people's dictatorship and put an end to the domination of international monopolies over that Central American country. A new life had begun for the people of Nicaragua.

233. In connection with the revolutionary transformations achieved by the people of Nicaragua, a fuss arose from various quarters under the pretext of some sort of alleged thwarting of democracy in that country. This unclean campaign does not call for any answer on our part. This answer has already been given by tens of thousands of Nicaraguan patriots who have voted with their lives for the way towards freedom and happiness in their country.

234. We have accepted with satisfaction the decision of the International Court of Justice following the complaint of Nicaragua against the United States, according to which the sovereignty and the political independence of the Republic of Nicaragua must be fully respected, just like the sovereignty and political independence of any other country of the world. No one has the right to threaten them either by military or any other hostile activity prohibited under international law.

235. Likewise, we do not remain indifferent to the fate of the people of El Salvador. The civil war has lasted for four and a half years. It has taken tens of thousands of lives and has brought untold sorrow to the civilian population. In our opinion, the conflict in El Salvador must be resolved politically, by peaceful means, without interference from outside. This solution not only should imply the end of the armed conflict but should bring with it a solid peace based on social justice and respect for human rights. It is necessary to eliminate the causes which compelled the people of El Salvador, who are represented by the FMLM and the FDR, after all political means had been exhausted, to resort to armed struggle.

236. A year ago, Grenada, a small peace-loving State of the Caribbean Basin, became a target of direct aggression by the United States. This perfidious attack committed by the imperialist forces, which was an infringement on the sovereignty of an independent State, is in direct conflict with the Charter and the fundamental principles of international law, and was quite rightly censured by the international community.

237. Czechoslovakia firmly condemns aggression such as was committed by the United States against Grenada. We consider the occupation of that country to be totally unlawful. In accordance with the resolution adopted at the last session of the General Assembly [*resolution 38/7*], we call for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from that country, as well as an opportunity for the total exercise of the right of the people of Grenada to self-determination

and the right freely to decide upon its own course without any foreign interference.

238. In contradistinction to the policies involving the thwarting of international law, United Nations purposes are fully well served by the proposals of Cuba and Nicaragua and also by the efforts and proposals of the Contadora Group.

239. We value highly the foreign policy of Cuba, which is based on principle and proceeds from a realistic position towards the solution of the complex problems in Central America. It is known that this country has supported a number of important proposals aimed at the easing of tensions and the ensuring of security and normal development in Central America. At the same time we welcome the successes achieved by Cuba, in spite of the continuing policy of blockade and isolation on the part of the United States.

240. The way towards settlement of the conflict situation in Central America exists. For this it is necessary first to have a responsible approach on the part of all the parties concerned. It is necessary also for the United States to cease to consider this region as a sphere of its "vital interests" and to put an end to its interference in the domestic affairs of Central American States.

241. Respect for independence and State sovereignty, respect for the rights of the peoples of Central America to self-determination and an improvement in the difficult socio-economic circumstances in which the populations of this region live are the main basis for the elimination of the source of tension in Central America.

242. We consider it essential for the States of Central America to resolve their political problems by peaceful means. The proposals of the Contadora Group are an important contribution to the efforts towards this end. The draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex] is not only an expression of the prolonged efforts of the Group for the peaceful solution of the crisis situation in Central America, but also constitutes an international legal basis for the establishment of a lasting peace in that region.

243. We support the constructive position of the Co-ordinator of the Government Junta of Reconstruction of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, as stated in document A/39/588, which was designed to achieve an early adoption of the Act by all the Governments concerned. Unfortunately, the undisguised acts of State terrorism and aggression continue to block the possibility of achieving a just political settlement.

244. Not only do we see an ignoring of the efforts undertaken by the Governments of the Contadora Group, which have been broadly supported in Latin America as well as outside that region, but there is also a direct countering of this policy. The policy of diktat is being rebuffed increasingly on an international basis. It is becoming increasingly bankrupt, and this is entirely logical. Attempts to hold back, and especially to reverse, the forward movement of mankind are doomed to failure, because those who undertake them are standing against the interests of all peoples.

245. In this connection we welcome the highly relevant proposal of the Soviet Union, that the United Nations at the present session of the General Assembly should categorically condemn the policies and practices of State terrorism.

246. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to speak out in favour of strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter in the settlement of conflict situations throughout the world and will continue to call upon imperialist States to refrain from unlawful claims to create certain spheres of influence. We shall continue to provide maximum support to the steadfast efforts of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean Basin, aimed at enabling them to exercise their legitimate right to free and independent development, without foreign interference.

247. Mr. FAJARDO MALDONADO (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): A year has passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/10, calling on the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Assembly at this session on threats to international security that may occur in Central America and on the progress of peace initiatives.

248. Various events have taken place in the Central American isthmus during this difficult period. Many have been of major importance, or were particularly painful to our peoples; others have been reported in a spectacular fashion by the press, while a few, of vital regional importance, have been ignored although they are valuable mechanisms to advance regional co-operation, promote mutual understanding and stimulate a climate of mutual confidence in keeping with respect among States.

249. In a constructive spirit and in the interests of making a positive contribution to the debate, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to refer to the situation in Central America. We wish to reaffirm Guatemala's position on the crisis affecting the region in order to help make the deliberations beneficial to the future of the Central American isthmus.

250. My country, as a founding Member of the United Nations, accepts, respects and adheres to the principles which inspired the creation of the Organization and today are a part of its Charter. In particular, we would stress the maintenance of international peace and security, respect for the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State, self-determination of peoples, non-intervention or non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the right to free navigation and trade in international waters.

251. These principles guide Guatemala's international policies. For this reason, in Central America we actively participate in all negotiated peace initiatives aimed at resolving the problems of the region and at creating conditions for lasting stability in the area. Accordingly, we are particularly concerned at the worsening tension in Central America.

252. In keeping with its Central American calling, Guatemala has participated from the beginning in the negotiating process of the Contadora Group. We adhere to the 21 objectives signed in September of last year, which include important principles relating to political questions, security and economic and social development. We have carefully evaluated the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. In addition to representing a serious effort at mediation, it is a valuable document reflecting the observations and

suggestions presented by Central American Governments. My Government considers that this proposal lays the groundwork for a just and honourable agreement in Central America, one which makes possible a comprehensive settlement of all the problems and differences facing us.

253. The Government of Guatemala is in favour of that peace initiative. We have no substantive observations to make on the subject—I repeat: we have no substantive observations—and, as is normal in any negotiating process, only minor procedural matters need be considered to put the commitments arrived at into practice. Hence we consider it necessary and timely to state that Guatemala has attended no meeting at which was signed any document not related to the proposals made by the Contadora Group to the Central American countries. Quite the contrary, we take this opportunity to put on record our unconditional support for the Contadora negotiating process. We are pleased to note the unanimous support that that Latin American peace effort has received from the international community. In the same spirit, we urge everyone to participate in these deliberations, thereby contributing to the delicate political negotiating process in which we are involved.

254. Among the purposes and principles of the United Nations are: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to achieve international co-operation; and especially to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these ends. We are sure that the Organization will continue to perform its important function in keeping with these principles in order to contribute effectively to peace and stability in the Central American isthmus.

255. The United Nations has a long tradition of co-operation in Central America. Owing to the relevance of this co-operation at the present time, we should like to stress that what its specialized agencies have done in the region with regard to regional co-operation and integration has been decisive for our countries. Therefore, we urge our Central American brothers not to allow this forum to be converted into an arena for confrontation but to ensure that it is used instead as an additional instrument for strengthening the political negotiating process in which we are now involved.

256. Confrontation is bitter and sterile; it only makes the differences among us more serious. We must avoid confrontation if we wish to be constructive. Dialogue is the most appropriate instrument, for through dialogue solutions for differences can always be found. We recall that only those who share a common destiny have differences.

257. Guatemala points out that its foreign policy in Central America has two fundamental objectives: first, participation in and unconditional support for the Contadora process; and secondly, preservation and strengthening of regional co-operation through Central American integration. This process must be supported by the international community because of the positive impact it has on our mutual relations and because its preservation and strengthening will help bring about détente and create a climate of mutual confidence among our countries. This process reflects a unifying movement on the part of our peoples and a desire by Central America to achieve

regional co-operation within the framework of political differences.

258. We are sure that without external factors—which, unfortunately, could interfere in the area—peaceful solutions to tensions in the Central American isthmus would unquestionably be more within our reach. We shall not allow such elements to divide us and to make us more vulnerable in the political, economic and strategic areas. We shall not allow anyone to take advantage of the differences that separate us. For us, the risks are too great. We are opposed to the Balkanization of the Isthmus. We wish to preserve our achievements and the infrastructure we have built with such hard work. They are the foundations for regional integration and the groundwork for the future of the Central American nation. We wish to build that future on just such a broad perspective.

