In contemporary world international terrorism has become a significant threat for almost all the countries around the world, including those which are most powerful and most developed. Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon it was present in the world since ancient times in varied forms and manifestations. Therefore, people throughout history were witnessing the threat of terrorism. But nowadays due to globalization and revolution in international telecommunication technology (ITO), the reach of terrorists has become worldwide. Consequently, international community is facing new forms of terrorism which are more powerful, well organized, and deeply ideological.

The word “terrorism” has originated from the French word “terrorisme” which is derived the Latin verb “terrere” meaning to frighten to or to cause tremble. Actually, it was used originally to describe state terror i.e. the reign of terror which existed in France in the post revolutionary period. However, the meaning and application of the world terrorism has undergone numerous changes with the passage of time. In recent times, terrorism has assumed the position of worldwide scourge. After 9/11 attacks on World Trade Centre in New York it is being increasingly projected as a serious threat to international peace and security.

**Definitional Problem**

Although terrorism has had a long history, there is no universally accepted definition. The scholars, security experts, strategic thinkers, national governments, international agencies etc. still have disagreement about its meaning more than any other concept in the recent past.

Terrorism has been identified by the United Nations as a threat to international peace and security particularly after the deadly event of September 11, 2001 which brought the issue of terrorism to the forefront of world affairs in an unprecedented manner. Still, the United Nations efforts have proved futile in arriving at a comprehensive and universally acceptable definition of terrorism. The large number of treaties and conventions has been adopted by the United Nations to suppress terrorism. Nevertheless, its approach towards terrorism has been adhoc in nature. The United Nations has developed such an international legal framework which shows its subject matter approach against terrorism. Therefore, the increasing events of hijacking urged the United Nations to adopt anti–hijacking conventions. Taking of hostages incited it
to adopt convention against taking of hostages. Likewise, the possibility of terrorists getting access to nuclear weapons forced the United Nations to adopt convention against Nuclear Terrorism. This adhoc and subject matter approach of United Nations has not yielded good consequences. Even today the United Nations is still striving to find a common definition of the word terrorism. None of the 13 and the 13 amendment instruments of the United Nations contain a universally accepted definition of terrorism. It has been described variously by states and other organizations according to their own national interest.

It is an inevitable fact that United Nations made many efforts to deal effectively with the issue of terrorism and has taken number of actions against it. But, without being able to agree on how to define the phenomenon, is a significant part of the story. The major problem which terrorism poses for the world organization is due to the lack of consensus as famous aphorism pointed out by many observers “my freedom fighter is your terrorist”–exposes the intensity of the problem which terrorism creates for the United Nations.

The United Nations consists of six principal organs—the General Assembly, the Security Council, ECOSOC (the Economic and Social Council), Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat (the Secretary General). All these UN organs deal with the issue of terrorism in one way or another. Before 9/11 the issue of terrorism was mainly handled by the General Assembly which considered it as a general problem. It has passed many resolutions and draft conventions against terrorism and also tried to combat it through long debates and by establishing special committees after 1996. After 1990s or particularly after 9/11 the Security Council took up the issue of terrorism and dealt with this menace through operative resolutions and the formation of CTC (the Counter Terrorism Committee). The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) by relating the issue of Human rights with terrorism and through special rappoteur, the Trusteeship Council tackle this issue through non–debate on freedom fighters v. Terrorists and the connection to self determination, the International Court of Justice, for example in the Lockerbie and Iranian hostage taking cases, the Secretariat (the Secretary General) through countless initiatives. Therefore, it can be said that the role of United Nations in combating terrorism is multi–dimensional. Yet, it fails to deal effectively with the menace of
terrorism due to the lack of consensus among the Member States of the United Nations.

The issue of terrorism has given birth to numerous specialized international conventions of the United Nations against varied forms of terrorism. These conventions have dealt with diverse varieties and manifestations of terrorism extensively focusing on Protection of Civil Aviation and Safety of Aircraft, Protection of the Safety of Persons, Protection against the Use of Explosives and Bombings, Preventing the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction, and Preventing Measures of Financing Certain forms of Terrorism. United Nations has adopted 13 international instruments against terrorism.

