

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Ben Saul, *Defining Terrorism in International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 213.
2. For the purposes of this book, the terms 'Germany' or 'West Germany' shall refer to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).
3. Given the lack of military power, this term, broadly understood and borrowed from Joseph Nye, probably defines the concept of German influence. See, for instance, J. S. Joseph Nye, *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004).
4. For the idea of international organisations, notably the UN, as a forum for antiterrorism policies and the role of great powers and less influential countries, see, for instance, Peter Romaniuk, 'Institutions as Swords and Shields: Multilateral Counter-Terrorism since 9/11', *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 03 (2010), 591–613: esp. 594.
5. A good discussion of the term is provided in Peter Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism. The Global Politics of Cooperation and Contestation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 7–12.
6. This principle first appeared in a terrorism-related treaty in the 1960s and early 1970s when it was incorporated into the conventions developed by the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO). The International Law Commission (ILC) picked it up and wrote it into the draft Diplomats Convention, and from there it found its way into most of the antiterrorism treaties that have been negotiated until today, at least within the UN.
7. The Munich crisis, being the only case study in this book that has already been sufficiently examined by scholars, will also be the only one for which most of the information for the assessment comes from secondary literature, due to the existence and reliability of that scholarship, which allows for a thorough reconstruction of the events. All other case studies, lacking such a solid scholarly basis of information, are reconstructed from primary documents. A good account of the Munich events is given in Matthias Dahlke, *Der Anschlag auf Olympia '72. Die politischen Reaktionen auf den internationalen Terrorismus in Deutschland* (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer Verlag, 2006); Matthias Dahlke, *Demokratischer Staat und transnationaler Terrorismus. Drei Wege zur Unnachgiebigkeit in Westeuropa 1972–1975* (Oldenbourg: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011); Eva Oberloskamp, 'Das Olympia-Attentat 1972: Politische Lernprozesse im Umgang mit dem transnationalen Terrorismus', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 60, no. 3 (2012), 321–52.
8. For accounts of West German foreign policy since the end of the Second World War, see, for instance, Gregor Schöllgen, *Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1999); Gregor Schöllgen, *Jenseits von Hitler. Die Deutschen in der Weltpolitik von Bismarck*

- bis Heute* (Berlin: Propyläen, 2005); Christian Hacke, *Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Weltmacht wider Willen?* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1997); Helga Haftendorn, *Coming of Age. German Foreign Policy since 1945* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefields Publishers, 2006). See also Eckart Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Siedler, 2009).
9. For more information on the EPC, see, for instance, Daniel Möckli, *European Foreign Policy during the Cold War. Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009); Aurélie Elisa Gfeller, *Building a European Identity. France, the United States, and the Oil Shock, 1973–1974* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012).
  10. Genscher was not only foreign minister from 1974 until 1992, but he was also federal minister of the interior from 1969 until 1974. His period of political activity thus basically spans the whole duration of social-revolutionary terrorism in Germany, in which he was, because of his ministerial duties, very interested.
  11. For the purposes of this book, the words ‘terrorism’ and ‘terror’ will be used synonymously. However, in academic literature, there is broad discussion about how these terms can and should be distinguished from each other, see, for instance, Charles Townshend, *Terrorism. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5. See also the article by Charles Tilly, ‘Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists’, *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 1 (2004), 5–13.
  12. See, for instance, Townshend, *Terrorism. A Very Short Introduction*, 3; Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Revised and Expanded ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 33; Rudolf Walther, ‘Terror und Terrorismus. Eine Begriffs- und Sozialgeschichtliche Skizze’, in *Die RAF. Entmythologisierung einer terroristischen Organisation*, (ed.) Wolfgang Kraushaar (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2008), 50–70: 50; John Dugard, ‘International Terrorism: Problems of Definition’, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 50, no. 1 (1974), 67–81: 67.
  13. Ben Golder and George Williams, ‘What Is “Terrorism”? Problems of Legal Definition’, *University of New South Wales Law Journal* 27, no. 2 (2004), 270–95: 270.
  14. Alex P. Schmid, ‘The Definition of Terrorism’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, (ed.) Alex P. Schmid (London, New York: Routledge, 2011), 39–98. Several useful impetuses can also be found in Walther, ‘Terror und Terrorismus’, 51. Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want. Understanding the Enemy. Containing the Threat* (New York: Random House, 2006), 20; Townshend, *Terrorism. A Very Short Introduction*, 5–8; Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 40–41; Martha Crenshaw, ‘The Causes of Terrorism’, *Comparative Politics* 13, no. 4 (1981), 379–99: 379.
  15. One can assemble aspects discussed in previously indicated literature and amalgamate them into a working definition, which, however, given the context and era would certainly have shortcomings, too. But that is obviously a current definition that had not been established at the time and is retrospectively applied to the 1970s. It is more of a summary of events that occurred in this decade and that were explicitly or implicitly deemed terrorism by the federal government. ‘International terrorism’ would then refer to violent acts deliberately committed against civilians. These acts are

- intended to have psychological effects beyond the immediate targets and on a broader audience. They are committed in order to further a political agenda. They are perpetrated by a substate actor operating in one state with the ultimate intention of making a foreign government comply with its demands, or by foreign actors operating in a country in which they are not citizens. Specifically, for this book, that would mean acts that – predominantly – attack German citizens or interests abroad (or are carried out by foreign nationals in Germany) in order to force the federal government (or friendly governments) to abide by specific political demands.
16. See, for instance, Mario Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat. Versuch einer Definition des Terrorismusphänomens und Analyse zur Existenz einer strategischen Konzeption staatlicher Gegenmaßnahmen am Beispiel der Roten Armee Fraktion in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2007), 36–37.
  17. Legal scholar Antonio Cassese holds that there is a customary legal definition of terrorism, but thus far none has been written in treaty law. See Antonio Cassese, 'The Multifaceted Criminal Notion of Terrorism in International Law', *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4, no. 5 (2006), 933–58. See also the other contributions in the same issue of the journal: Thomas Weigend, 'The Universal Terrorist: The International Community Grappling with a Definition', *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4, no. 5 (2006), 912–32; George P. Fletcher, 'The Indefinable Concept of Terrorism', *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4, no. 5 (2006), 894–911.
  18. David C. Rapoport, 'The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism', in *Attacking Terrorism. Elements of A Grand Strategy*, (ed.) Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46–73: 68 footnote 3.
  19. There are some books that address them in passing, but they do not draw on a broad array of archival documents nor do they provide details on the complicated negotiation process that was taking place in the 1970s. See, for instance, Guiseppe Nesi, (ed.) *International Cooperation in Counter-terrorism. The United Nations and Regional Organizations in the Fight against Terrorism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006); Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-terrorism*. Others stress the legal aspects and interpretations of the instruments adopted in the 1970s, but neglect the historical background and evolution. Saul, *Defining Terrorism in International Law*; Kerstin Wolny, *Die völkerrechtliche Kriminalisierung von modernen Akten des internationalen Terrorismus*, Schriften zum Völkerrecht, vol. 175 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2008); Peter J. van Krieken, *Terrorism and the Legal Order. With Special References to the UN, the EU and Cross-border aspects* (The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, 2002). Joseph Lambert's book serves as a good point of departure as it gives some insights on the negotiations, but it does not rely on archival documents and focuses, once again, on a discussion of legal matters, Joseph J. Lambert, *Terrorism and Hostages in International law. A Commentary on the Hostage Convention of 1979* (Cambridge: Grotius Publications Limited, 1990).

## 1 Domestic Terrorism in Germany in the 1970s

1. On the global character of the 1968 movement, see, for instance, Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest. Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge,

- Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 164–212; Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance. Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010). See also Timothy Brown, ‘“1968”. East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History’, *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009), 69–96; Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home. The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and the Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004). For an assessment of ‘1968’ in different European states, see Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds, *1968 in Europe. A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977* (New York, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
2. Suri, *Power and Protest*, 261.
  3. See, for instance, the recent book by Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties. The Antiauthoritarian Revolt, 1962–1978* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). See also Eckart Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Siedler, 2009), 333–34. For more information on the civil rights movement in the United States, see, for instance, Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 6–7, 113–14. For a long-term assessment of the civil rights movement and its national and international implications, see D. Morris Aldon, ‘A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks’, *Annual Review of Sociology* 25, (1999), 517–39.
  4. Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit*, 335.
  5. Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 213–15, 221–22, 224.
  6. Brown, ‘“1968”. East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History’, 72–73. Moreover, the fact that the chancellor, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, had been a member of the Nazi party during the Third Reich further complicated matters. See Michael A. Schmidtke, ‘Cultural Revolution or Cultural Shock? Student Radicalism and 1968 in Germany’, *South Central Review* 16, no. 4, (1999), 77–89: 78–79.
  7. The *Emergency Laws* were a constitutional amendment to compensate for the lack of any regulations in case of emergencies, such as war. The Grand Coalition was able to change the German constitution because of its large majority in parliament. It thereby also replaced allied reservation rights to intervene in case of emergency so long as the German state did not have legal regulations for these cases. These reservation rights existed in spite of the 1954 Germany Treaty. The *Emergency Laws* caused a big extra-parliamentary debate. For more information on the contemporary argument, see, for instance, the article by C. C. Schweitzer, ‘Emergency Powers in the Federal Republic of Germany’, *The Western Political Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (1969), 112–21.
  8. Schmidtke, ‘Cultural Revolution or Cultural Shock? Student Radicalism and 1968 in Germany’, 85–86. Mario Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat. Versuch einer Definition des Terrorismusphänomens und Analyse zur Existenz einer strategischen Konzeption staatlicher Gegenmaßnahmen am Beispiel der Roten Armee Fraktion in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2007), 91–92.
  9. Alexander Straßner, ‘Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg: Rote Armee Fraktion in Deutschland’, in *Sozialrevolutionärer Terrorismus. Theorie, Ideologie, Fallbeispiele, Zukunftsszenarien*, (ed.) Alexander Straßner (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 209–36: 212. Original quote in German. The

- quotations from German sources have been translated by the author. When the original quotation was in English, this is indicated in the footnote.
10. For this conclusion, see also Götz Aly, *Unser Kampf: 1968—ein irritierter Blick zurück* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2008), 151.
  11. Original phrase: 'Unter den Talaren der Muff von Tausend Jahren'.
  12. Schmidtke, 'Cultural Revolution or Cultural Shock? Student Radicalism and 1968 in Germany', 79, 84–85; Wolff-Dietrich Webler, 'The Sixties and the Seventies: Aspects of Student Activism in West Germany', *Higher Education* 9, no. 2 (1980), 155–68: 156, 160–63.
  13. Ryszard W. Piotrowicz, 'The Status of Germany in International Law: Deutschland Über Deutschland?', *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1989), 609–35: 624–25; C. D. Lush, 'The Relationship between Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1965), 742–87: 744–45, 752–56, 775, 779, 787. The status of Berlin as not being a constituent part of the FRG was also confirmed in the Quadripartite Agreement of 1971, part II (B.), [http://www.ena.lu/quadrupartite\\_agreement\\_berlin\\_berlin\\_september\\_1971-020302502.html](http://www.ena.lu/quadrupartite_agreement_berlin_berlin_september_1971-020302502.html) [last accessed 27.04.2010].
  14. On the heavy financial support, see Lush, 'The Relationship between Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany', 780–81.
  15. For a contemporary discussion of the problems this posed when West Germans moved to West Berlin in order to avoid military service, see 'Berlin: Wehrflucht. Großer Topf', *Der Spiegel*, no. 30 (21.07.1969), 38–39; Butz Peters, *RAF. Terrorismus in Deutschland* (Munich: Knauer, 1993), 41–43.
  16. Aly, *Unser Kampf*, 74. A good assessment of the particular situation of West Berlin can also be found in Suri, *Power and Protest*, 172–81.
  17. Mechthild Küpper, 'Aktenfund in der Birthler-Behörde: Stasi-Mitarbeiter erschoss Benno Ohnesorg', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (21.05.2009). <http://www.faz.net/s/RubFC06D389EE76479E9E76425072B196C3/Doc-E254C1C CAF2444DE9909C2BA756B19170-ATpl-Ecommon-Scontent.html> (accessed 12.11.2009); 'Studentenbewegung 1967: Benno Ohnesorgs Todesschütze war IM', *Die Zeit* (02.06.2009). <http://www.zeit.de/online/2009/22/ohnesorg-kurras-stasi-spitzel>.
  18. Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit*, 349–50. For the radicalisation of the protest movements, see Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 211–13.
  19. Aly, *Unser Kampf*, 58.
  20. See, for instance, Wolfgang Kraushaar, 'Kleinkrieg gegen eine Großverleger. Von der Anti-Springer Kampagne der APO zu den Brand- und Bombenanschlägen der RAF', in *Die RAF. Entmythologisierung einer terroristischen Organisation*, (ed.) Wolfgang Kraushaar (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2008), 292–355: 297–98, 301–17; see also Schmidtke, 'Cultural Revolution or Cultural Shock? Student Radicalism and 1968 in Germany', 86–87.
  21. Andreas Rödter, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1969–1990* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004), 33–34; Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit*, 353, 355; Webler, 'The Sixties and the Seventies', 157–58.
  22. The act itself was also highly contested in the FRG. For a contemporary report, see, for instance, 'Kniefall angemessen oder übertrieben?', *Der Spiegel*, no. 51 (1970), 27: 27.

23. Wilhelm Dietl, Kai Hirschmann, and Rolf Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon. Täter, Opfer, Hintergründe* (Frankfurt: Eichborn, 2006), 71–72; Kai Lemler, *Die Entwicklung der RAF im Kontext des internationalen Terrorismus* (Bonn: Bouvier, 2008), 48.
24. Whether or not these changes went too far is still a matter of debate, but is not the subject of this book. For an example of the current debate, see, for instance, Bernhard Bueb, *Lob der Disziplin: Eine Streitschrift* (Munich: List, 2006); and Bettina Röhl, 'Die RAF und die Bundesrepublik', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, no. 40–41 (2007), 6–8.
25. Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 235, 43.
26. Klaus Weinhauer, 'Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik der Siebzigerjahre. Aspekte einer Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Inneren Sicherheit', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 44, (2004), 219–42: 232.
27. The quotation in the title is taken from Heinrich Böll, 'Will Ulrike Gnade oder freies Geleit?', *Der Spiegel*, no. 3 (1972), 54–57: 55. For a more detailed account of the origins of the RAF, see Eckhard Jesse, 'Die Ursachen des RAF-Terrorismus und sein Scheitern', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, no. 40–41 (2007), 15–23: 16–19. The direct link between the student movements of 1965–1968 and the development of the RAF is still debated. However, there is a consensus that the RAF would not have existed without the student movement of the 1960s. Yet, it was not a linear evolution, which is obvious from the fact that only a small group of people actually became terrorists. See Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 211.
28. Stefan Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2008), 118–19, 59, 245–50, 326–29. See also the book by Birgit Schulz and Martin Block, *Die Anwälte: Ströbele, Mahler, Schily – Eine deutsche Geschichte* (Köln: Fackelträger-Verlag, 2010).
29. Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 24–33, 35–38, 41–60, 61–65, 93–96, 148–51.
30. See *Ibid.*, pp. 173–83.
31. Peters, *RAF. Terrorismus in Deutschland*, 83; Lemler, *Die Entwicklung der RAF im Kontext des internationalen Terrorismus*, 18–19. See also the RAF pamphlet 'Konzept Stadguerilla' of April 1971, printed in ID-Verlag, *Rote Armee Fraktion. Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF* (Berlin, 1997), 48.
32. Jesse, 'Die Ursachen des RAF-Terrorismus und sein Scheitern', 15.
33. Christopher Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus. Zur transnationalen Kooperation klandestiner Organisationen', in *Die RAF : Entmythologisierung einer terroristischen Organisation*, (ed.) Wolfgang Kraushaar (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2008), 233–69: 247.
34. Tobias Wunschik, 'Baader-Meinhof international?', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, no. 40–41 (2007), 23–29: 25.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 27; Jan-Hendrik Schulz, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen der Roten Armee Fraktion (RAF) und dem Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (MfS) in der DDR', *Zeitgeschichte-Online* (May 2007). <http://www.zeitgeschichte-online.de/themen/die-beziehungen-zwischen-der-roten-armee-fraktion-raf-und-dem-ministerium-fuer> (accessed 22.08.2013); Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus', 246; Robert Moss, *Urban Guerrilla Warfare. With an Appendix: Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla by Carlos Marighella*,

- Adelphi Papers, vol. 79 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1971), 25.
36. The RAF largely designed their actions after the advice given in the *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* by Carlos Marighella, which was published in 1968. The first actions of the RAF closely followed the chapter entitled 'The Logistics of the Urban Guerrilla': 'For the urban guerrilla, who starts from nothing and has no support at the beginning, logistics are expressed by the formula MDAME, which is: M – mechanization, D – money (*dinheiro*), A – arms, M – ammunition (*munições*), E – explosives.... Money, arms, ammunition and explosives, and automobiles as well, must be expropriated. And the urban guerrilla must rob banks and armories and seize explosives and ammunition wherever he finds them'. See the attached manual in Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 219.
  37. 'Attentate. Fruchtbare Zeit', *Der Spiegel*, no. 22 (22.05.1972), 77–79: 77–79; Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 335–40.
  38. Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 218. For more information on the ideological background of the RAF, see pp. 225–27.
  39. As quoted in Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 329.
  40. Martin Jander, 'Zieht den Trennungsstrich, jede Minute'. Die erste Generation der RAF', in *Die RAF: Entmythologisierung einer terroristischen Organisation*, (ed.) Wolfgang Kraushaar (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2008), 140–73: 151–52.
  41. Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 202–206, 344–49. Horst Mahler had already been arrested in 1970. See Wolfgang Kraushaar, 'Vermächtnis der RAF. Die Untoten der Bonner Republik', *Spiegel Online* (05.09.2007). <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/zeitgeschichte/0,1518,503966,00.html> (accessed 14.02.2009). Interestingly, he is now a fervent supporter of right-wing parties and a 'hypernationalist', Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 219.
  42. Mohnhaupt belonged to the first generation and was arrested in June 1972. She was imprisoned and joined Baader, Meinhof, and Ensslin in Stammheim where she received instructions on what to do in the future. When she was released from prison in February 1977, she took command of the second generation. See Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 359, 537, 581.
  43. Stefan Schweizer, *Rote Armee Fraktion. Ideologie und Strategie im Wandel: Eine Analyse der RAF von 1970 bis 1992* (Bremen: Europäischer Hochschulverlag, 2009), esp. 3.
  44. For a discussion of the ideology influencing the RAF, see the book by Schweizer, *Rote Armee Fraktion*, 10–11. Schweizer argues that during the first generation, the RAF had a Marxist-Leninist basis and then leaned towards Maoism. He sees traces of ideas during the second generation that were based on the writings of the Frankfurt School as formulated by Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse. However, he emphasises the strong hostility towards everything ideological (*Theoriefeindlichkeit*). See also Lemler, *Die Entwicklung der RAF im Kontext des internationalen Terrorismus*, 66–67. ID-Verlag, *Rote Armee Fraktion. Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF*. Note that the overwhelming majority of public statements issued by the RAF were made by the first generation even after they were arrested. See Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 214–16.

45. Audrey Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends. Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 97. Original in English.
46. Lemler, *Die Entwicklung der RAF im Kontext des internationalen Terrorismus*, 58.
47. According to Alexander Straßner, the RAF could draw from a pool of about 20–50 radicals who were willing to fill the ranks of the RAF in the event that members were arrested or killed. In addition, there was another group of approximately 200 people who were willing to commit small, low-risk attacks. They were important in gathering intelligence about the objects to be attacked. This latter group maintained its legal appearance and did not go underground. See Weinbauer, 'Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik der Siebzigerjahre', 227–28.
48. Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 389–90, 444–46, 555–56, 561–62.
49. Tobias Wunschik, 'Aufstieg und Zerfall. Die zweite Generation der RAF', in *Die RAF: Entmythologisierung einer terroristischen Organisation*, (ed.) Wolfgang Kraushaar (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2008), 174–99: 175.
50. 'Schreckliche Situation. Interview mit Sartre über seinen Besuch bei Baader', *Der Spiegel*, no. 49 (02.12.1974), 166–69: 166–69.
51. Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 426.
52. Wunschik, 'Aufstieg und Zerfall', 174. For Heinrich Böll's visit to Ulrike Meinhof, see Besucherlaubnis für Heinrich Böll, 11.11.1974, Bundesarchiv B362/3387, [http://www.bundesarchiv.de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/bilder\\_dokumente/00933/index-27.html](http://www.bundesarchiv.de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/bilder_dokumente/00933/index-27.html). For Oesterreicher's visit to Stammheim, see Bericht über den Besuch von Paul Oesterreicher, no date (probably 12.11.1974), BArch B362/3387, [http://www.bundesarchiv.de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/bilder\\_dokumente/00933/index-28.html](http://www.bundesarchiv.de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/bilder_dokumente/00933/index-28.html) [last accessed 23.11.2013].
53. Wunschik, 176; Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 415–17, 427, 526–29.
54. Wunschik, 'Aufstieg und Zerfall', 177.
55. See, for instance, Michael März, *Die Machtprobe 1975: wie RAF und Bewegung 2. Juni den Staat erpressten* (Leipzig: Forum Verlag, 2007).
56. Jilian Becker, *Terrorism in West Germany. The Struggle for What?* (London: Institute for the Study of Terrorism, 1988), 9.
57. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer: Ereignisse und Entscheidungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine 'Landshut' nach Mogadishu*, (ed.) Bundespresseamt (Augsburg: Goldmann, 1977), 133–80.
58. See the case studies section for more information on the hijacking.
59. Vogel as quoted in Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 772.
60. Although sympathisers spread rumours about the alleged execution of the Stammheim prisoners by the state, research nowadays suggests that Baader, Ensslin, etc. indeed committed suicide. See, for instance, Peters, *RAF. Terrorismus in Deutschland*, 273.
61. Weinbauer, 'Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik der Siebzigerjahre', 229.
62. Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, 98.
63. Wunschik, 'Aufstieg und Zerfall', 178, 188; Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 220.



64. Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 220.
65. Jesse, 'Die Ursachen des RAF-Terrorismus und sein Scheitern', 22.
66. For this argument, see, for instance, Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 220–21.
67. Stefan Aust, 'Terrorism in Germany: The Baader-Meinhof Phenomenon', *German Historical Institute Bulletin*, no. 43 (2008), 45–57: 56–57.
68. For details on the attacks committed, see Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 221–22.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 222–24.
70. As quoted in Wolfgang Kraushaar, 'Das Ende der RAF', (20.08.2007). <http://www.bpb.de/geschichte/deutsche-geschichte-nach-1945/geschichte-der-raf/49302/das-ende-der-raf?p=all> (accessed 2.05.2011). See also David C. Rapoport, 'The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism', in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, (ed.) Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46–73.
71. Lutz Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD: Die Bewegung 2. Juni', in *Sozialrevolutionärer Terrorismus. Theorie, Ideologie, Fallbeispiele, Zukunftsszenarien*, (ed.) Alexander Straßner (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 237–56: 240–41, 246–47. Granted, the phrase sounds better in the original German: 'High sein, frei sein, Terror muss dabei sein'.
72. Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 238–39.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 242–45.
74. Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 189–90; Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 270–70, 288–89.
75. Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 233; Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 80–81; Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 248.
76. Till Meyer as quoted in Lemler, *Die Entwicklung der RAF im Kontext des internationalen Terrorismus*, 35.
77. Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 241.
78. Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 233; Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 80–81; Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 249.
79. Matthias Dahlke, 'Nur eingeschränkte Krisenbereitschaft. Die staatliche Reaktion auf die Entführung des CDU-Politikers Peter Lorenz 1975', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 55, no. 4 (2007), 641–78.
80. See Drahterlass an die Botschaften Abu Dhabi etc., 02.03.1975, Zwischenarchiv (ZA) 104932, Politisches Archiv des AA (PA). The AA was also very worried about the diplomatic consequences that might occur if the federal government was forced to ask foreign governments to accept the released terrorists or request political asylum for them. According to an internal assessment by the AA, no government would voluntarily do this and some would only agree to it upon the formal request of the federal government. This was obviously a problem for German prestige if the German government was forced to ask foreign governments to accept German terrorists on their territory. Yet, when it became clear that the terrorists wanted their freed comrades to be flown to South Yemen, the federal government had no choice but to ask Aden, through the British Foreign Office, to allow the five M2J members to stay in the country. See Memo: Vermutliches Ziel

- der Terroristenaktion und Konsequenz für dessen Verhinderung, 01.03.1975, ZA 104932, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft London an das AA, 04.03.1975, ZA 104932, PA. Germany did not have an ambassador in South Yemen as Bonn had frozen its relations with the country in 1969 after Aden had recognised the GDR.
81. For a detailed account of the Lorenz crisis, see Matthias Dahlke, *Demokratischer Staat und transnationaler Terrorismus: Drei Wege zur Unnachgiebigkeit in Westeuropa 1972–1975* (Oldenbourg: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011), 129–60. Aust, 'Terrorism in Germany', 56.
  82. Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 252.
  83. Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 81; Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 252, 255.
  84. Weinbauer, 'Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik der Siebzigerjahre', 225.
  85. Johannes Wörle, 'Erdung durch Netzwerkstruktur? Revolutionäre Zellen in Deutschland', in *Sozialrevolutionärer Terrorismus. Theorie, Ideologie, Fallbeispiele, Zukunftsszenarien*, (ed.) Alexander Straßner (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 257–73: 257, 273.
  86. *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 259, 261, 264–65.
  87. See, for instance, 'Findelkind vor der Tür', *Der Spiegel*, no. 38 (1982), 82–87: 83.
  88. Wörle, 'Erdung durch Netzwerkstruktur?', 258, 260–62.
  89. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
  90. Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 81–82.
  91. See the case studies in Chapter 2.
  92. Wörle, 'Erdung durch Netzwerkstruktur?', 268.
  93. *Ibid.*, pp. 267–68.
  94. Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 83; Wörle, 'Erdung durch Netzwerkstruktur?', 263, 272.
  95. Christoph Rojahn, *Extreme Right-wing Violence in Germany: The Political and Social Context* (London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, 1996), 5, 6.
  96. Klaus von Beyme, 'Right-wing Extremism in Post-war Europe', *West European Politics* 11, no. 2 (1988), 1 – 18: 14.
  97. *Ibid.*
  98. Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 394–96.
  99. For more information on the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann and the attacks, see von Beyme, 'Right-wing Extremism in Post-war Europe', 12; Rojahn, *Extreme Right-wing Violence in Germany*, 5–6.
  100. Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 395.
  101. Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus', 263.
  102. On the history of right-wing terrorism in Germany, and particularly for more information on the NSU, see Andrea Röpke and Andreas Speit, eds., *Blut und Ehre. Geschichte und Gegenwart rechter Gewalt in Deutschland* (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2013).
  103. Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 212.
  104. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
  105. For more information on the RAF and the links with the PFLP, see, for instance, Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 242. See also the more detailed account in Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 35–40,

- 171–83; Peters, *RAF. Terrorismus in Deutschland*, 84–86. For the Movement Second June, see, for instance, Wörle, 'Erdung durch Netzwerkstruktur?', 265. The RC also had close contacts with the PFLP. See *ibid.*
106. "Gibt man jemandem eine Waffe, den man umbringen will?", *Die Tageszeitung* (23.10.2010). <http://www.taz.de/1/archiv/digitaz/artikel/?ressort=ku&dig=2010%2F10%2F23%2Fa0039&cHash=7d48657550/> (accessed 10.08.2012).
107. See also the case studies section.
108. For that, see Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 175–78, 180–83.
109. See the relevant case studies in Chapter 2.
110. Lemler, *Die Entwicklung der RAF im Kontext des internationalen Terrorismus*, 62.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.
113. Wunschik, 'Baader-Meinhof international?', 24. See, for instance, Claire Sterling's book that elaborates on speculations, which had already been developed in the US in the late 1970s, Claire Sterling, *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981).
114. Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 195; Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus', 253. US intelligence officials, for instance, suspected the Kremlin of supporting the terrorists in Germany in an attempt to disrupt the West German government and reduce the population's trust in democracy. See Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus', 240–41.
115. 'Terrorists: War without Boundaries', *Time*, (31.10.1977).
116. Tobias Wunschik, 'Die Hauptabteilung XXII: "Terrorabwehr"', in (ed.) Klaus-Dietmar Henke et al., *Anatomie der Staatssicherheit. Geschichte, Strukturen und Methoden. MfS-Handbuch* (Berlin: Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1996), 41–48; Aust, 'Terrorism in Germany', 56.
117. Peters, *RAF. Terrorismus in Deutschland*, 12–14, 30.
118. Korndörfer, 'Terroristische Alternative in der BRD', 254; Wunschik, 'Baader-Meinhof international?', 27–28.
119. Tobias Wunschik, 'Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit und der Terrorismus in Deutschland', *Extremismus.com* (2002). <http://www.extremismus.com/texte/rafmfs> (accessed 28.09.2009).
120. Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus', 258–59.
121. Wörle, 'Erdung durch Netzwerkstruktur?', 266.
122. Wunschik, 'Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit und der Terrorismus in Deutschland'.
123. Straßner, 'Perzipierter Weltbürgerkrieg', 231–32.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
125. Wörle, 'Erdung durch Netzwerkstruktur?', 266.
126. Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus', 251–52.
127. Lemler, *Die Entwicklung der RAF im Kontext des internationalen Terrorismus*, 72–73.
128. Daase, 'Die RAF und der internationale Terrorismus', 258.
129. Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 2.

130. 'Terrorists: War without Boundaries'.
131. Helmut Schmidt, "'Ich bin in Schuld verstrickt'", *Die Zeit* (30.08.2007). <http://www.zeit.de/2007/36/Interview-Helmut-Schmidt> (accessed 10.08.2012).
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.
134. This is a basic feature of the German security system that still exists today. See Victor Mauer, 'Germany's Counterterrorism Policy', in *How States Fight Terrorism. Policy Dynamics in the West*, (ed.) Doron Zimmermann and Andreas Wenger (London: Boulder 2007), 59–78: 68.
135. A more detailed account of the evolution of antiterrorism instruments and policies within West Germany can be found in Karrin Hanshew, *Terror and Democracy in West Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*.
136. Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 269.
137. See Ulrich Schneckener, 'Germany', in *Counterterrorism Strategies. Successes and Failures of Six Nations*, (ed.) Yonah Alexander (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006), 72–98: 80; Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 305.
138. Mauer, 'Germany's Counterterrorism Policy', 68.
139. Weinbauer, 'Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik der Siebzigerjahre', 236.
140. Herold, as quoted in Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 199; Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 305–306; Matthias Dahlke, *Der Anschlag auf Olympia '72: Die politischen Reaktionen auf den internationalen Terrorismus in Deutschland* (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer Verlag, 2006), 55–57.
141. Alfred Klaus, *Sie nannten mich Familienbulle. Meine Jahre als Sonderermittler gegen die RAF* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2008), 141.
142. For more information about the attack on the Olympics, see Chapter 2.
143. Klaus, *Sie nannten mich Familienbulle*, 138.
144. Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 199; Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 305–306; Dahlke, *Der Anschlag auf Olympia '72*, 55–57.
145. Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 466–71; Klaus, *Sie nannten mich Familienbulle*, 187, 217.
146. The role of the *Kristenstab* will also be assessed in the case study section. For some general information, see, for instance, Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 205–206.
147. A solid and critical discussion of antiterrorism polices and their perception and reception in the West German society is provided in Hanshew, *Terror and Democracy in West Germany*.
148. Weinbauer, 'Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik der Siebzigerjahre', 236–37.
149. Dietl, Hirschmann, and Tophoven, *Das Terrorismus-Lexikon*, 306; Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 201.
150. Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 213.
151. Mark B. Baker, 'The Western European Legal Response to Terrorism', *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* 13, no. 1 (1987), 1–24: 20.
152. See 'Grundsätze zur Frage der verfassungsfeindlichen Kräfte im öffentlichen Dienst ("Radikalerlass")', (ed.) Ministerialblatt Nordrhein-Westfalen (1972). Moreover, it also aimed at making it easier for sceptical members of the opposition to agree to the *Ostpolitik* treaties with Eastern countries due for ratification in the Bundestag.

153. Frank Fischer, 'Von der "Regierung der inneren Reformen" zum "Krisenmanagement". Das Verhältnis zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik in der sozial-liberalen Ära 1969–1982', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 44, (2004), 395–414: 402.
154. BVerfGE 39, 334 – Extremistenbeschluß, (Bundesverfassungsgericht 1975); 'AbgelehnteNPD-Kandidaten.SchützenhilfenvomCDU-Professor', *SpiegelOnline* (22.05.2008). <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,554750,00.html> (accessed 26.05.2010).
155. Jürgen Meyer, 'German Criminal Law Relating to International Terrorism', *University of Colorado Law Review* 60, no. 3 (1989), 571–82: 576; Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 214–15; Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 265–67. See Klaus, *Sie nannten mich Familienbulle*, 153, 167–69, 178–79, 183; Nico W. Tak, 'Hobbes vs. Locke. Redefining the War on Terror', *Strategy Research Project of the United States Army War College* (2008). <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA482252> (accessed 02.05.2011).
156. Jander, "'Zieht den Trennungsstrich, jede Minute'", 156.
157. Meyer, 'German Criminal Law Relating to International Terrorism', 576–77. Schneckener, 'Germany', 83.
158. BVerfGE 49, 24 – Kontaktsperre-Gesetz, (Bundesverfassungsgericht 1978); 'Kontaktsperre. Nur Objekt', *Der Spiegel*, no. 33 (14.08.1978), 24–26.
159. Meyer, 'German Criminal Law Relating to International Terrorism', 577.
160. Petri, *Terrorismus und Staat*, 201, 213. Baker, 'The Western European Legal Response to Terrorism', 19–20, 22.
161. Gary L. Geipel, 'Urban Terrorists in Continental Europe after 1970: Implications for Deterrence and Defeat of Violent Nonstate Actors', *Comparative Strategy* 26, no. 5 (2007), 439–67: 444–45; Andrew Silke, 'The Role of Suicide in Politics, Conflict, and Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 1 (2006), 35–46: 39; Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 844–45.
162. Meyer, 'German Criminal Law Relating to International Terrorism', 576.
163. "'Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort". Terrorismus: Sympathisanten und sogenannte Sympathisanten: Spontis, Anarchos, Buchläden', *Der Spiegel*, no. 45 (1977), 36–52: 36, 38.
164. Walter Laqueur, 'Reflections on Terrorism', *Foreign Affairs* 65, no. 1 (1986–1987), 86–100: 96.
165. Klaus Croissant was a lawyer who was accused of illegal cooperation with the terrorists and fled to France. After lengthy negotiations between the German and French authorities, he was finally extradited to the FRG in 1977. See, for instance, some contemporary articles on the matter: Geipel, 'Urban Terrorists in Continental Europe after 1970', 444. See also the relevant documents in *Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (AAPD) 1977 II: Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Staatspräsident Giscard d'Estaing, 19.07.1977, doc. 198; Botschafter Herbst, Paris, an das Auswärtige Amt, 26.07.1977, doc. 205; Aufzeichnung des Ministerialdirigenten Fleischhauer, 30.08.1977, doc. 230; Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Staatspräsident Giscard d'Estaing, 13.09.1977, doc. 242; Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Ministerpräsident Barre, 20.10.1977, doc. 298, esp. footnote 29 on p. 1433.

166. 'Paris: Wir jagen Croissant', *Der Spiegel*, no. 39 (1977), 127–29, 132: 127, 129, 131; "'Die Sache geht an die Eingeweide'", *Der Spiegel*, no. 41 (1977), 19–21: 21; "'Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort". Terrorismus: Sympathisanten und sogenannte Sympathisanten: Die Anwälte', *Der Spiegel*, no. 42 (1977), 28–57: 44, 47.
167. Fischer, 'Von der "Regierung der inneren Reformen" zum "Krisenmanagement"', 409.

## 2 Case Studies in International Terrorism: Hostage Crises and Hijackings

1. 'Guatemala. Terror. Der Polyp.', *Der Spiegel*, no. 16 (13.04.1970), 121–25: 126; 'Guatemala Terrorists Kidnap West German Envoy on Street', *The New York Times*, (01.04.1970), 1, 14.
2. "'Hätten wir denn anders gekonnt?'"', *Der Spiegel*, no. 16 (13.04.1970), 133–34: 133.
3. 'Guatemala Terrorists Kidnap West German Envoy on Street', 14.
4. Ibid.
5. 'U.S. Envoy Slain in Guatemala', *The New York Times*, (29.08.1968), 1, 16: 1, 16; "'Sie haben noch 20 Minuten". SPIEGEL-Gespräch mit dem Apostolischen Nuntius in Guatemala Gerolamo Prigione', *Der Spiegel*, no. 16 (13.04.1970), 126–27: 126; 'Guatemala. Terror. Der Polyp.', 124.
6. Dokumentation der Bundesregierung über die Bemühungen zur Freilassung des entführten deutschen Botschafters Karl Graf von Spreti, Deutscher Bundestag – 6. Wahlperiode, Drucksache VI/622, pp. 2–3, 5, B33 557, PA; 'Guatemala Rebuffs Leftists on Envoy', *The New York Times*, (03.04.1970), 12.
7. Dokumentation der Bundesregierung, pp. 2–4, B33 557, PA; 'Bonn. Graf Spreti. Right or Wrong', *Der Spiegel*, no. 16 (13.04.1970), 27, 28: 27; 'Kidnapped Envoy in Guatemala Writes He Is Feeling Well', *The New York Times*, (02.04.1970), 12; Dokumentation der Bundesregierung, p. 7, B33 557, PA; Protokoll Deutscher Bundestag, 6. Wahlperiode, 47. Sitzung, 24.04.1970, p. 2388, B33 557, PA.
8. 'Bonn. Graf Spreti. Right or Wrong', 29.
9. 'Guatemala Says a Captive Is Dead', *The New York Times*, (05.04.1970), 25.
10. Drahtbericht Botschaft Washington an das AA, no. 747, 5.04.1970, B110 755, PA.
11. 'Kidnapped Envoy in Guatemala Writes He Is Feeling Well'.
12. 'Guatemala Says a Captive Is Dead'; 'Kidnapped Envoy in Guatemala Writes He Is Feeling Well'.
13. Drahtbericht Botschaft Guatemala an das AA, no. 44, 04.04.1970, B110 755, PA.
14. 'Guatemala Rebuffs Leftists on Envoy'. Shortly before making the public announcement, the Guatemalan government informed Special Envoy Hoppe of their decision, he then strongly protested. See Dokumentation der Bundesregierung, p. 5, B33 557, PA.
15. 'Kidnappers Raise Price in Guatemala', *The New York Times*, (04.04.1970), 1, 6: 1, 6.
16. Ibid., p. 6.

17. Drahtbericht Botschaft Guatemala an das AA, no. 46, 4.04.1970, B110 755, PA; 'Bonn. Graf Spreti. Right or Wrong', 29.
18. "'Sie haben noch 20 Minuten'", 126.
19. Ibid.
20. Fernschreiben BPA Bonn an das AA, 6.04.1970, B110 755, PA; 'Guatemala. Terror. Der Polyp.', 121; 'Kidnapped German Envoy Found Slain in Guatemala', *The New York Times*, (06.04.1970), 1, 3: 1.
21. Drahtbericht Fort Bliss an das AA, 6.04.1970, B110 755, PA.
22. Erklärung des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen vor der Bundespressekonferenz am 6. April 1970, no date, B110 755, PA; Runderlass an alle diplomatischen Auslandsvertretungen ausser Europa, 22.04.1970, B81 695, PA.
23. 'Bonn Reduces Ties with Guatemala', *The New York Times*, (07.04.1970), 1, 14.
24. Ibid.
25. "'Sie haben noch 20 Minuten'", 127.
26. Both as quoted in 'Guatemala. Terror. Der Polyp.', 121.
27. Erklärung des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen vor der Bundespressekonferenz am 6. April 1970, no date, B110 755, PA; 'Nachher ist jeder natürlich klüger. SPIEGEL-Interview mit Bundesaußenminister Walter Scheel', *Der Spiegel*, no. 16 (13.04.1970), 28–29: 29.
28. Drahtbericht Botschaft Guatemala an das AA, no. 67, 10.04.1970, B110 755, PA; Botschaft Washington an das AA, 10.4.1970, B110 755, PA; Aufzeichnung über das Gespräch des Herrn Bundesministers des Auswärtigen mit Staatspräsident Montenegro in Guatemala am 11. April 1970, no date, B110 755, PA; 'Nachher ist jeder natürlich klüger: SPIEGEL-Interview mit Bundesaußenminister Walter Scheel', *Der Spiegel*, no. 16 (13.04.1970), 28–29: 28–29; 'Guatemala Gets Scheel's Protest', *The New York Times*, (11.04.1970), 37.
29. 'Guatemala. Terror. Der Polyp.', 125. For the excessive government reactions after Spreti's assassination, see also 'Guatemala. Terroristen. Fünf für Einen', *Der Spiegel*, no. 27 (29.06.1970).
30. 'Kuba. Spreti-Mord. Dramatische Meldung', *Der Spiegel*, no. 18 (27.04.1970), 138–40.
31. On 11 June 1970, the German ambassador to Brazil, Ehrenfried von Holleben, was kidnapped by guerrillas who demanded the release of 28, later 40, political prisoners in Brazil. With the von Spreti affair still fresh in his mind, Scheel immediately began a large diplomatic offensive with Brazil, pressuring the government to give in to the demands. The problem was to find a state that would be willing to grant asylum to the prisoners about to be released. Finally, because of his excellent personal relations with key Algerian officials, State Minister Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski managed to convince the government in Algiers to accept the 40 prisoners. Briefly after the arrival of the Brazilians in Algeria, the German ambassador was released on 16 June. For more information, see 'Botschafter-Entführung. Nach Plan', *Der Spiegel*, no. 25 (15.06.1970), 25–26; 'Brazil to Free 40 to Obtain Release of German Envoy', *The New York Times*, (14.06.1970), 1, 26; 'Note by Envoy's Kidnappers Reported Found in Rio', *The New York Times*, (13.06.1970), 8; Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß: In Mogadischu und anderswo. Politische Memoiren* (Munich: Goldmann, 1991), 119. In December 1970, the

- German honorary consul in San Sebastian, Spain, was kidnapped in order to exert pressure on the Spanish government not to sentence to death *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA) members who were on trial. After 25 days in captivity, Eugen Beihl was finally released by the kidnappers. Whether the Spanish government made any special deal with the kidnappers is unclear. See, for instance, 'West German Freed by Basques, Tells of Captivity', *The New York Times*, (26.12.1970), 1, 3.
32. For more information on the Munich Olympics, see, for instance, Kay Schiller and Christopher Young, *The 1972 Munich Olympics and the Making of Modern Germany* (Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).
  33. If not otherwise indicated, the information on the course of events is taken from Matthias Dahlke, *Demokratischer Staat und transnationaler Terrorismus. Drei Wege zur Unmachibarkeit in Westeuropa 1972–1975* (Oldenbourg: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011), 62–70.
  34. Felix Bohr et al., 'Die angekündigte Katastrophe', *Der Spiegel*, no. 30 (23.07.2012), 34–44.
  35. Matthias Dahlke, *Der Anschlag auf Olympia '72. Die politischen Reaktionen auf den internationalen Terrorismus in Deutschland* (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer Verlag, 2006), 64–67.
  36. *Ibid.*, 20.
  37. Eva Oberloskamp, 'Das Olympia-Attentat 1972: Politische Lernprozesse im Umgang mit dem transnationalen Terrorismus', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 60, no. 3 (2012), 321–52: 336.
  38. Dahlke, *Der Anschlag auf Olympia '72*, 20–24.
  39. Dahlke, *Demokratischer Staat und transnationaler Terrorismus*, 73–75.
  40. 'Arabs Hijack German Airliner and Gain Release of 3 Seized in Munich Killings', *New York Times*, (30.10.1972), 1, 10: 1; Oberloskamp, 'Das Olympia-Attentat 1972', 334.
  41. Henryk M. Broder, 'Olympia-Massaker 1972. Die schwierige Erinnerung', *Spiegel Online* (06.09.2007). <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/zeitgeschichte/0,1518,504272,00.html> (accessed 15.02.2009). See also the statements suggesting a staged hijacking, which were made by Ulrich Wegener and Hans-Jochen Vogel in the final minutes of the documentary by Kevin Macdonald, 'One Day in September', (Sony Picture Classics, 1999).
  42. Oberloskamp, 'Das Olympia-Attentat 1972', 329–30, 33–35.
  43. Dahlke, *Demokratischer Staat und transnationaler Terrorismus*, 92–97.
  44. Oberloskamp, 'Das Olympia-Attentat 1972', 330–32.
  45. Drahtbericht Botschaft Karthoum an das AA, 01.03.1973, B83 824, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Karthoum an das AA, 02.03.1973, B83 824, PA; Richard D. Lyons, 'U.S. Ambassador to Sudan and His Aide Reported Seized by Guerrillas at Party', *The New York Times*, (02.03.1973), 1, 12: 1.
  46. Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973 (Ber. Nr. 197), B83 824, PA.
  47. 'Guerrilla's Bravado Breaks at the End', *The New York Times*, (05.03.1973), 1, 4: 4.
  48. Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973 (Ber. Nr. 197), B83 824, PA.



49. Drahtbericht Botschaft Karthoum an das AA, 01.03.1973, B83 824, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Karthoum an das AA, 02.03.1973, B83 824, PA; Lyons, 'U.S. Ambassador to Sudan and His Aide Reported Seized by Guerrillas at Party', 1.
50. Drahtbericht Botschaft Karthoum an das AA, 02.03.1973, B83 824, PA.
51. Ibid., Lyons, 'U.S. Ambassador to Sudan and His Aide Reported Seized by Guerrillas at Party', 12; Eric Pace, 'Again the Men in Masks, Again the Death of Hostages', *The New York Times*, (04.03.1973), 195: 195; Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973, B83 824, PA.
52. 'Guerrilla's Bravado Breaks at the End', 4.
53. Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973 (Ber. Nr. 197), B83 824, PA; 'Arab Terrorists Give Up in Sudan: Free 2 Hostages', *The New York Times*, (04.03.1973), 1, 30: 1.
54. 'Japanese Says the Commando Punched and Kicked 2 Envoys', *The New York Times*, (04.03.1973), 30: 30; Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973 (Ber. Nr. 197), B83 824, PA.
55. 'Arab Terrorists Give Up in Sudan: Free 2 Hostages', 1; 'Eight in Custody of Khartoum's Army', *The New York Times*, (05.03.1973), 1, 5; Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973, B83 824, PA.
56. David Carlton, *The West's Road to 9/11. Resisting, Appeasing and Encouraging Terrorism since 1970* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 53.
57. Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973, B83 824, PA.
58. Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973 (Ber. Nr. 197), B83 824, PA.
59. Ibid.
60. Brief der Botschaft Khartoum an das AA, 08.03.1973, B83 824, PA.
61. Yet there were also words of caution. Germany's permanent mission to the UN advised against instrumentalising the events in Khartoum for the UN debates against terrorism as this could lead to more opposition from Arab and African states. See Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, no date, probably early March 1973, ZA 121069, PA.
62. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 782, 22.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 783, 22.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
66. Ibid.
67. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 784, 22.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
68. Among them were ministers and high officials from Saudi Arabia, Iran, Algeria, Venezuela, Indonesia, Libya, Iraq, Ecuador, Gabon, and Nigeria.
69. Clyde H. Farnsworth, 'Terrorists Raid Vienna Oil Talk; 2 Killed, 60 Held', *The New York Times*, (22.12.1975), 1, 11.
70. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 785, 22.12.1975, B83 1006, PA; Robert D. McFadden, 'Terrorist Group and Oil Officials Flown to Mideast', *The New York Times*, (23.12.1975), 1, 10.
71. Clyde H. Farnsworth, 'Vienna Raiders, Violence at End, Seemed "Friendly"', *The New York Times*, (23.12.1975), 10: 10.
72. Roesch as quoted in Farnsworth, 'Vienna Raiders, Violence at End, Seemed "Friendly"'.

