

United Nations Security Council & Terrorism Dataset (UNSC-TDS)

Codebook, version 1.0 (1 December 2013)

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1. Introduction to the UNSC-TDS

While studying the evolution of the UN Security Council's activity on terrorism for the research project "Theory of International Organizations and the United Nations Security Council", a substantial research gap was noticed that hampered the project's intended analysis of the Council's related practice. To address the lack of reliable, comprehensive, and coherent data on the Council's activity on terrorism, a new dataset was created using available secondary sources and conducting primary research in United Nations documents.

For more details on these gaps, see [DRAFT PAPER submitted do "Terrorism and Political Violence", pp. x-x]

Primary research commenced in the fall of 2011 and was concluded in early 2013. A MS Access database was used by the research team for internal use to facilitate and standardize the entry of data, the discussion of ambiguous cases, and the filtering of data. The resulting individual datasets were exported to MS Excel for publication as the UNSC-TDS (MS Excel file).

For illustrative purposes, see figure1 below, which depicts the internal data entry form, figure 2 below, which depicts the internal data report of all individual datasets, and figure 3 below, which beginning of the list of individual datasets that comprise the United Nations Security Council & Terrorism Dataset (UNSC-TDS).

Figure 1: Internal data entry form (MS Access) for the research team

Database Menu UNSC-TDS

UNSC Activity on Terrorism (chronological order)

Items to identify the UNSC's relevant activity

Date: 1-Aug-1947 UN Document #: S/RES/27 Auto ID # (UNSC-TDS): 391

Title: [NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution] in official UN CT lists? n (as of 2012)

Items to measure the UNSC's relevant activity

Formal Type: RES (VI) Terrorism Reference: implicit (debate) Substantive Bias against: counterterrorism

Basic Type: decision Substantive Focus: other Net Effect on CT Mandate: dismissed

Items to measure the context of the UNSC's relevant activity

Agenda: Indonesian Question Regional Focus: Asia

Addressee(s): Indonesia, Netherlands CT Sub-organ(s):

Press Release (if any/known): Meeting Record (if any): S/PV.173 Decision taken by: pos. vote 08-00-03

Summary of Content and Context Text of (non)decision Details on Membership and Voting Links to Primary Sources and References to Secondary Sources

Key Words: domestic terrorism, colonial war, guerilla/insurgency, national law enforcement, national military CT

Summary of (non)decision's content: 1) identification direction; 2) initiation, sponsors, explanations of vote; 3) background; 4) previous, subsequent action

1) implicit dismissive decision because it set limits to certain counterterrorism claims (those across de facto borders) by calling on the parties to cease hostilities and to settle their disputes by peaceful means and dismissing terrorism as a multilateral issue; 2) Indonesian Question was taken up again at request of Australia and India because large-scale fighting had broken out between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia; the adopted Australian draft resolution got a few amendments and was adopted in parts but its relevant parts were adopted by votes of 8 against 0 with 3 abstentions; the European colonial powers, Belgium, France and the United Kingdom, abstained; 3) colonial powers generally remained reluctant to discuss situations in their colonies within the UNSC [cf. French vetoes on Syrian-Lebanese Complaint on 16 Feb 1946, S/PV.23 (7-1-1 UK did not participate), and Indonesia on 25 Aug 1947, S/PV.194 (7-2-2)] because they were cautious about the possible precedent set by this decision concerning sovereignty and intervention in domestic affairs; however, the situation in Indonesia had changed since 1946 (S/PV.171) because the Netherlands had accepted the Rep. of Indonesia as the de facto government of large parts of Java and Sumatra (Linggadjati Agreement of March 1947); now most members challenged the Dutch claim that ist military operations constituted only a "police action" aiming at reestablishing law and order against the backdrop of violence by nationalist extremist terrorists and the inability of the Rep. of Indonesia to stop such violence; obviously the Dutch references to terrorism and police action aimed at characterizing the situation as a domestic affair of limited implications, but most members contented that the situation was different because it involved large scale military fighting between two governments that recognized each other (some spoke of colonial war, S/PV.171-173); 4) followed earlier debates on Indonesia since Feb. 1946; was followed by similar debates and decisions, see S/RES/32, etc.]

