

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FORTIETH SESSION

Official Records*



SIXTH COMMITTEE

20th meeting

held on

Thursday, 24 October 1985

at 3 p.m.

New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 20th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 129: 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: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

*This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned within one week of the date of publication to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, rooms DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 129: 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: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/40/445 and Add.1 and 2, A/40/269, A/40/399-S/17293, A/40/474, A/40/603-S/17438, A/40/620; A/C.6/40/3; A/C.6/40/L.2, L.3)

1. Mr. TUERK (Austria) said that at a time when the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations was being commemorated, it should no longer be necessary to debate international terrorism. Unfortunately, terrorism still prevailed in spite of all the efforts that had been made to suppress it. During the past 10 years, the number and the impact of acts of terrorism, including the hijacking of planes and other criminal acts of aggression, had increased, not decreased. There was therefore an urgent need to step up international co-operation to combat the scourge of terrorism.
2. Austria vigorously condemned all terrorist acts. No circumstance or reason could justify them or excuse individuals who used violence to achieve their ends. Terrorism in all its forms constituted an especially odious crime which no political consideration could make acceptable.
3. Austria did not contest certain political objectives recognized on many occasions by the international community, such as the right to self-determination and the right of peoples under colonial or foreign domination to fight for their independence. But it was convinced that, whatever the end pursued, there were means that nothing could justify. In every society, whatever its ideology, murder and the taking of hostages were punishable, for they were contrary to morality and undermined human dignity and society. Austria firmly believed that conflicts should be resolved exclusively by peaceful means and that there were limits to the blind use of force. Individual acts of terrorism went beyond those limits and could not be tolerated because they threatened the very foundation of modern civilization.
4. It had been said that to suppress international terrorism, it was necessary to begin by eliminating its underlying causes. Those causes were of course linked to various social and political conflicts which called for appropriate solutions. The elimination of those conflicts was certainly one of the principal tasks of the United Nations. Nevertheless, no society could wait until the causes of crimes had disappeared in order to react against them. On the contrary, immediate measures should be taken for the prevention and suppression of such crimes if the very foundations of society were not to be shaken. That was also true for the international community, which could not leave terrorism unpunished without running the risk of seeing violence and anarchy develop.

(Mr. Tuerk, Austria)

5. The recent act of terrorism on board the Achille Lauro, of which nationals of several countries, including many Austrians, had been victims, had shown how easily innocent citizens of all countries could find themselves at the mercy of terrorists who did not hesitate to kill. Austria had noted with deep satisfaction the statement the President of the Security Council had made on 9 October 1985 on behalf of the members of the Council, in which he had resolutely condemned that unjustifiable and criminal hijacking as well as all other acts of terrorism, including hostage-taking, and had also condemned terrorism in all its forms, wherever and by whomever committed. That statement fully reflected the Austrian Government's position on terrorism. Austria hoped that that unanimous expression of opinion on the part of the members of the Security Council would provide a lasting basis for action by States Members of the United Nations against international terrorism.

6. The struggle against terrorism required concrete preventive measures at the national, regional and global levels.

7. As his Government had indicated in its communication (A/40/445, p. 8), it was fighting vigorously against terrorism. At the national level, once Austrian jurisdiction had been established on the basis of the provisions, terrorist acts were suppressed regardless of where they were committed. Moreover, the Federal Act of 4 December 1979 concerning extradition and judicial assistance in criminal matters, allowed Austria to grant extradition and judicial assistance in criminal matters on the basis of the principle of reciprocity, even in cases where there was no intergovernmental agreement on the matter. Under that Act, extradition and judicial assistance in connection with punishable acts committed for political motives or purposes were admissible if, taking account of individual circumstances, particularly the conditions under which the act was committed, the methods used and the seriousness of the actual or intended consequences, the criminal nature of the act overrode its political nature. In the case of serious terrorist offences, all those requirements were normally met.

8. At the regional level, he emphasized the importance of the work of the Council of Europe. Austria had been the first to ratify the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. That Convention, based on the principle of dedere aut judicare, listed crimes which should not be considered political crimes; they were the crimes referred to in the 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 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents. Kidnappings, the taking of hostages, and crimes involving the use of bombs, grenades, rockets, automatic firearms or letter- or parcel-bombs were included in that list. The Council of Europe was continuing its efforts to combat terrorism, as demonstrated by the recommendation to member States adopted in 1982 by the Committee of Ministers on international co-operation in the prosecution and suppression of acts of terrorism and by a recommendation adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly in 1984 concerning the defence of democracy against terrorism in Europe. The Committee of Ministers had established a working group to

/...

(Mr. Tuerk, Austria)

examine questions relating to the struggle against terrorism and measures which could be taken by the Council of Europe in the future. That group had already studied certain special aspects of terrorism, in particular when perpetrated under cover of diplomatic privileges and immunities, and also terrorism against diplomats. He also referred to the Final Document adopted at the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1983, in which the 35 participating States had formally undertaken to condemn and prevent all forms of international terrorism.

9. At the global level, he recalled that Austria had participated in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism and that it whole-heartedly supported the measures the Committee had recommended in its 1979 report. Austria was also a party to the above-mentioned Hague and Montreal Conventions and the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft. It had also signed the 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostages and was considering ratifying it. His delegation hoped that there would be more and more accessions to those instruments, thus fully indicating the will of all members of the international community to fight terrorism actively.

10. Still at the international level, he recalled the resolution on criminal acts of a terrorist character adopted on 6 September 1985 by the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. In paragraph 6 of that resolution, all States were called upon to take all appropriate measures as recommended by the International Civil Aviation Organization and as set forth in the relevant international conventions to prevent violent attacks against civil aviation transport and its facilities, and to take all appropriate measures to prevent violent attacks against other forms of public transport such as civil maritime transport.

11. While there were numerous international instruments designed to combat terrorism, there were still gaps in international law which had to be closed. For example, aviation law went much further against terrorism than maritime law. In fact, with regard to the hijacking of the Achille Lauro, it must be concluded that the illegal seizure of a cruise ship did not constitute an act of piracy under article 15 of the 1958 Convention on the High Seas or under article 101 of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Under those provisions, the term "piracy" meant any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed, on the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft.

