REDUCING TERRORISM WITH DEVELOPMENT;  
THE UNITED NATIONS’ NEW PATH

By

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To my parents,

In loving memory of my father
Acknowledgment

My professors have taught me to dream big and that everything is possible. This thesis in mind, my intentions were to come up with something valuable. In the end, what came as valuable to me was the unconditional support and fervor of the Lebanese American University Political Science Faculty.

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My sincerest appreciation goes to all those whom I have encountered during my research and whose input helped me carve my ideas.

Special thanks to the people in the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate at the United Nations Headquarters in New York; working with you has been a lifetime experience and a thrilling motivation in believing that change is possible. You made my stay at the UN worthwhile.

“Work hard, it will pay off”; without this advice I could have never achieved such results and shaped my career. I warmly thank my father whose advice was a guiding light. He was and continues to be an inspiration and an example. My ambition would also have never materialized without the encouragement and loving support of my mother at every step of the way. My sincerest gratitude to all; thank you.
"We live in one world, not two. No-one in this world can feel comfortable, or safe, while so many are suffering and deprived."

Kofi Annan\(^1\)

"The protection and promotion of the universal values of the rule of law, human rights and democracy are end in themselves. They are also essential for a world of justice, opportunity and stability. No security agenda and no drive for development will be successful unless they are based on the sure foundation of respect for human dignity".

Kofi Annan, "In Larger Freedom"\(^2\)

"According to the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, various conditions result in terrorism of which are: "poverty, prolonged unresolved conflicts, dehumanization of victims of terrorism, lack of rule of law and violations of human rights, ethnic, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, socio-economic marginalization and lack of good governance." Member States have ensured their "commitment to the realization of the Millennium Development Goals and their determination to pursue and reinforce development and social inclusion agendas at every level as goals in themselves, recognizing that success in this area, especially on youth unemployment, could reduce marginalization and the subsequent sense of victimization that propels extremism and the recruitment of terrorists."

"[...] The promotion and protection of human rights for all and the rule of law is essential to all components of the Strategy, recognizing that effective counter-terrorist measures and the promotion of human rights are not conflicting goals, but complementary and mutually reinforcing".\(^3\)

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\(^1\) International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, NL, Mexico 19 March 2002. Accessed 22.11.08 from UN. Website: [http://www.un.org/fid/pressrel/19a.htm](http://www.un.org/fid/pressrel/19a.htm)


Abstract

"We are operating in a world which is quite brutal and there are some very wicked people around. Nobody denies that. But in the business I am in, we sometimes have to shake the hand of the aggressor, to lend them an ear, in order to save lives."

Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary General

It is with such an approach in mind that I believe an important aspect of terrorism can be fought. On the one hand, development bolsters people’s aspirations and ambitions to establishing a good life. Terrorism, on the other hand, is a lethal act only directed to death. This is a conflicting picture that has been taking hold of the world for the past centuries. The following study exposes several aspects of development explaining why it is a strategy to counter terrorism. Specifically the thesis addresses the following question: Why has the United Nations decided to broaden its spectrum of Counter-Terrorism strategies to include development?

Mindful of the fact that development cannot eradicate terrorism but is a mean to inhibit this phenomenon, it attributes a pivotal role to the United Nations in the fight against terrorism.

This study will explicitly focus on the General Assembly’s Global Strategy to counter terrorism, and the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate, representing the Security Council. The main UN mechanism leading the fight against terrorism is represented by the GA and SC for they reflect the wishes of the Member States’ governments. Terrorism is not a simple community problem that will be eradicated with policies of development. However the impact that development may have through the coordination of efforts, both from the respective governments and the UN, can be a major element in decreasing the number of terrorist clusters’ members and their radicalization.

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\textsuperscript{5} UN Table, Counter-Terrorism System. Accessed 12.09.08 from UN. Website: www.un.org/terrorism/pdfs/CT_organogram_may2007.pdf
\textsuperscript{6} UN Table, CTC System. Accessed 12.09.08 from UN. Website: http://www.un.org/sc/ctc/documents/CTEDorgchart.pdf
### Acronyms

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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia Pacific Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<td>CTAG</td>
<td>Counter Terrorism Action Group</td>
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<td>CTC</td>
<td>Counter Terrorism Committee</td>
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<td>CTED</td>
<td>Counter Terrorism Executive Directorate</td>
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<td>CTITF</td>
<td>Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>DESA</td>
<td>Department of Economic and Social Affairs</td>
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<td>DDA</td>
<td>The Department for Disarmament Affairs</td>
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<td>DPA</td>
<td>The Department of Political Affairs</td>
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<td>DPI</td>
<td>The Department of Public Information</td>
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<td>DPKO</td>
<td>The Department of Peacekeeping Operations</td>
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<td>DSS</td>
<td>The Department of Safety and Security</td>
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<td>FATF</td>
<td>Financial Action Task Force</td>
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<td>G8</td>
<td>Group 8</td>
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<td>GA</td>
<td>General Assembly</td>
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<td>Human Rights Council</td>
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<td>IAEA</td>
<td>International Atomic Energy Agency</td>
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<td>The International Civil Aviation</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>IMO</td>
<td>The International Maritime Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organization of American States</td>
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<tr>
<td>OGBS</td>
<td>Offshore Group of Banking Supervisors</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>The Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights</td>
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<td>OLA</td>
<td>The Office of Legal Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPCW</td>
<td>Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons</td>
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<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Security Council</td>
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<td>UN</td>
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<td>The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
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<td>UNICRI</td>
<td>The United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute</td>
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<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</td>
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<td>WCO</td>
<td>The World Custom Organization</td>
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Part I

Terrorism Today

Chapter 1

Introduction

"More than ever before in human history, we share a common destiny. We can master it only if we face it together. And that, my friends, is why we have the United Nations."

Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations

The following introductory chapter outlines the basic "elements" for the thesis. By presenting the methodology, the history, definitions and types of terrorism, the chapter helps the reader define the main elements of the thesis and the question is tries to answer. By trying to orient the reader towards an accurate understanding of the background and issue at hand, this chapter hopes to shed the light common misperceptions and focus on the meaning to be carried out throughout the following chapters.

1.1 Presentation & Methodology

Terrorism became a dominant issue in the last decade. Previously, it had long been discussed in past United Nations Resolutions, conferences, and books: a topic to tackle, but never a real threat to world order. A change occurred in 2001 when the 9/11 attacks became a catalyst for the fight against terrorism. It took such a tragic event to push governments and international organizations to divert from politics as usual, to focus on a new challenge: counter-terrorism. The United Nations (UN) through its various institutions and committees has become

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9 Celebration of the 56th Anniversary of the UN, President of the Turkish National Committee for UNICEF and the International Children's Center, Board of Trustees, Bilkent University, Prof. Dr. İhsan DOGRAMACI's speech (24 October 2001, Ankara). Accessed 10.10.08. From UNDP, Website: http://undp.un.org.tr/who/bulten/eng/bul5undogramaci.HTM
a leader on this issue and is fighting terrorism like never before with the General Assembly (GA) and the Security Council (SC) the driving wheels behind this fight. Although focusing on different aspects, they often work in parallel to complement each other’s work.

This thesis focuses on the UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED). This executive directorate works with governments of all the 192 member countries of the United Nations. It is focused on legislation (mainly penal codes) regarding financing of terrorism, human rights, and more recently technical assistance. In this context and specifically in this thesis, I will focus on how CTED along with the GA are moving towards including development in their counter-terrorism policies, committing to a more holistic approach. Development, in this context, and specifically in this thesis will be defined mainly as economic development, good governance, and human rights.

The conventional channels of the military and the judiciary to fight terrorism are widely known and basically revolve around governments. The fact that assisting people and enhancing development can be a winning policy for counter-terrorism has often been overlooked. This thesis does not discredit the efforts and successes of traditional policies, but rather stresses that they have not been enough. Following discussion of these topics, the thesis will address how the UN has reacted to the lack of adequate success by changing its counter-terrorism policies to include a focus on development.

Before discussing the broad outlines of the UN’s policy change, it is important to lay out the basis for the rationale for the change. To start, there are various types of terrorism, of which some are driven because of lack of development¹⁰, lack of human rights, lack of opportunities,

and lack of adequate living standards\textsuperscript{11} which might be considered political rights, but which will be identified separately in this thesis. In such a situation, terrorism can become "the solution", and thus make terrorism "the way". Rallying behind these groups becomes a way of life which is transmitted in the family from a generation to the other, hence resulting in a vicious circle of violence. Radicalization is undeniably a significant element of terrorism, and desperation can lead to radicalization; development can decrease terrorism by affecting its radical aspiration. Isolation, exclusion, poverty, underdevelopment, and living standards can push people to violent ideas, radicalization, and thus terrorism\textsuperscript{12}.

The United Nations has worked toward greater development since its creation. Numerous departments and agencies have been created to assist the world in its march to a better future. This institution has been recognized for its extensive work in humanitarian assistance and development transition. Recently, the GA started shedding light on the possible link between a lack of development and terrorism, but without setting any concrete plan of action. This being said, the aim is not to create new departments or new tasks, but to redirect already existing efforts to support the work of the Security Council (SC). This would allow the SC to establish binding resolutions on basic necessities for citizens of all nations\textsuperscript{13}. No additional bureaucracy or


\textsuperscript{12} UN Executive summary on the workshop on the UN Engagement with Regional, Sub-Regional, and Functional Bodies and Civil Society on Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, held in Bratislava, Slovakia in March 2008

\textsuperscript{13} The UN Charter clearly allocates Development to ECOSOC, putting matters of international peace and security in SC’s hands. This being said, the SC never came up with resolutions pertaining to development as it is not in its mandate. However throughout the paper development will be highlighted as a mean to combat terrorism, which is a threat to international peace and security. If development is presented as such, then it would fall within the SC’s mandate.
data collection will be instituted as UN agencies already have research and data analysis teams in most of the development areas\textsuperscript{14}.

While governments might have the best resources to address a number of areas in counter-terrorism, research demonstrates\textsuperscript{15} that the focus of government efforts should be broadened to include the social level\textsuperscript{16} since there are reasons for which people unite with such terrorist groups. If these people are dealt with effectively and see no basis for acknowledging the need of the latter groups, then an important aspect of the problem is solved. The UN’s awareness of this line of thought has been heightened especially after its adoption of the GA resolution: The Global Strategy (2006).

Such a “project” will require a reshuffling of the hierarchy of work in the UN system. Terrorism is not a “random, happening phenomena” but it is a real threat that seems to be in command of people’s lives. The fight against terrorism will have to be, not only a government’s strategy, but a standing policy to be carried out on a long term commitment.

As a result of a summer internship with the United Nations on the Security Council, I had the opportunity to witness firsthand the implementation of the conventional counter-terrorism policies. In addition, I witnessed the negotiation process for the GA review of The Global Strategy. The process highlighted the commitment of the member states to ensure that development is successfully approached and implemented. Thus the question that this thesis will

\textsuperscript{14} Several types of developments will be highlighted in the following study. Each developmental aspect has its own UN agency already active in its quest. Therefore this paper does not in any way allude to the creation of new bodies, but seeks to describe how these UN agencies and departments might better coordinate their efforts and link their work to that of the Security Council, whose resolutions can have a timely and more efficient result.


seek to answer should come as no surprise: Why has the United Nations decided to broaden its spectrum of Counter-Terrorism strategies to include development?

To answer the above mentioned question, this thesis will be divided into three major parts. In Part I: Terrorism Today, the main topic will be laid out, including discussion of the methodology to be used throughout the thesis. In addition, the essential assumptions and definitions of terrorism will be covered all the while highlighting the vital importance of the UN and its system in the fight against terrorism. As the thesis revolves seeks to describe the reasons behind the UN’s shift of policy, it is crucial to have an introduction pertaining to the organization and its past and actual work.

Part II: Fighting Terrorism through Unconventional Means: The New UN Resolution aims at presenting the new and unconventional means for fighting terrorism. This part stresses on the reason for the actual shift in policy, it will help us understand more why this shift has occurred. A thorough study and analysis of developments through UN documents and the academic literature will clarify the rationale behind connecting development and terrorism, and how the former has a direct impact on combating the latter for a successful long term strategy. The literature demonstrates that an increased focus on development can lead to de-radicalization, and thus in the long run, a decrease in terrorism. A brief introduction to the policy to meet this new strategy will be touched upon in this section.

Part III: The New Path: Reducing Terrorism with Development, will provide a direct answer to the thesis question, with an extensive analysis of whether such a strategy will be enough and a discussion of the potential for it to be successfully implemented.

There are, of course, challenges to focusing on such a topic for a Master’s thesis. Firstly, it is important to note that the subject at hand is a contemporary one and thus new data can be
found daily. To the best of my ability, I will try to cover all of the academic literature on this subject; however, information regarding the actual policy making rationale inside of the United Nations is difficult to obtain. Still, the study is based on authoritative opinions from experts in the field of both the UN and counter-terrorism. Thus, the methodology involves an extensive literature review of the subject at hand, drawing on work in academic journals and UN publications. However the main literature is drawn from the UN, its resolutions, and publications, for the thesis tries to explain the shift of the UN policy with respect to terrorism. In addition, questionnaires and interviews will be held with members of CTED and other authorities in the field of both the UN and development.

By answering \textit{Why has the United Nations decided to broaden its spectrum of Counter-Terrorism strategies to include development?}, this thesis hopes to highlight the importance of governments in designing policies that best fit their societies. In addition, the central importance of the involvement of the United Nations as an ‘honest broker’, a forum for debate, and a research organization regarding counter-terrorism will be highlighted. Nevertheless, it is important to note that development will not categorically eradicate terrorism but will decrease the type of terrorism that is emanating because of a lack of development. There should be a thorough understanding of the roots, causes, and manifestations of terrorism.

\textbf{1.2 A History of Terrorism}

Contrary to conventional wisdom, terrorism is not a recent phenomenon. Terrorism was witnessed, “[f]rom the time of the Assassins (late 13th century) to the 1700s, terror and
barbarism were widely used in warfare and conflict, but key ingredients for terrorism were lacking.\(^\text{17}\)

It is thus clear that terrorism is not a "20\(^{th}\) Century production." The word terrorism itself was first used in reference to violence in Europe;

The word 'terrorism' entered into European languages in the wake of the French revolution of 1789. In the early revolutionary years, it was largely by violence that governments in Paris tried to impose their radical new order on a reluctant citizenry. As a result, the first meaning of the word 'terrorism', as recorded by the Académie Française in 1798, was 'system or rule of terror'.\(^\text{18}\)

It is important to note in this original context, that terrorism or terror was exercised by governments. The term evolved and underwent a radical transformation, acquiring the characteristics with which it is often associated today: non-governmental groups.\(^\text{19}\)

1.3 UN Definitions of Terrorism

Acts of terrorism have seemingly become widely spread, especially in the twentieth century. With the evolution of technology, terrorism has become, more aggressive and more dangerous. People nowadays identify acts of terrorism; but is there a set definition? When I asked a high school student who was researching terrorism to define it, he replied "Terrorism is everything people talk about, and everything the United Nations fights against". While vague for a definition, it is accurate; the world has been on a quest to find a universal definition for terrorism but has yet failed to do so for political reasons. One of the most explicit and recurrent


\(^{19}\) State terrorism has recently become widely discussed, however this paper will only focus on non-governmental groups because of space restriction and because it is less contested among countries that a group can commit terrorist acts, whereas there are reservations as to State Terrorism, even under international law.
definitions on terrorism is that of the United States State Department which identifies terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets, i.e., in addition to civilians, military personnel who at the time of the incident are unarmed or not on duty, by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”

Another definition was adopted by the Arab Ministers of the Interior and Justice in the signing of an Arab Agreement against Terrorism on April 22, 1998 at the headquarters of the General Secretariat of the Arab League. “Any act of violence or threat to use it, regardless of its causes and motives taking place in implementation of an individual or collective criminal project, and aiming at terrifying people, harming them, or exposing their lives, freedom or security to danger.”

The United Nations, through its various resolutions has a more “flexible” definition for terrorism as the body has not adopted an official one used in all documents. The lack of a universal definition gives room for governments to interpret the vague wording, giving them the authority to act according to their own interpretation. With the latter in mind, no international countermeasures carry a universal understanding, and no international document is binding, ratified and fully implemented by all governments.

However various resolutions have attempted to present a contextual definition of terrorism through the identification of criminal acts. The operative clause, paragraph 4 of UNSC Resolution 1373 (2001) tries to narrow the wide understanding of international terrorism to detailed acts:

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Notes with concern the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering, illegal arms trafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials, and in this regard emphasizes the need to enhance coordination of efforts on national, sub regional, regional and international levels in order to strengthen a global response to this serious challenge and threat to international security;

SC Resolution 1566\(^23\) (2004) states in its operative clause, paragraph 3:

[...] that criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act, which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature [...]\(^24\)

SC Resolution 1624\(^25\) (2005), undertakes a deeper understanding of terrorism by identifying terrorism not only by its political and religious aspects but also by its social and educational ones:

[The Security Council] calls upon all States to continue international efforts to enhance dialogue and broaden understanding among civilizations, in an effort to prevent the indiscriminate targeting of different religions and cultures, and to take all measures as may be necessary and appropriate and in accordance with their obligations under international law to counter incitement of terrorist acts motivated by extremism and intolerance and to prevent the subversion of educational, cultural, and religious institutions by terrorists and their supporters.

Still no matter what these definitions highlight they are all founded on vague terminology and inconsistent referencing. In the meantime, the world is struggling to find a universal


definition of terrorism. Until then, governments will continue to take advantage of the void that is established by manipulating their interpretations according to their political interests.

Although a clear definition has not yet been provided, there is a common understanding on counter-terrorism. It is unequivocal that terrorism is strictly linked with violence and random killing of civilians and non-combatants. Terrorist acts are detailed and premeditated strikes with the aim of influencing an audience and reaching certain goal through coercion. Terrorism, in today’s context, is the act itself but confined to a certain country, whereas international terrorism is the same act but spread beyond borders. International terrorism calls for the implementation of UN resolutions and thus is relevant to all governments, whereas terrorism by itself is linked to a national government and thus the latter is blamed and strongly encouraged to take matters into hands. In order to avoid this dichotomy, the UN tackles both by issuing resolutions that might appear as a breach of sovereignty, falling under a Chapter VII Resolution, causing a wide disaccord by the concerned government.

