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Twenty-first Century Terrorism: The Definitional Problem of Complex Political Environments

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2008-02 **January 2008**

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Abstract

The paper addresses some problems in understanding twenty-first century terrorism. The focus is on the singularity that results from the relationship between complex political environments and aspects of contemporary terrorist actions.

The analysis examines some of these aspects, so as to understand the inherent problem with which the international system and the international organizations (i.e., the United Nations) have to deal with in the era of international terrorism.

The paper focuses on two main aspects of terrorism: the definitional problem and the analytical framework. Such analysis could offer a pathway to the challenges of achieving a clear understanding of terrorism as one of the main political issues of the twenty-first century.

Two main questions are addressed here: Why is it so difficult to have a widely accepted definition of terrorism? What kind of difficulties does the United Nations face in enforcing counterterrorism strategies? This paper tries to offer some answers to these questions, while conceding that such answers are just a particular view and that there may be several possibilities.

1. Definitional Problem

Our first question examines the definitional problem, but what does this question mean? Regarding both the theoretical and political problems with the concept of terrorism, we must analyze the roots of this lack of understanding.

Several authors have worked on this issue, and no consensus exists about a formal and widely valid definition of terrorism. According to Alex Schmid and Jongman,[1] among 109 scholarly definitions of terrorism, on which they have worked, arise an interesting framework about which aspects of terrorism have caused more influence on these definitions:

Element	Frequency (percent)
1. Violence, force	83.5
2. Political	65
3. Fear, terror emphasized	51
4. Threat	47
5. Psychological effects and anticipated reactions	41.5
6. Victim-target differentiation	37.5
7. Purposive, planned, systematic, organized action	32

Soucrce: Schmid and Jongman, *Political Terrorism*.

[1] Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Databases, Theories, and Literature* (Amsterdam: Transaction, 1988).

We are interested on the three most important elements discussed by Schmid and Jongman: a) violence and force; b) political; c) fear, terror emphasized. The concept of terrorism has a long political history although its definition has changed over time.

The time period that is important in our case is: 5, Saumon (Salmon) Fructidor AN II until 9, Termidor Mure (Blackberry) AN III.[2] During this time, Robespierre, one of the leaders of the French Revolution, instituted what became known as the Reign of Terror, which in his own words was, "Terror is nothing else than swift, severe, inflexible justice, hence, it is an emanation of virtue, it is not a particular principle, but a consequence of a general principle of democracy applied for the most pressing needs of the country."[3]

The case of the French Revolution was state terrorism. The violence took the place of politics and then became the state's only way of maintaining control over the people. The French state terrorism case is useful to our research in providing a starting point to the analysis of the different meanings that the word terrorism has in the political lexicon.

Terrorism appears with a significant role in the political field in the nineteenth century, being used by nationalist, anarchist, and social-revolutionary movements with different agendas, such as occurred in Ireland and Russia. According to Schmid,[4] however, there was a significant shift in the use of the concept of terrorism. Before the nineteenth century, the state was the most important actor employing terrorism, meaning that terror was a policy of states used to maintain oppression of their citizens. During the nineteenth century, however, terrorist attacks also became a tool of nonstate actors.

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[2] This period refers to: September 5, 1793 to July 27, 1794.

[3] "Le Terreur n'est autre chose que la justice prompte, sévère, inflexible; elle est donc une émanation de la vertu… conséquence du principe général de la démocratie appliqué aux plus pressants besoins de la patrie." Maximilien de Robespierre, "Pour le bonheur et pour la liberté. Discours" (Paris: La Fabrique Editions, 2000), p. 297.

[4] Alex P. Schmid, "Terrorism: The Definitional Problem," paper presented at the War Crimes and Research Symposium, "Terrorism on Trial," Case Western Reserve University School of Law, Cleveland, Ohio, October 8, 2004.