73. Kreisky as cited in Farnsworth, 'Terrorists Raid Vienna Oil Tank; 2 Killed, 60 Held'. 1.
74. McFadden, 'Terrorist Group and Oil Officials Flown to Mideast'.
75. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 785, 22.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
76. Just a couple of days before, on 19 December 1975, Algerian officials and President Houari Boumediène received a Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) delegation. Apparently the DFLP also alluded to the possibility of more operations, which the embassy in Algiers put into the context of the Vienna events. See Letter Botschaft Algiers an das AA: Beziehungen zwischen Algerien und palästinensischen Freiheitsbewegungen, 22.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
77. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 791, 23.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
78. Ibid.
79. McFadden, 'Terrorist Group and Oil Officials Flown to Mideast'.
80. 'Curtain Descends in Algiers on OPEC Terrorists' Fate', *The New York Times*, (24.12.1975), 1.
81. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 790, 23.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
82. Memo Bereitschaftsdienst für Ref. 511: Geiselung der OPEC-Minister – Identität der Geiselnnehmer – Zusammenarbeit mit den algerischen Behörden, 25.12.1975, B83 1006, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, nr. 790, 23.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
83. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Algier, 25.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
84. Drahtbericht Botschaft Algier an das AA, 26.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
85. Ibid.
86. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Algier, 30.12.1975, B83 1006, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Algier an das AA, 02.01.1976, B83 1006, PA..
87. Memo Bereitschaftsdienst für Ref. 511: Geiselung der OPEC-Minister – Identität der Geiselnnehmer – Zusammenarbeit mit den algerischen Behörden, 25.12.1975, B83 1006, PA.
88. Ibid.
89. Memo Ref. 511: Geiselnahme der OPEC-Minister in Wien, 08.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
90. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, 08.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
91. Ibid.
92. Memo Staatssekretär Gehlhöf an Herrn Dg 51: Internationaler Terroranschlag auf die OPEC-Konferenz in Wien, 09.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
93. Drahtbericht Botschaft Wien an das AA, 16.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
94. Schnellbrief BMJ an das AA: Ermittlungsverfahren des Generalbundesanwalts beim Bundesgerichtshof gegen Hans-Joachim Klein wegen gemeinschaftlichen Mordes und Geiselnahme, 13.01.1976, B83 1006, PA. This led to some exchanges between both ministries regarding whether or not this was an official request for administrative assistance, pointing once again to the sensitivity of the issue of asking Algeria or Libya for extradition. See Schnellbrief BMJ an das AA: Ermittlungsverfahren des Generalbundesanwalts beim Bundesgerichtshof gegen Hans-Joachim Klein wegen gemeinschaftlichen Mordes und Geiselnahme, 22.01.1976, B83 1006, PA; Drahterlass an die Botschaft Tripolis, 15.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
95. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tripolis an das AA, 19.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
96. Ibid.

97. Letter Botschaft Wien an das AA: Geiselnahme der OPEC-Minister in Wien, 26.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
98. 'Hessen begnadigt Hans-Joachim Klein', *Spiegel Online* (07.03.2009). <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/ex-terrorist-hessen-begnadigt-hans-joachim-klein-a-611948.html> (accessed 03.05.2012). See also Klein's autobiography: Hans Joachim Klein, *Rückkehr in die Menschlichkeit. Appell eines ausgestiegenen Terroristen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1986). For Kröcher-Tiedemann and Carlos, see 'Swiss Say They Hold a Terrorist Who Raided Vienna OPEC Parley', *The New York Times*, (22.12.1977), 5; 'Anschlag auf Opec-Tagung', *Spiegel Online* (21.05.1999). <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/stichwort-anschlag-auf-opec-tagung-a-23842.html> (accessed 10.05.2012).
99. McFadden, 'Terrorist Group and Oil Officials Flown to Mideast'.
100. 'Arab Terrorism', *The New York Times*, (23.12.1975), 24.
101. 'Return the Terrorists', *The New York Times*, (24.12.1975), 20: 20.
102. Attachment to memo Büro StS Dr. Hermes an Dg 51: Sitzung der beamteten Staatssekretäre am 12.1.1976, 12.01.1976, B83 1006, PA.
103. Letter Botschaft Tripolis an das AA: Flugzeugentführung Entebbe, 21.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA.
104. 'Airliner with 257 Hijacked from Athens', *The New York Times*, (28.06.1976), 1; 'Hijackers Hold 256 Near Plane', *The New York Times*, (29.06.1976), 1; 'Hijackers Demand Israelis and Others Free Captives', *The New York Times*, (30.06.1976), 1. The West German authorities later wondered whether Libya was involved in the hijacking due to the four-hour stopover in Benghazi. See Memo: Übersetzung. Information, die von den befreiten Geiseln von Kampala am 1. Juli 1976 erhalten wurden, no date, probably 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
105. Telegramm Bundeskanzleramt an das AA, 27.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
106. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tel Aviv an das AA, 29.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
107. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 159, 28.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
108. Ibid.
109. Telegramm Bundeskanzleramt an das AA, 27.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
110. Ibid.
111. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 160, 28.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
112. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 161, 29.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
113. The two West German terrorists who were among the hijackers, Wilfried Böse and Brigitte Kuhlmann, belonged to a different organisation, the Revolutionary Cells.
114. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 165, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
115. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 161, 29.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
116. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 160, 28.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
117. Vermerk: über Anruf von BfV – Herrn Bessel-Lork – am 1. Juli 1976, 8.45 Uhr, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.

118. Memo Ref. 312 an Ref. 011: Entführung des Air-France Air-Bus nach Entebbe/Uganda, 29.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA; Drahterlass an die Botschaft Kampala, 29.06.1976, no. 57, ZA 116865, PA.
119. Memo Ref. 312 an Ref. 011: Entführung des Air-France Air-Bus nach Entebbe/Uganda, 29.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 164, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
120. 'Hijackers Demand Israelis and Others Free Captives', 6.
121. Vermerk: Airbus Entführung, 29.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
122. Memo: Presseerklärung, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
123. Memo Ref. 312 an Ref. 011: Entführung des Air-France Air-Bus nach Entebbe/Uganda, 29.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
124. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 163, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
125. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 164, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
126. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 165, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
127. Vermerk: über Mitteilung aus Kampala durch Kanzler Klotz, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
128. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 166, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA. For the release of the hostages, see also 'French Jet's Hijackers Free 47 in Uganda', *The New York Times*, (01.07.1976), 1, 5. Originally, the release of the first bunch of hostages was to be kept secret, but due to the high media interest this was not possible. See Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, no. 1900, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
129. Memo: Übersetzung. Informationen, die von den befreiten Geiseln von Kampala über die terroristische Operation, deren Opfer sie gewesen sind, erhalten werden konnten, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA. Highlights in original.
130. Memo: Entscheidungsalternativen, no date, probably 30 June, ZA 116865, PA.
131. Ibid.
132. Ibid.
133. Memo: Mitteilung Botschafter Meroz an Staatssekretär Hermes, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
134. Drahtbericht Botschaft Washington an das AA, no. 2146, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
135. Drahtbericht Botschaft Bern an das AA, 30.06.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
136. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, no. 1901, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
137. Memo: Communiqué verlesen von Radio Uganda am 1. Juli 1976, ca. 12.30 MEZ, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
138. Drahtbericht Botschaft Nairobi an das AA, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
139. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tel Aviv an das AA, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
140. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, no. 1899, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
143. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 170, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
144. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 168, 01.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.

145. For more information on the PLO and its stance on terror, see, for instance, P. T. Paul Chamberlin, *Global Offensive. The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order*, Oxford Studies in International History (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 192.
146. Terence Smith, 'Israel, Yielding, Tells Hijackers It Will Negotiate', *The New York Times*, (02.07.1976), A1, A3.
147. Letter Ambassade d'Israel, Bonn, an Bundesminister Genscher, 02.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
148. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tel Aviv an das AA, no. 437, 02.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
149. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, no. 1917, 02.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
150. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, no. 1929, 02.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
151. Ibid.
152. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 182, 02.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
153. Memo: Besprechung im Lagezentrum BMI 02.07.1976, 17.00 bis 19.00 Uhr, no date, probably 02.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA; Drahterlass an die Botschaft Kampala, 02.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
154. Vermerk: Anruf von Botschafter Ellerkmann an Dg31, 3.7., 19.00 Uhr, no date, probably 03.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA. Vermerk: Sitzung im Lagezentrum des BMI am 3.7.1976 von 12.00 Uhr bis 12.33 Uhr, 03.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA. The Swiss were also playing for time, and they informed the French that they did not see the imprisoned terrorist as a Palestinian freedom fighter and that she was not in any way related to the Palestinian struggle. See Vermerk: Telefonanruf von Botschaftsrat Rieser, Schweizerische Botschaft, 3.7.1976, 12.30 Uhr, 03.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
155. Memo: Reaktion der Terroristen auf israelischen Vorschlag, no date, probably 03.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
156. Terence Smith, 'Hostages Freed as Israelis Raid Uganda Airport', *The New York Times*, (04.07.1976), 1, 10.
157. Carlton, *The West's Road to 9/11*, 59–60.
158. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, 06.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
159. Cable embassy Tel Aviv to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 22.05.1979, FCO93/ 2110, UKNA. See also Robert Verkaik, 'Revealed: the Fate of Idi Amin's Hijack Victim', *The Independent* (13.02.2007). <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/revealed-the-fate-of-idi-amins-hijack-victim-436181.html#> (accessed 08.11.2011). The fate of Dora Bloch had further implications. Her alleged assassination strained British-Ugandan relations. Bloch, a 73-year-old, had British-Israeli dual citizenship. The Israelis unofficially asked the Germans if they could intervene in Uganda to help Bloch. However, the AA told Israeli Chargé d'Affaires Ruppin that this would be counterproductive in light of the current severe problems between Germany and Uganda and that this would not help Israel at all, but would actually harm Germany and its 126 citizens in Uganda. See Drahtbericht Botschaft London an das AA, 07.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA; Vermerk Dg31, 09.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA.
160. Letter: Ambassade d'Israel an den Herrn Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt, 04.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA.

161. Auszug aus dem Protokoll über die 170. Kabinettsitzung der Bundesregierung am 7. Juli 1976, 15.06.1976, B83 676, PA.
162. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tel Aviv an das AA, 06.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
163. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Kampala, no. 72, 04.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
164. Memo D3 an den Herrn Staatssekretär: Zusammenarbeit mit Kenia auf dem Gebiet der Terroristenbekämpfung, 07.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
165. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 213, 06.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, no. 215, 06.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA. Original quotes in English.
166. Ibid.
167. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, 06.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
168. Memo Ref. 110 an den Herrn Minister: Schutz der Deutschen in Kampala/Uganda, 08.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA.
169. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 06.07.1976, ZA 116865, PA.
170. Bulletin, 06.07.1976, Nr. 80, S. 754, ZA 111264, PA.
171. 'Rescue by Israel Hailed in Europe', *The New York Times*, (05.07.1976), A1.
172. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, no. 2495, 15.07.1976, ZA 121074, PA; Vermerk Ref. 530: Terrorismuserklärung der Neun, 13.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
173. Memo: Möglichkeiten der Bundesregierung, aus der Mißbilligung des Verhaltens der ugandischen Regierung im Zusammenhang mit der Airbus-Entführung operative Folgen zu ziehen, no date, probably 08.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA. On the anti-hostage-taking project, see Chapters 4 and 5.
174. Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Herrn Minister: Sondersitzung des Sicherheitsrats zur Geiselbefreiung in Entebbe, 08.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA.
175. Drahterlass an die Botschaften Kigali, Lusaka etc, 08.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA.
176. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, no. 1424, 07.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA; Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Herrn Minister: Sondersitzung des Sicherheitsrats zur Geiselbefreiung von Entebbe, 08.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, no. 1425, 08.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
177. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung New York, 09.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
178. Vermerk Leiter des Ministerbüros: Besprechung im AA, 09.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
179. As the AA enquired, the flight had been cancelled by Lufthansa headquarters due to the hostage situation at Entebbe Airport, and the cancellation was communicated to the Ugandan authorities in due course. All allegations by Amin that his soldiers were confused by the arriving Israeli jets as they expected it to be the Lufthansa plane were hence groundless, especially as the plane was supposed to arrive at a later time. See Memo Ref. 312 an das Ref. 230: Lufthansaflug Nr. 534 nach Entebbe am 3./4.7.1976, 09.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
180. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, 08.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, 09.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Kampala an das AA, 09.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
181. Memo: Abt. 3 an den Herrn Minister: Gespräch zwischen ugandischer Botschafterin und Herrn D 3 am 15.7.1976, ZA 116866, PA.

182. Vermerk Leiter des Ministerbüros: Deutsche Erklärung im Sicherheitsrat der VN zur Geiselfreierung von Entebbe, 12.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
183. In his very skilled speech, using the opportunity to address the SC for the first time in history, Ambassador von Wechmar even managed to slip in a reference to the 'German Nation', a term that normally provoked heavy reactions by the GDR. He managed to evoke it by applauding the president of the SC, an Italian diplomat, on his role and emphasising the strong German-Italian ties dating back to the days of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This is an example of the subtleties of the continuing German-German diplomatic war at the UN.
184. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung New York, no. 146012.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA. See also Chapter 4.
185. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, no. 1480, 14.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
186. Carlton, *The West's Road to 9/11*, 60. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, no. 1482, 14.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA.
187. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Allgemeine Berichterstattung über die 31. Generalversammlung, 26.01.1977, B83 986, PA.
188. Memo Ambassador Ellerkmann: Gegenwärtige Lage, no date, probably 23.07.1976, ZA 116866, PA.
189. Memo Situation Room to Brzezinski, 07.09.1977, NLC-10-5-1-11-2, CIA FOIA, JCL.
190. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer. Ereignisse und Entscheidungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine "Landshut"*, (ed.) Bundespresseamt (Augsburg: Goldmann, 1977); Tim Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu: Das außenpolitische Krisenmanagement der Bundesregierung angesichts der terroristischen Herausforderung 1977', *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 57, no. 3 (2009), 413–56.
191. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 214.
192. Late item: Hijackers kill Lufthansa pilot, no date, probably 17.10.1977, NLC-SAFE 17 B-524-7-6, CIA FOIA, JCL. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 178, 80.
193. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 214; *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 133.
194. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 215–16; *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 134, 37–44.
195. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 149.
196. *Ibid.*, 135; Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 429.
197. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 135; Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 430. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 217.
198. 'Regierungserklärung des Bundeskanzlers und Erklärungen des Bundestagspräsidenten sowie der Vorsitzenden der drei Bundestagsfraktionen vom 20. Oktober 1977', in *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer. Ereignisse und Entscheidungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine "Landshut"*, (ed.) Bundespresseamt (Augsburg: Goldmann, 1977), 349–75: 357; Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 431.

199. Situation Message Listing, p. 316, 13.10.1977, 16:30, NLC-7-59-1-1-8, CIA FOIA, JCL.
200. Letter Botschaft Nikosia an das AA, 29.11.1977, ZA B83 1004, PA.
201. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 136, 144.
202. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 204. It consisted of Chancellor Schmidt, Foreign Minister Genscher (after his return from China), Interior Minister Maihofer, Justice Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel, State Secretaries Günther van Well, Siegfried Fröhlich, Heinz Ruhnau, the federal prosecutor general, Kurt Rebmann, the president of the BKA, Horst Herold, state secretaries Manfred Schüler and Klaus Bölling, and State Minister Hans Jürgen Wischnewski.
203. Martin Rupps, *Helmut Schmidt. Eine politische Biographie* (Stuttgart: Hohenheim, 2002), 242.
204. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 218.
205. Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Präsident Scheich Zayed Bin Sultan al-Nahayan, 16.10.1977, doc. 291, AAPD 1977, 1400.
206. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 150-51. Memo from the Situation Room to Brzezinski, 17.10.1977, NLC-1-4-2-2-2, JCL-CIA.
207. Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Staatspräsident Giscard d'Estaing, 14.10.1977, doc. 284, AAPD 1977, p. 1378.
208. Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse Lewalter an Bundesminister Genscher, z.Z. Teheran, 15.10.1977, doc. 288, AAPD 1977; Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Premierminister Callaghan, 16.10.1977, doc. 289, AAPD 1977.
209. See, for instance, Situation Message Listing, p. 322, 16.10.1977, 10:03, NLC-7-59-1-1-8, CIA FOIA, JCL.
210. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 221.
211. Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit dem Verteidigungsminister der Vereinigten Arabischen Emirate, Scheich Mohammed Bin Rashid al-Maktum, 16.10.1977, doc. 290, AAPD 1977, p. 1398. Original quotation in English; see also Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Präsident Scheich Zayed Bin Sultan al-Nahayan, 16.10.1977, doc. 291, AAPD 1977.
212. Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Präsident Scheich Zayed Bin Sultan al-Nahayan, 16.10.1977, doc. 291, AAPD 1977.
213. Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 437.
214. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 222. Aufzeichnung des Ministerialdirigenten Bräutigam, Bundeskanzleramt, 17.10.1977, doc. 294, AAPD 1977; Botschafter Schlagintweit, Djidda, an das Auswärtige Amt, 23.10.1977, doc. 300, AAPD 1977, footnote 3. Indeed, Saudi Arabia had a strong financial presence in South Yemen and hence was politically very influential. See Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 437.
215. Situation Message Listing, p.323, 16.10.1977, 19:40, NLC-7-59-1-1-8, CIA FOIA, JCL.
216. 'The World: Terror and Triumph at Mogadishu', *Time*, (31.10.1977).
217. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 223.



218. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 170–71. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 223.
219. Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 443–44. Telefongespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Staatsminister Wischnewski, z.Z. Mogadischu, 17.10.1977, doc. 293, AAPD 1977.
220. Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit dem somalischen Botschafter Bokah, 17.10.1977, doc. 292, AAPD 1977, 1403, emphasis added
221. For more information on the Ogaden War, see, for instance, Gebru Tareke, 'The Ethiopia-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33, no. 3 (2000), 635–67.
222. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 166–68.
223. Memo Odom to Brzezinski, 17.10.1977, NLC-12R-4-6-1-8, CIA FOIA, JCL.
224. Memorandum Vance to Carter, 2502.1980, NLC-12-48-11-23-9, CIA FOIA, JCL.
225. Letter from President Carter to President Said, no date, probably 17.10.1977, NLC-12R-4-6-1-8, CIA FOIA, JCL.
226. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 223.
227. Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 444–45.
228. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 224.
229. *Ibid.*
230. Michael Schwelien, *Helmut Schmidt. Ein Leben für den Frieden* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2003), 305; "Kopf runter, wo sind die Schweine?" Wie die Geiseln in Mogadischu befreit wurden', *Der Spiegel*, no. 44 (1977), 20–27: 20.
231. Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 445.
232. Wischnewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 225–29. In the course of the operation, there was also a lot of confusion. US sources, for instance, informed their government that the *Landshut* had actually left Mogadishu and was headed for Djibouti. See Late item: Hijackers kill Lufthansa pilot, no date, probably 17.10.1977, NLC-SAFE 17 B-524-7-6, CIA FOIA, JCL.
233. On 7 December 1977, Schmidt consulted with the ministers of the interior and justice, the president of the Federal Criminal Police Office, and the prosecutor general about the fate of the remaining surviving terrorist, Souhaila Andrawes, aka Suheila Syaeh, who was still hospitalised in Mogadishu. Schmidt decided that Bonn would not seek her extradition as 'serious problems exist to provide evidence for her crimes as we would have to disclose the tactics and staff of the GSG 9. Moreover, an imprisonment of the terrorist in the FRG would create further security problems. In addition to this a legal prosecution in Germany would offer an unwelcomed possibility for international terrorism to demonstrate its capabilities'. In March 1978, the Somalis told Bonn's ambassador that they would want to try Ansari themselves to show their sovereignty and to dispel rumours that they acted under German orders. Being the only surviving terrorist, Souhaila Andrawes was sentenced to 20 years in prison by a Somali court, but was put on a plane to Iraq, and hence freedom, only less than a year later, in 1978. She then moved to Czechoslovakia and Norway with her husband and daughter where she was arrested upon a request by the German police in 1994. One year later, she was extradited to Germany and

- stood trial, which led to a sentence of 12 years imprisonment. However, because her daughter lived in Norway, the German authorities agreed that she could serve her sentence in a Norwegian prison, where she was sent in 1997. On 30 November 1999, the Norwegian government granted her a pardon for alleged humanitarian reasons and released her from prison after having served less than half of the sentence. See Letter BMI an das BMJ, etc, 23.02.1978, B83 1233, PA; DB Mogadischu an das AA, 15.03.1978, B83 1233, PA. See also "Landshut"-Entführung: Andrawes kommt vorzeitig frei', *Spiegel Online* (12.11.1999). <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,51891,00.html> (accessed 23.08.2011); "Ich war noch ein Kind": SPIEGEL-Interview mit der "Landshut"-Entführerin Souhaila Andrawes Sayeh', *Der Spiegel*, no. 3 (1995), 78–79; 'After Court Fight, Norway to Extradite Woman in '77 Hijacking', *The New York Times*, (18.10.1995), A8; 'Woman Tied to 1977 Hijacking Fights Extradition to Germany', *The New York Times*, (09.01.1995), A2; Margrit Gerste, 'RAF-Prozess. Die Schatten der Vergangenheit', *Zeit Online* (22.11.1996). [http://www.zeit.de/1996/48/Die\\_Schatten\\_der\\_Vergangenheit](http://www.zeit.de/1996/48/Die_Schatten_der_Vergangenheit) (accessed 23.08.2011); Margrit Gerste, 'RAF. Wer weint, ist tot', *Zeit Online* (05.06.1996). [http://www.zeit.de/1996/28/Wer\\_weint\\_ist\\_tot](http://www.zeit.de/1996/28/Wer_weint_ist_tot) (accessed 23.08.2011).
234. Wischniewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 229–30; *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 179.
  235. Wischniewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 231–33.
  236. *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer*, 183–84.
  237. Butz Peters, *RAF. Terrorismus in Deutschland* (Munich: Knaur, 1993), 273.
  238. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, 18.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
  239. Drahtbericht Botschaft Kopenhagen an das AA, 18.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Kopenhagen an das AA, 19.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
  240. Drahtbericht Botschaft Den Haag an das AA, 19.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA. In Norway there was outright enthusiasm about the German commando operation and troops. See Drahtbericht Botschaft Oslo an das AA, 19.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA. The Swedish newspapers were rather cautious, warning that antiterrorism actions might pose potential risks to democracy. See Drahtbericht Botschaft Stockholm an das AA, 19.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
  241. *Nachrichtenspiegel II*, 18.10.1977, p. 1, ZA 121081, PA.
  242. On 28 September 1977, Japan Airlines Flight 472, en route from Paris to Tokyo, was hijacked by terrorists belonging to the Japanese Red Army and redirected to Bangladesh, Kuwait, Damascus, and Algeria. The hijackers demanded a ransom and the release of nine comrades from Japanese prisons. The Japanese government agreed to the demands, asked the Algerians to allow the hijackers to land there for 'humanitarian reasons', and all hostages were released. Most of the terrorists disappeared after they arrived in Algeria. See 'J.A.L. Jet with 156 Aboard Hijacked', *The New York Times*, (28.09.1977), 2; 'Japanese Willing to Meet Terms of Air Hijackers', *The New York Times*, (29.09.1977), 1, 7; 'Hijackers in Dacca Release 5 More', *The New York Times*, (01.10.1977), 6; 'Japanese Hijackers Free Hostages and Give Themselves Up in Algiers', *The New York Times*, (04.10.1977), 1, 12. West Germany's ambassador Jovy asked the AA not to criticise Algeria for not trying the terrorists

