# Guia de Estudos

# United Nations Security Council fighting a faceless ghost



# the efforts against the arising terrorist threat



## **USP Model United Nations**

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### **United Nations Security Council**

fighting a faceless ghost: the efforts against the arising terrorist threat

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## São Paulo



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## letters from the chair

Dear delegates,

It is with pleasure that the United Nations Security Council invites you to join this year's USPMUN. In this meeting, you legal representatives of your countries, will have the important role of not only discussing what could be a definition for terrorism for the UN, but developing a plan of action so that measures can be taken quickly when a terrorist attack takes place, and also establish guidelines for the mitigation of the terrorist threat.

The system of debate adopted in this event shall be the standard used in Model UN, thoroughly explained in its own guide given to you by the secretaries of USPMUN.

Furthermore, we believe that it is important to note that this guide is nothing more than an introduction to the theme. In such a way, it falls to you to further your studies, be it through the bibliography of this guide or any other reliable source that you may find. We encourage you to research your country's opinion on the matter, and that you come to us in case of doubts.

On a lighter note, we the Chair, have high hopes for you! Please do be diligent on your studies, do not refrain to ask us any questions, and, most importantly, use this opportunity to make friends, have fun, and become a better person through knowledge and experience. Thank you for your attention and finally, here is your Chair:

#### ACADEMIC DIRECTOR Victor Portela Costa Marotti

Hello everyone, I currently study Law at Faculdade de Direito de São Bernardo do Campo. I started this year (2018) and I am on my second semester. I'm 18 years old, born on 22/02/2000 (Pisces). Currently I am working at Société Générale Corporate & Investment Banking Brasil as an intern by day, studying by night, and grooming my love for Model UN 24/7. My contacts are: uspmun.unsc@gmail.com (Gmail), (11)98585-1967 (WhatsApp) and Victor Portela (Facebook), if you need anything feel free to send me an e-mail! I'd also like to add that you should be already in the facebook group, if not please do contact a member from the chair.

#### ASSISTANT DIRECTOR Bruno Daré Riotto Malta Campos

Hello, I am Bruno Daré, I study at Sao Paulo School of Economics, FGV. I am 19 years old, and through those years I found out I am fascinated by philosophy, cinema, economics, music and memes. You can contact me at +5511996654760 (WhatsApp), Facebook, or uspmun.unsc@gmail. com (Gmail).

#### ASSISTANT DIRECTOR Pedro Tenan Vitor

My name is Pedro Tenan and I am, undoubtedly, the most beautiful person on the chair (hey guys, Portela speaking, I disagree), not to mention on this whole event! With nineteen springs, I seduce everyone who dares to look at me. I graduated in High School at 2017 (although I don't know how) and currently study Law at Faculdade de Direito de São Bernardo. I have more MUNs that years of life and look forward to participate at one more as chair of this wonderful committee. If you have any questions or just want someone to share memes with, feel free to contact me on my Pedro Tenan (Facebook), +5511994442753 (WhatsApp) or uspmun.unsc@gmail.com (Gmail).



#### ASSISTANT DIRECTOR Lucas Motta Moreira

Hello! My name is Lucas Motta, I'm 18 and I'm currently studying chemical engineering at the University of São Paulo. During my High School on Colégio Ábaco, I knew the MUN's world as an attempt to understand better the relations between countries and the current geopolitical scenario. Besides the school, a great part of my hobbies are related to sports, I like most of them, but I love specifically both footballs (American and "regular"). About the committee, I honestly hope you use this opportunity to build up your opinion about the terrorist threat and to know different people and different point of views! (I'm also Gemini, but I don't know what it exactly means, I'm just writing this part because Portela asked me to (Portela here, that is a lie)). If you want to clarify any question about the theme or the debate, or anything really, contact me on my Facebook, +551194266-3408 (WhatsApp) or uspmun.unsc@gmail.com (Gmail). I'm excited to meet you soon!

#### ASSISTANT DIRECTOR Verena Marigo Teles

Hello, delegates ! My name is Verena Marigo, which you probably have already noticed. I am 18 years old - for those who fancy astrology, I'm a gemini. I study humanities at UFABC - Universidade Federal do ABC and I will graduate in Public Policies and International Relationships, if everything goes as planned. Currently I research local communities and the establishment of the Mosaic of Conservation Units Itatins-Jureia.