During the twentieth century, terrorist acts as a tool of political claim were widespread, and used by both states and nonstate actors—by states against insurgents and political opposition and by nonstate actors who were trying to overthrow governments. Twentieth-century terrorism could be characterized after World War II (1939–45) by the tactics that were used in each attack: the 1960s were the time of bombings, the 1970s were the time of airplane hijackings, the 1980s and 1990s were the time of both. On September 11, 2001, however, something different happened in New York City when two commercial airplanes were used as missiles against two of the most famous buildings of the city, and another airplane was deliberately crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

For the first time since Pearl Harbor, the United States was attacked on its own territory by a foreign aggressor, and not by another state, but by a group of men willing to die in order to complete these attacks.

What did these attacks demonstrate to the world? Several answers to this question are possible, but we would like to stress that the main objective of the terrorists was not only to spread fear among the America public, but to demonstrate that world's most powerful military force was vulnerable to attack from "unexpected weapons." Pandora's box was opened that morning, and a new time dawned in the international community in which counterterrorism became the theme of the day.

The extreme violence used by al-Qaida in the 9/11 attacks mobilized the entire international community to question how such attacks were possible? The answer to that question can be analyzed if we understand what took place that morning. The terrorism of global reach differs strongly from previous terrorist attacks and from other forms of violent struggle having some of the features presented below:

Table 1. General Characteristics of War, Guerrilla and Terrorism[5]

	Conventional War	Guerrilla	Terrorism
Unit Size in Battle	Large (armies, corps, division)	Medium (Platoons, companies, battalions)	Small (usually less than 10 persons)
Weapons	Full range of military hardware (air force, armor, artillery, etc)	Mostly infantry-type light weapons but sometimes artillery pieces as well	Hand guns, hand grenades, assault rifles, and specialized weapons, e.g., car bombs, barometric pressure bombs.
Tactics	Usually joint operation involving several military branches	Commando-types tactics	Specialized tactics; kidnapping, assassinations, car-bombing, hijacking, barricade, hostage etc
Targets	Mostly military units, industrial and transportation infrastructure	Mostly military, police, and administration staff, as well as political opponents	State symbols, political opponents, and the public large
Intended Impact	Physical destruction	Mainly physical attrition of enemy	Psychological coercion
Control of Territory	Yes	Yes	No
Uniform	Wear uniform	Often wear uniform	Do not wear uniform
Recognition of war zones	War limited to recognized geographical zones	War limited to the country in strife	No recognized war zones, Operations carried out world-wide
International Legality	Yes, if conducted by rules	Yes, if conducted by rules	No
Domestic legality	Yes	No	No

[5] Ariel Merari, in V.S. Ramachandran, ed., *Encyclopedia of Human Behaviour*, Vol. 4 (San Diego, Calif: Academic Press, 1994**)**.

The analysis shown above is general as well as limited; however, it has useful points. Violence must be understood as the primary means of terrorism, and this kind of action does not necessarily take the form of physical violence; we could indeed concede that violence can manifest differently: physically psychologically, and also symbolically. The aspect that must be considered in our analysis, however, is that the phenomenon of violence associated with terrorism has different effects over the political environment.

When we take in account the political environment, we have to regard the nonlinear relationship imposed by multiple scenarios, which means that we are analyzing different states, each one with its own interests, regional and global status, population, etc. The definitional problem of terrorism arises as one of the main issues in political science research because the essence of this question does not lie with the most familiar aspects of terrorism, like violence, tactics, and objectives, but with the political sphere.

The development of the definition of terrorism could be characterized by its singular aspects after the 9/11 attacks, but the concept itself became too limited to embrace so many different types of violence, which after that morning populated the imagination of the entire international community—biological, chemical, nuclear terrorism, to name a few—as if the possibilities of terrorism were boundless.

The capability of producing weapons of mass destruction (WMD) does not belong only to the great powers anymore; small and poor states have achieved such technological capacity—and this increases the impossibility of achieving a wide agreement about the definition of terrorism. The different political environments are the fields on which we must think of the

possibilities of the definition of terrorism, and it is necessary to regard the possibilities of unpredictable scenarios of political dialogue and alliances.