1.4 Types of Terrorism

Although a clear cut definition of terrorism has yet to be agreed on, most scholars have been able to identify various “brands” of terrorism by outlining a common understanding of terrorism. What seems to be globally accepted is the fact that terrorism is based on political motivations, targeting non-combatants using extreme violence – at least most of the time – in order to influence public opinion. This common understanding is enough to result in a numerous types of terrorism:

i. **Nationalist-Separatist Terrorism**: the use of premeditated violence by a given group of people in order to secure an independent state over which they will rule; e.g. the Irish
Republican Army (IRA), Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA), and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK)\textsuperscript{26}. The latter would be “covered” behind a slogan calling for national liberation; under this cover emerges the dilemma of freedom fighters\textsuperscript{27} vs. nationalists.

ii. **Religious Terrorism**: the use of violence in order to establish a religion and its practices by coercion\textsuperscript{28}. What is terrifying about this type of terrorism is that it identifies as an enemy every liberal or person who does not obey by “their” religion\textsuperscript{29}, e.g., Al Qaida and Taliban

iii. **State-Sponsored Terrorism**: Group of people unequivocally used by a radical state, as Hoffman puts it, as “a cost-effective way of waging war covertly, through the use of surrogate warriors or ‘guns for hire.’”\textsuperscript{30}

iv. **Left-Wing Terrorism**: Violence by those who aim at destroying capitalism in order to establish a communist/socialist regime, e.g. Red Army Faction (RAF), German Red Brigades, Prima Linea, and the Weather Underground/Symbionese Liberation Army\textsuperscript{31}.

v. **Right-Wing Terrorism**\textsuperscript{32}: the use of violence with the aim of expressing discontent with a liberal democratic government along with its institutional and governmental means, e.g. Timothy McVeigh\textsuperscript{33}.

\textsuperscript{26} Classifying Terrorism. Accessed 02.12.08 from Foreign Policy Association (FPA): http://www.fpa.org/newsletter_info2478/newsletter_info.htm.

\textsuperscript{27} Types of Terrorism. Accessed 02.12.08 from: News Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence; BORR. Website: http://www.borrull.org/e/noticia.php?id=12608.

\textsuperscript{28} Classifying Terrorism. Accessed 02.12.08 from Foreign Policy Association (FPA): http://www.fpa.org/newsletter_info2478/newsletter_info.htm.

\textsuperscript{29} News Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence; BORR. Types of Terrorism: http://www.borrull.org/e/noticia.php?id=12608


\textsuperscript{31} Classifying Terrorism. Accessed 02.12.08 from Foreign Policy Association (FPA): http://www.fpa.org/newsletter_info2478/newsletter_info.htm.

\textsuperscript{32} Classifying Terrorism. Accessed 02.12.08 from Foreign Policy Association (FPA): http://www.fpa.org/newsletter_info2478/newsletter_info.htm.

\textsuperscript{33} For more information about Timothy McVeigh, kindly refer to the following website: http://www.time.com/time/2001/mcveigh/
The above division is not a rigid one, but more of a scholarly allotment. Various intelligence communities use different categorizations of terrorism following different points of identification. In a way, most types converge but have not yet been universally standardized. The most crucial problem with a lack of definition for terrorism is that the classification of terrorist groups becomes a question of national interests and political orientation, and not one which is truly objective and thus reliable.

By exploring terrorism's background and the various circumstances that surround it, it is clear that it is an international phenomenon in need of an international response. This has caused the UN to be involved in the matter, and to tackle it as best as possible. Although there is not a conformed international definition, the UN constantly tries to narrow and define the acts of terrorism as accurately as possible. This guides the path for a global response to terrorism.

There are ongoing initiatives and resolutions at the UN that help see clearly how the UN has set up a system, a mechanism of its own, to target terrorism and alleviate its effect. Having various agencies and bodies, they are all included in a mechanism directed to strengthen UN commitment to counter terrorism. By triggering a series of resolutions and international conventions, the UN today has a conventional - judicial and military - aspect, as well as an unconventional one - development - recently advocated, as a counter-terrorism strategy. What are these mechanisms that the UN follows? What are their specifications?
Chapter 2
United Nations
Mechanisms for Combating Terrorism

"Terrorism strikes not only its immediate victims but also at the heart of what the United Nations stands for. It threatens sovereignty, democracy, human rights, the rule of law and other principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The Organization therefore has a vital interest, and a vital role to play, in the struggle against terrorism."

Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations

As mentioned previously, the world is still trying to come up with a definite universal definition for terrorism. Although this is an ongoing process, it has not stopped the UN from setting up a whole system to tackle it. Through its various organs, the UN has established a legal, developmental, and military apparatus to fight terrorism. The following pages will describe these mechanisms showing that what is known as the conventional means – legal and military – are not enough but should be backed by the recently added GA Resolution. The conventional means by themselves are not enough, and will not result in a successful fight against terrorism.

Ever since the creation of the League of Nations in 1920 and the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, conventions regarding terrorism have been signed, some ratified, other neglected, but mostly never implemented. Monitoring commissions were created in some instances, yet they were never comprehensive enough to enclose all aspects of the conventions. The 9/11 attack on the United States represented more than a mere physical attack, it caught the attention of international public opinion and evoked strong emotions of fear, resentment, and wonder. That day symbolized the start of a new epoch - of a new era of struggle for peace, human rights, and international cooperation. The United Nations, through the Security Council

and the General Assembly, took this attack one step further, to a global outreach for peace and security.

Terrorism has become the most "popular" word in our political vocabulary nowadays. However it is not without consequences that we speak about it. The whole world is galvanized to eradicate such acts. As discussed in the previous chapter, a universal definition of terrorism has yet to be found but governments are taking matters into hands in order to facilitate what is known as the "fight" against terrorism. Terrorism is the common enemy of all and thus fighting terrorism is not put into question as much as its definition, acts, and means. Terrorism as mass murder, premeditated, targeting non-combatants is widely attacked by all. The UN committed itself to the fight against terrorism and has tried to cover all possible areas relating to terrorism. Through the request of former Secretary General Kofi Annan, the Policy Working Group on Terrorism (PWG) was established. This group was created to define the exact procedures that the Secretary General would undertake in order to assemble the different committees and agencies of the UN in its quest against terrorism.\textsuperscript{35} “The PWG called on the United Nations to adopt a tripartite strategy of dissuasion, denial, and cooperation.”\textsuperscript{36}


2.1 International Conventions and the UN

2.1.1 What are these Conventions?

There is a legal regime to fight terrorism. It is a legal framework providing states with a judicial mechanism to cover their territories. The main idea behind this regime is that perpetrators should be brought to trial by their national governments or any other government willing to bring them to trial. All the above is solemnly based on the compliance of states with this international mechanism; under no circumstance is compliance mandatory. The sovereignty of states is not breached, international tribunals are not set up, and these instruments are yet to be ratified by various countries; which leads the conventions to be simultaneously effective, if ratified and futile if overlooked.

The UN lobbies for ratification of these conventions constantly and passes provisions in its resolutions calling for their complete ratification. Resolution 1373\textsuperscript{37} (2001) operative paragraph 3 (d) “[Calls upon all States to] become parties as soon as possible to the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism [...]” The 13 international conventions\textsuperscript{38}, 16 including two Protocols and an Amendment, are international instruments which are penal in nature and call for a judicial implementation by all governments. “Those legal instruments, numbering 16 [...] require the States that adopt them to criminalize most foreseeable terrorist acts.”\textsuperscript{39} Generally speaking, each of these instruments overtly mentions a specific act of terrorism – i.e. seizure of an aircraft in flight – and calls for the implementation of penal consequences in domestic law. All states have the obligation of pursuing the principle of

\textsuperscript{37} UNSCR 1373 (2001). Accessed 17.07.08 from UN. Website: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/557/43/PDF/N0155743.pdf?OpenElement

\textsuperscript{38} For further details about the conventions refer to Appendix A.

"no safe haven for terrorists." Very technical and specific in nature, the conventions cover wide areas of international terrorism and are annexed to the UN resolutions such as 1267 (1999) and 1373 (2001), pertaining respectively to Taliban/Al-Qaida sanctions and the establishment of CTC.

2.1.2 The Mechanisms

The conventions have evolved over time, as have acts of terrorism themselves. Globalization has caused terrorism to be spread in the most advanced ways, whether through recruitment via the internet, or through message delivery via the media. In all cases, conventions and resolutions are being adapted to this changing nature by focusing on a more comprehensive language. In the recent conventions (2005), there are articles referring to any "political offense", thus encompassing all kinds of exceptions. Countries are encouraged throughout most Security Council and General Assembly resolutions to ratify the international conventions as they represent a main source of international law in the fight against terrorism.

The elements common among the conventions revolve around the following:

- Definition of a particular offence
- Criminalization of the stated offence in domestic laws
- "Establishment of specified grounds of jurisdiction over that offence,"
- Principle of extradition and prosecution under the umbrella of international cooperation

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For states, becoming part of an international convention is a dual process: both international and national actions need to be carried out. In the international realm, there is compliance to the terms of agreement and this is governed by international law principles. In order to make the ratification fully operational, there should be on the domestic level a parallel political initiative for the implementation of the agreement.

But these international conventions are not the only instruments that are used to counter terrorism. The UN has a whole series of GA Resolutions and SC Resolutions in order to enhance the fight against terrorism. In addition, committees have been set up, working groups created, and strategies meticulously designed. The main mechanisms that the UN uses are different in nature and unique in their mandate: (1) the 1267 Committee pertaining to Taliban and Al Qaeda established in Resolution 1267 [1999], (2) The Security Council Sixth Committee; Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) established in Resolution 1373 [2001] and its Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) established in Resolution 1535 [2004], with the task of monitoring the implementation of Resolution 1373; (3) the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) which “ensures overall coordination and coherence in the counter-terrorism efforts of the United Nations system.”43 and its working groups established in Resolution 1566 [2004] with the aim of technical and practical advices to fight terrorists; (4) the 1540 Committee calling upon states to control weapons of mass destruction by making inaccessible to non-state actors established in Resolution 1540 [2004]; (5) UNODC44 providing legal assistance to states; (6) the 13 (now 16) international conventions on terrorism, dating from 1963 up to 2005; and (7) other various UN institutions.

43 UN Counter-Terrorism Online Handbook. Accessed 10.08.08 from UN. Website: http://www.un.org/terrorism/cthandbook/
There is a clear link between CTC/CTED and becoming parties of these international conventions which is stated in UNSCR 1373, in its perambulatory clause. CTC/CTED not only calls for the implementation of the conventions but also monitors their effective performance on a national level. This is done through the following steps:

- Full coverage on the response to the CTC recommendation
- Conformity with the conventions through ratification
- Identification of areas in need of technical assistance
- Supplying of assistance when and where capable
- Promoting transparency in information sharing

With the above CTC/CTED steps in mind, it easier to visualize the UN system as it relates to counter-terrorism: the SC deals with the legal/penal; the GA deals with development; and the international conventions deal with particular acts not explicitly mentioned either in SC or in the GA. Having a combination of all three creates a better tool to respond to the challenges of terrorism. The three together definitely cover an area much wider than that covered by each one. In order to better understand the UN system and how it is represented, it is crucial to highlight the key aspects of both the SC and the GA.
2.2 The Security Council

"The Security Council is not a body that merely enforces agreed law. It is a law unto itself. If it considers any situation as a threat to peace, it may decide what measures are to be taken."

John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State (1953-1959)

2.2.1 Its role in countering terrorism

Dealing with matters of international peace and security is at the heart of the SC, and terrorism has been on its agenda for quite some time. Sanctions have been the main tools that the SC uses against states thought to have direct or indirect connection with terrorism: Libya (1992); Sudan (1996) and the Taliban in Afghanistan (1999). SC Resolution 1269\(^{45}\) (1999) regarding the situation in Afghanistan came about as a call for international cooperation to fight terrorism.

The first decisive commitment that the UN took with respect to counter-terrorism was in 1999, when it established the 1267 Committee pursuant to SC Resolution 1267 (1999) with the mandate of monitoring the sanctions directed at the Taliban and Al-Qaida. As already noted, the 2001 attack was an abrupt wake up call to the whole world; in fact, the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) was a direct response to the threat of terrorism, comprising the 15 members of the Security Council. Twenty-eight days after 9/11, the Security Council convened and founded the CTC. The fast approval of Security Council Resolution 1373 is based largely on the 9/11 tragedy; no one contested the formulation of the resolution or even rejected it. From a moral perspective, all states were bound to the 9/11 Resolution even before its creation.

CTC was further strengthened through SC Resolution 1535\textsuperscript{46} (2004) by the establishment of CTED. This latter body was created to monitor the implementation of Resolution 1373 in its entirety. Seeing the level of interest that Resolution 1373 drew from Member States and how technical assistance (TA) started being brought forward, CTED became the main facilitator of TA for Member States. It started corresponding with states and presenting regular reports (from Member States), being asked to go on country visits for assessment, and to hold weekly committee meetings in order to both keep the committee (CTC) aware of the progress made by CTED and the countries under consideration, and to have new input from the SC's members.

In 2004 the SC issued Resolution 1540\textsuperscript{47} calling upon Member States to take all necessary measures to prevent non-state actors from accessing weapons of mass destruction. Adding to this resolution is SC Resolution 1566 (2004) which established the working groups mentioned in the previous sub-section. All of these resolutions were reinforced by the World Summit in 2005 which plainly condemned terrorism in all its manifestations and all its incitements.

The SC has a mandate of tackling specific issues, most often, international peace and security. However with the massive increase of terrorism and transnational organized crime, can such a Council focus only on military, war, and weapons? When such actions haven’t resulted in efficient results, should there be a trial for new strategies? UNSCR 1373 is the main legal initiative that the UN undertook to counter terrorism efficiently through the conventional means.


[...] the recent practice of the Security Council seems to show a tendency to perceive the scourge of international terrorism, in its various world-wide manifestations, as a constantly incumbent threat creating destabilizing effects on the international order, which the Council is called on to counter by way of prevention.48

2.2.2 UNSCR 1373

Through extensive country profiles, written, edited, and monitored by experts, CTED examines the legislative status of countries regarding their counter-terrorism strategies, from anti-money laundering to the penal code along with specifications on anti-money laundering, financing of terrorism, terrorist recruitment, territorial control, cooperation, and prevention. Whether or not the concerned state is complying with the specific clauses of the 1373 Resolution is fully analyzed. Throughout the analysis and research, countries are welcome to request technical assistance.

CTED’s plan of action includes a strong cooperation between international, regional, and local organizations which put forward technical assistance. It tries to reach countries through all possible means; this is done through including in its activities the private sector and various strong states to broker peace, development, and assistance. The aim is to have a long lasting period of reconstruction and prosperity and not a quick fix whose results will collapse soon after CTED closes formal programming.

Resolution 1373 focuses mainly on the areas in which acts might have been prevented. Hence, it deals significantly with: suppressing the financing of terrorism, criminalizing the collection of such assets intended to be used for terrorist purposes, and recommendations for

actions to be undertaken by governments in order to prevent their national territory from becoming a safe haven for terrorist groups. Border control is vital in this context as the resolution establishes provisions regarding identification papers and travel documents; the need to exchanging information at the international level, effective law enforcement, and international cooperation and various forms of agreements are strongly recommended as well.

CTED came in 2004 as a reinforcement body for the implemented of UNSCR 1373. It has thus far "[...] succeeded in gathering unprecedented amounts of information from states on their efforts to implement their obligations [...]". Resolution 1535 authorized CTC, through CTED, to conduct on-site visits in order to assess and monitor the implementation of Resolution 1373; it is considered a "global counterterrorism legal framework". CTED's assessment mechanism operates on a Preliminary Implementation Assessment (PIA). PIAs are country based and the information that is found there is provided by the country itself, by government departments and agencies. They are the main tool shared between the country and CTED in order to accurately assess the efforts that the country is undertaking for an effective implementation of 1373. PIAs are divided into four categories: (1) Status, (2) Provisions, (3) Field, and (4) Implementation of the provisions of 1373. This document has increasingly helped CTED

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50 The status refers to a qualitative analysis of a comparison between 1373 and the actual actions taken by the governments. There are four referred to status: Fully implemented [f]; Partially implemented [p]; not implemented [n]; and Insufficient information [i].
51 The provisions we refer to are those found in UNSCR 1373.
52 The fields in the case of PIAs and in reference to UNSCR 1373 are three: Legal provisions [L]; Institutional Structure & Coordination (I); and Practical Application & practitioner capacity [P].
identify areas in which the country in consideration might require technical assistance, and has hence facilitated cooperation with donors.\(^{53}\)

The establishment of the CTED and the expanded tool kit, which includes the PIAs and site visits, have improved the CTC’s information gathering and analytical capabilities. In addition, the CTED has prepared a lengthy directory of international best practices, standards, and codes aimed at helping states maximize their efforts to implement Resolution 1373.\(^{54}\)

One of the main tasks assigned to CTC/CTED is to push for greater international, regional and sub-regional cooperation between the various bodies involved in counter-terrorism. Based on geographical location, political involvement, technical capabilities, and financial means these bodies are directed towards countries which are in need of such assistance and which fall within the radius of interest of the mentioned bodies. As awareness grows that the conventional means of fighting terrorism are not enough, CTC/CTED has added to its formal tasks various areas of technical assistance.

“\(\text{A follow up visit to a country previously assessed aimed at evaluating progress made in implementing the recommendations of the Committee;}\)”\(^{55}\) CTC/CTED’s mandate expires in 2008 but as the committee has become a key for countries fighting against terrorism, extending its mandate will come in as no surprise knowing that the counter-terrorism campaign is most likely to remain a daily mission. CTED has demonstrated the need for constant analysis, advice, and assistance to countries facing terrorism. Its visits are carried out with the intention of improvement in collaboration with many agencies. Whether countries are at “high risk” or are

\(^{53}\) Donors would be country assisting other in Technical Assistance, whereas recipients would be the countries receiving Technical Assistance.


relatively “safe” from terrorists’ threats, CTED’s experts become diplomats in implementing 1373, and it is creating a network of cooperation in the name of stability, peace, and development with a close cooperation with various partners.

Although UNSCR 1373 today represents today, the judicial body of the UN system in fighting terrorism, it came as a direct response to the needs of governments to better fight terrorism and preserve international peace and stability. Five years after 9/11, the need to counter terrorism has not faded, but its scope has been altered to encompass prevention as well. As will be discussed next, the UN is adopting this view throughout its new policies by taking counter-terrorism beyond CTC/CTED’s initial mandate, widening it to include development. The GA has explicitly declared this new policy in its Global Strategy by reorienting its counter-terrorism efforts towards development.
COUNTER-TERRORISM COMMITTEE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORATE

Executive Director and Assistant Secretary-General

Human Rights, Humanitarian, Asylum Law Officer

Assessment and Technical Assistance Office (ATAO)

Cluster A
Chief of Branch
2 Sr. Legal Officers
3 Legal Officers

Cluster B
Chief of Section
2 Sr. Legal Officers
3 Legal Officers

Cluster C
Chief of Section
2 Sr. Legal Officers
3 Legal Officers

Administration and Information Office (AIO)

Administration Officer
Administrative Officer

ATAO/CTC Support Unit
Editor
Public Information Officer
Political Affairs Officer
2.3 The General Assembly

2.3.1 The Global Strategy to Counter-Terrorism

"The passing of the resolution on the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, with its annexed Plan of Action by 192 Member States represents a common testament that we, the United Nations, will face terrorism head on and that terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, must be condemned and shall not be tolerated.”

