



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 19th 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, room 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.

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.6/40/SR.19
25 October 1985

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.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 and L.3)

1. Mr. RASSOL'KO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) reaffirmed that his country was resolutely opposed to all forms of terrorism.
2. In recent years, acts of international terrorism had become more frequent and widespread. The neo-Fascist organizations operating in certain capitalist countries and the extremist, nationalist and emigré groups which attacked foreign missions and their staff were increasingly resorting to armed terrorism to achieve their objectives. The recent kidnapping of four Soviet officials in Lebanon and the subsequent murder of one of them were part of that alarming trend.
3. However, the most dangerous form of terrorism was State terrorism, which was an integral part of imperialist policy towards the countries and peoples of Central America, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia which refused to submit to foreign diktat. Despite attempts to justify acts of terrorism against peoples struggling for their freedom and national independence, international terrorism was clearly imputable to those who opposed the freedom-loving peoples, flouted the law, disregarded the interests of sovereign States, and supported racist ideologies and reactionary and dictatorial régimes.
4. Terrorism must be opposed resolutely at the national and international levels. Aggressive, racist and colonialist policies and the use of mercenaries against sovereign States and national liberation movements did nothing to promote the struggle against terrorism. It was inadmissible that certain Governments should request the extradition of terrorists for trial while at the same time harbouring terrorists for political reasons.
5. Acts of terrorism against government officials and foreign representatives were clearly prohibited in articles 63 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR, and persons committing such acts were liable to severe punishment. Activities aimed at the preparation and perpetration of particularly serious crimes or at the establishment of organizations to perpetrate them constituted criminal offences under article 69. The Criminal Code also laid down severe penalties for hijacking and offences involving the use of firearms.
6. At the international level, the Byelorussian SSR had contributed significantly to the elaboration of a number of conventions, which it had subsequently ratified and was strictly observing, such as the 1970 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, the 1971 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful

(Mr. Rassol'ko, Byelorussian SSR)

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.

7. Certain Governments merely expressed concern about terrorism without taking any concrete measures either to punish offenders or to eliminate its underlying causes, which included colonialism, the use of force, interference in the internal affairs of States, racial discrimination, apartheid and fascism.

8. States must co-operate more closely in the struggle against terrorism. The Byelorussian SSR supported and observed the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, and urged other States to do likewise. Moreover, States which were not parties to the international conventions which he had mentioned should accede to them and thereby broaden their scope and enhance their effectiveness.

9. International terrorism must not be equated with the just struggle for the national, economic and social liberation of peoples, because those living under colonial and racist domination enjoyed an inalienable right to self-determination and independence under 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.

10. Strict observance of General Assembly resolution 39/159 on State terrorism would effectively contribute to the struggle against terrorism.

11. Miss CHOKRON (Israel) said that the agenda item had been sabotaged by the addition, alongside the real subject for discussion - international terrorism - of all the other ingredients included in its title. That was the best way of guaranteeing the failure of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and the Sixth Committee on the item, since it was impossible to address at one and the same time misery and despair in the world and the more specific, and unfortunately ever-topical, problem of the upsurge in international terrorism.

12. Two years ago, her delegation had refrained from taking part in the debate on the item because it had already been discussed ad nauseam. It was therefore perhaps naive on her part to imagine that anything might change or that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations might be occasion for the Sixth Committee to break the vicious circle in which its debates had become caught up.

13. As jurists, the members of the Committee should examine the elements of the case before them. Firstly, the facts: acts of terrorism had been taking place in great number for a very long time. Those facts could be distorted but not denied. Two of the members of the Sixth Committee had themselves had their journey to the current session interrupted because of bomb scares. Secondly, international law in the field: the following Conventions dealt with certain aspects of international terrorism: 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, the 1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful

(Miss Chokron, Israel)

Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, the 1973 New York 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. All of them contained common elements: they defined the respective offences and stated each State party's obligation to extend its penal jurisdiction beyond its territorial competence in order to pursue and prosecute persons suspected of committing such crimes, its obligation to arrest and prosecute suspects in its territory or under its control or to extradite them to a country requesting their extradition which had jurisdiction to bring them to trial.