My first experience with MUNs was when I was still a freshman in High School and I haven't stopped since. I've been looking forward to participate as chair of this committee, I hope everyone has a great time debating !

For general questions about the committee, please feel free to contact me through the options: +5511976221600 (WhatsApp) Verena Marigo (Facebook) uspmun.unsc@gmail.com (Gmail ).

#### ASSISTANT DIRECTOR Yuri de Oliveira Peggion

Hello everyone, my name is Yuri Peggion, I'm 17 and, for now, I study at Universidade Federal do ABC, aiming for an economics degree. I also did my High School at Colégio Ábaco (what seems to be a recurring feature of this chair), where I discovered the glorious world of the MUN debates, where I spent a lot of time. In my personal life, I'm interested in pretty much any topic that fulfills the mood of my environment (a survival tactic I've been taught during the Great War (Portela here, Yuri is a vampire). For general questions about the committee or if you're needing a bad joke, I'll be receiving your messages through +551194731-9178 (WhatsApp), Yuri Peggion (Facebook) uspmun.unsc@gmail.com (Gmail ).

## letters from the chair

## **Mandatory Reading Letter**

During USPMUN's sessions, the delegates of the Security Council are expected to discuss terrorist global issues, such as its roots and its consequences, and most importantly, the delegates should agree on a resolution for the committee. More specifically, central themes cannot be neglected, such as the exposed topics in the following paragraphs.

A question that inevitably arises is: what is terrorism, and what is not? The delegations should, briefly, discuss which criteria are enough to determine what terrorism is, if the criteria the states currently adopt fall in line with what was agreed, and even whether the popular understanding of terrorism is accurate or not.

Moreover, delegates should be concerned the roles played by terrorist groups, both internationally and locally, being aware that the committee is dealing with the global security, and thus, local problems are relevant to the discussion if they pose, or could pose, an international threat As a consequence, the delegates should discuss proposals that aim the maintenance of international security and peace, be it by reestablishing peace or by hindering the growth of terrorist groups.

Delegates must know what treaties or agreements the delegation is committed to, in order to come up with new agreements and innovating negotiations. The delegates are also recommended to utilize previous agreements to improve working mechanisms that are already in order. Therefore, each delegation has to know its political views and its positions to stand for their nations when negotiating proposals.

Additionally, issues that surround the beginning of terrorism are encouraged to be addressed as well. To this extent, for instance, delegates could discuss what the causes and roots of terrorism are, what are the leading forms of terrorist organizations, and so on. Finally, the discussion should not neglect or underestimate social and economic issues - the economy suffers not only from terrorist actions and its consequences, but it also affects the causes of terrorism, decisions made by the population and terrorist groups' ways of financing themselves.

## 

# The United Nations Security Council

The Security Council is one of the six organs that are the sustenance for the good operation of the United Nations, working in accordance with the UN Charter. During its existence, it has had a great importance to solve impasses such as the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, when, during thirteen days, the members of the council mediated the discussion between the United States and the Soviet Union, which helped avoid the beginning of a nuclear war with immeasurable consequences.

As demonstrated in the example above, the main role of the Security Council is to act during urgent situations in different ways aiming to guarantee the Human Rights. However, the UNSC also debates at least twice a year worldwide peacekeeping actions, structuring the wellbeing in the international community, becoming a center of respect between most nations.

In order to solve any disagreement, the UNSC prioritizes measures that reaffirm peaceful negotiation between countries, such as peace agreements, investigations and non-military missions. However, when necessary, the United Nations can issue a ceasefire or send troops to reduce tension in the conflict. When the conflict starts to intensify, the Security Council can determine economic sanctions, arms embargoes, and financial penalties or even promote military actions.

All these possibilities exist because the Security Council is able to create mandatory clauses, which must be followed by the 193 countries members of the United Nations. Other UN organs are only able to purpose recommendatory clauses, which don't fix any punishment when countries don't follow them. As a hypothetical example, the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime can suggest to countries the legalization of the use of cannabis in medicine. Differently, the United Nations Security Council is allowed to prohibit countries to sell bombs to dictatorial countries, establishing punishments for the countries which disrespect that.

