



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 33rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 126: 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/42/519 and Corr.1 and Add.1; documents referred to on pages 2 and 3 of document A/C.6/42/L.1; A/42/193 and Add.1-3; A/42/564; A/C.6/42/L.2)

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

(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

1. Mr. MBURI (United Republic of Tanzania) said that when the item on international terrorism had been introduced for the first time in the General Assembly, the 35 States members of the Ad Hoc Committee had been optimistic that practical measures of co-operation for the speedy elimination of the problem could be adopted. At the fortieth session, States had been urged to co-operate in order to contribute to the progressive elimination of the causes of international terrorism. Half-way through the forty-second session, delegations were still looking for ways to combat terrorism.

2. Although it was true that there was no precise and universally acceptable definition of terrorism, it was recognizable when it appeared. In any case, it had become a tactical and strategic tool used by individuals, groups and some régimes to achieve their goals. The problem of defining terrorism arose because an act could be terroristic to some and heroic to others, which had sometimes led to the actions of legitimate freedom fighters being declared terroristic.

3. Before the issue of terrorism had been raised in the General Assembly, States had managed to punish the culprits because they could easily differentiate between genuine efforts at self-determination and individually motivated terrorist acts. However, the lack of co-operation among States, together with the new dimension taken on by international relations, had made it necessary to bring the phenomenon to the attention of the international community

4. His delegation considered that a misunderstanding had arisen about the concept of terrorism. What was important was to determine whether acts which appeared to be terroristic were acts legitimized by international law or not. Although the General Assembly, in resolution 40/61, had unequivocally condemned all forms of terrorism, the resolution did not specify what type of acts were terroristic. However, paragraph 9 urged States to contribute to the elimination of the causes underlying terrorism and to pay special attention to all situations, including colonialism, racism and situations involving mass and flagrant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms and those involving alien occupation, that might give rise to international terrorism. Paragraph 9 implied that it was necessary to

(Mr. Mhuri, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

differentiate between terrorism and legitimate causes the effort to combat it. Consequently, assertions that there should be automatic extradition regardless of motive should be treated with caution, since that would involve the risk of punishing innocent people.

5. Equally dangerous was another aspect of terrorism, State terrorism, as committed by South Africa against its people and its neighbours, and as committed also against the Palestinians and in other parts of the globe. In his delegation's view that type of terrorism constituted a violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other States, and retarded the self-determination of peoples.

6. Tanzania was gratified by the consensus that was emerging in the United Nations on the combating of terrorism. However, that convergence of interests should not be used as a pretext for suppressing the legitimate struggle of liberation movements, or used as an excuse for interfering in the affairs of independent and sovereign States. With that in mind, and despite the misgivings expressed by some delegations, his delegation would support new efforts to reach agreement on a definition of terrorism, and did not feel that seeking a precise definition would be a waste of resources.

7. Some acts of terrorism were carried out by individuals, groups or organizations that had been denied any other way of overcoming oppression. Hence the need to tackle the underlying causes of the problem. In that context, it would not be out of place to reactivate the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism, which could be a useful instrument for smoothing out the difficulties in regard to the convening of an international conference on the topic, which Tanzania supported.

8. Tanzania had acceded to the 1963 Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, the 1970 Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft and the 1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation. It was currently in the process of acceding to the 1973 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, and the 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostages.

9. Terrorism could be defeated only by eliminating all forms of injustice, by further international co-operation, through the exchange of information, by not allowing countries to be used by terrorists and by acceding to international instruments.

10. Mr. KOTSEV (Bulgaria) said that his delegation attached great importance to the item under consideration and was concerned by the recent growth of international terrorism, which had provoked outrage throughout the world. Bulgaria had reiterated its position on the matter in a number of important international forums, and had explained it in detail in the letter dated 23 July 1987 from the Permanent Representatives of Bulgaria and other socialist countries contained in document A/42/416.

(Mr. Kotsev, Bulgaria)

11. Bulgaria had always opposed and consistently condemned international terrorism in all its forms, and had co-operated actively with other Member States. His delegation was convinced that terrorism could be completely eliminated by combating its manifestations, while removing its underlying social and political causes. At the same time, it regarded equating international terrorism with the struggle of national liberation movements as inadmissible. The Syrian proposal to convene an international conference was a particularly important initiative in that regard, which would contribute to the furthering of international co-operation in the field. The effort to differentiate international terrorism from the struggle for national liberation did not, of course, lessen the necessity of adopting concrete measures to eliminate terrorism.

12. His delegation resolutely condemned military, political and other kinds of pressure against sovereign States, as well as the practice of terrorism in relations with other States and peoples. In many cases, acts of terrorism were the result of equally reprehensible phenomena such as foreign occupation, annexation and other forms of violence.

13. The period between the fortieth and forty-second sessions had shown unambiguously that the strengthening of international co-operation in the prevention and suppression of terrorism remained an urgent issue. Different groups of States had adopted different approaches. His delegation considered that urgent practical measures should be taken bilaterally and multilaterally, and also within the framework of the United Nations, for which General Assembly resolution 40/61 provided a solid basis. Bulgaria had complied strictly with the provisions and recommendations of that resolution, as evidenced by the recent decision of its Government to accede to the 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, so that Bulgaria was now a party to the principal multilateral agreements on the subject. His country was convinced that the accession of States which had not yet become parties to the relevant agreements would contribute to the elimination of the barriers to effective international co-operation.

14. Of particular importance was the adoption of essential measures to implement the provisions of the international legal instruments concerning terrorism. Bulgaria had introduced effective legal barriers and encouraged public intolerance of terrorist acts. It was also a party to bilateral treaties on legal assistance concerning criminal acts, including the punishment or extradition of those who perpetrated them.

15. His delegation believed that considerable opportunities existed to establish a solid international legal basis that would facilitate bilateral and multilateral co-operation among States. In that connection, it welcomed the activities of the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization, and considered that fuller use could be made of the potential of the United Nations. It further believed that States should comply strictly with the universally acknowledged principles and norms of international law. It was likewise important to identify the underlying causes of international terrorism.