12. His delegation was of the view that the international community could reinforce its rejection of acts of terrorism against ships by envisaging the amendment of existing maritime law accordingly. The International Maritime Organization could be entrusted with the task of elaborating pertinent legal rules, which might take the form of a convention on the suppression of unlawful seizure of ships. It was hoped that the idea would elicit a positive response from the members of the Committee and that it would be incorporated in the resolution to be adopted on the item under consideration.

(Mr. Tuerk, Austria)

13. Referring to the possibility of elaborating further international legal norms, he recalled the letter of 8 October 1985 from the Austrian Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17574), in which his Government had stated that in situations created by the taking of hostages, the life and health of the innocent persons concerned must be safeguarded under all circumstances. If a Government should deem it appropriate to take measures of coercion to free hostages, the Government of the State whose nationals had been taken hostage should be contacted beforehand.
14. Given the pernicious impact of acts of international terrorism on relations among States, all the members of the international community must co-operate more closely to prevent and combat terrorism, and apprehend and prosecute or extradite the perpetrators of such crimes, inter alia, through the exchange of information, the conclusion of special treaties and the perfection of the relevant norms of international law. His delegation was convinced that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations offered a particularly propitious occasion for the Members of the Organization to agree on appropriate action.
15. Mr. SUESS (German Democratic Republic) said that his country rejected all forms of terrorism, and State-sponsored terrorism in particular. Such senseless acts took human lives, jeopardized the diplomatic activity of States and their representatives, and impeded the normal course of international relations. Terrorism, especially when sponsored by States, posed a serious threat to security and was likely to cause a breach of international peace.
16. International terrorism could be eradicated only if its social and political causes were exposed and eliminated. Such causes lay in the policies of aggression and repression pursued by certain States. The terror practised by the colonialist, racist and reactionary régimes played a disastrous role in that respect. His country resolutely condemned all acts of State terrorism aimed at eroding the political system of other States. Such acts constituted flagrant violations of the norms of international law. State terrorism was totally inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which called upon all Member States to refrain, in their international relations, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State.
17. In that connection, he strongly reaffirmed his country's support for the principles laid down in resolution 39/159 against any action by States aimed at undermining the social and political system in other sovereign States.
18. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over Hitlerite fascism and the inception of the United Nations, everyone should realize the high price paid by the peoples and States of the world as a result of national and international State terrorism. The international community must not relent in its efforts, and vigorous action must be taken to combat all forms of State terrorism.

(Mr. Suess, German Democratic Republic)

19. The elimination of the causes of international terrorism called for a clear definition of the term. Specifically, the struggle waged by the national liberation movements should in no way be denounced as a form of international terrorism. The peoples' right to self-determination and the legitimacy of their struggle towards that end had been expressly provided for and reaffirmed in numerous United Nations resolutions. The right to self-determination had been reaffirmed as a binding, basic principle of international law in the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 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 the Covenants on Human Rights.

20. His country supported efforts to reach agreement on, and implement, effective measures against international terrorism. The Conventions of The Hague and Montreal on air piracy and the 1973 Convention on the protection of diplomats, which had been ratified by his country, provided a good basis for the struggle against international terrorism. The effectiveness of the existing conventions must be enhanced as a matter of priority. However, all States must also strictly fulfil their obligations and must not apply different yardsticks to the various acts of international terrorism. Moreover, all States must take appropriate measures at the national level. They should (a) harmonize their domestic legislation with international conventions; (b) strictly perform their international obligations; and (c) prevent the preparation and organization in their territory of acts directed against other States.

21. Regarding measures to be adopted with a view to effectively combating all forms of terrorism, his delegation considered that the conclusion of a comprehensive convention governing the struggle against terrorism was neither useful nor practicable.

22. By making use of the existing international and domestic instruments and improving co-operation among themselves, States would be most effective in their efforts to eliminate the causes of terrorism and, consequently, all of its manifestations. The German Democratic Republic, for its part, would continue to do everything in its power to contribute actively to the struggle against international terrorism.

23. Mr. CULLEN (Argentina) said that the development of international relations in recent decades had been accompanied by the intensification of acts of terrorism perpetrated by those who, being unable to gain recognition for their ideas through reason, were endeavouring to bend the political will of other States by resorting to acts which damaged normal international relations and took innocent human lives. As the international situation was becoming more complex, terrorist activity was apparently becoming more widespread, jeopardizing the search for solutions to conflicts and the maintenance of international peace and security.

24. Admittedly the United Nations had responded vigorously by recently condemning acts which had revived the international community's concern about terrorism. Yet,

(Mr. Cullen, Argentina)

now more than ever before, the international community must devote full attention to the search for means of preventing that scourge. The Sixth Committee could elaborate texts, but unless States took effective and concerted action, such texts would remain dead letters.

25. His delegation fully shared the views of the Secretary-General, who had pointed out in his latest report on the work of the Organization (A/40/1) that, despite the existence of a legal framework for much more effective action in combating hijacking and hostage-taking, what was lacking was the will of Governments to implement the existing conventions in specific cases. His country was a party to the main conventions in force in that area. However, it was convinced that accession to those instruments must be supplemented by the adoption of domestic measures to prevent international terrorism, and coupled with observance of the obligation not to instigate acts of terrorism against other States, and with effective international co-operation in the prevention of acts of terrorism or the punishment of the perpetrators of such acts. It was hoped that the Committee would unanimously adopt a strongly worded resolution categorically condemning acts of terrorism, as had been done by all delegations.

26. Mr. NECHAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the USSR shared the justified concern of world public opinion about the increasing number of acts of international terrorism. The position of principle taken by the Soviet Union on that question was set forth in detail in document A/40/445/Add.1.

27. It was a well-known fact that the USSR had urged, in international forums, the adoption of the strongest possible measures to suppress acts of international terrorism. It had made a major contribution to the formulation of such fundamental international agreements as 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. The Soviet Union was a party to all the above-mentioned Conventions and had in addition concluded bilateral treaties with a number of States which contained provisions for the suppression of acts of international terrorism. Soviet legislation provided a whole range of safeguards designed to eliminate the fundamental causes of terrorism from Soviet society.