Terrorism has direct impact on the enjoyment of human rights. It is a threat to life, personal dignity, and physical integrity of individuals. Human rights are not violated only through terrorism but the counter-terrorism policies adopted by the states and government also resulted in grave violation of human rights. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has made detailed study on terrorism, counter-terrorism and human rights. This study clearly reveals that terrorism and counter-terrorism both poses serious threat to human rights. It was also emphasized by this study that there are certain inalienable human rights that cannot be taken away in any conditions, whatsoever. Therefore, counter-terrorism measures should respect the internationally recognized human rights.

The United Nations as an international organization authorized with the mandate to guarantee respect for fundamental human rights for each and everyone everywhere has a responsibility for combating terrorism from the perspective of international human rights also. However, it is difficult for the United Nations alone to win the fight against this scourge. Therefore, there is a requirement of cooperation between Member States and the United Nations. Although terrorism was present in the world since time immemorial, the world has seen a paradigm shift in the fight against terrorism and state’s response to it in the aftermath of 9/11. There was a serious challenge before states of responding to the threat of terrorism on one hand and on the other hand maintaining international human rights standards.

It is difficult to understand terrorism without considering main causes and motivations behind it. This fact cannot be denied that there are a number of factors that give birth to the menace of terrorism. There are many factors that work together and motivate
groups as well as individuals to adopt extreme measures, such as terrorism. It is really hard to understand and compress all the factors and motivations in a single study. However, there are many common factors or the most general causes leading to terrorism which can be explained and elaborated. This study makes an attempt to study these factors and causes.

Terrorism is indeed a threat to global security and human rights therefore it needs to be suppress at any cost. The nations and international community at large cannot afford to ignore this threat any longer. It is due to the political dynamics of states which makes it difficult to reach any consensual definition of terrorism in order to combat this menace. United Nations and other multilateral organizations have adopted numerous measures and policies for suppressing the threat of terrorism but these are limited to only constructing legal framework in the form of multilateral treaties and conventions. It is significant to highlight here that unless the root causes of terrorism such as huge violation of human rights, global injustice, imperialism, liberal capitalist paradigm of successive exploitation are addressed in right perspective, it will be quite difficult to repress terrorism as well as violence.

Review of Literature

Academic literature about the United Nations and terrorism has been scattered or simply nonexistent, this is due to the fact that the activities of United Nations regarding terrorism were generally ignored. The issue of terrorism becomes the focus of attention to the United Nations after the deadly event of September 11 2001. The scattered literature already existing on the subject is reviewed here. There are number of books, articles in professional journals and research works available and wide array of these are reviewed. This literature review is supposed to meet two main objectives. First, to deepen and sharpen the knowledge of this subject and the understanding of the main issues under debate and to focus on the literature closely related to the topic of our research. Second, the present study of doctoral thesis seeks to contribute to filling the significant void in the existing literature on the question of terrorism, both before and after September 11 2001.

A bulk of work has been done on terrorism with reference to specific historical examples. For example, over the years a large body of work has developed on the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and other groups in Ireland: On the Shining Path in Peru and on the number of other examples in the Middle East. Perhaps the largest
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body of such writings relates to ethics of and politics of self determination struggles, which led to the extensive debate about what to call a freedom fighter. Indeed commentators frequently overlook the fact that human rights, and especially the right of self determination, can serve as a justification for terror. Many anti colonial movements in India, Algeria, and Vietnam were justified as a means of terror. The Palestinians and the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka are the most current manifestation of this phenomenon. Much of this literature remains in the realm of case studies.

To justify the act of terrorism in the name of self determination confuses human rights justifications, in which the loss of innocent civilians life are condoned and the laws of war in which attacks on civilians are strictly regulated. It also neglect that the death of civilians are the first option for much terrorist violence for example by Basques and Irish nationalists. Rather than to adopt peaceful and good efforts to pursue their goal, violence is adopted as a short act to attain their objectives. Much of the literature on terrorism deals with religiously motivated terrorist attacks. Religion is also considered as a motivating factor for terrorism. The attacks of September 11, 2001 were such a deadly event which was plotted because some groups are religiously motivated and they were intent to inflicting harm on a larger scale.