Furthermore, to suggest, to recommends, to encourage, to embolden and synonyms are verbs present on resolutions from other UN organizations. This committee, though, is allowed to use, besides the verbs over mentioned, others like: condemn (which infers an obligation to confer with the norm).

When it comes to the members of the Security Council, there are five permanent members (aka P-5): United States, Russia, France, United Kingdom and People's Republic of China; and other ten non-permanent members in mandates of two years, changing five of them every year. The most important information for you delegates is that, although every country has the same power in terms of the vote, the P-5 is allowed to veto any resolution.

# General Introduction

#### **Theoretical Introduction**

In a general manner, it's not hard to define terrorists or what can be considered a terrorist act. Most people have a clear picture of it in mind, a small, illegitimate and extremist group attempting to impose their will by force and eliminate those who oppose their ideas. This denotation is not completely wrong, but it exposes a compromised conception, sculpted by a superficial and strict view. Far from the common belief, truth is that terrorism is a very abstract concept and defining it is not that simple.

By a definition offered by the Oxford Dictionary, Terrorism is "The unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims". That's not far from what was already introduced. Even though the use of the word "unlawful" seems to fit perfectly, it ignores the existence of what's called "Terrorism of State", which is when a Government uses terror to discourage the opposition and impose their wills without being contested; exemplified by the Nazi regime in Germany (1933-1945).

Following such idea, a good definition for the word is the one offered by Jonathan R. White, executive director of the Homeland Security Initiative, professor of Grand Valley State University and expert on the topic. For him, terrorism is "When a group uses violence to impose its will over others striking innocent people and symbolic targets". It may seem a too far-reaching way to characterize it, but Bruce Hoffman, author of the book "Inside Terrorism" goes for this definition and enhances it by stating that Terrorism relates politics and power, using violence - or the threat of violence - to pursue its goal.

The problem is: there isn't a global definition for the word and this is an obstacle for international terrorism combat, especially for a large multilateral organization. By the 1970's and 1980's, the United Nations attempted to find an international definition, but various members had - and still have - different positions about the use of violence in the context of national liberation and self-determination. Because of these disagreements, it turned out to be impossible to achieve a Comprehensive Convention for a single definition of terrorism.

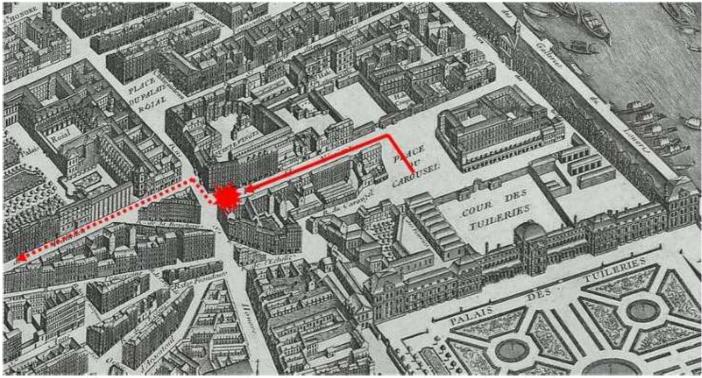
However, a series of sectoral conventions were adopted by the international community, as a way to work around this obstacle. Furthermore, the United Nations General Assembly has condemned alleged terrorist acts guided by the following political description: "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them"<sup>1</sup>.

#### **Historical Introduction**

Terrorist groups have no boundaries and, so, they impact the international community as a whole. Therefore, it's a concern for nations worldwide currently, but terrorism itself is not something new in the human society. According to reports<sup>2</sup>, it exists since the Greco-Roman Period using the same modus operandi, but there wasn't a word for it. Although in Ancient Greece there isn't direct evidence of the use of terrorist violence to achieve political objectives, according to James and Brenda Lutz, authors of Terrorism: Origins and Evolution, in the Roman Republic and later Empire, violence was widely used in internal political affairs during some periods. It's also worth mentioning the "Jewish revolts in the Eastern Mediterranean first against the Seleucid Greeks and then against its incorporation into the Roman Empire"<sup>3</sup> as an expression of terrorist actions.

