

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 69th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GASTLI (Tunisia)

later: Mr. KNIPPING-VICTORIA (Dominican Republic)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

1. The CHAIRMAN outlined the proposed programme of work for the Committee's remaining meetings at the current session.
2. After a brief discussion in which Mr. RAMADAN (Egypt), Mr. FERRARI BRAVO (Italy) and Mr. BERMAN (United Kingdom) took part, the CHAIRMAN said he took it that the Committee adopted the proposed programme of work.
3. It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 123: 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/38/327-S/15911, A/38/355 and Add.1-3, A/38/432-S/15992, A/38/507-S/16044, A/38/559-S/16118 and Corr.1; A/C.6/38/7; A/C.6/38/L.21)

4. Mr. SWINNEN (Belgium) said that his delegation attached great importance to the work being done by the United Nations with a view to devising measures to combat international terrorism, especially as terrorist acts were continuing to endanger or take innocent human lives or jeopardize fundamental freedoms. It was true that international terrorism could not be completely eradicated unless the economic, political and social conditions which encouraged it were ameliorated. However, there were some acts of terrorism so barbarous and reprehensible that nothing could justify them. Unless that was recognized, no progress would be made in combating terrorism.

5. It was regrettable that no clear and unambiguous definition of terrorism had yet been produced. In the view of his delegation, it was both desirable and possible to identify criteria for acts which could not be justified or excused, regardless of the sympathy and understanding that certain political, economic, social or cultural situations might arouse. His delegation could not, therefore, endorse an approach which established a close link between existing causes of terrorism and measures to be taken to combat it. It would be a mistake to concentrate all efforts on prevention of the disease while ignoring remedies to stop it from spreading. It was encouraging to see that various measures and regulations had been agreed on at both the regional and the sectoral levels, including the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, to which Belgium was a signatory.

6. The so-called partial approach had enabled the international community to legislate on various types of terrorism through the Tokyo, Montreal and Hague Conventions and the 1973 and 1979 Conventions adopted by the General Assembly.

(Mr. Swinnen, Belgium)

Belgium had not been able to sign the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, because the accompanying resolution ran counter to the letter and spirit of the Convention, in that it justified terrorist activities undertaken in exercise of the legitimate right to self-determination. Belgium did, however, welcome the entry into force of the Convention against the Taking of Hostages, which it had signed in January 1983. The participation of States in international agreements was a positive sign of the international co-operation that had been gradually established in an increasing number of fields. He hoped that efforts in that direction would continue.

7. Referring to the recent outrage at Rangoon, he noted that the inquiry conducted by the Government of Burma had attributed responsibility to two North Korean terrorists who, according to the evidence available had acted on the instructions of the North Korean régime. That act had been most strongly condemned by the members of the European Community, and Belgium considered it a flagrant violation of international law, of the United Nations Charter and of humanitarian principles. Nothing of the kind must ever happen again.

8. Mr. KESSELY (Chad) said that international terrorism was unquestionably a form of use or threat of force in international relations, an act of violence that might employ the same means as armed conflict, thus endangering or taking innocent human lives in the same way as an open international conflict. As a country that had always suffered from such conflicts, Chad roundly condemned terrorism.

9. Despite the adoption of legal instruments on the subject, terrorism was increasing throughout the world. His delegation deplored the atrocity committed at Rangoon, one of a long series of recent acts of barbarism, and paid tribute to the Burmese Government, which had very quickly taken the necessary measures to establish its jurisdiction over the crime in accordance with article 3 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents.

10. State terrorism was the most dangerous form of international terrorism, since it could disrupt everyday social and economic activity and engender distrust and hatred between the States and peoples involved. It was the expression and instrument of a policy of force, aggression, hegemony and interference in the internal affairs of militarily weak States. It was based on excessive political ambition to impose a certain will. Both 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 paragraph 4 of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism, referred to the obligation of every State to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State, or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts. Since it was difficult to put a stop to any human ambition by peaceful means, it was necessary to develop collective security. In the short term, it would be most desirable to clarify and broaden the relevant

(Mr. Kessely, Chad)

provisions of Security Council resolution 387 (1976), which proclaimed the lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or groups of States. That was the only way of eliminating the insatiable political appetites that gave rise to State terrorism.

11. The Tokyo, Montreal and Hague Conventions on air piracy, to which Chad was a party, were deficient in one respect. Logically, the offences referred to should be considered purely as offences under ordinary law and should be grounds for automatic extradition. In fact, the Conventions allowed the State in which the offence was committed to decide on its nature. That only encouraged complicity and, consequently, the unlawful acts themselves. He hoped that that deficiency would soon be corrected.

12. Ms. LONGARIC (Bolivia) said that the international community must make a sustained effort to put an end to international terrorism. That would be possible only on the basis of an in-depth, searching study of all aspects of terrorism, and it must be recognized that the chief difficulty lay in establishing a universally acceptable definition of what terrorism was. It must be borne in mind, for example, that the heroes of past independence struggles had been referred to by the colonial authorities of the time as subversive elements and terrorists. Since there were still peoples struggling for independence, a clear distinction must be made between the activities of national liberation movements and terrorist acts perpetrated by criminals and maniacs. Naturally, activities aimed at achieving national liberation must not endanger the lives of the population at large.

13. In that connection, she wished to draw attention to paragraph 1 of the communication received from the Organization of American States and reproduced in document A/38/355. Unfortunately, her country had not escaped the situation described by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Although the Bolivian people had finally succeeded in regaining their freedom and for the past year had had a highly democratic Government, the forces that had been driven from power were still active and terrorist acts aimed at destabilizing the Government were becoming more frequent. It was common knowledge that the forces in question had links with foreign paramilitary and reactionary elements. Her Government therefore appealed to the international community to support the cause of Bolivian democracy and, as in the past, to repudiate those who wished to bring back a reign of terror.

14. There were other, more subtle and sophisticated forms of terrorism, such as the nuclear threat. Her country joined those that were calling for agreement among the great Powers on limiting, reducing and if possible eliminating nuclear weapons. The economic pressures exerted by the rich countries on the poor countries also bore the marks of terrorism. The economic rights of States must be respected, and the global negotiations for the establishment of the new international economic order should be undertaken without delay.

15. Politically inspired violence and terrorism could be eliminated if peoples and Governments throughout the world took responsibility for dealing with the underlying causes. States must eliminate economic and social injustice, promote

(Ms. Longaric, Bolivia)

universal respect for human rights, eliminate apartheid and all forms of racial and religious discrimination, refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force and from exerting pressures on other States, recognize the sovereignty of all peoples and return territories not belonging to them to their legitimate owners.