Sheikha Haya Rashed Al Khalifa, President of the 61st session of the General Assembly Launching the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy on 19 September 2006

On September 8, 2006 the UN GA adopted The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. All of the 192 Member States were party of this resolution and “[i]ts adoption marks the first time that all Member States have agreed to a common strategic and operational approach to fight terrorism.” Wanting to be part of the fight against terrorism but mostly wanting to ensure that they can call for assistance and use international instruments to settle ongoing terrorist threats, 192 Member States agreed to sign the concerned GA resolution. The Global Strategy outlines a “Plan of Action” for Member States to carry out their fight against terrorism. Stressing the need to combat terrorism through a myriad of means, to become parties of the international conventions, and to implement SC Resolutions, The Strategy gives great importance to international cooperation. It is very comprehensive and is divided into four major components each one outlining the necessary steps to be assumed. While this GA Resolution is not binding, it nevertheless sets the foundation of an international standardized framework to counter terrorism.

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57 UN Action to Counter Terrorism. Accessed 01.10.08 from UN. Website: http://www.un.org/terrorism/
58 CTED. Accessed 01.10.08 from UN. Website http://www.un.org/sc/ctc/
59 While enumerating the four basic divisions, a brief presentation on few points will be given; however not all points will be mentioned here above, but only those relevant to development.
terrorism through development by dividing the plan of action into four areas, each addressing a specific aspect:

I. Measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism
   a. Targeting conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism
   b. Promoting a culture of peace and human development
   c. Promoting sustained economic growth, sustainable development and global prosperity
   d. Reinforcing development
   e. Focusing on the victims of terrorism

II. Measures to prevent and combat terrorism
    a. Stressing governmental cooperation
    b. Engaging regional and sub-regional groups while involving civil society
    c. Creating (possibly) an international centre to fight terrorism
    d. Respecting human rights
    e. Encouraging CTC and CTED to carry on their work

III. Measures to build States’ capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the UN system in this regard
     a. Focusing on capacity building
     b. Discussing the mechanism of reporting, updating, and monitoring
     c. Institutionalizing CTITF
     d. Having CTC/CTED deliver technical assistance along with the cooperation of UNODC
     e. Having WHO focus on TA along with the IAEA, ICAO, and IMO, each in its specific area of expertise.

IV. Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism.
    a. Reaffirming the GA resolution 60/158 (2005)\textsuperscript{60}
    b. Emphasizing on the importance of HRC and UNHCR
    c. Dissociating terrorism from any religion, ethnicity, or nationality

\textsuperscript{60} GA Resolution A/RES/60/158 (2005). Accessed 01.10.08 from UN. Website: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/497/08/PDF/N0549708.pdf?OpenElement
Built on the *international Declaration of Human Rights*, the Charter of the UN, the 2005 World Summit\(^6\) Outcome, and several GA Resolutions, *The Global Strategy* strongly condemns terrorism and calls upon every Member State to fight all forces conducive to terrorism. In its last preambulatory provision *The Strategy* affirms

[... ] Member States’ determination to continue to do all they can to resolve conflict, end foreign occupation, confront oppression, eradicate poverty, promote sustained economic growth, sustainable development, global prosperity, good governance, human rights for all and the rule of law, improve intercultural understanding and ensure respect for all religions, religious values, beliefs or cultures\(^6\)

The genius behind *The Strategy* is that it brought together all 192 countries to agree on a resolution that is truly comprehensive in its essence, and touches all aspects of society, whether financial, cultural, or governmental. The inspiration stemmed from the urge of the GA to tackle the subject of terrorism through all possible means thus not limiting itself to the prospect of only a political and a legal strategies, but also to developmental ones. Already having mechanisms that cover the traditional means to fight terrorism, *The Strategy* is also complementary in nature.

*The Strategy* is a document aiming at making development a strategy to counter terrorism. More specifically, development is approached in respect to those countries where a lack of development will cause an inconsistent path for peace and thus will result in conflict and violence and creating a safe haven for terrorists.

This resolution is regarded as key pillar for all future counter-terrorism policies, as it is the main source of reference of all UN agencies and departments. The various departments work in parallel and their efforts are coordinated by the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) which was created by the GA as the main coordinating department for the UN system to

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counter-terrorism. The working groups – specialized groups - that were annexed to the CTITF, as pursuant to SC Resolution 1566\textsuperscript{63} (2005), came to facilitate the implementation of The Strategy. Each of the working groups has different field of expertise, and is staffed with experts\textsuperscript{64} from various international agencies and organizations such as CTED, DPA, Interpol, IMF, IAEA, OPCW, UNDP, etc. Tasks are divided among nine working groups according to four pillars presented by former Secretary General Kofi Annan in 2005, in a speech in Madrid: Pillar I seeks to prevent groups from resorting to terrorism by identifying reasons conducive to terrorism; Pillar II presents measures to prevent terrorism; III focuses on developing state capacity to prevent terrorism; and IV covering human rights in the framework of counter-terrorism strategies. Nonetheless, these working groups have no command or authority as they are basically better defined as the “Research and Development Department”. The tasks of these groups are quite limited confined to providing assessments and detailed descriptions of the current situations in their respective areas to the UN system. The following are the nine working groups:

1. Preventing and Resolving Conflicts
2. Addressing Radicalization and Extremism that Lead to Terrorism
3. Supporting and Highlighting Victims of Terrorism
4. Preventing and Responding to WMD Attacks
5. Tackling the Financing of Terrorism
6. Countering the Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes
8. Strengthening the Protection of Vulnerable Targets
9. Protecting Human Rights While Countering Terrorism

\textsuperscript{64} A list of participating organizations and agencies is presented on the UN Task Force webpage: http://www.un.org/terrorism/cttaskforce.shtml
Most of these working groups, although complex in nature, focus on society and include a specific aspect of development. As mentioned in the thesis’ introduction, radicalization is a vital and omnipresent component in terrorism. Quoting the Global Strategy’s section I, paragraph 6: “To pursue and reinforce development and social inclusion agendas at every level as goals in themselves, recognizing that success in this area, especially on youth unemployment, could reduce marginalization and the subsequent sense of victimization that propels extremism and the recruitment of terrorists.”

2.3.2 Review of the Global Strategy and its application

Throughout the end of July and the whole of the month of August 2008, the GA was involved in negotiations to come up with a concrete review of The Strategy during the official GA meeting on September 4, 2008. In its essence, this new resolution does not change the underlying provisions of The Strategy, nor does it add innovative solutions for countering terrorism. Chair by Gert Rosenthal, the Permanent Representative of Guatemala to the UN, the meetings were called to brainstorm on and put forward recommendations for successful counter-terrorism by Member States. During the meetings, states’ positions regarding The Strategy were highlighted along with a clear request from the Chair to receive country reports based on their own assessment of the progress they have made in the counter-terrorism spectrum.

The resolution that was voted upon during the GA formal meeting reflected the long negotiations. Every provision is a result of several hours of debate, proving once again that countries can actually concur on a document if and when their interests coincide and when the

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threat is international. Among the important points in the document is the desire to see greater communication between the GA and the SC. Standardization while studying countries profiles and general guidelines were among the most requested steps to be implemented describing both the roles of CTITF and the working groups. Cooperation and communication is not limited to the UN system and Member States, but to regional and sub-regional organizations. Also the document calls for a review every two years to assess progress as well as areas of weakness.

Important for this thesis, human rights were noted as a vital concern for countering terrorism. This affirms the holistic approach that the UN is moving toward regarding counter-terrorism.

In the formal deliberations of this review, and all through the negotiation process that took place throughout the months of July and August, the Member States expressed their concerns and points of interests in the GA. In fact, the European Union, represented by France, was very keen in linking capacity building - i.e. good governance - to developing countries.

The importance of The Strategy is the basic fact that such a Council-led topic, terrorism, has been coherently taken up by the GA and thus involved the 177 remaining countries. Whether it will be implemented in its full provisions or not is not a key element at this stage. The fundamental point is that it provides states with an international framework, universally adopted, and thus a standing reference for international law. In addition, The Strategy calls upon improved coordination in the UN system highlighting once again the growing concern for the weaknesses of the internal bureaucracy of the UN. The legitimacy of this Strategy, besides its wide recognition, is also based on the participation of experts from 24 entities across the UN system. By establishing the CTITF, the GA was able to put together an “ensemble” of agencies in order
to cover reasons conductive to terrorism. However, it does not, at any point undermine to work and weight of either the Council or CTC/CTED but calls for a greater cooperation with the GA.

[... ] the UN Strategy can help broaden the political constituency for the council effort and help to narrow the divide between the Council- which has dominated the UN counter-terrorism program since September 2001 - and the General Assembly, and perhaps more fundamentally, help to reconcile the security agenda of the global North with the development priorities of the global South.66

2.4 Why aren’t they enough?

This study does not in any way seek to undermine the importance of the conventional methods in combating terrorism. It also does not presume that there can be successful counter-terrorism strategies without including conventional methods. Yet the shortcomings of the conventional UN-led approach, specifically the CTC/CTED, are numerous in terms of countering terrorism. Terrorism has not decreased since 2001, but has on the contrary, increased, as studies show. Although fully committing to fight terrorism, the UN system drowns itself in this cause, by becoming encumbered within its bureaucratic system and overlapping projects.67

Many shortcomings are primarily due to the extensive paperwork and time that the UN has to allocate to every project. The UN system is also based on the response of governments and their commitments to the resolutions. Sometimes it does not work accordingly and thus results in a standing resolution with no impact. Adding to this, CTC/CTED relies on donor countries, considered powerful, wealthy, or very advanced in the field of counter-terrorism, to provide technical assistance; this often does not happen in a timely manner. States are also reluctant in

requesting technical assistance for fear of an international political interpretation and a questioning of government's authority and power.

Given that the UN system is so intricate and complex, a duplication of roles is inescapable. Hundreds of reports address similar topics, with recommendations and advice that essentially cover the same issues. Such documents find it hard to circulate through a hierarchical channel and if ever, they are not considered as policy recommendations but as statistical data. The counter-terrorism budget is drawn from the UN budget and is limited to the bureaucracy of the UN. If there is an urgent matter to solve, it will fall under the constraints, bureaucracy, and budget of the system and thus result in inefficiency. In parallel comes the decision making process of the CTC/CTED which is based on the consensus of the 15 members of the Security Council. Again, in times of emergency, the approval of all the members might be complicated.

Terrorism is not only a political event or an occasional episode; it is a tool of communication, a way to express an idea, a need, or an ideological view. It's a doctrine, a way of life which becomes embedded in people's minds. The argument of this research rests on the fact that terrorism cannot be fought only through conventional political means but that it has to be attacked from all fronts, including society. In a series of workshops on the "International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation" hosted by governments and held by non-governmental organizations and the UN, a sequence of topics was tackled pertaining to the improvement of the UN Strategy, including the work of CTC/CTED. In the workshop on the UN Engagement with Regional, Sub-Regional, and Functional Bodies and Civil Society on Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, held in Bratislava, Slovakia in March 2008 several recommendations were made aiming at improving the "mise en œuvre" of The Strategy. In fact, point 33 of the executive summary of the workshop, stressed the
need for closer cooperation between the UN, NGOs and civil society in fighting terrorism for the following reasons:

[...] 1) conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism can only be addressed by engaging with all levels of society; 2) effective engagement with these groups can help soften the antagonism between the state and the public that can exist in the context of specific counter-terrorism actions and more generally; and 3) many potential solutions for the challenges of countering terrorism (e.g., the financing of terrorism, terrorist misuse of the Internet, incitement to terrorism) will be enhanced by bottom-up approaches, rather than top-down strategies undertaken alone.

The conventional means are government oriented focusing on legal, political and military aspects, not social. According to recent research, development is a lens through which governments, NGOs, and the UN could unfold the chain of terrorism. The UN has already committed to this shift. Development to support counter-terrorism is the new way.

CTED has been able to assemble a network of “friends”, an apparel of supporters for this ongoing implementation on a massive scale, in different countries and regions simultaneously. For a more efficient counter-terrorism strategy, CTED can be given additional opportunities to cover areas of development through an additional focus of SC on such matters, always with the support of the GA to gain international acceptance.

SC and GA are not in competition and thus the request for their synchronization becomes obvious. There are two lines of focus in the UN, the traditional line which revolves around law enforcement, security and demilitarization tackled by SC, and the non-traditional line revolving around education, dialogue, and de-radicalization reflected in the GA. Many agencies have been focusing on one of these two lines. What would be interesting is basically the creation of a bridge, converging at some point these two lines together in order to come up with a more efficient mechanism to counter-terrorism.
In the traditional fields the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) has been playing a central role, and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has also been providing assistance in legal areas. On the other hand, the Task Force should play a role in more closely engaging wider UN bodies working in areas relevant to the traditional fields and those working in the non-traditional fields so that the Strategy can be implemented in a balanced way.  

The shift in policy has been made, but what is the exact reason behind this shift? Why have Member States amended their last policies of tackling exclusively military and judicial matters? It is true, the conventional means are not enough, but why development? What in development can help in the fight against terrorism? In line with the thesis question: Why has the United Nations decided to broaden its spectrum of counter-terrorism strategies to include development? Part II will try to unfold the rationale behind the change through various explanations emphasizing economic development, society, and good governance.

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Part II
Fighting Terrorism through Unconventional Means:
The New UN Resolution
Chapter 3
The Rationale for Reform

UN Member States are committed “to pursue and reinforce development and social inclusion agendas at every level as goals in themselves, recognizing that success in this area, especially on youth unemployment, could reduce marginalization and the subsequent sense of victimization that propels extremism and the recruitment of terrorists; [and] to encourage the United Nations system as a whole to scale up the cooperation and assistance it is already conducting in the fields of rule of law, human rights and good governance, to support sustained economic and social development.”

There is a certain line of thought to follow to understand why countries agreed in directing their policies to include development. It is clear at this point that the UN is a major contributor on the international arena in the fight against terrorism. *The Global Strategy* that this thesis bases itself on has been created but not implemented yet due to its recent issuance. A thorough understanding of the link between this document and changing understandings regarding counter-terrorism will help pave the way to clarify the reasons behind the shift in policy. Development throughout this thesis will be tagged with a broad approach on economic development, human rights, and good governance. Development in its nature entails various focus areas and social field; however this study will revolve around the three mentioned categories. Starting by a focus on economic development, the chapter will seek to prove that there is a negative relation between development and terrorism.

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3.1 Development & The Strategy

"Progress in economic development [...] removes one of the main incentives for people to engage in terrorist activities out of desperation and poverty. Although this argument is relatively new and less well developed, many policy makers have turned to it for a solution to global terrorism."\(^70\) Following this train of thought, Member States addressed the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, through the creation of the GA Resolution, The Strategy. This last takes a multilayered approach to counterterrorism, engaging, short, medium, and long term measures. The promotion of peace and security comes through an incessant advocacy of dialogue promotion through the Alliance of Civilization\(^71\), human rights, good governance, eradicating poverty through sustainable economic growth, and many others. In fact, the focus on strong societies with high levels of social cohesion and inclusion seems to be at the heart of the GA’s plan of action to:

1. Addressing conditions conducive to terrorism;
2. Preventing and combating terrorism;
3. Building and developing state capacity to counter terrorism, and developing the UN’s role in this regard;
4. Ensuring respect for human rights in counterterrorism activities.\(^72\)

It is a cultural and social focused approach, not new in its essence - for development has been at the core of UN’s initiatives - but new in its relation to terrorism. It stems from the realization that there can be no “quick fix” to terrorism and that a long-term, sustained solution

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\(^{71}\) Aiming to bridge the divide and bring closer Islamic and Western civilizations. It’s a UN initiative revolving mainly around culture, further information can be found on the following website: [http://www.unaoc.org/](http://www.unaoc.org/)

should be found. What is clear in the document is that the UN now believes that development may be a key means to address terrorism. The four pillars mentioned above will be used here to organize how development will be a key part of the UN’s new approach to countering terrorism.

A range of workshops was held as an international process presenting ways to successfully implement *The Strategy*. It was co-sponsored by the governments of Switzerland, Costa Rica, Japan, Slovakia, and Turkey. Various proposals for improvement were put forward stressing the importance of the UN fight against terrorism. These workshops prove the commitment and determination that countries have in implementing *The Strategy* effectively, on a long-run scale.\(^{73}\)

The literature supporting this shift of policy is emerging and becoming more frequent, yet I believe that the UN focus on societies has stemmed from years of experience in working in regions and communities where water was a luxury, and violence the standard.

A recollection of research, data, and literature analysis will support the concerned hypothesis; however it is vital to note that because it is still a new strategy to be implemented, the literature is very limited with respect to some areas such as human rights used in the context of countering terrorism. Other chapters such as economic development and its link to combating terrorism have been widely covered. Orienting the thesis towards the UN system and *Strategy*, most of the thesis’ arguments and findings will be based on UN publications, resolutions, and documentation. Being sponsored by Member States, this shift in policy was advocated and voted upon by states themselves, and thus by the acceptance of their governments.

3.2 Economic Development and the UN

Development cannot be separated with a cutting distinction into different categories. In its nature, the definition of development has been very wide and complex and covers more than one area: education, economics, human rights, and good governance among others. Although each is distinctively studied, their connection is very intricate and their effect on each other’s path is intertwined. In some way they are directly related, and thus the exclusion or decrease of one of these variables may lead to a decrease in another.

The Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) of the UN provides an essential interface between global policies relating to the economy, society and the environment, and national actions. Most of the time there are gaps between international policy and national implementation, whether because of lack of information or consistency. This department covers three main areas tackling this subject through: (i) Researching and analyzing data relevant to its field of expertise; the information is then used by both the UN and Member States to deal with common problems; (ii) facilitating the negotiation process between Member States and intergovernmental bodies to address global challenges, (iii) assisting in an advisory status, by translating UN conferences and summits into actual actions at the country level in terms of national capacity, mainly through technical assistance.\(^74\).

The Economic and Financial Committee, known as the Second Committee, is another UN entity which deals with economic development. More comprehensive and more focused than DESA, it deals exclusively with economic growth and development “[…] such as macroeconomic policy questions, financing for development, sustainable development, human

settlements, poverty eradication, globalization and interdependence, operational activities for
development, and information and communication technologies for development.\textsuperscript{75} The
efficiency of this committee is that it deals with issues relating to the people not only states. In
fact it covers and strongly considers issues in relation to the Least Developed Countries (LCDs)
and Landlocked Developing Countries (LLDCs) "It will also consider the item on permanent
sovereignty of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East
Jerusalem, and of the Arab population in the occupied Syrian Golan over their natural
resources."\textsuperscript{76}

All of these UN Councils and departments are in place in order to sustain economic
development and its various branches, projects and initiatives are ongoing throughout the whole
world, especially in poor regions; this proving that economic development has been a priority but
never under the umbrella of a counter-terrorism strategy.