As to the rest of the kind of terrorism, an increase in focus of attention was on well publicized and dramatic events. Thus for example the 1983 attack on the U.S. Marine Barracks and the U.S. embassy in Beirut, the downing of Pan Am Flight and UTA flights in the late 1980s, the first attack on the World Trade Centre in 1993, the attempted assassination of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and the former U.S. President H.W Bush, the bombings of the pharmaceutical factory in Sudan and the attacks on the USS Cole in Aden in 2000. In particular there is a large body of work dealing with the Lockerbie bombings and the persecution of two Libyan suspects involved in this issue.

If something is to be found on the United Nations and terrorism, it is most often within international law literature because many of the existing international conventions on terrorism have been negotiated within the General Assembly’s Sixth Committee (Legal). Most of the discussions focus on the implication of the resulting conventions instead of United Nations role as an operational actor. But the scenario has changed after September 2001. Since then the menace of terrorism has dominated the literatures of academic and policy matters. The question of defining terrorism,
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studies of Al Qaeda movements and Osama Bin Laden, who was the main culprit of 9/11 attacks have taken centre stage. As a result, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 the studies and discussions produced were mainly focusing on issues such as War on Afghanistan, U.S. policy on the nature of international response to September 1, 2001 and kind of response is appropriate to confront terrorism. The United Nations role is rarely visible either in decision making or in operational terms.

Martha Crenshaw, in her book, *Explaining Terrorism: Causes, Processes, and Consequences* highlights the problem of finding general explanations for terrorism and contends that it is possible to distinguish different types of variables, as a starting point for further research on causal relations. Crenshaw’s objective was to outline an approach conducive to analysis of the causes of terrorism in order to distinguish “a common pattern of causation from the historically unique” is predicated on a comparison of different cases of terrorism.

Javier Ruperez, in his article, “The United Nations fight against terrorism: five years after 9/11,” describes the role of United Nations in countering terrorism and the various countermeasures it has undertaken particularly by the most important organ of the United Nations that is, Security Council. He explicitly points out the problems that are hindering the progress in countermeasures. The approach of Security Council towards countering terrorism has become strong after 9/11 attacks. In the five years since 9/11 the Security Council which is witnessing the various events of terrorism and their deadly consequences, has been consistent in its condemnation of terrorism and has adopted strong counter measures, and resolute in the study of the phenomenon and in the search of new methods to combat it. All of these endeavours are evident from the various resolutions that have been passed since then. He also points out that profound difference of opinion on the definition of terrorism have prevented member states from receiving agreement on a general convention against this threat to international peace and security. The other cause which hampers the United Nations anti-terrorism efforts is the tensions among the five permanent members of the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

Yoram Schweitzer and Shaul Shay, *The Globalization of Terror: The Challenge of Al-Qaida and the Response of the International Community* in this book, writers believe the terrorist destruction of the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 was the climax of a course plotted by Osama Bin Laden to bring about his apocalyptic
vision of a decisive clash between the Western and Moslem worlds. This timely volume details the organizational workings and belief system of Bin Laden's brutal campaign. The authors explore the background and objectives of the attacks, the elaborate planning that went into them, and the process of their practical execution.

Dr Isaac Kfir, in his article “The United Nations Approach to International Terrorism following 9/11,” explores the reaction of the United Nations towards the event of 9/11. Prior to the attacks of 9/11 terrorism was seen by the U.N. as a national or regional problem within United Nations. The collapse of World Trade Centre made it explicit that terrorism is an international problem, and this deadly event forced the U.N to start a campaign against it. The creation of Counter Terrorism Committee and its various reports and panels led by Secretary General shows the strong reaction of the United Nations to the event of 9/11. He concludes in the paper that the United Nations has accomplished much in the realm of counter terrorism by establishing some useful facilities to encourage international cooperation. However, the U.N. fails to take any effective action against those who continue to support international terrorism and this detracts from its efforts, cast doubts on its abilities, and prevents international cooperation.

Kshitij Prabha, in his article, “Terrorism and the United Nations,” argues that the beginning of new era in the world politics brought about radical changes in the international relations, where on the one hand the United Nations was formed to establish international peace and security and on the other hand Super Power rivalry give rise to the menace of terrorism. He points out that the tactic of terrorism was used by both the super powers in some form or other to achieve their objectives of foreign policy. In this background the United Nations realized an urgent need to take some effective measures against terrorism in the 1972 and various adhoc committees were formed to deal with the issue of international terrorism which covers its different aspects.