14. The more recent Conventions expressly stated that if the offences mentioned therein did not appear in extradition treaties between the States parties, or if such treaties did not exist, the Convention itself would serve as the legal basis for extradition and the States parties must include the offences provided for in those Conventions in any future extradition treaties. Those provisions were intended to enhance the effectiveness of the struggle against terrorism and had been made necessary by the failure of many States to fulfil their duty to prosecute or extradite terrorists.

15. Another way of overcoming extradition problems was to be found in the 1978 European Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism. For the purposes of extradition, States parties were required not to define the offences covered by that Convention as political or politically inspired.

16. No cause whatsoever could justify acts of terrorism or serve as a pretext for States to escape their obligations in that area under international law. International terrorism was aimed at the destruction of the rule of law and must be condemned and fought whatever its origins or the causes invoked for it. The right of peoples to self-determination had been referred to as if it could justify all actions. Her delegation recognized that right, but repeated that nothing whatsoever could justify an act of terrorism.

17. The scope of existing international law relating to terrorism needed to be broadened, but the Sixth Committee would not have to invent the legal techniques to do so; they already existed. What was lacking, however, was the political will, both in the Committee and in relations between States. Recent events had again made that clear.

18. The question was whether the Sixth Committee would reproduce once more the same sterile documents which discredited the United Nations, or finally depart from its past attitudes and adopt a clear and unequivocal text, following the example of the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders and the Security Council. The Council had unanimously condemned terrorism in all its forms on 9 October 1985, after the seizure of the Achille Lauro. Her delegation hoped that the Committee would uncompromisingly adopt the latter approach. Israel, which had often been the victim of acts of terrorism, vigorously condemned terrorism as a means of attaining political objectives.

19. Mr. NGUYEN QUY BINH (Viet Nam) said he wished to reiterate that his Government condemned international terrorism and attached great importance to the international endeavour to suppress it. All forms of terrorism were incompatible with the fundamental principles on which Vietnamese foreign policy was based. While individual States were primarily responsible for adopting the necessary domestic measures, including legislative and socio-economic measures, to eliminate the root causes of terrorism, there was a pressing need for a concerted international effort to eradicate that evil. However, certain States, which were thought to be vulnerable to terrorism, were by no means willing to identify the underlying causes of that scourge and were not in favour of an international instrument defining and condemning all forms of terrorism. Those countries supported Israel and South Africa, which were committing acts of terrorism against the peoples of Palestine and South Africa and other peoples in the regions in question. In fact, some States were committing direct acts of terrorism, intimidating and destabilizing other sovereign States, such as Nicaragua.

20. Large-scale international terrorism was one of the most serious forms of terrorism. State terrorism, which was based on the policies of colonialism, racism, expansionism and imperialist oppression, constituted a grave threat to human life and the peace and security of mankind. Another form of terrorism was support for or maintenance of dictatorial, Fascist and genocidal régimes.

21. The elimination of the underlying causes of terrorism, through, for example, the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, the granting of independence to the Namibian people and the dismantling of apartheid, would eventually lead to the eradication of terrorism itself. The supporters of the racist and terrorist policies of the Israeli and South African régimes were primarily responsible for the acts of terrorism committed by those régimes. The Governments that gave aid and safe haven to organized bands of terrorists, whose sole intent was to destabilize and overthrow legitimate and progressive Governments, could not escape condemnation for acts of terrorism.

22. There was a need for further study of the question of terrorism and for a greater political endeavour at the United Nations to compensate for the lack of a general international instrument defining and condemning all forms of terrorism. His delegation was in favour of reviving the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism in order to further international co-operation in that regard. The Ad Hoc Committee could draft a comprehensive legal instrument dealing with all manifestations of terrorism and with measures and machinery to eliminate it.

23. Mr. ZHULATI (Albania) said that although the debate on terrorism tended to centre on attacks against individuals, and on hijackings and kidnappings, State terrorism was much more disturbing. Indeed, the super-Powers, while exchanging accusations in international forums, were committing acts of terrorism in their own countries and armed aggression abroad.

24. Albania strongly condemned counter-revolutionary oppression, anarchism and all forms of terrorism, particularly mass terrorism as practised by the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers. Individuals were not responsible for the recent

(Mr. Zhulati, Albania)

upsurge in terrorism, which, as an instrument of State policy, was primarily attributable to the profound economic, political, social and moral crises in the capitalist revisionist world. The bourgeoisie was trying to conceal those problems or overcome them by imposing unpopular measures on the discontented working masses. Indeed, terrorism was being used to intimidate the workers and pave the way for Fascist systems of government, as could be seen from the increasing Fascist activities in many countries.