3.2.1 Poverty and Economic Inequality

The Strategy affirms that one of the reasons for terrorism is underdevelopment and
poverty. Although not analyzed in depth, this hypothesis has been formalized by many scholars.
Poor economic conditions create "terrorist breeding grounds," where disaffected populations turn
to transnational terrorist activities as a solution to their problems\textsuperscript{77}. In Marwan Bishara's words,
"When people feel so inferior militarily and economically, they adopt asymmetric means-not the

\textsuperscript{75} United Nations Second Committee. Accessed on 19.08.08 from UN. Website:
\textsuperscript{76} United Nations Second Committee. Accessed on 19.08.08 from UN. Website:
http://www.jstor.org/stable/3176252
usual means to get what they want." However, this line of explanation still remains a marginal one. Still, seeing that the traditional ways are not enough, it is important to consider this minority more.

Much academic research states that there is no correlation between socioeconomic status and terrorism or that it is indirect at best. James Piazza, in his book "Rooted in Poverty: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages", tries to prove that economic deprivation and inequality lead to terrorism. He attempts to confirm this hypothesis by using a regression analysis aiming to demonstrate that there is a strong negative correlation between poverty and unequal access to economic opportunities and the reason behind which people join terrorist networks and organizations. From his research, he determines that there are no statistically significant indicators determining that poverty has caused such a radical movement; however he believes that further academic research might lead to a more concrete answer.

While "not all individuals who share the same fate of deprivation or are living in the same polarized environment, turn to radicalism" there is an implicit recognition by Member States that economic inequalities encourage resentment conducive, if fueled, to terrorism. This recognition materialized in the official GA resolution: The Global Strategy and the follow up workshops and review that have been undertaken. Measures to improve social condition grew to be part of national strategies as a counter-radicalization effort.

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For governments to make the above shift in policy there is enough conviction of a correlation between inequality and deprivation and people's resort to extremism, radicalization, and terrorism;\textsuperscript{82} as Blomberg and Hess sustain in their book: poverty triggers terrorism, identifying that higher incomes inhibit and restrain terrorist activity.\textsuperscript{83}

Macro-studies confirm the above, demonstrating that terrorism is a much more common phenomenon in developing countries than in developed ones and emphasizing that it is more probable to take place in societies undergoing rapid modernization.\textsuperscript{84} "Economic change creates conditions that are conducive for instability, the emergence of militant movements and extremist ideologies."\textsuperscript{85} In these transitional phases of economic reforms and fluctuations, people who follow terrorist groups are mostly marginalized from the rest of the population. Thus because of poverty, people have a reason to be open to recruitment from terrorist groups especially among the less educated strata of citizens; their commitment to these groups will be motivated by social needs and disadvantages.

Still, are poverty and inequalities causes of terrorism or merely happen too often to coincide? There is a strong literature proving that poverty and inequality might be propelling terrorism, the kind of terrorism that is not politically or religiously driven. Opponents to this view might argue that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by post-graduate candidates and western educated people. This is true in fact; however their motivation behind the attack might not have been exclusively linked to poverty, but could be linked to discrimination, feelings of inferiority,


\textsuperscript{85} Addressing the Causes of Terrorism The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism. The International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security. 8-11 March 2005, Madrid
cultural resistance to change, and ideology. Nevertheless, poverty and inequality were given major importance in post-9/11 policies. As the hijackers of September 11 were from the Gulf States, an important outcome was the realization of these states that they should turn greater attention to internal factors, which could have instigated these terrorist acts.

All were encouraged to undergo a profound shakeup in the centuries-old political culture, a culture that governed their daily life with some success. Under the careful supervision of the United States, all Arab Gulf states started to implement an extraordinary series of political, social and educational reform measures. The United States maintained that such reforms will, eventually, transform the lives of people throughout the Gulf states, eradicate the roots of terrorism [...] 

Turning back to Pizza, his research demonstrates that poverty and inequality are causes of terrorism. His research basically shows that global poverty and the unequal distribution of global wealth generate the chain of transnational terrorism.

This belief rests on an essentially reasonable premise: If citizens of a country are denied the means to satisfy their basic human needs, are deprived of access to reasonable economic opportunities, or are faced with glaring levels of socioeconomic inequality; they will become hopeless and enraged and may view political violence as an acceptable means for redressing their grievances. Because political moderation and trust in the established system to address society's problems rest upon a healthy and prosperous economy, economic distress increases the appeal of radicalism in the eyes of ordinarily reasonable and moderate people.86

A significant pattern is evident in this graph. There is a positive relationship between poverty and transnational terrorism. The gradual decrease of poverty – from 66.9 in 1982 to 47.6 percent – is met by a decrease in terrorist attacks from 300 to 182.

The case of Afghanistan comes as evidence to the above graph. We can conclude that poverty causing instability resulted in favorable conditions for the Taliban to gain power and control people. This situation paved the way for Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden to institute their authority and establish an international network. “Consistent with this argument, Bush (2002)

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claimed in a widely cited speech, "We fight against poverty because hope is an answer to terror."  

Pakistan provides more proof, as a strategy of increase in foreign aid was planned to supplement the country's economic growth. The assumption was that once economic growth was reestablished in Pakistan, "there would likely be adequate funds to combat terrorism on two fronts: (1) poverty reduction and improved governance; and (2) increased allocations for security and force modernization. With improved growth [...] the attractiveness of terrorism would diminish."  

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http://www.jstor.org/stable/3176252

http://www.jstor.org/stable/4128580
The above graph is a visual explanation of the effect of economic impact. "The New Second World" as Bremer and Kasarada identify it, is a study of a group of countries and their economic status. This economic transition reflects a political transition highlighting the move from a third to a first world. This move entails all three elements tackled in the thesis which are considered as essential components in strategies to counter terrorism, as it includes governance, despair – social base – standard of living and economic development. This changeover has three phases. The first symbolizes the start of industrialization and its consequences (urbanization and economic diversification). The second phase, or middle phase identifies rapid and sustained growth. "Bremer and Kasarada note that if this middle phase continues for 10 to 20 years, the

country would likely reach the advanced phase, often a time of recurring economic crisis and political turmoil."\textsuperscript{91}

Considering Saudi Arabia as an extensive case study, Robert Looney\textsuperscript{92} went through a deep analysis of the country's economic and social situation, and based most of his findings on the above graph. He states that Saudi Arabia is currently implementing "a broad set of economic, political and social reforms", and that this progress will have a major impact on the country's fight against terrorism; however these reforms are not reaching the whole of society and are resulting in poverty areas leading to exclusion and frustration. In his study, knowing that Al Qaeda has a strong base in the Kingdom, he theorizes how to keep segments of society from adhering to Al Qaeda's thinking by enhancing development, stressing that the latter is one of the reasons for the continuous social and political instability "...there's a lot of frustration and anxiety among young Saudi men. Almost half of them have lost hope for the future. And they are ripe for recruitment by Islamic extremists [...]"\textsuperscript{93}

Based on the above graph, and the research undertaken by Looney, Saudi Arabia along, Egypt, Iran, Pakistan and others fall in the first stage of advancement. He explains that this group of countries has failed to move to the middle stage mainly because of "growth-limiting policies and institutional rigidities". As Bremer and Kasarda state: "[...] If the transition stalls here—as it did in post-World War I Russia, and as it has now in much of the Middle East—failure can lead to revolution and Al Qaeda-style international violence."\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{94}Bremer J. & Kasarda J. D. (Fourth Quarter 2002) . The Origins of Terror: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy, USA: \textit{The Milken Institute Review} p.34-49.
Having discussed the strongest literature that demonstrates a link between the increase in the number of terrorist acts and the increase in the level of poverty it is important to note that turning government attention to socio-economic matters can help decrease radicalization. The respect and maintenance of these economic and social rights, at the core of every society along with political rights, will help development and thus reduce terrorism on the long run through:

- Accessible opportunities
- Non-discrimination in the application of economic social and cultural rights
- Adequate standard of living

The focus on societies and their needs have pushed governments to redirect their policies by aligning development as an additional strategy to counter terrorism. Economic development plays a major role in decreasing radicalization since it avoids the marginalization of certain segments of society. It will not be the ultimate tool to drastically eradicate terrorism, but it will nevertheless assist in decreasing the number of members who seek comfort and solace in these terrorist groups. The chance for equality, for a job, and for economic prosperity is the cornerstone for the hope of every person. It is the safeguard of such possibilities and the commitment to preserve them that will result in an equal treatment of all peoples and thus the respect of international human rights law.
Chapter 4
Society as the Focal Point of The Strategy

Besides economic development, various elements play a role in decreasing terrorism if tackled adequately. The following chapter will outline two of them which are social based: human rights and good governance. Human rights date from the creation of the UN and have gained the wide support of public opinion throughout wars and injustice. The Strategy being a very recent document is instigated from the same declaration that date 60 years old proving that Human Rights are a double pathway: they’re a principle of life, and a method to preserve life; a way to prevent terrorism and a way to combat terrorism. The main aim behind this chapter is to prove that when educated since childhood, with general knowledge, away from religious indoctrination and hatred, terrorism loses its appeal even when social disadvantages appear. Also, a state which is built on good governance gains legitimacy and loyalty, both of which play against the rise of terrorism.

4.1 Human & Social Development

“To reaffirm the United Nations system’s important role in strengthening the international legal architecture by promoting the rule of law, respect for human rights, and effective criminal justice systems, which constitute the fundamental basis of our common fight against terrorism”


In an age where countering terrorism is a guiding force in world politics, human rights are becoming increasingly more important. The Officer of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR) “condemns terrorism unequivocally and recognizes the duty of States to

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protect those living within their jurisdictions from terrorism.\textsuperscript{96} Human Rights are a priority in both the context of protecting rights while countering terrorism and protecting rights to counter terrorism. The Secretary General and all UN entities have a standing policy in this regard: a rigorous and unequivocal application of human rights in all states, under all circumstances, even in states of emergency. In 2003, during a SC CTC meeting, gathering international, regional, and sub-regional organizations, former Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that:

\begin{quote}
[...] responses to terrorism, as well as our efforts to thwart it and prevent it, should uphold the human rights that terrorists aim to destroy. Respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law are essential tools in the effort to combat terrorism - not privileges to be sacrificed at a time of tension.\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

\textit{The Strategy} comes as a further proof of the commitment of Member States to respect and promote human rights. \textit{The Strategy} reinforces in its fourth part of its plan of action \textit{Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism}, the need to respect human rights, implement them while countering terrorism, and resort to technical assistance if and when needed.

\subsection*{4.1.1 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights}

The fourth part of \textit{The Strategy}'s plan of action solemnly revolves around the importance of preserving human rights when countering terrorism and as a way to counter terrorism. The Declaration of Human Rights was the first universal “resolution” that the UN issued and it binds all states and acts as a \textit{jus cogen} under international law. It is the duty of states, no matter what their regime type might be, or how geographically isolated, not only to respect and protect human rights but to promote them. It has brought new standards and frameworks for the

\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Terrorism and Human Rights}. Accessed on 10.11.08 from the Officer of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. Website: \url{http://www.unhchr.ch/terrorism/index.html}

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Terrorism and Human Rights}. Accessed on 10.11.08 from the Officer of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. Website: \url{http://www.unhchr.ch/terrorism/index.html}
protection of human rights; it is the most comprehensive human rights document in history, providing a universal language and understanding of human rights.

The cornerstone of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the principle that “human rights are based on the “inherent dignity of all members of the human family” and are the “foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.” The Declaration is a guarantee for all peoples, that their rights shall be preserved and respected. It covers all aspects of human rights: social, political, economic, and civil, revolving around the dignity of all. It contains 30 articles that highlight the various rights, listing among them:

- The right to life, liberty and security
- The right to freedom from torture and degrading treatment;
- Freedom of thought, conscience and religion;
- The right to freedom of opinion and expression;
- The right to an adequate standard of living;
- The right to education

Although the declaration is not binding in nature, it has been an inspiration to many countries, and triggered a series of human rights instruments, specific in their content; rights of the child, rights of women, etc. The Declaration has become the main standard of human rights for all states and has been incorporated into national constitutions and laws of many states.

The Human Rights Declaration has not been the only instrument to advocate and promote human rights. In fact various instruments have been established: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the

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International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)\textsuperscript{100}. Both adopted in 1966, they entered into force in 1976. The main difference between these latter covenants and the Human Rights Declaration lies in the legal commitment; the Universal Declaration is not binding in nature, whereas the other two covenants are legally binding to states that have ratified them.

The ICCPR details the civic and political rights of individuals, along with the duties have with respect to these rights; inspired by the Universal Declaration, some areas overlap with it. "The ICCPR forbids, inter alia, torture and inhuman or degrading treatment, slavery, arbitrary arrest and detention, propaganda advocating either war or hatred based on race, religion, national origin or language." In parallel to this are the ICESCR that include:

- Right to work;
- Right to equal opportunity for advancement;
- Right to social security;
- Right to special protection to the family, mothers and children;
- Right to a standard of living adequate to the health and well-being of persons and their families including food, clothing and housing;
- Right to education;

It is hoped that these covenants together will be able to counter terrorism. Human Rights are a principle of life and a method to preserve life, particularly the development of it, as well as a way to prevent terrorism and a way to combat terrorism. "The Universal Declaration of Human

Rights and the human rights instruments that were inspired by it are therefore designed to counter threats to democratic values, which would certainly include threats from terrorism.”

4.1.2 Human Rights and the UN

With the recent emphasis of the UN on human rights while countering terrorism, CTC/CTED started calling for and monitoring the application of human rights and the respect of all provisions pertaining to that matter. The GA review of its Strategy highlighted the need to respect human rights not only as a principle to uphold in all constitutions, but as a means to fight terrorism and respect the rule of law. The late High Commissioner Sergio Vieira de Mello addressed the CTC saying that "the best - the only - strategy to isolate and defeat terrorism is by respecting human rights, fostering social justice, enhancing democracy and upholding the primacy of the rule of law.”

As growing concerns were pressed forward by states and various organizations, CTC/CTED started collaborating and exchanging information with various human rights departments.

In recent SC resolutions, among them 1373 (2001), 1535 (2005), and 1456 (2003), the UN calls on Member States to ensure that all counter-terrorism measures are in accordance with international law, in particular with the Declaration of Human Rights, international humanitarian law, and refugee law. The protection of fundamental freedom provides a link between national security concerns and the international framework. Regional and international organizations should play a constructive role in assisting states, particularly developing ones, in decreasing instances of human rights violations.

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Although most countries express their condemnation of the violation of human rights, the UN expresses deep concerns about the applicability of the measures taken in this regard. CTED works closely with governments to try and establish judicial apparatuses which simultaneously respect human rights and fight terrorism. Mike Smith, the Executive Director of CTED affirmed in a questionnaire submitted to him that by respecting human rights terrorism can be decreased.

Greater care by governments responding to terrorist acts, to ensure that counter-terrorism measures respect the rule of law and only encroach on human rights to the extent that is absolutely necessary, would certainly help to reduce the scope for terrorists to use government human rights abuse as a motivator in trying to recruit supporters.

Other branches at the UN link human rights and terrorism as stated in the answers presented by, interviewee’s name withheld on request, a Terrorism Prevention Branch expert at the UN (UNODC) in a questionnaire: “Respect of Human Rights/justice is one of the most important factors to decrease terrorism and other forms of violent behavior.”

While experts in the field of human rights recognize the efforts that various countries are putting toward respecting human rights some, “[…] voice profound concern at the multiplication of policies, legislation and practices increasingly being adopted by many countries in the name of the fight against terrorism which affect negatively the enjoyment of virtually all human rights - civil, cultural, economic, political and social.”

In order to tackle the voices of concern, the GA tries as much as possible to keep human rights on its agenda by issuing resolutions and discussing case studies. In fact, GA Resolutions 58/187 (2003)\textsuperscript{104}, 58/174 (2003)\textsuperscript{105}, 60/158 (2005)\textsuperscript{106} and the resolutions of the Commission on

\textsuperscript{103} Terrorism and Human Rights. Accessed on 10.11.08 from the Officer of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. Website: \url{http://www.unhchr.ch/terrorism/index.html}

Human Rights, 2003/68\textsuperscript{107} and 2003/37\textsuperscript{108} all revolve around the issue of human rights and terrorism and two of them specifically outline the role of the High Commissioner’s office stating that:

a) It should examine the adequate protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism;

b) Should push forward its recommendations to States to respect human rights in their counter-terrorism strategies;

c) Assist countries, under their request, in promoting human rights in their national strategies.

The GA did not restrain itself to the existing human rights office but created in its counter-terrorism system, a working group on human rights and terrorism, annexed to CTITF. 

*The Strategy* stressed the vital role that the UNHCHR and the Human Rights Council play in forging an international culture with respect to human rights. While affirming that the UN plays a major role in paving the way for such an advocacy, the primary responsibility rests on the application of these provisions by the Member States\textsuperscript{109}. States have the obligations of respecting Human Rights, including the right to life, and it is their duty to protect civilians from attacks but

\textsuperscript{109} International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Workshop on Institutional Challenges in Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 21-22 January 2008, Kusnacht (Zurich), Switzerland.
while respecting the application of human rights on the attackers in the process\textsuperscript{110}. Among the many rights listed in the conventions, education is becoming increasingly highlighted as a right and a duty especially when it is linked to decreasing terrorism.

\textbf{4.1.3 Education for All}

"It is, in short, the lifeblood for a nation's future economic growth and prosperity. [...] By ensuring that all children get the education they deserve, we can put both individuals and countries on a sure footing toward a more stable and fulfilling future."

Ban Ki-Moon, UN Secretary General\textsuperscript{111}

Seventy-five million children around the world have no or little access to education, hundreds of them are out-of-school children, more than half of whom are girls and one third are disabled; all this without counting the millions more in poor communities receiving less than basic education\textsuperscript{112}. In a conference held on November 28\textsuperscript{th}, 2008 by to the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, minister of 153 countries agreed that funding education should be a top priority to all. "The global financial crisis should not serve as a justification for


\textsuperscript{112} Don't cut education funding, urge ministers attending UNESCO's International Conference on Education. Accessed 10.12.08 from UN. Website: \url{http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=44136&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html}
cuts in education funding [...] In areas of conflict, a child continuously prevented from attending school is too often the rule, not the exception [...]."

Among The Strategy's main achievement is its recognition of the need to build bridges and create a common understanding across communities and religions. This stems from the acknowledgment of the role that education plays. Besides general knowledge and critical thinking, education promotes empathy and understanding about diversity and tolerance when it follows an international standard that presents to the students a wide range of information away from hatred and religious indoctrination.

As stated during the 17-18 May 2007 Symposium on Advancing the Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Vienna given the increasing polarization between different cultures and religions, we need to exert more effort in promoting intercultural and inter-religious dialogue. The primary objective here is to encourage and improve mutual understanding among societies, [which] is very important because, extremist groups build their campaign on stereotypes, misconceptions and misrepresentations about the so-called others.