2. Sovereignty, Hierarchy, and International Institutions: Sovereignty and Hierarchy, Eternal Dilemma

Sovereignty and hierarchy[6] are two of the root concepts of international relations theory and arise from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) that ended the Thirty Years' War in Central Europe. The Peace of Westphalia actually consisted of two treaties signed in Münster and Osnabrück in May and October of 1648. The main rules proposed by these treaties were: respect for sovereignty, which meant that each ruler was responsible for ruling his own state; definition of the official religion, and so on.

Sovereignty arises with the idea of a legal international system,[7] and although this concept does not appear in the treaties, the idea of self-determination is there. The international system was not created by the treaties, but it emerges as an ideal relationship between states since each one should respect the territory and laws of the others. As result of this relationship of mutual respect, we had the legal recognition of a common political environment and the existence of common rules of international affairs.

The principle of equality comes with the idea of sovereignty, because if each state recognizes others states as equals, then each one has the right to rule over a determined amount of territory and the people who live within its borders. The collateral effect of these principles is the impossibility of hierarchy; therefore, there is no ruler over the states' rulers. This question

[6] International relations theory has other key concepts as well as schools; however, in our paper we will work regarding two schools and their related concepts: neorealism and institutionalism.
[7] Barry Buzan and Richard Little, "The Idea of 'International System': Theory Meets History," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1994), pp. 231–255. According to the authors, even the concept "international system" does not have a proper definition.

was examined by Immanuel Kant in his 1795 essay *Project for a Perpetual Peace*, in which the philosopher proposed six main points to achieve the perpetual peace:[8]

> 1.) No treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war;
> 2.) No independent states, large or small, shall come under the dominion of another state by inheritance, exchange, purchase, or donation;
> 3.) Standing armies shall in time be totally abolished;
> 4.) National debts shall not be contracted with a View to the External Friction of States;
> 5.) No state shall by force interfere with the constitution or government of another state;
> 6.) No state shall, during war, permit such acts of hostility which would make mutual confidence in the subsequent peace impossible: such are the employment of assassins (percussores), poisoners (venefici), breach of capitulation, and incitement to treason (perduellio) in the opposing state.

It is clear that we have not yet achieved the perpetual peace. According to Kant, some preconditions are necessary to achieve the perpetual peace. The international system would be only populated by republics (not necessarily democratic), and free of any kind of tyranny. Starting from this point, the next step would be the establishment of a federation of republican states, and the national armies would then be dismissed. Kant, however, disregarded an important question, and it seems to be the weakness in his proposal: which state would be the first to disarm?

Hierarchy is the resultant condition from the Kantian project: the last step would be the establishment of a universal government able to resolve any kind of disagreement among the states. Hierarchy is a controversial question in regard to sovereign states, because in a hierarchical world, the state's ruler cannot be assured about the future developments of the international system.

The present configuration of the international system is anarchical.[9] We must not judge this concept from its pejorative definition. It must be understood as the absence of hierarchy, that

[8] Immanuel Kant, *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2003).

is, when we think about the international system, we must accept that there is no ruler over the states. Therefore, sovereignty and anarchy coexist within the international system, and some degree of insecurity is a precondition of maintaining sovereignty in an anarchical political environment.

3. United Nations: The Question of the Fifty-first Article

One of the obstacles to the concept of the international institution[10] is the principle of state sovereignty. The United Nations (UN)[11] charter in its fifty-first article[12] determines and provides the right to individual or collective self-defense, (such statement) regarding the international system, maintains state sovereignty, and restricts the United Nations' capacity for action. The Security Council[13] should be the actor with more decisionmaking capacity,[14] but according to its norms, it is necessary to have a consensus about any issue in order to allow any kind of intervention, although during the Cold War, the two most powerful states at that time—the United States and the Soviet Union—used their veto power as a political tool to restrain each other's actions.