28. International terrorism in all its forms was dangerous, but one form of it - State terrorism - had particularly grave consequences. The criminal attack perpetrated recently by Israel against Tunisia was an example. In that regard, it should be recalled that, in its resolution 39/159, the General Assembly had resolutely condemned policies and practices of terrorism in relations between States as a method of dealing with other States and peoples. Clearly, absolute respect of that provision by States would contribute in an effective manner to improving the international situation and thus create suitable conditions for adopting effective measures to combat international terrorism. His delegation believed that draft resolution A/C.6/40/L.2 submitted in that spirit by Cuba constituted a good basis for further work on the question.

/...

(Mr. Nechaev, USSR)

29. The Soviet Union unreservedly condemned States which, under the pretext of combating terrorism, interfered in the internal affairs of other States or, instead of combating terrorists seriously, took various sanctions against those who had nothing to do with acts of terrorism. An end must be put to that practice. In addition, States should fulfil their obligations honestly and not play a double game, presenting terrorists as criminals in some cases and as "heroes" in others.

30. For some years, diplomatic and consular missions, permanent missions to international organizations and members of their staff had increasingly become the target of terrorist attacks. For example, an extremist Muslim group had recently taken hostage four Soviet officials working in Lebanon and had killed one of them. That development was bound to cause the utmost concern. Furthermore, Fascist and neo-Nazi organizations indulged in similar acts in the territory of some countries with the complicity of the authorities. Needless to say, States should not permit the commission of such crimes.

31. It was the responsibility of States to eliminate the causes of terrorism. Those causes had been well defined in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism: chief among them were colonialism, aggression, the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the violation of the political independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, interference in the internal affairs of States, racism, racial discrimination, the policy of apartheid and genocide, fascism and neo-fascism.

32. In taking a stand against acts of international terrorism, the Soviet Union strongly condemned any attempt to equate terrorism with the legitimate struggle of peoples for their national, economic and social liberation. It categorically rejected allegations that the socialist countries participated in international terrorism. It was those who trampled on the legitimate rights and interests of sovereign States and peoples, encouraged the ideology of racial and national hatred, supported reactionary and dictatorial régimes kept in power only through the use of terror, heightened tension in the world, accelerated the arms race and generated a climate of military psychosis who were the sources of arbitrariness, violence and terrorism on the international scene.

33. The Soviet Union fully endorsed the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism, of which it had been a member, that had been adopted by the General Assembly. It supported constructive efforts to intensify international co-operation for the effective suppression of acts of international terrorism. The Sixth Committee should elaborate concrete measures in that regard, particularly through the finalization and conclusion of multilateral and bilateral agreements. It might be worth while for the Ad Hoc Committee to resume its work on the question.

34. Mr. ALAKWAA (Yemen) said it was distressing that the world should have to suffer not only from natural disasters, but also from the destruction which some men wilfully provoked.

35. No one was safe from international terrorism, which was constantly on the rise, and there had still been no success in reaching agreement at the level of international law on definitions of terrorism as practised by individuals, groups

(Mr. Alakwaa, Yemen)

or States. Terrorism went under various names, but the outcome was the same. The acts perpetrated by Israel against Arab States and the Palestinian Arab people or by South Africa against the Namibian people constituted the best proof of that.

36. His country strongly condemned international terrorism in all its forms and reaffirmed its total support for the national liberation movements and for the right of the peoples which they represented to resort to armed struggle in defence of their freedom, independence and right to self-determination.

37. It was time to appeal to reason and to be guided by the rules of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

38. Mr. MIKULKA (Czechoslovakia) said that, since the Sixth Committee had considered the question of international terrorism two years before, many innocent victims had met their deaths. The violence and brutality of those acts, the victims of which were private individuals as well as statesmen and diplomats, had caused indignation. In many cases, Governments themselves had been victims of the blackmail of terrorists. Such acts had a particularly damaging effect on relations between States.

39. In order to put an end to international terrorism, it was essential for States to intensify their co-operation. For that to be effective, the causes which were at the origin of international terrorism must be removed. If its underlying causes were not eliminated, measures to suppress terrorism would only be partially effective.

40. A large number of General Assembly resolutions pointed out that misery, frustration, grievance and despair, which were causes of international terrorism, had their origin in colonialist policy, oppression on grounds of race or nationality, apartheid, exploitation, and the violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of peoples and their right to self-determination.

41. Other causes of international terrorism were much more complex. Terrorism was not merely the work of desperate individuals seeking a way out by committing desperate acts; it also constituted a political programme for reactionary elements, and for Fascist and neo-Fascist parties and groups, whose activities were tolerated in many States with an indulgence that could in no way be justified.

42. The fight against international terrorism should not be confined to acts perpetrated by individuals or groups of people. Peaceful relations among States were endangered most of all by the acts of terrorism organized or encouraged by some States. State terrorism, indeed, represented the most serious form of international terrorism. Governments which practised it violated such principles of international law as the non-use of force, territorial integrity, political independence, sovereign equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the self-determination of peoples. It was above all essential to condemn State terrorism and bring it to an end. In that regard, he observed that efforts were sometimes made to distract attention from the problem of terrorism by means of hypocritical rhetoric designed to confuse international terrorism with the legitimate struggle of peoples for self-determination.

/...

(Mr. Mikulka, Czechoslovakia)

43. For its part, Czechoslovakia was always ready to participate in the search for and the elaboration of effective measures to prevent international terrorism. In his Government's view, not all the legal possibilities for strengthening international co-operation to prevent and punish acts of terrorism had as yet been explored. Notwithstanding, a number of conventions had already been elaborated, such as the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents. It was extremely important for all States which were not yet parties to those Conventions to accede to them in order to demonstrate the firm resolve of the international community to eliminate those forms of international terrorism.

44. His country was convinced that it would be possible to reach agreement on measures to eliminate other forms of international terrorism. Terrorists should not be allowed to count on a lack of solidarity among States and to expect to go unpunished or receive light sentences while their acts led to serious international consequences. His delegation was of the view that the question of international terrorism must be maintained on the agenda of the Sixth Committee.

45. Mr. AENA (Iraq) stressed that no agreement had yet been reached on the definition of the concept of international terrorism, on how to guarantee application of the definition, or on the question of whether measures to combat terrorism should be preventive or punitive. In order for those measures to be successful, the underlying causes of terrorism must be examined. The political will to tackle those causes must also exist.