16. Mr. NGUYEN QUY BINH (Viet Nam) said that there was a need for further study and more tangible efforts to achieve measures to prevent acts of terrorism and preserve universal peace. Terrorism in all its forms was totally alien to and incompatible with the fundamental principles underlying the foreign policy of Viet Nam. It not only endangered innocent human lives but also jeopardized fundamental freedoms of peoples and international peace and security. His delegation therefore fully supported every effort of the international community to eradicate terrorism.

17. Although the General Assembly had condemned equally terrorist acts committed by individuals and those committed by State authorities, the latter category had not been studied sufficiently and there was still a lack of political will on the part of a certain group of States to deal suitably with such terrorism at the international level. It was the people of third world countries that continued to be the victims of various kinds of terrorism. The practice of terrorism in international relations, rooted in the policy of colonialism, imperialist oppression, aggression, violation of national sovereignty and racism, represented a great threat to human life and to the peace and security of mankind. It was primarily the responsibility of States to take steps that would eliminate its root causes.

18. He noted the growth in terrorist activities aimed at intimidating peoples and depriving them of their fundamental freedoms, including their inherent right to self-determination. His delegation was concerned at the terrorism practised by the forces of racism and domination, as in South Africa and Israel, or expressed through shows of force, military threats, armed intervention, gross aggression, war and sabotage, or even in a clamour to "teach other nations a lesson", as in Central America, the Middle East and South-East Asia. Such terrorism totally disregarded human rights and all moral and material values. An in-depth study of the causes of international terrorism would prove that terror was mainly used for domination and subjugation and would also leave no room for anyone to label struggles for national liberation as acts of terrorism.

19. The practical approach to the problem of combating terrorism would be a comprehensive one. Accession to or ratification of the existing international instruments must be complemented by national legislative measures to suppress terrorism. The problems caused by the absence of a general international instrument which condemned and defined all forms and acts of terrorism should be eliminated through the collective action of States. His delegation would support every initiative which would bring about co-operation for the speedy eradication of terrorism.

20. Mr. MAPANGO ma KEMISHANGA (Zaire) said that international terrorism represented a threat to the peace and security of mankind. Zaire, whose foreign policy was based on respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence, independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, unreservedly condemned the practice of international terrorism in all its forms, as it frustrated the implementation of those principles and undermined human and international solidarity. It was also one of the major obstacles to the implementation of development policies and made co-operation and understanding among nations impossible.

21. Zaire was a party to the five conventions relating to various aspects of international terrorism referred to in the annex to document A/38/355, and it had also fully supported the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on practical measures of co-operation for the speedy elimination of the problem of international terrorism. Nevertheless, it was concerned at the amount of terrorism in the world despite all the measures and precautions that had been taken. It categorically condemned the atrocity committed at Rangoon and noted that, according to the results of an inquiry, the North Korean Government had been behind that tragedy. If that was the case, his delegation could only join all those who had expressed their total disapproval of such a violation of international law and of the obligations that derived from it.

22. All forms of terrorism, including the taking of hostages, offences on board aircraft and against internationally protected persons, the policy of apartheid, colonialism, aggression, mercenarism, economic pressure and sabotage, should be roundly condemned by the international community. The elimination of senseless terrorism due solely to the pathological state of the perpetrators could be facilitated by the use of available scientific methods. The eradication of deliberate acts by individuals required punitive measures, the enforcement of which depended on a system of mutual assistance between States in criminal matters. That, however, was a process of attacking terrorism from the top, and it would not be very effective as long as the underlying causes, such as hunger, disease and poverty, had not been wiped out.

23. The most dreadful form of international terrorism was State terrorism, which manifested itself in colonialism, apartheid, foreign domination, racism, incitement to civil war, acts of sabotage, killings, mercenarism and so forth. It endangered the lives of thousands of innocent people and at times, in some countries, was institutionalized. It should be condemned as a crime against the peace and security of mankind and should be the target of Draconian measures of collective self-defence. His delegation therefore appealed to all States to make the necessary arrangements to give effect to the various measures, including conventions, in the subject.

24. It should, however, be pointed out that the struggle for self-determination was a holy war and, having been endorsed by the relevant General Assembly resolutions, actually formed part of the struggle against terrorism. Thus, it could not itself be considered an act of terrorism.

25. Mr. THOMAS (Guyana) said that the increasing number of terrorist acts, which had often led to indiscriminate loss of life and untold human suffering, could not be condoned, since they were inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. States had an obligation to work for the total eradication of international terrorism, for which national as well as international efforts were indispensable.

26. The causes of certain acts of violence included the denial of basic human rights to a people or group of people, whose frustration ultimately found expression in violent acts against the governmental system they sought to change in an attempt to focus attention on problems which had to be solved. Neglect of economic, political and social rights or infringement of the right to life, personal security or liberty created situations conducive to acts of terrorism. The more repressive the system, the more determined a people would be to effect change by the means they considered to be most effective. Such methods were usually violent and indiscriminate. Some seven years previously, Guyana had been among the victims of an act of international terrorism when a Cuban aircraft had been bombed out of the sky and a number of young Guyanese on board had perished. Guyana therefore knew the pain of such an experience.

27. Governments had an important role to play in the fight against international terrorism by vigorously investigating and bringing to justice groups which enjoyed safe haven within their territories. Those which permitted their State apparatus to give aid and succour to organized bands of terrorists whose sole intent and purpose was the destabilization and overthrow of other Governments ought seriously to re-examine that policy. A policy of support for or acquiescence in the activities of terrorist bands could only be detrimental to harmonious inter-State relations.

28. His delegation could not consider the just struggle of national liberation movements, whose rights had been and continued to be unscrupulously violated, as a parallel to acts of international terrorism. It supported the continued efforts of such movements to rid themselves of the burden of colonial domination, apartheid and foreign occupation.

29. Guyana's commitment to combat international terrorism was reflected in its ratification of many of the conventions proscribing international terrorism as a norm of inter-State behaviour.

30. While Guyana regretted the recent loss of life in Rangoon, it urged that the temptation to hastily assign responsibility should be resisted. Any impetuous rush to determine guilt without a careful analysis of all the relevant circumstances would do little more than lead to greater international tension and instability.

31. Mr. MCKENZIE (Trinidad and Tobago) said that his country had always opposed international terrorism and attached great importance to international efforts to prevent it. Accordingly, it had supported the relevant General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolutions 34/145 and 36/109, and had acceded to the international conventions referred to in the annex to document A/38/355.

(Mr. McKenzie, Trinidad and Tobago)

32. However, his delegation realized that, notwithstanding the measures adopted with a view to eliminating international terrorism, steps must be taken to combat the underlying causes of terrorism and acts of violence. The main causes included racism - particularly apartheid - neo-colonialism, hegemonism and expansionism. The situation in Namibia was a case in point. Numerous General Assembly resolutions confirmed the legitimacy of the struggle waged by subjugated peoples to achieve national liberation, and attempts by such peoples to fight for their liberation from racial oppression and foreign domination were therefore not regarded as acts of international terrorism. National liberation movements were not to be confused with international terrorism.