25. At the international level, terrorism had been exacerbated by the expansionist, aggressive policies of the super-Powers, the arms race, increasing oppression and exploitation, and support for racism, zionism and reactionary régimes. There had been countless examples of aggression by the United States, the Soviet Union and the other reactionary régimes which they supported. However, in an attempt to deceive international public opinion, Washington and Moscow were both speaking out against terrorism, setting up consultative bodies to prevent it and fabricating theories to justify their policy of expansionism and hegemony. Far from being the champions of anti-terrorism, the two super-Powers bore primary responsibility for aggression, war and international terrorism.

26. Regarding attempts by the bourgeoisie to blame terrorism on revolutionary movements, his delegation resolutely rejected all efforts to lead the debate on terrorism towards the impasse of accusations against the national liberation movements struggling for freedom, justice and peace. Although the imperialists, social-imperialists, racists and Zionists were calling freedom fighters and honest patriots terrorists, in an attempt to cover up their own crimes and discredit the national liberation movements, the just struggles waged by the Palestinian people, the Azanian and Namibian fighters, the Afghan patriots and the workers in the capitalist countries had nothing in common with Zionist terrorism against the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila, the policies of racist violence and apartheid which characterized the South African régime, Soviet oppression in Afghanistan, and police violence against the political opposition in the capitalist countries.

27. Mr. DAZA (Chile) said that the Sixth Committee should focus its attention on actual acts of terrorism, rather than on the underlying causes of the phenomenon. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session (A/34/37) was of particular importance in that connection and was still relevant today. Acts of violence that violated fundamental rights and endangered innocent human lives with a view to attaining a given goal could include acts of terrorism. If the acts in question affected one or more States, they fell in the category of international terrorism, which was a world-wide phenomenon that called for consideration by the United Nations. Naturally, it was difficult to determine the exact point at which acts of terrorism should be regarded as being within the competence of the United Nations.

28. All peace-loving peoples should condemn terrorism, including what was regarded as the most dangerous form of terrorism, which was both the manifestation of and a tool for the use of force, acts of aggression, hegemony and interference in the internal affairs of States. In that connection, he wished to recall that there was

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

a powerful nation that had elevated interference in internal affairs to the status of a doctrine. That State was unable to tolerate the fact that a small country had freed itself from the grip of its totalitarian ideology. Discredited in the eyes of its supporters by that major failure, it was now promoting domestic terrorism, chaos, anarchy and hatred in the country in question.

29. There were two fundamental types of measures that should be adopted to combat terrorism: firstly, measures designed to ensure closer co-operation among States, particularly in the area of the exchange of information, and, secondly, steps to provide for the extradition of terrorists. States and international organizations must be urged to make a contribution in that field, as the Council of Europe and the Organization of American States had done.

30. His Government did not regard as terrorism the legitimate action taken by peoples subjugated by colonial and racist régimes or subject to other forms of foreign domination with a view to achieving self-determination and independence, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Furthermore, it believed that the mass media should take due account of ethical considerations in reporting on acts of terrorism.

31. His country was a party to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, and the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages.

32. Mr. ENKHSAIKHAN (Mongolia) said that over the past two years, the number of acts of terrorism had increased alarmingly. State terrorism was one of the most dangerous forms of international terrorism. Since apartheid, racism and other forms of domination and oppression represented acts of violence ab initio, the struggle against them constituted a just and legitimate cause. The restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, the granting of independence to the Namibian people and the elimination of racial domination and apartheid in southern Africa would be steps in the right direction. However, attempts were being made to equate the legitimate struggle of oppressed peoples with terrorism and to cast doubts on the legitimacy of the moral and material support given to the peoples and movements in question. The international community must reaffirm, once again, the inalienable right of all peoples under colonial and racist régimes and other forms of alien domination to self-determination and independence, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle.

33. Mongolia strongly condemned State terrorism against sovereign States and supported the General Assembly demand that States should take no actions aimed at military intervention and occupation, forcible change in or undermining of the socio-political system of States, destabilization and overthrow of their Governments and, in particular, initiate no military action to that end under any pretext whatsoever and cease forthwith any such action already in progress (resolution 39/159).

