Report

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee

on the situation in Central America

Part A: Motion for a resolution

Rapporteur: Mrs Marlene Lenz
At its sitting of 12 October 1981, the European Parliament referred to the Political Affairs Committee the motion for a resolution tabled pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure by Mr Glinne and others on El Salvador (Doc. 1-543/81).

At its meeting of 27 and 28 October 1981, the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report on the situation in El Salvador. At its meeting of 28-30 April 1982, the committee appointed Mrs LENZ rapporteur.

The European Parliament referred to the Political Affairs Committee the following motions for resolutions tabled pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure:

- at the sitting of 11 October 1982 the motion for a resolution by Mrs Dury and others on Salvadorean refugees in Honduras (Doc. 1-635/82)

- at the sitting of 11 April 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mr Vandemeulebroucke and others on the situation in Central America (Doc. 1-18/83).

At its meeting of 24 and 25 May 1983, the Political Affairs Committee decided to extend the report on El Salvador to cover Central America as a whole.

The European Parliament referred to the Political Affairs Committee the following motions for resolutions tabled pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure:

- at the sitting of 16 May 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mr Barbi and others on Nicaragua (Doc. 1-237/83)

- at the sitting of 16 May 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mr Ephremidis and others on hostile action towards Nicaragua (Doc. 1-242/83)

- at the sitting of 16 May 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mr Boyes and others on the situation in Nicaragua (Doc. 1-249/83)

- at the sitting of 18 May 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mrs van Hemeldonck and others on the arrest of Ana Margarita Gasteazoro (Doc. 1-289/83)
- at the sitting of 18 May 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mrs Fuillet and others on the situation of Guatemalan refugees in Mexico (Doc. 1-293/83)

- at the sitting of 12 September 1983 the motion for a resolution by Ms Clwyd on the imprisonment of Ana Margarita Gasteazoro (Doc. 1-620/83)

- at the sitting of 12 September 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mr van Aerssen and others on Nicaragua (Doc. 1-567/83)

- at the sitting of 10 October 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mr Pedini and others on the situation in Central America (Doc. 1-731/83)

- at the sitting of 10 October 1983 the motion for a resolution by Mr Wedekind and others on the persecution of the members of the religious community known as the 'Assemblies of God' in Nicaragua (Doc. 1-748/83)

- at the sitting of 16 January 1984 the motion for a resolution by Mr Glinne on the threats to Nicaragua (Doc. 1-1257/83)

- at the sitting of 12 March 1984 the motion for a resolution by Mr d'Ormesson and others based on information gathered by its delegation to COLOMBIA, NICARAGUA, HONDURAS and COSTA RICA (Doc. 1-1467/83)

- at the sitting of 12 March 1984 the motion for a resolution by MrRanges and others on the speech delivered by the President of the European Parliament to the Council of State of Nicaragua on 10 January 1984 in Managua (Doc. 1-1464/83).

As a result of the decision taken at the meeting of 24 and 25 May 1983, namely to extend the scope of the report to Central America as a whole, the following motions for resolutions are annexed:

- that by Mrs Wieczoreck-Zeul on Nicaragua (Doc. 1-905/81), referred by Parliament to the Political Affairs Committee at the sitting of 19 February 1982

- and that by Mr Lomas and others concerning Nicaragua (Doc. 1-271/82), referred to the committee at the sitting of 14 June 1982.

The committee had decided at its meeting of 22-24 March 1982 to draw up a report on these motions for resolutions.
The Political Affairs Committee considered this report at its meetings of 28 and 29 February - 1 March 1984 and of 20-22 March 1984 and adopted the motion for a resolution on 21 March 1984 by 11 votes to 4 with no abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Mr HABSBURG, acting chairman; Mr FERGUSSON, vice-chairman; Mrs Lenz, rapporteur; Lord BETHELL, Mr BOURNIAS DESCHAMPS, Lady ELLES, Mr von HASSEL, Mr van den HEUVEL, Mr ISRAEL (deputizing for Mr de la Malène), Mr LOMAS, Mr van MINNEN (deputizing for Mr HÄNSCH), Mr d'ORMESSON, Mr PRAG (deputizing for Mr NEWTON DUNN, Sir James SCOTT HOPKINS and Mr WALTER.

