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SUMMARY PECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

Chairman:

Mr. AFONSO

(Mozambique)

later:

Mr. SANDOVAL

(Ecuador)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 125: MEASURES TO PREVENT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM WHICH ENDANGERS OR TAKES INNOCENT HUMAN LIVES OR JEOPARDIZES FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND STUDY OF THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THOSE FORMS OF TERRORISM AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE WHICH LIE IN MISERY, FRUSTRATION, GRIEVANCE AND DESPAIR AND WHICH CAUSE SOME PEOPLE TO SACRIFICE HUMAN LIVES, INCLUDING THEIR OWN, IN AN ATTEMPT TO EFFECT RADICAL CHANGES (continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)
- (b) CONVENING, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO DEFINE TERRORISM AND TO DIFFERENTIATE IT FROM THE STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 125: MEASURES TO PREVENT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM WHICH ENDANGERS OR TAKES INNOCENT HUMAN LIVES OR JEOPARDIZES FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND STUDY OF THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THOSE FORMS OF TERRORISM AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE WHICH LIE IN MISERY, FRUSTRATION, GRIEVANCE AND DESPAIR AND WHICH CAUSE SOME PEOPLE TO SACRIFICE HUMAN LIVES, INCLUDING THEIR OWN, IN AN ATTEMPT TO EFFECT RADICAL CHANGES (continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)
- (b) CONVENING, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO DEFINE TERRORISM AND TO DIFFERENTIATE IT FROM THE STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION (continued) (A/46/346 and Add.1 and 2)
- Mr. LUNA (Peru) said that despite the encouraging changes on the international scene in recent years, there had been an insidious growth of terrorism in many parts of the world, including Latin America and Peru. entire international community recognized that terrorism was a criminal act and in no circumstances constituted a form of political action. Terrorism was also a flagrant and systematic violation of the fundamental rights of the individual, as had once again been established by the Commission on Human Rights in resolution 1991/29. Just as States must respect human rights, so all individuals, as a corollary to their intrinsic rights, had an obligation to respect those rights in the case of others. Ter.orism was a serious threat to the stability of nations, particularly when it undermined the democratic constitutional order and vital economic infrastructure of developing It hampered relations among States; the criminal activities of certain groups and individuals could not be allowed to impede the international cooperation so vitally needed for development.
- 2. If terrorism was to be effectively controlled, the phenomena associated with it must also be tackled. Terrorist violence and the enormous resources of drug traffickers constituted a doubly menacing threat. Unscrupulous arms dealers and mercenaries provided terrorist criminals with the supplies and training they needed.
- 3. His Government reiterated its categorical, unconditional condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. No overt or covert action amounting to tolerance, inaction or collaboration of third States with terrorist groups could be permitted. Since 1980 terrorists had undertaken a campaign of destruction in Peru with the ultimate objective of destroying Peruvian society; some 24,000 lives had been lost, with material destruction amounting to some \$20,000 million. In a Comocratic system with free elections at all levels of Government, terrorist groups were trying to impose totalitarian autocracy by means of crime and terror. They were being financed and supplied by drug traffickers bent on revenge against society. Amnesty International, at its meeting in Yokohama in September 1991, had recognized the need to prevent such atrocities.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