(Mr. Enkhsaikhan, Mongolia)

34. Repression by dictatorial régimes was another form of terrorist activity directed against entire populations. The instigators of such criminal acts and the supporters of reactionary régimes were as guilty as the perpetrators themselves.

35. States must make a concerted effort to combat acts of terrorism perpetrated by groups and individuals by, for example, identifying the root causes of such acts and adopting, at the national level, appropriate socio-economic, legislative and administrative measures to eliminate the root causes and prevent the acts. Mongolian legislation laid down severe penalties for acts of terrorism, and his Government believed that an important factor in combating terrorism was restrained media coverage of such acts.

36. Mongolia was a party to the relevant international conventions and to numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements that provided, inter alia, for the prosecution or extradition of terrorists. It believed that in addition to the adoption of appropriate domestic measures, universal accession to the existing international legal instruments and the conclusion, if necessary, of additional bilateral, regional or universal agreements would make a significant contribution to combating international terrorism. Implementation of the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session would help to eliminate the root causes of international terrorism. His delegation fully endorsed the view expressed by the representative of Japan regarding the need to reverse the current alarming trend.

37. Mrs. CORRALES (Honduras) said that the General Assembly had unequivocally condemned all acts of international terrorism, which endangered or took human lives or jeopardized fundamental freedoms. The approach to the consideration of the item by the Sixth Committee must be a comprehensive one, in keeping with the official declarations of the two principal organs of the United Nations. While account must be taken of General Assembly resolution 39/159 on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States, that resolution must be seen as part of an indivisible and unequivocal condemnation of all acts of terrorism. That was why her delegation had abstained from voting on the resolution.

38. The debate must eschew the one-sided approach in favour of a comprehensive discussion of methods of preventing all forms of international terrorism. Any resolution emerging from the Committee must reflect a recognition that the fundamental goal was the protection of the inherent dignity of the human person. To call into question that fundamental goal would be to fail to observe the explicit injunction of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

39. While it was important to examine the root causes of terrorism in order to eliminate that increasingly destructive scourge, the Sixth Committee was clearly not the most appropriate forum for that type of examination. The Secretary-General, in collaboration with the United Nations University and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, would seem to be better suited to perform that task. Whichever organ was chosen, Honduras looked forward to the

(Mrs. Corrales, Honduras)

early completion of such a study and the drafting of a document which reflected the concerns of all parties. Meanwhile, the international community could not and should not be indifferent to the continuous endangering or loss of innocent human lives or fundamental freedoms. All States should be strongly urged to comply with the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations relating to practical measures of co-operation for the speedy elimination of the problem of international terrorism. They must also be encouraged to exchange information on the prevention and punishment of terrorism, while those which had not yet done so should consider becoming parties to the international conventions relating to various aspects of international terrorism or to enter into additional agreements to prevent and punish that international crime. Honduras was taking the necessary steps to accede to the agreements to which it was not yet a party.

40. Mr. ROSENSTOCK (United States of America) said that terrorism presented a unique and especially pressing problem for the international community. No other threat struck in the same manner at the very notion of States organized as a community to further the peace, security and welfare of their nationals. The horror of terrorism was further heightened by the random manner in which it struck. The inevitable reactions to terrorism could further contribute to increased tensions and to a deterioration in the quality of life.

41. The United Nations had been responsive to the perceived need to seek measures to deal with the scourge of terrorism. It was not surprising that the Sixth Committee had been the source of much that had been done so far, because terrorism struck at the very fabric of law. A solid beginning had been made by the United Nations; it must not let that beginning become in time an isolated series of gestures; rather, it should take what had been done to date as a foundation upon which to build. Countries could take further steps on their own while still contributing to international co-operation. Becoming parties to the existing conventions on interference with civil aviation, protection of diplomats and hostage-taking was one such step. Those conventions could achieve their goal only if they were widely ratified. The widest possible ratification was important not merely as a means of underscoring the breadth of the rejection of terrorist acts, but also to give full effect to the prosecute-or-extradite approach on which the conventions were based. The object of that approach was itself twofold. In the first place, it was designed to ensure that terrorists could have no safe haven. Secondly, the alternative nature of the obligation took due account of human rights concerns such as due process. To extradite in some cases and prosecute in others did not necessarily reflect a double standard. It probably reflected the very opposite, namely consistent respect for a fundamental standard and respect for human rights. To lose sight of human rights concerns in the pursuit of the elimination of terrorism would be to further the barbaric goals of those who engaged in acts of terrorism.

