

DOCUMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

TERRORISM

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Edited by

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• H A R T •
PUBLISHING

OXFORD AND PORTLAND, OREGON

2012

Published in the United Kingdom by Hart Publishing Ltd
16C Worcester Place, Oxford, OX1 2JW
Telephone: +44 (0)1865 517530
Fax: +44 (0)1865 510710
E-mail: mail@hartpub.co.uk
Website: <http://www.hartpub.co.uk>

Published in North America (US and Canada) by
Hart Publishing
c/o International Specialized Book Services
920 NE 58th Avenue, Suite 300
Portland, OR 97213-3786
USA
Tel: +1 503 287 3093 or toll-free: (1) 800 944 6190
Fax: +1 503 280 8832
E-mail: orders@isbs.com
Website: <http://www.isbs.com>

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data Available

ISBN: 978-1-84113-986-9

Typeset by Criteria International Ltd

Printed and bound in Great Britain by

TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall



ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific States
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BSEC	Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
CCJE	Consultative Council of European Judges
CETS	Council of Europe Treaty Series
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
CTC	Counter-Terrorism Committee, UN Security Council
CTED	Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EC	European Community
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
G-8	Group of 8
G-77	Group of 77
GCC	Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf
GIABA	Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa
GUUAM Group	Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Moldova
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INTERPOL	International Criminal Police Organization
LoN	League of Nations
NAM	Nonaligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODCCP	UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OSCE	Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
Rio Group	Permanent Mechanism for Consultation and Policy Coordination
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC	South African Development Community

SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNGAOR	Official Records of the General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTS	United Nations Treaty Series
UNYB	United Nations Year Book

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am enormously grateful for the research assistance and cheerful patience of Clare Gardoll and Sophie Williams in the preparation of this book. For additional assistance I thank Sadhana Abayasekara, Denis Taz, Natasha Kassam, Tina Jelenic, Naomi Oreb, Ben Walhaus, Naomi Hart, and the Sydney Centre for International Law at the Faculty of Law, The University of Sydney. Finally I thank series editor Professor Stefan Talmon for encouraging me to undertake this collection, and publisher Richard Hart for publishing it.

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Sir Elihu Lauterpacht and Daniel Bethlehem, ‘The scope and content of the principle of *non-refoulement*: Opinion’ in Erika Feller, Volker Türk and Frances Nicholson (eds), *Refugee Protection in International Law: UNHCR’s Global Consultations on International Protection* © 2003 UNHCR (Cambridge University Press, 2003, reproduced with permission), p. 87 at 129-140

EDITORIAL NOTES

Throughout this collection, footnotes have usually been omitted from the original documents, unless otherwise indicated; signatures to treaties, and tables, are also commonly omitted. An ellipsis (“...”) is used to indicate where text has been omitted from an original document. Where applicable, references to additional relevant documents (not reproduced in this collection) are provided at the end of the section for a particular organisation or entity.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1898

In November and December, the International Anti-Anarchist Conference at Rome recommended a range of legal measures against anarchism, defined as action 'having as its aim the destruction through violent means of all social organisation'. The Conference endorsed the Belgian 'attentat' clause, providing an exception to the political offence exception to extradition in cases involving assassination or violence against a head of State or government or their families. The push for stronger transnational police cooperation in Europe was a reaction to anarchist bombings in France and Spain between 1892 and 1894.

1914

In June, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian empire, and his wife Sophie were assassinated in Sarajevo by members of a Bosnian Serb separatist group, the Black Hand. The killing is regarded as a catalyst of the First World War.

1919

In response to atrocities allegedly committed by Germany during the First World War, the report of the Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties (accepted in May at the Paris Peace Conference) called for the formation of a special commission to investigate and prosecute massacres and 'systematic terrorism' (31). No such offence was prosecuted at the subsequent Leipzig trials of German war criminals.

1920

In November, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) kills 12 British civilian agents and two paramilitaries in Dublin, Ireland, on 'Bloody Sunday'. The British response results in the deaths of 14 Irish civilians and three IRA prisoners.

1923

At the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, conducted from November 1922 to February 1923, a Commission of Jurists was established to draft rules relating to aerial warfare and the use of radio during wartime. In its 1923 draft convention, the commission proposes that air bombardments targeting civilians is inconsistent with international law (32). The draft convention, known as the Hague Draft Rules on Aerial Warfare, is never adopted but comes to be regarded as reflecting customary law.

1934

In October, Croatian and Macedonian separatists assassinate King Alexander of Yugoslavia and the French Foreign Minister, Louis Barthou, in France. In November 1937, the League of Nations responds by creating an International Criminal Court and adopts the *Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism* (1 and 2), following a drafting process in 1934-37.

1938

In September, in an attempt to define and increase the protection of civilians during wartime, the International Law Association drafts a convention prohibiting aerial bombardment of civilian populations (33).

1940

In August, Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky is assassinated in Mexico City by a Soviet agent.

1944

In July, Chancellor of Nazi Germany, Adolf Hitler, narrowly avoids being killed by a bomb blast in a military meeting in Rastenburg, Germany. Approximately 5,000 suspected members of the German resistance are executed in its aftermath.

1945

The end of the Second World War highlights the need to repatriate refugees and displaced persons, including exiled Spanish Republicans and persons affected by German and Japanese occupation. In response, the UN establishes the International Refugee Organization in December 1946, the Constitution of which excludes from protection anyone who has 'participated in any terrorist organisation' (3).

1946

In July, the militant Zionist organisation Irgun bombs the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, headquarters of the British Mandate of Palestine, killing 91 people (mainly civilians, and including 17 Jews). British Prime Minister Clement Attlee called it an 'inhuman crime' of terrorism.