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[9]Anarchy and structure are both basic questions of neorealism in international relations theory.
[10] We will analyze the United Nations as the most organized and representative international institution.
[11] The United Nations' most important chambers are the General Assembly and the Security Council.
[12] "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security." Charter of the United Nations, chapter VII, article 51.
[13] The Security Council is made up of fifteen members; however, five of them (United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China) are permanent and have the veto power.
[14] According to Martti Koskenniemi, there is the "Soft UN," represented by the General Assembly, and the "Hard UN," represented by the Security Council.

The United Nations,[15] then, has a design deficiency: the Security Council has a high degree of action but a lower degree of representativity and, on the other hand, the General Assembly has a high degree of representativity but a lower degree of action.[16] Such conditions undermine the possibility of the United Nations offering the prospect of a peaceful world.

Beyond this condition, it must be regarded that the United Nations, with all its limitations, is a better model of an international institution. The definitional problem about international terrorism has a long path in the UN; however, the UN cannot offer a satisfactory definition of terrorism yet. The difficulties faced by the UN are a result of its structural political limitations, (such restrictions are) imposed by the difficulties of achieving a general agreement at both the level of Security Council and at the level of the General Assembly.

The concern about terrorism in the UN began to become more representative after 1960. Such an increase in concern about terrorism could be analyzed by compiling the documents of the General Assembly. More than sixty sessions of the General Assembly of United Nations have occurred since 1946, and forty-two official documents have been written with terrorism as their main topic. In this compilation, we are not considering the Security Council resolutions and the special sessions which, when added to the emergency sessions, total thirty-eight since 1946.

The United Nations has twelve main documents which are titled the Universal Antiterrorism Conventions provided by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). These documents are general guides for the member states to elaborate their own policies of counterterrorism. Added to these twelve main documents are nineteen international

[15] Ben Saul, "Definition of 'Terrorism' in the UN Security Council: 1985–2004," *Chinese Journal of International Law*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (2005), pp. 141–166.
[16] Our references to the term "action" refer to the capacity to forward military interventions.

legal instruments. These documents embrace the Universal Anti-Terrorism Conventions and add seven other treaties.[17]

A great obstacle to achieving a degree of convergence remains however: any state can define what terrorism is and what it is not. Therefore, there are particular interests (states' internal affairs), on the one hand, and there is a concept that needs a high degree of agreement on its definition on the other hand.

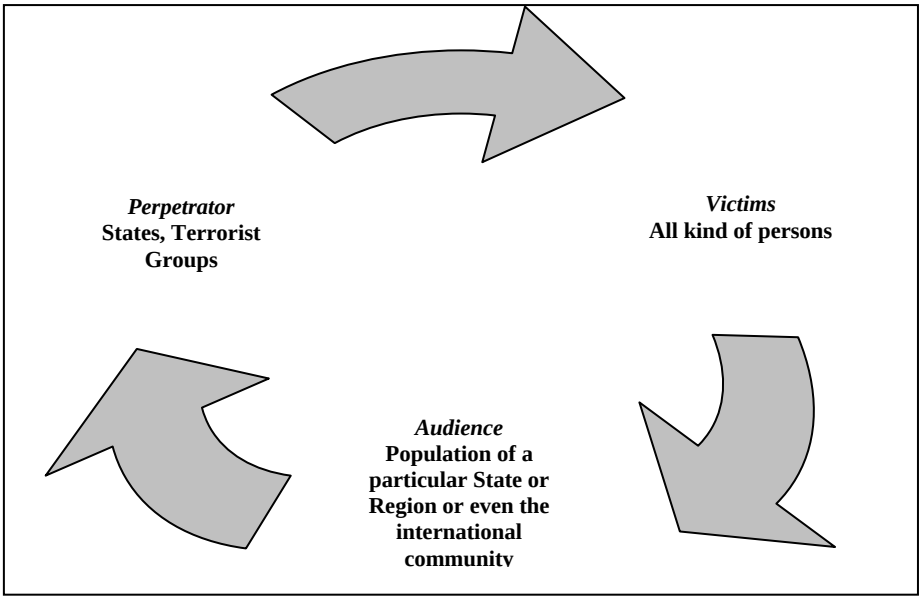
An analysis about the last report of the UN General Secretary[18] allows us to see the paradox, that is, it is difficult for the UN to achieve a consensus on a general definition of terrorism which could be widely accepted. In considering the thirty documents on terrorism and by comparing the relationship among states which have ratified them, however, it is possible to see significant participation of these states. Why it is then so difficult to implement worldwide antiterrorism policies?