Experts in the field of development and counter-terrorism have agreed that in order to have a successful and long-term effective strategy, education should be a main component and thus should have ample consideration. UNESCO is involved in the process of strengthening educational systems worldwide and introducing the concept of standardization through the integration of human rights concepts, conflict resolution, critical thinking, etc. The attention was not drawn to education and students alone, but to teachers as well, who will be allocated to


\[115\] International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop on the UN Role of Law in Promoting and Strengthening Good Governance and the Rule of Law in the Context of Implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 22-23 May 2008, Antalya, Turkey

\[116\] International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop Enhancing Capacity Building For the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 17-18 JUNE 2008, Tokyo Japan
training sessions and workshops. To reach this end, UNESCO collaborates with Member States so that it ensures efficiency and productivity. This is done through a continuous channel of communication regarding the following points:

a) Curricula are being revised and textbooks chosen as to accommodate cultural policies that will enhance a “human right-based approach”, multiculturalism, cultural dialogue and sustainable development;

b) A climate of acceptance and security is being shaped; and

c) A standardized training for teachers and their approach to students is being prepared as to create a positive understanding of world cultures, history, and religions.\(^{117}\)

Given the special attention directed by *The Strategy* to education as a counter-radicalization process, Member States affirmed their commitment to this view; “Promoting an alliance of civilizations and an intercultural dialogue can thus significantly contribute to countering the forces that fuel extremism and violence.”\(^{118}\)

As proof of this commitment, in a white paper\(^ {119} \) France documented its prospective actions against terrorism, one of which is education. It stresses the responsibility of schools, stating that they help students share a common vision and engage in society by defining their role; through this, there is a direct decrease of radicalism and discrimination and thus prevention of the development of extremism.

\(^{117}\) International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop Enhancing Capacity Building For the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 17-18 JUNE 2008, Tokyo Japan


\(^{119}\) *Prevailing Against Terrorism.* (2006). Paris: La Documentation Francaise
In a press release, Patricia Harrison, then Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs in the United States of America, asserted the power that education has in breaking down stereotypes and increasing mutual understanding between the US and other countries. She stresses the fact that through education, the Educational and Cultural Affairs Department is targeting young people, which will enhance respect, understanding, and tolerance at an early age. With the help of the State Department a program was launched with this particular aim: Partnership for Learning, "[...] a global initiative, and it's based on the premise that people of good will, whatever their background, the religious faith, their ethnicity, want only the best for their children, and that best starts with an education." This program covers various developing countries from Lebanon, Nigeria, West Bank and Gaza, to Egypt, Kuwait, and Yemen and is expecting to fund over a thousand students in two years.

These initiatives, undertaken by governments, clearly prove the role that education plays in the long run. It is undeniable that education is vital in building or allowing a society to have a solid future.

Of particular relevance to counter-terrorism [...] experts, or working groups on torture; disappearances; summary or arbitrary executions; religious intolerance; mercenaries; internally displaced persons; violence against women; education; extreme poverty; and health. [...] promoting and protecting human rights while countering terrorism.  

The project to tackle education is advanced by the need of developing countries to cover this area, and by the worry of developed countries to sustain it. Governments which propelled this policy are mainly Western ones, with a high reputation of their educational system such as

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the American one, and the European one. Developing countries, mostly in Africa and the Middle East welcomed this initiative. The fervor to include development in general and education specifically is explicitly shown in The Strategy through the negotiations that took place during the meetings. During the Review, Pakistan representing the Arab Bloc, France representing the European Union, and the United States, all stressed the importance of capacity building in the light of counter-terrorism. Although focusing on different wording; they all agreed that it is crucial to have a more constant recurrence to development, allowing societies to be more active in their internal affairs through projects oriented on good governance.

4.2 Good Governance

"We resolve to undertake the following measures aimed at addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, […] lack of the rule of law and violations of human rights,[…] socio-economic marginalization and lack of good governance, while recognizing that none of these conditions can excuse or justify acts of terrorism."\(^{122}\)

It is clear that both economic development and human rights cannot “happen” if there is no system to sustain them. Such a system, which will protect human rights and institute economic development at the domestic level, rests on both a good government and an efficient administration: good governance. Good governance is the exercise of authority in a country in order to manage national resources: political, economic, administrative, and judicial fairly and efficiently. It is the mechanism through which the citizens can identify themselves and articulate their rights.\(^{123}\) Good governance is characterized by eight major attributes: participation, building consensus, accountability, transparency, responsiveness to people’s demands, efficiency,


equitability and inclusivity, and follows the rule of law. Above all, good governance ensures that corruption is minimized and that minorities are heard, thus curtailing marginalization in societies.\textsuperscript{124} Indeed, it helps lay out the preconditions for sustainable development, "Poor governance stifles and impedes development. In countries where there is corruption, poor control of public funds, lack of accountability, abuses of human rights and excessive military influence, development inevitably suffers."\textsuperscript{125}

Although the current chapter started by outlining the economic aspect of development, all of the above, including human rights, are interrelated and unified. They are not inclusive, but they are complementary and mutually enforcing. Good governance will help bolster both politics and economics, and thus create a stable society that is accountable and operative. In its political principles good governance will increase accountability of government, stress freedom of expression especially in pluralistic societies, and establish good institutions, while conforming to the rule of law. In its economic principle, good governance will sustain a broad-based economic approach, enhance the private sector, invest in education, health and services, and orient actions of economic and social advancement\textsuperscript{126}. If these variables are kept constant, in the long run they will help settle some incongruities in societies. Note that poverty and inequality will always exist, but the gap will not be as deep and certainly will not reach a level below the adequate standard of living.

\textsuperscript{124} United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. (2009). \textit{What is Good Governance?} Accessed 26.11.08 from UN. Website: \url{http://www.unescap.org/husset/gg/governance.htm}


Improved governance is another focus area crucial for sustained growth.\textsuperscript{127} The UN has been aware of that fact and started slowly implementing it through \textit{The Strategy}. In fact, its long-time presence in most countries has helped it establish offices which cover ample sets of data which has allowed it to play a

\[
 [...] \text{critical role in facilitating access to development assistance and other forms of support and forming strategic linkages, including, for example with civil society and the private sector. [...] is the most obvious UN actor to highlight the close relationship between security and development, based on recognition that development can only be achieved and sustained if institutions and mechanisms of governance ensure the security and safety of citizens.}\textsuperscript{128}
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This new area of focus is not so “new” per se, as it started developing after the end of the Cold War. Under the title of “democracy assistance” good governance was promoted through aid programs, the most famous of which by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). In fact as the graph below, shows that democracy and governance assistance increased from US$128 million in 1990 to $902 million by 2005. The study undertaken by Azpuru et al.\textsuperscript{129} clearly shows that “USAID’s democracy assistance reflects a long-term U.S. commitment to furthering democratic development in particular countries, rather than a quick-fix approach lasting only one or two years”.

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\textsuperscript{128} International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop on the UN Role of Law in Promoting and Strengthening Good Governance and the Rule of Law in the Context of Implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 22-23 May 2008, Antalya, Turkey.

**Table 1**—USAID Democracy Assistance vs. Other Types of Assistance, 1990–2005*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Democracy Assistance (DFA)</th>
<th>Human Rights</th>
<th>Assistance to Conflict Affected Areas</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Conflict Management and Mediation</th>
<th>Development Assistance</th>
<th>Humanitarian Assistance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>128.08</td>
<td></td>
<td>126.99</td>
<td>813.86</td>
<td>543.12</td>
<td>403.16</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>155.70</td>
<td></td>
<td>153.91</td>
<td>1014.30</td>
<td>587.50</td>
<td>522.91</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>259.82</td>
<td></td>
<td>257.44</td>
<td>1013.01</td>
<td>535.48</td>
<td>392.73</td>
<td></td>
<td>43.99</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1993</td>
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<td></td>
<td>349.94</td>
<td>1161.67</td>
<td>563.09</td>
<td>425.21</td>
<td></td>
<td>76.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
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<td></td>
<td>412.74</td>
<td>1175.26</td>
<td>620.00</td>
<td>393.51</td>
<td></td>
<td>67.41</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>483.34</td>
<td></td>
<td>480.45</td>
<td>1185.06</td>
<td>843.52</td>
<td>395.48</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>418.10</td>
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<td>415.12</td>
<td>992.83</td>
<td>620.07</td>
<td>309.75</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.74</td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>446.30</td>
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<td>443.15</td>
<td>1082.33</td>
<td>715.91</td>
<td>189.98</td>
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<td>30.78</td>
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<td>550.42</td>
<td>1187.66</td>
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<td>289.46</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>520.18</td>
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<td>517.62</td>
<td>1080.52</td>
<td>532.90</td>
<td>333.64</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2000</td>
<td>539.59</td>
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<td>537.01</td>
<td>1097.72</td>
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<td>294.32</td>
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<td>2001</td>
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<td>333.03</td>
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<td>2002</td>
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<td>730.26</td>
<td>1406.00</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>817.22</td>
<td>14.81</td>
<td>813.41</td>
<td>1491.95</td>
<td>424.64</td>
<td>449.26</td>
<td></td>
<td>108.89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1134.44</td>
<td>25.42</td>
<td>1130.95</td>
<td>1846.23</td>
<td>483.24</td>
<td>606.12</td>
<td></td>
<td>145.09</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>901.84</td>
<td>18.92</td>
<td>898.92</td>
<td>2183.92</td>
<td>796.07</td>
<td>547.08</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>58.96</td>
<td>5466.39</td>
<td>19946.85</td>
<td>9226.20</td>
<td>6192.96</td>
<td>549.52</td>
<td>3450.27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Totals expressed in millions of constant 2000 U.S. dollars. Note: The Human Rights column reflects only programs dealing with human trafficking and assisting victims of torture and war. Other human rights activities (sanity in place by 1990) are covered under Democracy and Governance (DFA).

Resorting to violence because of a lack of good governance has always been a reality. Without a transparent and accountable system, a country may very well harbor terrorism, and allow its citizens to fall in the circle of extremism. Citizens need to rely on standing institutions and laws so that they can refer to them whenever they are faced with a problem or request. This can only be enhanced through the rule of law and capacity building, strengthening a country’s foundations.

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4.2.1 The Rule of Law & Capacity Building

"For as in absolute governments the king is law, so in free countries the law ought to be
king; and there ought to be no other."

Thomas Paine\textsuperscript{131}

"It was widely accepted that the rule of law and good governance are essential for the
protection of human rights and sustainable development and in eroding support for terrorism."\textsuperscript{132}

The rule of law in its definition encloses the basic principle of equal treatment of all people
before the law, thus encompassing the extended principles of transparency and accountability in
decision making along with the separation of powers within the government. Citizens should be
protected before their constitution as well as before their Human Rights.

A predictable legal system with fair, transparent, and effective judicial institutions is
essential to the protection of citizens against the arbitrary use of state authority and
lawless acts of both organizations and individuals. Without the rule of law, [...] free and
fair elections are not possible, and civil society cannot flourish.\textsuperscript{133}

That Human Rights should be enforced and respected through the rule of law is a fact and
the UN has always advocated it. However the rule of law is not an institution in itself, but is part
of a larger scheme of capacity building. To have the rule of law effectively followed and applied,
a state’s capacity building should be founded. CTC/CTED and the GA have been focusing on
these issues by reorienting their attention to technical assistance. Development has been on the
agenda, and capacity building an element.

The Strategy, among its various fields of coverage, aims is to build state capacity in order
to allow states to be at their full potential when preventing and fighting terrorism; in fact it

\textquotedblleft recognizes that capacity building in all States is a core element of the global counter-terrorism

\textsuperscript{132} International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop on the UN Role of Law in Promoting
and Strengthening Good Governance and the Rule of Law in the Context of Implementing the UN Global Counter-
Terrorism Strategy, 22-23 May 2008, Antalya, Turkey
\textsuperscript{133} USAID. Democracy and Governance. \textit{Rule of Law}. (2008). Accessed 29.11.08 from USAID. Website:
\url{http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/technical_areas/rule_of_law/}
effort" and that TA will be one form of assistance to help states develop their capabilities. The Strategy pertains a double-track path: one which focuses on assistance in administrative matters and training officials on how to effectively secure air, land, and border crossing, and the other track which revolves around the field of the rule of law, human rights and good governance, basis for a sustainable country development and stability. "Capacity-building with respect to strengthening public institutions, broadening citizen participation in governmental processes, and implementing more effective ways to deliver services especially to under-privileged and marginalized groups is central to improving governance and linked to The Strategy’s holistic approach to counterterrorism."

Indeed, capacity building has been on the UN agenda for years, especially concerning war torn countries with deep rooted conflict such as Sudan and Somalia.

Specifically, capacity building encompasses the country’s human, scientific, technological, organizational, institutional and resource capabilities. A fundamental goal of capacity building is to enhance the ability to evaluate and address the crucial questions related to policy choices and modes of implementation among development options, based on an understanding [...] needs perceived by the people of the country concerned.

134 International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop Enhancing Capacity Building For the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 17-18 JUNE 2008, Tokyo Japan
136 International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop Enhancing Capacity Building For the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 17-18 JUNE 2008, Tokyo Japan
Capacity building's definition relies on either external or internal groups managing circumstances with the objective of improving both skills and capital. It is solemnly built on motivation, knowledge and commitment. Its main aim is to foster social cohesion.\textsuperscript{138}

UNDP stresses capacity building as a long-term process that eventually will affect the whole society since it operates on various levels: ministries and all governmental departments, national authorities, non-governmental organizations, technical groups, professional associations, and academics. Capacity building is much more than simple training, it tackles areas of management, technology, economics, legal, and institutional all of which are assorted resulting in strengthening a country's administration and structure. In most cases, capacity building is brought forward either by UN and NGOs programs or by technical assistance provided by donor countries, selected and processed through CTC/CTED. Among the various training areas and technical assistance that can be provided or advised for capacity building, are the following:

- "Human resource development, the process of equipping individuals with the understanding, skills and access to information, knowledge and training that enables them to perform effectively.

- Organizational development, the elaboration of management structures, processes and procedures, not only within organizations but also the management of relationships between the different organizations and sectors (public, private and community).

- Institutional and legal framework development, making legal and regulatory changes to enable organizations, institutions and agencies at all levels and in all sectors to enhance their capacities."\textsuperscript{139}


\textsuperscript{139}
Indeed, in the report issued by the Working Group on Radicalization, seven countries of the 34 Member States reported that they are undertaking some form of training and qualification program for their officials and members involved in countering radicalization. “Such training is necessary to improve the cultural competence of counter radicalization agencies, qualify them to do their jobs better and equip them with essential knowledge.”

The reason for which capacity building is highlighted in The Strategy is because it focuses on human development as the building block of social cohesion. The Strategy helps in improving social cohesion for it is an asset of every country in countering terrorism. The stronger the society in terms of education, know-how, adaptability to change, and acceptance of difference the more difficult it gets for terrorist and their ideologies to infiltrate and change the course. Both concepts of education and training are highly considered and lie at the heart of such cohesion. The process is to strengthen the receiver country without making it dependent on the help it receives; assistance in this context it temporary, but the result is permanent. Skills are enhanced, know-how established, and attitudes towards change ready to engage in development, clearly stated in Chapter 37 of Agenda 21 (1992). Another essential aspect of capacity building is the mechanism through which it presents itself: it is introduced through a network of partnerships, NGOs, governments, and private enterprises. Such a network is founded on competent skills, innovative solutions, funding opportunities, resources, efficient strategies for advancement etc. Once the country is able to carry on its own “capacities”, this network remains

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and allows countries to benefit from their technical areas either of advocacy or public outreach. This is not Westernization as it is oriented to lessen hatred and avoid religious indoctrination. Students will be exposed to a wide range of concepts and policies, free to choose their path without being culturally affected.

4.2.2 Civil Society

As thus far discussed The Strategy alleges that development is a vital track when countering terrorism. Civil society can contribute to either the success of this plan, or its failure. In one of the workshops that took place this year, civil society gained wide public support from the Member States as being a focal actor in promoting good governance and human rights, in raising awareness and education, and in combating violent ideologies and extremist messages.

For a counter terrorism strategy to be effective, civil society should be part of it. Various reasons are put forward as to explain the need to involve all groups:

1. Conditions conducive to terrorism are embedded in all levels of society and thus should be tackled;
2. Effective engagement with all levels and groups “can help soften the antagonism between the state and the public that can exist in the context of specific counter-terrorism actions [...],”
3. Bottom up approaches have more potential solutions that top-down approaches.

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144 UN Executive summary on the workshop on the UN Engagement with Regional, Sub-Regional, and Functional Bodies and Civil Society on Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, held in Bratislava, Slovakia in March 2008
The first to be affected by terrorism are citizens, whether ideologically or by being the victims. In fighting terrorism and its radicalization, all sectors of society must be mobilized. Non-state actors are as vital as the traditional means to counter terrorism, “a vibrant civil society can play a strategic role in protecting local communities, countering extremist ideologies and dealing with political violence.” Civil society cannot be easily defined, the literature is very vague about it and scholars identify it loosely. However, our understanding of civil society, especially in unstable countries, includes NGOs, community groups, and human rights but still the effects of civil society are deeper than that. Through the strait of civil society, the system becomes more efficient, minorities find a place to speak and be heard, different social groups meet, and marginalized people become part of this channel. Through this arena of expression, civil society “[...] promotes – by its very diversity – a culture of tolerance and pluralism.”

Without this common ground civil society will be inhibited and so will be good governance, the lack of which can conduct to terrorism, in “Somalia, lawlessness, corruption, and fractional violence led many to welcome the relative stability and order afforded by the Islamic Courts Union.”

In this respect, the UK Department for International Development has stated that:

Improving civic awareness of security issues is a starting point for improving relations between the security forces and the public, creating a national consensus on a reform program, and building political coalitions to sustain the process. Civil society can also play more specific roles by facilitating dialogue, monitoring the activities of the security forces, and expressing views on security policy as well as providing policy advice. This may be particularly useful where state capacity is weak: the role of legislatures or other

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146 UN Executive summary on the workshop on the UN Engagement with Regional, Sub-Regional, and Functional Bodies and Civil Society on Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, held in Bratislava, Slovakia in March 2008

government departments in analyzing security issues, for instance, can be greatly enhanced by assistance from specialist external campaigning groups or think tanks providing research and analytical support.\textsuperscript{148}

The analytical support mentioned here above has been a key field for the past years. Some of the most visible capacity building assistance that has been provided revolves around civil society organizations\textsuperscript{149} and NGOs wanting to promote human rights, the rule of law, and democracy, whether through programs or think tanks.