33. His delegation was aware of the school of thought which considered that the most significant and most dangerous form of international terrorism was that practised by some States. Despite the fact that the Secretary-General's terms of reference in relation to the item under consideration did not appear to cover the phenomenon of State terrorism, his delegation felt obliged to comment on that question. Among the most blatant manifestations of State terrorism were apartheid, neo-colonialism, the use of military force against so-called third world States and economic pressures.

34. The use of international terrorism as an official policy by some States endangered human lives and jeopardized fundamental freedoms, and terrorism in all its forms constituted a threat to international peace and security. The international community should therefore give special consideration to the question of terrorism, including its underlying causes. The Committee and the General Assembly should adopt draft resolution A/C.6/38/L.21. He drew attention in particular to paragraph 9 of the draft resolution.

35. Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Philippines) said that his delegation shared the international community's growing concern at the alarming increase in international terrorism. Acts of international terrorism were a serious threat to international peace and security and were at variance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, friendly relations among States, settlement of disputes by peaceful means and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as well as other generally accepted principles of international law.

36. Recent events, such as the totally unjustifiable terrorist bomb attack at Rangoon, had shown the extent to which unsuspecting people engaged in sincere efforts to promote the further development of bilateral relations between States had become the victims of international outlaws.

37. The international community should condemn all acts of terrorism and violence that endangered human lives. His delegation was whole-heartedly in favour of a study of the question and was willing to co-operate in any effort to eradicate terrorism.

38. Mr. MUENSCH (German Democratic Republic) said that, as a socialist State, the German Democratic Republic had consistently opposed acts of terrorism, which involved senseless loss of life, disrupted the diplomatic activities of States,

(Mr. Muensch, German
Democratic Republic)

disturbed the normal conduct of international relations, impaired transport links between countries and had of late begun to jeopardize economic co-operation with the developing countries.

39. The continuing struggle against international terrorism required effective national machinery and better implementation of existing international legal instruments. His delegation had always regarded the elaboration of a general convention on combating international terrorism as neither meaningful nor feasible, for experience had shown that it was better to have separate conventions covering specific forms of international terrorism. Mercenarism would be one such form, and early completion of the elaboration of a convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries was a most important task in that respect. Another question which called for careful examination was the possibility of including international terrorism in the draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind. The International Law Commission had begun to answer that question when it had unanimously agreed that the draft Code should cover only the most serious international crimes.

40. Both those issues, and also the question of the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives, were specifically covered by other items on the Committee's agenda, and his delegation was convinced that the various aspects of international terrorism could be effectively dealt with under those items. At the same time, it considered that item 123 served to prevent fragmentation of the overall problem of international terrorism. The function of that item should be twofold: on the one hand, a periodic review of the progress made by States in implementing the pertinent General Assembly resolutions and, on the other, co-ordination of relevant United Nations activities under various agenda items and perhaps also in different bodies.

41. Mr. Knipping-Victoria (Dominican Republic) took the Chair.

42. Mr. KHAN (Pakistan) said that his Government was deeply concerned at the growing momentum of organized international crime and terrorism. There were daily reports of innocent persons becoming victims of senseless terrorist acts. The bomb attack against senior officials of the Government of the Republic of Korea had provoked a profound sense of shock and horror in Pakistan.

43. His Government was eager to join in efforts to devise effective measures to curb the scourge of terrorism. One way of confronting the menace was the adoption of international conventions. In such conventions, international terrorism might be defined as an act of violence committed by an individual or a group of individuals on the territory of another State and directed against the innocent citizens thereof not directly involved in the dispute, that had given rise to the violence.

44. Terrorist acts sprang primarily from political motives. However, Pakistan drew a clear distinction between acts of criminal violence and the activities of

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

peoples struggling against colonialism, racism and foreign domination and seeking the realization of their right to self-determination. Acts of violence carried out in the course of such struggles, while tragic in their effects, were the consequence of existing injustices and denial of legitimate rights and aspirations. A further distinction must be made between genuine liberation movements and rebellious movements within a State which defied the authority of an established Government and undermined the integrity and solidarity of a State. While the former would be covered by the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols, the latter should remain subject to the law of the State concerned and be proceeded against by that State under due process of law.

45. His delegation would favour an in-depth examination of the underlying causes of all current acts of violence which had international repercussions. The elimination of those causes was the most effective means of preventing political violence.

46. In general, Pakistan believed that each category of acts of violence should be dealt with in specific and separate treaties and conventions, rather than in a single comprehensive convention. It suggested that the Ad Hoc Committee, after agreement on the definition of international terrorism and an examination of its underlying causes, should compile a list of acts which could be the subject of separate conventions. A number of such conventions already existed and should be complied with in good faith.

47. Mr. ZEDAN (Saudi Arabia) said that the international community had recently been disquieted by an increase in acts of international terrorism committed both by individuals or groups of individuals and by States. His country had always been opposed to terrorism, and it was a party to the Hague, Montreal and Tokyo Conventions dealing with various aspects of the problem.

48. In order to counter terrorism, much more effective international co-operation was needed, together with greater respect for the Charter and the relevant General Assembly resolutions. Ending terrorism meant eliminating the oppression and violations of human rights that gave rise to the despair which impelled individuals to extreme actions.

49. Saudi Arabia condemned the recent terrorist killing of South Korean government officials in Burma. It also condemned all forms of State terrorism against colonial peoples, especially as practised by Israel in the West Bank and by South Africa against the people of Namibia, and the terrorist aggression by those countries against sovereign neighbouring States. The actions of national liberation movements in pursuit of their rights should not, however, be equated with international terrorism.

50. The Committee should continue its consideration of the legal aspects of the question and leave the political aspects to other bodies.

51. Mr. HARVOLA (Finland) said that it was clearly a matter of concern to the international community that innocent lives continued to be lost through acts of terrorism, which also seriously affected international relations in general. It was especially at times of increased tension in international relations that such acts might prove fatal to world peace and security. Conversely, such times of tension were likely to encourage elements that wanted to further their aims by resorting to acts of violence. Thus, international co-operation in accordance with the principles of the Charter and General Assembly resolutions 34/145 and 36/109, and also vigorous measures, at the national level, had become especially important.

52. Conventions dealing with specific aspects of international terrorism had been successfully adopted by the United Nations and other bodies, as indicated in the annex to the Secretary-General's report (A/38/355). Full implementation of those conventions could be important in combating terrorism, and Finland hoped that the States which had not yet done so would consider becoming parties to them.

53. No discussion of the question of international terrorism could overlook its underlying causes. It would be unrealistic to expect quick agreement on solutions, but they must continue to be sought. In the meantime, effective measures must be found to prevent the occurrence of acts of terrorism, whatever their reasons. It was only through a common and collective determination to condemn and eliminate terrorist acts that their recurrence throughout the world could be prevented.