46. In seeking to define the concept of international terrorism, the Committee must take into account the efforts already made in that area by the League of Nations, whose work had resulted in the 1934 Geneva Convention on terrorism. That Convention gave a rather vague definition of terrorism: criminal acts directed against a State and intended to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, or a group of persons or the general public. The Committee must also take into account the efforts made by the United Nations, particularly since the adoption of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the 1974 Definition of Aggression. The international community had elaborated a number of international agreements covering a series of acts considered terrorist acts, such as hijackings of aircraft, acts of sabotage against international civil aviation, threats against international peace and security, and crimes against diplomatic agents. Regional agreements had also been concluded in that field.

47. The question was whether the term "acts of terrorism" should cover only crimes directed against States, or also those directed against international organizations, acts of violence committed within a country against a racial group or against individuals, or even acts committed directly by a Government against foreign nationals or indirectly, beyond its frontiers, in violation of the principle of non-interference. Some distinguished acts of terrorism from ordinary

/...

(Mr. Aena, Iraq)

crimes on the basis of the means employed to commit them; others drew a distinction between international terrorism and State terrorism; yet others urged that all Governments should recognize the obligation to extradite the perpetrators of terrorist acts and argued that such acts were too serious to be considered political crimes, a position similar to that adopted by the Institute of International Law. His delegation was of the view that while that approach had been justifiable in the days of the League of Nations, which had been composed of a homogeneous group of countries, the United Nations brought together very diverse civilizations and ideologies, and many of its members had difficulty in supporting that approach. It should be borne in mind that no measure aimed at preventing terrorism should in any way encroach on the right of peoples to achieve self-determination and to liberate themselves from a colonial or racist régime, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions. Colonial and racist régimes were in fact underlying causes of acts of violence, and those causes should not be overlooked when measures to prevent international terrorism were being considered.

48. His delegation hoped that the Committee would succeed in formulating generally acceptable legal principles relating to international terrorism, and it declared its readiness to contribute actively to the pursuit of that objective.

49. Mr. ABDELRAHMAN (Sudan) said that his Government, while opposing international terrorism, condemned all attempts to equate terrorism with the legitimate struggle of peoples for national liberation. It also condemned terrorism in relations between States and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States.

50. While it was understandable that the issue of terrorism should become a highly emotional one, that should not distort the judgement of Governments with regard to the course of action to be followed to combat it. Unfortunately, the term currently applied not only to criminals but also to national liberation movements which, in the face of oppression, were constrained to take up arms. Moreover, many representatives in the Sixth Committee owed the independence of their respective countries to armed struggle, and their compatriots who had died during that struggle were heroes.

51. His delegation regretted that certain countries, although they had contributed to the Declaration of Principles on International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, which embodied the right of self-determination, attached less importance to the obligations arising from that Declaration than to other so-called obligations which led them to support colonialism, racism and other forms of oppression.

52. The peoples of Palestine and southern Africa were persistently denied their right to self-determination and lived in a continuing reign of terror imposed by the Zionist régime and the apartheid régime, which were even condoned by some when they terrorized the whole region. Proof of that were the recent acts of aggression by South Africa against Angola and the brutal air raid by Israel against Tunisia.

/...

(Mr. Abdelrahman, Sudan)

53. The debate on the item under consideration should mobilize support both for innocent victims of terrorism and for victims of oppression. It would be a grave error to speak only about preventive measures without attaching equal importance to consideration of the deeper causes of terrorism. Terrorism could not be prevented by other acts of terrorism, without contravening the norms of international law. Recent incidents had demonstrated that those who acted in that way, while advocating preventive measures, merely perpetuated the cycle of violence.

54. Individual terrorists should be punished, and régimes that adopted terrorism as State policy should also be punished.

55. Mr. WILLEMARCK (Belgium), speaking on behalf of the 10 States members of the European Community and on behalf of Portugal and Spain, said that those countries were seriously concerned over acts of terrorism and were determined to combat such crimes vigorously, without yielding to the pressures of their perpetrators. The horrible events which the world had recently witnessed called for increased solidarity and co-operation among all countries in order to stem the tide of terror. The total elimination of international terrorism could be achieved only if the political, economic and social situations which nurtured it were improved. Because of its barbarity, terrorism could not be justified by the objectives pursued, and failure to recognize that fact would undermine the struggle against international terrorism.

56. As recent events had proved, no country could consider itself beyond the reach of that scourge. Over and above all ideological differences, it was important to ensure the prevention and punishment of criminal attacks, the taking of hostages and other crimes, which must no longer be treated as acts whose political character protected their perpetrators from extradition or prosecution.

57. It was indeed encouraging to note that various measures had already been adopted at the regional and sectoral levels. At the regional level, for example, the competent ministers of the Ten had, on several occasions, recognized the need for concerted action in that area, in view of the outbreak of terrorist acts in Europe. That was why they were convinced of the need for technical co-operation at the European level, including better police co-ordination and an increased exchange of information. The principle of "dedere aut punire" would certainly seem to be useful in order to prevent the most abominable criminal acts from going unpunished. The Ten noted that that principle was enshrined in the multilateral conventions on terrorism and were of the view that it should be scrupulously implemented by the States parties to those conventions.

58. The Ten also drew attention to the resolution of the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders concerning criminal acts of a terrorist character. That resolution, which had been adopted by consensus, called upon all States to take steps to strengthen co-operation, particularly in the area of extradition and mutual legal assistance with a view towards increasing the effectiveness of law enforcement measures in cases of offences contemplated in the relevant multilateral conventions.

(Mr. Willemarck, Belgium)

59. The international community had in fact prepared several conventions on various kinds of terrorism, in particular the Tokyo, Montreal and The Hague Conventions concluded under the auspices of ICAO, and the International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 and the Convention on the Prevention and Suppression of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, adopted by the General Assembly in 1973. It was important for States to take the necessary steps to ensure scrupulous application of the conventions to which they were parties; the Secretary-General of the United Nations quite rightly pointed out in his latest annual report on the work of the Organization that the difficulty lay in the fact that Governments were not always capable or willing to implement the existing legal instruments in specific cases. The Ten encouraged ICAO to try to ensure that the conventions concluded under its auspices were universally accepted and strictly applied. They hoped that the countries not yet parties to those conventions would accede to them, and they were themselves studying concrete measures to improve air security.