The report was tabled on 23 March 1984.

The deadline for tabling of amendments to this report appears in the draft agenda for the part-session at which it will be debated.
The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution:

**MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION**

on the situation in Central America

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolutions:
  - of 28 September 1979 on emergency aid to Nicaragua
  - of 17 April 1980 on the political situation in Nicaragua
  - of 15 February 1980 on the events in Guatemala
  - of 18 April 1980 condemning the assassination of Archbishop Romero
  - of 18 April 1980 on the granting of asylum to Cuban citizens
  - of 17 September 1981 on the violation of human rights in Guatemala
  - of 17 September 1981 on El Salvador
  - of 11 March 1982 on the situation in El Salvador
  - of 17 June 1982 on an emergency-aid programme for the 'Caritas' of the dioceses of El Salvador
  - of 17 June 1982 on the situation in Nicaragua
  - of 19 November 1982 on the communication from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council concerning special action in favour of the economic and social development of Central America and closing the procedure for consultation of the European Parliament on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a decision completing the general guidelines for 1982 concerning financial and technical aid to non-associated developing countries.

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1 OJ No. C 266, 22.10.1979, p. 62
2 OJ No. C 117, 12.5.1980, p. 45
3 OJ No. C 59, 10.3.1980, p. 63
4 OJ No. C 117, 12.5.1980, p. 74
5 OJ No. C 117, 12.5.1980, p. 75
8 OJ No. C 87, 5.4.1982, p. 79
9 OJ No. C 182, 19.7.1982, p. 58
10 OJ No. C 182, 19.7.1982, p. 59

- 5 - PE 89.121/fin.
of 14 October 1982 on economic relations between the European Community and Central America.

of 17 December 1982 closing the procedure for consultation of the European Parliament on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a Decision determining the general guidelines for 1983 covering financial and technical aid to non-associated developing countries.

of 16 December 1982 on the situation in Guatemala.

of 13 January 1983 on Nicaragua.

on the murder of Marianella Garcia Villas.

on El Salvador.

on the situation in Grenada.

having regard to the document of the Commission of the European Communities on special action in favour of the economic and social development of Central America.

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr GLINNE and others on El Salvador (Doc. 1-543/81).

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mrs DURY and others on Salvadorean refugees in Honduras (Doc. 1-635/82).

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr VANDEMEULEBROUCKE and others on the situation in Central America (Doc. 1-18/83).

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr BARBI and others on Nicaragua (Doc. 1-237/83).

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr EPHREomidis and others on hostile action towards Nicaragua (Doc. 1-242/83).

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr BOYES and others on the situation in Nicaragua (Doc. 1-249/83).

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mrs VAN HEMELDONCK and others on the arrest of Ana Margarita Gasteazoro (Doc. 1-289/83).

having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mrs FUILLET and others on the situation of Guatemalan refugees in Mexico (Doc. 1-293/83).

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12 OJ No. C 292, 8.11.1982, p. 87
14 OJ No. C 13, 17.1.1983, p. 91
15 OJ No. C 42, 14.2.1983, p. 51
16 OJ No. C 128, 16.5.1983, p. 62
19 COM (82) 257 final
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Ms CLWYD on the imprisonment of Ana Margarita Gasteazoro (Doc. 1-620/83)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr van AERSSENN and others on Nicaragua (Doc. 1-567/83)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr PEDINI and others on the situation in Central America (Doc. 1-731/83)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr WEDEKIND and others on the persecution of members of the religious community known as the 'Assemblies of God' in Nicaragua (Doc. 1-748/83)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr GLINNE on the threats to Nicaragua (Doc. 1-1257/83)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr d'ORMESSON and others based on information gathered by its delegation to COLOMBIA, NICARAGUA, HONDURAS and COSTA RICA (Doc. 1-1467/83)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr LANGES and others on the speech delivered by the President of the European Parliament to the Council of State of Nicaragua on 10 January 1984 in Managua (Doc. 1-1464/83)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mrs WIECZOREK-ZEUL on Nicaragua (Doc. 1-905/81)
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr LOMAS and others concerning Nicaragua (Doc. 1-271/82)
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 1-56/84)