1948

In January, Indian independence leader Mahatma Gandhi is assassinated at a prayer meeting in New Delhi by a Hindu extremist. There had been numerous previous unsuccessful attempts to assassinate him.

1949

The atrocities of war also demonstrate the need to better protect civilians in war. The four Geneva

Conventions are adopted in August 1949 (4) and include various prohibitions on terrorism or acts of terrorism.

1954

Upon invitation by the United Nations, the International Law Commission publishes a draft code of offences against international peace and security in 1954, which prohibits the commission, encouragement and toleration of terrorist activities by States (34).

1958

In April, the UN codifies the law on piracy in the *Geneva Convention on the High Seas 1958*, differentiating it from political violence by defining it as illegal violence by one ship or aircraft against another where committed for 'private ends' (5). The prohibition is reiterated in the *UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982* (17).

1955

In April, the Guomindang in China bomb the airplane, the *Kashmir Princess*, in an attempt to assassinate the Chinese Premier, Zhou Enlai.

1956

In September, the International Committee of the Red Cross publishes a statement condemning the terrorising of civilians as a means of conducting warfare (342).

1961

A Puerto Rican hijacker forces a US National Airlines plane to fly to Havana, Cuba in May. This is the first hijacking of a US aircraft. The hijacker is granted asylum in Cuba.

1962–63

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) Legal Committee meets in Rome to define the international legal status of aircraft. Venezuela and the US propose to include a specific reference to aircraft hijacking. In response, the ICAO adopts the *Tokyo Convention 1963* in September (6).

1964

In October this year, and on numerous subsequent occasions, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) espouses the right of colonised peoples to militantly seek self-determination in resistance to racist regimes (534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542). From the late 1980s, the NAM repeatedly declares its condemnation of terrorism that is state-sponsored or committed by individuals (543, 544, 545, 546, 547), while emphasising the legitimacy of self-determination struggles.

1965

From October onwards, up to 500,000 suspected

communists are murdered by the Indonesian government, criminal gangs, and militant Islamist and Hindu organisations, following an attempted military coup against the Sukarno government.

In December, the UN General Assembly resolves that assisting or financing terrorism within another state's borders amounts to impermissible interference in domestic affairs (GAR2131, 57). It reiterates this principle in October 1970 (GAR2625, 58).

1968

In July, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine hijacks an El Al Israel aircraft and redirects it to Algiers. Negotiations continue for forty days. In December, an El Al aircraft is attacked in Athens. Israel retaliates by attacking Beirut Airport and destroying thirteen Middle East Airline planes. The UN Security Council adopts SCR262 in response in December, reiterating the need for safety in international civil aviation and condemning Israel for its premeditated violation of its international obligations (141).

Rebels kill the US Ambassador to Guatemala in August.

In September, the ICAO Assembly requests that the ICAO Council urgently study aerial hijacking. Conventions on the unlawful seizure of aircraft and acts against the safety of civil aviation are subsequently adopted in December 1970 and September 1971, respectively (7 and 9), and a protocol concerning airport safety in February 1988.

1969

In July, a Japanese citizen threatened the US Ambassador to Japan with a knife.

In September, Marxist revolutionaries kidnap and kill the US Ambassador to Brazil.

1970

In April, Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) kidnap and kill the Federal Republic of Germany's Ambassador to Guatemala. Germany alleges that Guatemala violated its international obligation by not securing his release. In July, the Tupamaros terrorist group also kidnap and kill a Brazilian consul and a US advisor in Uruguay.

In response to increased violence against diplomats, the international community adopts a convention for internationally protected persons in December 1973 (11). Prompted by urban guerrilla activity in Central and South America, the Organization of American States also adopts a convention to prevent and punish acts of terrorism in February 1971 (36).

The hijacking of Japan Airlines and Swissair and aircraft in March and September, respectively, the simultaneous hijacking of four aircraft in Jordan in September, and Palestinian attacks on El Al passengers at Munich Airport in February provide further impetus for the adoption of the 1970 and 1971 aircraft safety conventions (7, 9). The hijackings also prompt the UN Security Council to appeal for the immediate release of hostages and for States to prevent further hijackings in September 1970 (142, SCR286). The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) defends the rights of Palestinians, and colonised peoples in Africa, to struggle for the liberation of their homeland in numerous declarations (see for example 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592). In January 1981, the OIC declares Holy Jihad on what it identifies as the Zionist occupation of land that is rightfully Palestinian (617). In January 1987, the OIC adopts a definition to delimit terrorism from just struggles for national liberation (639).

1971

In April, Croatian activists kill the Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden. In November, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) faction, Black September, assassinates Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi al Tall in Cairo, Egypt. There is an attempted assassination of the Jordanian Ambassador to the United Kingdom in December. These events further prompt the drafting of a 1973 Convention on internationally protected persons (11).

1972

In July, an Irish Republican Army (IRA) bomb attack kills 11 and injures 130 in Belfast, Ireland. Ten days later, three IRA car bombs explode in the village of Claudy, killing six people.

Black September kidnaps eleven Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games in September. Nine hostages and five terrorists are killed in the rescue mission. In October, the Council of Europe denounces these acts and calls for regional harmonisation of counter-terrorism measures and for members to ratify the existing international conventions against aerial terrorism (441). The Council reiterates these recommendations in numerous subsequent resolutions, later adding recommendations on coordinating the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators (447), rehabilitating victims of attacks (465, 468), upholding freedom of the media (455, 461, 468) and ensuring the rights of terrorist suspects, including in detention (461, 474). In 2002 and

subsequently, the Council draws attention to the need to respect human rights in the fight against terrorism (459, 460, 461).

Also in September, the International Criminal Police Organization stipulates that the taking of hostages is a crime, and calls on states to suppress hostage-taking (348).