60. The Ten were deeply concerned by the events which had taken place on board the Achille Lauro, where serious acts of terrorism had been committed. They believed that urgent consideration should be given to the phenomenon of shipboard terrorism and that the International Maritime Organization should be invited to consider the possibility of studying countermeasures.

61. The Ten were convinced that it was only by overcoming ideological opposition and differences that the international community would be able to combat terrorism effectively. Of course, such a campaign must be waged in full compliance with the norms of international law and of domestic legality.

62. Lastly, the Ten together with Spain and Portugal, while aware of the need to protect fundamental human rights, hoped that strengthened regional and sectoral co-operation would succeed in stemming the wave of terror sweeping over the world, with a view to ending the attacks on the liberty and political stability of countries and ensuring respect for democratic values.

63. Mr. OKELLO (Uganda) said that his delegation firmly opposed any attempt, whether direct or indirect, to identify or interpret the activities of national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity or the League of Arab States as falling within the concept of international terrorism. As long as South Africa continued to apply its criminal policy of apartheid and remained intransigent on the question of the independence of Namibia and as long as the question of Palestine remained unsolved, acts of violence would not cease; such acts must be seen as the direct results of colonialism, apartheid, the occupation of other people's territory by force and denial of the right to self-determination. Those problems were a source of violence extending well beyond the region in which they existed and were a constant threat to the peace and security of everyone. To describe such violence as "terrorism" would be a serious mistake. Furthermore, poverty and hunger, which were more widespread than ever, and the imbalance and injustice characterizing the current international economic system engendered a hopelessness which often saw in violence the only means of effecting radical changes. The international community needed to address those

/...

(Mr. Okello, Uganda)

problems realistically, for it was not through delays and hypocrisy that solutions would be found and the violence ended.

64. In addition to legitimate cases, mention must also be made of acts of violence committed purely out of criminal motivation. A few months ago, for example, an Air India airliner had been destroyed as a result of an act of sabotage, with the death of more than 300 persons on board. That kind of terrorism was not really new, but today's terrorists were better organized and equipped and knew how to use technological advances. Generally, however, terrorism continued to act through intimidation, by creating a climate of fear and instability. Uganda, for its part, unreservedly condemned acts of that nature and pledged its preparedness to co-operate with other States in the search for lasting solutions to that kind of problem.

65. However, it seemed that some States had recently sponsored acts of that nature directed against targets in the territory of other States, with a view to destabilizing the victim State in order to open the way for the imposition of puppet régimes. His country deplored that practice and called on those States which engaged in it to stop such activities; that kind of terrorism would not exist if States fulfilled their Charter obligations more responsibly. Everyone had an important role to play internationally, especially the media, whose function was to keep public opinion informed and to alert it to the dangers associated with that type of activity, which produced a reaction subsequently described as terrorism. The hijacking of aircraft and ships showed that action must be taken to deal with the root causes of such acts which were always the result of some other violent or unlawful acts. The remedy should be sought there and not in the extra-legal means which some States had recently used, for such means violated international law and posed a threat to international peace and security.

66. The solution to the mounting number of problems which transcended national and regional borders lay in strengthening co-operation among all States, regardless of their ideological affiliation, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

67. Mr. VAN TONDER (Lesotho) noted that even during the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, reports had come in of hostages kidnapped and peaceful demonstrations fired upon. The problem of national and international terrorism was even more disturbing in that it knew no bounds. It was high time for the international community not only to study the underlying causes of that dangerous scourge but also to take action to eradicate it.

68. His delegation reaffirmed its utter abhorrence of terrorism, which was a crime on the same level as mercenarism, and it suggested that all delegations which shared its feelings should reconsider their position with regard to the financing of mercenaries.

69. A more precise definition must be found for the term "terrorism", for it remained vague in the absence of a definition of its constituent elements. A few years ago the African liberation movements, which then had been labelled terrorist, had taken up arms against the colonial oppressor and, having won their independence and right to self-determination, had become States Members of the United Nations.

/...

(Mr. Van Tonder, Lesotho)

The right of peoples to self-determination, as stated in the Charter, had been disregarded by the alien oppressors, who had closed all avenues of meaningful dialogue with the indigenous peoples who, subjected to violent repression, detention without trial, torture and other forms of degrading treatment, had no choice but to take up arms against their tormentors. In situations of colonialism and neo-colonialism and racial domination and oppression it was not the oppressed who should be labelled terrorists.

70. All States of the international community should take appropriate administrative and legal measures to ensure that no terrorist was accorded asylum in their territory, regardless of their Government's political ideology and persuasion. Once apprehended, a terrorist should be prosecuted immediately, and if a State did not wish to prosecute and severely punish the perpetrator of the crime, it should spare no effort in extraditing him. His country did not approve of resort to terrorist manoeuvres, regardless of whether they were perpetrated by an individual, by a group or groups of individuals, or by a State.

71. Terrorism, be it national or international, had to be eradicated in all its forms and in all its manifestations. It was a horrifying and revolting crime against mankind, especially when it was perpetrated wantonly and resulted in mass killings of innocent people, especially children.

72. The Kingdom of Lesotho was a party to the conventions mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General (A/40/445) and it urged all States which had not yet done so to become parties to those instruments and to facilitate their effective implementation by establishing their jurisdiction over acts of terrorism wherever perpetrated and regardless of the origin and nationality of the offender. Lesotho was also ready to support any resolution which might be worked out during the present session with a view to eradicating the scourge of terrorism.

73. Mr. OMAR (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that the international community had condemned terrorism and taken measures to combat it which had led to the conclusion of regional agreements, particularly under the auspices of the Council of Europe and the Organization of American States, and of global agreements. However, terrorism continued more than ever to endanger all peoples and jeopardize relations among States and among peoples, which clearly demonstrated the failure of the measures taken. There were many reasons for that failure.