- 4. Terrorism must be combated in an integral manner at the domestic and international levels. Peru was taking domestic measures to protect society and ensure full respect for human rights. A national council for peace was meeting in Lima with the task of formulating a national plan to bring about peace and the full observance of human rights, including the rights of detained persons.
- 5. Peru was a party to major international instruments relating to terrorism such as the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, the Tokyo, Hague and Montreal Conventions and had signed the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.
- 6. Mr. AHMED (Iraq), referring to document S/22687, said that Iraq strongly repudiated any form of violence which endangered the lives of innocent people. Accordingly, it had made an effective contribution to international efforts to combat terrorism and had acceded to numerous international agreements on terrorism. He cited Iraqi legislation designed to prevent and punish terrorist activity, whilst pointing out that, in Iraq, terrorism was not classed as a political crime. Pursuant to Security Council resolution 687 (1991), Iraq would neither commit nor condone any form of international terrorism, and would not permit any organization so inclined to operate within its territory. Lastly, he reiterated Iraq's strong condemnation of all international terrorist practices.
- 7. Mr. AL-SABEEH (Kuwait) said that Kuwait attached specific importance to the issue of terrorism, particularly in view of its own bitter experiences, of which he listed examples, with special emphasis on the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and the acts of State terrorism committed against it by Iraq since its liberation.
- 8. Mr. AHMED (Iraq), speaking on a point of order, said that the remarks by the representative of Kuwait were irrelevant to the matter under consideration.
- g. Mr. Al-SABEEH (Kuwait) continued, saying that the events witnessed in his country confirmed the need for action to eliminate terrorism, which only international cooperation would achieve. Believing it essential to differentiate between terrorism, which it condemned, and popular liberation struggles such as that waged by the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories, his delegation supported the proposed conference. Nevertheless, it saw no reason to await a precise definition before tackling the phenomenon itself, in which sense the United Nations and its specialized agencies had a proven part to play. Having listed the international agreements to which Kuwait was a party, he then made the following suggestions: all forms of officially organized State terrorism should be thoroughly condemned; a determined strategy for combating terrorism should be followed; States which practised terrorism or harboured terrorists should be singled out and boycotted; terrorists should be denied the safe havens which they found in

(Mr. Al-Sabeeh, Kuwait)

certain States; the organization of terrorist acts should be outlawed; acts of sabotage against other States and their citizens should also be outlawed; terrorists should be detained and tried or extradited; States should exchange relevant information with a view to preventing and combating terrorism; no bargains or concessions should be made in respect of terrorist demands; States should accede to and comply with bilateral, regional and international agreements on terrorism; and lastly, domestic legislations should be consistent with the relevant international agreements.

10. Mr. Sandoyal (Ecuador) took the Chair.

- 11. Mr. NYAMIKEH (Ghana) said that international terrorism in all its manifestations was to be unequivocally condemned in that it had brought untold hardship to innocent people and had led to tensions in inter-State relations. His Government wholeheartedly supported the international community's efforts to combat the problem and had acceded to various Conventions aimed at its prevention and final elimination. In that endeavour the General Assembly, in its resolution 40/61, had broken new ground by calling for the convening of an international conference to define terrorism and to study its underlying causes.
- 12. International cooperation to combat terrorism would, however, remain ineffective if the problem itself were not clearly defined. In particular, a deliberate attempt was being made to divert attention from the phenomenon of State terrorism, which took such forms as mercenary activities, armed intervention in the internal affairs of other States, colonial occupation, threatened aggression and alien domination, and which had been used to destabilize constitutionally elected Governments in developing countries. In that sense, it seemed inappropriate to condemn as "terrorist" the South African and Palestinian liberation movements when the South African and Israeli authorities were prepared to use violence against the civilian population on a daily basis and on a massive scale. In his delegation's view, peoples languishing under such regimes were entitled to use all the means at their disposal to assert their right to self-determination.
- 13. It was regrettable that during the negotiations leading to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 44/29, basic principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations had been called in question. His delegation had joined in the consensus on the resolution, but had found itself obliged to reserve its position on some of the paragraphs as adopted. It took the view that there were no grounds for supposing that terrorism could not be defined, or that it could not be distinguished clearly from the legitimate struggle of peoples for liberation and self-determination. In the international community's efforts to address the problem, undue emphasis seemed to have been placed on protecting the interests of the stronger nations. The proposed international conference would help to resolve outstanding issues and would give Member States the opportunity to clarify the underlying causes of the problem.