(Mr. Kotsev, Bulgaria)

16. It was the opinion of his delegation that the future of international co-operation in that regard lay in the elaboration of a basic document, which should provide, inter alia, for unconditional condemnation of international terrorism, whatever the motives for which terrorist acts were committed; strict conformity of any methods to combat international terrorism with the generally accepted principles and norms of international law; an unconditional guarantee of the sovereign right of all peoples to choose the course and form of their development, and recognition of their right to self-determination and the legitimacy of the struggle of national liberation movements; abstention from the use or threat of force in international relations; strengthening of trust among States; participation in existing conventions and co-operation in the conclusion of new agreements; and the mandatory punishment of persons guilty of acts of international terrorism, including where necessary their extradition.

17. His delegation reaffirmed Bulgaria's readiness to co-operate with other States and to consider any proposal to that end.

18. Mr. KOZUBEK (Czechoslovakia) said that international terrorism was a very grave problem, which had repercussions upon relations among States and adversely affected the development of international co-operation; in some cases, it constituted a threat to international peace and security. Czechoslovakia unequivocally condemned international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and terrorist methods, whether used by individuals, groups and organizations or by States, as mentioned in General Assembly resolution 39/159. At the same time, it opposed all attempts to equate the national liberation struggle, which was based on the inalienable right of nations to self-determination, with acts of international terrorism. His delegation therefore supported the proposal of the Syrian Arab Republic to convene a conference on the matter under United Nations auspices.

19. Prevention of terrorism received great attention in Czechoslovakia, as attested to by the fact that not a single case of terrorism had been reported in the country in recent years. Severe punishment of terrorist acts was provided for under a number of provisions in the Penal Code. Czechoslovakia was also a party to the Conventions of Tokyo, The Hague and Montreal concerning the protection of civil aviation, and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons. It was shortly to accede to the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages.

20. His delegation appreciated the efforts of the United Nations to eradicate international terrorism, and was of the opinion that the joint constructive approach set forth in General Assembly resolution 40/61 should be not only confirmed, but further elaborated. That was the purpose of the letter dated 23 July 1987 from the representatives of Czechoslovakia and other Socialist countries addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/416), which set forth the position of the socialist countries on international terrorism, and offered proposals the implementation of which could contribute to the struggle against that dangerous phenomenon.

(Mr. Kozubek, Czechoslovakia)

21. In his view, the possible improvement of co-operation between States in that connection should be discussed in more detail. In addition to bilateral agreements on the extradition of the perpetrators of terrorist acts and bilateral or regional agreements on mutual co-operation in the prevention and punishment of such acts, it would be useful to draft in an appropriate form the bases of co-operation among States in combating international terrorism. That task should be dealt with within the framework of the United Nations, possibly by the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism.

22. His delegation also appreciated the efforts exerted by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and the International Maritime Organization (IMO). It welcomed the elaboration, in ICAO, of a supplementary protocol to the Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, which related to the struggle against acts of terrorism at international airports, as well as the proposal to draft a convention, within the framework of IMO, on the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of maritime transportation.

23. The strengthening of the régime of the existing agreements, by means of the accession of other States to those agreements, would make the struggle against international terrorism more effective. It was important that those agreements should be strictly observed by the parties to them, since some States had on occasion treated in a benevolent manner terrorists seeking refuge in their territories, especially when such terrorists alleged that their acts were politically motivated.

24. His delegation regarded the elimination of international terrorism as an inseparable part of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. It was ready to co-operate with the delegations of other States and to examine carefully all proposals submitted during the discussion on the item.

25. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel) said that the proposal made by the Syrian Arab Republic to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, to define terrorism and to distinguish it from national liberation struggles, was aimed at legitimizing terrorism by calling it "national liberation". To understand the purpose of that proposal, it was necessary to consider several recent terrorist attacks. On 24 October 1986, a court in the United Kingdom had found a Syrian intelligence agent guilty of planting a bomb in his girlfriend's suitcase. The Government of that country had broken off diplomatic relations with Syria that very day. On 27 November 1986, a court in the Federal Republic of Germany had found a number of Syrian diplomats guilty of carrying out an attack in West Berlin and the Government had expelled five Syrian diplomats. Those were not the first instances in which diplomats from Middle Eastern régimes had been caught performing acts of terrorism. The Governments of several African and Arab countries, such as Tunisia and Egypt, had severed relations with Libya after discovering Libyan terrorist networks on their respective territories. More recently, the United Kingdom had broken off diplomatic relations with Libya after gunmen in the Libyan People's Bureau in London had opened fire on a peaceful demonstration outside. On

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

25 April 1986, Spain had expelled 11 Libyan diplomats who had been supporting terrorist groups in that country while, on 17 July 1987, France had expelled a number of Iranian diplomats for complicity in acts of terrorism carried out in Paris and had severed its diplomatic relations with Iran.

26. Those were just a few examples of the activities of Syria, Libya, Iran and other countries. Having destroyed Lebanese independence in the 1970s, Syria had established in Lebanon a Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) state-within-a-state, which had trained terrorist groups from over 20 countries. Although many Governments had been perfectly well aware of all that, they had preferred not to challenge publicly the denials made by the terrorist States. Accordingly, the latter had continued their activities, becoming so careless that some of their operatives had been caught and brought to trial, thus revealing the direct connection between most terrorist crimes and the top echelons of Syria, Libya and Iran. For the first time, those countries had been exposed and subjected to diplomatic, economic and military sanctions. Faced with isolation from the international community, they had endeavoured to find a new solution and had found one in the idea of an international conference, as proposed by Syria. In the past they had denied having perpetrated those crimes; now that they had been exposed, they were saying that those crimes were not really crimes at all.

27. Rational people knew what terrorism was. It was not the accidental killing of civilians that accompanied any war, nor was it guerrilla warfare in which irregular forces focused on military targets. Terrorism was a deliberate and systematic attack on civilians. Terrorists focused on the innocent precisely because they were innocent, because their goal was to frighten people into submission. The Syrian proposal was an attempt to justify terrorism by concealing it beneath the mantle of national liberation. That was a tactic which confused the means with the end. Terrorism was a means, national liberation an end. No end justified the deliberate murder of babies. The Syrian proposal would have people believe that massacring passengers at an airport or planting a bomb in a discothèque in the name of "national liberation" was not the same thing as terrorism. In short, terrorism was a criminal means which had no justification.