In December, the UN General Assembly expresses grave concern over the increasing frequency of international terrorist attacks which imperil human life and fundamental freedoms. While affirming the rights of peoples to seek self-determination, it calls on governments to adopt domestic measures to eliminate terrorism (GAR3034, 59). A UN Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism examines the problem from 1973–79. In December 1979, the General Assembly recalls its earlier resolutions and adopts the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, urging States to cooperate in combating international terrorism by adopting various measures (GAR34/145, 61). The General Assembly reiterates the content of these resolutions annually thereafter, building a common pattern of responses to terrorism over time.

1973

In March, Black September assassinates the US Ambassador to Sudan and his deputy chief of mission in Saudi Arabia. In May, the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces kidnap the US Consul General in Mexico.

In May, the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces kidnap the US Consul General to Mexico.

Also in May, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe recommends that states criminalise all acts of terrorism, ratify international instruments relating to hijackings, and deny asylum to those responsible for terrorist acts. It calls for consistency in the application of the political offence exception under extradition and refugee law (442). In January 1974, the Assembly offers criteria for the political offence exception, including considerations of the danger posed to human life and liberty, whether innocent people are affected, and whether violence is used (443).

In August, the Israeli Defence Force intercepts an aircraft chartered by Iraqi Airways flying from Beirut, Lebanon to Baghdad, Iraq. In an effort to capture the head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Israel forces the plane to land at a military base. The UN Security Council condemns Israel for violating Lebanon's sovereignty (SCR337, 143).

In December, unidentified terrorists attack the terminal lounge at Rome airport by taking weapons from their luggage. They then attack a Pan American aircraft bound for Beirut and Tehran, killing 29 persons, before taking hostages and flying to Beirut, Athens (where a hostage is killed to compel the Greek Government to release two convicted terrorists), Damascus and Kuwait, where the terrorists release their hostages in return for passage to an unknown destination. No group claims responsibility for the attack, and the Palestine Liberation Organization condemns it. Also in December, Basque separatists from the ETA organisation in Spain assassinate Spanish Prime Minister Luis Carrero-Blanco, an ally of Spanish dictator General Francisco Franco, in Madrid.

1974

At a June conference of Foreign Ministers, the Organization of the Islamic Conference declares its support for national liberation movements in colonies still under Portuguese control, including through armed struggles (595). At the same conference, the Organization expresses its support for the liberation movement of the Palestinian people, recognising the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people (596). Subsequently, it reiterates its support for Palestinian liberation struggles in numerous resolutions, including in May 1976 (601), January 1984 (629) and January 1987 (634). In June 1981, the Organization expresses its particular disapproval of increasing Israeli intervention in the Palestinian Occupied Territories (619, 620, 621, 622, 623). In January 1981, the Organization declares jihad on Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories (617). In August, the US Ambassador to Cyprus is assassinated by snipers outside the US embassy in Nicosia, Cyprus, during a demonstration.

1975

In January, an explosion in a Wall Street bar kills four people and injured 60 others. A Puerto Rican nationalist group claims responsibility. Two days later, a bomb explodes in the bathrooms of the US Department of State. Weather Underground claims responsibility.

In July, the Organization of the Islamic Conference expresses broad support for national liberation movements in Africa (598). During the same conference, it notes its particular condemnation of racial segregation in southern African states including South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia,

and its support for national liberation struggles (598). It reiterates the content of this resolution, including its support for armed struggles, in May 1976 (602), May 1977 (605), May 1979 (610), August 1982 (625, 626) and January 1987 (637). In January 1987, the Organization resolves that there is a distinction between legitimate self-determination movements and terrorism (639). In March 1988, it calls for a conference under the auspices of the UN to establish an internationally accepted distinction between terrorism and national liberation struggles (640). It reiterates this proposal in December 1994 (646) and March 1998 (658).

1976

In June, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Baader-Meinhof Group hijack an Air France flight and redirect it to Entebbe, Uganda. One week later, on 4 July, Israel uses military force on Ugandan territory to rescue the hostages. In December, the international community responds to the increase in hostage taking by adopting the *International Convention against the Taking of Hostages* 1979 (14).

At a summit in August, the Non-Aligned Movement expresses its ongoing support for national liberation movements (538). In the same summit, the Movement pays tribute to 'martyrs' in Palestine, Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (539).

An exiled former Chilean Foreign Minister is killed by a car-bomb in Washington in September.

1977

The Baader Meinhof Group attack the German embassy in Sweden in April, kidnap and kill the president of the German Employers' Association in September, and hijack a Lufthansa aircraft in October. These incidents provide further impetus for the 1977 Council of Europe Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, opened for signature in January (37).

In June, two Protocols are added to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 prohibiting acts in armed conflict which are intended to spread terror among civilian populations, the taking of hostages and acts of terrorism (12, 13).

1978

In May, the Red Brigade abducts former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro. He is killed 55 days later.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe issues a declaration on terrorism in November in response to acts of terrorism in some

of its member states. It reaffirms its commitment to combating terrorism of all forms and emphasises the role of the Council in fostering regional cooperation (444). The Assembly reiterates the substance of the declaration in February 1979 (445). In October 1981, November 1982 (448) and January 2004 (463), the Assembly identifies terrorism as a threat to the institutions of pluralistic democracies,

1979

Smaller European States seek to strengthen judicial cooperation under the 1977 Convention by adopting an agreement on extradition, differences in national laws, and national policy and practice (38).

In February, four Afghans kidnap the US ambassador, demanding the release of various religious figures. The ambassador and his captors are later killed in an Afghan police rescue attempt. In September, the International Criminal Police Organization expresses concern at the escalating violence committed by organised groups and calls on states to suppress hostage-taking, murder, unlawful interference with civil aviation and bombing (349).