- 14. Mr. SUPHAMONGKHON (Thailand) said that, despite recent changes in the world situation, the international community remained exposed to international terrorism. Terrorist acts threatened all societies and must be combated by all means compatible with international law. With that aim in view, his country had welcomed the efforts made by the International Civil Aviation Authority (ICAO) to promote universal acceptance of, and strict compliance with the international conventions on air security. Thailand was a party to most of the relevant conventions on air security, and was considering the possibility of acceding to other multilateral agreements, including the 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the 1988 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation.
- 15. His delegation had no objection in principle to the proposal to convene an international conference to define terrorism and to differentiate it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation. It did, however, feel that the time might not be ripe for achieving consensus on such a definition, and that efforts should instead be concentrated on ways and means to strengthen international cooperation in the interests of a united and unambiguous stand against terrorism.
- 16. Mr. ANG SIN TECK (Singapore) said that terrorism, in the sense of the threat or use of violence by individuals or groups for political purposes, manifested itself in various forms, including attacks by religious minorities against the power of majority religions, anti-colonial insurgency, and violence directed against political oppression by totalitarian regimes. Whatever their form of protest, terrorists asserted the legality of their actions and their right to use fear to coerce Governments into making political concessions.
- 17. His country unequivocally condemned all forms of terrorism and urged all States to refrain from lending credence or legitimacy to actions which could only erode the foundations and principles governing inter-State relations. Cooperation at the international level was essential, and his delegation recalled with satisfaction the successful outcome of the joint police operation between Malaysia and Singapore in arresting those responsible for hijacking a Singapore Airlines aircraft in March 1991.
- 18. The proposed international conference to define terrorism and to differentiate it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation was unlikely to acrive at a consensus. Would such a definition exclude, for example, a national liberation group which, while pursuing its goals by accepted military means, also employed terrorist tactics?
- 19. In view of the difficulty of reaching agreement on such complex issues, it would be better to concentrate on bilateral and regional efforts and on initiatives under the auspices of the United Nations aimed at promoting the exchange of information and denying sanctuary to terrorists.

- 20. Mr. MOLNAR (Hungary) said that his Government categorically rejected and condemned international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, regardless of its origins, motives, goals and perpetrators, and no matter how legitimate its underlying cause; Hungary strongly advocated the strengthening of international cooperation to eliminate terrorism.
- 21. It was unfortunate that, even after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 44/29, a number of terrorist acts had been committed; concerted action of States against terrorism therefore remained indispensable at the multilateral, regional and bilateral levels. Hungary was prepared to join other States in that action and in the effort to apprehend perpetrators. It would soon accede to the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.
- 22. With regard to the possibility of convening an international conference on terrorism, Hungary believed that, since the international community had not yet arrived at a common approach necessary to define terrorism and establish universal standards, a highly controversial and politicized debate would be counterproductive and would jeopardize the fragile achievements relating to the issue. It would prefer an approach that would focus on specific acts of terrorism by strengthening the international obligations of States in combating and preventing the concrete forms and manifestations of terrorism. It was convinced that terrorism could be most effectively countered by strict adherence of States to their obligations under international law to prevent terrorist acts and to deny a safe haven to terrorists in their territory, as well as to ensure the apprehension or extradition of perpetrators of such acts.
- 23. The Committee must support the efforts of those international bodies which, by mandate and expertise, were best equipped to find answers to specific aspects of the problem of terrorism.
- 24. Mr. BABY (Mali) said that despite the growth of international cooperation in combating terrorism, both within the United Nations and elsewhere, the problem of terrorism remained acute in certain countries and regions and was jeopardizing the interests of the international community as a whole. Mali unequivocally condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, whatever its causes and wherever it occurred.
- 25. His delegation felt that an international conference on terrorism would be effective only to the extent that it had the support of all States. Terrorism was such a serious problem that all countries must cooperate through preventive diplomacy to find concrete solutions so as to prevent terrorism in all its forms. Terrorism could not exist without external financing.
- 26. Mali was a party to the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages and the Tokyo, Hague and Montreal Conventions and had signed the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection. It called on all States Members of the United Nations to ratify the Conventions on terrorism and implement their provisions; international

(Mr. Baby, Mali)

cooperation in combating and preventing terrorism would help to strengthen trust among States and improve international relations.