74. First, although the international community had applied itself to taking the preventive police or legal action that had to be taken, it had failed to devote adequate attention to practical measures for tackling the underlying causes of forms of terrorism and acts of violence. The General Assembly had adopted many resolutions (in particular, 3034 (XXVII), 31/102, 32/147, 34/145, 36/109 and 38/130) in which it had expressed its deep concern over increasing acts of international terrorism and had condemned the repressive and terrorist acts by colonial and racist régimes in denying peoples their legitimate right to self-determination and independence and other human rights and fundamental freedoms. Possibly the most dangerous form of international terrorism was that experienced by the South African, Namibian and Palestinian peoples. The Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism had determined the underlying political,

/...

(Mr. Omar, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

economic and social causes of international terrorism (A/34/37, pp. 20 and 21). The General Assembly had subsequently called on States to co-operate in order to contribute to the elimination of the causes and problem of international terrorism by paying special attention to any situation that might give rise to international terrorism (resolution 34/145, paras. 6 and 13).

75. Secondly, since the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, some States had been using the expression "State terrorism" perniciously as a propaganda weapon to vilify many States with which they simply disagreed on some issue, or to harass peoples struggling to regain their freedom and exercise their right to self-determination. Those States sought to exploit a particular event, which most often was caused by misery, frustration, grievance, or despair, in order to brand a given State or people as "terrorist". Moreover, they closed their eyes to the act which prompted reprisals and described the reprisals as State terrorism.

76. Lastly, some States observed a double standard in the matter of State terrorism: an act perpetrated by an individual was considered State terrorism, as opposed to a more serious act whose perpetrator was a régime based on State terrorism. Such States protected those régimes, supported them and provided them with material and moral assistance, even describing them as reformist régimes which must be supported, or as allies that must be retained. Some even went so far as to justify flagrant terrorist acts by equating them with legal acts.

77. It was inadmissible for a State to violate the law under the pretext of combating terrorism. Indeed, for that purpose it used the substantial logistical facilities at its disposal and thus damaged friendly relations among States more than did terrorism itself. Moreover, international terrorism could not be eliminated by trading accusations based on personal and tendentious criteria that were subject to variable political circumstances and pressures. The best way to combat terrorism was to study its underlying causes and pay adequate attention to practical measures for eliminating them. Thus, if some of its members were to abandon their selfish interests, the Security Council could make a significant contribution to eliminating the major causes of international terrorism which threatened international peace and security. His delegation hoped that the draft resolution that the Sixth Committee would adopt on the subject would reaffirm paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 34/145.

78. Mr. DUARTE ALEMAN (Colombia) said that his delegation was concerned at international terrorism and acts of violence and aggression of which innocent people were the victims, in flagrant violation of all the juridical norms of international law. His delegation shared the widespread indignation regarding that situation and called for an end to terrorism which had become a form of war against the interests of free nations, democratic practices and any peaceful solution guaranteed by international law. It should therefore be clearly stated that terrorism was assuming its current form because it was tolerated and justified whenever it occurred.

79. To counter that scourge, it was first essential to remedy the political, economic and social situations that gave rise to it, despite any satisfaction that could be derived from certain political circumstances. It was also necessary to

/...

(Mr. Duarte Aleman, Colombia)

transcend ideological divergences and adopt universally acceptable measures to eliminate such acts of barbarism. As a prerequisite, the international community must make a concerted effort and tacitly agree to stand united on the issue; States must severely punish those forms of crime.

80. On the basis of the draft prepared by the International Law Commission the Sixth Committee had adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents. That Convention, which had entered into force in 1977, had established the legal machinery which made it possible, in accordance with international norms, to ensure the protection of persons entitled thereto by virtue of their status, activities or occupation. By virtue of their moral and political force, various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly had given added weight to conventions relating to specific forms of international terrorism; those resolutions had also served to alert the international community to the dangers of terrorism and to mobilize it into talking preventive action to counter that scourge. The reports of the Secretary-General had also helped to foster a spirit of co-operation among nations in that endeavour.

81. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, his country reaffirmed its willingness to work with others within the framework of the Organization to eliminate terrorism and its manifestations which constituted threats to the Charter. His Government's policy was consistent with the principles of international law and had been referred to at the fortieth session of the General Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had called upon the Organization to establish appropriate machinery for eliminating terrorism, whatever its origins might be.

82. His delegation planned to propose a draft resolution condemning terrorism in all its forms and proclaiming a clearly defined policy for countering that phenomenon which sapped the very roots of civilization. To the extent that international terrorism constituted a threat to human rights, it was urgent to adopt measures not only to prevent it, but also to counter and suppress it.

83. In conclusion, he illustrated his Government's firm position by citing Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the Colombian Nobel prizewinner in literature, for whom terrorism was not a legitimate revolutionary weapon, since it involved a minimum risk for its perpetrators and was directed against victims, most of whom were innocent.

84. Mr. KAHALEH (Syrian Arab Republic) said that terrorism was a despicable way of attaining political objectives; very often its victims were innocent civilians. His country had proved that it was combating acts of terrorism by directly and effectively participating in the release of hostages and endeavouring to protect their lives; it was always prepared to co-operate with all States in that regard. Moreover, it was a party to the Tokyo, Montreal and Hague Conventions, and Syrian legislation prohibited acts of terrorism for which it imposed the severest punishments.

(Mr. Kahaleh, Syrian Arab Republic)

85. It had officially condemned the seizure of the Achille Lauro, reaffirming that such despicable acts damaged the Arab cause and those who were rightfully fighting against the Zionist enemy, namely, in the field.

86. The United States had launched an official and a media campaign condemning those responsible for the operation, but they had done nothing of the kind regarding the Israeli aggression in Tunisia; similarly, they were launching a campaign in the case of the American Jew killed aboard the Achille Lauro, but doing nothing in response to the murder of an American of Palestinian origin committed by supporters of Kahane Zionist terrorism. In that way the United States sought to divert attention from the Israeli attack, which constituted a flagrant violation of the principle of non-use of force in international relations and one that even the members of NATO had condemned, and from the interception of the Egyptian aircraft, which had been carried out in violation of international laws and custom.

87. The attack on Tunisia, the hijacking of the Egyptian aircraft and, before that, the mining of Nicaragua's coasts, the policy of apartheid in South Africa and that country's attacks on neighbouring countries, the invasion of Lebanon, the bombing of Iraqi nuclear installations and Palestine refugee camps, the blowing up of houses and the detention without trial of civilians in the occupied territories were all acts of State terrorism far more serious than the acts of terrorism committed by individuals. To allow, as Israel and the United States did, State terrorism to be used to respond to individual terrorism only created a vicious circle.