28. That principle was embodied in General Assembly resolution 40/61, with which practically all the previous speakers had been in agreement. It was apparent below the surface, however, that some speakers were attempting to justify terrorism. They were saying that oppression was the cause of terrorism and that terrorists acted out of desperation in opposition to a régime which left them with no other choice. Accordingly, if oppression were eliminated, terrorism would be eliminated too. That was a very appealing proposition, but one that was completely false. If it were true, there would be more terrorism where oppression prevailed. Nevertheless, during the Nazi occupation of Europe, undoubtedly the greatest example of oppression in the annals of mankind, none of the resistance movements, in France, for instance, had resorted to terrorism. The same applied at present to those living under totalitarian régimes and fighting to defend human rights. Thus, in the same way that more oppression did not automatically mean more terrorism, freedom from oppression did not mean that there was no terrorism at all. The

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

liberal democracies had borne the brunt of international terrorist attacks. Oppression had not been responsible for the emergence of the Red Brigades in Italy, the Baader-Meinhoff gang in the Federal Republic of Germany or the Red Army in Japan. The goal of terrorists was not to promote democracy, but to destroy it.

29. That could be seen readily in the case of the Palestine Liberation Organization and in Arab terrorism in general. PLO had been founded in 1964, three years before any Israeli soldier had set foot on the "occupied territories". Arab terrorism had existed before there had been a single Arab refugee in the Middle East and long before the Jewish State had been established. Like any other form of terrorism, Arab terrorism was not an "inevitable" result, but a conscious and evil choice. As one observer had pointed out, terrorism in the Middle East was an endemic feature of local politics, most of it being directed at neither Israel nor the West, but at fellow Arabs or Muslims. Its goal, like that of any other form of terrorism, was not national liberation nor the defence of human rights. When terrorists came to power, they brought oppression, not freedom. PLO, for example, openly declared in its Charter that it intended to destroy the state of Israel and its people. The reign of terror, pillage and rape it had imposed for 10 years on the Arabs of southern Lebanon was just one example of the oppression it would impose on any territory that came under its domination.

30. The most lawless States of modern times used terrorism as an instrument of state policy because, lacking true legitimacy, they had to resort to terrorist means to subjugate their own peoples and to intimidate their enemies. Without the weapon of terrorism, régimes such as those of Syria, Libya and Iran could not exist. Their aim, in proposing the conference, was to retain that weapon. Those who were genuinely fighting for freedom should resist any association with terrorists and should publicly proclaim that they would never resort to the indiscriminate killing of innocent people. If they did not do so, they would never be regarded as genuine freedom fighters and would become indistinguishable from terrorists.

31. Referring to the proposed conference and to its chief proponents, he said that they had had plenty of experience of such conferences. The first had been convened by George Habash in Lebanon in 1972 to co-ordinate the activities of PLO with those of other international terrorists. More recently, those conferences had been conducted at the highest political level. At three successive conferences in 1986 - on 4 February in Tripoli, on 13 April in Teheran and on 23 August in Damascus - Libya, Syria and Iran had agreed to a division of labour. Syria would sponsor Jibril, Habash, Hawatmeh and the Abu Musa faction of PLO, Libya and Syria would assume joint responsibility for Abu Nidal and Iran would oversee the fundamentalist groups. The results of those conferences included the West Berlin bomb attack, the two unsuccessful attempts to blow up airliners in London and Madrid and the massacres in Karachi and Istanbul. Those were not conferences about terrorism, but conferences held by terrorists to co-ordinate their activities. The same would apply to the international conference proposed by Syria. It would be a pity if that were to happen at that stage in the history of the United Nations, when its prestige was slowly beginning to rise again and when it had taken some



(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

positive steps against international terrorism. To permit Syria, Libya and Iran to define terrorism was to invite the fox to guard the chicken coop.

32. Mr. VINOGRADOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his country shared the alarm of the world community about international terrorism, and had expressed its position in documents A/38/355 and A/40/445/Add.2 and Corr.1. The Byelorussian SSR unreservedly condemned all terrorist activities, no matter who the perpetrators were or what their motives might be. International terrorism had become an acute problem of modern times. It impeded the normal development of international relations and entailed the deaths of innocent people. All parties concerned should therefore adopt effective measures to combat terrorism, and to that end the political will of all States was indispensable.

33. International measures should be accompanied by the adoption of appropriate national measures. In order to contribute to the elimination of international terrorism, the Byelorussian SSR had acceded, on 1 July 1987, to the 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostages. Furthermore, it was a party to the 1970 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, the 1971 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, and the 1973 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents.

34. His delegation believed that, although terrorism was a terrible evil, the methods used to combat it must be in strict conformity with the principles and rules of international law. Any military, political or other acts aimed at exerting pressure on sovereign States which were undertaken under the pretext of combating terrorism and which involved interference in their internal affairs, were inadmissible. International terrorism must be clearly distinguished from the struggle of peoples for national liberation.

35. In the view of the Byelorussian SSR, it was imperative to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in gaining co-operation to combat international terrorism. The Organization's capabilities in that area had so far been used very inadequately. Therefore, his delegation supported the idea that the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism should resume its work and that the General Assembly should consider that issue every year. His delegation also believed that it would be useful to set up, under the auspices of the United Nations, a tribunal to investigate acts of international terrorism.

36. All States should comply strictly with the provisions of the international legal instruments on combating international terrorism. Basic principles for co-operation among States should be worked out in the United Nations, consolidating the main provisions contained in the letter of seven socialist countries (A/42/416). Such a document could include the unconditional condemnation of international terrorism in all its forms. It could also contain provisions stating that any methods of combating international terrorism must be in strict conformity with the universally recognized principles and rules of international law, and stressing the recognition of the right of all countries to choose freely the form

(Mr. Vinogradov, Byelorussian SSR)

of their development and the legitimacy of the struggle waged by national liberation movements. Major elements of such a document could include the renunciation of the threat or use of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and co-operation among States in exchanging information on the prevention and suppression of acts of international terrorism.