- 27. Mr. HANAFI (Egypt), said that as a first step in combating terrorism, all States should comply with international law and the Charter of the United Nations; refrain from using or threatening to use force against other States; find peaceful settlements to disputes; guarantee the legitimate right to self-determination; avoid harbouring or training terrorists or financing their activities; and bring terrorists to trial. Egypt strongly condemned terrorism, and had acceded to all international agreements on terrorism; it had also been active in initiating an international treaty, now ratified, which was designed to prevent illegal acts against shipping. imperative to establish an international legal system which would tighten the noose around terrorists and their sponsors. States should lend their support by acceding to and complying with existing agreements, and by ensuring that their domestic legislations were compatible with the latter. It was important to remember that peoples suffering under occupation or racist regimes should have the same rights and freedoms guaranteed to innocent civilians and that international cooperation and consensus of opinion were essential to success in combating terrorism.
- 28. Mr. BEJO (Albania) said the fact that the issue of international terrorism had been on the agenda of the General Assembly for so many years, and the difference of opinion on ways and means to combat international terrorism, demonstrated the complexity of the phenomenon; nevertheless, international terrorism was unquestionably condemned by the entire world community. His delegation unequivocally condemned international terrorism in all its forms and believed that there was an urgent need to develop measures to prevent and control international terrorism before it evolved into a truly global problem which would be difficult to control. It was very important to establish a legal instrument to define terrorism, which would articulate norms based on international law. Such an instrument would help to strengthen cooperation among States in combating terrorism, at the bilateral, regional and international levels, and in eliminating the underlying causes.
- 29. New and positive developments had occurred in international relations in recent years. The Republic of Albania welcomed the Madrid peace conference on the Middle East and believed that, despite the difficulties it faced, it reflected the desire for peace, stability and security for all peoples in the region. With enhanced individual and collective security, it would be easier, politically and legally, to agree on ways and means to combat all acts which threatened that security. His delegation hoped the logic of peace, understanding and responsibility for stability and security, and not the logic of suppression and State terrorism, would finally prevail in Yugoslavia so that all the peoples and nationalities, including the Albanians, the third biggest group in Yugoslavia, would enjoy the right to life and self-determination in accordance with all the norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Bejo, Albania)

- 30. Because of the mentality of the former regime, the Republic of Albania was not yet a party to the conventions on terrorism, but it was currently preparing to accede to them as proof of its willingness to join in efforts to combat international terrorism.
- 31. Mr. HAMM (Republic of Korea) said that his country resolutely condemned and rejected all acts of terrorism, regardless of motivation or circumstance. It had itself fallen victim many times to the heinous violence of terrorism. It supported General Assembly resolution 44/29 and, on the question of hostages, commended Security Council resolution 579 (1985).
- 32. International cooperation was vital in the prevention of terrorism; it was imperative that States reinforce that cooperation through the exchange of information between Governments to prevent acts of terrorism and to apprehend, extradite if necessary and prosecute suspected perpetrators. His delegation welcomed the proposals concerning an enhancement of the role of the United Nations and the relevant specialized agencies in combating international terrorism. It also attached special importance to the faithful observance by States of their obligations under international law to prevent and fight terrorism; the Republic of Korea was a party to all relevant international legal instruments on terrorism. It appreciated the work being done by the International Maritime Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization and had signed the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.
- 33. His delegation believed that the proposed international conference on terrorism would only prove to be useful if it received widespread support and could help to advance the eradication of international terrorism. It had serious doubts as to the efficacy of such a conference at the current stage.
- 34. Mr. TETU (Canada), speaking also on behalf of Australia, said that, as terrorism was not likely to diminish in intensity in the near future, more effective cooperation was needed among all the parties involved. One example of such cooperation was the conclusion in March 1991 of the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection. Approximately 40 States, including major producers, had signed the Convention and he urged States which had not yet signed it to consider doing so. Another encouraging example concerned the regional arrangements on the issue of terrorism concluded under the auspices of the South Pacific Forum.
- 35. Beyond international cooperation, States must also show a commitment to fighting terrorism at the national level. For their part, Canada and Australia were parties to most of the conventions listed in document A/46/346, and both were actively considering ratification of the instruments to which they had not yet acceded. Canada and Australia were convinced that the problem of terrorism would be better addressed by implementing the existing instruments effectively rather than attempting to deal with more intractable problems such as the definition of terrorism.