Christopher C. Joyner, in his article, “The United Nations and Terrorism: Rethinking Legal Tensions between National security, Human rights, and Civil liberties” discusses as the international community responds to September 11, 2001 attacks and the general War on Terrorism, member states must continue to address the balance between the rights of the individuals and the security of the States. The study of Christopher C. Joyner highlights the varied roles played by the United Nations in
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combating transnational terrorism through norm setting, codification of human rights law, as well as the drafting and effective implementation of 12 multilateral agreements aimed at counter terrorism. In sovereign states system, the United Nations role in checking or reversing these human rights abuses remains severely limited and largely dependent upon the political will of the member states. As a result, the threat which are posed by terrorism, curtail some of the human rights and civil liberties. These curtailments of human rights are considered as the price paid for protecting national security.

Louise Richardson⁷, in her article, *The Roots of Terrorism: An Overview* describes the present international arena, where there is hegemony of U.S. and its allies, this situation evokes the feeling of contempt and hatred around the world. She states that democracy and globalization provides conditions in which terrorist’s campaign may operate and sustain. Globalization is a new form of imperialism in which developed countries are increasing their influence over poor and developed ones. It creates an environment that can facilitate violent behaviour and acts of terrorism.

Alan B. Krueger⁸, in his book, *What makes Terrorist: Economics and the roots of Terrorism* he explains in a quantitative manner that civil liberties are an important determinant of terrorism. He gives out wealthier countries are likely to protect the civil liberties and political freedom of their residents. So extremists in these countries might be less inclined towards terrorism to pursue their objectives. He further argues that education and poverty have little to do with terrorism. He explicitly explains that the average terrorist suspect is highly educated, professionally employed, they are from middle or higher class background and more importantly, from a country that suppresses civil liberties.

Giuseppe Nesi⁹, in his book, *International Cooperation in Counter Terrorism: The United Nations and Regional Organization in the fight against Terrorism* made an analysis of global and regional responses to terrorism and also examines the role of United Nations and regional organizations in combating terrorism or the effective counter measures taken by them. This book provides a debate on how the fight against terrorism has encroached upon the fundamental rules of international law.

Chantal De Jonge Oudraat¹⁰, in an article entitled, “The United Nations and campaign against terrorism,” he points out that terrorism has been the concern of U.N member states since 1960’s but has been an essential item on the Security Council’s agenda
throughout the 1990’s. The driving force behind the United Nations to actively fight against terrorism was the U.S. who has become the target of terrorist attacks. Historically, the use of force unilaterally against terrorism by the states has been rare or even exceptional, but this may be reversed in twenty first century. She argues persuasively that the Council’s decision in September 2001 set a precedent by making the main provisions of the anti-terrorism conventions obligations for all states. Chantal De Jonge sees that United Nations can make more of a contribution towards combating terrorism but whether it does or not, will depend to a greater extent on the United States.

Rosemary Foot\textsuperscript{11}, in her article “The United Nations, counter Terrorism, and Human Rights: Institutional Adaptation and Embedded ideas,” shows the role of U.N committees in protection of human rights while countering terrorism. This article argues that initially, the procedures adopted by these committees damaged human rights protections, which was criticized by U.N officials, human rights NGO’s and by other developing states. Therefore an argument was made that actions of these committees were in accordance with human rights protection while adopting anti terrorist measures. As a consequence procedures have evolved and now give attention to the human rights consequences of counter terrorist action.

James S. Sutterlin\textsuperscript{12}, in his book \textit{The United Nations and the maintenance of International security: A Challenge to be met} analyses and gives the description of United Nations failures and achievements, while placing them in the context of the ever-broadening definition of international security and of changing attitudes towards national sovereignty and humanitarian intervention. In one of the chapter he has focused on United Nations experiences in Iraq while enforcing disarmament. In another chapter he gives the details of the impact of terrorism and the weapons of mass destruction on the policies and actions of the United Nations.