37. In addition to co-operation among States to combat international terrorism at the international, regional and bilateral levels, steps could be taken to define the notion of terrorism. The Byelorussian SSR supported the proposal submitted by the Syrian Arab Republic on the convening of an international conference to define terrorism and to distinguish it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation. It was also in favour of drawing up new and important agreements within the framework of the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization.

38. Mr. RICALDONI (Uruguay) said that his delegation condemned all forms of terrorism, no matter what its scope or importance, international or domestic. There was an inseparable link between terrorist practices, and threats to and violations of peace and solidarity. There was also an inseparable link between such practices and some of the difficulties involved in providing full guarantees of democracy. In the Sixth Committee, there was a clear consensus on the need to strengthen measures to ensure the fulfilment of international legal rules relating to the prevention and punishment of terrorism.

39. In the first place, it was of fundamental importance to make a clear distinction between measures aimed at preventing terrorist acts, and the analysis of the causes which could inspire such acts. Unless such a distinction was made, there would always be the risk of resorting to the analysis of the causes of a specific act of violence in order to decide whether or not it was of a terrorist nature. Such a procedure would render international conventions and national legislation ineffective.

40. Secondly, there were no reasons which could justify terrorist acts. As the General Assembly had stated in its resolution 40/61, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism were criminal wherever and by whomever committed. In its resolution of 9 December 1985, the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, had declared its support for the United Nations General Assembly's consideration of the item dealing with international terrorism. In 1985, the Security Council had adopted its resolution 579 (1985) on acts of hostage-taking and abduction; that had been the first resolution on terrorism adopted by the United Nations.

41. Thirdly, what distinguished a terrorist act from a non-terrorist act were the methods used, not the reasons or motives which inspired such an act. Specific actions should be considered to be terrorist acts, irrespective of the nature or characteristics of the person who carried them out and regardless of that person's ideological, political or social motives. His delegation doubted that the consideration of the problem of terrorism through the analysis of its underlying

(Mr. Ricaldoni, Uruguay)

causes would yield effective results. Such causes always existed but, although misery, frustration, grievance or despair sometimes explained why people resorted to terrorism and violence, that kind of explanation should not lead to the legal or moral justification of such acts.

42. Fourthly, the Organization should endeavour to attain the objectives mentioned in General Assembly resolution 40/61, especially those concerning the ratification of regional and international conventions relating to various aspects of international terrorism, the harmonization of domestic legislation with such conventions and the fulfilment by all Governments of their obligations under international law. The United Nations should continue to perfect the existing international legal framework by proposing new treaties to fill existing gaps.

43. Fifthly, his delegation commended the document submitted by the Syrian Arab Republic on the convening of an international conference to define terrorism and to distinguish it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation, draft resolution A/C.6/42/L.2 submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries, and document A/42/416, containing various comments on the subject, submitted by Bulgaria and other States.

44. The Government of Uruguay was prepared to support efforts to enhance the effectiveness of existing conventions, and wished to emphasize the need for appropriate procedures to ensure that the Organization did not devote time and resources to tasks not directly related to the prevention and punishment of terrorism. All terrorist practices must be unconditionally condemned, whatever the nature or motives of the persons who engaged in such practices. Any definition of terrorism should be based on the nature of the acts committed and not on its causes.

45. Mr. ABADA (Algeria) said that the Sixth Committee should continue its consideration of the item on international terrorism in a calm atmosphere, free of passion and controversy. It should adopt the thorough and detailed approach necessary for any issue of importance to the international community, and required in the consideration of the phenomenon in all its aspects. The United Nations had made clear progress in adopting and implementing international legal instruments aimed at combating certain forms of violence. General Assembly resolution 40/61 was the latest example of the international community's efforts to prevent and eliminate the phenomenon of international terrorism in all its forms. Algeria associated itself with that condemnation of terrorism and constantly denounced violence for the sake of violence, which nothing could justify. Algeria shared the apprehensions of all States about the spread of violence in international relations, whether such violence had its origin in States or individuals.

46. However, the existence of adequate legal means for suppressing terrorism had not led to the total elimination of that ill-defined phenomenon. An important gap remained since no measures had been taken to condemn terrorism as practised by certain States and entities in a form which posed a real threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Abada, Algeria)

47. It was necessary to avoid any form of condemnation which included acts of resistance by national liberation movements and the struggle of peoples against colonialism, racism and foreign domination and occupation. Common criminal terrorism and the even more heinous form of terrorism - State terrorism - must be condemned once again. At the same time, there should be no confusion between blind and corrupt terrorism and the acts of resistance and liberating violence resorted to by national liberation movements. Any efforts to solve the problem of terrorism through the analysis of its final consequences and manifestations, and which failed to consider the root of the evil and to find a solution to the situations which gave rise to it, suffered from a fundamental defect.

48. The proposal to convene an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, to define terrorism and to differentiate it from the national liberation struggle was in keeping with the desire to establish clearly the invalidity of any improper use of the word "terrorism" to cover the noble sphere of national resistance to colonial and racial subjugation and to foreign domination and occupation. The definition of international terrorism was indispensable for a complete and rational study of the phenomenon. Without such a definition, the study of international terrorism would continue to be impeded to a considerable degree by strong emotions. A serious dialogue on international terrorism could be held only if efforts to define that phenomenon were based on the situations in which it arose. That was not an attempt to defend extreme positions but to denounce a form of violence whose principal victims continued to be the peoples of the third world. In order to create the necessary conditions to facilitate the task of defining international terrorism, the first step to take was to reactivate the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism.

49. As part of its reaction to specific forms of violence, the international community had begun by adopting a series of international legal instruments; it was now necessary to proceed to a joint study aimed at preventing terrorism, through an understanding of its underlying causes, and identifying appropriate solutions.