(Mr. Tetu, Canada)

- 36. The divergent views so far expressed on the subject suggested that a conference to define terrorism or its underlying causes would open up a debate which was likely to be highly politicized and would threaten to undermine the degree of international consensus achieved up to them. For that reason, both Canada and Australia continued to believe that the holding of such a conference would be inappropriate.
- 37. While the Governments on whose behalf he spoke could not accept the legitimacy of any so-called right of resort to terrorism in order to achieve political objectives, they were aware that there were real causes of grievance among peoples in many parts of the world. Such grievances must not go unheard; they must be addressed by Governments and the international community in a sympathetic and realistic way, through peaceful processes and negotiations.
- 38. Canada and Australia reaffirmed their support for the adoption at the current session of a resolution on terrorism which would contain a balanced summary of international achievements and goals in the field, while unequivocally condemning all acts, methods and practices of terrorism.
- 39. Mr. ADHIKARI (Nepal) said that terrorism could not be justified under any circumstances. The taking of hostages in the name of political goals was a barbaric and inhuman act which should be condemned unequivocally by the civilized world.
- 40. After reviewing the history of the item in the General Assembly and the Security Council, he said that his country had already adopted five antiterrorism conventions and that the newly elected Government of Nepal was considering acceding to two others, including the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.
- 41. Nepal was a founding member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and had initiated measures to combat terrorism as it affected the security and the stability of the region. Drawing attention to the SAARC Convention on Supression of Terrorism, the relevant provisions of which were set forth in document A/46/346, he said that Nepal had also enacted specific laws on terrorism to give effect to the Convention.
- 42. His delegation was aware of the difficulties of defining terrorism. The right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial and racist regimes, and the legitimacy of the struggle of national liberation movements, must be duly recognized as inalienable, since such rights were derived from natural law and were also embodied in a number of international instruments, including the Charter of the United Nations.
- 43. In adopting effective measures to combat terrorism, the Committee should bear in mind the following: first, terrorism should be regarded as a crime

(Mr. Adhikari, Nepal)

against international peace and security as well as a crime against mankind; secondly, States should refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or acquiescing in activities within their territory directed towards the commission of such acts; thirdly, offenders should be either extradited or prosecuted by the State in which they were apprehended; and fourthly, a strict distinction should be made between the inalienable right to self-determination and an act of international terrorism.

- 44. His delegation believed that the holding of an international conference to define terrorism would be inappropriate and that discussion should continue in the Sixth Committee.
- 45. Mr. ARAPTA MANGUSHO (Uganda) said that the views of Member States and of international organizations, as reflected in documents A/46/346 and Addendum 1, reflected an emphasic on acts of international terrorism committed against aircraft and maritime navigation. His delegation believed, however, that the significance and the consequences of international terrorism went beyond the scope of international travel. The developing countries had experienced international terrorism in many other forms.
- 46. The international media wittingly or unwittingly contributed to the prevalance of acts of political and economic terrorism by deliberately misinforming and exaggerating in a manner which intensified the fear, frustration and suffering of peoples in the developing world. For instance, legitimate national liberation movements had been portrayed as terrorist organizations while, on the other hand, the terrorist acts perpetrated by the apartheid regime in South Africa had been referred to as counter-insurgency. In the Middle East, where Palestinian youth, women and children had been caught up in legitimate resistance against an occupying Power in an effort to obtain self-determination, the victims had been vilified while the oppressors had been glorified.
- 47. Drug trafficking and its links to terrorism were a matter of serious concern to all countries. The terror which such trafficking generated had serious social and economic consequences for vulnerable groups, while the counter-terrorism which it incited, if not carefully coordinated and monitored, could have even greater negative consequences.
- 48. His delegation endorsed the letter and the spirit of General Assembly resolution 44/29, particularly paragraphs 4 and 6, which urged all States to cooperate with a view to eradicating international terrorism. In his view, cooperation would be greatly facilitated if States could reach a common understanding on what constituted acts of terrorism, as opposed to the legitimate struggles of peoples for national liberation.