Figure 2: The UNSC-TDS as a data report (MS Access)

UN Security Council and Terrorism Dataset: List of Relevant UNSC Activity (1946-2012); Author: Christian Dorsch, University of Bamberg, Germany.												
Date	UN Doc. #	Formal Types	Identification	Focus	Text biased against	CT Mandate	Decision Making	Meeting Rec.	Region	Summary Note		
1-Aug-1947	S/RES/27	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	08-00-03	S/PV.173	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
26-Aug-1947	S/RES/32	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	10-00-01	S/PV.195	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
1-Nov-1947	S/RES/36	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	07-01-03	S/PV.219	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
1-Apr-1948	S/RES/43	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.277	Middle East	[Israel-Palestine: CT responsibility; resolution]
17-Apr-1948	S/RES/46	RES (VI)	decision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.283	Middle East	[Israel-Palestine: CT responsibility; resolution]
29-Jul-1948	S/RES/55	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.342	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
19-Aug-1948	S/RES/56	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	07-00-04	S/PV.354	Middle East	[Israel-Arab States: CT responsibility; resolut.]
18-Sep-1948	S/RES/57	RES (VI)	decision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	consensus		S/PV.358	Middle East	[Israel-Palestine: CT responsibility; resolution]
19-Oct-1948	S/RES/59	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.367	Middle East	[Israel-Arab States: CT responsibility; resolut.]
28-Jan-1949	S/RES/67	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	07-00-04	S/PV.406	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
13-Dec-1949	S/1433	draft (VI)	nondecision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	neg. vote	02-09-00	S/PV.456	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: state terrorism; rej. draft res.]
31-Aug-1950	S/1746/Rev.1	draft (VI)	nondecision	explicit	terrorism	terrorism	dismissed	neg. vote	02-09-00	S/PV.493	Europe	[Greece: state terrorism; rej. draft res.]
24-Nov-1953	S/RES/101	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.642	Middle East	[Israel-Jordan: military CT; resolution]
12-May-1954	S/3209	draft (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	other fail.		S/PV.671	Middle East	[Israel-Jordan: CT responsibility; fail. draft r.]
29-Mar-1955	S/RES/106	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.695	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
30-Mar-1955	S/RES/107	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.696	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
8-Sep-1955	S/RES/108	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.700	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
19-Jan-1956	S/RES/111	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.715	Middle East	[Israel-Syria: military CT; resolution]
4-Apr-1956	S/RES/113	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.722	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
4-Jun-1956	S/RES/114	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.728	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
25-Oct-1956	S/PV.745	prop. (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	other fail.		S/PV.745	Middle East	[Israel-Jordan: military CT; failed proposal]
30-Oct-1956	S/3710	draft (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	veto	07-02-02	S/PV.749	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; vetoed draft res.]
30-Oct-1956	S/3713	draft (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	veto	07-02-02	S/PV.750	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; vetoed draft res.]
11-Jun-1958	S/RES/128	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	10-00-01	S/PV.825	Middle East	[Lebanon: UNOGL, CT responsibility; resolution]
14-Dec-1960	S/4579	draft (VII)	nondecision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	other fail.		S/PV.914	Africa	[Congo: ONUC, CT responsibility; fail. draft res.]
15-Feb-1961	S/RES/161	RES (VII)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.942	Africa	[Congo: ONUC, CT responsibility; resolution]
15-Mar-1961	S/4769	draft (VI)	nondecision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	neg. vote	05-00-06	S/PV.946	Africa	[Portugal-Angola: military CT; rej. draft res.]
9-Jun-1961	S/RES/163	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.956	Africa	[Portugal-Angola: military CT; resolution]
24-Nov-1961	S/RES/169	RES (VII)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.982	Africa	[Congo: ONUC, CT responsibility; resolution]
24-Apr-1963	S/RES/178	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.1033	Africa	[Portugal-Senegal: military CT; resolution]
31-Jul-1963	S/RES/180	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	08-00-03	S/PV.1049	Africa	[Portugal-Colonias: military CT; resolution]
11-Dec-1963	S/RES/183	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	10-00-01	S/PV.1083	Africa	[Portugal-Colonias: military CT; resolution]
4-Mar-1964	S/RES/186	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.1102	Europe	[Cyprus: CT responsibility, UNFICYP; resolution]
13-Mar-1964	S/RES/187	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.1103	Europe	[Cyprus: CT responsibility, UNFICYP; resolution]
20-Jun-1964	S/RES/192	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.1139	Europe	[Cyprus: CT responsibility, UNFICYP; resolution]
25-Sep-1964	S/RES/194	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.1159	Europe	[Cyprus: CT responsibility, UNFICYP; resolution]
18-Dec-1964	S/RES/198	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.1180	Europe	[Cyprus: CT responsibility, UNFICYP; resolution]