In November, religious revolutionaries in Iran take 66 American diplomats hostage when they seize the US embassy in Tehran, Iran. In December, the UN Security Council responds by urgently calling for the protection of US hostages by Iran (SCR457, 144 and SCR461, 145). Thirteen hostages are released quickly, but the remaining 53 were held until January 1981. In December 1979, in proceedings brought by the United States against Iran, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) issued provisional measures requesting Iran to return the embassy to US possession, release the hostages, and respect international law concerning diplomats. A US military operation inside Iran to rescue the hostages in April 1980 was unsuccessful. In its merits decision of May 1980, the ICJ found that Iran had violated various international obligations owed to the United States and bore responsibility for those wrongs.

Also in November, 200 Islamic terrorists seize the Grand Mosque in Mecca, taking hundreds of pilgrims hostage. Saudi and French forces break the siege two weeks later. Two hundred and fifty people are killed and 600 are wounded.

1980

In response to growing concerns about the potential unlawful use of nuclear materials intended for peaceful purposes, a Convention

on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material is concluded in March (15) to regulate the storage and transport of such materials. Further regulations for the protection of nuclear facilities and the prevention of sabotage are added in July 2005 (16). In September 1994, the International Atomic Energy Agency identifies states as having primary responsibility for safeguarding nuclear material, and calls on them to increase the security of the nuclear material under their control (329).

A bomb attack at the Munich Oktoberfest kills 13 people and injures 200.

1981

In August, a bomb explodes at the US Air Force Base in Ramstein, West Germany. The Red Army claim responsibility.

In October, the Takfir Wal-Hajira sect assassinates Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, as he is conducting a troop review.

In November, the International Criminal Police Organization encourages states to consider tagging explosives and share information regarding research and development in this field (350).

In December, members of the right-wing National Guard kill three American nuns and one lay missionary working in San Salvador, El Salvador.

1982

In August, in response to the increasing frequency of aircraft hijackings, Foreign Ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference express their condemnation of hijackings and encourage compliance with international conventions on aircraft security (627). Reiterating the content of this resolution in December 1983 and December 1984, they urge states to refrain from instigating or assisting hijackings (628, 632).

In September, the Lebanese President, Bashir Gemayel, is killed when a car bomb explodes outside his party's headquarters in Beirut.

1983

In April, a suicide truck-bomb attack on the US embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, kills 63 people and injures 120 more. The Islamic Jihad claims responsibility for the attack. In October, simultaneous suicide truck bomb attacks on American and French marine barracks in Beirut kill 241 US and 58 French military personnel, who were deployed on a UN peacekeeping mission in Lebanon's civil war after Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. A US Grand Jury indicted Imad Mughniyah in 1985 for planning the operation; he was never arrested and died in a car bomb in Syria in 2008. In a civil suit brought in the US

District Court for the District of Columbia under the *Foreign States Immunities Act* (US), in 2007 a US judge found that Iran was responsible for supporting Hezbollah to carry out the attack on the US barracks and awarded over US\$2.6 billion to the victims.

Also in April, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) kidnaps and holds for ransom a US citizen. The following month, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front assassinates a US Naval Officer in El Salvador.

In May, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front assassinates a US Navy officer in El Salvador.

In October, North Korean agents attack a South Korean delegation in Rangoon, Burma.

In response to such instances, in October, the International Criminal Police Organization resolves to define its stance on violent crimes which are commonly labelled 'terrorist acts' (351). In September 1984, it resolves that the principle of sovereignty means that the political character of an offence can only be determined according to domestic law, but that states should cooperate in combating terrorism (352).

In November, the November 17 group shoots a US Navy Officer in Athens, Greece, while his car is stopped at traffic lights.

Also in November, the International Maritime Organization calls on states to take all possible measures to prevent acts of piracy and armed robbery against ships (361).

1984

In March, an American political officer in Beirut, Lebanon, is kidnapped and subsequently tortured and killed. The Islamic Jihad claims responsibility for the abduction. Over the following two years, a number of American citizens not connected with the American Government are also abducted.

In April, a bomb explosion in a restaurant near a US Air Force Base in Torrejon, Spain, kills 18 servicemen and injures 83 people.

In May, Sikh terrorists attack the Golden Temple in Amritsar, India. Indian forces retake the shrine in June during a Sikh festival there and hundreds of people are killed in the operation.

In September, Islamic Jihad kidnaps and kills a US embassy officer in Beirut, Lebanon.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is assassinated by two members of her own security force in October. The assassins acted in response to the Indian military operation against the Sikh separatists occupying the Golden Temple. In

anti-Sikh riots which followed the assassination, approximately 5,000 people are killed across India.

Also in October, the Provisional Irish Republican Army bombed a hotel in Brighton, England, during the Conservative Party conference, killing five people and intending to assassinate British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

In November, a passer-by is killed when a bomb explodes outside the US embassy in Bogota, Colombia. The attack followed death threats against US officials by drug traffickers.

In December, the General Assembly passes a GAR39/159 condemning State terrorism in all its forms (64).

1985

An American Drug Enforcement Administration agent and his pilot are kidnapped, tortured and executed in Mexico in February. The abduction appears to occur under the orders of Rafael Caro Quintero, a notorious drug trafficker.

In March, 80 people die when a car bomb explodes near the home of Hezbollah's spiritual leader in Beirut, Lebanon.

In April, a bomb explodes in a restaurant near Madrid, Spain. Eighteen people are killed and 82 wounded.

In May, Sikh terrorists detonate over a dozen bombs in New Delhi, killing 85 people. Also in May, Tamil separatists kill over 150 people when they attack the Buddhist shrine of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. In June, two Sikh groups and a Kashmir separatist group claim responsibility for bombing an Air India flight travelling over the Atlantic, which kills all 329 passengers. In the same month, a bomb explodes in the baggage handling area of Tokyo's airport, killing two cargo handlers. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) acknowledges the threat of terrorism to regional security during its Dhaka Summit in December.