(Mr. Arapta Mangusho, Uganda)

49. His Government was scrutinizing international conventions on the subject with a view to ratifying them in the near future and thus reinforcing the antiterrorism laws already enacted in Uganda. Nevertheless, his Government's view was that international conventions alone, unaccompanied by practical measures to remove the justifications for committing terrorist acts, could not eliminate the problem. It might perhaps be useful to resume efforts to develop a common definition of terrorism in view of the opportunity afforded by the changed international climate. Preliminary discussions on the subject could be initiated within the framework of the United Nations Decade of International Law. Such discussions could be concretized through an international conference, convened under the auspices of the United Nations, to define terrorism and to differentiate it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation.

50. Mr. Afonso (Mozambique) resumed the Chair.

- 51. Mr. SCHARF (United States of America) said that the most salient facts to emerge from the debate were the universal condemnation of terrorism and the universal expression of willingness to seek to cooperate with a view to its elimination. Nor did even a minority of speakers any longer seek to qualify the unconditional condemnation of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable without regard to where or by whom such acts were committed. That consensus was a noteworthy achievement, not only because the organized international community had validated its own existence by a common response to the challenge of terrorism, but because it had been far from easy to achieve. Consensus had been reached because of the spreading recognition that terrorism was random and could strike anyone anywhere; that no State was exempt; and that no State could carry out its fundamental responsibility to safeguard its citizens without joining in the effort to combat terrorism.
- 52. The international community had worked together in that combat through conventions dealing with the protection of civil aviation, the protection of diplomats, the prohibition of hostage-taking and terrorist acts at sea, and most recently the convention dealing with plastic explosives, whose rapid completion was a tribute to ICAO and to the firm stance against terrorism of the international community.
- 53. With that array of treaties on specific forms of terrorism at its disposal, there was a need for the international community to give earnest of its intention to use them to combat terrorism by having them universally ratified. Their main thoust was the denial of safe haven to the terrorist, and for that purpose universal ratification was essential. Moreover, with so clear a global consensus condemning terrorist acts as conduct that no cause could justify, there was no longer any justification for States not becoming party to the conventions.
- 54. The question of new conventions on the suppression of terrorism with the use of nuclear weapons and on the physical protection of chemical and

(Mr. Scharf, United States)

biological material was both important and complex. In view of the importance of the question, his delegation thanked the Soviet Union for bringing it to the attention of the General Assembly; because of its complexity, Governments should be given the opportunity to reflect on it, and other interesting suggestions, before deciding what areas to concentrate on.

- With respect to a conference to be convened to define terrorism and to differentiate it from the struggle for self-determination, such an exercise should not be undertaken unless it was supported by a consensus, and no such consensus had emerged. His delegation took the view that such a conference was neither necessary nor useful. The difficulty of an abstract definition of terrorism was as a practical matter insurmountable; any effort to formulate such a definition would only succeed in distracting attention from the concrete achievements that were attainable. Neither was it necessary to define terrorism in order to safeguard basic human rights, including the right to self-determination. The United States spoke as a nation that had fought for its independence and had aided others in their struggle to achieve self-determination. That did not mean, however, that there were no limits to permissible methods. No cause could justify the random violence of interference with civil aviation, attacks on diplomats, hostage-taking, or the use of plastic explosives. The international community had long accepted the notion that there were acts so heinous that States might not resort to them in the exercise of their right to self-defence no matter how dire their situation, so it was not surprising that there were similar inhumane acts that groups and individuals might not engage in no matter how just their cause.
- 56. It was unnecessary to denominate State conduct as terrorism in order to establish its illegality, as a solid body of law already existed. His delegation could not imagine any State conduct that could reasonably be called terrorism that was not already a violation of law. State support of terrorist acts by individuals and groups was a clear violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter. It was not necessary or desirable, then, to apply the term to common crimes pursued for private gain since all societies already had an adequate legal framework for dealing with such conduct. The term "terrorism" was, however, of enormous utility when applied to acts of violence of a particularly heinous nature, committed by individuals or groups, that were more than common crimes for private gain but less than action by a State. For those reasons, his delegation did not believe a definition was either necessary or useful.
- 57. With respect to the causes of terrorism, it was undeniable that all the injustice in the world, imagined or real, had not been eliminated. A very substantial number of the 150-odd items on the agenda of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly were devoted to eliminating injustice of one sort of another. It was hardly reasonable for the Sixth Committee to distract itself from concrete measures to control the problem by attempting to grapple with eliminating causes when such matters were being considered elsewhere in the Assembly. In sum, his delegation applauded the measures taken since the adoption of resolution 44/29 to expand the conventions dealing with specific

(Mr. Scharf, United States)

terrorist acts, and the increased ratifications of the outstanding conventions, and was confident that the General Assembly would once again declare its condemnation of terrorism without exception, qualification or reservation of any kind.