Victor D. Comras\textsuperscript{13}, in his book \textit{Flawed Diplomacy: The United Nations and the War on Terrorism} delves into the role of international organization, that is, United Nations, in dealing with the menace of terrorism. He explores the international political realities and institutional problems that hinder the U.N from successfully implementing and monitoring the counter-terrorism measures. He also describes success and failures of the international organization in combating or taking effective measures against terrorism. Flawed diplomacy is an invaluable resource for anyone
Nico Schrijiver, in his article “September 11 and challenges to International Law,” contends that the central U.N Charter concepts are not well suited to response to September 11 attacks. To deal with international terrorism previous attempts mainly involved prosecuting criminals in domestic law and attempting to apply an international law designed for terrorism sponsored by states or non state actors against a particular government. The terrorist’s acts transformed after September 11, into threats to international peace. Apparently, new practices and interpretations are needed in order to counter the new menace. He also examines four phases of U.N legal responses: early response September 11, general anti terrorism, support or a new regime in Afghanistan, and a broadening of the struggle. He addresses the challenges and a dilemma arises from September 11 2001 and concludes with some final observations about the adequacy of international law as a driving force for combating terrorism.

David Cortright and George A. Lopez, in their study *Uniting against Terror: Cooperative Non Military Responses to the Global Terrorist threat* discuss about the terrorist attacks that have continued and rapidly increasing around the whole world, from London and Madrid to Afghanistan and Iraq. Therefore there is a current need for effective anti terrorist measures. America’s reliance on military approaches or the use of violent means and Bush administration’s avowal of constant state of war have overshadowed non military, peaceful multilateral efforts, and there has been an analogous avoidance of these alternative strategies in the literature on terrorism. Uniting against terror fills this lacuna by examining and evaluating in the aftermath of 9/11, the cooperative and non military responses to the worldwide terrorist threat with a particular emphasis on the efforts of the United Nations Financial Action Task Force, European Union and the number of other multilateral institutions. It also examines the cooperative, diplomatic and economic policies to address the changing face of terrorism and the global Al Qaeda threat, differentiates between protective measures and long term preventive policies and makes recommendations for effective cooperative and non military strategies.

S. Neil Macfarlane, in an important book chapter, “Charter Values and Response to Terrorism,” argues that traditionally one of the most important roles of the United
Nations is the promotion of values and core standards. He points out that the significance of individuals is increasing gradually as opposed to state’s rights, particularly during 1990’s, but he argues that the event of September 11 threatens to reverse this trend. Macfarlane sees a shift back to the values tied to order and away from individual. If this remains the case, the present seems like the old international arena. The diplomacy of Washington under the Bush administration has tended to be more unilateral than its predecessor. The notion of pre-emptive defence which is not contained in the U.N. charter may be justified in many circumstances. This paper focuses on principles and norms that appear in the U.N. and have been widely shared by U.N. organization rather than on international law per se.

Similarly, Edward C. Luck, in his article “The U.S., Counter Terrorism, and the Prospects for a Multilateral Alternative,” argues that Bush pursued a multilateral response to terrorism despite of Bush administration’s allergy to the United Nations. He moreover reveals that prominent international actors such as Japan and Western Europe do not have not forsaken unilateral response nor they took the assistance of U.N. in their hours of need when they face terrorist attack. He argues that most of the problems of Bush administration have been self inflicted because it has created a perception of unilateralism and sent inconsistent and mixed messages to domestic level as well as audiences at the international level. Thus, he finds that the U.S. approach towards terrorism is “more calibrated and nuanced.”

By reviewing the literature available on the issue of United Nations and terrorism, the conclusion may be drawn that the academic literature has given little attention to the United Nations and terrorism both before and after September 11 2001. My study is intended to fill this gap. Despite a bulk of literature or burgeoning literature on terrorism, very few works focuses on the role of U.N in combating terrorism and multilateral mechanism in this direction. Most of the works focus exclusively or particularly on U.S. policy and fail to acknowledge the role of the U.N to the global counter terrorism programme. Very few works have been published on Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC) and related Counter Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED). Even less has been written about the Counter Proliferation Committee established by Security Council Resolution (1540) 2004. Overall the literature is limited when considered in the area of academic research. Our study is intended to fill this gap and address several questions such as, why it is important to focus on the role
of U.N in combating terrorism both before and after September 11 2001. As the primary responsibility of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security, therefore the United Nations should be at the forefront of the international response to terrorism. To what extent is terrorism and particularly the attack of September 11, 2001 was an indication of change in the international environment in which the United Nations operates. What, exactly, was the U.N doing about terrorism both before and after September 11 2001? The objective of his study is to explore answers to these and other related questions.