259. I should like to quote the following from the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala at the current session of the General Assembly, which sums up our policy in this respect:

“We reaffirm our commitment to achieving unity—an aspiration that is shared by our five peoples. This has been demonstrated in various ways, above all in the following: our process of integration and its institutions function reasonably well; intraregional trade continues to amount to one fifth of our total exports; interconnected electric power systems have been established; we are carrying out joint development projects, and the national experience thus gained is mutually enhancing the activities of the other countries.”
[17th meeting, para. 189.]

260. As already stated, the Government of Guatemala reiterates its unconditional support for the Contadora Group's efforts to bring about a negotiated political settlement in Central America. In this spirit, we believe that draft resolution A/39/L.6, sponsored by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, constitutes an important concerted political effort within the framework of the United Nations and is a balanced and equitable reflection of the aspirations and interests of Guatemala and Central America. In addition, it is consistent with ongoing negotiations in the area and with the provisions of Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10. We support that draft resolution and hope that the delegations present here will adopt it by consensus, for that would unquestionably be a very positive contribution to peace in Central America.

261. Mr. PAPAJOJGI (Albania) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This is the second year that the General Assembly is considering the situation in Central America, but we note that, instead of moving towards a solution, the problem has become more complicated and the situation in that region even more tense.

262. The States that cherish peace and freedom, as well as progressive world opinion, have expressed, quite rightly, their concern over the situation, for it is fraught with serious danger for the independence and freedom of the peoples of the region, the entire Latin American continent and world peace and security. Only a year has passed since the aggression against Grenada and the occupation of that country by American imperialism, and during that relatively short period pressure, threats, provocations and

hostile acts against Nicaragua have been on the increase, as have been continuing acts of interference in other countries of the region. The United States has trained and sent out bands of mercenaries to overthrow the legitimate Government of Nicaragua; it is engaged in criminal acts which have gone as far as mining the ports of that sovereign country and has carried out successive military manoeuvres very near it and is hatching even darker plans.

263. All that hostile activity against Nicaragua is no mere happenstance, nor is it separate from the United States policy towards Central America. That country is a United States target because with its liberation struggle it broke the chain of pro-American dictatorships in the area, upsetting the *status quo* of a long period of domination. In a word, the United States wants to continue to dominate the countries of the area; it wants to maintain its strategic geographical positions that keep the strategic routes in the Caribbean and the whole area under strict control.

264. In the circumstances no one can believe in the "peaceful" initiatives of the United States, which speaks and acts in the language of military force and at the same time demands and shrewdly attempts to ensure that regional and international agreements in the area are only grist for its mill. It is endeavouring to bring everything under its own umbrella in order to paralyse the will of the peoples, who want a solution to the problems of the region in keeping with their interests.

265. It is a fact that the policy of force pursued by the United States imperialists in Central America has aroused the fury of the peoples and progressive forces of the region—and of the entire world. That policy is also viewed with concern by a number of countries of Central America and Latin America, as has been stated by their representatives here. It is only natural that this is related to the lofty interests of freedom and independence and international peace and security.

266. In opposition to United States neo-colonialist aims in Central America and other parts of the world, there have been changes arising from the struggle against major social injustices, against the poverty of the peoples of the area and the oppression exercised by successive United States Administrations. Peoples in the area will not tolerate this situation. They have risen up, and their fight for national and social liberation and for genuine democracy is continually spreading. This is not to the liking of United States imperialists, who continue to speak in the kind of language that suggests that Central America still lies in their backyard, their "zone of vital interest".

267. The Soviet social imperialists are also trying to take advantage of the situation that has arisen in Central America. Behind the mask of anti-imperialism they have tried to fish in troubled waters, to take advantage of the just struggle of the peoples of the area against United States domination, in order to achieve their dark designs. They think developments there are an opportunity to increase their influence and penetration.

268. The logic of domination has made the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, so arrogant in their acts that they view all areas of the world as part of their rivalry, as targets for their interventions and aggressions, in spite of the fact that what is involved is sovereign peoples and countries.

269. The people and Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, just as we decidedly supported the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to overcome the ferocious dictatorship of Somoza, today support their just and legitimate struggle to live in freedom, independence and sovereignty and to defend their country against hostile activities by United States imperialism and its instruments. We also unreservedly support the struggle of the Salvadorian people and other peoples of Central America and the entire Latin American continent against imperialist policies and for freedom and genuine democracy.

270. Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary): The tense situation currently prevailing in Central America is a source of great concern for the entire international community. As is stated in the final communiqué adopted at the Meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October,

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

My delegation fully shares the views of the non-aligned countries with regard to the situation in Central America. We also believe that imperialist intervention in that region has reached a very dangerous level and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

271. The past year has witnessed a series of new manoeuvres that demonstrate the gravity of the situation. Without going into detail, I would just like to emphasize that the unceasing subversive actions, the repeated air attacks against Nicaraguan military and civilian targets and the mining of Nicaraguan ports have been additional manifestations of the escalation of the increasingly overt aggression masterminded by the United States against Nicaragua with the aim of intervening in that country's internal affairs to destabilize its progressive political and social system. Those acts of aggression resulted in the loss of innocent lives and material damage and provoked an outcry by the international community and world public opinion. The indignation found its clear expression at the Security Council meetings convened to discuss the matter.

272. The actions to which I have briefly referred are the consequence of an aggressive, militaristic approach to a situation which requires a peaceful diplomatic, political, economic, social and cultural approach. The crisis in Central America cannot be solved by military force. Military intervention can only aggravate the already grave situation. As has been repeatedly pointed out by many—in fact, by the overwhelming majority of delegations—in the debates on this issue in the Security Council and the General Assembly, the root causes of the crisis in Central America are social and economic in nature.

Accordingly, the treatment must also be social and economic.

273. Fortunately there exists another approach to the situation in Central America, one which takes into account the realities of that region. This is a peaceful, constructive approach represented by the Contadora Group. The members of that group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—have been playing a positive role in searching for a solution to the crisis since January 1983, when their first meeting took place on Contadora Island in Panama. Without their efforts for a peaceful settlement, the situation in Central America would be much more dangerous than it is now.

274. Last year the members of the Contadora Group had extensive consultations with the Central American countries and made comprehensive proposals for a peaceful solution to the dispute. On 7 September the revised draft of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America was presented to the seventh joint meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries at Panama City. The draft was the result of an intense process of consultations with all the Central American Governments. The Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group emphasized on that occasion that the time had come for the Central American Governments to display their political will to give legal force to the commitments contained in the Contadora Act.

275. But unfortunately Nicaragua was the only party concerned which expressed unconditional support to the draft. On the other hand, contrary to the positive, constructive stand taken by Nicaragua, Washington refused to accept that well-balanced proposal and initiated a substantial modification, thus further delaying a political, negotiated settlement of this burning problem. The true nature of the imperialist ambitions has yet again been clearly manifested in the latest developments, namely, by the compilation and publication by the CIA of a manual for the Somozist counter-revolutionary forces on various suggested measures designed to destabilize Nicaragua. This serious new development in the escalation of a covert war being waged against Nicaragua is in total opposition to the peaceful initiatives of the Contadora Group and only deepens the crisis in the region.

276. The Hungarian delegation believes that an immediate end must be put to the foreign interven-

tion, both overt and covert, in Central America and that the efforts to subvert and overthrow the Government of Nicaragua must cease. It is our firm conviction that the only viable solution to the crisis is one based on peaceful, negotiated settlements. It is in this spirit that we welcome and support all initiatives genuinely aimed at finding, through dialogue, talks and negotiations, solutions acceptable to all parties concerned. That is the reason why we attach great importance to the unceasing efforts of the Contadora Group and hope that its endeavours will be crowned with success without further delay.

277. We believe that strict adherence to the fundamental principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States may contribute to a better understanding and normal good-neighbourly relations among the countries of that region too. A more peaceful regional and international climate is a precondition for the solution of those social and economic problems which have for many years been at the root of conflicts in the countries of Central America.

278. In conclusion, let me state once again that the people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic are in solidarity with the Central American peoples in their endeavours to find peaceful solutions to the pressing problems they have to face and in their struggle for a society based on a just social and economic order. It is in this spirit that my delegation fully supports draft resolution A/39/L.6 which urges the early signing of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, thereby facilitating full compliance by all parties concerned with the commitments provided for in that document.

The meeting rose at 7:35 p.m.

NOTES

¹*Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984, p. 169.*

²*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983, document S/16041, annex.*

³*Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1983, document S/15877, annex.*

⁴United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 222, No. 3025.