Figure 3: The UNSC-TDS as a published file (MS Excel)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Date	UN Doc. #	Formal	Basic	Ident	Focus	Bias	Mandate	Adoptio	Vote	Meeting	Region	Summary Note
2	1-Aug-1947	S/RES/27	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	08-00-03	S/PV.173	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
3	26-Aug-1947	S/RES/32	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	10-00-01	S/PV.195	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
4	1-Nov-1947	S/RES/36	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	07-01-03	S/PV.219	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
5	1-Apr-1948	S/RES/43	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.277	Middle East	[Israel-Palestine: CT responsibility; resolution]
6	17-Apr-1948	S/RES/46	RES (VI)	decision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.283	Middle East	[Israel-Palestine: CT responsibility; resolution]
7	29-Jul-1948	S/RES/55	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.342	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
8	19-Aug-1948	S/RES/56	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	07-00-04	S/PV.354	Middle East	[Israel-Arab States: CT responsibility; resolut.]
9	18-Sep-1948	S/RES/57	RES (VI)	decision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	consensus		S/PV.358	Middle East	[Israel-Palestine: CT responsibility; resolution]
10	19-Oct-1948	S/RES/59	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.367	Middle East	[Israel-Arab States: CT responsibility; resolut.]
11	28-Jan-1949	S/RES/67	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	07-00-04	S/PV.406	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: military CT; resolution]
12	13-Dec-1949	S/1433	draft (VI)	nondecision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	neg. vote	02-09-00	S/PV.456	Asia	[NL-Indonesia: state terrorism; rej. draft res.]
13	31-Aug-1950	S/1746/Rev.1	draft (VI)	nondecision	explicit	terrorism	terrorism	dismissed	neg. vote	02-09-00	S/PV.493	Europe	[Greece: state terrorism; rej. draft res.]
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15	12-May-1954	S/3209	draft (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	other fail.		S/PV.671	Middle East	[Israel-Jordan: CT responsibility; fail. draft r.]
16	29-Mar-1955	S/RES/106	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.695	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
17	30-Mar-1955	S/RES/107	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.696	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
18	8-Sep-1955	S/RES/108	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.700	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
19	19-Jan-1956	S/RES/111	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.715	Middle East	[Israel-Syria: military CT; resolution]
20	4-Apr-1956	S/RES/113	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.722	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
21	4-Jun-1956	S/RES/114	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	una. vote	11-00-00	S/PV.728	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; resolution]
22	25-Oct-1956	S/PV.745	prop. (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	other fail.		S/PV.745	Middle East	[Israel-Jordan: military CT; failed proposal]
23	30-Oct-1956	S/3710	draft (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	veto	07-02-02	S/PV.749	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; vetoed draft res.]
24	30-Oct-1956	S/3713	draft (VII)	nondecision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	veto	07-02-02	S/PV.750	Middle East	[Israel-Egypt: military CT; vetoed draft res.]
25	11-Jun-1958	S/RES/128	RES (VI)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	10-00-01	S/PV.825	Middle East	[Lebanon: UNOGL, CT responsibility; resolution]
26	14-Dec-1960	S/4579	draft (VII)	nondecision	explicit	other	terrorism	dismissed	other fail.		S/PV.914	Africa	[Congo: ONUC, CT responsibility; fail. draft res.]
27	15-Feb-1961	S/RES/161	RES (VII)	decision	implicit	other	counterterrorism	dismissed	pos. vote	09-00-02	S/PV.942	Africa	[Congo: ONUC, CT responsibility; resolution]