- 58. Mr. RAOELINA (Madagascar) said that for more than two decades, the Sixth Committee had been dealing with the question of international terrorism, but despite the adoption of the various conventions, terrorist acts were still being perpetrated throughout the world and no country was immune.
- 59. Madagascar unequivocally condemned terrorism, and those States that organized, financed or encouraged terrorism. That position was reflected in the substantive measures his Government had undertaken both nationally and internationally. Madagascar was a party to all the conventions on the security of international civil aviation, and welcomed all resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on hostage-taking and kidnapping.
- 60. As the increase in the number of terrorist incidents was of deep concern to the international community, the General Assembly and the Sixth Committee should take a decision on the matter by consensus. All delegations, while firmly rejecting terrorism, should seek to determine its underlying causes.
- 61. During the current debate, some representatives had expressed doubts as to the chances for success of an international conference on the definition of terrorism. Others had even claimed that the new status of wars of national liberation could legitimize terrorism. However, by its resolution 42/159, the General Assembly had confirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of all peoples living under racist or colonial regimes, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the principles of international law. Any attempt to equate that struggle with terrorism was therefore incompatible with United Nations purposes, principles, and resolutions.
- 62. He drew attention to the fact that the ninth summit conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries had adopted a declaration condemning all acts of terrorism, whether committed by individuals, States or groups of States, and expressing the determination of the signatory countries to put an end to such acts by any legal means possible, while at the same time reaffirming the right of peoples to self-determination and the legitimacy of the struggle for independence. The fight against terrorism could be advanced by formulating a definition acceptable to all delegations, and so the non-aligned countries had indicated in their declaration that they favoured the convening under the auspices of the United Nations of an international conference to define terrorism and differentiate it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation.

- 63. Ms. FEARNLEY (New Zealand) said that her Government, like the Governments of many other Member States, firmly maintained that no cause, however just, and no goal, however worthy, could justify the taking or endangering of innocent lives.
- 64. International terrorism was a global concern which needed to be addressed through concerted international action. In the past, the international community had shown the capacity to respond appropriately to activities which threatened the international order. During the past two decades, in particular, significant legal instruments addressing various aspects of terrorism had been concluded. Her country was a party to most of those conventions and was considering ratifying others.
- 65. While the existing instruments did not fully meet the aspiration voiced by the General Assembly in 1972 for an overall approach which would address all acts of international terrorism, they demonstrated that steps could be taken and implemented without requiring a comprehensive definition of terrorism. It was clear from the debate so far that no consensus existed on such an approach.
- 66. Accordingly, New Zealand believed that, for the time being, the international community should give first priority to the adoption of appropriate domestic measures, and to concerted action at both the global and the regional levels, in order to strengthen the effectiveness of the measures already in place. Regional arrangements, such as those coordinated by the South Pacific Forum since the mid-19 Os, could contribute significantly to the international fight against terrori n.
- 67. In view of the threat posed by terrorism to the security of States and their citizens, her country believed that it was incumbent on the Committee to adopt by consensus a resolution reaffirming its unequivocal condemnation of all forms of terrorism.
- 68. Mr. JERKIC (Yugoslavia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, referred to an earlier statement by the representative of Albania in which the latter had accused Yugoslavia of engaging in State terrorism. He had no wish to enter into useless recriminations, but said that Yugoslavia rejected utterly those preposterous allegations. That had not been the first time in the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly that the delegation of Albania had launched unfounded attacks on Yugoslavia. He was surprised by those attacks, as they were diametrically opposed to Albania's publicly stated policy towards Yugoslavia. Regardless of the difficulty Yugoslavia had recently encountered, the conduct of Albania during the session had been, to say the least, scarcely conducive to good-neighbourliness.