During the Middle Ages, with the Holy Inquisition and the Crusades, terror was mainly used to undermine the opposition. The techniques created in this period were reused or inspired many others through history, some of them are still used nowadays, such as the public square execution. Terrorism, as we know, is also influenced by the Thuggee group, which was composed of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. They attacked, robbed and assassinated British authorities and rich travelers for almost 450 years in the Indian Subcontinent. During the 1830s, the Thugs were targeted for eradication by the Governor-General of India.

In France, besides the already mentioned



Map of central Paris showing the route of Napoleon's carriage and the location of the infernal machine explosion in rue Saint-Nicaise<sup>4</sup>

period that gave origin to the word, terrorism was present during Bonaparte's Consulate. This time brought by monarchists insurgents known as Chouans, who were motivated by the abolition of the gabelle, a centuries-old tax on salt, that jeopardized their trade activities; the State's measures against the clergy; and the enforcement of conscription. They were young peasants, mainly between 18 and 25 years old who refused the military conscription and preferred to join the insurgent group to fight against the new republic in the Chouannerie. In December 1800, the faction orchestrated an attempt against Napoleon, using the Machine Infernale (infernal device or infernal machine), a chariot equipped with explosives to be ignited when Bonaparte passes next to it. The target survived the blast, but several bystander civilians were killed or injured; in reaction to the attempt, 130 prominent Jacobins were exiled.

By the end of the 19th Century, in Russia, the Narodniks were a populist group, mainly composed of socialists intellectuals influenced by Alexander Herzen, Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky and by Nikolay Mikhaylovsky. Eventually, they formed Russia's first organized revolutionary party in 1879, the Narodnaya Volya ("People's Will"), and were responsible for a series of attempts and executions willing to smite the authorities of the Tsarism, undermining the idea that the leader was a "supernatural" and untouchable being. They successfully orchestrated the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881; although this act resulted in the persecution and hanging of many Narodnaya Volya leaders, weakening the group and leaving it unorganized.

After the American Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan appeared using violence and fear to achieve a political goal. This racist group, composed of white U.S. citizens, terrorized the recently freed African-Americans by burning churches, promoting public lynching and preventing them from voting. The original KKK incarnation was suppressed in the 1870's, but the movement was reestablished in 1915, declining in the 1920's and rising again after 1950. During its existence, the group not only maintained the white-supremacy ideals but also started to persecute Jews, Catholics, Immigrants and Civil Rights activists with the same tactics.

In the 19th century, the ideas of anarchism started spreading around the globe influenced by authors such as Max Stirner, Proudhon, Malatesta, M. Bakunin and P. Kropotkin. They oppose the bourgeois society and the State's oppression using direct violence like bombing State Organs, authorities houses and symbols of the bourgeoisie. The attempts were usually performed by the so-called "cells", who were lone men moved by the anarchists' ideals.

The anarchists made a series of attempts against various statesmen inspired by these ideas in different regions of the world. In 1894,

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the French president Marie François Sadi Carnot was stabbed by an Italian anarchist. In 1900, Umberto I of Italy died by an anarchist attack, which served as inspiration for the killing of the U.S. President William McKinley in the following year and of Jorge I of Greece in 1913.



The assassination of the US President William McKinley by the hand of an anarchist, Buffalo (NY) 1901<sup>5</sup>

In 1914, the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated. This act was one of the leading events to the First World War. In opposition to the previous acts, it wasn't related to anarchism, as it was promoted by the nationalist secret society named Black-Hand (also known as Unification or Death), which called upon terrorism in the name of Pan-Slavism, in other words, they aimed the unification of the territory occupied by Serbian people, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the 20th Century, terrorism was embraced by the Soviets during Lenin's "Red Terror" to demoralize the counter-revolutionaries and rival parties, and it was incorporated by Stalin's "Great Terror" to eliminate internal opposition. Another example, perhaps the most notorious use of violence as the political tool in this period, is the Nazi regime in Germany, which arrested, tortured and executed left-wings activists, Jews, gypsies and anyone considered a threat to the Pan-Germanism in this period.