54. Mr. FONT (Spain) said that Spain shared the deep concern of countries that had experienced terrorism, and it had always deplored terrorist acts, no matter what their source. In that connection, it vigorously condemned the recent terrorist bomb attack in Burma.

55. However, terrorism would not be prevented only by condemnation after the fact. International conventions of universal or regional scope must be ratified by as many States as possible. Spain itself had ratified the Hague, Tokyo and Montreal Conventions and the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism.

56. One of the main problems was defining international terrorism. While Spain favoured the achievement of self-determination and liberation from foreign domination, racism and apartheid, it believed that there could be no implicit, explicit or even apparent exception to the condemnation of international terrorism and that, accordingly, the struggle for laudable ends did not necessarily justify the use of any kind of means to achieve them. When it came to terrorism, the end did not justify the means, any more than the arguable purposes a State might have had in committing an act of aggression justified the aggression. Terrorism must be condemned outright and with no reservations of any kind.

57. With reference to the rights and duties of States under international law, there were, as indicated in recommendation 4 of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism in document A/34/37, two situations that might arise. In the first place, a State of asylum had an obligation to prevent the use of its territory for activities contrary to the fundamental rights of other States. That derived from a basic principle of international law evidenced, for instance, in the

(Mr. Font, Spain)

Island of Palmas case, where the arbitrator, Max Huber, had pointed out that the exclusive powers of a State over its territory had as corollary an obligation to protect within that territory the rights of other States, particularly their right to integrity and inviolability (Reports of International Arbitral Awards, vol. II, p. 839). In its judgement in the Corfu Channel case, the International Court of Justice had referred to a State's obligation not to allow knowingly its territory to be used for acts contrary to the rights of other States (I.C.J. Reports 1949, p. 22). General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) had also drawn attention to that obligation. Secondly, if States must not allow their territories to be used as a base for organizing terrorist acts against other States, then, a fortiori, they had an obligation not themselves to organize terrorist activities with the aim of impairing the territorial integrity or political independence of other States. Direct participation by a State in terrorist activities was unquestionably contrary to international law and could possibly be considered an act of aggression.

58. As further evidence of the importance his Government attached to such matters, he recalled that, at the initiative of Spain, the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe had included a number of principles regarding the curbing of international terrorism.

59. Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that his Government officially condemned acts of international terrorism which caused the death of innocent people and struck at fundamental human freedoms. In support of that policy, it had become a party to the Hague, Tokyo and Montreal Conventions on aspects of international terrorism.

60. In addition to international terrorism by individuals or groups, there was political or State terrorism. His Government called for a concerted international effort to end that second form of terrorism. To combat the phenomenon, the factors underlying terrorism must be studied. They included colonial oppression and intimidation, racism as practised, for example; in South Africa, and also such overt terrorist practices as aggression, neo-colonialism, intervention in the internal affairs of States, subversion of established Governments, obstruction of the development and economic growth of States and the forced exiling or relocation of peoples.

61. The international community must determine fairly, through extensive inquiries and interviews of those involved, which were the terrorist States responsible for driving despairing and dispossessed individuals or groups to commit terrorist acts.

62. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya approved of providing moral and material assistance to promote the principles of the Charter; it therefore supported colonial peoples and national liberation movements struggling justly for their right to self-determination and independence.

63. Mr. PATRONAS (Greece) said that his country had adopted three laws on the suppression of terrorism, which established strict procedures for the immediate punishment of those found guilty of terrorist acts. Greece had already ratified a

(Mr. Patronas, Greece)

number of international conventions relating to the various aspects of international terrorism, and was about to ratify others. In response to the appeal made by the General Assembly in its resolution 34/145, all States which had not yet done so should sign and ratify the existing international conventions and take appropriate measures for their strict implementation. Greece would have no objection to the adoption of an additional convention, if that was considered necessary for more effective action against international terrorism.

64. Greece had strongly condemned, on behalf of the European Community, the outrageous terrorist act committed in Rangoon on 9 October 1983. His Government noted that the official investigation conducted by the Government of Burma had found the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to have been responsible for that heinous act.

65. Mr. MOOSA (Maldives) said that his Government was fundamentally opposed to all forms of international terrorism. It considered that terrorism constituted a crime against humanity and supported the international community's efforts to eradicate that scourge. It welcomed the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism.

66. The real cause of international terrorism was that the world still suffered from imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. His Government believed that atrocities committed against civilians by an occupying Power, a neo-colonial Power or an aggressor and the expulsion of people by means of the threat or use of force should be condemned as acts of terrorism, since they often resulted in violent murder or loss of legitimate property. The international community should not hesitate to condemn all forms of terrorism, including the hijacking of aircraft, the planting of bombs and the taking of hostages by force, regardless of motivation, occasion or circumstances and whether the acts were committed by individuals, a regular army or an agency of a State.

67. It was regrettable that many of those incidents were related to political conflicts. The recent bombing incident in Rangoon was a clear example of that evil trend. Maldives strongly condemned all such acts of terrorism and believed that conflicts among groups or countries should not be allowed to escalate to the level of terrorism.

68. Without a careful investigation of the underlying causes of international terrorism, only limited results could be achieved in combating it. The international community would go a long way towards preventing terrorism if it could reform the social, moral, political and economic situation. In his delegation's opinion, the recent conventions relating to various aspects of terrorism included the appropriate multilateral measures. What was needed was a willingness to implement them.

69. Without confusing terrorism with the legitimate armed struggle by oppressed peoples against aggression and illegal occupation, Maldives would continue to work with the international community to prevent terrorism and help to create a more secure and peaceful world.

70. Mr. HOLMES (Ireland) said that his delegation supported the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism, which had condemned all acts of international terrorism and had called on States to contribute to the progressive elimination of the underlying causes of that phenomenon. His delegation condemned all incidents, irrespective of source, which were of a terrorist nature. In that regard, Ireland had noted that an official inquiry conducted by the Government of Burma had found North Korea to have been responsible for the act of terrorism carried out in Rangoon, which had claimed 21 lives. Ireland strongly condemned that barbarous act.

71. As stated in his Government's communication to the Secretary-General (A/38/355, p. 6), Ireland had given effect to the Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, the Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft and the Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation.

72. Mr. ROMERO SANCHEZ (El Salvador) said that his country condemned all forms of international terrorism and would continue to support all measures aimed at eradicating that scourge. It was concerned at attempts to justify international terrorism; in its opinion, no religious, political, economic or other justification was valid. The international community should condemn international terrorism, whatever its source.

73. El Salvador had nothing but condemnation for the brutal attack carried out in Rangoon on officials of the Republic of Korea by agents of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The cancer of international terrorism could be cured only through concerted efforts by all States. El Salvador was prepared to co-operate fully in that process.