In June, 13 people are killed in a machine gun attack at an outdoor cafe in San Salvador, El Salvador. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front claims responsibility for the attack.

In June, Hezbollah terrorists hijack a Trans-World Airlines flight en route from Rome to Athens. One American sailor is killed, and the remaining hostages are released 17 days later, after Israel releases Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners. In August, the Arab Revolutionary Organization, a Red Army Faction and the Peace Conquerors bomb Frankfurt airport, leaving four dead and 60

injured. In December, the Abu Nidal Organization attacks the El Al and Trans-World Airlines counters at airports in Rome, Italy and Vienna, Austria. In November, the Abu Nidal Group hijacks an EgyptAir plane travelling from Athens to Malta. The international community responds to these events (as well as the attacks on Air India flights and ground facilities) with a protocol against violence at airports in November 1988 (10). In October, the International Criminal Police Organization also resolves to treat preventing unlawful interference with civil aviation a higher priority (354).

In July, the Organization of the Oppressed, Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims, and Black September, bomb the British Airways and Royal Jordanian Airlines office offices in Madrid, Spain. Islamic Jihad also bomb Northwest Orient Airlines in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Also in July, French security agents detonate mines and sink the Greenpeace vessel, *Rainbow Warrior*, in Auckland harbour, New Zealand, killing a photographer on board. The French operation aimed to thwart Greenpeace protests against French nuclear testing in the French Polynesian atoll of Moruroa in the Pacific Ocean. Two French agents pleaded guilty to manslaughter and served two years of their ten year sentences. The French Defence Minister was forced to resign. The attack was apparently authorised by the French President, François Mitterand.

Sunni terrorists kidnap four Soviet diplomats in Beirut in September. One of the hostages was killed; the other three were released.

In October, the Palestinian Liberation Front hijacks the cruise liner the *Achille Lauro* in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. Over 700 people are taken hostage. One American passenger is murdered. The Egyptian Government offers the hijackers safe haven in return for the release of the remaining hostages. In response to the hijacking, the international community adopts two conventions on maritime terrorism in February and March 1988 (18, 20). In August, a car-bomb at an American military base in Frankfurt, West Germany kills two people and injures 20 others. The body of an American soldier who had been killed for his identity papers is found the following day.

The UN Security Council expresses concern in SCR579 in December (146) about hostage-taking and abductions. This is prompted by the Red Army Faction killing a West German industrialist

in February; Islamic Jihad kidnapping a senior journalist and senior academic in Beirut in May; the Islamic Liberation Organization abducting three Soviet diplomats and the Soviet embassy doctor in September; the Pedro Pablo Castillo Front kidnapping the President of El Salvador's daughter in September; the 19th of April Group kidnapping an American oil company executive in Colombia and seizing the Palace of Justice, killing 90 people including 12 Supreme Court judges, in November; and the People's Liberation Army kidnapping two American engineers in Colombia. In December, in response to the escalation of acts of terrorism, the UN General Assembly recognises such acts as criminal (GAR40/61, 65). Also in December, the Organization of American States (OAS) issues a resolution reiterating the criminality of terrorist acts (554), the content of which it reiterates with a declaration to eliminate terrorism in June 1996 and subsequent declarations (561, 562, 565, 567). In the 2000s, the OAS calls for fortified border controls and extradition procedures which will deny safe haven to perpetrators of terrorist acts (583, 585).

1986

In January, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe responds to the simultaneous attacks on Rome and Vienna the preceding month, denouncing the violence but emphasising that counter-terrorism measures must be consistent with fundamental human rights guarantees (450). In September, the Assembly invites its members to impose sanctions against any state aiding or abetting terrorism (451).

In March, a Palestinian splinter group detonated an explosive on a Trans-World Airlines Flight as it approaches Athens airport. Four people are killed. In April, two American servicemen are killed and 79 others injured by an explosion in a nightclub in West Berlin, West Germany. The attack was attributed to the Libyan Government. In retaliation, the US launches an operation against military targets in Tripoli and Benghazi, Libya, killing 60 Libyans. In December 1996 and November 2000, the Organization for the Islamic Conference condemns the US' sanctions and use of force against Libya and emphasises that Libya has denounced terrorism (649, 650, 651, 663).

In May, Tamil separatists bomb an Air Lanka flight. Following the rise in violence in South Asia, SAARC makes an anti-terrorist declaration at the November Bangalore Summit. In November 1987, SAARC adopts its *Regional Convention on*

the Suppression of Terrorism 1987 (40).

In September, an explosive device is detonated at Seoul's Kimpo airport. Five people are killed and 29 injured. Responsibility is attributed to North Korean agents.

At a summit in November, the Heads of Government of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) unequivocally condemn terrorism in all its forms, emphasising that states have a responsibility not to instigate or assist terrorist or acts of civil strife within other states' borders (724).

1987

At a summit in January, the Organization of the Islamic Conference describes Israel's intervention in Al-Quds Al-Sharif (Jerusalem) as 'terrorism' because it relied on a 'scorched earth' policy (635). It also describes Israel's occupation of Lebanese territory as a terrorist practice (636). In the same month, the Organization passes a resolution condemning the infliction of terror on innocent people, as well as the linking of terrorism and Islam. It states that all forms of terrorism are inimical to the teachings of Islam (638). It reiterates this principle in a declaration in December 1994 (644).

In April, November 17 detonate a bomb on a Greek Air Force bus near Athens, Greece. Sixteen US servicemen are killed.