This way of ruling through terror was later

reused by authoritarian governments in South America, such as the Military Regime in Argentina and Pinochet's Chile. However, terrorism was not only used by the State to maintain power, but it was adopted by popular guerrillas that fought against the dictatorship as a way to toss the State and expose the atrocities committed by the government.

The period after the Second World War was marked by the liberation of many African and Asian colonies. During this process, many paramilitary groups used terrorism to attack the colonizers and express their desire for Independence; for example in Angola, Mozambique, and Kenya. Those demonstrations aiming independence also happened in Europe with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) that orchestrated attempts against militaries and civilians to show their discontent with the British domain on Northern Ireland.

<sup>4</sup>Louis Bretez, December 24 1800

<sup>5</sup>Achille Beltrame, 15 September 1901

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>1994 United Nations Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism annex to UN General Assembly resolution 49/60 ,"Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism", of December 9, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Max Roser, Mohamed Nagdy and Hannah Ritchie (2018) - "Terrorism". *Published online at OurWorldInData.org*. Retrieved from: 'https://ourworldindata.org/terrorism' [Online Resource];

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Lutz J.M., Lutz B.J. (2005) *Terrorism in the Ancient World*. In: Terrorism. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.



# Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

The majority of terrorist acts occurs in countries which are either involved in an armed conflict or that have elevated levels of political terror. Globally, it is very unlikely to witness terrorism in States which do not fit any of the previous situations - in 2016, countries fitting this category were affected by only 3.6 percent of all attacks and only 1.1 percent of all deaths according to the Global Terrorism Index of 2017. The level of political terror can be measured by the Political Terror Scale (PTS), which indicates widespread human rights abuses or population abuse. Extremist acts are in general correlated with ongoing conflicts - whether they are internal or external -, the number of displaced people, the overall level of peace, the level of political terror, group grievances.

Although some people relate terrorism with mental disorders, the academic field disagrees showing that it has never been proved that once one joins a terrorist group, it can be taken for sure that this individual has any psychiatric condition. Instead, they are usually aware of their acts and its consequences. There is no single path to radicalization, but some studies have found evidence of its link to exclusion, poor governance structures and forms of discrimination. Much of the drive behind the motivation to join a terrorist group parallels other group formation: individuals may seek companionship, survival and security, status, power, control, and achievement.

Their motivations reinforce conflict and political terror as being drivers of terrorism. More than joining extremist groups as a consequence of feeling their religion has been threatened (both physically and ideologically), low level of trust in the government, high levels of animosity towards the politicians, police and military evidentiate it. In a study of al-Shabaab members from Kenya, 49 percent sees the government as "the enemy".

The picture of terrorism nowadays consists mainly of a multifaced threat that acts differently in many parts of the world, the Hydra of the 21st century. Even though it seems different between themselves, terrorist groups have many similarities like recruitment, modus operandi and monetization.

There are mainly two ways for terrorist groups focus their efforts: realizing small attacks in different regions and situations, without a fixed place to install their forces and the ISIL way that is fixing a headquarters in a territory to conquer more land and military forces. When Al-Qaeda group started to lose power, it began to help other small groups in worldwide attacks.

The characteristics of the people that join terrorist groups and the strategies used by these groups to convince them to join their ideology are diverse and must be studied deeper to understand better the difference between each region and group and the things they have in common as well.

Religion is not determinant during the recruitment process - it is relevant in terms of identification between the group that recruits and the person that is recruited. However, it is not the only motivation for these violent acts, like Kenya, where a study about Al-Shabaab members highlights that 65% of the respondents joined the group because of the Kenyan government position in its counterterrorism policy. The research also shows that 49% of the population believes that the government is the problem while just 24% identify other religions as the enemy. This data reaffirms that recruitment is also by governments actions.

As an example, a recent analysis of 500 members of different extremist groups in Africa discovered that more than a half of respondents joined the terrorist group only after believing that their religion was under attack. Furthermore, during the analysis, they showed low levels of trust in government, what endorses the idea that government actions are related to the entrance of people in terrorist groups.