74. Mr. DJAMBONA (Central African Republic) said that, whatever the motives of those who engaged in acts of international terrorism, such acts caused great loss of life and jeopardized fundamental freedoms. International terrorism was therefore a threat to international peace and security. It impeded the conduct of diplomatic relations and jeopardized the safety of various modes of communication. It was imperative for all States to work together for the speedy eradication of international terrorism.

75. His Government supported the General Assembly's appeal to States which had not yet done so to consider becoming parties to the existing international conventions relating to various aspects of international terrorism. The Central African Republic was expediting its internal procedures for ratifying those conventions. In its view, however, the problem would not be solved merely through the ratification of such instruments, by a large number of States, but primarily through their effective implementation. As a peace-loving country, it firmly rejected any form of terrorism as a means of effecting change, and supported negotiation and dialogue over blind violence.

76. His delegation endorsed the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism concerning co-operation in the eradication of that modern scourge.

77. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) said that his country, in keeping with its commitment to peaceful coexistence and constructive co-operation, had always denounced all forms of terrorism, which posed a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. It wished to stress, however, that the legitimate struggle of oppressed peoples to liberate themselves from domination, subordination and exploitation should not be confused with terrorism, nor should it be forgotten that among the causes of international terrorism were colonialism, racism, apartheid and hegemonism.

78. The international community should tolerate neither the blind acts of terrorism committed by small Fascist groups nor State terrorism of the kind practised by the racist and Fascist Pretoria régime. Countries which co-operated with the apartheid régime and enabled it to perpetuate racial discrimination were as guilty as South Africa itself.

79. Guinea deplored the terrorist attack committed in Rangoon on 9 October and the loss of life that had resulted. It refused, however, to go along with certain delegations which were clearly trying to use the incident to deepen the arbitrary division between two peoples of the same nation. His delegation would support the establishment of an international commission to investigate the incident. Until such a commission made its findings known, the merits of any accusations could not easily be determined.

80. Efforts to combat international terrorism would be ineffective as long as terrorist organizations and Fascist Governments such as the Pretoria régime continued to find allies for their policies of aggression and destabilization. Guinea stood ready to support any measure aimed at the complete eradication of that crime against humanity.

81. Mr. WABUGE (Kenya) said that Kenya remained deeply concerned at the alarming increase in acts of international terrorism, which had spared no region of the world. His Government had repeatedly condemned all such acts, which not only caused loss of innocent human lives, but also hampered normal relations among States and increased international tension. International terrorism was contrary to international law and the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

82. Kenya condemned the recent terrorist attack in Rangoon and hoped that all the perpetrators would be brought to justice. It was imperative for the international community to ensure that co-ordinated action was taken to secure the prosecution, extradition and punishment of the perpetrators of such acts.

83. However, Kenya wished to state unequivocally that the question of terrorism did not apply to those who were under colonial rule and struggling for their right to self-determination and independence or those who were struggling against the racist minority apartheid régime. Those struggles for human dignity needed the support of the international community.

84. Mrs. VALDES (Cuba) said that her Government attached great importance to the struggle against international terrorism, which was incompatible with the most elementary norms of coexistence. However, it believed that no serious analysis of international terrorism could be made without an in-depth study of its underlying causes, which included colonialism, social oppression, racism, apartheid and the aggressive policies of some States.

85. It was deplorable that some States Members of the United Nations were permitting and promoting in their territories the preparation of subversive and destabilizing activities against other Member States. By financing such activities and providing training to the perpetrators, such States were encouraging the spread of international terrorism.

86. In recent months, a number of Nicaraguan citizens had been kidnapped. Entire Nicaraguan families had been murdered by terrorist gangs trained and armed by the United States Government. The many acts of terrorism against Nicaragua had caused great loss of life and done considerable damage to that country's economy.

87. The most dangerous form of terrorism was official State terrorism. The most brutal examples were South Africa's attacks on Angola, Israel's aggression against Lebanon and the repressive policies of certain reactionary régimes of Asia and Latin America.

88. Attempts were often made to confuse the actions of national liberation movements with acts of international terrorism. Cuba strongly rejected any attempt to impede the just struggle of peoples to cast off the yoke of colonialism, foreign domination and racial oppression. A number of General Assembly resolutions confirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of oppressed peoples for national liberation.

89. Cuba was deeply concerned at the proliferation of acts of international terrorism. Such acts interfered with the conduct of diplomatic relations, since they were often directed against embassies and diplomatic representatives. Terrorism also damaged international co-operation; in some cases, experts who had gone to small countries to assist them in combating underdevelopment had been kidnapped and brutally murdered.

90. Her delegation believed that, in addition to taking unilateral measures, States should conclude bilateral agreements with a view to eradicating the scourge of international terrorism, which would be possible only after its underlying causes were eliminated.

91. Cuba was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.6/38/L.21 and believed that its adoption would lend momentum to the effort to combat terrorism. The early conclusion of a convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries would complement that effort.

92. Ms. BERBERI (Sudan) said that there had been several recent instances of terrorist violence in various parts of the world, including the bombing attack in

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Rangoon. Her delegation vehemently condemned that attack and wished to offer its condolences to the observer mission of the Republic of Korea.

93. All States Members of the United Nations should seek to ratify 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 the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, and the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages. Member States also had an obligation to implement the provisions of those Conventions.

94. In addition, the international community had a responsibility to examine the factors which led individuals or groups to try to effect radical change through acts of violence. In her Government's opinion, actions taken in the struggle for liberation and independence by oppressed peoples deprived of their right to self-determination did not constitute terrorism. The actions of the national liberation movements were legitimate efforts to achieve liberation and were consistent with the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter.

95. Mr. HLAING (Burma) said that few questions were more relevant or of greater concern to all Member States than the malaise of terrorism, which continued to afflict humanity in increasing proportion and in myriad forms. The purpose of the discussion was to formulate measures to prevent international terrorism and also to study the underlying causes of its various forms. The various dimensions and ramifications of the question of international terrorism were reflected in the change from the original wording of the item to a formulation that included the study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which caused some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes. Different Member States saw the problem from different angles and their assessment of its cause or causes, as well as its symptoms and cures, differed sharply. Thus, after a decade of deliberations in the Sixth Committee, little substantive progress had been made. His delegation believed that, to achieve the goal, the Committee's discussions must be constructive and be held in an atmosphere of calm and mutual understanding, free from emotion and polemics. It was his delegation's constant endeavour to promote such an atmosphere.