88. It was only by studying the underlying causes of terrorism and combating them that it would be possible to combat terrorism itself, for instance by allowing the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination in an independent State.

89. The policy currently pursued by the United States Government ran counter to its interests in the Middle East and, if that situation continued, no national of that country would be able to enter without risk a country dominated politically by the United States.

90. A distinction must be made between national resistance and terrorism and it was regrettable that the two were usually equated, for instance with regard to the national resistance struggle in south Lebanon and the struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise its legitimate rights. If such struggles were terrorism, then the national resistance to Nazi occupation in Europe during the Second World War must also be regarded as a form of terrorism.

91. It was comforting to see that national resistance was growing in south Lebanon and was spreading to the other occupied territories. Young people who, in the name of freedom, drove cars crammed with explosives against the Israeli occupying forces and their agents were far more powerful than American high technology, which would never be able to conquer them.

92. Mr. ARMALI (Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization) said that the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation

(Mr. Armali, Observer, PLO)

Organization, had always condemned terrorism and the policy of terror, which endangered innocent human lives and created a psychosis of fear in order to push individuals and masses into behaving according to the objectives fixed by those who practised that policy.

93. The Palestinian people had always been the victim of that terrorism which, long before the creation of Israel in 1948, had been directed at it by the Zionist settlers and their ill-famed terrorist organizations. After 1948, terror had become the principal instrument of Israel's leaders against the Palestinian Arab population, as tragic examples which had marked the history of the Palestinian people had proved. Since the emergence of the Palestinian national identity and its corollary, armed resistance to the Israeli occupier, the refugee camps had become the favourite target of Israeli state terrorism. That terror had reached its climax with the siege of Beirut in 1982, followed shortly thereafter by the Sabra and Shatila massacres. The Israeli raid on Tunisia on 1 October 1985 had simply confirmed that Israel had adopted State terrorism as an instrument of its policy of aggression and expansion.

94. It was that form of terrorism - the most dangerous for international peace and security - that the international community must rank among the foremost of its concerns, especially when it was used to prevent peoples from exercising their right to self-determination or to perpetuate foreign occupation, as was the case at present in South Africa and the territories occupied by Israel. It was in order to change that situation that liberation movements pursued their legitimate struggle, with means far outmatched by those of their oppressors. Strong in the knowledge of their military superiority and comforted by the massive support they received from Washington, the racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv continued to cultivate the confusion between the concept of legitimate national resistance and that of terrorism.

95. The Palestine Liberation Organization could not but reiterate its condemnation of acts which threatened the lives of innocent people, and it endorsed all the international treaties aimed at condemning and preventing such acts. Those treaties formed a whole, however, and the Palestine Liberation Organization regretted that the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 had yet to enter into force, nine years after the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts had completed its work. That Conference had recognized the international character of the conflicts which pitted national liberation movements against their oppressors and occupiers and had conferred prisoner-of-war status on captured freedom fighters. The principles set forth in the Additional Protocols must be taken into account in any convention which sought to combat international terrorism, if it was to be balanced and objective.

96. Furthermore, in the struggle against terrorism, one could not ignore the underlying causes of certain acts of violence, for instance the exasperation and despair engendered by persistent denial of the fundamental right to self-determination. After the condemnable hijacking of the Achille Lauro, a smear campaign had been unleashed against the Palestine Liberation Organization. Its objective was clear: to undermine the political gains of the Palestinian people

/...

(Mr. Armali, Observer, PLO)

and to deprive it of its political leadership in order to leave the field clear for Israel's annexationist ambitions. The main target of that campaign, however, remained the peace process to which the Palestine Liberation Organization had adhered and which had placed Israel and its protectors in an embarrassing position. Considerable hypocrisy and cynicism were being displayed for the sole purpose of wiping off the political map the legitimate national aspirations of the Palestinian people. The cruel national experience undergone by that people had engendered in it a profound respect for human rights, but how long would it have to wait to see those rights become a reality for it? Unless that question was answered satisfactorily, the future presaged only violence and devastation. The Palestinian people desired only peace and justice and that desire called for a positive response from the international community and a commitment by it to ensuring that it was achieved.

97. Mr. ROSENSTOCK (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, until the last two speakers, the debate had proceeded in a civilized manner. That had ceased to be the case, however, when the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic had launched into his slanderous allegations and one might ask oneself whether it was worth it to listen to those who applauded terrorism even in the case of suicide missions.

98. At the previous meeting, the United States delegation had dealt in greater detail with the abominable murder in California than with the cowardly murder of a cripple on board the Achille Lauro, and it was outraged at the allegation that the United States Government did not treat all its nationals in the same way, depending on their race, religion or origin. There were societies where such discrimination was in fact prevalent and there were even those where internal problems were solved by bombarding an ancient city at the cost of thousands of victims. If the concept of State terrorism were acceptable, that would be a fine example of terrorism perpetrated by a State against its own people. However, his delegation could not see the point in introducing into the debate an expression as vague as that of "State terrorism", unless the aim was to sow confusion. Any use of force, unless it came within the context of the exercise of the right of self-defence, was illegal and must be condemned. The United States had always condemned the illegal use of force by no matter what people, even peoples with which it maintained long-standing friendly relations.

99. With regard to self-determination, he recalled that the United States was itself the product of an act of self-determination and had always defended that principle. That did not mean, however, that the cause of self-determination could justify no matter what conduct. There were some acts which were so abominable as to be unacceptable even if the cause espoused by their authors was just, even if they were committed by a State acting in self-defence and even if they were perpetuated by a faction which a government supported against another faction.

100. Mr. KAHALEH (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he was very surprised at what the United States representative had said about incidents, moreover totally distorted, which concerned only the internal affairs of a sovereign State. That representative had no doubt been trying to divert the Committee's attention from the heart of the matter.

/...

(Mr. Kahaleh, Syrian Arab Republic)

101. Concerning the suicide missions to which he had alluded in his statement, such missions were directed against the Israeli armed forces and not against innocent civilians. His country condemned acts of terrorism directed against civilians and found it surprising that self-defence could be invoked to justify such acts.