50. Mr. CULLEN (Argentina) said that, two years previously, when the item had last been considered, his delegation had observed that the time had come to take cognizance of the importance of the struggle against international terrorism, and had recalled that, 50 years earlier, the League of Nations had begun work on a convention on the prevention and punishment of acts of political terrorism. The terrorist acts which had taken place in 1985 had provoked an emphatic reaction on the part of the Secretary-General and the Security Council, which had condemned terrorism in all its forms, wherever and by whomever it was committed. The work of the Sixth Committee had resulted in the submission of a resolution which had received unanimous support, in which all acts, methods and practices of terrorism were unequivocally condemned as criminal. The importance of General Assembly resolution 40/61 lay in the unanimous recognition of international terrorism as a criminal activity which must be prevented and combated. The general consensus must be translated into effective individual and joint action in an atmosphere of international co-operation in the elimination of the underlying causes of terrorism and the punishment of its perpetrators.

(Mr. Cullen, Argentina)

51. More States must become parties to the international instruments on terrorism. Argentina had acceded to or ratified the main conventions on that subject, as was indicated in the annex to the Secretary-General's report, and worked in favour of closer bilateral and multilateral co-operation in that area. In its resolution of 9 December 1985, the General Assembly of the Organization of American States had unequivocally condemned terrorist methods and practices and had expressed its support for the way in which the item dealing with terrorism had been considered in the United Nations.

52. According to several delegations, the deadlock in the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism had been caused by efforts to define terrorism. The United Nations had recognized the legitimate nature of the struggle of national liberation movements. In its resolution 40/61, the General Assembly had reaffirmed the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of all peoples and the legitimacy of their struggle, in particular the struggle of national liberation movements. In its resolution 41/71, the Assembly had called upon States to accord to the delegations of the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and/or by the League of Arab States, and accorded observer status by international organizations, the facilities, privileges and immunities necessary for the performance of their functions in accordance with the provisions of the Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations of a Universal Character. Argentina had been one of the first countries to sign and ratify that Convention.

53. The General Assembly would certainly adopt the draft Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations. At the end of the draft Declaration, it was clearly stipulated that nothing in it could prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence of peoples deprived of that right by force. Instruments like the ones referred to were clear evidence of a definite differentiation between a national liberation movement which was engaged in a legitimate struggle and international terrorism. As had been pointed out, some States deliberately created confusion between the struggle of liberation movements and terrorism. The difference was evident, and Argentina did not believe that those States which had reservations or misgivings about the matter could resolve them through an international conference convened to define terrorism and differentiate it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation.

54. The basic question was whether there were real possibilities that a conference on terrorism would achieve positive results. Unfortunately, that did not appear to be the case. The purpose of convening such a conference, in the view of many delegations, was to deal with the most controversial issue. A solution could not possibly be found unless the essential bases for seeking agreement were laid down, through participation in a collective endeavour. In that case, Argentina would support the convening of the conference. In any event, the International Law Commission was considering the inclusion of terrorism in its draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind, and efforts should not be duplicated in other, more politicized spheres.

55. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) stressed the absolute need to distinguish between the immoral phenomenon of terrorism and the virtue of armed struggle for national liberation, which the real terrorists - the perpetrators of bloody, political, economic and intellectual terrorism - tried to distort. The basic moral and legal rules for international relations as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, which were recognized and accepted by all Member States, should provide a guiding light by which to separate criminal terrorism, which was rejected on religious, moral and legal grounds and as a means of action, from the acts of national liberation, which were based on the principle of sacrifice in the face of foreign oppression when peoples were refused their rights as stipulated by religion, morality and law. There must be an international effort to delineate the concept of terrorism, which endangered the international community as whole, served the cause of evil and threatened the values of society, stability and security, and to define national liberation movements, which were based essentially on a people's demand for freedom from a colonial régime, to which end people sacrificed their lives in total disregard for personal gain or selfish objectives.

56. It was also necessary to distinguish those acts which were carried out in the name of liberation but which were in fact an obstacle to liberation and freedom. In that connection, it was important not to forget what was known as State terrorism, where a political entity which occupied the land of another State committed acts of terrorism in the land under its control and in territories that fell under the sovereignty of other States. Examples of State terrorism included Israeli terrorism, committed by the Zionist authorities inside and outside Palestine, and the terrorist activities of the Pretoria régime inside and outside South Africa.

57. His delegation deplored the fact that some news media had given terrorism a religious or nationalistic connotation, labelling it as Islamic terrorism or Arab terrorism. Terrorism could emanate from any community, but Islam was free of it, and Arabism had been and still was a source of ethics. The Fifth Islamic Summit, held in Kuwait, had condemned international terrorism in all its forms and had supported the effort to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to define terrorism. Islam was the religion of the rights of man as ordained by the Almighty Creator, and those rights were being violated by terrorism and terrorists. The misbehaviour of some Muslims, Christians or Jews should not be generalized to accuse those peoples as a whole for the deviation of a few.

58. According to document S/16520 of 11 May 1984, the violations, crimes and acts of terror committed by the Zionist authorities in the period from 1948 to 1967 totalled more than 21,000. Such terrorism was a cancer which might spread if it was not treated in the same way as cancer itself. It was no secret that the Pretoria régime was taking the same path under the tutelage of those teachers. If the proposed conference did not endeavour to close that path, it would remain open for other régimes to which the Israeli authorities would sell their evil expertise in the hope that they would achieve their selfish objectives as quickly as possible. The sale of terrorist expertise was an evil which was also practised by others in the present era.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

59. Admittedly, the convening of the proposed international conference would not put an end to terrorism overnight, and conflicting points of view would emerge in the discussion of the subject; but it would also serve to reveal the obstacles that had caused the failure of all the measures taken thus far to put an end to terrorism. Undoubtedly, those measures had helped to limit the increase of terrorism, and even to reduce it in certain respects, but they had also involved the use of misleading descriptions aimed at linking terrorism with legitimate national liberation movements, to the detriment of the latter. It was therefore surprising to note the opposition to the convening of a conference where technical, legal, political and security experts would participate in formulating procedures and programmes and in defining concepts and responsibilities, with a view to arriving at common ground for an agreement. There was no doubt that that would constitute a basic and important step towards securing the means which would first weaken terrorism and subsequently put an end to it through an intensive international effort with defined objectives and means accepted by the civilized world. An objective study of the opinions expressed in the Sixth Committee would perhaps be of help to all States in reassessing their stand with a view to taking a positive direction.