4. Analytical Frame

The phenomenon of terrorism needs three basic, interrelated elements, which must be understood in tandem because we are analyzing the power relationship that arises from this action: (1) perpetrator; (2) victim; and (3) audience. These three elements must be considered in a complex political environment, in which we have conflict among different political and economical interests, cultural and religious beliefs, and ethical and moral clashes.

We can have an image of this relation by means of the following semiotic scheme:

[17] Currently, there are thirty instruments, sixteen universal (thirteen instruments and three recent amendments), and fourteen regional, pertaining to the subject of international terrorism. (See appendix 1.)
[18] UN General Assembly, Sixty-first Session, *Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, Report of the Secretary-General*, A/61/210, 2006.



Using such a scheme, we are defining terrorism with a high degree of generality; however, it is not the time yet to discuss this point. Our scheme must be understood as the relationship sought by the actor who uses terrorism as a way to insert himself into the political scenario. Terrorism cannot be understood only as the privilege of dissident groups, it is a kind of political violence that does not have an actor per excellence, as violence, may be used by another who has the ways and the will to commit violent acts.

According to our scheme, we have fundamental elements that are hidden behind the main aspects, and they are very important to our analysis. We chose a cycle scheme because we understand that terrorism needs movement to become a strong political tool—that is, each time that the terrorism cycle is completed—the perpetrator becomes more powerful in political terms.

Behind the figure of the perpetrator, we could have states or groups, or even singular actors. The element hidden after the possibility of different actor is what we called as scale

matter. The scale—that is, the quantum of violence that can be generated by a state—is unthinkable if we compare it with the capacity of an individual human being. However, the phenomenon of terrorism undermines such beliefs, because with the spread of technological development, the capacity for devastating attacks is no longer exclusive to states. A chemical weapons attack was carried out by members of the religious cult Aum Shinrikyo in Tokyo in 1995. Until now, we have not had a large scale chemical weapons attack by terrorists, but this shadow remains over the imagination of the many states.

We must pay attention to two elements when we think about the definition of terror and terrorism: a) terror could be understood as psychological condition in which there is an imminent feeling of death or threat of harm; and b) terrorism could be understood as warfare tactic, with violent methods which have as a central objective to bring the fear into the enemy population's daily life.

One of the most devastating conditions of the phenomenon of terrorism, besides the violence, is the uncertainty. In a war, a soldier is prepared to face the enemy and kill or die. If he sees the enemy, he can fight, because there is the chance of seeing the enemy as the *other*; with terrorism, on the other hand, there is no chance for defense, because it is very difficult identify the perpetrator. It is not important if we are talking about states or groups, uncertainty terrorism's powerful weapon.

The audience is the last element that terrorism needs, because it is over and through the audience that terrorism will achieve political power. The audience could be a state government, the civil population, or even the entire international community; it is just a matter of defining the perpetrator and its objectives. Once again, we are facing technological development; by using or relying on the media, terrorist groups can achieve a worldwide expression of their demands and

actions. Part of the spreading sense of fear felt today is due to the active media coverage of terrorist attacks. Such a statement, however, belies a controversial causality relation—that is, without media coverage, terrorism will lose its potential power, and this idea sounds barely credible.