- and to underline as well the humanitarian reasons that had influenced the Japanese and Algerian decision even though that was in contradiction to the German policy. He was criticised in Bonn for apparently not being aware of the efforts Germany was currently pursuing at the UN: 'Jovy has apparently heard nothing about our Hostages Convention'. See Drahtbericht Botschaft Algiers an das AA, 04.10.1977, ZA B83 1004, PA. See also the handwritten comments on it.
243. Bundespolizei, 'Historie der Bundespolizei'. [http://www.bundespolizei.de/DE/06Die-Bundespolizei/Historie/historie\\_node.html](http://www.bundespolizei.de/DE/06Die-Bundespolizei/Historie/historie_node.html) (accessed 02.02.2012).
  244. Runderlass, 19.10.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
  245. 'Terrorists: War without Boundaries', *Time*, (31.10.1977). Most Eastern European states were more hesitant in their media assessments of the commando, though. See Drahtbericht Botschaft Prag an das AA, 19.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
  246. Memo Brzezinski to the President, 27.10.1977, NLC-1-4-2-51-8, CIA FOIA, JCL.
  247. Memo Situation Room to Brzezinski, 19.01.1978, NLC-1-5-2-18-4, CIA FOIA, JCL. It was also suggested that the Soviet Union directly withdrew support, including diplomatically, from the PFLP and thus made a successful end of the crisis – from the point of view of the hijackers – less likely. See the documentary by Roland Suso Richter, 'Mogadischu', (Warner Home Studio, 2008).
  248. Drahtbereich Botschaft Belgrad an das AA, 18.10.1977, ZA 121072, PA ; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, 18.10.1977, B83 989, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 19.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
  249. Memo Ref. 204: Auszug aus dem Gespräch des Herrn Bundesministers mit Botschafter Stoessel am 20.10.1977, no date, probably 20.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
  250. Letter Smyser to Goodby, 13.02.1978, NLC-12-52-7-13-0, CIA FOIA, JCL.
  251. Jimmy Carter, *White House Diary* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 121. Carter at least seemed to have been very happy with the support that he gave Schmidt during the German Autumn, as he mentioned in his memoirs that he called the chancellor during the Schleyer hostage crisis and offered his moral support: 'I think he appreciated my calling him.' See Carter, *White House Diary*, 99.
  252. Memo Situation Room to Brzezinski, 24.10.1977, NLC-1-4-2-35-6, CIA FOIA, JCL. While Zimmermann was not a member of the German government at the time, he had good contacts with Franz-Joseph Strauss, who was heading the CSU at the time and was a member of the big crisis committee during the Schleyer and *Landshut* double crisis. His information to the US officials also testifies to his being aware of the German-Somali negotiations.
  253. Drahtbericht Botschaft Luxemburg an das AA, 17.10.1977, B83 1234, PA.
  254. Nachrichtenspiegel II, 20.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
  255. Drahtbereich Botschaft Belgrad an das AA, 18.10.1977, ZA 121072, PA. See also the section on the CSCE in Chapter 6.
  256. Memo Dg1: Zuständigkeit für die Auslandshilfe für Terrorismus-Bekämpfung, 14.02.1978, B83 1249, PA.

257. Memo Brzezinski to the President, 28.10.1977, NLC-1-4-2-58-1, CIA FOIA, JCL.
258. Drahtbericht Botschaft London an das AA, 21.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
259. Memo Dg5: Besprechung beim Herrn Bundeskanzler am 19.04.1978, 18.04.1978, B83 1249, PA.
260. Fernschreiben BKA-Bonn an das AA, 19.06.1978, B83 1249, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Bukarest an das AA, 22.06.1978, B83 1249, PA.
261. Memo Odom to Brzezinski, Aaron, 14.12.1977, NLC-11-4-8-5-2, CIA FOIA, JCL.
262. Memo Brzezinski to the President, 16.12.1977, NLC-1-4-7-33-3, CIA FOIA, JCL.
263. Memo Vance to the President, 19.10.1977, NLC-128-13-1-12-1, CIA FOIA, JCL.
264. Geiger, 'Die "Landshut" in Mogadischu', 450-51, 53-55. Deutsch-Somalisches Regierungsgespräch, 30.11.1977, doc. 341, AAPD 1977.
265. Memo: Summary of Conclusions of the Special Coordination Committee Meeting, 25.08.1978, NLC-15-120-8-32-9, CIA FOIA, JCL.
266. Rupps, *Helmut Schmidt. Eine politische Biographie*, 248.
267. *Ibid.*, 241.
268. Helmut Schmidt in the Bundestag, 20.10.1977, as quoted in: Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer, 355-6.
269. Letter Prime Minister Callaghan to Chancellor Schmidt, 20.10.1977, PREM16/1278, UKNA. See also Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Premierminister Callaghan, 18.10.1977, doc. 295, AAPD 1977, 1411.

### 3 The Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism, the Diplomats Convention, and Other Early UN Efforts against Terrorism

1. The Hostages Convention will be explored in detail in subsequent chapters.
2. 'Declaration by the United Nations', [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/decade03.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade03.asp) (01.01.1942) (accessed 25.01.2011). For a detailed account of the origins of the United Nations, see Stephen Schlesinger, *Act of Creation. The Founding of the United Nations. A Story of Superpowers, Secret Agents, Wartime Allies and Enemies, and Their Quest for a Peaceful World* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2003); Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man. the United Nations and the Quest for World Government* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).
3. Günther van Well, 'Deutschland und die UN', in *Handbuch Vereinte Nationen*, (ed.) Rüdiger Wolfrum (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991), 71-77: 71.
4. Günther van Well, 'Deutschland und die UN', in *Handbuch Vereinte Nationen*, ed. Rüdiger Wolfrum (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991), 71-77: 71-72.
5. van Well, 'Deutschland und die UN', 72. For a good account of the policy of sole representation, or the 'Hallstein Doctrine', see William Glenn Gray, *Germany's Cold War. The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). See also Bernhard Blumenau, 'The Map of Africa Lies in Germany: The Two Germanys and Their Struggles for Recognition in Africa, 1955-1966', *Working Papers*

- in *International History*, no. 10 (2011). [http://www.graduateinstitute.ch/webdav/site/international\\_history\\_politics/shared/working\\_papers/WPIH\\_10\\_Blumenau.pdf](http://www.graduateinstitute.ch/webdav/site/international_history_politics/shared/working_papers/WPIH_10_Blumenau.pdf).
6. Wilhelm Bruns, *Die Uneinigen in den Vereinten Nationen. Bundesrepublik Deutschland und DDR in der UNO* (Gütersloh: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1980), 19.
  7. Gregor Schöllgen, *Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1999), 121, 123.
  8. Bruns, *Die Uneinigen in den Vereinten Nationen*, 50–51.
  9. van Well, 'Deutschland und die UN', 76. Memo Referat 230 an die Referate 231, 232, 200 etc: Große Anfrage der Fraktion der SPD und FDP zur Mitwirkung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den Vereinten Nationen, 05.07.1977, B83 987, PA.
  10. Wolfram F. Hanrieder, 'West German Foreign Policy, 1949–1979: Necessities and Choices', in *West German Foreign Policy: 1949–1979*, (ed.) Wolfgang F. Hanrieder (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1980), 15–36: 32. Original quote in English.
  11. Bruns, *Die Uneinigen in den Vereinten Nationen*, 32–33, 38, 43; van Well, 'Deutschland und die UN', 74–75.
  12. Ernst-Otto Czempiel, 'Germany and the Third World. The Politics of Free Trade and the Free Hand', in *West German Foreign Policy: 1949–1979*, (ed.) Wolfgang F. Hanrieder (Boulder, Colo.: Praeger, 1980), 181–96: 191–94.
  13. Konrad Seitz, 'Die Dritte Welt als neuer Machtfaktor der Weltpolitik', *Europa-Archiv* 30, no. 7 (1975), 213–26.
  14. Czempiel, 'Germany and the Third World', 194. Original quote in English.
  15. Yet the report produced by the Commission in 1980 failed to gain major political attention because of its – perceived – anti-Western direction and also as a consequence of more pressing international crises surrounding Afghanistan and the hostages in Tehran. See, for instance, Eckart Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Siedler, 2009), 644.
  16. *Ibid.*, pp. 642–43. For the importance the AA attached to UN membership and to raising Germany once again into the ranks of a global player, see Memo Referat 230 an die Referate 231, 232, 200 etc: Große Anfrage der Fraktion der SPD und FDP zur Mitwirkung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den Vereinten Nationen, 05.07.1977, B83 987, PA. On Germany's new economic power and the competition this created, for instance, with the US, see also Giovanna Arrighi, 'The World Economy and the Cold War, 1970–1990', in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, (ed.) Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 23–44: 26.
  17. For a contemporary crisis in which Bonn was reminded of its special status under international law and within the international system by its most important ally, the US, see, for instance, Bernhard Blumenau, 'West Germany and the United States during the Middle East Crisis of 1973. "Nothing but a semi-colony"?'', in *The Routledge Handbook of Transatlantic Security*, (ed.) Jussi Hanhimäki, Georges-Henri Soutou, and Basil Germond (Milton Park, New York: Routledge, 2010), 126–41.
  18. See, for instance, Charles Townshend, "Methods Which All Civilized Opinion Must Condemn". *The League of Nations and International Action*

- against Terrorism', in *An International History of Terrorism. Western and Non-Western Experiences*, (ed.) Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Bernhard Blumenau (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 34–50; Ben Saul, 'Attempts to Define Terrorism in International Law', *Netherlands International Law Review* 52, no. 01 (2005), 57–83: 26–29; Ben Saul, 'The Legal Response of the League of Nations to Terrorism', *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4, no. 1 (2006), 78–102; Peter Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism. The Global Politics of Cooperation and Contestation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010).
19. Doris König, 'Terrorismus', in *Handbuch Vereinte Nationen*, (ed.) Rüdiger Wolfrum (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991), 847–54: 848.
  20. Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism*, 33.
  21. Konrad Seitz, 'Die Dominanz der Dritten Welt in den Vereinten Nationen', *Europa-Archiv* 28, no. 12 (1973), 403–12: 403–04.
  22. Konrad Seitz, 'Die Dominanz der Dritten Welt in den Vereinten Nationen', 403–12: 404.
  23. Seitz, 'Die Dritte Welt als neuer Machtfaktor der Weltpolitik'.
  24. Seitz, 'Die Dominanz der Dritten Welt in den Vereinten Nationen', 411.
  25. For an example of this assessment, see, for instance, Telegram 4973 From the Mission to the United Nations to the Department of State, November 21, 1973, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, Confidential, US National Archives (USNA). On the general relations between the US and the Third World in the 1970s, see, for instance, Mark Atwood Lawrence, 'Containing Globalism. The United States and the Developing World in the 1970s', in *The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective*, (ed.) Niall Ferguson et al. (Cambridge, Mass., London, UK: Harvard University Press, 2010), 205–19.
  26. Jost Delbrück, 'Deutschland in den Vereinten Nationen', *Europa-Archiv* 28, no. 16 (1973), 564–72; Richard N. Gardner, 'The Hard Road to World Order', *Foreign Affairs* 52, no. 3 (1973–1974), 556–76; Charles William Maynes, 'A U.N. Policy for the Next Administration', *Foreign Affairs* 54, no. 4 (1975–1976), 804–19.
  27. Maynes, 'A U.N. Policy for the Next Administration', 804; Tom J. Farer, 'The United States and the Third World: A Basis for Accommodation', *Foreign Affairs* 54, no. 1 (1975–1976), 79–97: 79.
  28. Conversation Between President Nixon and the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger), Washington, February 3, 1973, Nixon Presidential Materials, White House Tapes, Oval Office, Conversation No. 840–12, USNA.
  29. Telegram 4973 From the Mission to the United Nations to the Department of State, November 21, 1973, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, Confidential, USNA; Telegram 250151; From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, December 26, 1973, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, Confidential, USNA.
  30. Delbrück, 'Deutschland in den Vereinten Nationen', 566.
  31. *Ibid.*, 565.
  32. Matthew Connelly, 'Future Shock. The End of the World as They Knew It', in *The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective*, (ed.) Niall Ferguson et al. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 337–50: 345.
  33. Niall Ferguson, 'Introduction: Crisis, What Crisis?', in *The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective*, (ed.) Niall Ferguson et al. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1–21: 3.

34. Connelly, 'Future Shock', 346.
35. Geoffrey M. Levitt, 'The International Legal Response to Terrorism: A Reevaluation', *University of Colorado Law Review* 60, no. 3 (1989), 533–52: 536. For the problems related to the fine lines between terrorism and NLM, see also, for instance, Shaloma Gauthier, 'SWAPO, the United Nations, and the Struggle for National Liberation', in *An International History of Terrorism. Western and Non-western Experiences*, (ed.) Jussi Hanhimäki and Bernhard Blumenau (London: Routledge, 2013), 169–88.
36. Walter Laqueur, *The Age of Terrorism* (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), 269.
37. The Dawson's Field crisis was also a concern for West Germany. Beginning on 6 September 1970, four planes were simultaneously hijacked by terrorists of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Although German planes were not attacked, 38 German citizens were among the passengers on the four planes. Bonn dispatched Minister Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski to Jordan to represent it on the ground and to support the Red Cross in its negotiations with the PFLP. Meanwhile, in Berne, an international crisis committee was created, composed of diplomats from Germany, the US, the UK, Israel, and Switzerland, to coordinate with the Red Cross, which was officially leading the negotiations. According to Wischniewski, the crisis committee in Berne was poorly coordinated and cumbersome: 'I can't pretend to claim that international cooperation against international terrorism was particularly successful back then'. When the Red Cross left without achieving success, the individual states had to resume direct negotiations with the terrorists. Wischniewski – who was nicknamed Ben Wish – had established good links with many Arab leaders in the 1950s and 1960s, and he could use these to contribute to the release of all of the German hostages. Arafat had already distanced himself from the hijacking and had excluded the PFLP from the umbrella organisation of the PLO. Therefore, the crisis was less directly linked to the Israel-Palestine problem, which also made it easier for Wischniewski. While he was still negotiating with the PFLP for the release of the hostages, the war between the Jordanian army and the Palestinians broke out in Jordan, and Wischniewski as well as the recently released German hostages were trapped for several days. They finally managed to leave the country through an adventurous road trip. See Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß: in Mogadischu und anderswo. Politische Memoiren* (Munich: Goldmann, 1991), 127–30, 32–38.
38. The Munich crisis is covered in the case studies section of this book. For the Lod incident and its consequences for the UN, see, for instance, Yoshihiro Kuriyama, 'Terrorism at Tel Aviv Airport and a "New Left" Group in Japan', *Asian Survey* 13, no. 3 (1973), 336–46: 336; Patricia G. Steinhoff, 'Portrait of a Terrorist: An Interview with Kozo Okamoto', *Asian Survey* 16, no. 9 (1976), 830–45: 830, 37–42; William A. Farrell, *Blood and Rage. The Story of the Japanese Red Army* (Washington, DC: Lexington Books, 1990), 129, 38–47. And more recently, Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism*, 37.
39. Levitt, 'The International Legal Response to Terrorism', 536–37; Abraham D. Sofaer, 'Terrorism and the Law', *Foreign Affairs* 64, no. 5 (1986), 901–22: 903.
40. Drahtbericht Botschaft Washington an das AA, 06.09.1972, B83 824, PA.
41. Sofaer, 'Terrorism and the Law', 903.

42. Protokoll: Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus, 21.03.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
43. Ibid.
44. Airgram A-128 From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, Washington, January 5, 1973; RG 59, Central Files 1970-73, UN 8 GA, USNA.
45. Referat V 4, Sachverhalt: US-Entwurf für eine Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung bestimmter Akte des internationalen Terrorismus, 29.09.1972, B83 824, PA. For the draft and its scope, see also Edward Mickolus, 'Multilateral Legal Efforts to Combat Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis', *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 6, no. 1 (1979), 13-51: 16.
46. Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism*, 39.
47. Then adopted as General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII). See 'General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII). 'Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes', (18.12.1972). [http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/27/ares3034\(xxvii\).pdf](http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/27/ares3034(xxvii).pdf) (accessed 22.11.2010).
48. 'Reaffirms the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial and racist régimes ... upholds the legitimacy of their struggle ...'.
49. Sofaer, 'Terrorism and the Law', 904.
50. 'Condemns the continuation of repressive and terrorist acts by colonial, racist and alien regimes in denying peoples their legitimate right to self-determination ...'.
51. For an assessment of the Resolution, see, for instance, Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism*, 40.
52. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
53. Levitt, 'The International Legal Response to Terrorism', 537. Draft Report of the ad hoc committee on international terrorism, UN GA document A/AC.160/L.3, 08.08.1973, B83 825, PA; Airgram A-128 From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, Washington, January 5, 1973; RG 59, Central Files 1970-73, UN 8 GA, USNA. For the text of the resolution, see also 'General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII). 'Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes'.
54. Action Memorandum From the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Coordinator for Combating Terrorism (Hoffacker) and the Deputy Legal Adviser (Maw) to Secretary of State Kissinger, Washington, December 29, 1973; RG 59, Central Files 1970-73, POL 23-8. USNA; Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) and the Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs (Ehrlichman) to President Nixon, Washington, January 17, 1973; Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC



- Files, Box 310, Subject Files, Cabinet Committee on Terrorism, September 72–July 73, USNA.
55. Airgram A-128 From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, Washington, January 5, 1973; RG 59, Central Files 1970–73, UN 8 GA, USNA.
  56. Protokoll: Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus, 21.03.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  57. Telegram 184584 From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, August 22, 1974, RG 59, INR/SEE/FP Files: Lot 92 D 403, 29th UNGA, USNA.
  58. Memorandum From Secretary of State Rogers to President Nixon, Washington, January 8, 1973; Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, Box 310, Subject Files, Cabinet Committee on Terrorism, September 72–July 73, USNA.
  59. The term 'Nine' was used by the German government as a synonym for the EC member states. Drahterlass Strothman, no date, ZA 121069, PA. This instruction was preceded by negotiations between the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) and the AA as to whether or not to support the committee on terrorism. The BMI saw no obstacles to Western collaboration within the committee. See Drahtbericht des BMI an das AA, 06.02.1973, ZA 121069, PA. The Federal Ministry for Justice (BMJ) was more hesitant as it saw a great potential for problems, especially in subparagraphs 3 and 4 of the resolution, which would face severe resistance from Western states. Collaboration within this committee, so it was argued, could also avoid the possibility of a broad interpretation of subparagraphs 3 and 4. See Schnellbrief des BMJ an das AA, 06.02.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  60. Referat 511 an das Referat 230, 13.03.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  61. Memo: Sachstand attached to Memo Ref. 511 an das Ref. 230: XVIII. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 27.08.1973, B83 825, ZA.
  62. Brief Referat 511, AA, an den Bundesminister der Justiz, an den Bundesminister des Inneren: Vorbereitung der 30. Generalversammlung der VN, 13.08.1975, B83 983, PA.
  63. Memo: Sachstand attached to Memo Ref. 511 an das Ref. 230: XVIII. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 27.08.1973, B83 825, PA.
  64. Referat 310 an das Referat 230, 06.02.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  65. See, for instance, Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 16.03.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  66. Protokoll: Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus, 21.03.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  67. Draft: Entwurf einer Antwortnote an den UN-Generalsekretär zur Resolution 3034 (27) betreffend Terrorismus, Übersetzung, 30.03.1973, ZA 121069, PA. This draft then became the official response of the German government. Original in English.
  68. The FRG claimed the right to self-determination for the people in the GDR. The basic idea was that if the East Germans could choose freely, they would reunite with West Germany – which is what happened in 1990. For the invocation of the principle of self-determination in the context of *Deutschlandpolitik*, see Walther Leisler Kiep, 'The New Deutschlandpolitik', *Foreign Affairs* 63, no. 2 (1984–1985), 316–29: 317; E. H. Albert, 'The Brandt Doctrine of Two States in Germany', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944–)* 46, no. 2 (1970), 293–303: 297.

69. Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 25.04.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
70. Memo Referat 511 an die Gruppe 23: VN-Politik nach dem Beitritt, 05.06.1973, B83 824, PA; Memo Referat 511 an das Referat 230, 29.06.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
71. Sofaer, 'Terrorism and the Law', 904–05.
72. Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 31.07.1973, B83 825, ZA.
73. Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 14.08.1973, B83 825, ZA.
74. Ibid.
75. Memo: Haltung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, attached to Memo Ref. 511 an das Ref. 230: XVIII. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 27.08.1973, B83 825, ZA.
76. For West Germany's policy in these fora, see, for instance, Bernhard Blumenau, 'The European Communities' Pyrrhic Victory: European Integration, Terrorism, and the Dublin Agreement of 1979', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, no. 5 (2014), 405–421; Bernhard Blumenau, 'Taming the Beast: West Germany, the Political Offence Exception and the Council of Europe Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, (forthcoming).
77. Memo: Haltung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, attached to Memo Ref. 511 an das Ref. 230: XVIII. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 27.08.1973, B83 825, ZA.
78. As research suggests, this was not the case either, though. See the preceding note on these two institutions.
79. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 11.10.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
80. Drahterlass AA an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 20.11.1973, B83 825, PA.
81. Memo: Haltung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, attached to Memo Ref. 511 an das Ref. 230: Vorbereitung der 29. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 15.08.1974, B83 825, PA.
82. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 25.01.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
83. Memo: Haltung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, attached to Memo Ref. 511 an das Ref. 230: Vorbereitung der 29. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 15.08.1974, B83 825, PA.
84. Brief Referat 511, AA, an den Bundesminister der Justiz, an dem Bundesminister des Inneren: Vorbereitung der 30. Generalversammlung der VN, 13.08.1975, B83 983, PA.
85. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung New York, 04.12.1975, B83 983, PA.
86. For a more detailed assessment of the OPEC crisis, see the case study section of this book.
87. Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 02.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
88. Memo Abteilung 2 an den Herrn Bundesminister, 02.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
89. Runderlass, 13.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
90. In 1976, West Germany introduced an initiative to the UN which demanded the negotiation of a convention against hostage-taking. The drafting of the

- convention lasted from 1976 until 1979, and this project became the centre-piece of Bonn's antiterrorism policies at the UN. It will be the subject of the subsequent two chapters.
91. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 25.01.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
  92. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Internationaler Terrorismus (i. T.), 31.03.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
  93. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 30.11.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
  94. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Internationaler Terrorismus (i. T.), 31.03.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
  95. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA nr 3470, 06.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
  96. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 06.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
  97. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 13.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
  98. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Internationaler Terrorismus, 18.04.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
  99. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den Vereinten Nationen an das AA: Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 17.01.1980, ZA 121080, PA. These were indeed much more conciliatory and less confrontational words. See Drahtbericht der Ständigen Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 09.04.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
  100. Levitt, 'The International Legal Response to Terrorism', 538; Robert A. Friedlander, 'Terrorism and International Law: Recent Developments', *Rutgers Law Journal* 13, (1981–1982), 493–511: 509–10.
  101. For an – incomplete – overview, see Allen B. Green, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Diplomatic Agents and Other Internationally Protected Persons: An Analysis', *Virginia Journal of International Law* 14, (1973–1974), 703–28: 704 footnote 5; For a list of all major assaults on embassies and diplomats, see also Brian M. Jenkins, *Embassies under Siege. A Review of 48 Embassy Takeovers, 1971–1980* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1981). See also Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism*, 41.
  102. See the case study section.
  103. See, for instance, Saul, 'Attempts to Define Terrorism in International Law', 68, ft.83. See also 'Two Soviet Diplomats Injured in Foiled Argentine Kidnapping', *The New York Times*, (30.03.1970), 18; 'Shots at Soviet Mission Stir Bitter Debate in the U.N.', *The New York Times*, (22.10.1971), 1, 45. As a matter of fact, the Soviets thought their diplomatic missions in the US were in danger and constantly asked for better protection. See, for instance, Memorandum From Secretary of State Rogers to President Nixon, Washington, June 17, 1973; Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, Box 310, Subject Files, Cabinet Committee on Terrorism, September 72–July 73, USNA.
  104. Friedlander, 'Terrorism and International Law', 505.
  105. Wood, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents'. In the 1970s, the Romanians and other Eastern governments were increasingly

- concerned that their diplomats would also be kidnapped, Vermerk Ref. IB 1: Massnahmen zur Vermeidung von Diplomatenentführungen, 17.07.1970, B20 499, PA.
106. The OAS convention was established in response to the assassination of von Spreti in Guatemala and entered into force in 1973. See Vermerk attached to Memo Ref. 501 an das Referat 011: Fragestunde des Deutschen Bundestages am 15. Sept. 1977, 15.09.1977, B83 988, PA. For an assessment of the Convention, see Nicholas M. Poulantzas, 'Some Problems of International Law Connected with Urban Guerrilla Warfare: The Kidnapping of Members of Diplomatic Missions, Consular Offices and other Foreign Personnel', *Annales d'études internationales* 3, (1972), 137–67; Mickolus, 'Multilateral Legal Efforts to Combat Terrorism', 27–28.
  107. Green, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Diplomatic Agents and Other Internationally Protected Persons', 704–06.
  108. Report of the ILC, A/CN.4/L.191, no date (probably 1973), B83 824, PA.
  109. Ibid.
  110. Wood, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents'.
  111. Green, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Diplomatic Agents and Other Internationally Protected Persons', 708–11.
  112. In its earlier version, the draft contained a condemnation of crimes 'regardless of the motives'. This phrase was deleted from the draft text and did not figure in the final convention as a compromise between the West and some Third World countries. Green, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Diplomatic Agents and Other Internationally Protected Persons', 714.
  113. For more information on the ICAO conventions, see, for instance, Omar Malik, 'Aviation Security before and after Lockerbie', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no. 3 (1998), 112 – 33; Sami Shubber, 'Aircraft Hijacking under the Hague Convention 1970: A New Regime?', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1973), 687–726; C. S. Thomas and M. J. Kirby, 'The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (1973), 163–72; Rodney Wallis, 'The Role of the International Aviation Organisations in Enhancing Security', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no. 3 (1998), 83–100.
  114. Michael C. Wood, 'The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (1974), 791–817: 792.
  115. For more information on the procedural history of the Convention as well as a discussion of its major points, see 'Procedural History of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', *United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law* (2008). [http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/pdf/ha/cppcipp/cppcipp\\_ph\\_E.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/pdf/ha/cppcipp/cppcipp_ph_E.pdf) (accessed 12.11.2010); Green, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Diplomatic Agents and Other Internationally Protected Persons', 712–28; Wood, 'The Convention

- on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', 799–817.
116. See the case study in Chapter 2.
  117. See the section on the von Spreti kidnapping in Chapter 2.
  118. Memo IB 1 an das Ref. V2: Schutz der Angehörigen der Auslandsvertretungen und ihrer Familien, 12.06.1970, B30 499, PA.
  119. Memo IB 1 an das Ref. V2: Schutz der Angehörigen der Auslandsvertretungen und ihrer Familien, 09.07.1970, B30 499, PA; Drahterlass an die Beobachtermission bei den VN, 27.07.1970, B30 499, PA.
  120. Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 17.08.1970, B30 499, PA; Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 21.08.1970, B30 499, PA.
  121. Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 02.09.1970, B30 499, PA.
  122. Vermerk Ref IB 1: Schutz der Diplomaten und ihrer Familien vor rechtswidrigen Angriffen und Entführungen, 09.09.1970, B30 499, PA.
  123. Drahterlass an die Beobachtermission bei den VN, 14.09.1970, B30 499, PA. See also Blumenau, 'Taming the Beast'.
  124. Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 11.12.1970, B30 499, PA; Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 16.12.1970, B30 499, PA.
  125. Memo: TOP Konventionsentwurf zur Verhütung und Ahndung von Verbrechen gegen Diplomaten und andere unter Schutz stehende Personen, attached to Memo Ref 502 an das Ref. 230: XXVIII. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 27.08.1973, ZA 113974, PA.
  126. See the aftermaths of the Spreti crisis in Chapter 2.
  127. *Ibid.*
  128. It will be assessed subsequently.
  129. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 04.10.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  130. Memo Referat 502 an das Referat 511: Terrorismus, 20.03.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  131. Briefing Memorandum From the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Coordinator for Combating Terrorism (Hoffacker) to Secretary of State Kissinger, Washington, October 4, 1973, RG 59, M/CT Files: Lot 77 D 30, Secretary—Correspondence and Reports 1972–73, USNA.
  132. For the other members of the Drafting Committee, see Wood, 'The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', 794, ft. 18.
  133. Memo Abteilung 5 dem Herrn Staatssekretär: Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), 28.12.1973, ZA 113974, PA.
  134. Levitt, 'The International Legal Response to Terrorism', 544; Sofaer, 'Terrorism and the Law', 917–18.
  135. Telegram 4973 From the Mission to the United Nations to the Department of State, November 21, 1973, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, USNA.

136. Wood, 'The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', 795–97.
137. 'General Assembly Resolution 3166 (XXVIII)', (14.12.1973). [http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9\\_4\\_1973\\_resolution.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_4_1973_resolution.pdf) (accessed 12.11.2010).
138. Anlage 1 attached to Memo Abteilung 5: Die Verhandlungen in den VN über eine Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), attached to Memo Abteilung 5 dem Herrn Staatssekretär: Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), 28.12.1973, ZA 113974, PA.
139. Memo Ref. 502 an die Referate 230, 302, 500, 501: Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter, 29.01.1974, B83 825, PA.
140. The representative of Canada, as quoted in Wood, 'The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', 798.
141. Letter BMI an das AA: Diplomatenschutzkonvention, 16.01.1974, B83 825, PA.
142. Declaration by the Federal Republic of Germany, in 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents. Including Reservations and Declarations made upon signature', *United Nations Treaty Series* 1035, I-15410(20.02.1977). <http://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201035/volume-1035-I-15410-English.pdf> (accessed 12.11.2010).
143. Memo Abteilung 5 dem Herrn Staatssekretär: Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), 28.12.1973, ZA 113974, PA.
144. Article 14, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', (1973). [http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9\\_4\\_1973.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_4_1973.pdf) (accessed 12.11.2010).
145. As quoted in Wood, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents'.
146. Memo Abteilung 5 dem Herrn Staatssekretär: Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), 28.12.1973, ZA 113974, PA.
147. 'Declaration concerning the declaration made by France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of American with regard to the declaration made by the Federal Republic of Germany upon ratification. Received on: 13 February 1978. Federal Republic of Germany', *United Nations Treaty Series* 1076, A-15410(1978). <http://>

- [treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201076/volume-1076-A-15410-English\\_French.pdf](http://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201076/volume-1076-A-15410-English_French.pdf) (accessed 12.11.2010).
148. Memo Abteilung 5 dem Herrn Staatssekretär: Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), 28.12.1973, ZA 113974, PA.
  149. Memo Abteilung 5: Die Verhandlungen in den VN über eine Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), attached to Memo Abteilung 5 dem Herrn Staatssekretär: Konvention zur Verhinderung und Bestrafung von Verbrechen gegen international geschützte Personen einschließlich diplomatischer Vertreter (Diplomatenschutzkonvention), 28.12.1973, ZA 113974, PA.
  150. Memo Ref. 511 an das Ref. 230: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, B83 984, PA.
  151. Brief Referat 511, AA, an den Bundesminister der Justiz, an den Bundesminister des Inneren: Vorbereitung der 30. Generalversammlung der VN, 13.08.1975, B83 983, PA.
  152. Telegram 250151 From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, December 26, 1973, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, USNA.
  153. Sir Michael Wood, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents', *United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law* (2008). <http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/ha/cppcipp/cppcipp.html> (accessed 12.11.2010).
  154. Letter Armin H. Meyer, Special Assistant to the Secretary to Dr. Strothmann, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bonn, 16.04.1973, B83 1006, PA.
  155. Drahtbericht Beobachtermission bei den VN an das AA, 07.08.1973, B83 825, PA.
  156. Ibid.
  157. Referat 230 an die Referate 511, 500, 502, 09.08.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  158. Memo Referat 502 an das Referat 230: Vorbereitung der XXVIII. Generalversammlung der VN, 17.08.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  159. Memo Referat 500 an das Referat 230: XVIII: VN-Vollversammlung; TOP 94 – Terrorismus, 21.08.1973, B83 825, ZA.; see also Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 03.09.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  160. Memo Referat 502 an das Referat 230: Vorbereitung der XXVIII. Generalversammlung der VN, 17.08.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  161. Ibid. Emphasis in the original document.
  162. Drahterlass an die Beobachtermission bei den VN, 03.09.1973, B83 825, ZA.
  163. Schnellbrief des BMI an das AA, 26.09.1973, ZA 121069, PA. See also Telegramm des BMI an das AA, 05.09.1973, B83 825, PA.
  164. Schnellbrief des BMJ an das AA: Vorbereitung der XVIII. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 03.09.1973, B83 825, PA.
  165. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 04.10.1973, ZA 121069, PA.
  166. Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 11.10.1973, B83 825, ZA.
  167. Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 15.03.1974, ZA 121069, PA.

168. Referat 511 an das Referat 230, 26.03.1974, ZA 121069, PA; Referat 502 an das Referat 230, 27.03.1974, B83 825, PA.; Referat 500 an das Referat 230, 29.04.1974, ZA 121069, PA.
169. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 19.04.1974, ZA 121069, PA.
170. Brief Referat 511, AA, an den Bundesminister der Justiz, an dem Bundesminister des Inneren: Vorbereitung der 30. Generalversammlung der VN, 13.08.1975, B83 983, PA.
171. There is a comprehensive study based on German and Swedish documents on the Stockholm crisis in Michael März, *Die Machtprobe 1975. Wie RAF und Bewegung 2. Juni den Staat erpressten* (Leipzig: Forum Verlag, 2007); see also Michael Schwelien, *Helmut Schmidt. Ein Leben für den Frieden* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2003), 290–91. For an account of the Lorenz crisis, see Matthias Dahlke, 'Nur eingeschränkte Krisenbereitschaft: Die staatliche Reaktion auf die Entführung des CDU-Politikers Peter Lorenz 1975', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 55, no. 4 (2007), 641–78.
172. Brief von Gerhard Merzyn an den Bundeskanzler, 28.04.1975, ZA 121069, PA and letter Bundeskanzleramt an den Bundesminister des Inneren, Mai 1975, ZA 121069, PA.
173. Memo Referat 230 an die Referate 500, 502, 511: Maßnahmen in den VN zur Bekämpfung de sinternationalen Terrorismus, 07.05.1975, B83 983, PA.
174. Memo Referat 511 an Referat 230: Maßnahmen in den VN zur Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus, 30.05.1975, B83 983, PA.
175. Abteilung 2 (van Well) an den Herrn Bundesminister, 29.04.1975, ZA 121069, PA.
176. Ibid.
177. Memo Referat 500 an das Referat 230, 01.07.1975, ZA 121069, PA; Memo Referat 230 an die Referate 500, 502, 511, 07.05.1975, ZA 121069, PA.
178. Referat 230: Top 117, Sachstand, no date, ZA 121069, PA.
179. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 03.12.1975, ZA 121069, PA.
180. Ibid. Original quote in English.
181. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, no legible date, probably 04.12.1975, ZA 121069, PA.

#### 4 The UN Hostages Convention: Drafting and Launch

1. Ved P. Nanda, 'Progress Report on the United Nations' Attempt to Draft an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages', *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 6, no. 1 (1979), 89–108: 91.
2. Memorandum From Secretary of State Rogers to President Nixon, Washington, June 17, 1973; Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, Box 310, Subject Files, Cabinet Committee on Terrorism, September 72–July 73, USNA.
3. Nanda, 'Progress Report on the United Nations' Attempt to Draft an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages', 91.
4. See for instance Art. 2 (1) a of the Convention.



5. Nanda, 'Progress Report on the United Nations' Attempt to Draft an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages', 94.
6. Edward Mickolus, 'Multilateral Legal Efforts to Combat Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis', *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 6, no. 1 (1979), 13–51: 28–29.
7. Memorandum From the Acting Secretary of State (Ingersoll) to President Ford, Washington, February 18, 1975; RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, P750037–0744; USNA.
8. Schreiben des Bundeskanzleramts an Staatssekretär Gehlhoff, 06.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
9. Vermerk: Initiative der Bundesrepublik Deutschland auf dem Gebiet der Bekämpfung des Terrorismus, 08.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA. The two quotes are from the same document. Letter BMI an das Bundeskanzleramt, 12.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
10. Drahterlass des AA an die Botschaften in Caracas und Bogota, 08.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
11. Referat 230, Vermerk: Maßnahmen gegen den internationalen Terrorismus, 09.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
12. Handwritten Vermerk: Verfahren, probably a 'Direktorenbesprechung', no date (probably 08.01.1976), ZA 121070, PA.
13. Ibid.
14. Drahterlass/Runderlass an die deutschen Auslandsvertretungen, 12.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA. The two quotations are taken from the same document.
15. Runderlass, 13.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
16. Drahtbericht Botschaft Washington an das AA, 15.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
17. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tel Aviv an das AA, 16.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
18. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tokio an das AA, 22.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
19. Drahtbericht Botschaft Moskau an das AA, 21.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
20. Drahtbericht Botschaft Prag an das AA, 16.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Warschau an das AA, 26.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Brief Botschaft Prag an das AA, 03.03.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
21. Drahtbericht Botschaft Algiers an das AA, 19.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Kairo an das AA, 19.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Doha an das AA, 20.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Bagdad an das AA, 18.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
22. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tripolis an das AA, 19.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
23. The embassy in Kampala cabled that the ambassador did not even raise the issue with the Ugandan authorities, as this would have been counterproductive in light of the close ties between Uganda and the PLO and because of Idi Amin's personal unpredictability. A very paternalistic tone underpinned the report from Benin. The embassy cabled that despite being a nonpermanent member of the SC, Benin's military dictatorship had not yet reached the 'level of maturity' that would allow it to address the issue of terrorism objectively. Benin's use of 'diplomatic gangsterism' and the fact that it was one of the least developed countries would hinder its cooperation at the UN. Somalia was an interesting case because it was to play a major role in a German counterterrorism operation a year later, during the hijacking of the Lufthansa jet *Landshut*. In 1976, the embassy in Mogadishu informed the AA that it was very unlikely that Somalia would support even a sectoral

- initiative. It maintained good and close relations with radical states such as Iraq and Libya, as well as with the PLO, and would not jeopardise these links by cooperating with the West. See Drahtbericht Botschaft Kambala an das AA, 15.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Brief Botschaft Cotonou an das AA: Internationale Zusammenarbeit bei der Bekämpfung von Terrorakten, 05.02.1976, B83 983, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Mogadischu an das AA, 17.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
24. Drahtbericht Botschaft Peking an das AA, 15.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
  25. Report: China and Global Issues, April 1978, NLC-26-49-7-2-1, CIA FOIA, JCL.
  26. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 30.11.1976, no. 3364, B83 1236, PA.
  27. After the 1973 oil crisis, the French were indeed very cautious about not straining their relations with Arab countries, especially because of oil interests. See, for instance, Daniel Möckli, *European Foreign Policy during the Cold War. Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 257, 266–69.
  28. Drahtbericht ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 16.01.1976, ZA 121071, PA. For Germany's problematic relationship with many Arab states at the time, see Bernhard Blumenau, 'West Germany and the United States during the Middle East Crisis of 1973. "Nothing but a Semi-Colony"?', in *The Routledge Handbook of Transatlantic Security*, (ed.) Jussi Hanhimäki, Georges-Henri Soutou, and Basil Germond (London: Routledge, 2010), 26–41.
  29. Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 02.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
  30. Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung von Terrorakten, 29.01.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
  31. Ibid.
  32. Aufzeichnung: Deutsch-französische Direktorenkonsultationen am 12.1.1976 in Paris, 13.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
  33. Ibid.
  34. Referat 200 an das Referat 202: Weltweite Bekämpfung des Terrorismus, 09.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA. See also Bernhard Blumenau, 'Taming the Beast: West Germany, the Political Offence Exception and the Council of Europe Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, (forthcoming).
  35. Letter Deutsche Botschaft Paris an das AA, 17.02.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
  36. Abteilung 2 an das Ministerbüro, 09.01.1976, ZA 121070, PA.
  37. Correspondance Européenne (COREU), 03.02.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
  38. Ibid.
  39. Ibid.
  40. Ibid.
  41. Note: Réunion du Groupe d'expert Nations Unies le 11 février à Luxembourg. Note d'appui sur le terrorisme international, no date, probably 11. or 12.02.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
  42. Ibid. Note also that the German memo on the meeting has a much more optimistic tone than the one prepared in French (the official minutes): Vermerk Referat 230: Tagung der VN-Arbeitsgruppe am 10.2.1976 in Luxemburg, ZA 121074, PA.
  43. Drahterlass/ COREU, 09.03.1976, ZA 121074, PA.

44. Drahterlass: Zum 22. EPZ-Ministertreffen am 23.2.1976 in Luxemburg, 24.02.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
45. Memo Referat 230: Terrorismus-Initiative, 16.03.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
46. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 06.04.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
47. Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Terrorismus-Initiative in den VN, 25.03.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
48. Memo: Übersetzung: PK-Bericht vom 23. April 1976, no date, probably 26. or 27.04.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
49. Memo Referat 200: Zum Stand der internationalen Zusammenarbeit zur Bekämpfung des Terrorismus, 28.04.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
50. Drahtbericht Botschaft London an das AA, 29.04.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
51. Memo Referat 230: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 18.05.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
52. Teilerlass, 12.05.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
53. Drahtbericht Botschaft Neu Delhi an das AA, 31.05.1976, ZA 121075, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Algier an das AA, 10.06.1976, ZA 121075, PA; Vermerk: Zusammenarbeit in der Verbrechensbekämpfung mit Jugoslawien, 15.07.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
54. Vermerk Direktor Lahn (D3): Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers mit Ministerpräsident Prinz Fahd am 31.5.1976 in Riad, 02.06.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
55. Venezuela, Nigeria, Zambia, and Iran, with Yugoslavia taking a neutral stance. See Untitled document listing the stances of Third World countries in Latin America, on the Arabian Peninsula, in Asia and Africa, no date, probably July 1976, ZA 121075, PA.
56. COREU, 18.05.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
57. Vermerk Referat 230: Außenpolitischer Meinungsaustausch über Themen 31. GV der VN in der 259. Sitzung des KMB vom 23.6.1976, 25.06.1976, B83 676, PA.
58. Unknown African diplomat quoted in: Memo Referat 230: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 28.06.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Memo Politische Abteilung 2 an den Herrn Minister: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 28.06.1976, ZA 121075, PA.
59. Memo Referat 230: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 28.06.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Memo Politische Abteilung 2 an den Herrn Minister: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 28.06.1976, ZA 121075, PA.
60. Ibid.; Memo Referat 230: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 28.06.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
61. Ibid.; Memo Politische Abteilung 2 an den Herrn Minister: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 28.06.1976, ZA 121075, PA.
62. Vermerk Unterabteilung 23 an den Herrn Minister: Übersicht über unsere Anstrengungen zur Stärkung der internationalen Zusammenarbeit gegen den Terrorismus, 06.07.1976, B83 676, PA.
63. Memo Referat 300 an das Referat 230: Internationale Zusammenarbeit bei der Bekämpfung des Terrorismus, 12.07.1976, B83 676, PA.
64. Ibid.
65. Memo Referat 230 an das Referat 300: Internationale Zusammenarbeit bei der Bekämpfung des Terrorismus, 15.07.1976, B83 676, PA.

66. Memo Referat 230: Terrorismusinitiative in den VN, 22.07.1976, B83 676, PA.
67. On the Entebbe crisis, see also the case study in Chapter 2.
68. Cable US Permanent Mission to the UN to the State Department, July 15, 1976, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, USNA.
69. Bennet was US ambassador to the UN Security Council and Deputy US Representative to the UN.
70. Cable US Permanent Mission to the UN to the State Department, July 15, 1976, RG59, Central Foreign Policy Files, USNA.
71. Telegram 220772 From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, September 6, 1976, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, USNA.
72. Scranton was the US Representative to the UN.
73. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA (no. 1589), 03.08.1976, B83 676, PA. The US embassy in Bonn also expressed its support for the project, see Drahterlass des AA an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 12.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
74. Letter Referat 200 an das Bundeskanzleramt etc: Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus, no date, probably 15 July 1976, ZA 121074, PA.
75. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 22.07.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
76. Memo Referat 230: Vorschau auf wichtige Themen der 31. GV, 28.07.1976, ZA 121071, PA; Drahterlass an die Botschaft Bogota, 19.07.1976, ZA 121075, PA.
77. Vermerk Ref. 230: 3. Ressortbesprechung zur Terrorismus-Initiative in den VN am 16.7.76, 19.07.1976, B83 984, PA.
78. As a matter of fact, even among the European members a consensus about proper policies against terrorism, or simply a general obligation to extradite perpetrators of political crimes, was difficult to reach. See, for instance, Blumenau, 'Taming the Beast'.
79. Ministerbüro: Niederschrift über das Gespräch des Herrn Ministers in der VN-Vertretung in New York am 16. Juli 1976 um 15h, 19.07.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
80. Ibid.; COREU: Terrorismus-Initiative in den VN, 27.07.1976, B83 676, PA.
81. Ministerbüro: Niederschrift über das Gespräch des Herrn Ministers in der VN-Vertretung in New York am 16. Juli 1976 um 15h, 19.07.1976, ZA 121071, PA.
82. Memo: Unterabteilung 23 an den Bundesminister: Gespräch des BM in der VN-Vertretung New York am 16.7.1976, 05.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
83. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 1585 (second part), 03.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
84. In this case, however, it would have been possible for the FRG to refer to the *aut dedere aut iudicare* clause as a justification to try East Germans in West Germany rather than extraditing them to the GDR.
85. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 06.08.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
86. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 1585 (second part), 03.08.1976, B83 676, PA. Emphasis added. Original quote in English.
87. Brief des AA an das Bundeskanzleramt etc, 05.08.1976, ZA 121072, PA.