42. The legal régime created by the conventions could function only if States honoured their obligations under them. Failure to honour the obligations to co-operate, to take preventive measures or to prosecute or extradite made nonsense of the struggle against terrorism and of international co-operation in the

(Mr. Rosenstock, United States)

United Nations. Beyond accepting the existing conventions and honouring their obligations under them, and beyond reaffirming the rejection of terrorism as totally unjustifiable, States must seek added means of international co-operation. They must give earnest to their common recognition that every terrorist attack subverted the existence of laws and every concession to terrorists diminished the humanity of all.

43. Some had suggested that certain goals were so laudable that nothing might be said or done concerning the means used. Some acts were, however, so heinous that they could only dishonour the alleged goals. Acts of terrorism were grave breaches of the law and could not be justified or tolerated.

44. States needed to rededicate themselves to intensified co-operation in the prevention of acts of terrorism. They must be encouraged to harmonize their particular acts with the general rejection of terrorism by the international community and must be provided with ways and means of co-operating on the bilateral, regional and global levels to cope with the threat of terrorism. States of could not succeed in eliminating terrorism unless there was international co-operation. Through co-operation they could seek to eliminate differences among themselves so that terrorists and their supporters would not be encouraged to exploit those differences. It was hardly conducive to international co-operation to mouth tired, anachronistic slogans about capitalism, imperialism, counter-revolution and so forth. Hearing those slogans and at the same time the assertion of the commitment to international co-operation brought to mind the aphorism that hypocrisy was the tribute vice paid to virtue.

45. While efforts at international co-operation alone would not completely eliminate the scourge of terrorism, they would reduce its spread and thus the magnitude of the threat. Lives would be saved, international travel would be less hazardous, and diplomats and international civil servants would be freer to fulfil their responsibilities.

46. The complete elimination of terrorism required the elimination of its breeding-grounds, the solution to problems which divided nations. Existing differences must be resolved in a manner consistent with the United Nations Charter. The agenda of the General Assembly was rich with items directed towards that goal. The Security Council was seized with most of the acute problems of contemporary international relations. The United Nations must pursue the solution to those problems, which concerned, inter alia, questions of State conduct in relation to the use of force and fundamental human rights.

47. It would, however, be irresponsible to insist on awaiting the solution to all problems before seeking to solve that of terrorism. No useful purpose was served by describing State conduct which his delegation regarded as a violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter as "State terrorism". Asserting that nothing should be done about terrorism until all violence in inter-State relations had been eliminated was simply a smoke-screen to hide an unwillingness to act. It must be recognized, however, that efforts to eliminate the scourge of terrorism did

(Mr. Rosenstock, United States)

not decrease the need to pursue ways of implementing a basic promise of the Charter, namely, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. States could not responsibly focus on all forms of violence at once, since such an approach would only lead to confusion and to a lack of progress against either violence between States or violence on the part of individuals and groups.

48. States should all be prepared to mark the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations by a new beginning in the taking of measures against terrorism. Individually, they should support the existing instruments; collectively, they should build new means and levels of international co-operation to eliminate the gruesome threat to them all that was terrorism.

49. Mr. NIYOMRERKS (Thailand) said that it was regrettable that since the consideration of the item on terrorism at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, acts of terrorism, instead of decreasing, had increased at an alarming rate despite the condemnation of the international community and concerted efforts to prevent them. It was clear that the threat of international terrorism extended worldwide, sparing no State. It was Thailand's policy not to condone any act of terrorism, for that phenomenon had an adverse effect on relations between States and on the development of international co-operation, and constituted a threat to international peace and security.

50. Realizing the extent of the threat, the international community had formulated a series of instruments aimed at the elimination of terrorism, in the hope that the threat could be mitigated, if not totally removed, by the codification of laws. It was clear, however, that terrorism had political motivations which were mostly of an international character. International instruments alone could not, therefore, bring about a resolution of the question. States needed to honour specific obligations. A State of asylum had an obligation to prevent the use of its territory for actions contrary to the right of sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State, and should not allow its territory to be used as a base for organizing terrorist acts against another State. A fortiori, it had an obligation not to organize terrorist acts directed against the territorial integrity or political independence of another State. Direct participation by a State in terrorist acts was, moreover, contrary to international law and could possibly be considered an act of aggression.