60. Saudi Arabia supported 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, as a scientific, practical and constructive endeavour.

61. Mr. DA COSTA (Angola) said that his country attached great importance to General Assembly resolution 40/61 which was an important step in strengthening co-operation among States in combating international terrorism. It was obvious that such co-operation must take place in a constructive atmosphere, on the basis of respect for the generally accepted principles and norms of contemporary international law and in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations.

62. Angola strongly condemned the illegal actions of certain States which, on the pretext of combating terrorism, violated the sovereignty of other States and exerted military, political and economic pressure on them. It also objected to any attempt to equate terrorist activities with the struggle of peoples for their national, economic and social liberation. The right of peoples to struggle against colonialism, racism, apartheid and other forms of colonial supremacy derived from the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and from various instruments on international humanitarian law. Oppressive régimes which pursued policies of colonialism, occupation, coercion and domination tried to portray national liberation struggles against such oppression and denial of basic human rights as terrorism. In his delegation's view, the policy of oppression directed by a certain régime against its people, whom it subjugated and endeavoured to annihilate, was a more pernicious form of terrorism than acts of individual violence against that régime.

(Mr. Da Costa, Angola)

63. Most of the terrorist acts in the world, especially in the so-called third world, did not emanate from national liberation movements but were the work of extremist groups that feasted within States, irrespective of their form of government. It was the countries that practised State terrorism that were trying to promote narrow definitions of terrorism to suit themselves and to block attempts by oppressed peoples to regain their fundamental rights. In the Middle East, the expansionist Zionist régime in Israel provided an example of State terrorism, through its massacres of innocent civilians, its aggression against its neighbours, its occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands and its terrorization of Arab and Palestinian people in the occupied areas. In Latin America, acts of terrorism were being committed against the people of Nicaragua. In South Africa, the persistent refusal of the racist minority Government in Pretoria to dismantle apartheid and carry out fundamental reforms for the majority black population had led to growing frustration that was increasingly expressed in violent ways. Violence was also justified in Namibia, which was illegally occupied by the racist Pretoria régime. In violation of the principles of international law and the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Fascist Pretoria régime was committing acts of terrorism against the peoples of southern Africa, namely, those of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

64. Being a victim of terrorist activities, Angola was ready to participate actively in the international community's efforts to eradicate international terrorism, and was prepared to co-operate closely in the consideration of any proposals on that subject. His delegation was in favour of the Syrian proposal to convene an international conference, under United Nations auspices, to define international terrorism.

65. Mr. ZAYANI (Bahrain) said that one of the problems of most concern to the international community was the acts of international terrorism causing the loss of innocent lives and threatening inter-State relations. It had been widely recognized that the underlying causes of international terrorism were colonialism, racism and policies of aggression, occupation and foreign domination. Bahrain, in accordance with the aims and fundamental principles of its policy, was against all acts of international terrorism.

66. His country attached the greatest importance to international efforts aimed at preventing terrorism and eradicating its underlying causes. Bahrain had therefore supported the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly to that end since it had first dealt with the subject in 1972, for example, resolution 3034 (XXVII) and, more recently, resolution 40/61, which had been adopted by consensus. In the latter resolution, the General Assembly had reaffirmed the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial and racist régimes and other forms of alien domination, and had supported their struggle, in particular the struggle of national liberation movements, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.



(Mr. Zayani, Bahrain)

67. The United Nations, the specialized agencies and regional organizations had tried to fight terrorism in all its forms. Studies had been carried out, individual and collective measures had been taken, many regional and international conventions had been adopted, and numerous international legal instruments had been drawn up to cover all categories of violence and terrorism. To date, however, the United Nations and the international community had not made a serious effort to combat and eradicate the underlying causes of terrorism. In his country's opinion, drafting international treaties and agreements to fight terrorism was not enough if the concept of terrorism was not defined and the underlying causes of the phenomenon not tackled. His delegation believed that the desired results would be achieved only if all States co-operated in the struggle against terrorism. For that purpose, the international community had to define the phenomenon of international terrorism, namely, criminal acts of violence committed by individuals, by groups or by States, and avoid any confusion between that phenomenon and the legitimate struggle of oppressed peoples against racism, colonialism, foreign occupation and domination, which was aimed at recovering their legitimate rights to freedom, equality, self-determination and independence as recognized in the United Nations Charter and other international instruments.

68. Bahrain firmly rejected any attempt to misrepresent the legitimate struggle of oppressed peoples suffering under the yoke of colonialism or from foreign occupation and domination. The General Assembly had adopted numerous resolutions reaffirming unequivocally the legitimacy of the struggle of oppressed peoples to recover their rights to freedom and self-determination.

69. State terrorism was the official policy practised by racist régimes such as that of South Africa, in its occupation of Namibia, and that of Israel, in its aggression against the Palestinian people and in its occupation of Lebanon, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. The policy of aggression, assassination, injustice and terrorism practised by those two States must be included in the definition of terrorism.

70. His delegation considered it appropriate to convene an international conference to counteract the accusations made against the Palestinian people in some Western media, casting doubt on the legitimacy of its liberation struggle and trying to label the struggle as terrorist. It was unusual to ask national liberation movements to renounce their struggle while their land remained occupied, and the States represented in the Sixth Committee, many of which had suffered similar circumstances, could not tolerate such a demand. The peoples of Palestine and Namibia, for their part, could accept no alternative but the recovery of their legitimate rights. It was necessary to draw a distinction between terrorism and the struggle of national liberation movements, as well as to define the concept of terrorism itself. Such a definition would help to identify the underlying causes, and would enable the international community to combat them in the cause of international peace and security.