The person's homeland economic situation also is a crucial aspect for terrorist groups recruitment. In Europe, there is a significant difference between foreigners and native citizens on the youth population when it comes to the job market. On Belgium, a native is 64 % more likely to be employed than an immigrant. This situation increases the number of people that do not believe in the effectiveness of the government, increasing the chance for to people join terrorist groups, which explains one of the highest ratings of citizens joining to ISIS in Belgium. Nowadays, many terrorist groups recruit fighters considering their criminal background. A study in Europe discovered that 57 % had been in jail before following radical ideas and 31 percent of incarcerated people start the radicalization process in jail. In 2016, for example, attacks in Brussels and Paris was organized by people involved on drug trafficking. Following this logic, the situation inside the prisons worldwide are relevant to the resolution of the committee because the current picture there creates situations that is favorable to the recruitment, when they normally try to convince vulnerable people to change to their ideology.

Therefore, even with distinct characteristics of recruitment, most cases have in common that the recruited believes that someone lacks their human rights and an identification between the group and the new member occurs. Thus, a resolution for the topic must consider that these points must be solved with emergencies actions and long terms solutions, although, it must respect the difference between each region and situation, which makes the solution more effective.

The deadliest terrorist groups attack mostly using bombings, armed assaults or suicide attack, although the focus of these attacks is different and a possible solution for them must consider these points. ISIL and Boko Haram focus in civilian in their attacks, in Daesh's case, civilians were the target in more than a half of the attacks, while the military were targeted only in 6.6 per cent of the cases in 2016. In the same year civilians were victims of 70% of the attacks lead by the Boko Haram.

Taliban, in the other hand, changed its tactics along the existence of the group, on the beginning of the group, the prior focus was the police (that symbolized the power of the government), and when Taliban conquered territory, the police was substituted by civilians, who started to be targeted for actions of the group. In 2015, for example, the police were targeted more than a half of the attacks of the group while civilians were the victims only in nineteen percent of the attacks; these numbers shifted to thirty eight percent of the attacks in the case of the police and to thirty percent for civilians. However, Taliban still focuses on territorial control, engaging their force on a traditional conflict against the Afghan National Guard.

As said previously in this text, Al-Qaeda's

system is different than other terrorist groups, because they opt to help various groups worldwide, so, the study the Al-Qaeda is the same study of these small groups. On this situation, there were a reduction on bombings attacks conducted by Al-Qaeda because the al-Nusra Front (an Al-Qaeda franchise in Syria) reduced this type of attacks and distanced itself from Al-Qaeda's influence.

Therefore, to find a solution for the attacks is to consider the differences between each region and group, in order to apply the adequate solution for each focus of the diverse groups that exists in the world. This becomes harder in cases of territories that are attacked by different organizations that prior diverse classes of the society. Use your capacity of negotiation to find solutions to be applicated in each case is what is expected of you, delegate.

An option to weak terrorist organizations is to cut their resources, the UN recognized it and has already done some resolutions about it in the Security Council, like 2178 in 2014 and the 2249 in 2015, however, the organizations still are able to finance their actions using illegal activities or the resources from the land they invaded.

ISIS and the Taliban, for example, are groups that sell illegally resources (such as oil) and drugs (opioids). Al-Qaeda, otherwise, changed their way to finance attacks during its history, in the beginning of the group, the money came from the multimillionaire founder Osama Bin Laden and other organizations, but int the last years, when the financing slowed, the organization started to get money using bank robbery and drug trafficking.

However, the most important point is that it is not too expensive to realize a terrorist attack, data from the Global Terrorism Index shows that more than a half of the attacks cost between a thousand and ten thousand dollars, thus, financing terrorism does not require as much money as some might think.



## **Measures taken**

Throughout the world's history, terrorism has taken many forms and shapes. Much in the same way, the way that nations reacted to it and measures taken against it has had various manifestations.

This guidebook focuses heavier on international procedures, due to the project of the current committee of conjoint efforts from the delegates to deal with such threat. Occasionally, though, there will be references to some actions from countries alone.