2. Sources Used for Creating the UNSC-TDS

Based on preliminary assessments of the available primary documents, a graduated research strategy was chosen because it promised selective and time-saving searches but high confidence that few relevant decisions would be missed:

First, the existing UN lists were used to create an initial dataset. These official lists of the UN Secretariat were publically accessible at:

<http://www.un.org/terrorism/> and <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/resources/index.html> [21 May 2013]

Second, the existing expert literature was used to identify potentially missing decisions and add them to the initial dataset, which now allowed conceptualizing coherent coding rules (see below, section 3). The secondary sources included:

- Sydney Bailey, "The UN Security Council and Terrorism," *International Relations* 11, no. 6 (1993): 533–53;
- Jane Boulden, "The Security Council and Terrorism," in Vaughan Lowe, et al. (eds.), *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), 608-23;
- Victor Comras, *Flawed Diplomacy: The United Nations & The War on Terrorism* (Washington: Potomac Books, 2010);
- Hilde Haaland Kramer and Steve Yetiv, "The UN Security Council's Response to Terrorism: Before and After September 11, 2001," *Political Science Quarterly* 122, no. 3 (2007): 409-32;
- Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, "The Role of the Security Council," in Jane Boulden and Thomas Weiss (eds.), *Terrorism and the UN: Before and After September 11* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2004), 151-71;
- Monika Heupel, "Adapting to Transnational Terrorism: The UN Security Council's Evolving Approach to Terrorism," *Security Dialogue* 38, no. 4 (2007): 477-99;
- Edward Luck, "Tackling Terrorism," in David Malone (ed.), *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), 85-100;
- *ibid.*, "Another Reluctant Belligerent: The United Nations and the War on Terrorism," in Richard Price and Mark Zacher (eds.), *The United Nations and Global Security* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 95-108;
- *ibid.*, "The Uninvited Challenge: Terrorism Targets the United Nations," in Edward Newman, Ramesh Thakur, and John Triman (eds.), *Multilateralism Under Challenge: Power, International Order, And Structural Change* (Tokyo: UNU Press, 2006), 336-55;
- Christopher Michaelsen, "The Security Council's Al Qaeda and Taliban Sanctions Regime: "Essential Tool" or Increasing Liability for the UN's Counterterrorism Efforts?," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33, no. 5 (2010): 448-63;
- Therese O'Donnell, "Naming and Shaming: The Sorry Tale of Security Council Resolution 1530 (2004)," *European Journal of International Law* 17, no. 5 (2006): 945-68;
- Eric Rosand, Alistair Millar, and Jason Ipe, *The UN Security Council's Counterterrorism Program: What Lies Ahead?* (New York: International Peace Academy, 2007);

- Peter Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism: The Global Politics of Cooperation and Contestation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010);
- Ben Saul, "Definition of 'Terrorism' in the UN Security Council: 1985-2004," *Chinese Journal of International Law* 4, no. 1 (2005): 141-66;
- Kendall Stiles, "The Power of Procedure and the Procedures of the Powerful: Anti-Terror Law in the United Nations," *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 1 (2006): 37-54.