Philanthropic foundations such as the Open Society Institute, the Ford Foundation, and the Heinrich Böll Foundation provide millions of dollars a year and technical support to improving respect for human rights and the rule of law and promoting democratic governance in countries worldwide. Professional associations are similarly working to strengthen the rule of law in countries around the world. The American Bar Association, for example, conducts relevant rule of law programs worldwide on, among other things, anti-corruption, criminal law reform, human rights and conflict mitigation, and legal education reform. The International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC), an umbrella organization for associations of legal and human rights experts with experience in rebuilding justice systems, for example, works to conduct assessments of the legal and judicial systems in war torn countries and to implement programs to help rebuild those systems.\textsuperscript{150}

These initiatives and projects prove that besides the normal “soft” matters that civil society organizations provide, they are increasingly contributing in “hard security”\textsuperscript{151} issues. The IGAD\textsuperscript{152} Capacity Building Program against Terrorism (ICPAT) program, launched in June 2006, highlights the need of a partnership between civil society and the government on matters relating to counter terrorism. This program is funded by various benefactors among which are


\textsuperscript{152} InterGovernmental Authority on Development. Accessed 25.11.08 from IGAD. Website: http://www.igad.org/
European donors. It stresses capacity-building and enhancing state confidence by covering five areas of interest:

1. Establishing judicial measures
2. Promoting inter-agency coordination on counterterrorism between IGAD States
3. Stressing on border control;
4. Providing training
5. Enhancing strategic cooperation\(^{153}\)

The focus on civil society is elevated because in situations of fear and instability, it is this same civil society that can resort to violence if extremely disadvantaged. Hence, if such situations were to unfold in a country, proponents of extremist ideologies will find it popular to mobilize public support, not that society is uniform, but wish social problems finding people who adhere to extremist ideologies is easier. A counterweight for this situation would be a vibrant civil society that is aware of the law, and aware that terrorism is definitely not a means for communication. The participants of the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security, held in Madrid in 2005\(^{154}\), advocated that “[…] civil society is about creating a framework of trust where people can discuss and deliberate without fear, and by using reason rather than superstition or prejudice.”\(^{155}\)

At this point, there is doubt that economic development, human rights, and good governance have a major impact in decreasing terrorism. As previously stated, they are not

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enough and should be complemented by the traditional legal, political, and military means. Why has the United Nations decided to broaden its spectrum of Counter-Terrorism strategies to include development? By witnessing poverty around the world, the lack of standards of living, and lack of education it is only normal that policies shift to make a rational link between the above phenomenon and terrorism. The needs for a job, for stability, and for respect push people to extreme actions which can be prevented by this exact shift. Having reckoned the need for change and having legalized such a commitment, how can the UN truly implement it internally? What is the policy to follow?
Part III
The New Path: Reducing Terrorism with Development

Chapter 5
Implementing the New Policy

"Every day we are reminded of the need for a strengthened United Nations, as we face a growing array of new challenges, including humanitarian crises, human rights violations, armed conflicts and important health and environmental concerns. Seldom has the United Nations been called upon to do so much for so many. I am determined to breathe new life and inject renewed confidence into a strengthened United Nations firmly anchored in the twenty-first century, and which is effective, efficient, coherent and accountable."

-UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

All organizations require some reform, especially after years of operations. The need for change does not necessarily emanate from a lack of internal coordination but also, from a growing need to meet more difficult challenges with time. It is evident that the UN is facing challenges in responding to world concerns, which calls for reform. In Kofi Annan’s report In Larger Freedom (2005), he clearly presents internal changes that will reflect on the policies and resolutions of the UN. This chapter will outline the UN challenges of implementation as well as some reforms that could be made, highlighting at the end, the new policies or steps that the UN will be seeking to accomplish in order to successfully move forward.

5.1 Challenges to implementation of The Strategy: the UN itself

That the UN faces challenges is a fact; however they stem not only from UN internal affairs but also from "deep political disagreements among its members and between other

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contending forces in the global system." Due to space constraints, this part will only focus on internal reform with respect to counter-terrorism.

The need for reform is accentuated as the UN acquires the leading role in all matters from security to the climate change. In March 2005, Former Secretary General Kofi Annan engaged himself in the pursuit of a more efficient, fair, and representative United Nations. He presented financial, managerial, and structural reforms, of which the SC reform which has been rejected;

[...] the report confirms the need for far-reaching reforms and targeted investments to realign staff skills to meet current and emerging organizational objectives; elevate management accountability and performance; upgrade information technology; streamline budget and finance; explore new, more cost-effective ways of doing business; and suggests improvements to the ongoing interaction with its Member States.159

The report is very comprehensive, touching all aspects of the UN. However what is crucial with respect to terrorism is a UN reform targeting coordination and transparency mechanisms. The United Nations is a “major corporation” with various departments dealing with aspects of terrorism and each, to a significant extent, acts independently. The result is autonomous units undertaking similar tasks, covering analogous areas, and issuing parallel reports. This type of overlap is a major shortcoming for many branches at the UN as it constitutes an enormous waste of budget, time, and skills that could be redirected to other assignments. By having departments working on same issues, the UN does not cover a wider area, but simply does the same job repetitively. Some have called for a clearer division of tasks between the diverse UN entities that are involved in the counter-terrorism strategy. Knowing that each entity will focus on the provisions of its mandate and thus have a limited “area of study”;

158 UN Reform (n.d.) Accessed 11.01.09 from Global Policy. Website: http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/index.htm
dialogue should always be the main tool within the UN system, and cooperation the driving force.

The importance of enhanced coordination and cooperation within the UN system to operationalize the linkages between development, peace, security, and human rights that are reflected in the Strategy was stressed. It was also noted that the UN not only has a role to play in serving as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information, but as a platform for member states to overcome challenges faced in capacity building. 160

With respect to terrorism, there are more than 91 concurrently active mandates161 pertaining to this issue in both the GA and SC only. These are listed in one of the UN web sites under the following search criteria:

- **Organs**: GA and SC
- **Issue area**: Maintenance of international peace and security, Promotion of sustained economic growth and sustainable development, Development of Africa, Promotion of human rights, Effective coordination of humanitarian assistance efforts, Promotion of justice and international law, Disarmament, Drug control, crime prevention and combating international terrorism
- **Keyword**: Terrorism

All of the resolutions and mandates are top priority in their nature and substance, and are part of the international system. They should be used accordingly and provide an international reference for the fight against terrorism.

Another area in need of reform is how the UN bureaucracy is mobilized in times of emergency. Terrorism can strike at any moment and thus an immediate response is essential.

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160 International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop Enhancing Capacity Building For the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 17-18 JUNE 2008, Tokyo Japan
161 Mandate Registry. (2009). Accessed 25.11.08 from UN, Website: http://webapps01.un.org/mandatereview/processSearch_basic.do?requestedForm=display_basic&organCodes=1&organCodes=2&activeSetCodes=all&issueAreaCodes=1&issueAreaCodes=2&issueAreaCodes=3&issueAreaCodes=4&issueAreaCodes=5&issueAreaCodes=6&issueAreaCodes=7&issueAreaCodes=8&keywordssearch=search&keywords=Terrorism&ids=&skipValidation=
Nevertheless, because of the consensus required for action and the fact that the budget has to be withdrawn from the UN main account, the implementation of such an immediate response is dragged along, causing immediate and sometimes quite significant problems\textsuperscript{162}. Having an independent budget allocated for the UN counter-terrorism system will support faster response and more efficiency in delegating its tasks and distributing the money according to tasks and projects.

The GA cannot act authoritatively pertaining actions to prevent and address terrorism because its mandate does not provide it with such power. The GA is rather a place of discourse and negotiation, where all countries are represented equally, each with one vote. It creates a normative framework and encourages dialogue between countries and civilizations; hence the GA resolutions come as defining documents but not as binding provisions. Indeed, the topic of terrorism was first brought to the GA in 1972,\textsuperscript{163} and since then this topic has been intensely discussed and various resolutions concerning the issue passed. Terrorism and development have become pressing matters for the GA; recently it issued Resolution A/RES/62/203\textsuperscript{164} (2008) calling on the contribution of states, their commitment to the implementation of “The Programme of Action” for the decade 2001-2010,\textsuperscript{165} and their cooperation in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the Least Developed Countries.

As noted throughout this thesis, The Strategy has become the main document for counter-terrorism. It instituted a more streamlined mechanism to fight terrorism by creating The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and the Working Groups. CTITF is essentially a

\textsuperscript{165} For further details see GA Resolution A/62/322
body that ensures that coherent action is taken across the UN system as a whole while countering terrorism. Its role has been considered crucial by UN Member States as it provides "[...] regional organizations and civil society with a wide array of resources to draw upon in carrying out their counter-terrorism efforts, such as an Online Handbook that allow[s] all actors to get in contact with and request assistance from any of the 24 entities of the CTITF."\textsuperscript{166} The working groups are the arms of CTITF, nine specialized groups, tackling the conditions conducive to terrorism listed in \textit{The Strategy}. The creation of these groups aims at, in the words of the Malaysian government "winning hearts and minds of the segments of society that are normally targeted by extremist and radical groups for recruitment, support and funding."\textsuperscript{167} As previously noted, the working groups have the specific task of facilitating the implementation of \textit{The Strategy} by identifying opportunities intended for furthering, inter alia, "[...] the dialogue, respect, tolerance and understanding among civilizations, cultures, peoples and religions; Social inclusion of the marginalized; Countering incitement to commit terrorist acts; And human rights and the rule of law."\textsuperscript{168} In order to be fully consistent with their mandate, and with the requests presented by Member States during the review negotiation process, it is essential that CTITF and its groups remain bound to their mandate as "Research teams" having no authority in either taking or enforcing decisions; any source of change – such as institutionalization - should be linked to a respective GA resolution and Member States agreement.

\textsuperscript{166} United Nations Information Service Vienna: UN Counter-Terrorism Symposium Concludes with Strong Call for Member States to Take Action on Global Strategy. (2007). Accessed 11.01.09 from UN. Website: http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2007/unisin%209.html
As stated in chapter 2, CTED works with experts from various UN departments. However, an increased collaboration between CTED and the working groups is essential because they can provide CTED with vital information that otherwise would take a lot of time to assemble. Although CTED has a mechanism of its own, it has a very limited budget and a small staff. Its close cooperation with the Task Force, as advocated by the International Peace Academy\(^{169}\), is important as the latter would be able to act freely under CTED’s umbrella\(^{170}\), undertake their research and then submit their finding to CTED for analysis and assessment. On the other hand, CTED should be more effective in its relation with the donors as to truly establish an authoritative network for technical assistance, the focus area that CTED is trying to improve at the moment. Adding to this, under the format of meetings, reports or conferences, CTC/CTED should hold public meetings outside the 15 member states, to allow all States and international organizations to be fully aware of CTC’s advancement and the placement that countries under study are acquiring in the compliance of UNSCR 1373. Being a SC body, it is important that its work be publicly announced in turn to avoid politicization of actions which is a existing problem that SC bodies face. In the International Conference on Global Counter-Terrorism in Switzerland, some Member States presented eight points for improvement for CTED; the seventh being “broadening [CTED] its concept of relevant capacity-building programs that should be shared with States, e.g., to include those related to counter-radicalization\(^{171}\)”

As the United Kingdom’s permanent representative, Jeremy Greenstock, elected as first chairman of the CTC, stated: “(the functions of the CTC) were to monitor, to be analytical and to

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\(^{170}\) International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop Enhancing Capacity Building For the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 17-18 JUNE 2008, Tokyo Japan

\(^{171}\) International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Workshop on Institutional Challenges in Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 21-22 January 2008, Kusnacht (Zurich), Switzerland.
report facts to the SC for consideration”. He added “[It is not the primary purpose of the CTC to get into the political of what is happening in the short-term”. The committee was created “to help the world system to upgrade its capability, to deny space, money, support, haven to terrorism, and to establish a network of information-sharing and co-operative executive action”.\textsuperscript{172} This clearly shows that CTC’s success relies on the cooperation of the government. Its aim is not to dwell into a political reading of the actual country, but to see if the resolutions are being respected or not.

In a detailed report,\textsuperscript{173} Amnesty International recommends the SC to take steps into strengthening CTC/CTED while enforcing the protection of human rights in counter terrorism strategies, monitoring countries implementation and have standing rapoporteurs of human rights in CTED’s team. The report also stresses on the need for a “[...] process of regular and more in depth interaction with the UN’s human rights expert [...]”; this should be done with respect to all areas covered by \textit{The Strategy}, and not only human rights.

The UN has a central role to play, but it should change and coordinate:

There was broad agreement that the United Nations has a central role to play in the fight against terrorism, but that a lack of coherence and coordination in the overall UN effort has hindered its effectiveness. There was a sense that there exists a multiplicity of actors and mandates within the United Nations. Thus there is a need to rationalize these efforts so as to avoid duplication and minimize the rivalry on this matter that has existed between the General Assembly and the Security Council.\textsuperscript{174}

\textsuperscript{174} International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Workshop on Institutional Challenges in Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 21-22 January 2008, Kusnacht (Zurich), Switzerland.
5.2 The New System

Having highlighted what each organ of SC and the GA does regarding counter-terrorism, it is clear at this point that a greater cooperation between CTC/CTED and the GA is needed if what is sought is a comprehensive and efficient tool to counter terrorism. Both these entities have different focus areas which are complimentary in nature. It is imperative that their work be transparent and their information sharing efficient. It is essential that the GA and the SC work together on this matter as partners and not as competitors. CTC/CTED has been viewed and is acting as a legislative authority, dealing with penal codes and financial regulations led and politicized by the permanent powers, which might cause states to be reluctant in cooperation. On the other hand it is important to mention that CTC/CTED acts on a mandate operating under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The GA, not having a political weight, gains its legitimacy and power and consequently is more accessible and accepted by states. The GA has much to offer, “[...] the Council still has an indispensable political role to play in keeping international terrorism on the world’s agenda. In addition, it should remain the final arbiter of non-compliance within the normative counterterrorism framework it has established.”¹⁷⁵ The presence of the GA behind the decisions that SC will take, make it more legitimate and less politicized, as it does not only emanate from the 15 members, but from all the 192 UN Members States.

Some might argue that the SC cannot cover matters of development under its mandate listed in the UN Charter¹⁷⁶. Chapters V, VI, VII, VIII, and XII list the duties of the SC stating that the maintenance of International Peace and Security is the primary responsibility of the Council. Nevertheless, Chapter VII of the Charter gives the SC the authority in choosing the

appropriate measures to take when it deems that a situation is serious and may threaten international peace and security. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate, using current scholarly research as well as discussions and resolutions of the UN, that focusing on development can reduce terrorism. The lack of development is a serious threat to international peace and security and should, without any doubt, be considered by the SC under the context of counter-terrorism.

From first to last of the above chapters, development is the key factor. Development as explained above is thoroughly tackled by the UN, recommendations are already being processed, and actions are taken. Yet all that is done with very limited effect and without an intentional recurrence to a counter-terrorism strategy. As an expert at UNODC confirmed, development should be advanced not for a political or strategic purpose but because it is the right of all human beings, to live adequately. One way to advance such cause would be to have a standardized approach yet flexible adaptable to region, to developmental issues.

The above challenges should be responded with changes that entail a two track progress: the traditional/official channel and the non-traditional/new channel. The former will be carried out by the various UN offices, peacekeeping operations, mediation initiatives and resolutions, mainly UNSCR 1373; whereas the latter will be carried out by the UN agencies and family which are already well organized in their respective fields. Such agencies might range from UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNIFEM, UNICEF, UNHCR, OCHA etc. But the monitoring body will be CTED, having this authority on the field and the agreement of governments. For this however, CTC should make CTED a standing body, and equip it with permanent experts covering the various areas of traditional and non-traditional channels. Miller and Ipe (2007), among others recommend that “the Council should expand the CTC/CTED tool kit to allow it to
adopt a more flexible, tailored and nuanced approach to its interactions with member states.\textsuperscript{177}

The research and field work can be easily done since UN agencies have offices around the world; data collection is already being carried out by those agencies, and development is an accepted and acclaimed topic by governments so that they would accept assistance.

Many argue that the UN is not doing a good job and will not do any better in the future. They further contend that its presence is not essential anymore; not after the world has rationally came to the conclusions that World War I and World War II should not be repeated, and not after so many resolutions have been broken and no actions have been taken. But the UN is no super-organization; it is a simple reflection of the world. The flaws that we see will be reflected in its actions, the division of power will be undoubtedly present in its seats, but the hope for a better future will be at its heart, just like in all people. This “new policy” gives credit to the UN by highlighting and keep showing all the developmental actions that it is taking by rising the authority of SC to tackle them. It will not enter into the politics of a country, or the details of its technicality, it will simply seek to ensure a decent standard of living. As Former Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold said, "[The UN was] not created in order to bring us heaven, but in order to save us from hell."\textsuperscript{178} Ensuring such standard of living will allow the UN on the long run to bring stability to countries, and thus save them from falling into underdevelopment, or else a one way ticket to terrorism. What is needed is a reshuffling of UN’s efforts through a redirection and coordination of its work. As The Strategy’s review states, the GA and SC should work more harmoniously together. They are complimentary: the GA is the voice of the people and the SC’s

\textsuperscript{178} UN document, SG/382, 13 May 1954
authority is the voice of power. Both these entities will not dwell into the details of development but will at least assure the people to have a choice, away from radicalization.

The question of state sovereignty and UN intrusion in internal affairs has become a cliché and a daily contested aspect of the UN Charter. However, it is important to clarify that this thesis does not support breaching of sovereignty in the name of development. It highlights the importance of development within a society, but at the same time recommends that governments take control of their own territory and initiate bilateral and/or multilateral agreements that cover all social, judicial, and economical aspects. No matter how idealistic, positive, or encouraging the UN support might be, it is up to governments to lead their country; the UN is a source of support, technical assistance, and international balance. This study stresses the pivotal role that the UN provides for counter-terrorism, yet it can never come to subsist if there is no formal consent from world governments to carry on both the conventional and unconventional means to fight terrorism. The UN standards are exported internationally, but governments are the ones to ensure their application nationally, with the support of the UN and its agencies. The idea to allow SC to handle developmental issues under Chapter VII resolutions is to ensure the minimum standard of living to every society. The hope is that with such an initiative, governments will tackle matters of development before they reach the SC.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

6.1 Answering the thesis question

After thorough analysis of the literature and following the rational path of norms discourse, the conclusion to the central question of this thesis: *Why has the United Nations decided to broaden its spectrum of Counter-Terrorism strategies to include development?* comes as little surprise. Formal recognition of development being a positive counter terrorism strategy has been strongly established through *The Strategy*. Development and the standard of living that it brings along is the right of every person; but by enforcing it and implementing adequate development policies, it becomes the basic starting point of every country, thus giving the chance for people to compete for merit and not for life. As an expert at UNODC stated:

> Development is a human right. Every human being is entitled to participate in, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development. The denial to this human right, as well as to other human rights, may cause radicalization and terrorism.\(^{179}\)

The various research that was presented throughout the thesis; Piazza’s quantitative data, civil society’s impact on countering terrorism, and the importance of education and human rights in opening opportunities for prosperity all add up to play in favor of the thesis’ argument. An increase in development, with a focus on economics, human rights, and good governance, will decrease radicalization which will, on the long run, lead to a decrease in terrorism, keeping in mind that development will not eradicate terrorism but play an incentive in decreasing it. The UN has undoubtedly advocated this policy and is unequivocally walking that path. The Executive Director of CTED, Mike Smith, affirms that “Terrorist recruiters and propagandists

\(^{179}\) Questionnaire sent to a counter-terrorism officer in UN who wishes to remain anonymous.
customarily use local grievances in their pitch to win supporters and those grievances can include unemployment, lack of education facilities, poor community health, ethnic tension, discrimination and other similar societal ills that might be addressed through a development program."