A. disturbed at the fact that Central America has once again become one of the most serious flashpoints of East-West tension, while the conflicts in and for Nicaragua and El Salvador, in which international interests are implicated, still threaten to engulf the entire region;

B. concerned at the state of human rights and fundamental freedoms in certain countries of the region, especially Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala;

C. anxious about the fate of the millions of people in Central America who are fleeing from political and armed conflicts;

D. disturbed at the serious economic and social situation in all the countries of the region;

E. disturbed at the extension of the military conflicts, which are increasing the danger of war in Central America;

F. having regard to a series of initiatives to resolve the conflicts, especially that by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela (the 'CONTADORA initiative');
G. having regard to the report of the US 'National Commission on Future Policies towards Central America' (the 'Kissinger report'), the reports of the US Congress and Amnesty International;

H. aware of the hopes that the region is placing in the active involvement of the European Community in the attempts to solve the political, economic and social problems of Central America;

I. believing the aid granted to date by the European community to Central America to be inadequate and one-sided, as can be seen for example in the philosophy behind the Commission's Central America plan;

notes that,

I. NICARAGUA

- the marxist-leninist regime of the Frente Sandinista de la Liberación Nacional (FSLN) is departing more and more from the goals of pluralism, democracy and a mixed economy, which were proclaimed following the victory of the revolution over the Somozist dictatorship (in 1979), and, as the state party, is moving closer to a one-party system along the lines of the people's democracies;

- the fundamental democratic rights of freedom of religion, freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of association and legal certainty have been all but suspended de jure and de facto under the effect of the so-called emergency laws;

- the rights of parents and freedom of education are coming under threat from state-inspired education policy;

- the political and trade union forces grouped together in the democratic opposition front 'Coordinadora Democrática' are being continually harrassed and placed under permanent pressure by arbitrary arrests;

- 'turbas', organized hit squads emanating from an allegedly spontaneous upsurge of popular anger, are terrorizing and attempting to intimidate troublesome politicians, trade union leaders and their families, as well as priests and religious believers who do not conform;

1 including the Partido Social Cristiano (PSC), the Partido Social Demócrata (PSD), the Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC), the Partido Conservador Demócrata (PCD), the social-democratic ORIT trade union Confederacion de Unificacion Sindical (CUS) and the christian-socialist CLAT trade union Central de Trabajadores de Nicaragua (CTN)
- the ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic minority formed by the Miskitos, Sumos and Ramas has had to suffer bloody persecution at the hands of the Sandinists in the period 1980-1982, with tens of thousands being forcibly expelled from their ancestral homeland on the Atlantic coast and resettled in camps inland; 18,500 or 10% of the total Miskito population are living as refugees in Honduras; although the 'amnesty' proclaimed by the government at the beginning of December 1983 has resulted in the release of a number of Miskitos held in detention, no compensation or indemnification has been paid under it, it has not made possible a return to what have for centuries been ancestral homelands, nor has it led to an improvement in the state of human rights;

- even at an early stage, Nicaragua (population: 2.7 million) had at its disposal more men under arms than all the other Central American countries put together; following the introduction of general conscription, militarization, extending far beyond the country's own needs, is being intensely pursued and, with the total of over 150,000 regular Sandinist soldiers, militiamen and reservists, is regarded by neighbouring countries as a threat;