5. Conclusion: Political Environment and Terrorism

Political environment regards all elements and spaces on which human beings conduct their political relations. This is a quite abstract statement; however, we need to understand this environment in order to understand the phenomenon of terrorism. We would be able to approach a comprehensive way of understanding the phenomenon of terrorism while regarding some basic concepts and focusing on the idiosyncratic characteristics that mark political environments.

Considering different political environments as equals or presuming that the core values of the West are accepted by the entire world probably would lead us into a dead end. Which options are still open to achieving a broad understanding of terrorism? The phenomenon of terrorism must be understood as an aggression toward the international community, and each step made toward identifying the goal of the phenomenon to particular groups will open the path to more comprehensive policies. Such policies, however, must not deny the illegality of terrorism.

Some examples could clarify our point of view. For the U.S. government, the phenomenon of terrorism became a real threat after 9/11, and its perception is widely framed by the idea that the immediate foe are religious groups, which have their obscure leaders hidden in

some part of South Asia or the Middle East.[19] For the Russian government, the threat is the Muslim separatists from Chechnya. According to Joseph Nye, "Power in a global information age is distributed rather like a three-dimensional chess game. The top military board is unipolar, with the United States far out-stripping all others states, but the middle economic board is multipolar, with the United States, Europe and Japan accounting for two-thirds of world product, and the bottom board of transnational relations that cross borders outside the control of governments has a widely dispersed structure of power."[20]

The condition that makes the terrorist and terrorism so dangerous to the political life it is its invisible character. The terrorism of the twenty-first century has many faces, and therefore it is difficult identify each one of them. According to McCormick,[21] however, terrorism has a weak point: the terrorist group lives in a paradox—if it is very active, it is very exposed proportionally, as well as its structure and its members; however, at the same time, its strength comes from this violent activity, a relation that could be expressed as follows:

< Activity $\rightarrow$ exposure $\rightarrow$ influence $\rightarrow$ possibility of elimination.

An important aspect must be emphasized: such a relationship ends in a maximum amount of exposure in which the group becomes so active that it is easy to identify their members and their strategies, and therefore, its disruption becomes feasible. Obviously, this relationship is an idealization, but what must be understood is that there is no linearity in the activity of certain

[19] According to Martha Crenshaw in her book review of Timothy Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), such analysis points to the disconnected policies antiterrorism during the last thirty years, from the Ford administration to the George W. Bush administration.
[20] Joseph S. Nye Jr., "The American National Interest and Global Public Goods," *International Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (April 2002), p. 238. See also Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Paradox of American Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[21] Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," *Annual Review of Political Science*. No. 6, (June 2003), pp. 473–507.

terrorist groups, and the inactivity of a determined terrorist group does not mean that it is no longer active.

According to Mary Kaldor,[22] these groups are part of regressive globalization, and to Gearson[23] and Freedman,[24] the proper concept of terrorism and terrorist groups needs a more precise definition. It seems that we will have a very narrow margin for doubt that one of the deep scars that this century will have by its end will be its problematic beginning in which the Cold War–winning nation finds itself involved in a conflict without borders.[25] As a result, the United States and its allies are confronting a diffuse, capable enemy that can easily cross the same national borders that should ensure the security of the citizens who live within them.

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[22] Mary Kaldor, "Terrorism as Regressive Globalization" *Open Democracy*, September 25, 2003.
[23] John Gearson, "The Nature of Modern Terrorism," in Lawrence Freedman, ed., *Superterrorism: Policy Responses* (Boston, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 7–25.
[24] Lawrence Freedman, "Think Again: War," *Foreign Policy*, No. 137 (July/August 2003).
[25] Zygmunt Bauman, "Reconnaissance Wars of the Planetary Frontier Land," *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (2002), pp. 81–90.