**Significance of the Study**

The significance of the present work lies in doing a study on legal measures to combat international terrorism both at domestic and international level. These kinds of studies are of no use as long as the behaviour of countries do not change. There is a need of mutual cooperation, understanding and assistance among the countries in order to bring peace and harmony. The Member states of the United Nations should cooperate with each other to counter the threat of terrorism. All the countries must regard terrorist acts as criminal offence in their domestic laws. Further the researcher realizes that Member States of the United Nations as well as other countries must afford one another the greatest measure of assistance for criminal proceedings which is related to the prosecution or extradition of perpetrators of terrorist’s acts. This mutual cooperation between the states and along with United Nations in exchange of relevant information and apprehension of terrorist’s act will be of paramount significance for suppressing international terrorism. This fact has been realized around the world that international terrorism is not one country’s or region’s problem but its tentacles have engulfed the entire world and it has taken a global shape. As it is a serious problem of 21st century therefore it requires an in depth study regarding this threat at the global level which would make all Nations to prepare a strong strategy to face this menace successfully by making proper and strict legislations and coming up with significant solutions.

After making a deep analysis of the research topic “The United Nations and Terrorism Before and after 9/11,” the researcher realizes that no doubt United Nations has done an excellent job and has made every effort to eradicate this evil from everywhere in the world by adopting number of resolutions and treaties but its approach has been adhoc and lies on papers only without any effective implementation. The Security
Council which is one of the main U.N. organs, whose decisions are binding on all Member States has been monopolized by its permanent members. This monopoly of permanent members hampers the successful implementation of the resolutions passed by the Security Council. Every member of the Council is concerned about its own national interest than those of international community. Many resolutions of the Security Council have met the fate of non-compliance.

Significance of this study is to propose some suggestions with which the scourge of international terrorism can be contained and eventually eradicated only if the sincere endeavours are made collectively at the national and international level. While throwing light on varied measures to check this evil, the present research makes an humble effort to suggest ways to combat terrorism so that everlasting peace prevails in the world.

**Objectives of Research**

The aims of the research documented herein is to offer an indicative or illustrative, if not definitive or exhaustive, attempt at determining how effectively the United Nations dealt with the question of terrorism, both before and after September 11, 2001? What is the role of the main organs of the United Nations that is General Assembly and Security Council in combating terrorism? And how effectively the United Nations protect Human Rights while countering terrorism?

This research also aims at knowing the origin of new phenomenon of “international terrorism” and the relation of this phenomenon with structures and scientific technology, communications, economic and social development in the period of globalization and discussing and examining its origin, areas and special motives in varied forms of terrorism which is the product of troubled societies and world.

**Research Questions**

The study is an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the different types of terrorism and how it affects the world at different periods of time and in varied ways?
2. Why international terrorism has been continuously increasing despite sincere efforts of the international community?
3. What measures had been taken by the United Nations both before and after September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks? And how far it has been successful?
4. What more is required at the international level to curb this menace from the society?

5. Why it is important to uphold human rights in countering terrorism?

**Methodology of the Study**

The scope of study is undoubtedly vast. The present study is an analytical study. It is based on qualitative research methodology. The literature for the study is collected from different sources. The study is based on historical and theoretical method which includes the use of primary and secondary sources. The problem of terrorism will be analysed from various relevant sources such as books, articles and journals, internet articles, conventions, General Assembly resolutions, Security Council resolutions and reports of the Secretary General.

**Hypotheses**

After perusal of the available literature on the subject three hypotheses have been formulated:

i) International terrorism is a global and burning issue, it needs sincere efforts of the world community at the international level to curb this menace from the society. ii) Although the United Nations has made numerous attempts to tactfully handle the issue of terrorism, its approach towards international terrorism has been adhoc. Its success depends on Member States cooperation. The United Nations is an intergovernmental body and not a world government to enforce its decisions on the Member States—therefore it is up to their will either to follow its decisions or not which makes the efforts of United Nations futile in the fight against terrorism. iii) The United Nations has adopted several conventions and protocols against specific kinds of terrorist acts, the problem of terrorism has been only partially solved. In almost all the cases the United Nations swung into action against particular manifestation of terrorism after its occurrence. One of the major lacunas of the United Nations counter-terrorism strategy is that it is not comprehensive in nature. In fact, the divergence of the views of Member States has made it impossible for the United Nations to adopt any comprehensive anti-terrorism convention.