96. He would therefore refer only briefly to the tragic incident on 9 October 1983 at the Martyrs' Mausoleum in Rangoon. As a result of that incident, 16 visiting dignitaries and officials of the Republic of Korea and three Burmese officials had been killed instantly. Fifteen other Koreans and 33 Burmese, including the Minister for Information and Culture and the Deputy Minister, had been injured, some seriously, and two of the injured had later succumbed. He expressed his delegation's appreciation and thanks to all the delegations which had conveyed their Government's condolences on that tragedy.

97. The President of Burma had stated categorically, on the day of the incident, that those responsible for that despicable and cowardly act of terrorism would not

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go unpunished. The following day, the Council of Ministers had set up an Inquiry Committee with wide-ranging powers and broad terms of reference. On 10, 11 and 12 October, three suspects had been captured, two alive and one dead. By the first week of November, the thorough investigation carried out by the Inquiry Committee had established conclusively that the bomb attack had been perpetrated by North Koreans acting under instructions of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Government of Burma had accordingly taken action at the diplomatic and political level, ordering the closure of the DPRK Embassy in Rangoon, severing diplomatic relations with that country and withdrawing its recognition of the DPRK Government. The Koreans captured alive faced criminal prosecution and were on trial before the Rangoon Divisional Court.

98. He must express once again a deep sense of shock, grief and indignation at the tragic fate that had befallen the Korean dignitaries and officials, particularly when they had been in Burma in the peaceful pursuit of co-operation, goodwill and friendship. At the same time, his Government had taken the decision it did with a keen sense of justice and responsibility, and certainly not in a spirit of rancour or vengeance. His delegation did not intend to comment upon or respond in any way to past or future statements or criticism in that connection, regardless of their origin or nature, for several valid reasons. Firstly, appropriate diplomatic action had already been taken and further legal action was under way. By the time the court proceedings were concluded, all the circumstances surrounding the incident and the whole truth about it would have been legally established and made known to the entire world. Secondly, from the day of the incident onwards, his Government had taken measured and proportionate steps in conformity with the laws of Burma and its sense of justice and responsibility. It would do nothing beyond what was strictly necessary. Thirdly, the nature of the policies and ideological persuasions of the parties principally involved, being what they were, a discussion of the incident in the Committee and other international forums could only be a heated debate charged with emotion and mutual recriminations. Such a discussion would not be conducive to a lessening of the international tensions that already existed.

99. His delegation would therefore like to place on record that it was the carefully considered position of his Government to refrain from having any part in the polemical discussion and debate as far as the specific issue of the 9 October incident was concerned. With regard to the general question of international terrorism within the scope of agenda item 123, it would be happy to continue to contribute to a fruitful and constructive discussion, but always bearing in mind the considerations he had just set forth. Burma had been and would always be ready to lend its support to all genuine efforts by the international community to formulate effective measures for combating international terrorism.

100. Mr. LEE (Observer for the Republic of Korea) said that his country adhered faithfully to the numerous decisions and resolutions on terrorism adopted by the United Nations, including 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 recommendations relating to practical

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measures of co-operation for the speedy elimination of the problem of international terrorism submitted in 1979 by the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism. It was also a party to all four Conventions on terrorism mentioned in paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 34/145. The International Convention against the Taking of Hostages had entered into force on 3 June 1983 through the deposit by the Republic of Korea of the twenty-second instrument of ratification or accession.

101. An act of terrorism unparalleled in diplomatic history in its magnitude, brutality, atrocity and barbarity had occurred in Rangoon on 9 October 1983 during the State visit of the President of the Republic of Korea to the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. Within hours of the attack, the President of Burma had announced that those responsible for committing that despicable and cowardly act would not go unpunished. Twenty-five days later, the Government of Burma had established conclusively that the perpetrators had been North Koreans acting under the instructions of the North Korean régime. The Burmese Government had thereupon ordered the closure of the North Korean mission in Rangoon, had severed diplomatic relations with North Korea and had withdrawn its recognition of the North Korean régime.

102. The North Koreans, however, showed no shame at the crime they had perpetrated in violation of all the legal norms and established standards of the civilized world. The Pyongyang régime persisted in alleging that the bombing had been staged by the Government of the Republic of Korea and that it had itself had nothing to do with the carnage. That ridiculous fabrication was reproduced in document A/38/355/Add.3. The massacre for which the North Korean authorities were responsible had claimed the lives of 17 Koreans, including four Cabinet Ministers of the Republic of Korea and four Burmese, and had seriously injured 46 innocent people.

103. The trial of the two captured terrorists had revealed how North Korea had deliberately perpetrated the outrageous crime. A North Korean commando squad, consisting of three army officers, had acted under the instructions of the commander of a special unit of the North Korean army, who was directly responsible to the highest authorities in North Korea. The perpetrators had been sent to Burma aboard a disguised freighter and infiltrated into Rangoon on 23 September. The Counsellor of the North Korean Embassy in Rangoon was also implicated in the crime, having sheltered the terrorists at his residence and abetted them in other ways. The criminals had installed two remote control bombs and an incendiary bomb between the roof and the ceiling of the Martyrs' Mausoleum on 7 October, and had detonated the bomb on 9 October as the Presidential party assembled to join in a wreath-laying ceremony.

104. As the members of the Committee were well aware, North Korean agents had been frequently engaged in various kinds of international crimes since the early 1970s. They had committed illegal acts of smuggling, bribery, counterfeiting and violence, in calculated violation of diplomatic immunities and in total disregard for the norms of civilized conduct. Those crimes must be understood not in the context of confrontation between the South and North of Korea, but in the context of grave

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threats to international peace and order, and particularly to the orderly transaction of normal and friendly relations among nations. North Korea's bomb attack in Rangoon must be understood as a serious challenge to United Nations efforts to combat international terrorism, as well as to the diplomatic profession per se.

105. North Korea had intentionally and blatantly violated the established rules of international law, in particular the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, to which it had acceded as recently as 1 December 1982. That kind of atrocity could well happen in other capitals, if the international community did not take punitive action against law-breakers in order to maintain and protect world public order. The world community should therefore apply appropriate and effective sanctions against North Korea for its crime of premeditated murder in Rangoon. Furthermore, countries allied to and friendly with North Korea should exhort the North Korean régime to refrain from similar crimes and terrorist acts in the future. They should under no circumstances condone the crime by remaining silent, because, as had been amply demonstrated in Rangoon, North Korea repaid friendship with betrayal.

106. The international community must ask North Korea to punish the criminals responsible for the outrage, under the provisions of relevant international conventions and other rules of international law, particularly article 7 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents.

107. His delegation believed that United Nations efforts for the effective prevention and punishment of acts of terrorism should be further strengthened, with special emphasis on the protection of diplomacy. It thanked all those Member States whose Governments had expressed sympathy and support in the wake of the terrorist bombing in Rangoon, and all the previous speakers who had condemned the North Korean crime and made themselves advocates of international law and order. The Government of the Republic of Korea appealed to all peace-loving countries for co-operation in ensuring that the North Korean rulers did not repeat their terrorist violence anywhere in the world and began as soon as possible to behave in accordance with the norms and standards of the civilized world.