- given the contradictory statements on the elections originally planned for 1985 and now scheduled for November 1984, the statements that international organizations will not be allowed to attend the elections as observers, the clauses of the political parties law and the proposed procedures for nominating candidates and drawing up programmes for election platforms and the nature of the deliberations on the electoral law, it is likely that the rights of the democratic opposition will be severely curtailed and therefore severe doubts exist as to whether it will be possible for genuinely free elections to take place;

- approximately 2,000 Cuban military advisers are exerting a decisive influence on developments in Nicaragua;

- although Nicaragua supports the 21-point peace plan of the CONTADORA Group, it nevertheless remains isolated with its proposals within the ranks of the Central American nations; in alliance with Cuba, Nicaragua continues to play a part in the destabilization of the region through its ideological and military support for marxist-leninist liberation movements, especially in El Salvador, and is thus aiding external intervention in the domestic affairs of the countries of Central America;
Nicaragua has in turn fallen victim to armed aggression from outside, with former members of Somoza's National Guard, and exiled democratic forces, to some extent with the logistic support of the United States, conducting military operations against the Sandinist regime from bases in neighbouring countries, in an attempt to force a return to the original goals of the revolution;

in the period from 1979 to 1983, Nicaragua received generous aid from western countries, including, up until 1981, the USA;

although the Sandinist regime has made a genuine attempt to achieve social progress through reform (e.g. agrarian reform), the agrarian reform has not afforded new access to land ownership, but is merely subordinated to the controlled utilization of the territory and the social and educational facilities established there; owing to the general economic crisis in the region, the costly militarization of the country and, recently, the damage caused by armed opposition forces, conclusive success has not so far been evident;

II. EL SALVADOR

since the election of a constituent assembly on 28 March 1982, the process of democratization, initiated with the broad support of the population, has continued according to plan with the adoption of a new constitution and the calling of presidential elections for 25 March 1984;

the political situation within the country has still not been sufficiently stabilized and peace has not yet been restored;

the democratic forces, especially the Christian Democrats, are still in danger of being ground down between the extreme right-wing killer commandos of the death squads and the marxist-leninist guerrillas of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), the military arm of the exiled left-wing opposition front, the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR);

the government does not have sufficient control over all elements of the army and security forces, with the result that violations of human rights, especially acts of violence against civilians and the torture of prisoners, still occur;
- this violence is aggravated by armed bandits who cannot be said to belong to any faction;

- since 1979 more than 40,000 civilians have perished in the hostilities;

- more than 1 million out of the population of approximately 5 million Salvadoreans have fled the country, while tens of thousands are living as homeless refugees in makeshift accommodation on Salvadorean territory;

- an independent and constitutional legal system cannot possibly operate under these conditions;

- in spite of the resistance of the extreme right and the permanent disruption by the guerrillas, the reforms introduced in 1979 (agrarian reform, nationalization of banks and foreign trade) are being continued, even though they have become markedly more modest in terms of scale and objectives;

- the rapidly deteriorating economic situation in the country has resulted in high unemployment and may give rise to new social conflicts;

- although the FMLN/FDR cannot win the military conflict with the regular armed forces, it can still inflict severe damage on the economic and technical infrastructure of the country and has deliberately helped exacerbate the country's serious economic crisis, in order to force its way into the government while dispensing with elections;

- the peace and reconciliation talks conducted at various levels between the parties to the armed conflict have not yet met with tangible results;

- the government is nevertheless taking an active part in the peace initiatives of the CONTADORA Group;