Appendix. International Legal Instruments related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism

A. Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on September 14, 1963 (entered into force on December 4, 1969)

B. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague on December 16, 1970 (entered into force on October 14, 1971)

C. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on September 23, 1971 (entered into force on January 26, 1973)

D. Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on February 24, 1988 (entered into force on August 6, 1989)

E. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, by the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 14, 1973 (entered into force on February 20, 1977)

F. International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 17, 1979 (entered into force on June 3, 1983)

G. Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, signed at Vienna on March 3, 1980 (entered into force on February 8, 1987)

H. Amendment to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, Vienna, July 8, 2005

I. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, Rome, March 10, 1988 (entered into force on March 1, 1992)

J. Protocol of 2005 to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, London, October 14, 2005

K. Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf, Rome, March 10, 1988 (entered into force on March 1, 1992)

L. Protocol of 2005 to the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf, London, October 14, 2005

M. Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection, signed at Montreal on March 1, 1991 (entered into force on June 21, 1998)

N. International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 15, 1997 (entered into force on May 23, 2001);

O. International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 9, 1999 (entered into force on April 10, 2002)

P. International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on April 13, 2005

Q. Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, signed at a meeting held at the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States in Cairo on April 22, 1998 (entered into force on May 7, 1999)

R. Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism, adopted at Ouagadougou on July 1, 1999 (entered into force on November 7, 2002)

S. European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism concluded at Strasbourg, January 27, 1977 (entered into force on August 4, 1978)

T. Protocol amending the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, adopted at Strasbourg on May 15, 2003

U. OAS Convention to Prevent and Punish Acts of Terrorism Taking the Form of Crimes against Persons and Related Extortion that are of International Significance, concluded at Washington, D.C., on February 2, 1971 (entered into force on October 16, 1973)

V. OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, adopted at Algiers on July 14, 1999 (entered into force on December 6, 2002)

W. Protocol to the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, adopted at Addis Ababa on July 8, 2004

X. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism, signed at Kathmandu on November 4, 1987 (entered into force on August 22, 1988): all seven state members of SAARC (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka) are parties to the Convention.

Y. Additional Protocol to the SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism, adopted at Islamabad on January 6, 2004 (entered into force on January 12, 2006): all seven state members of SAARC (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka) are parties to the Additional Protocol.

Z. Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism, adopted at Shanghai on June 15, 2001 (entered into force on March 29, 2003)

AA. Treaty on Cooperation among States Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Combating Terrorism, Minsk, June 4, 1999 (entered into force on October 3, 2000, for

Tajikistan; December 5, 2000, for Kazakhstan; February 6, 2001, for Kyrgyzstan; August 22, 2001, for the Republic of Moldova; December 28, 2001, for Armenia; April 18, 2004, for Belarus; and January 13, 2005, for the Russian Federation).

BB. Inter-American Convention against Terrorism, adopted at Bridgetown, Barbados, on June 3, 2002 (entered into force on July 10, 2003)

CC. Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism, adopted at Warsaw on May 16, 2005

DD. Council of Europe Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from crime and on the Financing of Terrorism, adopted at Warsaw on May 16, 2005

Table 2. Total Participation in International Conventions Pertaining to International Terrorism

Signature		Ratification, Accession, or Succession (d)	
A	40	A	182
B	76	B	182
C	59	C	185
D	68	D	159
E	25	E	162
F	39	F	153
G	45a	G	118a
H	–	H	3
I	41	I	136
J	–	J	–
K	39	K	126
L	–	L	–
M	51	M	127
N	58	N	–
O	132	O	147
P	106	P	3
Q	22b	Q	17b
R	8	R	12b
S	45	S	44

T	44	T	21
U	19	U	18
V	48c	V	36c
W	26c	W	1
X	–	X	7
Y	7	Y	7
Z	–	Z	6
AA	8	AA	7
BB	33	BB	18
CC	36	CC	1
DD	22	DD	–

Source: United Nations database

a. Includes the European Atomic Energy Community

b. Includes the Palestinian Authority

c. Includes the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic

d. Includes signatures not subject to ratification

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