In May, a Fijian Indian attempting to procure the release the elected Prime Minister of Fiji, following a military coup, attempts to hijack an Air New Zealand flight at the airport in Fiji. In the same month, the Pacific Islands Forum responds by describing terrorism as a grave regional threat (712). In response to ongoing terrorist threats in the 2000s, the Forum calls on members to implement counter-terrorism measures including national legislation to prevent and punish drug and weapons trafficking (715).

North Korean agents bomb a Korean Airlines flight in November. The aircraft crashes into the Indian Ocean.

In December, a bomb explodes in a bar frequented by American servicemen in Barcelona, Spain. One soldier is killed. A Catalan separatist group claims responsibility.

1988

In January 1992, in SCR731, the UN Security Council deplores Libya for not cooperating to establish responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing or the September 1989 Union de Transports Aériens attack, despite Libyan officials being

implicated in the attacks (151).

In February, a US Lieutenant is kidnapped and executed by Hezbollah while serving with the UN Truce Supervisory Organization in southern Lebanon. In July, the UN Security Council condemns his abduction and demands his release (SCR618, 147), but he is subsequently executed.

In April, Hezbollah hijacks a Kuwait Airways flight and forces it to land in Iran, Cyprus and Algeria.

In the same month, an American sailor is killed when a car-bomb explodes outside a club in Naples, Italy. The Organization of Jihad Brigades claims responsibility.

A US Diplomat is killed by a car-bomb which explodes outside his house in Athens, Greece, in June.

In August 1998, the UN Security Council welcomes initiatives to establish a Scottish Court in the Netherlands, and calls for Libya to ensure the availability of the accused, witnesses and evidence (SCR1192, 160). In January 1999, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands reach an agreement establish a special court in the Netherlands to try the suspects under Scots law (26).

In December, the bombing of transatlantic Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland kills all 259 passengers and 11 people on the ground.

1989

In April, the New People's Army assassinate an American colonel in Manila, the Philippines. In September, the group also kills two US government defence contractors.

The Lockerbie and Union de Transports Aériens incidents further prompt the UN Security Council, in June, to condemn all acts of unlawful interference with civilian aircraft, and express concern about the ease of using plastic explosives (SCR635, 148). In March 1991, the international community resolves to prohibit and prevent the manufacture and movement of unmarked explosives in a new treaty (22).

Libyan agents bomb a Union de Transports Aériens Flight over the Sahara Desert in Niger in September. In January 1992, the UN Security Council passes SCR731 in response to this attack and the December 1988 Lockerbie incident (151).

When Libya fails to cooperate, the Council passes SCR748 in March 1992 to place aircraft, military, diplomatic and travel sanctions on Libya (152). In April 1993, the Organization of the Islamic Conference condemns any action against Libya,

while affirming its condemnation of all forms of terrorism (643). In November 1993, after 20 months of non-compliance, the UN Security Council passes another resolution, SCR883, closing all Libyan Arab Airline offices and prohibiting commercial transaction with them, further reducing diplomatic staff at missions, and freezing funds directly or indirectly controlled by the Libyan government and public authorities (excluding petroleum and its products) (153). The UN Security Council eventually lifts the sanctions in September 2003 (SCR1506, 189), after Libya agrees to compensate victims of the Lockerbie incident.

In response to such instances of unlawful interference with civil aviation, the International Civil Aviation Organization condemns all such acts of interference, exhorts states to increase their efforts to suppress such acts, and urgently calls on states to accelerate research into the marking of explosives for the purposes of detection (337).

In November, the UN Security Council issues a Presidential Statement condemning the assassination of René Moawad, the President of the Lebanese Republic (229).

Also in November, the Red Army assassinates the chairman of Deutschebank in Frankfurt.

1990

The Tupac Amaru Revolutionaru Movement bomb the US embassy in Lima, Peru in January.

In May, members of the New People's Army assassinate two US Air Force personnel near Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines.

In June 1990, in response to an increase in terrorism, the Organization of American States condemned the use of violence by irregular armed forces, asserting that such violence violated not only individual human rights but also general economic progress and democratic development (555).

In July, SAARC condemns the exploitation of children by terrorist groups (725) and affirms the criminality of all forms of terrorism (726, 727, 728). In February 2009, Foreign Ministers of SAARC member states declare that there is an imperative to increase regional cooperation in combating terrorism, especially in light of ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka (731).

1991

In January, Iraqi agents plant bombs at the home of the US Ambassador to Indonesia and at the United States Information Service Library in Manila, the Philippines.

In February, Red Army agents fire rifles across the Rhine towards the US embassy in Bonn, Germany. There are no casualties or injuries.

Member States report that Iraq has attempted to acquire nuclear material. In April, in SCR687, the UN Security Council expresses its concern and invites Iraq to reaffirm its international obligations (150).

In May, former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated in Tamil Nadu during an election campaign by an LTTE (Tamil Tiger) suicide bomber. According to a judgment by the Supreme Court of India, the attack came in response to Gandhi's sending of an Indian peacekeeping force to Sri Lanka during the civil war in 1987–90 and alleged violence by those forces against Tamils.

1992

In January, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees releases a handbook for determining refugee status. It outlines how states should deal with asylum seekers who have allegedly committed serious crimes, including aircraft hijacking and other violent and/or terrorist offences (309).

Also in January, an American businessman is kidnapped by the Red Scorpion Group in Manila, the Philippines.

Within a couple of days, two businessmen are abducted in Colombia by the National Liberation Army and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), which kidnaps three US missionaries before the end of the month.

Hezbollah bombs the Israeli embassy in Argentina in March. The blast killed 29 people and injured 242 more.

1993

Throughout this year, 202 UN military personnel are killed around the world. Attacks include the kidnapping of three French diplomats in Algeria by an armed Islamic group in October. Concern over the increase in attacks against UN and associated personnel provide the impetus for a UN Safety Convention in December 1994 (23).