102. Mr. ROSENSTOCK (United States), speaking on a point of order, said that he had made no reference to the right of self-defence in the context of acts of terrorism. The tirade delivered by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic was therefore out of place.

103. The CHAIRMAN said that, if the right of reply was to retain its significance, delegations availing themselves of that right must respond solely to what had actually been said in the statement to which they objected.

104. Mr. KAHALEH (Syrian Arab Republic), continuing to speak in exercise of the right of reply, said that, since the pretext of self-defence had been given by high-ranking members of the United States Administration, in the context of acts of terrorism, he wished to draw a distinction between the right of self-defence and the raid carried out by Israel on a country thousands of miles from its borders.

105. Miss CHOKRON (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that no later than 22 October a bomb had injured five people, including a baby, in the market at Afula in Israel. The PLO had laid claim to that feat of arms, thus revealing its true nature. As for the representative of the PLO, he had confused everything in his statement.

106. The media had recently reported that a meeting between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and a Jordanian and PLO delegation had been cancelled, because the representative of the PLO had refused to sign a declaration recognizing the right of Israel to exist; that confirmed that the goal of the PLO was to wipe Israel off the map and that the PLO was not willing to desist from the acts of terrorism that it was constantly perpetrating, not only against Israel, moreover.

107. Some delegations, particularly those of the Sudan and Yemen, had condemned Israel and South Africa in the same breath in an attempt to equate zionism and apartheid, whereas the actual facts were completely different. There was not a single national liberation movement in Africa that was seeking to erase a State Member of the United Nations from the map of the world, any more than there was a right to self-determination entailing a license to kill indiscriminately.

108. It had been claimed that terrorism was difficult to define, whereas everybody recognized an act of terrorism when it occurred. One might therefore ask oneself what the motives of those who were seeking to confuse the debate in that manner were. In that connection, she wished to refer to the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union and to the communication from the Byelorussian SSR (A/40/445/Add.2), in which the problem in question had been deliberately removed from its context. It would surely be in the interest of the socialist bloc, which was no longer immune to terrorism, to reconsider its positions and to cease attacking Israel without rhyme or reason.

/...

(Miss Chokron, Israel)

109. Israel would continue to combat terrorism and categorically rejected assertions that it was resistance to terrorism, not terrorism itself, that was impeding peace efforts. Israel would continue to seek peace, despite terrorism.

110. Mr. ARMALI (Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel had once again displayed a cynical attitude. However, he had at least been frank in confirming that Israel was going to continue with its state terrorism. That spiral of violence could not but trigger other acts of violence.

111. Miss CHOKRON (Israel) expressed surprise that the Observer for the PLO should address her in the masculine form.

112. Mr. ARMALI (Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization), replied that he was in fact addressing the Chairman.

113. It would have been preferable if, instead of drawing attention to the death of an Israeli baby, the representative of Israel had spoken of all the innocent Palestinians, Lebanese and Arabs who had lost their lives as a result of Israeli shelling over the past 15 years. As for the reference to the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that was to have been received at London, the representative of Israel was surely not trying to give the impression that her Government had welcomed the process of seeking a political solution set in motion by Jordan and the PLO. In that connection, she had referred yet again to the right of Israel to exist, whereas what was really at issue was the national identity of the Palestinian people, which they had been denied since 1948. Moreover, he wondered whether the Israel that was being referred to was that of 1947, 1948, 1956, 1967 or 1973.

114. Miss CHOKRON (Israel), speaking on a point of order, said that the question of the borders of Israel was in no way relevant to the item under consideration. She had merely referred to the very latest incident that the PLO had boasted of; if she had to draw up a list of all the crimes committed by the PLO and of the Palestinians who had themselves fallen victim to that organization, it would be interminable.

115. Mr. ARMALI (Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, while speaking on a point of order, the representative of Israel had taken the opportunity to attempt to make a substantive reply.

116. Mr. ALAKWAA (Yemen), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel knew very well that he had said nothing in his statement that was not already known throughout the world. An Israeli leader had called on United States Jews to make contributions to make possible the massacre of Palestinians and their expulsion from Palestine. It could thus be seen that Israeli reasoning was the same as that of South Africa, which was denying its people the right to self-determination.

117. Mr. NECHAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel had tried to complicate the

/...

(Mr. Nechaev, USSR)

debate by referring to the three Israelis who had lost their lives in Cyprus. As a result of a raid on a sovereign State, Israel had killed and injured a great number of innocent persons, including women and children; there were no words to express the sense of horror provoked by that act of terrorism perpetrated by a State Member of the United Nations, particularly since it was obvious that such actions could not but give rise to further acts of violence against Israeli citizens.

118. Mr. ABDELRAHMAN (Sudan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that Israel, which had been established on the basis of terror, was still resorting to terror with a view to expelling the Palestinians from their homeland, in violation not only of international law and the principles of the Charter but also of the most elementary principles on which civilization was based.

119. Mr. ALI (Democratic Yemen), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he was surprised that the representative of Israel, who had described with feeling the death of an Israeli baby, had not asked herself how many women, men and children had died when Israel had bombed Tunis.

120. Miss CHOKRON (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that for the representative of the Soviet Union the review of events seemed to begin at the point where three Israelis had been killed at Larnaca. If she had to draw up a list of all the acts of terrorism committed by the PLO against Israel, it would be unending. She wished to reiterate, for the benefit of the representative of the Soviet Union, that Israel rejected, as a complete absurdity, the assertion that it was resistance to terrorism, not terrorism itself, that was an obstacle to peace efforts, and to ask him what his country was doing to promote peace. In response to the representative of Yemen, she wished to stress that it was the exercise by the Israeli people of the right to self-determination that had given rise to the State of Israel, which certain parties were seeking to wipe off the map, while at the same time defending the right to self-determination of other peoples.

121. Mr. NECHAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union with a view to promoting peace were well known. It would be possible to draw up a long list of acts of terrorism committed against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. However, a reference to the Sabra and Shatila massacres would suffice to show just how much the peace proposals put forward by Israel were worth. If terrorism was to be eliminated, the underlying causes would have to be removed, particularly the occupation of Arab territories.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.