71. The holding of a conference under United Nations auspices was important because the Organization provided a suitable framework for effective action by the international community in order for suitable solutions to be found. His

(Mr. Zayani, Bahrain)

delegation reiterated its belief that a return to the spirit of the United Nations Charter was the only viable option. To forget the commitment of States to implement the Organization's resolutions and observe its principles would not be just.

72. He trusted that the convening of a conference would be dictated by a determination to combat terrorism, but not at the expense of the peoples suffering colonial occupation and racism. If the necessary political will were shown, the Committee would be able to recommend that the General Assembly should convene the conference, which would represent a serious attempt to resolve the legal aspects of terrorism by identifying its causes and helping peoples struggling for liberation. To achieve that, a concerted effort by the international community was essential.

73. Mr. WIRYONO (Indonesia) said that, for over a decade, the international community had witnessed increasingly frequent acts of international terrorism, which had grown to alarming proportions in many parts of the world. The broad ramifications of the problem had led the United Nations to deal with it, and at the fortieth session of the General Assembly, resolution 40/61 had been adopted by consensus. That resolution contained some essential elements for concerted international action against terrorism. However, the need for a broader framework to deal with its underlying causes had become increasingly evident.

74. Indonesia had consistently condemned all acts of terrorism, whether committed by individuals, by groups or by States. Nothing could justify such abhorrent practices, which should not be allowed to become part of the international order, because that would impair the fundamental norms of relations among States and undermine the rules of law that were so essential for the maintenance of international peace and security. Indonesia believed that the menace could be dealt with effectively only through concerted action.

75. The international community had already adopted practical and legal measures to combat certain acts of terrorism. They included the Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, the Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation and the Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, all of which his country had ratified. The New York International Convention against the Taking of Hostages was also under serious consideration by his Government. The work on the draft additional protocol to the Montreal Convention for the Suppression on Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation must also be continued. As a member of ICAO's Legal Committee his delegation was co-operating fully in that work and it expected that the document would be adopted at the diplomatic conference to be held in Montreal early in 1988. His delegation drew the Committee's attention to the joint declaration issued by ASEAN and the EEC following their sixth ministerial meeting in Jakarta in 1986, in which they agreed to combat terrorism, resist the demands of terrorists and co-operate closely in that field. Ultimately, those international instruments would only be effective if all States adhered to them and scrupulously fulfilled their obligations.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

76. However, his delegation thought that there had been deliberate distortion of the term "terrorism". The legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial or racist domination and occupation, and in particular the struggle of the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa for self-determination and independence, could not be equated with terrorism. The violence unleashed by the persistent denial of basic human rights could only be resolved by addressing its underlying causes. Efforts must be intensified to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement of the conflicts in the Middle East and southern Africa. Any solution to the problems posed by terrorism should deal simultaneously with the preventive aspects envisaged in the conventions and with the core of the Middle East problem and the elimination of apartheid. It would be a grave error to consider the adoption of measures without according equal importance to the desperate conditions that gave rise to terrorism. Indonesia would support any measure that would facilitate effective action to defend the norms and principles of international law and civilized behaviour.

77. His delegation thought that serious consideration should be given to the proposal for an international conference to achieve an understanding and a clear definition of terrorism. Any such endeavour should be guided by the Charter and the relevant decisions of the General Assembly, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity. The conference would thus be able to devise comprehensive and effective measures to strengthen the capacity of nations for concerted action.

78. Mr. WEMBOU (Cameroon) said that international terrorism must be fought, regardless of its forms, perpetrators or motives. His delegation therefore attached great importance to General Assembly resolution 40/61, which stressed the need to adopt vigorous international measures in that area. It also thought that a large number of States should adhere to the various international agreements on the struggle against that terrible scourge and it hoped that new agreements would be drafted to the same end. The United Nations could play a decisive role in that work.

79. If international action against terrorism was to be effective, it was necessary to determine the causes of terrorism without forgetting that it was connected with the failure to observe the principle of non-use of force in international relations, and that permanent disputes between States, national egotisms, foreign domination and occupation and pressures of all kinds, as well as acts of aggression and racial discrimination, were important elements in any effort to determine the causes of international terrorism.

80. His delegation thought that the definition of the concept of terrorism must take into account the great differences of opinion on the topic. Depending on the viewpoint taken, the same persons were described as terrorists or as victims of oppression fighting for their freedom. Some people expressed great indignation at certain acts which took innocent lives, especially the lives of their fellow citizens, but they did not offer the same condemnation when racist South Africa used State terrorism on a massive scale and murdered thousands of innocent people.

(Mr. Wembou, Cameroon)

Moreover, it was difficult to reach agreement not only on the definition of terrorism but also on its causes. Accordingly, the proposal for an international conference to define terrorism and distinguish it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation was acceptable in principle, but there were legal and political difficulties. Such an international conference must not be an end in itself, but rather a means to an end, and if it was to be effective, there would have to be agreement on its convening and on the topics to be considered. His delegation believed that those conditions were not met at present and that further consultations should therefore be held before any decision was taken.

81. Perhaps the best means of dealing with the problem of terrorism would be to take a purely juridical approach, starting from the many general principles of law which defined the limits of what was permitted and what was prohibited to persons and States in international society. Those principles included the rejection of war and acts of aggression, except in the cases envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter and cases involving legitimate defence, the equal sovereignty of States and the right of peoples to self-determination, the duty of co-operation among all States, the non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations, etc.

82. His delegation thought that the international community should continue its efforts to combat terrorism. It therefore supported the idea that the General Assembly should consider the issue at every session and that the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism should resume its work, with a view to determining the causes of terrorism, its manifestations and its component parts, and means to secure effective international action. It hoped that the international community would maintain the consensus achieved in the struggle against terrorism and would endeavour to implement General Assembly resolution 40/61. His delegation would make its modest contribution to that end.