Third, key official sources on the decision making of the UNSC were systematically searched for potentially missing relevant decisions:

- the Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, which is electronically accessible in full for 1946-2007: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/structure.shtml> [21 May 2013].
- the Annual Reports of the Security Council, which are electronically accessible in full for 1946-2012: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/reports/> [21 May 2013],
- and the UN News Centre's database of Security Council Press Releases, whose archive of press statements since October 13, 1995, is electronically available at: <http://www.un.org/en/unpress/advancedsearch.asp> [21 May 2013].

Within these materials a full-text search for "terror" was conducted, which also produced hits for terrorism, terrorist, or counterterrorism. The starting point was the Repertoire. To cover the temporal gap of the Repertoire (2008-2012), a second search was conducted in the UNSC's Annual Reports to the UN General Assembly for 1988-2012. Press statements were searched through the respective UN database.

Fourth, to identify some unintended general bias or recent decisions that might have been missed by the research strategy, early results of the desk research were also discussed with experts from the UN Secretariat, delegations of UN member states, and research institutions. Interviews with almost two scores of experts were conducted in New York City in March and April 2012.

Finally, wherever hits suggested there could have been prior or subsequent UNSC deliberations on terrorism under certain agenda items, detailed searches were also conducted within verbatim records, letters, draft proposals, resolutions, presidential statements, presidential press statements, and, where necessary, press reports. Additional documents were retrieved through:

- the UN's the Official Documents System (ODS): <http://www.un.org/en/documents/ods/>.
- all press reports used were retrieved through the commercial Lexis database: <http://www.lexisnexis.com/de/business> [21 May 2013].

3. Definitions Used in the UNSC-TDS

3.0 Preliminary Coding Rules

First, any activity was to be included in the overall dataset if it represented a successful (decision) or failed proposal (nondecision) for a particular UNSC action in a terrorism-related

situation, including some explicit or implicit provision on how terrorism was relevant for the UNSC's mandate at the time of decision making.

Second, to avoid inflating the dataset, only one decision or nondecision should be coded when separate votes were taken on individual parts of a draft that was also voted on as a whole. The same should apply when several proposals were made in deliberations on one specific terrorism-related situation but only one draft was put to vote or the deliberations on the situation were ended or adjourned without any further action. These distinctions follow similar ones by the Foreign & Commonwealth Office 2013, "Vetoed Draft Resolutions in the United Nations Security Council 1946-2012" (London, 6 June 2013), 11.

3.1 Date

The date concerns the day when a draft decision was explicitly adopted or rejected, or when the consideration of an agenda item was adjourned without follow-up.

3.2 Document Number (UN doc. #)

The document number corresponds to the one used in the official UN system and indicates where the text of a resolution, statement, draft or proposal can be found.

3.3 Formal Type of Activity (Formal)

This item comprises eight formal types of activity:

First and second, formal decisions or resolutions (S/RES/number), either as **RES (VII)** or as **RES (VI)**. In the first case the UNSC made an explicit determination that a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace or an act of aggression existed, and/or explicitly or implicitly stated that it was acting under chapter VII. In the second case the UNSC made no such determination and/or statement. This distinction follows Patrik Johansson, 'The Humdrum Use of Ultimate Authority: Defining and Analysing Chapter VII Resolutions', *Nordic Journal of International Law* 78, no. 3 (2009), 309-42.

Third and fourth, formal nondecisions or drafts (normally S/document number or S/year/document number, sometimes only S/PV.meeting number), either as **draft (VII)** or **draft (VI)**. In the first case the UNSC failed to adopt a text with an explicit determination that a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace or an act of aggression existed, and/or explicit or implicit statement that it would have acted under chapter VII (see previous paragraph).

Fifth and Sixth, informal decisions or statements (also applicable to early substantial notes), either as a presidential statement (**PRST**) or as presidential press statement (**SC (PPST)**). In the first case the collective statement was adopted in a formal meeting and/or used corporative language ("the Council ..."). In the second case the collective statement was adopted without a formal meeting (informal consultations only) and/or used collective but not corporative language ("the Members ..."). This distinction follows Stefan Talmon, "The Statements by the President of the Security Council," *Chinese Journal of International Law* 2, no. 2 (2003): 422-39, 453-58.