III. HONDURAS

- the process of democratization, which opened with a return to a constitutional system and parliamentary and presidential elections (in 1980), has been consolidated, despite the severe economic crisis and the externally orchestrated subversion and attempts at destabilization;
the masses of refugees from neighbouring countries represent a heavy burden for the poorest country in the region, despite the high levels of international aid;

the first signs of a reform policy, especially in agrarian organization, have become apparent;

of all the Central American countries, it is Honduras which maintains the closest political, economic and military relations with the United States;

to calm Honduran fears of Nicaraguan military incursions, the USA has increased its aid, for instance with joint naval exercises lasting several months and the establishment of a US base on Honduran territory;

the idea has been floated in the country to move towards a status similar to that of Puerto Rico;

while there can be no doubt that the armed opposition to the Nicaraguan regime operates in part from Honduran territory, Honduras for its part has until very recently had to serve as a place of transit for Nicaraguan reinforcements for the FMLN guerrillas, with no possibility of taking effective measures to counter this situation, and has thus had to tolerate encroachments on its national sovereignty and territorial integrity, since it is not possible to guarantee adequate border security;

IV. COSTA RICA

the democracy established in Costa Rica since 1948 has long proved its worth and proved it on repeated occasions, and the country has become a model in Central America for political stability, electoral freedom, the observance of human rights and the orderly alternation of government;

in the context of the markedly pro-western orientation of its two leading political formations, the ruling social-democratic Partido de Liberación Nacional, (PLN), and the christian-democratic/conservative Unidad, it is striving to maintain neutrality and bring about a reconciliation between the warring factions in Central America;
- Costa Rica, the only Latin American country to have voluntarily dispensed with an army, maintaining instead nothing more than a small police force, was willing to support the revolution against the Somozist dictatorship in Nicaragua;

- owing to incursions by neighbouring and excessively militarized Nicaragua, it has, however, now requested the assistance of a peace-keeping force from the Organization of American States (OAS);

- it vigorously supports the initiative of the CONTADORA Group;

- it is the only Central American country with any chance of overcoming its economic problems;

V. GUATEMALA

- the expectations that the coup of 23 March 1982 would pave the way for democratization and free elections have proved just as illusory as the hopes for a policy of radical reforms to remedy social injustice;

- the state of human rights continues to give cause for concern, with the rural population in particular suffering most severely from the incursions of both government troops and left-wing guerrillas;

- the political attitude of the government seems somewhat unclear, although it has endorsed the CONTADORA initiative;

- hopes that the elections scheduled for July 1984 will contribute towards the stabilization of democracy in Guatemala;

1. Declares its express support for the peace initiative of the CONTADORA countries, i.e. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, which, aiming as it does to foster constitutional democracy and provide for non-intervention, confidence-building measures and a reduction in the potential for military conflict, could open up real prospects for peaceful settlements to the conflicts in Central America;

2. Considers a balanced economic and development strategy by the European Community in relation to Central America to be an important element in a global peace policy, which must be founded on social justice, equality of opportunity and a democratic and constitutional order, so as to remove all pretext for any form of violence and the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms;
3. Calls on the Commission of the European Communities to submit without delay a phased plan for the integrated development of economic, social and development policy cooperation with the countries of Central America;

4. Hopes that such a plan will be directed, without discrimination as to individual countries, exclusively towards the interests and needs of the peoples of the region, and will serve the following general aims:

   - strengthening the independence and securing the sovereignty of the countries of this region,
   - creating the basic conditions for internal and external peace,
   - promoting the development of pluralistic forms of constitutional and social order based on freedom, by supporting the existing democratic and liberal forces,
   - developing social justice and decent conditions of life throughout the region,
   - supporting political and economic cooperation between the countries, reviving the concept of a Central American Common Market, and possibly devising an agreement similar to the Andean Pact or the ASEAN model:

5. Considers, therefore, that the achievement of the following partial objectives is a matter of priority:

   - promotion of projects related to the agrarian reform already begun and comparable community development measures, in order to help create balanced social conditions and encourage comprehensive development of the rural sector by the abolition of outmoded social structures,
   - cooperation in education and training programmes, particularly vocational training, in order to promote the small and medium-sized business economy with the aid of skilled personnel,
   - immediate programmes for the reconstruction of dwellings and the destroyed infrastructure,
   - comprehensive humanitarian aid measures for the needy and disadvantaged population, particularly refugees;