**Chapterization**

The first chapter deals with the introduction, aims of research, methodology, significance of the topic, hypotheses and the research questions. Existing literature on the topic has also been surveyed briefly.
The second chapter deals with the definition, origin and history of terrorism, types of terrorism (international terrorism, state terrorism, religious terrorism, political terrorism, ethno-nationalist terrorism, cyber terrorism, nuclear terrorism) and the problems of defining terrorism. There are numerous definitions given by various scholars and agencies but there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism. The main problem with the issue of terrorism is not that it has no definition at all but it has numerous definitions. However, there is no harmony or consensus on any single definition of terrorism.

The Third chapter makes an analysis of the efforts of the United Nations against terrorism both before and after 9/11. The chapter also discusses about all the Conventions adopted by the United Nations against different acts of terrorism and about its implementation and ratification by different countries. It also discusses about the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy for the purpose of consolidation of the endeavours of United Nations and its Member States against the menace of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. There is also a brief discussion about the important regional treaties on terrorism.

The Fourth chapter starts with the discussion that General Assembly is the inter−governmental body which deals with broad political issues and is a forum where all the states of the world are represented and have equal votes. It further discusses the role of the General Assembly in fighting against terrorism. Until 1990s the issue of terrorism was mainly handled by the General Assembly or particularly before the deadly event of 9/11. The General Assembly has developed normative approach towards the issue of terrorism and regards it as a general problem. Powers of the General Assembly are of recommendatory nature and not binding upon the Member States. However, it has successfully adopted a number of remarkable resolutions. The resolutions of General Assembly elaborately discussed in the form of three streams “measures to prevent terrorism,” human rights and terrorism,” and “measures to eliminate terrorism.” The General Assembly actively reacted against the 9/11 attacks and along with Security Council it has also made an innumerous efforts to fight against this global menace. It has adopted on September 8, 2006 Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy which is considered to be a unique global instrument that will increase national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism.
The Fifth chapter provides details of the Security Council’s approach towards terrorism. It highlights that the active role of Security Council against terrorism begins mainly after 9/11 and it also shows its shifting nature, as terrorism become essential item on the Security Council’s agenda after the 1990s in reaction to specific events, in particular after three cases (the drowning of Pan Am Flights, the attempted assassination of Mubarak, and the bombings of American embassies). After September 11, 2001 deadly event Council acted immediately and passed number of important resolutions such as 1368, 1373, 1377, 1438 etc. In Resolution 1373 (2001) various measures were outlined that necessitate significant actions by the member states. The Counter-Terrorism Committee was also established through this resolution in order to monitor the implementation of these measures. This significant resolution for the first time creates obligations for all the member states of the United Nations. But all these efforts proved futile as still there is no comprehensive measure that resolves the issue of terrorism because many of the provisions are only comprehensive on paper and implemented unevenly in practice. The other major obstacle in the adoption of comprehensive measure is the monopoly of permanent members in the Security Council.

The Sixth chapter deals with the issue of human rights, United Nations and terrorism. How they are interlinked with each other and what impact terrorism has on the enjoyment of human rights is the focus of this chapter. The only successful strategy of counter-terrorism will be one that recognizes the essential principle of real security can only be maintained through the promotion and protection of human rights. Consequently, human rights should always be mainstreamed into all elements of counter-terrorism policies. It was proclaimed by the United Nations and Member States have concurred that any counter-terrorism measure must support to the established and recognized principles and provisions of the international human rights law, humanitarian law and refugee law. Many of the powerful states who called themselves as the protector of the human rights and democracy were responsible for the death of civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq by declaring ‘War on Terror’. All of these trends diminish the real value of human rights.

The last chapter provides a summary of major conclusions drawn from this study. It examines whether the United Nations has been successful or not in combating terrorism. Despite adopting 13 international instruments against terrorism, the United
Nations is still making efforts to eradicate this evil from the entire world. The chapter also suggests many measures for the international community and the Member States of the United Nations to tackle the issue of terrorism.
Notes


http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/1036/1036_ruperez_un_september11.pdf (accessed on August 17, 2014) 5:00 p.m.


http://www.ict.org.il/Article/928/The%20United%20Nations%20Approach%20to%20International%20Terrorism%20following%209/11 (assessed on August 18, 2014) 3:00 p.m.