In January, members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) kidnap three American missionaries.

Islamic extremists detonate a bomb in an underground car park of the World Trade Centre in New York City in February. Six people are killed and over 1000 are injured. Those responsible for the attack are followers of an Egyptian cleric preaching in New York. The main plotter of the

attack is tried and convicted. In June, authorities foil a plan to bomb the UN headquarters and a number of underwater tunnels in New York, plotted by Islamic extremists.

In March, 13 coordinated bombings in Mumbai, India, killed over 250 people and injured more than 1,400. The criminals held responsible had received training in Pakistan and the bombings were apparently in retaliation against the destruction of the Babri Mosque at Ayodhya in December 1992 by Hindu extremists, which itself resulted in the deaths of 2,000 people in ensuing riots.

In April, Iraqi intelligence service operatives attempt to assassinate American President, George H W Bush, during a visit to Kuwait. In response, two months later the United States launched a cruise missile attack on Baghdad, Iraq.

In May, the President of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa, is killed in Colombo by an LTTE suicide bomber. Numerous other senior political leaders were killed by the LTTE during the Sri Lankan civil war from 1983–2009.

In August, the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities expresses deep concern over the impact of terrorism on the enjoyment of fundamental human rights, territorial integrity and democracy (291).

In October, Nigerian dissidents hijack a Nigerian Airways flight.

In December, the UN General Assembly identifies terrorism as a serious threat to human rights and fundamental freedoms and reminds States of their obligation to promote and protect human rights (GAR48/122, 72). The General Assembly reiterates the content of this resolution annually.

1994

In February, a Jewish right-wing extremist opens fire on Muslim worshippers at a mosque in Hebron, West Bank. Twenty-nine people are killed and over 150 injured.

In July, a Hezbollah suicide bomber attacks a Jewish community centre in Buenos Aires, killing 85 people and wounding 240, and the Israeli embassy in London is bombed. In a Presidential Statement in the same month, the UN Security Council condemns the attacks and emphasises the need for international cooperation in combating terrorism (230).

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) kidnap and subsequently released an American citizen in September.

In December, a bomb explodes on a Philippine

Airlines flight en route to Japan. The aircraft makes an emergency landing in Okinawa and only one passenger is killed. The Abu Sayyef network claims responsibility for the attack.

In the same month, members of the Armed Islamic Group hijack an Air France flight bound for Algeria. The four hijackers are killed during the rescue mission.

Also in December, the UN General Assembly passes a Declaration on measures to eliminate international terrorism (GAR49/60, 73). It affirms its unequivocal condemnation of all forms of terrorism, calls on States to refrain from supporting or tolerating terrorism, and implores States to cooperate more closely. The Declaration is affirmed in numerous subsequent resolutions. The Organization of the Islamic Conference announces that it is preparing a Code of Conduct for combating international terrorism (647) and measures to combat aircraft hijacking (648).

1995

In January, Islamic Jihad suicide bombers attack a bus stop at Nordiya, Israel. In a Presidential Statement in November, the UN Security Council condemns the attack, notes that its purpose was to undermine Middle East peace efforts, and reiterates the need for dialogue, respect and tolerance (231).

In March, two gunmen killed two US diplomats and kill another in Karachi, Pakistan. The gunmen are never identified and no group claims responsibility. In July, six foreigners were taken hostage by a Kashmiri separatist group, Al-Faran, in India.

In the same month, a sarin nerve gas attack on a Tokyo subway station kills 12 people and injures 5700 more. The attack, and a near-simultaneous attack in the Yokohama subway system, are attributed to the Aum Shinri-kyu cult.

In April, two right-wing extremists detonate a truck bomb outside the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people and injuring hundreds more. The attack is the biggest to-date on American soil. One of the attackers is reported to have ties to the Abu Sayyef group in the Philippines.

At the Organization of African Unity summit in June in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya attempts to assassinate the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak. Sudan refuses to extradite three suspects. In January 1996, the UN Security Council calls on Sudan to extradite three suspects sheltering in Sudan, and desist

from facilitating terrorist activity (SCR1044, 154). Sudan does not comply. In April 1996, the UN Security Council imposes diplomatic and travel sanctions on Sudan (SCR1054, 155). After continued non-compliance from Sudan, the UN Security Council passes SCR1070 in August 1996, imposing aircraft sanctions on Sudan (157). In August, a bomb explodes in Jerusalem, killing six and injuring over 100 people. Hamas claims responsibility for the attack.

In September, apparently in retaliation for US strikes against Serbian strongholds in Bosnia, a rocket-propelled grenade is fired through the window of the US embassy in Moscow.

Also in September, the Permanent Mechanism for Consultation and Policy Coordination (the Rio Group) expresses its continuing condemnation for terrorism in all forms, and welcomes the convening of the Inter-American Specialized Conference on Terrorism (717).

In November, the International Criminal Police Organization identifies combating terrorist financing as a priority. It calls on states to refrain from financing any form of terrorism, to ratify the major instruments relating to terrorist bombings and terrorist financing, and to more actively suppress terrorist financing within their own borders (355).

In November, a bomb explodes at a military installation in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Over 40 people are killed and 60 are wounded. The Islamic Movement for Change claims responsibility for the attack.

In the same month, the Tigers of the Gulf, the Islamist Movement for Change, and Fighting Advocates of God all claim responsibility for a car-bomb explosion in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia which kills seven people.

Less than a week later, a suicide bomber drives a vehicle into the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan. At least 16 people are killed and 60 wounded. Three militant Islamist groups claim responsibility for the attack.

Also in November, an Orthodox Jewish extremist assassinates Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Tel Aviv, motivated by Rabin's support for the 1993 Oslo Accords and peace process.