When asked how the fight against terrorism can be improved Mike Smith replied that

The fight against terrorism can be improved by doing what we have agreed jointly to do in *The Global Strategy*, but much more extensively. That is easy to say but difficult to accomplish because, firstly, many of the policies and programs that flow from the four pillars of *The Strategy* are demanding, complex and require both expertise and very significant resources. Secondly to implement them properly requires time and commitment over many years. That is not always easy to sustain, particularly in countries that have many competing priorities for government resources and that have not recently suffered from terrorism.

This strategy requires a lot of financing, and a long-term commitment which is both complex and challenging. Although there will be standardized technical assistance from donor countries, there should be a flexible approach at the same time. Sometimes countries will require technical assistance that encompasses various segments of society to focus on while other times it will only require a support in one area. No matter what the situation, there should be a network of donor countries, each specialized in an area of expertise. This will bring to the receiving country a wide range of international support and assistance.

While the evidence is not wholly conclusive, there is significant research that points to economic development, human rights, and good governance as decreasing terrorism. The link between them is at best described as indirect one because it is not an instantaneous causal relationship, a factor which challenges researchers. This commitment to development, extensively highlighted through the MDGs, is a commitment to society and its needs. By giving people the chance to study, work, prosper, and live adequately, people give back in terms of
ambitions, duties, and conformity to the system. This is not always true, as criminals, terrorists, and outlaws will always be part of society, nevertheless if development can help us decrease the number of individuals involved in terrorist activity, then it is undeniably a viable strategy. A strong spotlight has been directed towards education, as it is designed to include not only academic curricula but to articulate social norms especially principles of human rights and tolerance. The most important reform remains trying to reach the excluded groups and grant them access to school, the promotion of cultural diversity among students, and encouraging research and creative thinking.\textsuperscript{180}

The UN has focused on development for decades, and it seems that it is as a result of its experience in war torn countries and with divided cultures and oppressed populations that a shift of policy started being pushed forward. After 9/11 countries realized that terrorists are being recruited internationally and that their networks were expanding. While trying to come up with reasons that explain the resort to terrorism, various countries began rethinking their domestic courses of action. Assessing that traditional means were not successful enough in fighting terrorism (since terrorism persists), development coupled to the traditional channels became a viable strategy. It is important to note though, that this thesis does not seek to undermine the role of the traditional counter-terrorism strategies nor define development as the sole successful strategy to reduce the incidence of terrorism. It does argue, however, that a focus on development is a process that will create a stable society, capable of refusing terrorism because they want to live, and not to resort to terrorism with the excuse of fighting to live.

With this in mind, and with a progressive shift in policy from UNSCR 1373 (2001) to The Strategy, the UN has tried to institutionalize this decision by igniting its counter-terrorism system for this purpose. The UN system is complete when fully considered, however its bureaucracy is so complex, with respect to counter-terrorism mechanisms, and requires several changes, some of which have been presented by former Secretary General Kofi Annan.

CTED has a good mechanism of analyzing internal policies and seeing their lack of compliance and efficiency with respect to counter-terrorism. Adding a perspective of development to this office, by linking it to the appropriate channels of information and cooperation will help the office get the needed data without dwelling in the process of acquiring it. Its solemn task will be evaluation and reporting to the SC for the formulation of a resolution. This is just one of the many changes that the UN can implement if development is to be dealt with as a special focus to strengthen international peace and security.

6.2 What can be learned?

The focus on terrorism should not be oriented for a short term result, but should be one of a long-term commitment. Countries have finally agreed on various elements identifying terrorism; however their consensus was not only literal this time, but practical. By signing The Strategy, States have agreed to meet the rising threat of terrorism with a deep rooted solution. Terrorism is taught, and is a resident of the mind, which is very dangerous. Indeed, the threat is higher because the first symptoms of terrorism are soft and silent. Brainwashing, appealing for the needy, ideological, religious, or political, no matter what the reason, it is through the infiltration of violent ideas, such as hatred, resentment, revenge, inferiority, and recollection of memories of wars that these people are recruited. There are various types of terrorism some of
which are directly related to the above list and feed the sentiment of radicalization; "Terrorist recruiters and propagandists customarily use local grievances in their pitch to win supporters and those grievances can include unemployment, lack of education facilities, poor community health, ethnic tension, discrimination and other similar societal ills that might be addressed through a development program"\(^{181}\), development is a process that can prevent this result; keeping in mind that it is not the solemn way to do that and that development by itself will not eliminate terrorism.

Development is easier said than done. Many challenges are being and will be faced by the UN, NGOs, donor countries, and other stakeholders in providing technical assistance some of which are the lack of "[...] capacity to address the social, economic, and political conditions that can lead to alienation and marginalization"; adding to this, there are communities that are more vulnerable than others to extremist ideologies and thus will require more focus, and finally there is a complexity and diversity of factors including unemployment, social exclusion, generational conflicts, identity crises, distrust in the government, the Internet, and negative media coverage that make youth particularly vulnerable to extremist recruitment."\(^{182}\)

Besides the usual challenges, the implementation of the strategy will entail a reshuffling of the hierarchy of work within the UN. The different agencies and departments will have to work separately and yet jointly, in a way to focus on their field of work all the while complementing the bigger picture. Reports and recommendations should be passed on to the Security Council which will at its turn come up with resolutions pertaining to those reports, and only in the aim of using these recommendations as a counter-terrorism strategy. The monitoring

\(^{181}\) Quoting Mike Smith from the questionnaire submitted

\(^{182}\) International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop on the UN Role of Law in Promoting and Strengthening Good Governance and the Rule of Law in the Context of Implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 22-23 May 2006, Antalya, Turkey.
mechanism will be embodied in CTED. For that matter and as suggested by the International Peace Academy\textsuperscript{183}, CTED will have to become a more comprehensive directorate (all the while maintaining its actual position) and will have to enlist a greater number of personnel. Terrorism is not a "random, happening phenomena" but it is a real threat that seems to be in command of people's lives. The fight against terrorism will have to be a standing policy to be carried out on a long term commitment.

However, the challenges in implementing The Strategy do not revolve around the UN system but include States as well. Their cooperation is essential, and their commitment to The Strategy is the only route to success. So far, 98 countries\textsuperscript{184} have ratified 12 initial international conventions regarding terrorism, and the other conventions have not yet been touched upon by many countries. This means that not only this developmental channel needs to be enhanced, but that the traditional system needs to be implemented more thoroughly and with a further interest by states.

Hobbes might argue that human nature is innately bad, greedy, and selfish (Hobbes 2004 (1651)) while other philosophers such as Rousseau might state that it is because of society and its dynamics that human beings become "bad" (Rousseau 1984 (1754)). Whether Hobbes or Rousseau is right, it is reasonable to argue at this juncture "[...] that terrorism is caused by bad conditions -- rather than by bad people or other abstractions [...]". This statement indisputably facilitates policy responses by redirecting them towards societies. Looking at terrorism in such a way points to poverty, inequality, lack of human rights, poor economic development and lack of good governance as being the root causes of terrorism, and that a policy built on improvement in


\textsuperscript{184} International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation. Workshop Enhancing Capacity Building For the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 17-18 JUNE 2008, Tokyo Japan.
these areas would have a positive effect on the decrease of radicalization and terrorism in the long run. Two messages can be thus delivered: we can do something to reduce terrorism by using all channels including development, and that a continued disregard of poverty will harbor a terrorist danger on everyone.\textsuperscript{185}

According to studied polls and analysis, the threat of terrorism increased 25\% in 2007.\textsuperscript{186} It is about power and control; where there is lack of either of the two, terrorism will eventually breed. Many of us believe, however, that terrorism is never the way, no matter what the reason. By eradicating the few factors that seem to lead to terrorism, we will be making the world a bit safer and more viable for all people. The UN can help the world do this: the General Assembly has the will, and the Security Council has the way. The power to develop and sustain development is real and should be used. And we should all feel concerned, as terrorism is not confined to a single country, but targets the world, and all of us are the victims.

As I hope this thesis has demonstrated the shift in UN policy, leading to \textit{The Strategy}, is beneficial to the world. The focus on the marginalized and excluded segments of societies will increase social cohesion and social awareness of the lethality of terrorism, thus reducing radicalization and terrorist recruitment. A lot is to be done and many challenges to be faced which brings us to doubt the extent or feasibility of this view. Is development enough? Definitely not, but it is a good way to focus on society and bring social change to it. Development is a right, and today it is a strategy for life as well. This is the UN’s aim, and until this cause advances


successfully with positive results, The United Nations "Decides to remain seized of this matter."\footnote{This expression is usually used in the operative clauses of the UN Security Council’s Resolutions. It basically outlines the fact that the SC will keep the issue on its agenda for further consideration whenever needed.}
Appendixes

Appendix A

International Conventions\textsuperscript{188}

Here is a summary of the 13 major conventions and protocols dealing with terrorism. (for the full text of the convention see: United Nations Treaty Collection, conventions on terrorism):

1. 1963 Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft (Aircraft Convention)
   - Applies to acts affecting in-flight safety;
   - Authorizes the aircraft commander to impose reasonable measures, including restraint, on any person he or she has reason to believe has committed or is about to commit such an act, where necessary to protect the safety of the aircraft; and
   - Requires contracting States to take custody of offenders and to return control of the aircraft to the lawful commander.

   - Makes it an offence for any person on board an aircraft in flight to "unlawfully, by force or threat thereof, or any other form of intimidation, [to] seize or exercise control of that aircraft" or to attempt to do so;
   - Requires parties to the convention to make hijackings punishable by Requires parties to the convention to make hijackings punishable by "severe penalties"
   - Requires parties that have custody of offenders to either extradite the offender or submit the case for prosecution; and
   - Requires parties to assist each other in connection with criminal proceedings brought under the Convention.

3. 1971 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (Civil Aviation Convention)
   - Makes it an offence for any person unlawfully and intentionally to perform an act of violence against a person on board an aircraft in flight, if that act is likely to endanger the safety of the aircraft; to place an explosive device on an aircraft; to attempt such acts; or to be an accomplice of a person who performs or attempts to perform such acts;
   - Requires parties to the Convention to make offences punishable by "severe penalties"; and
   - Requires parties that have custody of offenders to either extradite the offender or submit the case for prosecution.

\textsuperscript{188} United Nations Website: http://www.un.org/terrorism/instruments.shtml

(Diplomatic agents Convention)
- Defines an "internationally protected person" as a Head of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, representative or official of a State or international organization who is entitled to special protection in a foreign State, and his/her family; and
- Requires parties to criminalize and make punishable "by appropriate penalties which take into account their grave nature" the intentional murder, kidnapping or other attack upon the person or liberty of an internationally protected person, a violent attack upon the official premises, the private accommodations, or the means of transport of such person; a threat or attempt to commit such an attack; and an act "constituting participation as an accomplice".

5. 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostages

(Hostages Convention)
- Provides that "any person who seizes or detains and threatens to kill, to injure, or to continue to detain another person in order to compel a third party, namely, a State, an international intergovernmental organization, a natural or juridical person, or a group of persons, to do or abstain from doing any act as an explicit or implicit condition for the release of the hostage commits the offence of taking of hostage within the meaning of this Convention".

6. 1980 Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material

(Nuclear Materials Convention)
- Criminalizes the unlawful possession, use, transfer or theft of nuclear material and threats to use nuclear material to cause death, serious injury or substantial property damage.
- Amendments to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material
- Makes it legally binding for States Parties to protect nuclear facilities and material in peaceful domestic use, storage as well as transport; and
- Provides for expanded cooperation between and among States regarding rapid measures to locate and recover stolen or smuggled nuclear material, mitigate any radiological consequences or sabotage, and prevent and combat related offences.


(Airport Protocol)
- Extends the provisions of the Montreal Convention (see No. 3 above) to encompass terrorist acts at airports serving international civil aviation.


(Maritime Convention)
o Establishes a legal regime applicable to acts against international maritime navigation that is similar to the regimes established for international aviation; and
o Makes it an offence for a person unlawfully and intentionally to seize or exercise control over a ship by force, threat, or intimidation; to perform an act of violence against a person on board a ship if that act is likely to endanger the safe navigation of the ship; to place a destructive device or substance aboard a ship; and other acts against the safety of ships.

o Criminalizes the use of a ship as a device to further an act of terrorism;

o Criminalizes the transport on board a ship various materials knowing that they are intended to be used to cause, or in a threat to cause, death or serious injury or damage to further an act of terrorism;

o Criminalizes the transporting on board a ship of persons who have committed an act of terrorism; and

o Introduces procedures for governing the boarding of a ship believed to have committed an offence under the Convention.

(Fixed Platform Protocol)

o Establishes a legal regime applicable to acts against fixed platforms on the continental shelf that is similar to the regimes established against international aviation.

o 2005 Protocol to the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf

o Adapts the changes to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation to the context of fixed platforms located on the continental shelf.

(Plastic Explosives Convention)

o Designed to control and limit the used of unmarked and undetectable plastic explosives (negotiated in the aftermath of the 1988 Pan Am flight 103 bombing);

o Parties are obligated in their respective territories to ensure effective control over Parties are obligated in their respective territories to ensure effective control over "unmarked"

o Generally speaking, each party must, inter alia, take necessary and effective measures to prohibit and prevent the manufacture of unmarked plastic explosives; prevent the movement of unmarked plastic explosives into or out of its territory; exercise strict and effective control over possession and transfer of unmarked explosives made or imported prior to the entry into force of the Convention; ensure that all stocks of unmarked explosives not held by the military or police are destroyed, consumed, marked, or rendered permanently ineffective within three years; take necessary measures to ensure that unmarked plastic explosives held by the military or police are destroyed, consumed, marked or rendered
permanently ineffective within fifteen years; and, ensure the destruction, as soon as possible, of any unmarked explosives manufactured after the date of entry into force of the Convention for that State.

11. **1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings**  
   *(Terrorist Bombing Convention)*  
   - Creates a regime of universal jurisdiction over the unlawful and intentional use of explosives and other lethal devices in, into, or against various defined public places with intent to kill or cause serious bodily injury, or with intent to cause extensive destruction of the public place.

12. **1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism**  
   *(Terrorist Financing Convention)*  
   - Requires parties to take steps to prevent and counteract the financing of terrorists, whether direct or indirect, through groups claiming to have charitable, social or cultural goals or which also engage in illicit activities such as drug trafficking or gun running;
   - Commits States to hold those who finance terrorism criminally, civilly or administratively liable for such acts; and
   - Provides for the identification, freezing and seizure of funds allocated for terrorist activities, as well as for the sharing of the forfeited funds with other States on a case-by-case basis. Bank secrecy is no longer adequate justification for refusing to cooperate.

   *(Nuclear Terrorism Convention)*  
   - Covers a broad range of acts and possible targets, including nuclear power plants and nuclear reactors;
   - Covers threats and attempts to commit such crimes or to participate in them, as an accomplice;
   - Stipulates that offenders shall be either extradited or prosecuted;
   - Encourages States to cooperate in preventing terrorist attacks by sharing information and assisting each other in connection with criminal investigations and extradition proceedings; and
   - Deals with both crisis situations (assisting States to solve the situation) and post-crisis situations (rendering nuclear material safe through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA))
Appendix B

Resolution 1373 (2001)
Adopted by the Security Council at its 4385th meeting, on
28 September 2001

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1269 (1999) of 19 October 1999 and 1368 (2001) of
12 September 2001,

Reaffirming also its unequivocal condemnation of the terrorist attacks which took place in New
determination to prevent all such acts,

Reaffirming further that such acts, like any act of international terrorism, constitute a threat to
international peace and security,

Reaffirming the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence as recognized by the
Charter of the United Nations as reiterated in resolution 1368 (2001),

Reaffirming the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United
Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts,

Deeply concerned by the increase, in various regions of the world, of acts of terrorism motivated
by intolerance or extremism,

Calling on States to work together urgently to prevent and suppress terrorist acts, including
through increased cooperation and full implementation of the relevant international conventions
relating to terrorism,

Recognizing the need for States to complement international cooperation by taking additional
measures to prevent and suppress, in their territories through all lawful means, the financing and
preparation of any acts of terrorism,

Reaffirming the principle established by the General Assembly in its declaration of October 1970
(resolution 2625 (XXV)) and reiterated by the Security Council in its resolution 1189 (1998) of
13 August 1998, namely that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating,
assisting or participating in terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities
within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides that all States shall:
   a) Prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts;
b) Criminalize the willful provision or collection, by any means, directly or indirectly, of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention that the funds should be used, or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in order to carry out terrorist acts;

c) Freeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts; of entities owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons; and of persons and entities acting on behalf of, or at the direction of such persons and entities, including funds derived or generated from property owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons and associated persons and entities;

d) Prohibit their nationals or any persons and entities within their territories from making any funds, financial assets or economic resources or financial or other related services available, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of persons who commit or attempt to commit or facilitate or participate in the commission of terrorist acts, of entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by such persons and of persons and entities acting on behalf of or at the direction of such persons;

2. Decides also that all States shall:
   a) Refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts, including by suppressing recruitment of members of terrorist groups and eliminating the supply of weapons to terrorists;
   b) Take the necessary steps to prevent the commission of terrorist acts, including by provision of early warning to other States by exchange of information;
   c) Deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist acts, or provide safe havens;
   d) Prevent those who finance, plan, facilitate or commit terrorist acts from using their respective territories for those purposes against other States or their citizens;
   e) Ensure that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or in supporting terrorist acts is brought to justice and ensure that, in addition to any other measures against them, such terrorist acts are established as serious criminal offences in domestic laws and regulations and that the punishment duly reflects the seriousness of such terrorist acts;
   f) Afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal investigations or criminal proceedings relating to the financing or support of terrorist acts, including assistance in obtaining evidence in their possession necessary for the proceedings;
   g) Prevent the movement of terrorists or terrorist groups by effective border controls and controls on issuance of identity papers and travel documents, and through measures for preventing counterfeiting, forgery or fraudulent use of identity papers and travel documents;

3. Calls upon all States to:
   a) Find ways of intensifying and accelerating the exchange of operational information, especially regarding actions or movements of terrorist persons or networks; forged or falsified travel documents; traffic in arms, explosives or sensitive materials; use of communications technologies by terrorist groups; and the threat posed by the possession of weapons of mass destruction by terrorist groups;
b) Exchange information in accordance with international and domestic law and cooperate on administrative and judicial matters to prevent the commission of terrorist acts;

c) Cooperate, particularly through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and agreements, to prevent and suppress terrorist attacks and take action against perpetrators of such acts;

d) Become parties as soon as possible to the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, including the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism of 9 December 1999;

e) Increase cooperation and fully implement the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism and Security Council resolutions 1269 (1999) and 1368 (2001);

f) Take appropriate measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of national and international law, including international standards of human rights, before granting refugee status, for the purpose of ensuring that the asylum-seeker has not planned, facilitated or participated in the commission of terrorist acts;

g) Ensure, in conformity with international law, that refugee status is not abused by the perpetrators, organizers or facilitators of terrorist acts, and that claims of political motivation are not recognized as grounds for refusing requests for the extradition of alleged terrorists;