88. Ibid.
89. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 11.08.1976, B83 676, PA. The permanent mission itself agreed with Suy's assessment. See Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA (no. 1696), 12.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
90. Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Bundesminister: Vorbereitung unserer VN-Initiative zur Bekämpfung der Geiselnahme, 13.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
91. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 18.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
92. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 19.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
93. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 26.08.1976, B83 676, PA. Now, however, Denmark was becoming reluctant about the project.
94. The letter is attached to Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Bundesminister: Unsere Initiative zur Geiselnahme, 19.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
95. Drahterlass an die Botschaften in London, Paris, Luxemburg, Brüssel, Dublin, Rom, Den Haag, Kopenhagen, 23.08.1976, B83 676, PA.
96. Runderlass: Deutsche Initiative gegen die Geiselnahme auf der 31. GV, 09.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
97. Ibid.
98. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, 09.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
99. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 14.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
100. Ibid.
101. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 16.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
102. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Buenos Aires, 13.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
103. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 10.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
104. Ibid.
105. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 20.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
106. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 15.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA. Note also the handwritten comments on the cable.
107. See, for instance: Matthias Dahlke, 'Das Wischnewski-Protokoll: Zur Zusammenarbeit zwischen westeuropäischen Regierungen und transnationalen Terroristen 1977', *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 57, no. 2 (2009), 201–15.
108. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 2134, 22.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 2153, 22.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA; Drahterlass an die Botschaft Aden, 24.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
109. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 10.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
110. Drahterlass an die Botschaften Rabat, Algiers etc, 22.09.1976, B83 1236, PA. Both quotations are taken from this document.

111. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 25.09.1976, B83 1236, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 28.09.1976, B83 1236, PA.
112. Drahtbericht Botschaft Algier an das AA, 15.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
113. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Caracas, 27.09.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
114. For more information on the Chilean 9/11, see, for instance, Tanya Harmer, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), chapter 7.
115. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, 'Geiselnahme, Friedenssicherung, weltwirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit: Rede des deutschen Aussenministers vor der 31. UN-Generalversammlung (28 September 1976)', *Vereinte Nationen: Zeitschrift für die Vereinten Nationen und ihre Sonderorganisationen* 24, no. 5 (1976), 129–34: 131–32.
116. Explanatory Memorandum, attached to the letter of Genscher to Waldheim, 28.09.1976, B83 984, PA. Original in English.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Sprechzettel Ref. 230: Rede vor der 31. GV der VN, 21.09.1976, B83 1236, PA. P. 1.
122. At the same time, West Germany was applying for a nonpermanent seat on the Security Council, and the justification for this goal once again underlined Bonn's intention to become a serious factor at the UN: 'Our candidature for the Security Council is an expression of the responsibility we have assumed as a UN member and which reflects our political and economic power. The membership in the Security Council allows us to participate in global political events and a higher level of responsibility', Memo Ref 230: Sprechzettel für Presse-Hintergrundgespräch am 22.9, 21.09.1976, B83 1236, PA.
123. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 04.10.1976, B83 985, PA.
124. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 2393, 05.10.1976, B83 985, PA.
125. Memo Ref. 202: Deutsch-französische Konsultationen der Politischen Direktoren am 25. Oktober 1976 in Paris, 29.10.1976, B83 1236, PA.
126. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 08.10.1976, B83 985, PA.
127. Ibid.
128. Memo Ref. 202: Deutsch-französische Konsultationen der Politischen Direktoren am 25. Oktober 1976 in Paris, 29.10.1976, B83 1236, PA.
129. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Allgemeine Berichterstattung über die 31. Generalversammlung, 26.01.1977, B83 986, PA.
130. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 05.10.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
131. Memo Abteilung 2 an den Bundesminister: Weiterbehandlung unserer Geiselnahmeinitiative, 28.10.1976, B83 983, PA.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.

134. 'A/Res/31-6 D. Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa', (25.10.1976). <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/3061569.03505325.html> (accessed 10.10.2011). The resolution noted that 'the racist régime of South Africa has used weapons received from its traditional allies, particularly ... the Federal Republic of Germany ... for repression in South Africa and aggression against other States'. The resolution goes on by 'noting with concern ... the continued violations of the arms embargo against South Africa by its traditional allies, particularly ... the Federal Republic of Germany ...'.
135. Drahterlass (no. 3878), 14.10.1976, ZA 121073, PA.
136. Runderlass (no. 5009), 30.10.1976, ZA 121073, PA.
137. Referat 230: Sprechzettel: Deutsche VN-Initiative gegen Geiselnahme, 13.10.1976, ZA 121073, PA.
138. Vermerk Unterabteilung 31 (Jesser): Initiative Geiselnahme, 18.10.1976, ZA 121073, PA.
139. Drahtbericht Botschaft Algier an das AA, 11.11.1976, ZA 121073, PA.
140. Drahtbericht Botschaft Bamako an das AA, 07.12.1976, ZA 121073, PA
141. Drahtbericht Botschaft Bangui an das AA, 08.11.1976, ZA 121073, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 15.11.1976, ZA 121073, PA; Letter Botschaft Niamey an das AA, 12.11.1976, ZA 121073, PA; Memo Staatssekretär Gehlhoff an Herrn D 2, 19.11.1976, ZA 121073, PA; Vermerk (Dg 31), 27.10.1976, ZA 121073, PA. However, the embassy in Gabon, for instance, reported that the host state would probably not change its position as Gabon was not afraid of a deterioration of relations with the FRG. Apparently, there was not a big stick that Bonn could swing. See Drahtbericht Botschaft Libreville an das AA, 09.11.1976, ZA 121073, PA.
142. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Allgemeine Berichterstattung über die 31. Generalversammlung, 26.01.1977, B83 986, PA.
143. Memo Abteilung 2 (van Well) an den Herrn Bundesminister: Stand unserer Geiselnahme-Initiative, 23.11.1976, B83 985, PA; Runderlass, 12.01.1976, ZA 121072, PA. The co-sponsor group consisted of Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Luxemburg, Sweden, Turkey, Iran, Nepal, Surinam, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, the Central African Republic, Liberia, and – even the formerly opposed – Mali was willing to introduce the text together with West Germany.
144. Runderlass, 12.01.1976, ZA 121072, PA; Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Allgemeine Berichterstattung über die 31. Generalversammlung, 26.01.1977, B83 986, PA.
145. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Allgemeine Berichterstattung über die 31. Generalversammlung, 26.01.1977, B83 986, PA.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid.
148. Ibid.
149. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 01.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
150. Memo Abteilung 2 (van Well) an den Herrn Minister: Weiteres Vorgehen in der Geiselnahme-Initiative, 02.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
151. Vermerk: Einige Element für eine Erklärung im 6. Ausschuss für den Fall, dass wir unseren Res.E. zurückziehen, 03.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.

152. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 01.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
153. Memo Referat 013 an den Herrn Minister: Präsentation der Geiselnahme-Resolution, 02.12.1976, B83 985, PA; Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 01.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
154. Runderlass, 01.12.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
155. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tripolis an das AA, 05.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
156. Ibid. For cases of countries that still maintained a sceptical position, see, for instance, Drahtbericht Botschaft Warschau an das AA, 06.12.1976, ZA 121072, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Peking an das AA, 07.12.1976, ZA 121072, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Peking an das AA, 03.12.1976, ZA 121072, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Mogadischu an das AA, 06.12.1976, ZA 121072, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Kairo an das AA, 07.12.1976, ZA 121072, PA.
157. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tripolis an das AA, 07.02.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
158. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, no. 3382, 01.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
159. Memo Abt. 2 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Geiselnahme-Initiative, 06.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
160. Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Geiselnahme-Initiative, 03.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
161. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, 07.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
162. Memo by Gorenflos on Direktorenkonferenz, no date (probably around 08.12.1976), B83 985, PA.
163. Memo Unterabteilung 23 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Unsere Haltung in der Geiselnahme-Initiative, 08.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
164. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 08.12.1976, B83 985, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, no. 3536, 08.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 08.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
165. At the time, Zaire tried to secure an important International Monetary Fund loan, and Western support for this was essential. For Zaire's desolate economic situation, West Germany's economic presence in Zaire, and the relations between Western countries and Zaire, see, for instance, Nathaniel Powell, 'La France, les États-Unis et la Force interafricaine au Zaïre (1978–1979)', *Relations internationales*, no. 2 (2012), 71–83.
166. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 08.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
167. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Allgemeine Berichterstattung über die 31. Generalversammlung, 26.01.1977, B83 986, PA.
168. Ibid. The two quotations were taken from the same document.
169. Memo Staatssekretär Gehlhoff an Herrn D2: 31. GV, 10.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
170. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 12.12.1976, B83 985, PA; Memo Referat 511 an die Referate 230, 500, 502: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 01.02.1977, ZA 121072, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 15.12.1976, B83 985, PA.
171. Vermerk: Geiselnahme-Initiative, 09.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
172. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Allgemeine Berichterstattung über die 31. Generalversammlung, 26.01.1977, B83 986, PA. The two quotations were taken from the same document.



173. Ibid.
174. Ibid.
175. Ibid.
176. Aufzeichnung Abteilung 2: VN-Initiative gegen Geiselnahme, no date (probably 15.12.1976), B83 985, PA.
177. Ibid.
178. Anlage 2 to Memo Referat 230 an das Referat 240: Blauer Dienst, 15.12.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
179. Aufzeichnung Abteilung 2: VN-Initiative gegen Geiselnahme, no date (probably 15.12.1976), B83 985, PA.
180. Venezuela and Colombia – both courted co-sponsors – had reservations against co-sponsorship with Chile and Uruguay. In order to ensure smooth operations, the Germans did not approach the latter two states to join the core group and only ambiguously replied to the wishes of both governments to co-sponsor the initiative. However, Germany kept them up to date on the core group's internal contemplations. As such, potentially controversial states were not entirely shut out of the internal discussions, and their support for the project was ensured. The same applied to Israel, whose overly exhibited enthusiasm for the project would have further complicated negotiations with Arab states which were already concerned that the project might be instrumentalised by Israel against the Palestinians. See Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 06.01.1977, ZA 121077, PA; Anlage 2 to Memo Referat 230 an das Referat 240: Blauer Dienst, 15.12.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
181. Letter Nahum Goldman an Genscher, 20.11.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
182. Telegram 313877 From the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, December 30, 1976, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files, USNA.

## 5 The UN Hostages Convention: Negotiations and Adoption

1. Memo D5 an Herrn D2: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 15.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA; Memo Ref. 500 an das Ref. 230: Unsere Geiselnahme-Initiative, 23.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
2. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung New York, 28.02.1977, B83 986, PA.
3. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 21.12.1976, ZA 121077, PA.
4. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 10.01.1977, ZA 121077, PA; Letter Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the UN to Mr. Bjarne Lindström, 14.01.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
5. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 18.01.1977, ZA 121077, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 27.01.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
6. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 18.02.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
7. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 18.03.1977, ZA 121077, PA.

8. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 21.03.1977, ZA 121077, PA.
9. Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Minister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 07.04.1977, B83 986, PA.
10. Protokoll Referat 511: Ressortbesprechung im Auswärtigen Amt am 21. Juni 1977 um 9 Uhr, Saal 139; Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 12.07.1977, B83 987, PA.
11. Memo Referat 500 and das Referat 511: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 03.03.1977, ZA 121072, PA; Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Minister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 07.04.1977, B83 986, PA; Memo Abteilung 5 an Bundesminister Genscher: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 02.06.1977, ZA 121072, PA.
12. Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Staatssekretär: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 10.06.1977, B83 986, PA.
13. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 27.05.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
14. Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Minister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 30.06.1977, B83 987, PA.
15. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 08.06.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
16. Teilerlass, 04.07.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
17. Letter Ständige Vertretung Berlin an das AA etc.: Deutsche Initiative zur Ausarbeitung einer Geiselnahme-Konvention, 16.05.1977, ZA 121079, PA; Vermerk Ref. 230: Gespräch StS van Well mit dem Leiter der DDR-Vertretung, Kohl, am 21.6.1977, 22.06.1977, B83 986, PA; Letter Ref. 511 an das Bundeskanzleramt: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 12.07.1977, B83 987, PA.
18. Letter Ständige Vertretung in der DDR an das Bundeskanzleramt: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 02.08.1977, B83 988, PA.
19. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung New York, Botschaft Moskau, 22.06.1977, B83 986, PA.
20. Ibid.
21. Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Minister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 30.06.1977, B83 987, PA.
22. According to the German line of argumentation, it would be sufficient if the hijackers were tried in the country in which they were arrested, which was provided for under German law. An obligation to return them to the country of origin was not considered necessary. See Runderlass an die Botschaft Moskau und die Ständige Vertretung New York, 25.07.1977, B83 987, PA.
23. Protokoll Referat 511: Ressortbesprechung im Auswärtigen Amt am 14. Juni 1977 um 9 Uhr, Saal 139; Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 30.06.1977, B83 987, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Tokio, 28.07.1977, B83 987, PA.
24. Drahtbericht Botschaft Algiers, 26.07.1977, B83 987, PA.
25. Members of the committee, in addition to West Germany, included Algeria, Barbados, Canada, Chile, North Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, France, Guinea, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lesotho, Libya, Mexico, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, the Philippines, Poland, Somalia, Surinam, Sweden, Syria, the USSR, the UK, Tanzania, the US, Venezuela, Belorussia, and Yugoslavia. See Blauer Dienst, no. IX/ 14, 15.09.1977, B83 988, PA.

26. Memo Referat 230: Konvention gegen die Geiselnahme, 11.07.1976, ZA 121074, PA.
27. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 28.07.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
28. The AA was also upset by Nigeria's aggressive behaviour towards West Germany in previous GAS, see Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 01.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
29. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 02.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA; see also Vermerk Ref. 511: Geiselnahme-Konvention, 02.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
30. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 03.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
31. Ibid.; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 1722, 04.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA; Memo Abt. 5 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 25.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
32. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 1740, 05.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
33. Moreover, Waldheim was Austrian, and his country had its own problems with terrorism. See, for instance, Thomas Riegler, *Im Fadenkreuz. Österreich und der Nahostterrorismus 1973 bis 1985*, (ed.) Oliver Rathkolb, *Zeitgeschichte im Kontext* (Vienna: V&R Unipress, Vienna University Press, 2011).
34. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 01.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
35. Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 25.08.1977, B83 988, PA.
36. Ibid.
37. Memo Ref. 230: Auszug aus Aufzeichnung Dg23 vom 5.9.1977, probably 05.09.1977, B83 988, PA.
38. Ibid.
39. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 1765, 09.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA; Memo Abt. 5 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 25.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA.
40. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 1780, 10.08.1977, B83 988, PA.
41. UN GA document A/AC.188/SR.3, 05.08.1977, ZA 121079, PA, p. 3. Original quote in English.
42. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 1779, 10.08.1977, B83 988, PA.
43. Memo Ref. 511 an Büro Staatsminister von Dohnanyi: Geiselnahme-Konvention, 15.08.1977, B83 988, PA.
44. Statement made by the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany on August 15, 1977, B83 988, PA. Original quotation in English.
45. Ibid.
46. Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Bundesminister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 25.08.1977, B83 988, PA.
47. Memo Ref. 511: Gesprächsvorschlag, 29.08.1977, B83 988, PA.
48. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 17.08.1977, B83 988, PA; Blauer Dienst, no. IX/ 14, 15.09.1977, B83 988, PA.

49. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung in der DDR an das AA, 06.10.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
50. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, 13.10.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
51. Drahtbericht Botschaft Tokio an das AA, 18.10.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
52. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 12.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
53. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Peking, 16.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
54. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Teheran, 02.11.1977, B83 989, PA
55. Memo Abteilung 5 an den Herrn Minister: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 03.11.1977, B83 989, PA.
56. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 18.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
57. Ibid.
58. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 19.10.1977, B83 989, PA; Runderlass, 19.10.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
59. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 21.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
60. Ibid.
61. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 18.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
62. Runderlass, 19.10.1977, ZA 121075, PA.
63. Memo Ref. 204: Auszug aus dem Gespräch des Herrn Bundesministers mit Botschafter Stoessel am 20.10.1977, no date, probably 20.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
64. Drahtbericht Botschaft London an das AA, 21.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
65. Ibid.
66. Edward Mickolus, 'Multilateral Legal Efforts to Combat Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis', *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 6, no. 1 (1979), 13–51: 24.
67. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Einzelberichterstattung über die 32. Generalversammlung, 03.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
68. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 24.10.1977, B83 989, PA.
69. 'General Assembly Resolution 32/8 (XXXII)', (03.11.1977). <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/312/43/IMG/NR031243.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed 26.11.2010); Mickolus, 'Multilateral Legal Efforts to Combat Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis', 24.
70. 'General Assembly Resolution 32/8 (XXXII)'.
71. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Einzelberichterstattung über die 32. Generalversammlung, 03.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
72. Nachrichtenspiegel II, 19.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Tel Aviv an das AA, 20.10.1977, ZA 121081, PA.
73. Memo D5 an Herrn D1: Unsere Initiative in den VN zum Abschluß einer Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 02.11.1977, B83 989, PA.
74. Ibid.
75. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei der DDR an das AA, 08.11.1977, B83 989, PA.
76. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Belgrad, 02.11.1977, B83 989, PA.
77. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 05.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.

78. Fernschreiben BKA-Bonn an das AA, 05.05.1978, B83 1249, PA.
79. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 05.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
80. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 01.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA; Memo Dg5 an den Herrn Minister: Sowjetischer Wunsch informeller Gespräche über ein bilaterales Abkommen zur Behandlung von Flugzeugentführungen, 08.09.1977, ZA 121079, PA; Drahtbericht Botschaft Moskau an das AA, 02.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA
81. Memo Referat 230 an das Referat 212: KSZE-Folgetreffen, 08.11.1977, ZA 121072, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA nr 3377, 30.11.1977, ZA 121078, PA. In May 1977, six French mining technicians were abducted from the mines of Zouerate in Western Sahara by the Polisario Front – a movement for the independence of Western Sahara from Morocco and Mauritania – and held hostage. According to the Polisario Front, they were considered ‘mercenaries’ as they supported the foreign rule through their work. They wanted to detain the hostages until a solution for Western Sahara was found. According to news reports at the time, the Polisario Front was supported by Algeria. Domestically, pressure was building for the French government to free the hostages the longer the crisis lasted. In October 1977, two more French were kidnapped. In the aftermath of the successful GSG 9 operation in Mogadishu, public calls increased for the French government to act. Because of the crisis and the alleged Algerian support for the Polisario Front, relations between Paris and Algiers were also deteriorating. Meanwhile, UN Secretary-General Waldheim tried to negotiate the release of the hostages, but without success. In December 1977, the French finally launched air raids against Polisario Front bases. The hostages were released in late December, after the leader of the French Communist party, Georges Marchais, negotiated with Algiers. Waldheim also claimed to be responsible for the release of the hostages. He accompanied the eight released French back to France. See ‘France Reinforces Garrison in Senegal’, *The New York Times*, (03.11.1977), 11; ‘France Protests Detention of Six by Polisario Rebels in the Sahara’, *The New York Times*, (24.05.1977), 4; ‘France Is under Public Pressure to Free 8 Kidnapped in the Sahara’, *The New York Times*, (01.11.1977), 3; Kathleen Teltsch, ‘Waldheim Acting on Sahara Issue’, *The New York Times*, (13.11.1977), 3; Jonathan Kandell, ‘French Jets Have Apparently Joined Sahara Fighting’, *The New York Times*, (23.12.1977), 3; *ibid.* See also Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 16.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
82. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, no. 3448, 05.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
83. Letter Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA: Einzelberichterstattung über die 32. Generalversammlung, 03.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
84. UN GA Document A/32/467, 15.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
85. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 12.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 13.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
86. *Ibid.*; Pressemitteilung der Ständigen Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen, 16.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 16.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.

87. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 12.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA; Pressemitteilung der Ständigen Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen, 16.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
88. MemoRef.230:VN-InitiativezurAusarbeitungeinerGeiselnahmekonvention, 16.12.1977, B83 989, PA.
89. Memo Ref. 510: Sachstand: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 16.12.1977, B83 989, PA; Drahterlass an die Botschaft Paris, 29.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
90. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, 19.12.1977, B83 989, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung New York an das AA, 23.12.1977, B83 989, PA. A reason for the rigid French position on this issue was the fact that they were facing hostage crises committed by African groups involving French citizens at the time. See Nathaniel K. Powell, 'The "Claustre Affair": A Hostage Crisis, France and Civil War in Chad, 1974–1977', in *An International History of Terrorism. Western and Non-Western Experiences*, (ed.) Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Bernhard Blumenau (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 189–209.
91. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 23.12.1977, ZA 121078, PA.
92. Memo Ref. 202 an das Ref. 511: VN-Geiselnahme-Konvention, 03.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA. For the Dutch case, see, for instance, the section in Matthias Dahlke, *Demokratischer Staat und transnationaler Terrorismus. Drei Wege zur Unnachgiebigkeit in Westeuropa 1972–1975* (Oldenbourg: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011).
93. Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, 04.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
94. Vermerk Ref. 511: Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 09.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
95. Memo D 5 an den Herrn Minister: Unsere Geiselnahmeinitiative, 10.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
96. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Algier, 23.01.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
97. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 14.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
98. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 18.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
99. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 16.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
100. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 14.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 18.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
101. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 23.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
102. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 24.02.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ortex nr. 18, 03.03.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
106. Drahterlass an die Botschaft Paris, 06.03.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
107. Drahtbericht Botschaft Algier an das AA, 06.07.1976, ZA 113986, PA; Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß: in Mogadischu und anderswo. Politische Memoiren* (Munich: Goldmann, 1991), 208.

108. Memo Abt. 5 an den Herrn Minister: Unsere Initiative für eine VN-Geiselnahmekonvention, 20.06.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.; Drahtbericht Botschaft Paris an das AA, 25.08.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
112. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 21.09.1978, ZA 121078, PA; Memo Ref. 511 an den Herrn Minister: Behandlung unsere Initiative zum Abschluss einer VN-Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 27.09.1978, ZA 121078, PA; Memo Ref. 511 an Herrn D 2 i.V.: Initiative zum Abschluss einer VN-Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 11.10.1978, ZA 121080, PA.
113. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 28.09.1978, ZA 121078, PA.
114. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 14.11.1978, ZA 121080, PA.
115. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 21.11.1978, ZA 121080, PA; Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 29.11.1978, ZA 121080, PA.
116. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 01.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA. Original quote in English.
117. Ibid.
118. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 05.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
119. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf), 09.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
120. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 10.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
121. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 15.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
122. 'In so far as the Geneva Conventions of 1949 for the protection of war victims or the Additional Protocols to those Conventions are applicable to a particular act of hostage-taking, and in so far as States Parties to this Convention are bound under those conventions to prosecute or hand over the hostage-taker, *the present Convention shall not apply to an act of hostage-taking committed in the course of armed conflicts* as defined in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Protocols thereto, *including armed conflicts mentioned in article 1, paragraph 4, of Additional Protocol I of 1977, in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination*'. Emphasis added.
123. See Article 34, Fourth Convention; Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions; Article 75(2c), Additional Protocol I; and Article 4(2c), Additional Protocol II.
124. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, no. 339, 16.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.
127. Memo D 5 an das Ref. 511: 3. Sitzung des ad hoc-Ausschusses Geiselnahme der VN-Generalversammlung in Genf vom 29.01. bis 16.02.1979, 20.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.