Seventh and eighth, informal nondecisions or proposals if states submit no pre-formulated draft but make a concrete proposal on substantive UNSC action, either as **proposal (VII)** or

proposal (VI). In the first case the UNSC failed to adopt a proposal with an explicit determination that a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace or an act of aggression existed, and/or explicit or implicit statement that it would have acted under chapter VII (see above). The distinction between proposal and suggestions (vague “test balloons” but no concrete course of action) follows Sydney Bailey and Sam Daws, *The Procedure of the UN Security Council*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 129-30.

3.4 Basic Type of Activity (Basic)

The basic type of activity is **decision** or **nondecision**, whereby the former indicates a successful draft decision and the latter indicates a failed draft or proposal.

3.5 Identification of Activity (Ident.)

The type of identification includes **explicit relevance** or **implicit relevance**. In the former case the text of a decision or nondecision makes explicit reference to terrorism and specifies how terrorism is relevant for the UNSC's mandate. In the latter case the text makes no explicit reference to terrorism but sponsors, supporters, and/or opponents of proposals and drafts explicitly framed situations as terrorism-related or linked it to earlier decisions on such situations.

3.6 Focus of Activity (Focus)

The type of focus includes **terrorism** and **other**. In the first case the UNSC was acting against certain terrorist acts or groups, or calling on states to counter terrorism, the decision or nondecision should be coded as having a focus on terrorism. In the second case the UNSC included relevant provisions on terrorism but focused on other issues in the situation addressed by the decision and nondecision.

3.7 Textual Bias of Activity (Bias)

The type of bias refers to the textual bias and includes a **bias against terrorism** and a **bias against counterterrorism**. In the first case the UNSC condemned terrorist acts or support for terrorism, called for or imposed obligations for international cooperation against terrorism, or approved international counterterrorism measures. In the second case the UNSC acted against (alleged) counterterrorism measures. In case the UNSC acted against terrorism and counterterrorism at the same time, its activity should be coded according to what the more specific and/or drastic language aimed at.

3.8 Jurisdictional Bias of Activity (Mandate)

The type of mandate refers to the jurisdictional bias and includes activity that **affirmed** or **dismissed** a UNSC mandate to act against terrorism. In first case the UNSC directly acted against terrorism or failed to do so but members did not question that the body could generally do so under its mandate. In the second case the UNSC failed to act directly against terrorism because members considered terrorism to be a national or international issue that fell outside the body's mandate.

3.9 Type of Decision Making (Adopt.)

Refers to six types of decision making that adopted a decision or nondecision, including **unanimous vote** (11 (until 1965) or 15 (since 1966) against none), **positive vote** (7 or 9 affirmative votes and no veto), **consensus** (no formal vote taken but adopted without objection), **negative vote** (less than 7 or 9 votes in favor), **veto** (would have passed except for a negative vote by at least one of the P5 prevented adoption), and **other failure** (no formal vote on draft or proposal).

3.10 Actual Vote Count (Vote)

The vote includes the format of the actual vote count (votes in favor – against – abstentions). If a nondecision has nine or more positive votes, it was vetoed; if no vote count is given, the decision was adopted or rejected by consensus. Please note, before 1966 seven votes was the threshold. If the given votes do not add up to 11 or 15, some members did not participate in the respective vote.

3.11 Key Meeting Record of Activity (Meeting)

The meeting record designates the meeting where the (non)decision was taken. If no verbatim record is given, the decision was adopted by consensus in informal consultations.

3.12 Brief Substantive Note on Activity (Summary Note)

The brief summary note provides substantive guidance on key aspects by naming the conflict or the key actors involved, stating the substantive relevance for the UNSC's activity on terrorism, and restating the formal type of UNSC decision (e.g. vetoed draft resolution).