That said, this analysis begins in Rome, 1898: The "International Conference for the Defense of Society against the Anarchist", regarded as the first ever attempt of cooperation against terrorism, as stated by Richard Bach Jensen.<sup>6</sup>

To sum the history behind it, this conference resulted of an ongoing anti-anarchist campaign waged by all the Rulers of Europe for almost twenty-five years. Anarchists had been acting vigorously as exemplified by the shooting of the Spanish Prime Minister Canovas in 1897 and even an attempt to kill the King of Italy Umberto in that same year.<sup>7</sup>

The actual culmination of these attacks came with the assassination of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria in 1898 (Figure 1 - The assassination of Empress Elizabeth. New York Journal, 1898). A crime committed in Swiss soil, against an Austrian ruler by an Italian anarchist demanded an international response.<sup>8</sup>

In face of these attacks, the endeavor in this meeting resulted in higher police cooperation in Europe, which, together with the increasing practice of extradition and expulsion, proved to be a strong weapon to foil future anarchist's attempts.<sup>9</sup>

However, this conference failed to amount to much more than that and, due to it, it was said that the resolutions held no more power than "the paper they were written on", as said by Camile Barrère (the head of France's delegation at the conference)<sup>10</sup>. This was in large part due to lack of commitment from the countries involved, a problem that also plagued the next major international encounter in 1937.

The "Convention for the Preventions and Punishment of Terrorism", held by the League of Nations held in 1937, had the objective of unify



The assassination of Empress Elizabeth. New York Journal, 1898

international law when it comes to terrorism. As stated, in much the same way as the Rome Conference of 1898, reluctance of countries to either follow the resolution or even rectify it produced yet another failed international attempt.<sup>11</sup>

It is important to make note that one of the main reasons behind the failure of the later meeting was the disagreement on the definition adopted of terrorism with some states believing it to be either too broad or to narrow.<sup>12</sup>

After World War II, which of course was a hinder to international cooperation, the Cold War started, together with the United Nations. According to the Executive Director of the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee from 2004 to 2007, the General Assembly has had three different periods (that is until the year of his article, 2006:

[...] 1972 to 1991, is characterized by [...] proposals of "measures to prevent terrorism" [...] 1993 to 2001 [...] human rights and terrorism measures to eliminate international terrorism [...] the third (and current) period, the concept and terminology are evolving towards discussion of measures to eliminate terrorism.<sup>13</sup>

In this first period, there are countless examples of UN's efforts, such as the item "Measures to prevent terrorist and other forms of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives or jeopardize fundamental freedoms" into the agenda on the General Assembly in 1972<sup>14</sup>, which ultimately resulted in an Ad Hoc Committee on terrorism on that same year.

Similar to the meeting which this guidebook serves, this committee tackled on defining international terrorism, examining its causes and considering remedies. However, due to its Cold War context, conflicts resulting from the capitalist spectrum, the communist one and the remaining non-aligned states, its various norms and concepts were not agreed between the members.<sup>15</sup>

In the third period, the General Assembly approved the resolution 60/288 on September, 2006, "The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy", which had annexed a Plan of Action composed of 4 pillars: (a) addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; (b) measures to prevent and combat terrorism; (c) measures to build state's capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard; (d) measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism. This document is reviewed every 2 years, the last one in 2016 still reaffirming these pillars as the overall principles for combat against terrorism.<sup>16</sup>

Adding to this, the role of intelligence as a countermeasure against terrorism is worth noting, because of its significance in the world today. Intelligence can be defined as "the product from the collection, exploitation, processing, integration, analysis, evaluation, and interpretation of available information". Therefore, it is above all an exercise of coordination of several actions, and when this is taken to international cooperation it is the update of what was first envisioned by the Rome Conference in 1898. Its importance can be explained by the conclusion that the 9/11 attack at the US represented an intelligence failure that could have been prevented.<sup>17</sup>

Focusing now on how countries (or at least minor organizations compared to the UN) have individually acted, and linking with the importance of intelligence, there are various examples to use.

First, there is the "War on Terror" tactic utilized by the United States of America, which resulted in a massive effort to gather intelligence on countries and react to it, as exposed by its annual reports made by the Bureau of Counterterrorism that collects intelligence into a single document<sup>18</sup>. Examples of such reactions are embargoes and even invasions on foreign territory.