4. Notes with concern the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering, illegal arms trafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials, and in this regard emphasizes the need to enhance coordination of efforts on national, subregional, regional and international levels in order to strengthen a global response to this serious challenge and threat to international security;

5. Declares that acts, methods, and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and that knowingly financing, planning and inciting terrorist acts are also contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations;

6. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to monitor implementation of this resolution, with the assistance of appropriate expertise, and calls upon all States to report to the Committee, no later than 90 days from the date of adoption of this resolution and thereafter according to a timetable to be proposed by the Committee, on the steps they have taken to implement this resolution;

7. Directs the Committee to delineate its tasks, submit a work programme within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, and to consider the support it requires, in consultation with the Secretary-General;

8. Expresses its determination to take all necessary steps in order to ensure the full implementation of this resolution, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter;

9. Decides to remain seized of this matter.
Appendix C

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly
[without reference to a Main Committee (A/60/L.62)]

60/288. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and reaffirming its role under the Charter, including on questions related to international peace and security,

Reiterating its strong condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security,

Reaffirming the Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 49/60 of 9 December 1994, the Declaration to Supplement the 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 51/210 of 17 December 1996, and the 2005 World Summit Outcome, in particular its section on terrorism,

Recalling all General Assembly resolutions on measures to eliminate international terrorism, including resolution 46/51 of 9 December 1991, and Security Council resolutions on threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts, as well as relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism,

Recalling also that, in the 2005 World Summit Outcome, world leaders rededicated themselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect their territorial integrity and political independence, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to uphold the resolution of disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the right to self-determination of peoples which remain under colonial domination or foreign occupation, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and the fulfilment in good faith of the obligations assumed in accordance with the Charter,

Recalling further the mandate contained in the 2005 World Summit Outcome that the General Assembly should develop without delay the elements identified by the Secretary-General for a counter-terrorism strategy, with a view to adopting and implementing a strategy to promote comprehensive, coordinated and consistent responses, at the national, regional and international levels, to counter terrorism, which also takes into account the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism,
Reaffirming that acts, methods and practices of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations are activities aimed at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy, threatening territorial integrity, security of States and destabilizing legitimately constituted Governments, and that the international community should take the necessary steps to enhance cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism,

Reaffirming also that terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group,

Reaffirming further Member States’ determination to make every effort to reach an agreement on and conclude a comprehensive convention on international terrorism, including by resolving the outstanding issues related to the legal definition and scope of the acts covered by the convention, so that it can serve as an effective instrument to counter terrorism,

Continuing to acknowledge that the question of convening a high-level conference under the auspices of the United Nations to formulate an international response to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations could be considered,

Recognizing that development, peace and security, and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing,

Bearing in mind the need to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism,

Affirming Member States’ determination to continue to do all they can to resolve conflict, end foreign occupation, confront oppression, eradicate poverty, promote sustained economic growth, sustainable development, global prosperity, good governance, human rights for all and rule of law, improve intercultural understanding and ensure respect for all religions, religious values, beliefs or cultures,

1. Expresses its appreciation for the report entitled “Uniting against terrorism: recommendations for a global counter-terrorism strategy” submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly;

2. Adopts the present resolution and its annex as the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (“the Strategy”);

3. Decides, without prejudice to the continuation of the discussion in its relevant committees of all their agenda items related to terrorism and counterterrorism, to undertake the following steps for the effective follow-up of the Strategy:
   a) To launch the Strategy at a high-level segment of its sixty-first session;
   b) To examine in two years progress made in the implementation of the Strategy, and to consider updating it to respond to changes, recognizing that many of the measures contained in the Strategy can be achieved immediately, some will require sustained work through the coming few years and some should be treated as long-term objectives;
c) To invite the Secretary-General to contribute to the future deliberations of the General Assembly on the review of the implementation and updating of the Strategy;

d) To encourage Member States, the United Nations and other appropriate international, regional and subregional organizations to support the implementation of the Strategy, including through mobilizing resources and expertise;

e) To further encourage non-governmental organizations and civil society to engage, as appropriate, on how to enhance efforts to implement the Strategy;

4. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its sixty-second session an item entitled “The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy”.

Annex
Plan of action

We, the States Members of the United Nations, resolve:

1. To consistently, unequivocally and strongly condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security;

2. To take urgent action to prevent and combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and, in particular:

   a) To consider becoming parties without delay to the existing international conventions and protocols against terrorism, and implementing them, and to make every effort to reach an agreement on and conclude a comprehensive convention on international terrorism;

   b) To implement all General Assembly resolutions on measures to eliminate international terrorism and relevant General Assembly resolutions on the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism;

   c) To implement all Security Council resolutions related to international terrorism and to cooperate fully with the counter-terrorism subsidiary bodies of the Security Council in the fulfilment of their tasks, recognizing that many States continue to require assistance in implementing these resolutions;

3. To recognize that international cooperation and any measures that we undertake to prevent and combat terrorism must comply with our obligations under international law, including the Charter of the United Nations and relevant international conventions and protocols, in particular human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law.

I. Measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism

We resolve to undertake the following measures aimed at addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including but not limited to prolonged unresolved conflicts, dehumanization of victims of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, lack of the rule of law and violations of human rights, ethnic, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, socio-economic marginalization and lack of good governance, while recognizing that none of these conditions can excuse or justify acts of terrorism:
1. To continue to strengthen and make best possible use of the capacities of the United Nations in areas such as conflict prevention, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement, rule of law, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, in order to contribute to the successful prevention and peaceful resolution of prolonged unresolved conflicts. We recognize that the peaceful resolution of such conflicts would contribute to strengthening the global fight against terrorism;

2. To continue to arrange under the auspices of the United Nations initiatives and programmes to promote dialogue, tolerance and understanding among civilizations, cultures, peoples and religions, and to promote mutual respect for and prevent the defamation of religions, religious values, beliefs and cultures. In this regard, we welcome the launching by the Secretary-General of the initiative on the Alliance of Civilizations. We also welcome similar initiatives that have been taken in other parts of the world;

3. To promote a culture of peace, justice and human development, ethnic, national and religious tolerance and respect for all religions, religious values, beliefs or cultures by establishing and encouraging, as appropriate, education and public awareness programmes involving all sectors of society. In this regard, we encourage the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to play a key role, including through inter-faith and intra-faith dialogue and dialogue among civilizations;

4. To continue to work to adopt such measures as may be necessary and appropriate and in accordance with our respective obligations under international law to prohibit by law incitement to commit a terrorist act or acts and prevent such conduct;

5. To reiterate our determination to ensure the timely and full realization of the development goals and objectives agreed at the major United Nations conferences and summits, including the Millennium Development Goals. We reaffirm our commitment to eradicate poverty and promote sustained economic growth, sustainable development and global prosperity for all;

6. To pursue and reinforce development and social inclusion agendas at every level as goals in themselves, recognizing that success in this area, especially on youth unemployment, could reduce marginalization and the subsequent sense of victimization that propels extremism and the recruitment of terrorists;

7. To encourage the United Nations system as a whole to scale up the cooperation and assistance it is already conducting in the fields of rule of law, human rights and good governance to support sustained economic and social development;

8. To consider putting in place, on a voluntary basis, national systems of assistance that would promote the needs of victims of terrorism and their families and facilitate the normalization of their lives. In this regard, we encourage States to request the relevant United Nations entities to help them to develop such national systems. We will also strive to promote international solidarity in support of victims and foster the involvement of civil society in a global campaign against terrorism and for its condemnation. This could include exploring at the General Assembly the possibility of developing practical mechanisms to provide assistance to victims.
II. Measures to prevent and combat terrorism

We resolve to undertake the following measures to prevent and combat terrorism, in particular by denying terrorists access to the means to carry out their attacks, to their targets and to the desired impact of their attacks:

1. To refrain from organizing, instigating, facilitating, participating in, financing, encouraging or tolerating terrorist activities and to take appropriate practical measures to ensure that our respective territories are not used for terrorist installations or training camps, or for the preparation or organization of terrorist acts intended to be committed against other States or their citizens;

2. To cooperate fully in the fight against terrorism, in accordance with our obligations under international law, in order to find, deny safe haven and bring to justice, on the basis of the principle of extradite or prosecute, any person who supports, facilitates, participates or attempts to participate in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or provides safe havens;

3. To ensure the apprehension and prosecution or extradition of perpetrators of terrorist acts, in accordance with the relevant provisions of national and international law, in particular human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law. We will endeavour to conclude and implement to that effect mutual judicial assistance and extradition agreements and to strengthen cooperation between law enforcement agencies;

4. To intensify cooperation, as appropriate, in exchanging timely and accurate information concerning the prevention and combating of terrorism;

5. To strengthen coordination and cooperation among States in combating crimes that might be connected with terrorism, including drug trafficking in all its aspects, illicit arms trade, in particular of small arms and light weapons, including man-portable air defence systems, money-laundering and smuggling of nuclear, chemical, biological, radiological and other potentially deadly materials;

6. To consider becoming parties without delay to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and to the three protocols supplementing it, and implementing them;

7. To take appropriate measures, before granting asylum, for the purpose of ensuring that the asylum-seeker has not engaged in terrorist activities and, after granting asylum, for the purpose of ensuring that the refugee status is not used in a manner contrary to the provisions set out in section II, paragraph 1, above;

8. To encourage relevant regional and subregional organizations to create or strengthen counter-terrorism mechanisms or centres. Should they require cooperation and assistance to this end, we encourage the Counter-Terrorism Committee and its Executive Directorate and, where consistent
with their existing mandates, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the International Criminal Police Organization, to facilitate its provision;

9. To acknowledge that the question of creating an international centre to fight terrorism could be considered, as part of international efforts to enhance the fight against terrorism;

10. To encourage States to implement the comprehensive international standards embodied in the Forty Recommendations on Money-Laundering and Nine Special Recommendations on Terrorist Financing of the Financial Action Task Force, recognizing that States may require assistance in implementing them;

11. To invite the United Nations system to develop, together with Member States, a single comprehensive database on biological incidents, ensuring that it is complementary to the biocrimes database contemplated by the International Criminal Police Organization. We also encourage the Secretary-General to update the roster of experts and laboratories, as well as the technical guidelines and procedures, available to him for the timely and efficient investigation of alleged use.

In addition, we note the importance of the proposal of the Secretary-General to bring together, within the framework of the United Nations, the major biotechnology stakeholders, including industry, the scientific community, civil society and Governments, into a common programme aimed at ensuring that biotechnology advances are not used for terrorist or other criminal purposes but for the public good, with due respect for the basic international norms on intellectual property rights;

12. To work with the United Nations with due regard to confidentiality, respecting human rights and in compliance with other obligations under international law, to explore ways and means to:
   a) Coordinate efforts at the international and regional levels to counter terrorism in all its forms and manifestations on the Internet;
   b) Use the Internet as a tool for countering the spread of terrorism, while recognizing that States may require assistance in this regard;

13. To step up national efforts and bilateral, subregional, regional and international cooperation, as appropriate, to improve border and customs controls in order to prevent and detect the movement of terrorists and prevent and detect the illicit traffic in, inter alia, small arms and light weapons, conventional ammunition and explosives, and nuclear, chemical, biological or radiological weapons and materials, while recognizing that States may require assistance to that effect;

14. To encourage the Counter-Terrorism Committee and its Executive Directorate to continue to work with States, at their request, to facilitate the adoption of legislation and administrative measures to implement the terrorist travel-related obligations and to identify best practices in this area, drawing whenever possible on those developed by technical international organizations, such as the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Customs Organization and the International Criminal Police Organization;
15. To encourage the Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1267 (1999) to continue to work to strengthen the effectiveness of the travel ban under the United Nations sanctions regime against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban and associated individuals and entities, as well as to ensure, as a matter of priority, that fair and transparent procedures exist for placing individuals and entities on its lists, for removing them and for granting humanitarian exceptions. In this regard, we encourage States to share information, including by widely distributing the International Criminal Police Organization/United Nations special notices concerning people subject to this sanctions regime;

16. To step up efforts and cooperation at every level, as appropriate, to improve the security of manufacturing and issuing identity and travel documents and to prevent and detect their alteration or fraudulent use, while recognizing that States may require assistance in doing so. In this regard, we invite the International Criminal Police Organization to enhance its database on stolen and lost travel documents, and we will endeavor to make full use of this tool, as appropriate, in particular by sharing relevant information;

17. To invite the United Nations to improve coordination in planning a response to a terrorist attack using nuclear, chemical, biological or radiological weapons or materials, in particular by reviewing and improving the effectiveness of the existing inter-agency coordination mechanisms for assistance delivery, relief operations and victim support, so that all States can receive adequate assistance. In this regard, we invite the General Assembly and the Security Council to develop guidelines for the necessary cooperation and assistance in the event of a terrorist attack using weapons of mass destruction;

18. To step up all efforts to improve the security and protection of particularly vulnerable targets, such as infrastructure and public places, as well as the response to terrorist attacks and other disasters, in particular in the area of civil protection, while recognizing that States may require assistance to this effect.

III. Measures to build States' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in this regard

We recognize that capacity-building in all States is a core element of the global counter-terrorism effort, and resolve to undertake the following measures to develop State capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and enhance coordination and coherence within the United Nations system in promoting international cooperation in countering terrorism:

1. To encourage Member States to consider making voluntary contributions to United Nations counter-terrorism cooperation and technical assistance projects, and to explore additional sources of funding in this regard. We also encourage the United Nations to consider reaching out to the private sector for contributions to capacity-building programmes, in particular in the areas of port, maritime and civil aviation security;

2. To take advantage of the framework provided by relevant international, regional and subregional organizations to share best practices in counter-terrorism capacity-building, and to facilitate their contributions to the international community's efforts in this area;
3. To consider establishing appropriate mechanisms to rationalize States’ reporting requirements in the field of counter-terrorism and eliminate duplication of reporting requests, taking into account and respecting the different mandates of the General Assembly, the Security Council and its subsidiary bodies that deal with counter-terrorism;

4. To encourage measures, including regular informal meetings, to enhance, as appropriate, more frequent exchanges of information on cooperation and technical assistance among Member States, United Nations bodies dealing with counter-terrorism, relevant specialized agencies, relevant international, regional and subregional organizations and the donor community, to develop States’ capacities to implement relevant United Nations resolutions;

5. To welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to institutionalize, within existing resources, the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force within the Secretariat in order to ensure overall coordination and coherence in the counterterrorism efforts of the United Nations system;

6. To encourage the Counter-Terrorism Committee and its Executive Directorate to continue to improve the coherence and efficiency of technical assistance delivery in the field of counter-terrorism, in particular by strengthening its dialogue with States and relevant international, regional and subregional organizations and working closely, including by sharing information, with all bilateral and multilateral technical assistance providers;

7. To encourage the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, including its Terrorism Prevention Branch, to enhance, in close consultation with the Counter-Terrorism Committee and its Executive Directorate, its provision of technical assistance to States, upon request, to facilitate the implementation of the international conventions and protocols related to the prevention and suppression of terrorism and relevant United Nations resolutions;

8. To encourage the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the International Criminal Police Organization to enhance cooperation with States to help them to comply fully with international norms and obligations to combat money-laundering and the financing of terrorism;

9. To encourage the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons to continue their efforts, within their respective mandates, in helping States to build capacity to prevent terrorists from accessing nuclear, chemical or radiological materials, to ensure security at related facilities and to respond effectively in the event of an attack using such materials;

10. To encourage the World Health Organization to step up its technical assistance to help States to improve their public health systems to prevent and prepare for biological attacks by terrorists;

11. To continue to work within the United Nations system to support the reform and modernization of border management systems, facilities and institutions at the national, regional and international levels;
12. To encourage the International Maritime Organization, the World Customs Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization to strengthen their cooperation, work with States to identify any national shortfalls in areas of transport security and provide assistance, upon request, to address them;

13. To encourage the United Nations to work with Member States and relevant international, regional and subregional organizations to identify and share best practices to prevent terrorist attacks on particularly vulnerable targets. We invite the International Criminal Police Organization to work with the Secretary-General so that he can submit proposals to this effect. We also recognize the importance of developing public-private partnerships in this area.

IV. Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism

We resolve to undertake the following measures, reaffirming that the promotion and protection of human rights for all and the rule of law is essential to all components of the Strategy, recognizing that effective counter-terrorism measures and the protection of human rights are not conflicting goals, but complementary and mutually reinforcing, and stressing the need to promote and protect the rights of victims of terrorism:

1. To reaffirm that General Assembly resolution 60/158 of 16 December 2005 provides the fundamental framework for the “Protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism”;

2. To reaffirm that States must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism comply with their obligations under international law, in particular human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law;

3. To consider becoming parties without delay to the core international instruments on human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law, and implementing them, as well as to consider accepting the competence of international and relevant regional human rights monitoring bodies;

4. To make every effort to develop and maintain an effective and rule of law-based national criminal justice system that can ensure, in accordance with our obligations under international law, that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or in support of terrorist acts is brought to justice, on the basis of the principle to extradite or prosecute, with due respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and that such terrorist acts are established as serious criminal offences in domestic laws and regulations. We recognize that States may require assistance in developing and maintaining such effective and rule of law-based criminal justice systems, and we encourage them to resort to the technical assistance delivered, inter alia, by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime;
5. To reaffirm the important role of the United Nations system in strengthening the international legal architecture by promoting the rule of law, respect for human rights and effective criminal justice systems, which constitute the fundamental basis of our common fight against terrorism;

6. To support the Human Rights Council and to contribute, as it takes shape, to its work on the question of the promotion and protection of human rights for all in the fight against terrorism;

7. To support the strengthening of the operational capacity of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, with a particular emphasis on increasing field operations and presences. The Office should continue to play a lead role in examining the question of protecting human rights while countering terrorism, by making general recommendations on the human rights obligations of States and providing them with assistance and advice, in particular in the area of raising awareness of international human rights law among national law enforcement agencies, at the request of States;

8. To support the role of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism. The Special Rapporteur should continue to support the efforts of States and offer concrete advice by corresponding with Governments, making country visits, liaising with the United Nations and regional organizations and reporting on these issues.
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- International Process on Global Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Workshop on the UN Role of Law in Promoting and Strengthening Good Governance and the Rule of Law in the Context of Implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 22-23 May 2008, Antalya, Turkey

- UN Executive summary on the workshop on the *UN Engagement with Regional, Sub-Regional, and Functional Bodies and Civil Society on Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*, held in Bratislava, Slovakia in March 2008