108. Mr. HAN (Observer for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) said that under his country's socialist system the social root cause of terrorism based on the law of the jungle had been completely eradicated. In its foreign policy, however, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea gave serious attention to the problem of combating international terrorism.

109. Although some progress had been made since 1972, when the United Nations had started discussing the problem, international terrorist acts continued in increasingly dangerous dimensions. Such terrorism not only repudiated the most fundamental social, political and economic rights of the people and jeopardized human lives but also gravely threatened international peace and security. In

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accordance with its foreign policy, which was based on independence, friendship and peace, his Government attached great importance to international co-operation to combat international terrorism. It had acceded to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft and the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation.

110. In order to wage a more effective struggle, the international community should give priority to identifying the underlying causes of international terrorism and take appropriate measures to eliminate them. His delegation believed that those causes were imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism, policies of aggression, foreign occupation, domination and intervention. Terrorist acts were an integral part of the policies of the imperialists, colonialists, neo-colonialists, racists and Zionists. History proved that acts of terrorism were particularly dangerous when they were elevated to the level of State policy or institutionalized. Owing to the barbaric terrorist acts committed by the Israeli Zionists against the Arab peoples, innumerable innocent Arabs had been killed or were still in danger. The terrorist acts of the apartheid régime of South Africa had resulted in the murder of a great number of innocent South Africans and Namibians, including freedom fighters and patriots. The imperialists and colonialists had no hesitation in resorting to terrorism in order to expand and maintain their sphere of influence. The United States constantly engaged in international terrorism, killing the leaders of newly independent countries and carrying out military coups d'état in order to set up puppet régimes in countries that advocated independent policies. The real and most dangerous form of terrorism was one which emerged as an instrument of policies of force, aggression, foreign occupation and interference in internal affairs. On the other hand, it would be a serious mistake to equate terrorism with revolutionary struggle, thus illegitimizing the just struggle of the liberation movements.

111. He rejected the accusations made by the representative of Burma and the Observer for South Korea. It was well known that, from the moment of the explosion in Rangoon, there had been an international conspiracy to shift responsibility to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea without any fair investigation. As soon as the incident had occurred, the South Korean ruler had recklessly blamed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea without any evidence. The so-called "evidence" produced by the investigation carried out unilaterally by the South Korean and Burmese authorities was therefore not surprising. The South Koreans had claimed that the Korean nationals captured by the Burmese authorities had confessed to being "saboteurs acting under instructions of North Korean authorities" (A/38/355/Add.2). However, one of them had confessed to the South Korean "investigating team", in the presence of ambassadors of third countries accredited to Burma, that he was from South Korea and had graduated from Seoul University (A/38/355/Add.3).

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112. If the Korean nationals captured by the Burmese authorities had been the real culprits and had confessed, then the Burmese authorities should have informed the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and requested its co-operation in identifying them. That would have been the normal practice in accordance with international law and custom, including, inter alia, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents. The Burmese Government had acted irresponsibly when it had hurriedly broken off diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea without publishing any well-founded result of the investigation, without prior notice to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and without instituting due legal process against the suspects. All the alleged evidence had been produced after diplomatic relations had been severed.

113. It had been alleged that the captured Korean nationals were a major and two captains of the Korean People's Army. The question was who and what they really were. The South Korean authorities had alleged that the "suspects" had been carrying the same kind of devices as had been used in the explosion at the Mausoleum; but if the captured Korean nationals were real criminals, they would have been unlikely to have in their possession devices similar to those they had used 11 hours earlier. It had also been alleged that the "Korean suspects" had stayed at the residence of the Counsellor of the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in Burma. As both the Embassy and the residences of its staff members had been under strict guard by the Burmese authorities and more than 300 South Korean guards for two months prior to the incident, that argument was nonsensical.

114. World public opinion had cast doubts on many aspects of the bomb blast. Why had the so-called South Korean President suddenly postponed until the following day the visit to the Mausoleum which he had been scheduled to make, and why he had not appeared at the ceremony? The simple answer was that he had known of the incident in advance. Why had the two senior members of the security services, who might have been blamed for the incident, been reappointed by the so-called South Korean President while he had removed a number of his rivals in the reshuffle of his Cabinet? It could only have been because he had conspired with them. Since the Mausoleum had been heavily guarded round the clock, how could a stranger have broken through and intalled a bomb?

115. The South Korean authorities had always tried to shift the responsibility for shocking incidents onto the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They had kidnapped Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the presidential candidate of the opposition party in South Korea, had tried to kill him on the high seas in August 1973 and had attempted to blame the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The former South Korean ruler, Pak Jung Hi, had arranged the assassination of his wife in August 1974, and the South Korean authorities had alleged that she had been shot by a Korean resident of Japan sent by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In 1968, they had alleged that a commando squad from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had attempted to assassinate the so-called President of South Korea. The

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falsehood of that allegation had become clear when Pak Jung Hi had been slain in 1979 by his closest aide, the former Director of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, under the manipulation of the United States.

116. His delegation was of the view that the international community should pay particular attention to the international conspiracy of the United States, Japan and South Korea in waging a campaign against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in connection with the Rangoon bomb blast. Immediately after that incident, the Japanese authorities had promised Burma an additional loan of \$187 million. The United States had taken advantage of the incident to intensify its preparations for nuclear war on the Korean peninsula and to complete the formation of the triangular military alliance of the United States, Japan and South Korea, by aggravating tensions in Korea.

117. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea considered that the international community should condemn not only every kind of terrorist act but also plots to shift the responsibility for such acts onto others.

118. Mr. PAPAJOGEJI (Albania), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Spain had clearly been unaware of the true facts when he had referred to the judgement of the International Court of Justice in the Corfu Channel case. The Government of Albania had never recognized the unfair decision of the International Court of Justice on that issue. To invoke that decision was therefore to distort international law.

119. Mr. PARK (Observer for the Republic of Korea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said the very fact that more than 70 countries had condemned North Korea for its terrorist act in Rangoon while not a single voice had tried to defend North Korea was a clear judgement by the international community on the culpability of North Korea and made it unnecessary for his delegation to refute the North Korean argument. He was, however, duty-bound to respond, in view of the outrageous nature of the statement which had just been made by the observer for North Korea, which was an insult to the intelligence of all those who had condemned that régime's brutal act.

120. The North Korean statement could only be characterized as a clumsy and shameless attempt to deceive the world by means of a big lie. It also showed how completely the North Korean rulers had lost touch with the real world. While everyone knew that it was the North Koreans who had plotted and carried out the terrorist bomb attack in Rangoon, the North Korean rulers persisted in deluding themselves that they could deceive the world with their clumsy propaganda ploy and diversionary tactics.