On another spectrum, one remarkable example of true cooperation and attempt of achieving resolutions without necessary antagonizing other States is the efforts made by the African Union (AU). Its actions trace back to the late Organization of African Unity and its combat in the early 1990s, with the bombing of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Its first steps were the adoption of The Declaration on the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations, which led the way to legislations and unified policies in the Continent. This way, African countries grew closer when it came to the fight against terrorism due to the AU's actions.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, another current proposal is one that involves finances. In order to halt terrorism, various countries have developed legislations to comply financial institutions into an anti-money laundering (AML) agenda. If states are able to identify where the money comes from and where it is going, combating terrorism becomes more effective, which begs the question if and how this should be implemented in an international matter.

<sup>8</sup>JENSEN, Richard Bach. *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934.* Nova York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. p.133

<sup>9</sup>RICHARD BACH JENSEN. *The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol.* Journal of Contemporary History. April, 1981. No. 2. p.323-347

<sup>10</sup>MAITRON, Jean. *Historie du mouvement anarchiste en France*. Paris, 1955.

<sup>11</sup>THOMAS M. FRANCK and BERT B. LOCKWOOD, JR. *Preliminary Towards An International Convention on Terrorism.* The American Journal of International Law January, 1974. No. 1. p.69-90.

<sup>12</sup>Dugard, Toward the Definition of International Terrorism, 1973.

<sup>13</sup>RUPÉREZ, Jean. **T**he United Nations in the Fight Against Terrorism. January, 2006.

<sup>14</sup>UN Doc. A/8791 (1972)

<sup>15</sup>THOMAS M. FRANCK and BERT B. LOCKWOOD, JR. *Preliminary Thoughts Towards An International Convention on Terrorism.* The American Journal of International Law January, 1974. No. 1. p.69-90

<sup>16</sup>General Assembly resolution 60/288. *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*, A/RES/60/288 (20 September 2006), available from http://undocs.org/A/RES/60/288.

<sup>17</sup>FULTON, Wayne. Intelligence and the "War against Terrorism": Multilateral Counter-Terrorism Policies Implemented post-September 11. University of the Witwatersrand, 2004.

<sup>18</sup>Country Reports on Terrorism 2016. Available at: https:// www.state.gov/documents/organization/272488.pdf.

<sup>19</sup>EWI, Martin and ANING, Kwesi. Assessing the Role of the African Union in Preventing and Combating Terrorism in Africa. 2006. https://issafrica.org/01-oct-2006-assessing-the-role-of-the-african-union-in-preventing-and-combating-terrorism-in-africa-martin-ewi-and-kwesi-aning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>JENSEN, Richard Bach. *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>JENSEN, Richard Bach. *The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol.* Journal of Contemporary History. April, 1981. No. 2. p.323-347.

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## Aftermath

## Mediterranean migrant arrivals in 2018



As previously demonstrated, the international community built itself with terrorism as an enemy. The threat of terror imposed by extremist groups was an important factor in the composition of the United Nations and its pillars.

As a consequence of that threat, the international security has been shaped in a more harsh bureaucracy, with intense border patrols and legislation. As a counter effect for the security improvement, harsh relations between several countries resulted in social and political crises around the globe.

For example, the European migration crises. The overwhelming conflicts settled at the Middle East, some of which deeply influenced by terrorist organizations such as ISIS, overloaded Europe with immigrants and refugees, and with the nations rigid border policies over 430 thousand people were denied entry at EU's territory, resulting in an enlarging illegal immigration rate.

Notwithstanding the premise of territorial integrity, frequently recalled in formal UN documents, the undeniable social impact of measures taken to combat terrorism requires a well-established plan of action, therefore it must follow a pattern of rules to sustain the human rights in its performance. The international response was the development of four pillars to combat terrorism<sup>20</sup>, a strategy plan revised every two years consisted in containing the spreading of terrorism, the combat action itself, peacemaking actions and human rights supervision.

One of the purposes of this conference's resolution its to revisit the previous counterterrorism strategy and define if the peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures in action are still necessary or if their results invalidate their meaning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy 2016. available at https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy



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