In response to increasing domestic terrorism (including in the US, Japan, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan) and the emerging terrorist threat of chemical and other non-conventional weapons, the Group of 8 pledges in December to increase cooperation in exchanging information and

suppressing terrorist financing (379). In November, the British Commonwealth similarly condemns all forms of terrorism (429), reiterated in numerous subsequent statements (see 430–438). These statements single out state-sponsored terrorism and money laundering as causes for concern, and call for the conclusion of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

1996

In January, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) drive a truck carrying explosives into the Central Bank in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Ninety people are killed and more than 1400 wounded.

In the same month, 200 members of the Free Papua Movement abduct 26 people in the Lorenta nature reserve in the Irian Jaya province. The guerrillas kill 17 of the hostages. Indonesian Special Forces rescue the remaining nine hostages in May.

Also in January, members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) kidnap an American citizen and demand a ransom of \$1 million. The hostage is released in May. In February, six people suspected of belonging to the National Liberation Army (ELN) in Colombia also kidnap an American citizen, who is released nine months later. In December, FARC captures and kill an American geologist. In February 1997, Colombian guerrillas kidnap a US engineer and his Venezuelan pilot in Apure, Venezuela. The Venezuelan authorities attribute the kidnapping to FARC. Further kidnappings by FARC and the ELN occur in February, March and October 1997; March, August and December 1998; February, March and May 1999; and June 2000. In the October 1997 incident, the hostages are two foreign members of the Organization of American States, and the kidnappers state that their intention is to reveal that the Colombian elections are a 'farce'. In the March 1998 episode, one of the hostages taken is the acting president of the Colombian National Electoral Council. In August 1998 alone, FARC/ELN abductions are responsible for the deaths of 126 people.

In January, the Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum condemns, and calls for international cooperation in combating, all forms of terrorism (401). In subsequent resolutions, the Forum reaffirms its condemnation and emphasises that counter-terrorism measures should be consistent with human rights (402–405). In January 2003, following terrorist attacks in the US (September 2001), Bali (October 2002), the Philippines (October 2002) and Russia (October 2002), the

Forum calls on its members to ratify international conventions relating to terrorism and continue their commitment to suppressing terrorism (406–408).

In February, the Cuban Air Force shoots down two civilian aircraft. In July, the UN Security Council notes that Cuba violated its international obligations by using weapons against civil aircraft in flight (SCR1067, 156).

Also in February, unidentified attackers suspected of belonging to the November 17 group fire a rocket at the US embassy in Athens, Greece. In the same month, the Irish Republican Army detonates a bomb in London, killing two people and wounding more than 100 others.

In the same month, a suicide bomber detonates his explosives on a bus in Jerusalem, killing 26 people and injuring 80 others. Hamas claims responsibility for the attack. In March, a bomb explodes outside Tel Aviv's largest shopping mall, killing 20 people and injuring 75 more. Hamas and the Palestine Islamic Jihad both claim responsibility. These attacks prompt the UN Security Council to condemn the attacks and reiterate its support for the Middle East peace process (232). In May, unidentified Arab gunmen suspected of belonging to Hamas open fire on a group of students near the Bet El Jewish settlement in the West Bank. One American is killed and three Israelis are wounded. In May, a gang of former Contra rebels in Nicaragua kidnap an American employee of the Agency for International Development who is helping prepare for elections in the country's north. Members of the international mission who worked with the woman intervened and she was released the following day.

In June, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) detonates a truck bomb at a shopping centre in Manchester, causing extensive property damage and killing 206 persons.

In June, 19 US military personnel are killed and over 515 people are injured when a bomb aboard a fuel truck explodes outside a US air force installation in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. This prompts the US to propose a new international treaty on terrorist bombings. Incidents such as the first Palestinian suicide attack (July 1989), the New York City World Trade Centre bombing (February 1993), the Tokyo poison gas attack (March 1995), the Colombo Central Bank bombing (January 1996), and the IRA Manchester bombings (June 1996) reinforce this need.

Also in June, two people are killed when gunmen

open fire on a car in Zekharya, Israel. The attackers are unidentified but are suspected to belong to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

In July, a pipe bomb explodes during the Olympic Games in Atlanta. One person is killed and 111 more are injured.

In the same month, an explosive is detonated in the Tarragona International Airport in Reus, Spain. Thirty-five people are injured. The Basque fatherland ad Liberty organisation is suspected of conducting the attack.

In August, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) kidnap six missionaries, releasing them 11 days later. Two months later, a splinter group of the SPLA kidnap three workers of the International Committee of the Red Cross, whom they release after several weeks.

Also in August, unidentified militants suspected of belonging to the Algerian Armed Islamic Group detonate a bomb outside the home of the French Archbishop of Oran. The Archbishop and his chauffeur are killed.

In September, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in Iraq kidnap four French humanitarian workers, an official of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and two Iraqi civilians.

In October, unidentified assailants assassinate a South Korean consul near his home in Vladivostok, Russia. South Korean authorities accused North Korean agents of conducting the attack, but North Korean authorities denied any involvement.

In response to these events, the UN General Assembly establishes an Ad Hoc Committee to draft conventions on nuclear terrorism and terrorist bombings. The Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings is adopted in November 1997 (25). Apprehension regarding unaccounted post-cold war nuclear material in former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics further prompts the Convention on Nuclear Terrorism, adopted in April 2005 (29). The mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee expands to include the drafting of a convention against terrorist financing, adopted in December 1999 (27).

In December, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement takes several hundred people, mostly diplomats, hostage at an event at the Japanese embassy in Lima, Peru, releasing most of them promptly but holding 81 Peruvian and Japanese citizens for several months.

Also in December, a bomb explosion on a Paris subway train kills four people and injures 86 more. Algerian extremists are suspected of carrying out