121. Specific evidence presented at the trial by the Burmese Government's committee of inquiry had been too conclusive and overwhelming to be disputed by North Korean propaganda. The three terrorists had been identified as two captains and a major of the North Korean army who had received special training in North Korea and had

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sneaked into Rangoon, on 22 September, from a North Korean freighter purportedly carrying construction materials to Burma. When the captured North Korean Captain Kang Min Chul had shown the Burmese investigators the house where he and other North Korean terrorists had hidden, the house had turned out to belong to the Counsellor of the North Korean Embassy, Chong Chang Hui. The evidence presented in court was clearly incontrovertible.

122. The pistol seized from the terrorists in Rangoon had been identified as one of 100 Browning pistols which North Korea had imported from a foreign country. According to Interpol records, North Korea had purchased the pistols on 8 January 1978 from Fabrique Nationale, a firearms manufacturer in Belgium. It was no coincidence that one of the Browning pistols seized from North Korean infiltrators off the coast of South Korea in November 1980 had borne the serial number 459773 while the pistol seized in Rangoon bore the number 459771. It was also noteworthy that the hand-grenades with which the terrorists had attempted to kill themselves when the Burmese police had caught them had turned out to be of North Korean make.

123. On 13 October, four days after the terrorist attack in Rangoon, the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs had hurriedly issued a statement, the text of which had been distributed at the United Nations as the North Korean observer mission's press release No. 87. That statement had blamed South Korea for implicating North Korea in the attack and had argued that the Burmese Government had not made any official announcement on the investigation. Later, when the Burmese Government had announced the findings of its committee of inquiry, the North Korean Foreign Ministry had issued a further statement, dated 5 November, not only refusing to accept the results of the investigation but also making preposterous allegations that the Burmese Government had been bribed with \$200 million by a certain Asian State and that the President of the Republic of Korea was himself responsible for the attack. Those preposterous allegations had been repeated at a United Nations press conference on 7 November by the North Korean observer who had just spoken. When a member of the press corps had asked for specific evidence on which North Korea could base its case, he had had great difficulty in expressing himself clearly and had prevaricated by stating that what he had said was only a possibility.

124. North Korean assassination plots against the President of the Republic of Korea were not new. In January 1968, North Korea had dispatched a 31-man commando squad to Seoul in an abortive attempt on the life of the then President. In August 1974, a North Korean agent's attempt on the life of the President had resulted in the killing of the First Lady instead. In August 1982, a plot by North Korea to have President Chun Doo Hwan killed by hired assassins during his State visit to Canada had been uncovered in that country. The conspirators were currently standing trial in the Canadian courts, while the principal culprit had fled to Pyongyang.

125. In view of Burma's well-known neutrality and all the direct and specific evidence made available by the Burmese investigation, it was impossible to question

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the credibility of Burma's findings. Yet North Korea, in a desperate attempt to escape world-wide condemnation, had dared to concoct a despicable story to the effect that the Burmese Government had been bribed and that it was the Republic of Korea which was responsible for the bomb attack in Rangoon.

126. The North Korean observer had referred to assassinations of the great independence leaders of the Republic of Korea in the wake of the country's liberation in 1945. As he knew only too well, there had not been a single case of political assassination in the Republic of Korea in which the ruler of North Korea had not had a hand since the tragic division of the country in 1945. Nor had his resort to terrorism and assassination been confined to South Korea; he had also used those same weapons in North Korea, where, in order to build up an unprecedented and ludicrous personality cult, Kim Il Sung had liquidated all who had stood in his way, including such prominent nationalist leaders as Mr. Cho Man Shick and his own deputy premier, Foreign Minister Park Huen Yong, the most famous leader of the indigenous Korean communists and a founding member of the Korean Communist Party; Mr. Park had been executed on the ridiculous charge that he was an American spy.

127. Only a few days previously, North Korea had again infiltrated two armed agents by a spy boat near the port city of Pusan. They had been captured alive after a hand-to-hand encounter and had turned out to be agents assigned to a North Korean unit specializing in espionage and terrorism against South Korea. That was the fourth time during 1983 that North Korean infiltration attempts had been intercepted. It was in the context of such constant threats to peace and security on the Korean peninsula that his delegation had brought North Korean terrorism to the attention of the Sixth Committee.

128. It was essential for the orderly conduct of peaceful relations among the nations of the world that terrorism, whether committed by individuals, groups or régimes, should be eradicated as soon as possible. It was with that in mind that his delegation had made its first statement on terrorism and had emphasized the need for all, including North Korea's friends and allies, to warn North Korea to stop its nonsensical propaganda, which was counter-productive, and undertake not to repeat its terrorist activities throughout the world.

129. Mr. HAYASHI (Japan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the allegation of the observer for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning Japan's economic assistance to Burma was completely distorted. Japan had been contributing to the economic development of Burma on an annual basis for a long time past.

130. Mr. HAN (Observer for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) said that once again the observer for South Korea had made unfounded accusations against his Government but had provided no new evidence and had merely shown himself to be a champion of fabrications, in the course of which he had even attacked a Head of State by name. The Korean people were honoured to have as their leader their present Head of State, who had devoted his whole life to the eradication of

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Japanese and United States imperialism and to the building of North Korea into a powerful socialist country.

131. The ruler of South Korea, on the other hand, had committed barbarous acts against his own countrymen, including atrocities against 5,000 South Korean men, women and children in 1980. The ruler of South Korea had shown his true colours in 1971 when, as a commander in South Viet Nam, he had been in charge of the massacre of 320 innocent South Vietnamese and had drawn attention to the ruthlessness of his Korean troops.

132. Mr. PARK (Observer for the Republic of Korea) said that all students of the history of the period since the Second World War were aware that the ruler of North Korea was a war criminal who had provoked war against the Korean people in 1950. It was unfortunate that he still remained President of North Korea.

133. Mr. HAN (Observer for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), said that once again the observer for South Korea had attacked the Head of State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It was a well-known fact that, at the time of the Korean war, South Korea had been under the colonial domination of the invader of Grenada. That imperialist Power had tried to invade North Korea in 1950 but had failed to achieve its ambition. It was regrettable that the Sixth Committee should be obliged to listen to the representative of a colonial territory at the current stage of world history. Colonialism should be eradicated, as it was a cause of international terrorism.

134. Mr. ROMERO (Ecuador) said that the statement he had made at the 67th meeting was misreported in United Nations press release GA/L.2330, which quoted him as having said exactly the opposite of what he had in fact stated, namely, that the escalation of international terrorism had been indicated by recent events, including the massacre of United States and French forces in Lebanon.

135. The CHAIRMAN said that members of the Committee would have noted the clarification made by the representative of Ecuador, and he would ask the Secretariat to correct the regrettable error.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.