6. Hopes that, with respect to Community aid programmes and depending on the situation and the needs in the individual countries, mainly non-State agencies and organizations (church organizations, the International Red
Cross, the United Nations: relief organization etc.) will be involved in the cooperation; Calls on the Commission to draw up a comprehensive survey of planned and already launched aid programmes and their effectiveness;

7. Expects due account to be taken of the observance of human rights in the implementation of development projects;

8. Believes it necessary to improve the dialogue with the United States and follow a policy of prudent cooperation, especially in:

- more frequent recourse to institutes such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) or the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture (IICA) as instruments of cooperation in economic, financial and development policy,
- and, given the considerable financial requirements, the coordination, in a comprehensive economic and development policy programme for Central America, of all the short-, medium and long-term measures carried out with other industrialized countries, especially the United States;

9. Looks to the Sandinist leaders of Nicaragua

- to honour the solemn pledges given after the victory of the people over the Somozist dictatorship in 1979 by creating the basic conditions for a pluralist democracy, which will respect fundamental rights and freedoms and human rights and guarantee all democratic parties and trade unions the uncurtailed right to participate in the democratic process of shaping public opinion and in shaping the life of society and the nation;
- to honour, with respect to the elections announced for 1984, its earlier pledge to hold free and equal elections without discrimination against the democratic opposition and without restriction of the freedom of opinion and the press and to ensure that an end is put to the repression directed against parties, trade unions and the Church, as well as against ethnic and cultural minorities;
- to ensure that political prisoners are released and that every accused person is tried in accordance with the constitution;
- to cease all attempts to destabilize the region;

10. Expects increased efforts and initiatives from the Government and democratic forces of El Salvador in the following areas:
- pursuit of political solutions, involving all parties and political groups which are prepared to abandon force as an instrument of policy, to acknowledge democratic-pluralistic forms of cooperation and work together for the restoration of peace and justice in the country,
- establishment of respect for human rights at all levels as a basic obligation of the Government,
- continuation of economic and social reforms, in order to make a lasting improvement in the living and working conditions of the population and to enable refugees to return to a land of peace,
- strengthening an independent judiciary, which will enforce with authority and without exception the observance of the law and respect for human rights and will condemn violence, from whatever source, as a crime,
- consolidation, involving all the democratic forces, of the process of democratization begun with the elections to a constituent assembly (March 1982) and due to be continued (in March 1984) with the presidential elections,
- reinforcing and developing the democratic institutions on the basis of the constitution adopted in December 1983, in order to provide a lasting basis for democracy;

11. Welcomes the fact that the development of democracy in Honduras has made marked progress, but is however concerned at the critical deterioration in relations with Nicaragua and expects the government and all the democratic forces to make a practical contribution to defusing the tensions at the frontiers of the two countries;

12. Calls on the military government in Guatemala:
- to allow all democratic forces to participate in the elections scheduled for July 1984, and to guarantee the holding of fair and equal elections,
- to respect human rights, put an end to torture and guarantee the rule of law;

13. Welcomes the fact that the democracy which has existed for 36 years in Costa Rica has become deeply rooted and entrenched despite the tense situation in the region:
14. Is aware that the restoration of peace in Central America is crucially dependent on the political, economic and social development of the region as a whole and therefore calls on the countries of Central America to oppose the attempts being engineered from outside to create further destabilization in the region;

15. Looks to the United States, regardless of the furtherance of its own security interests, to grant increased aid for economic development in Central America, so as to facilitate peaceful and democratic solutions by reducing social and political tensions, and welcomes the fact that certain conclusions drawn and objectives set in the Kissinger report are tending in this direction;

16. Calls on the USSR and Cuba to support the peace efforts in the region and align themselves on the CONTADORA initiative;

17. Calls on the Council to recommend its Member States to refrain from supplying arms to this region;

18. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission of the European Communities and the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.