128. Concerning the 'Entebbe clause', Article 14 of the Convention stipulated the following: 'Nothing in this Convention shall be construed as justifying the violation of the territorial integrity or political independence of a State in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations'.
129. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, no. 339, 16.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
130. Drahtbericht Ständige Vertretung bei den VN (Genf) an das AA, 15.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
131. Memo D 5 an das Referat 012-2: VN-Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 22.02.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
132. Cable US Embassy Tripoli to DOS, January 1979, NLC-12R-52-1-1-0, CIA FOIA, JCL; Wischniewski, *Mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß*, 208.
133. Günther van Well, 'Deutschland und die UN', in *Handbuch Vereinte Nationen*, (ed.) Rüdiger Wolfrum (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991), 71-77: 76.
134. Drahterlass an die Ständige Vertretung bei den VN, 28.03.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
135. Drahterlass an die Botschaften London, Washington, Paris etc, 18.04.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
136. Memo Ref. 511: VN-Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 15.07.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
137. Drahtbericht der Ständigen Vertretung bei den VN an das AA, 09.04.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
138. Robert A. Friedlander, 'Terrorism and International Law: Recent Developments', *Rutgers Law Journal* 13, (1981-1982), 493-511: 506.
139. On the end of détente, see, for instance, Olav Njølstad, 'The Collapse of Superpower Détente, 1975-1980', in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War. Endings*, (ed.) Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 135-55.
140. Letter Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen an das AA: Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 17.01.1980, ZA 121080, PA.
141. Runderlass, 27.12.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
142. Runderlass, 27.12.1979, ZA 121080, PA; Letter Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen an das AA: Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 17.01.1980, ZA 121080, PA.
143. Article 9:
  - '1.) A request for the extradition of an alleged offender, pursuant to this Convention, shall not be granted if the requested State Party has substantial grounds for believing:
    - a.) that the request for extradition for an offence set forth in article 1 has been made for the purpose of prosecuting or punishing a person on account of his race, religion, nationality, ethnic origin or political opinion; or
    - b.) that the person's position may be prejudiced:
      - i.) for any of the reasons mentioned in subparagraph (a) of this paragraph, or
      - ii.) for the reason that communication with him by the appropriate authorities of the State entitled to exercise rights of protection cannot be effected.



- 2.) With respect to the offences as defined in this Convention, the provisions of all extradition treaties and arrangements applicable between States Parties are modified as between States Parties to the extent that they are incompatible with this Convention’.
144. Letter Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen an das AA: Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 17.01.1980, ZA 121080, PA.
  145. Ibid.
  146. Klaus-Wilhelm Platz, ‘Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme’, *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht* 40, (1980), 276–311: 276.
  147. ‘International Convention against the Taking of Hostages’, *United Nations Treaties Series* 1316, no. 21931 (1983), 206–11: 206, footnote 1.
  148. Bernard D. Nossiter, ‘U.N. Code Outlaws Taking of Hostages’, *The New York Times*, (18.12.1979), A1, A8: A8.
  149. Runderlass, 27.12.1979, ZA 121080, PA. The hostage crisis did not, however, influence the negotiation of the convention to a considerable extent as most of the compromises had been struck before the crisis started on 4 November 1979.
  150. Letter Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen an das AA: Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 17.01.1980, ZA 121080, PA.
  151. Memo Ref. 202: Deutsch-französische Konsultationen der Politischen Direktoren am 25. Oktober 1976 in Paris, 29.10.1976, B83 1236, PA. For more information on Yasser Arafat’s PLO moving away from violence, see P. T. Paul Chamberlin, *Global Offensive. The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order*, Oxford Studies in International History (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 192.
  152. Letter Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen an das AA: Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 17.01.1980, ZA 121080, PA.
  153. Ibid.
  154. Runderlass, 27.12.1979, ZA 121080, PA.
  155. Letter Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei den Vereinten Nationen an das AA: Internationale Konvention gegen Geiselnahme, 17.01.1980, ZA 121080, PA.

## Conclusions: Germany and UN Antiterrorism Efforts in the 1970s and Beyond

1. For more information on the conventions, see, for instance, C. S. Thomas and M. J. Kirby, ‘The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation’, *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (1973), 163–72.
2. See GA Res. 40/61 of 9 December 1985, which ‘unequivocally condemns, as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whoever committed’.

3. On the current negotiations, see, for instance, Mahmoud Hmoud, 'Negotiating the Draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism: Major Bones of Contention', *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4, no. 5 (2006), 1031–43; Ben Saul, 'Attempts to Define Terrorism in International Law', *Netherlands International Law Review* 52, no. 01 (2005), 57–83; esp. 76–82. For context, see also Peter Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism. The Global Politics of Cooperation and Contestation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 55–108.
4. For an up-to-date list of antiterrorism conventions, see the 'Text and Status of the United Nations Conventions on Terrorism', to be found at < [http://treaties.un.org/Pages/DB.aspx?path=DB/studies/page2\\_En.xml](http://treaties.un.org/Pages/DB.aspx?path=DB/studies/page2_En.xml)>.
5. In this book, 'antiterrorism' refers to legal approaches on terrorism, while 'counterterrorism' comprises actual operational capacities, for instance, through special commandos such as the GSG 9.
6. On general German foreign policy, see, for instance, Helga Haftendorn, *Coming of Age. German Foreign Policy since 1945* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006); Gregor Schöllgen, *Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1999).
7. Statement from the Paris European Summit (19 to 21 October 1972), p. 3, accessible at [http://www.cvce.eu/obj/statement\\_from\\_the\\_paris\\_summit\\_19\\_to\\_21\\_october\\_1972-en-b1dd3d57-5f31-4796-85c3-cfd2210d6901.html](http://www.cvce.eu/obj/statement_from_the_paris_summit_19_to_21_october_1972-en-b1dd3d57-5f31-4796-85c3-cfd2210d6901.html) [last accessed 10.17.2013].
8. See, for instance, Haftendorn, *Coming of Age*, 404–05.
9. This global struggle found its expression in the Hallstein Doctrine and the West German policy of sole representation, but even after the abolishment of the Doctrine, in the course of *Ostpolitik*, both countries were ideologically antagonists and continued their diplomatic struggle for prestige. See, for instance, Wilhelm Bruns, *Die Uneinigen in den Vereinten Nationen. Bundesrepublik Deutschland und DDR in der UNO* (Gütersloh: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1980); William Glenn Gray, *Germany's Cold War. The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949–1969* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003); Rüdiger Marco Booz, "*Hallsteinzeit*": *Deutsche Außenpolitik 1955–1972* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1995); Ulf Engel and Hans-Georg Schleicher, *Die beiden deutschen Staaten in Afrika. Zwischen Konkurrenz und Koexistenz. 1949–1990* (Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1998); Werner Kilian, *Die Hallstein-Doktrin. Der Diplomatische Krieg zwischen der BRD und der DDR 1955–1973. Aus den Akten der beiden deutschen Außenministerien* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001); Brigitte H. Schulz, *Development Policy in the Cold War Era. The Two Germanies and Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960–1985*, vol. 3 (Münster: LIT, 1995); Hans-Joachim Spanger and Lothar Brock, *Die beiden deutschen Staaten in der Dritten Welt. Die Entwicklungspolitik der DDR – eine Herausforderung für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland?* (Opladen: Westdt. Verl., 1987).
10. In particular the following conventions were adopted under the aegis of the UN in addition to the Diplomats and Hostages Conventions: the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (1977), the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999), and the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism (2005). For an overview, see, for instance, Saul, 'Attempts to Define Terrorism in International Law'; Ben Saul, *Defining Terrorism in International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

11. In addition to the ICAO convention of the 1960s and early 1970s, these conventions include the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (1980, within the International Atomic Energy Agency), the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (1988, within IMO), and the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection (1991, within the ICAO). Moreover several additional protocols to some of these conventions were adopted. For up-to-date information, see, for instance, the 'Text and Status of the United Nations Conventions on Terrorism' to be found at <[http://treaties.un.org/Pages/DB.aspx?path=DB/studies/page2\\_En.xml](http://treaties.un.org/Pages/DB.aspx?path=DB/studies/page2_En.xml)>.
12. See, for instance, Malvina Halberstam, 'Terrorism on the High Seas: The Achille Lauro, Piracy and the IMO Convention on Maritime Safety', *The American Journal of International Law* 82, no. 2 (1988), 269–310; Glen Plant, 'The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (1990), 27–56; Helmut Tuerk, 'Combating Terrorism at Sea: The Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation', *Miami International & Comparative Law Review* 15, no. 3 (2008), 337–68.
13. On the Lockerbie bombing, see, for instance, Omar Malik, 'Aviation Security before and after Lockerbie', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no. 3 (1998), 112–33; 116–18; Robert Black, 'The Lockerbie Disaster', *Archiv des Völkerrechts* 37, no. 2 (1999), 214–25.
14. For the context, see, for instance, Stanley S. Jacobs, 'The Nuclear Threat as a Terrorist Option', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no. 4 (1998), 149–63; George Bunn, 'Raising International Standards for Protecting Nuclear Materials from Theft and Sabotage', *The Nonproliferation Review* 7, no. 2 (2000), 146–56.
15. To go back even further in history, the League of Nations also attempted to adopt a comprehensive convention, and also failed. See, for instance, Ben Saul, 'The Legal Response of the League of Nations to Terrorism', *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4, no. 1 (2006), 78–102; Charles Townshend, "'Methods Which all Civilized Opinion must Condemn". The League of Nations and International Action against Terrorism', in *An International History of Terrorism. Western and Non-Western Experiences*, (ed.) Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Bernhard Blumenau (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 34–50.
16. For more information on regional organisations and their efforts against terrorism, see, for instance, the chapters in part II: 'Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism in the Regional Framework', in Guiseppe Nesi, (ed.) *International Cooperation in Counter-terrorism. the United Nations and Regional Organizations in the Fight against Terrorism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006).
17. Bernhard Blumenau, 'The European Communities' Pyrrhic Victory: European Integration, Terrorism, and the Dublin Agreement of 1979', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, no. 5 (2014), 405–21; Bernhard Blumenau, 'Taming the Beast: West Germany, the Political Offence Exception and the Council of Europe Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, (forthcoming).

18. See part II 'Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism in the Regional Framework', in Nesi, (ed.) *International Cooperation in Counter-terrorism*.
19. See, for instance: Blumenau, 'The European Communities' Pyrrhic Victory: European Integration, Terrorism, and the Dublin Agreement of 1979'; Blumenau, 'Taming the Beast: West Germany, the Political Offence Exception and the Council of Europe Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism'.
20. There are several chapters in two edited books that provide a good background to the role of the peace movements in German politics and society: Philipp Gassert, Tim Geiger, and Hermann Wentker, eds., *Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung. Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive* (München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011); Christoph Becker-Schaum and others, eds., "Enrüstet Euch!". *Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2012). Kristina Spohr points out the domestic problems that the neutron bomb debate caused in West Germany, before the 'double-track' decision was even made. See Kristina Spohr Readman, 'Germany and the Politics of the Neutron Bomb, 1975–1979', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 21, no. 2 (2010), 259–85. For the general context, see also Kristina Spohr Readman, 'Conflict and Cooperation in Intra-Alliance Nuclear Politics: Western Europe, the United States, and the Genesis of NATO's Dual-Track Decision, 1977–1979', *Journal of Cold War Studies* 13, no. 2 (2011), 39–89. For the environmental groups and the genesis of the Green Party, see, for instance, Russel J. Dalton, 'Strategies of Partisan Influence. West European Environmental Groups', in *The Politics of Social Protest. Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*, (ed.) Craig J. Jenkins and Bert Klendermans (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 296–323; Markus Klein and Jürgen W. Falter, *Der lange Weg der Grünen. Eine Partei zwischen Protest und Regierung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003).
21. For a good summary of the post-Cold War challenges and responsibilities for the united Germany in terms of foreign policy, see, for instance, Constanze Stelzenmueller, 'New Power, New Responsibility: Elements of a German Foreign and Security Policy for a Changing World', (17.10.2013). [http://www.gmfus.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/files\\_mf/1382017951GMFSWPRepoNewPowerNewResponsibility.pdf](http://www.gmfus.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/files_mf/1382017951GMFSWPRepoNewPowerNewResponsibility.pdf) (accessed 10.02.2014).
22. See, for instance, Saul, *Defining Terrorism in International Law*, 213–50.
23. David C. Rappoport, 'The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism', in *Attacking Terrorism. Elements of A Grand Strategy*, (ed.) Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46–73.
24. See the 'Text and Status of the United Nations Conventions on Terrorism' to be found at <[http://treaties.un.org/Pages/DB.aspx?path=DB/studies/page2\\_En.xml](http://treaties.un.org/Pages/DB.aspx?path=DB/studies/page2_En.xml)>.
25. 'Erklärung des Bundeskanzlers am 5. September 1977 nach der Entführung Schleyers', in *Dokumentation der Bundesregierung zur Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer. Ereignisse und Entscheidungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine "Landshut"*, (ed.) Bundespresseamt (Augsburg: Goldmann, 1977), 229–30: 230.

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# Index

- 11 September 2001, 24, 206–7  
1968, 10, 14, 16–18  
9/11, *see* 11 September 2001
- Achille Lauro*, 204  
Action Directe, 31  
Ad Hoc Committee on international terrorism, 49, 93–104, 108, 114, 116, 120–1, 122, 147, 155–6, 164, 170, 177–9, 188, 194, 201  
Aden, *see* South Yemen  
Adenauer, Konrad, 8–9  
Air France, 59, 196  
airport security, 204  
Akache, Zohair Youssif, *see* Captain Mahmud  
Al Qaeda, 207  
Al-Assad, Hafez, 61  
Algeria, 55–9, 123, 128, 130, 146–7, 151–4, 155, 158, 162, 168, 170–1, 177, 180–3, 187, 189, 206  
Algerian war for independence, 147  
Allon, Yigal, 65, 67, 150–1  
Amerasinghe, Hamilton Shirley, 165–6  
Amin, Idi, 60–74, 79  
Andersen, Knud Børge, 81  
Andrawes, Souhaila, 80  
anti-Americanism, 14–15, 17  
anti-hostage-taking conventions, *see* Belgian hostages convention initiative; Hostages Convention  
antiterrorism  
conventions, 195, 204–5, *see also* Diplomats Convention; Hostages Convention; International Civil Aviation Organization conventions  
definition, 197  
deterrence character of, 208  
preventive character of, 208  
today, 8  
Antiterrorismus-Gesetz, 37  
apartheid, 88, 91, 94, 109, 132, 169, 206  
Arab states  
German relations with, 49, 206  
position on terrorism, 128–30, 138–9, 143–7, 151, 175, 189, 193  
Arafat, Yasser, 67, 75  
arbitration, 125  
Argentina, 145, 147  
asylum to terrorists, 106, 118–19, 122, 125, 199–200, *see also* safe havens  
Außerparlamentarische Opposition, 15  
Australia, 143  
Austria, 127, 130, 161, 166, 174–5, *see also* Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries crisis  
Austro-Japanese civil aviation initiative, *see* United Nations Resolution on the Safety for International Civil Aviation  
Auswärtiges Amt (AA) (in bureaucratic politics), 110–11, 115–16, 166, 193, 203  
aut dedere aut iudicare principle, 5, 106, 113, 197, 208  
  
Baader, Andreas, 18–19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 38, 75, 80, 83  
Baader Meinhof Gang, *see* Red Army Faction  
Basic Law (German Grundgesetz), 10  
Beihl, Eugen, 108, 195  
Belgian hostages convention initiative, 8, 108, 114–17, 122, 124–6, 158, 199  
Belgium, 51, 108, 134, 143, 159, 166, *see also* Belgian hostages convention initiative  
Benin, 151–2  
Bennet Jr., William Tapley, 139  
Berlin, *see* West Berlin

- Bewegung Zweiter Juni, *see* Movement  
Second of June
- Black September, 33, 45–9, 49–52,  
*see also* Khartoum embassy  
crisis; Munich Olympics; Popular  
Front for the Liberation of  
Palestine
- Bloch, Dora, 69
- Bloody Sunday (Northern Ireland), 25
- Bolivia, 145
- Böll, Heinrich, 10, 21
- Boock, Peter-Jürgen, 23
- Böse, Wilfried, 27, 62, 63, 68
- Boumedienne, Houari, 189
- Brandt, Willy, 9, 17, 32, 36, 41–4, 45,  
46, 70, 89, 194
- Brazil, 41, 195
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 82
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 77, 84
- Buback, Siegfried, 22, *see also* German  
Autumn
- Buddenberg, Wolfgang, 19
- Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, 33
- Bundesgrenzschutz, 34, *see also*  
Grenzschutzgruppe 9
- Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), 33, 34, 35,  
38, 56, 74, 84
- Bundesministerium der Justiz (BMJ),  
58, 110, 115–16, 166, 193
- Bundesministerium des Inneren  
(BMI), 110–11, 115–16, 117, 193
- bureaucratic politics, 5, 110–11,  
115–16, 140, 166, 193, 203
- Bütow, Carl-Hans, 112
- Callaghan, James, 76, 80, 86
- Canada, 106, 110, 143, 167, 181, 185
- Captain Mahmud, 75, 77, 78
- Carlos the Jackal, 6, 27, 30, 52–9,  
193–4
- Carter, James ‘Jimmy’, 79, 83, 84
- Cellules Communistes  
Combattantes, 31
- Chancellor’s Office, 57, 60, 122, *see*  
*also* Schmidt, Helmut
- Chile, 147, 150, 162
- Code of Criminal Procedures  
(Germany), *see*  
Strafprozessordnung
- Cold War, 5, 9, 88–9, 95, 98, 103,  
112–13, 141–2, 157, 170, 171–2,  
176–7, 194, 201–2, 204, 207
- Colombia, 101, 124, 144
- colonialism, legacy of, 200, *see also*  
national liberation movements
- Commando Matyr Halimeh, *see*  
*Landshut* hijacking
- comprehensive convention against  
terrorism, 95–6, 101, 103, 124,  
130, 159, 194, 204–5, *see also*  
United States initiative against  
terrorism 1972
- Condor (Lufthansa subsidiary), 48
- Conference on Security and  
Cooperation in Europe (CSCE),  
83–4
- Convention for the Suppression of  
Unlawful Acts against the Safety  
of Maritime Navigation, 204
- Convention on the Marking of Plastic  
Explosives for the Purpose of  
Detection, 204
- Convention on the Prevention and  
Punishment of Crimes against  
Internationally Protected Persons,  
including Diplomatic Agents, *see*  
Diplomats Convention
- Convention to Prevent and  
Punish the Acts of Terrorism  
Taking the Form of Crimes  
against Persons and Related  
Extortion that are of International  
Significance, 205
- Cossiga, Francesco, 75
- Costa Rica, 145
- Costilhes, Henri, 50
- Council of Europe, 98, 99, 106, 131,  
136, 205–6
- Counterterrorism (definition), 197
- Criminal Code (Germany), *see*  
Strafgesetzbuch
- crisis committee, *see* Krisenstab
- Croatia, 190
- Croissant, Klaus, 39
- Cuba, 188
- Cuban Missile Crisis 1962, 44
- Culmann, Herbert, 48
- Cyprus, 75–6, 85, 196



- Daoud, Abu, 50
- Dawson's Field hijacking crisis  
1970, 92
- Decolonisation, *see* national liberation movements
- Denmark, 81, 134
- Détente, 9, 81–2, 103, 188, 202, *see also* Cold War
- diplomats (protection of), 45, 51, 90, 104–5, 113, *see also* Diplomats Convention; Khartoum embassy crisis; Spreti
- Diplomats Convention  
accompanying resolution, 109–10, 142  
convention, 7, 44, 51–2, 90–1, 98, 103, 104–14, 115–16, 119, 120, 122–4, 142, 192, 194–5, 197, 199, 201, 204
- distress (concept of), 37–8
- Dominican Republic, 123
- dragnet approach, 34, 35, 74
- Drenkmann, Günter von, 25
- Dubai, 76, 77
- Dutschke, Rudi, 16
- Easter Rising 1968 (Germany), 16
- Eastern support for terrorism, 30–1, *see also* German Democratic Republic links with terrorists
- Egypt, 46, 51, 58, 61, 85, 128, 170, 146–7, 151, 175, 176–7
- Eid, Guy, 49
- Elbrick, C. Burke, 41
- Ellerkmann, Richard, 61–3, 67–8, 69, 70, 71–2
- Emergency Laws (Germany), 15
- Ensslin, Gudrun, 18–19, 20, 21, 22, 38, 75, 80, 83
- Entebbe crisis 1976  
aftermath at the UN, 70–4, 138–9, 143  
crisis, 7–8, 11, 27, 30, 59–74, 79, 81, 84, 138–9, 143, 151, 158, 175, 192, 196
- Ethiopia, 79
- European Communities (EC), 9, 70, 71, 83, 93, 98, 99, 102, 114, 116, 124, 126–9, 131–41, 143–4, 150, 156, 162, 167, 190, 192, 199, 201, 203, 205–6, *see also* European Political Cooperation
- European Council Declaration on terrorism of 1976, 139
- European integration, 9, 89
- European Political Cooperation (EPC), 9, 93, 96–7, 103, 116, 120, 124, 127, 130, 133–5, 167, 187, 198–9, 201, 203
- Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), 31–2 'evil German', 10, 202
- Extraordinary Session on terrorism (United Nations) (plans for), 101–2, 124
- Fahmi, Ismail, 65
- Falin, Valentin, 170, 186
- Federal Border Guards, *see* Bundesgrenzschutz
- Federal Criminal Police Office (Germany), *see* Bundeskriminalamt
- federalism (in Germany), 32, 33, 34, 35–6
- financing of terrorism, 204, 208
- Fischer, Joseph 'Joschka', 17
- Fleischhauer, Carl-August, 184–7
- Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonisation Committee of the United Nations)  
committee, 152–3, 174  
German support for South Africa (allegations), 152–4
- France, 58, 70, 81, 83, 98, 102, 106, 112–13, 116, 129–31, 134, 140, 143, 159, 172, 177–83, 185–8, 200–1, 203, 206
- Franco-German cooperation, 203
- Frankfurt arson 1968, 18–19
- Fukuda, Takeo, 81
- Gaddafi, Mu'ammār, 58, 128, 135, 187, *see also* Libya
- Gehlhoff, Walter  
ambassador at the United Nations, 116–17  
state secretary, 52, 160, 186

- Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols, *see* humanitarian law
- Genscher, Hans-Dietrich  
 foreign minister, 9, 67, 72, 75, 78, 82, 101, 118–19, 122–4, 126–7, 130–1, 133–4, 137, 140–1, 143–4, 147–51, 153, 156–9, 162, 165, 168, 171, 174, 176, 183, 192, 200, 203  
 minister of the interior, 34, 46, 47–8
- German Autumn, 10, 22–3, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39, 74, 117, 182, 187, 196, *see also* *Landshut* hijacking; Offensive 77
- German Democratic Republic (GDR)  
 links with terrorists, 19, 23, 30–1  
 at the United Nations, 9, 78, 88, 91, 111–12, 113, 141–2, 145, 157–8, 167–8, 172, 174, 176–7, 182, 188, 200–2
- German foreign policy (Federal Republic of Germany)  
 general principles, 8–9, 88, 200–3  
 at the United Nations (general policy), 89, 150, 127
- German initiative for diplomats  
 convention in 1970, 105–6
- German initiatives in 1975, 117–21, 122, 199–200
- German Question, 88, 89, 111–12, *see also* German-German competition
- German unification, *see* reunification
- German-German competition, 2, 9, 30–1, 88, 91, 98, 111–12, 157, 167–8, 176–7, 188, 191, 202
- Germany (Federal Republic)  
 accession to UN, 108, 120, 195, 198–9  
 antiterrorism legislation, 36–9  
 domestic terrorism, 10, 11, 14–36, 37–9, 40, 176, 196, *see also* Movement Second of June; necessity (concept); non-negotiation policy; Red Army Faction; Revolutionary Cells; right-wing terrorism; social protests in the 1960s, 1968  
 economic interests, 206  
 economic power, 9, 89, 200, 201–2  
 limited sovereignty, 89, 198–9, 200, 207  
 reputation, 6, 32, 47, 49, 73, 85–6, 142, 150, 153, *see also* prestige (concept)  
 role at United Nations, 89–91, 198, 200–1  
 separation of police and intelligence, 33
- Gill, William, 44
- Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry, 66, 72, 76, 203
- Goldman, Nahum, 163
- Great Britain, 70, 72, 77, 78, 80, 82, 84, 98, 102–3, 106, 113, 134, 143, 167, 169, 174, 176, 178, 180–1, 183, 187–8, 200, 203, 207
- Greece, 83
- Green movements, 207
- Grenzschutzgruppe 9 (GSG 9), 7, 22, 33, 34, 35, 40, 48, 49, 63, 66, 69, 75, 77–86, 173, 196, *see also* *Landshut* hijacking; Operation Magic Fire
- Group of 7 (G7), 9, 187, 201
- Grundlagenvertrag, 88
- Guatemala, 41–5, 109, 113, 195
- Guinea, 151–2
- Guiringaud, Louis de, 183
- Habash, George, 60
- Haig, Alexander, 23
- Harriman, Leslie, 169
- Hassel, Wolf Ulrich von, 175
- Hawili, Al, 50
- Herold, Horst, 34
- Herzog, Chaim, 165
- Heuseler, Hans, 56–7, 147
- hijacking  
 general, 72, 90, 92, 123, 177  
 Soviet experience with, 82  
*see also* International Civil Aviation Organization conventions
- Hoffmann, Karlheinz, 28–9
- Holleben, Ehrenfried von, 106, 108, 195
- Holly, Sean, 41
- Holocaust, 15

- Holy See, 183  
 Hoppe, Werner, 61  
 Hoppe, Wilhelm, 41–2  
 hostage crises  
   general nature of, 90, 114, 122–3,  
   124–5, 133, 135, 139, 144–5,  
   148–9  
   *see also* Belgian hostages convention  
   initiative; Hostages Convention  
 Hostages Convention  
   ‘anti-Entebbe’ clause, 183, 186, *see*  
   *also* Western interventionism  
   convention, 7–8, 13, 59, 70, 72, 74,  
   82, 85, 91, 98, 99, 101–3, 104,  
   120, 122–90, 191–2, 194–200,  
   203, 206  
   core group, 151, 155, 187, 190  
   Geneva session 1978, 8, 179–82  
   Geneva session 1979, 8, 184–7  
   group of sponsors, 145–7, 150–1,  
   155, 158–9, 162  
   ‘innocent’ hostages, 155–6,  
   159, 162  
 human rights, 88, 125, 148, 202  
 humanitarian law (hostages in), 123,  
 148, 171, 179, 184–5, 189  
 implementation (of conventions),  
 197–8  
 Independent Commission for  
 International Questions of  
 Development, *see* North-South  
 Commission  
 India, 175  
 International Civil Aviation  
 Organization (ICAO)  
   conventions, 106, 119, 142, 175,  
   177, 194  
   general, 204  
 International Convention against the  
 Taking of Hostages, *see* Hostages  
 Convention  
 International Court of Justice, 187  
 International Federation of Air Line  
 Pilots, 174  
 International Law Commission (ILC),  
 105–6, 108, 117, 125  
 International Maritime  
 Organization, 204  
 international cooperation  
   against terrorism, 73, 84, 96, 114,  
   117, 176, 195, 198  
   need for, 7, 10, 74, 101, 105–6, 121,  
   173, 196, 202, *see also* necessity  
   (concept) *and* individual crises  
 International Refugee  
 Organisation, 88  
 intraministerial struggles (in  
 Germany), *see* bureaucratic  
 politics  
 Iran, 53, 138, 172–3  
 Iran hostages crisis 1979–81, 188–9  
 Iraq, 54–5, 84, 130, 188  
 Ireland, 134, 143  
 Irish Republican Army (IRA), 31–2  
 Israel, 92, 94, 99, 124, 127, 129, 133,  
 138–9, 145, 150–1, 161–2, 165,  
 176, 189, 206, *see also* Entebbe  
 crisis; Khartoum embassy crisis;  
 Munich Olympics  
 Italy, 75, 83, 85, 127, 134, 143,  
 196, 200  
 Japan, 81, 127–8, 168, 172, 174–5  
 Japanese plane hijacked to Algiers  
 1977, 81  
 Japanese Red Army, 32  
 Jordan, 30, 187–8  
 Jovy, Michael Ernst, 50–1, 168  
 Kennedy, Robert F(rancis), 50  
 Kenya, 61, 65, 151  
 Khartoum embassy crisis 1973, 6, 30,  
 49–52, 59, 106, 108, 195  
 Kidnapping, *see* Diplomats  
 Convention; hostage crises *and*  
 individual crises  
 Kinkel, Klaus, 24  
 Kissinger, Henry, 65, 93  
 Klar, Christian, 23  
 Klein, Hans-Joachim, 27, 52–9  
 Kohl, Helmut, 203  
 Kontaktsperregesetz (Germany), 37  
 Kreisky, Bruno, 53–5, 57, 59  
 Krisenstab, 35–6, 38, 45, 66, 74, 76,  
 78, 80, 82, *see also* individual crises  
 Kröcher-Tiedemann, Gabriele, 52–9  
 Kuhlmann, Brigitte, 27, 62, 68

- Laboulaye, de, *see* Lefebvre de  
Laboulaye
- Lahn, Lothar, 153
- Landesämter für Verfassungsschutz, 33
- Landshut* hijacking 1977  
aftermath at the United Nations,  
173–6, 178  
crisis, 6, 22, 28, 30, 32–3, 35, 40, 48,  
69, 74–86, 173–4, 176, 178, 196,  
203, 206
- League of Nations, 90
- Lefebvre de Laboulaye, François,  
130–1
- Lesotho, 175
- Lex RAF (Germany), 36–7
- Libya, 55, 58–9, 59–60, 128, 130, 135,  
143, 155, 158, 162, 187–9
- Licht, Dieter, 50
- Lockerbie bombing 1988, 204
- Lod airport attack 1972, 93
- Lorenz, Peter, 25–6, 30, 37, 117, 118
- The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*, 10
- Lubega, Mativa, 70
- Lufthansa, 7, 35, 46, 47–8, 71–2,  
74, 80, *see also* *Landshut*  
hijacking
- Luxembourg, 83, 131, 143
- Mahler, Horst, 18
- Maihofer, Werner, 62, 75, 123
- Mali, 109, 151, 154
- Mao Zedong, 145
- Marighella, Carlos, *see* *Minimanual of  
the Urban Guerrilla*
- May Offensive 1972, 19–20, 33, 34, *see  
also* Red Army Faction
- Mayrhofer-Grünbühel, Ferdinand, 129
- Mein, John Gordon, 41
- Meinhof, Ulrike, 18–19, 20, 21, 22, 38
- Meins, Holger, 21, 38
- Méndez Montenegro, Julio César, 42
- Merk, Bruno, 46
- Meroz, Yohanan, 69
- Merzyn, Gerhard, 117
- Mexico, 123, 180, 187
- Middle East conflict, 49, 51, 61, 88,  
91–2, 94, 116, 119, 124, 125, 127,  
132, 136, 151, 198, 206
- Mikesch, Gerhard, 41
- Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*,  
19, 27
- Ministry of Justice (Germany), *see*  
Bundesministerium der Justiz
- Ministry of the Interior (Germany), *see*  
Bundesministerium des Inneren
- Mobuto Sese Seko, 65
- Mohnhaupt, Brigitte, 20, 23
- Mohr, Alberto Fuentes, 42
- Moltmann, Gerhard, 153
- Moluccas, 180
- Moore, George C(urtis), 49
- Morocco, 109
- Movement Second of June, 24–6, 27,  
29–32, 61, 117
- multilateralism  
general, 191  
in German foreign policy, 5, 7, 8–9,  
52, 73, 88, 89, 104, 201–2, 207–9  
at the United Nations, 13, 49, 88,  
104, 114, 201–2, 208–9
- Munich Olympics 1972 (attack on),  
6, 30, 33, 34, 40, 45–9, 85, 93,  
195, 197
- Namibia, 91
- national liberation movements  
(NLM), 59, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98,  
100, 102–4, 106, 109–11, 114,  
116, 119–20, 124, 125, 130–3,  
136, 138, 141–3, 149, 151–2, 155,  
157, 161, 167–8, 170–2, 175, 177,  
179–81, 183–6, 189–90, 192–3,  
195, 198, 200–1
- National Socialism (legacy of), 11,  
15, 17–18, 28, 32, 33, 45, 64, 65,  
79–80, 168, 202
- Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund  
(NSU), 29, 207–8
- necessity (concept), 3–4, 39, 40, 44,  
52, 59, 85, 89, 192, 195, 197,  
199–200, 207–8, *compare* prestige  
(concept)
- Netherlands, 140, 180, 183, 185, 187
- Neugebauer, Bernhard, 145, 174
- New International Economic Order,  
88, 91
- Nicaragua, 145
- Nigeria, 145, 169, 181

- Nixon, Richard, 91, 93  
 Noel Jr., Cleo A., 49  
 non-negotiation policy (Germany),  
   32, 64, 67, 73, 75, 76, 83, 117,  
   118–19, 157  
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
   Double-Track Decision, 207  
   member states' area, 75, 98, 114, 196  
 North Korea, 32  
 Northern Ireland, 180  
 North-South Commission, 89, 194  
 North-South divide, 5, 89  
 Nourney, Gerhard, 61, 63  
 Nuang Hua, 145  
 nuclear material, 204, 208
- Occupying Powers (Germany), 8, 15,  
   74, 200  
 Oesterreicher, Paul, 21  
 Offensive 1977, *see* Buback; German  
   Autumn; *Landshut* hijacking;  
   Ponto  
 Ogaden War, 79, 83, 84  
 Ohnesorg, Benno, 16, 24  
 oil interests, 129  
 Oktoberfest attack 1980, 29  
 Operation Entebbe 1976, 7, 27, 68–9,  
   70–2, 74, 79, 138–9, 143, 196, *see*  
   *also* Entebbe crisis  
 Operation Hecht 1971, 33  
 Operation Magic Fire 1977, 47, 63, 69,  
   79–80, 84–5, 86, 173, 196, *see also*  
   *Landshut* hijacking  
 Operation Wasserschlag (stirring the  
   water) 1972, 34  
 Organization of African Unity  
   (OAU), 70  
 Organization of American States  
   (OAS) Convention, 105, 106, 205  
 Organization of the Petroleum  
   Exporting Countries (OPEC) crisis  
   1975, 6–7, 27, 30, 52–9, 60, 101,  
   102, 120, 123, 129–30, 132, 192,  
   196, 199  
 Orly airport attack 1975, 30  
 Ostpolitik, 9, 39, 88, 91, 201
- Pahlavi, Mohammad Rezi, 16, 24  
 Pakistan, 175
- Palestine Liberation Organization  
   (PLO), 30, 51, 58, 62, 66–7, 75,  
   92, 123, 146–7, 151, 173, 189, 193  
 Palestine Question, *see* Middle East  
   conflict; Palestine Liberation  
   Organization; Popular Front for  
   the Liberation of Palestine, *see*  
   *also the individual crises*  
 Palmers, Walter, 26  
 Paraguay, 147  
 Patsalides, Andreas, 75  
 Pauls, Rolf, 42  
 peace movements, 207  
 People's Republic of China (PRC), 70,  
   113, 128–9, 145  
 piecemeal approach, 5, 95, 96, 98,  
   100, 104, 118, 124, 130, 132–3,  
   168, 194–5, 204–5, 208  
 Plambeck, Juliane, 26  
 plastic explosives, 204  
 Pohl, Willi, 50  
 Poland, 84  
 Polisario hostage crisis 1977,  
   178  
 political offence exception, 188,  
   *compare* *aut dedere aut iudicare*  
   principle  
 Ponto, Jürgen, 22, *see also* German  
   Autumn  
 Pope Paul VI, 82  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of  
   Palestine (PFLP), 7, 21, 22, 26,  
   27, 29–30, 74, 138, 157, *see also*  
   Black September; Entebbe crisis,  
   *Landshut* hijacking  
 Portugal, 98  
 prestige (concept), 3–4, 71, 73, 89,  
   91, 114, 121, 122, 124, 130,  
   136–7, 142, 149–50, 153, 156–61,  
   164–5, 172, 190, 191–2, 195–200,  
   202–3, 206–8, *compare* necessity  
   (concept)  
 Prigione, Gerolamo, 42–4
- Rabin, Yitzak, 69  
 Radikalenerlass, 36  
 Ramírez Sánchez, Ilich, *see* Carlos the  
   Jackal  
 Raspe, Jan-Carl, 61

- Rebel Armed Forces (Guatemala), *see* Spreti
- rechtfertigender Notstand, *see* distress (concept of)
- Rechtsstaat, *see* rule of law
- Red Army Faction (RAF)
- end, 24, 84, 206
  - first generation, 20, 27
  - general, 18–24, 25, 26, 27–8, 29–32, 33–9, 56, 61, 75, 80, 84, 117, 129, 206
  - ideology, 19, 20, 23
  - lawyers, 21, 36–8
  - links with eastern states, 19, 31, 40
  - second generation, 21–3, 27
  - suicides, 22, 23–4, 38, 80, 83
  - third generation, 23–4, 206
  - see also* Baader; Ensslin; German Autumn; Landshut hijacking; Meinhof; Schleyer; Stammheim Trials
- Red Brigades, 31, 129
- Red Zora (Rote Zora), 28
- regional organisations (antiterrorism efforts of), 205, *see also* Council of Europe; European Communities; Organization of American States
- Reinders, Ralf, 61
- reunification (Germany), 9, 200, 203, 207
- Revolutionäre Zellen, *see* Revolutionary Cells
- Revolutionary Cells, 25, 26–8, 29–32, 56, 62
- Revolutionary Wrath, 28
- Rhodesia, 98
- right-wing terrorism (Germany), 28–9, *see also* Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund
- Roesch, Otto, 54
- Rogers, William P(ierce), 44, 93, 122
- Rohwedder, Detlev Karsten, 23
- Romania, 84, 154
- Rote Armee Fraktion, *see* Red Army Faction
- Ruhnau, Heinz, 82–3
- rule of law (Germany), 10, 33, 39, 207, 209
- Sadat, Anwar El, 61, 85
- safe havens, 4, 11, 101, 113, 118, 121, 125, 133, 158, 200, 208, *see also* asylum, *compare* aut dedere aut iudicare principle
- Sahoun, Mohamed, 153
- Satre, Paul, 21
- Saudi Arabia, 49–52, 54–5, 78, 135
- Sauvagnargues, Jean, 65, 131
- Scheel, Walter, 41, 44, 93, 106
- Schelm, Petra, 33
- Schily, Otto, 17
- Schleyer, Hanns Martin, 22, 23, 30, 32, 37, 74, 76, 80, 85, 173, 182, 187, *see also* German Autumn; Landshut hijacking
- Schlöndorff, Volker, 10
- Schmidt, Helmut, 6, 9, 22, 32, 35, 59, 66, 69, 72, 77–86, 117, 119, 122–3, 135, 141–2, 157, 192, 196, 201, 203, 209
- Schreiber, Manfred, 46
- Schröder, Gerhard, 17
- Schubert, Ingrid, 61
- Schüler, Manfred, 69
- Schulz, Adelheid, 23
- Schumann, Jürgen, 78, 174
- Scranton, William, 139
- sectoral approach, *see* piecemeal approach
- Setoyama, Mitsuo, 81
- Sevastyanov, Feliks I., 50
- Siad Barre, Mohamed, 78–80, 84
- Siepmann, Ingrid, 31
- Sirhan, Sirhan Bushara, 50
- Sixth Committee (Legal Committee of the UN), 95, 101, 103, 106, 108, 117, 119, 143, 150, 154–5, 160, 162, 172–3, 176, 178, 183, 186
- Smyser, William Richard, 82–3
- social protests in the 1960s, 14–18, 24, 28, 29
- Somalia, 62, 78–84, 173
- Sondereinsatzkommando (Germany), 34, 35, *compare* Grenzschutzgruppe 9
- South Africa, 88, 94, 98–9, 132, 136, 152–3

- South Yemen, 21, 26, 30, 32, 77–8, 85, 117
- Soviet Union  
 isolation on terrorism, 177, 186, 188  
 policies, 70, 78, 82, 88, 105, 112, 113, 128, 130, 145, 154–5, 160, 167–8, 170–2, 178, 182, 186, 188, 200, 202  
 proposal for hijacking agreement, 168, 177  
 proposal for renunciation of force treaty, 178
- Sozialistisches Patientenkollektiv (Germany), 20, *see also* Red Army Faction
- Spain, 195, 200, 207
- Special Air Service (SAS), 77, 80
- Spreti, Karl Count von, 6, 41–5, 105, 106, 108, 109, 113, 195, 198
- Springer media group (attacks on), 16–17, 19, 28
- Stammheim Trials, 21, 35, 36–8
- Stasi, 31, *see also* German Democratic Republic links with terrorists
- state terrorism, 94, 100, 132
- state-sponsored terrorism, 73, 104
- Stockholm embassy raid 1975, 22, 32, 37, 117, *see also* Lorenz
- Stoessel Jr, Walter John, 82, 93, 174
- Strafgesetzbuch (StGB), 36, 37, 38
- Strafprozessordnung (StPO), 36, 37, 38
- Strauß, Franz-Joseph, 78
- student movements, *see* social protests in the 1960s, *see also* 1968
- Sudan, 49–52
- Suy, Eric, 143, 169
- Sweden, 117, 130, 161
- Switzerland, 61, 65, 85, 130
- Syria, 61, 189
- Tanzania, 102, 155, 158, 170, 178–9, 189
- terrorism  
 causes of, 11, 94–5, 96, 97, 101, 104, 132, 155  
 ethnic, 208  
 German definition of, 12  
 international nature of, 10, 13, 40, 49, 51–2, 61, 73, 85, 92, 132, 195–6, 208  
 Islamist, 207–8  
 nuclear, 204 (nuclear)  
 problem of a general definition, 11, 12–13, 96, 104, 116, 118, 151, 153, 170, 200, 204  
 social revolutionary, 11, 129, 194, 208  
 suicide, 208  
*see also* Germany domestic terrorism
- terrorist bombings, 204
- Teufel, Fritz, 61
- Third World  
 position on terrorism, 92, 93, 95, 98–102, 104, 113–14, 116–17, 118, 120, 124, 127–8, 136–7, 142, 156, 161, 164, 167, 170, 175, 177, 188, 190, 192, 194  
 support for Hostages Convention, 126, 129–30, 135–8, 140, 143–7, 151–2, 160–2, 168, 170, 176–9, 181–2, 184–7, 189–90, 202
- Thorn, Gaston, 131
- three-track diplomacy (Germany), 8, 140–1, 152, 154, 162, 167, 172, 190, 193
- Togo, 145–6
- Trans World Airlines (TWA) hijacking 1978, 85
- Trotha, Margarethe von, 10
- Tunisia, 151
- Tupamaros (Uruguay), 25
- Tupamaros Westberlins, 24, 25, 30, *see also* M2J
- Turkey, 75
- Uganda, 7, 135, 138, 189, *see also* Entebbe crisis
- Umlauff, Michael, 158
- United Arab Emirates (UAE)AE, 54, 77, *see also* Dubai
- United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, *see* Great Britain
- United Nations  
 antiterrorism (general), 91–4, 99, 208–10

- United Nations – *continued*  
 as a forum, 12–13, 88, 90, 140  
 general, 8  
 General Assembly (GA), 90–1, 94,  
 100, 101, 102, 119, 120, 124,  
 125, 134, 137, 141–4, 146–8,  
 150–2, 164, 173–5, 179, 181–3,  
 186–9, 208  
 membership of Germany, 88, 91  
 Resolution on the Safety for  
 International Civil Aviation 1977,  
 174–5, 176–7, 179  
 rise of Third World, 88–9, 90–2,  
 94, 180  
 Secretary-General, 111–12, *see also*  
 Waldheim  
 Security Council (SC), 70–4, 90,  
 138–9, 141, 208  
*see also* Fourth Committee; Sixth  
 Committee  
 United Nations Children’s Fund, 88  
 United Nations Relief and  
 Rehabilitation Administration, 88  
 United States of America (US), 77, 78,  
 79, 82–4, 90–1, 98, 102–3, 106,  
 108, 113, 127, 129, 139, 143, 145,  
 147, 150, 161, 163, 167, 169, 174,  
 176, 178, 180–1, 187, 194, 201  
 Uruguay, 145, 147  
 US initiative against terrorism  
 1972, 93–5, 99, 132, 155, 194,  
*see also* Ad Hoc Committee on  
 international terrorism  
  
 van Well, Günter, 130–1, 151–2  
 Venezuela, 101, 124, 138, 140, 144  
 Vienna Formula (United Nations), 111  
 Viêt, Inge, 26, 31, 61  
 Vogel, Hans-Jochen, 22, 46  
  
 Wagner, Rolf Clemens, 84  
 Waldheim, Kurt, 13, 65, 82, 93, 96,  
 101, 103, 106, 129, 132, 169, 173,  
 194  
 Wechmar, Rüdiger von, 72, 101–2,  
 119–20, 129, 134, 139–46, 150–1,  
 153, 155–7, 159–60, 162, 165,  
 171–3, 175, 178–80, 188–90,  
 193, 198  
 Wegener, Ulrich, 48, 63, 66, 69–70,  
 77, 79–80, *see also*  
 Grenzschutzgruppe 9  
 West Berlin (status of), 16, 112  
 Western European and Others Group  
 (WEOG), 98, 100, 108, 165–6,  
 181, 185, 188  
 Western interventionism, 143, 162,  
 193, 200, *see also* Hostages  
 Convention, ‘anti-Entebbe’  
 clause  
 Westintegration (Germany), 9, 88  
 Wirtschaftswunder, 9, 18  
 Wischniewski, Hans-Jürgen, 74,  
 76–80, 187  
 World Jewish Congress, 163  
 World War II, 8, 11, 88 (legacy of),  
*see also* National Socialism  
  
 Yugoslavia, 23, 140, 155, 186–8, 190  
  
 Zagreb hijacking 1972, 47–9, *see also*  
 Munich Olympics  
 Zaire, 159  
 Zayed bin Sultan al Nahayan, 77  
 Zentralrat der umherschweifenden  
 Haschrebellen, 24, 25,  
*see also* Movement Second  
 of June  
 Zimmermann, Friedrich, 83