51. States must make every effort to prosecute and punish terrorists. If a State did not wish to prosecute an offender, it should allow for the extradition of the culprit at the request of the State with concurrent jurisdiction.

52. While States agreed on the need to combat international terrorism, they did not agree on its definition and scope. His delegation was in sympathy with the peoples who were subject to colonialism, racism, apartheid and any foreign domination. It believed that foreign domination against the will of the majority of the population was to be considered State terrorism. While terrorism enjoyed no legal justification and its indiscriminate violence could not be condoned under any

(Mr. Niyomrerks, Thailand)

circumstances, it must be emphasized that colonialism, racism, alien domination and foreign occupation offered little choice to the subjugated peoples as to their means of struggling for their independence. In such situations, the underlying causes of terrorism must be examined with a view to their elimination.

53. Thailand supported the legal instruments aimed at the prevention of terrorism, in particular, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Thailand was a party to the three Conventions on the safety of civil aviation. It appreciated the prompt response by the Secretary-General and the Security Council to the hijacking of the Achille Lauro.

54. Mr. BAEV (Bulgaria) said that his delegation was seriously concerned at the dramatic increase in the number of acts of international terrorism, which had spread fear and insecurity, jeopardized fundamental freedoms, taken innocent human lives and inflicted heavy material damage. The upsurge in terrorism had had a negative impact on the diplomatic activities of States, thus endangering international discourse. Bulgaria had consistently opposed the theory and practice of terrorism, which was fundamentally alien to its basic policy and ideology and was at variance with the basic precepts of socialist morality.

55. The struggle against that criminal phenomenon called for resolute action primarily at the national level, for it was individual States that bore the primary responsibility for devising effective means to combat terrorism as well as for eliminating its underlying causes. His country had firmly condemned all terrorist acts and had always called for strict measures to prevent international crime in all its manifestations. It had been actively engaged in the elaboration and adoption of such important international legal instruments 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 obligations stemming from those Conventions had been incorporated in Bulgarian legislation, which provided for comprehensive measures to combat terrorism. In the absence of treaties regarding legal assistance and extradition, Bulgaria had co-operated with other countries in investigating facts and circumstances relating to terrorist acts, and had extradited foreign citizens associated with terrorism who had sought refuge in Bulgaria.

56. The effective elimination of terrorism depended primarily on the identification and removal of its underlying causes. Only then could specific measures aimed at its prevention be elaborated. Basically, those underlying causes were colonialism, aggression, unlawful use of force, violation of the political independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, interference in internal affairs, racism and apartheid, genocide, suppression of the struggle of peoples for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence, and social injustice. Bulgaria categorically rejected any attempt to equate terrorism with the legitimate struggle of peoples for national, economic and

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

social liberation. It firmly condemned all attempts at interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States on the pretext of combating international terrorism.

57. The fact that international terrorism had become a policy of certain countries was another source of concern and posed a serious threat to international peace and security. His delegation supported the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism and attached particular importance to the provision that States should prohibit in their territory the activities of organizations and groups implicated in the commission of terrorist acts.

58. Mr. ALI (Democratic Yemen) said that the subject of terrorism was of the greatest importance and deserved careful and unbiased study. Many of those that spoke in high-sounding terms of their concern at escalating acts of terrorism were themselves the principal source of international terrorism in all its forms, including the repression of peoples, attempts to bring about the downfall of foreign Governments, interference in the internal affairs of States and attempts to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination.

59. His country totally rejected all acts of anarchistic terrorism carried out for personal gain and costing innocent human lives. That kind of terrorism could easily be prevented through the co-operation of Member States in tackling its true causes.

60. State terrorism was terrorism in its most dangerous form since it represented a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. It included aggression, expansion, the occupation of foreign territory by force, racial discrimination, interference in the internal affairs of States, and political and economic coercion.

61. There was a need to distinguish between acts of terrorism carried out by States or individuals and the legitimate struggle for self-determination of peoples and national liberation movements against racist or colonialist régimes. The latter had a right to use all possible means, including armed struggle, to achieve freedom and independence.

62. Democratic Yemen wished to reaffirm its readiness to co-operate with other States in finding ways and means of preventing international terrorism and ultimately bringing about its eradication.

63. Miss DAUCHY (Secretary of the Committee) announced that Japan had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.6/40/L.3.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.