83. Mr. KOLOMA (Mozambique) noted that, although the General Assembly had created the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism in 1972, 15 years later the phenomenon of international terrorism had achieved alarming proportions. The escalation of acts of terrorism in all its forms was a source of deep concern, for it endangered innocent lives and was a threat to the fundamental freedoms and dignity of human beings. His country unequivocally condemned as criminal all acts, methods and practices of terrorism, no matter who their perpetrators, and it supported all lawful measures to prevent international terrorism and study its underlying causes.

84. Mozambique welcomed the adoption in recent years of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages and the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation. It also welcomed the efforts made by the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization to adopt new measures to combat international terrorism, and it looked forward with interest to the outcome of the meetings on international terrorism to be held by those organizations in February and November 1988 in Montreal and Rome, respectively.

(Mr. Koloma, Mozambique)

85. His delegation welcomed both the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference and the report of the International Seminar on the Phenomenon of Terrorism in the Contemporary World and its Impact on Individual Security, Political Stability and International Peace, held in Geneva in June 1987 (A/42/564).

86. The key to the elimination of international terrorism lay in the removal of its causes and in compliance with obligations deriving from the Charter of the United Nations and with the principles and norms of international law. Mozambique opposed the use of military aggression against other States under the pretext of combating terrorism and in violation of the principles of non-use of force in international relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

87. His delegation attached great importance to General Assembly resolution 40/61, paragraph 6. State terrorism represented a more serious threat to international peace and security than acts of terrorism committed by individuals or groups of people, and it was owing to that form of terrorism that the People's Republic of Mozambique had never enjoyed peace since it had gained independence. Mozambique had been a victim of acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of former Southern Rhodesia and by the apartheid régime of South Africa. In that connection, he wished to draw attention to the note verbale dated 1 June 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/312).

88. In Ian Smith's Southern Rhodesia, the head of the Southern Rhodesian intelligence service, Ken Flower, had set up a terrorist group that had opposed the Mozambican people's liberation struggle and attempted to prevent them from realizing their right to self-determination and independence. That terrorist group, which had given itself the name "Mozambique National Resistance", had been converted into an instrument of terror and destabilization for use against Mozambique. After Zimbabwe had gained independence, in 1980, the terrorist group in question had become an arm of the South African Army in the undeclared war against Mozambique.

89. In certain circles in the international community persistent attempts were being made to portray as acts of terrorism the activities of national liberation movements, which were lawful under contemporary international law, particularly the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1970, and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

90. Study of the underlying causes of international terrorism had not kept pace with measures being taken to prevent it. The Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism had so far submitted only one report on the issue (A/42/37), in 1979. Effective measures to prevent international terrorism in all its forms and with a view to its total elimination required a careful study so as to identify the various forms and their underlying causes. While international terrorism was being condemned and legal instruments to deal with some of its forms were being prepared,

(Mr. Koloma, Mozambique)

international terrorism remained a phenomenon that was legally undefined. It was urgent to define international terrorism, otherwise the concept would be used subjectively, for the user's convenience. The study of international terrorism would provide the international community with a theoretical basis for establishing an acceptable definition of the concept. Such a definition was possible, given the necessary political will on the part of States, as demonstrated by the establishment of the definition of aggression.

91. His Government wished to reaffirm its unequivocal condemnation of international terrorism in all its forms, as well as Mozambique's support for all lawful measures to prevent and eliminate it.

92. Mr. NYANMDOO (Mongolia) said that terrorism was a dangerous phenomenon whose origin lay in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and that had recently become a greater threat, since it was endangering the lives of thousands of innocent people. Terrorism was an obstacle to normal relations between States and a serious threat to international peace and security. All States should therefore join together in an effort to prevent and put an end to all acts of international terrorism.

93. Mongolia unreservedly condemned all forms of international terrorism, by whomever committed and for whatever reason. Since close co-operation among all States was called for if international terrorism was to be eradicated definitively, his Government actively supported the efforts being made to achieve that goal. In that connection, he wished to refer to the letter from the group of socialist countries addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/416), which was noteworthy because it contained a proposal that greater use should be made of the possibilities offered by the United Nations for combating international terrorism. Mongolia believed, as other socialist countries did, that the United Nations provided potentially effective machinery for co-ordinating States' efforts in that connection.

94. Furthermore, the methods adopted for combating international terrorism must be entirely in keeping with the universally recognized principles of international law. Mongolia strongly condemned attempts to use force with a view to destroying national liberation movements and intervening in the internal affairs of other States on the pretext of combating international terrorism.

95. In order to bring about effective co-operation in the area in question, effective measures must be adopted at the regional, bilateral and national levels. Mongolia would welcome any constructive proposal with a view to preventing and putting an end to international terrorism, including the proposal that a conference should be convened, under United Nations auspices, in order to define international terrorism. A clear definition of international terrorism as an offence would demonstrate yet again the pointlessness of endeavours to equate terrorism with the struggle of peoples for national liberation.

(Mr. Nyanmdoo, Mongolia)

96. Mongolia was willing to play an active role in international co-operation with a view to combating international terrorism, since it believed that much remained to be done before terrorism could be definitively eradicated. The task in question required a major effort on the part of all the members of the international community, with a view to establishing as soon as possible effective international legal machinery to deal with all forms and manifestations of international terrorism. In that connection, Mongolia believed that it was very important to reactivate the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism. Futhermore, the international community now had at its disposal a wide enough range of ways of combating international terrorism. There were conventions against terrorism in the area of international civil aviation that provided examples of constructive co-operation among States.

97. Mongolia had supported General Assembly resolution 40/61, which had been adopted by consensus and had represented a step forward in the endeavour to combat international terrorism. Where paragraph 4 of the resolution was concerned, Mongolia was considering the possibility of acceding to conventions concerning various aspects of international terrorism.

98. Lastly, in view of the unending arms race, the growing complexity of nuclear weapons and the increase in highly explosive nuclear materials, there was a growing risk that individuals or groups might illicitly acquire or steal such materials for use for terrorist purposes or nuclear extortion. International co-operation must therefore be strengthened with a view to combating that form of terrorism, which was potentially so dangerous. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia had made the same point in his statement before the General Assembly. Mongolia trusted that the Sixth Committee would pay due attention to the issue.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.