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## Human Rights and the War on Terror: Background for The “War on Terror”

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## Background for The “War on Terror”

September 11 changed the United States’ understanding of terrorism. Prior to these attacks, Americans typically viewed terrorist events and actors through the lens of foreign affairs, quite removed from “everyday” concerns. Terrorist events involving Americans did occur, occasionally on American soil, but a sense of American invulnerability never truly wavered. September 11 challenged this presumption; as well as perspectives on the history of terrorism, compelling some to reexamine past events in order to find portents of the future tragedy.

A look at the development of the literature on terrorism beginning in the early 1980’s until now reveals some cognitive dissonance. In introducing this material, it is not my intention to explain terrorism or define terrorism in this section. In fact, it is the very definition of terrorism is challenged by the assortment of initiatives collected under the title of the American War on Terror. Prior to September 11, “terrorism” was understood more broadly by more people. Although a single definition has never been uniformly applied, hence the inclusion in this digest of such organizations as the IRA and PLO, and the absence of certain other frequently, though reckless labeled as terrorist. I will presume that the “terror” is primarily associated with topics associated with the War on Terror. The history sections are particularly honest to this conviction, though they also point to some areas that are neglected by the current paradigm.

The History component is divided into two sections, prior to and after 2002. Sources are mostly limited to books, as they provide a more expansive treatment of topics than would typically be found in articles.

The Reports section provides reports from government agencies, non-governmental organizations and think tanks. The reports present a diversity of opinion and differing recommendations on how best to confront terrorism. Sources date from 1979 onwards, the year of the Iran Hostage crisis, a clearly identifiable point in time in which Americans were confronted by a terrorist act.

The section on Law presents laws passed within the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as United Nations Conventions and NATO Plans intended to address and deter terrorism. Additional sources analyze how international laws and legal cooperation among nations help fight terrorism.

### General Background: Pre-2001

This section focuses on literature written before 2001. The section on the Periphery of Terror focuses principally on terrorist activity outside the purview of the Bush administration’s War on Terror. The section on the Roots of September 11 is concerned with how terrorism has become of special interest to the West. The section on Technology discusses its role in dealing with terrorism.

#### *Periphery of Terror*

Yonah Alexander. 1989. Terrorism: The PLO Connection. New York: Crane Russak.

Yonah Alexander and Robert A. Kiln. 1979. *Political Terrorism and Business: The Threat and Response*. New York: Praeger.

Many subjects are addressed by the authors in this collection, including corporate and executive targets; medical preparedness; and responses to terrorist events by airlines, banks and insurance companies. Also includes a chronology of transnational terrorist attacks on American business people.

Yonah Alexander and Alan O'Day. 1989. *Ireland's Terrorist Trauma: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Authors in this collection look at the conflict of Northern Ireland through the lens of terrorism. Chapters discuss the roles of the international community and the Catholic Church, with special focus on both the IRA and Ulster Loyalists.

Yonah Alexander and Alan O'Day. 1991. *The Irish Terrorism Experience*. Brookfield, Vt., USA: Dartmouth.

Yonah Alexander and Alan O'Day. 1984. *Terrorism in Ireland*. London and New York: Croom Helm; St. Martin's Press.

Yonah Alexander and Dennis A. Pluchinsky. 1992. *Europe's Red Terrorists: The Fighting Communist Organizations*. Portland, Ore. : F. Cass.

Yonah Alexander and Dennis A. Pluchinsky. 1992. *European Terrorism Today & Tomorrow*. Washington: Brassey's (US).

A collection of essays with chapters providing reviews of two European terrorist groups, evaluating the implications of historical terrorist activity on Europe's future. The authors suggest tools for combating terrorism in consideration of European integration and more fluid borders.

Howard L. Bushart. 1998. *Soldiers of God: White Supremacists and Their Holy War for America*. New York, NY: Kensington Books.

*ABSTRACT: From the Ku Klux Klan to Aryan Nations, the groups profiled in this fascinating, frightening book are organized, armed and growing. Written with the complete cooperation of the leaders of these revolutionary groups, Soldiers of God is the first book to let these masterminds of hatred speak their minds in their own words. Through interviews and documents, the authors weave the views of this expanding underground movement within the context of modern America to help us comprehend these forces at work against our nation - from within.*

Ray S. Cline. 1984. *Terrorism: The Soviet Connection*. New York: Crane Russak.

Richard B. Cole. 1980. *Executive Security: A Corporate Guide to Effective Response to Abduction and Terrorism*. New York: Wiley.

2001. *Cyber Terrorism and Information Warfare: Threats and Responses*. Ardsley, NY: Transnational.

James X. Dempsey. 1999. *Terrorism & the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security*. Los Angeles, Calif. : First Amendment Foundation.

Dempsey argues that the FBI's response to terrorist threats has systematically infringed on the First Amendment and other constitutional principles. He looks at specific FBI investigations and

presents developments since the passing of the 1996 Antiterrorism Act as disturbing. See also the section on the Patriot Act.

Franklin L. Ford. 1985. *Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism*. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press.

Sharon Frederick. 2001. *Rape: Weapon of Terror*. River Edge, NJ: Global Publishing [for] Association of Women for Action and Research.

A short account of rape as weapon in war and armed conflicts. The author discusses the deliberate choice by governments and militias to use women as surrogates to perpetuate physical and psychological harm on an entire group as a form of terror.

Peter Hamilton. 1979. *Espionage, Terrorism and Subversion: An Examination and a Philosophy of Defence for Management*. Leatherhead: Peter A. Heims Ltd.

Abraham H. Miller. 1980. *Terrorism and Hostage Negotiations*. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press.

Alison Jamieson. 1994. *Terrorism and Drug Trafficking in the 1990s*. Brookfield, Vt. : Dartmouth.

Wolfgang J. Mommsen. 1982. *Social Protest, Violence, and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press: [Published] for the German Historical Institute London.

Michael Newton. 1988. *Terrorism in the United States and Europe, 1800-1959: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland.

Michael F. Noone and Yonah Alexander. 1997. *Cases and Materials on Terrorism: Three Nations' Response*. Boston: Kluwer Law International.

Provides specific case examples from the United States, the United Kingdom and Ireland on topics related to terrorism such as membership in proscribed organizations, surveillance, interrogation, detention and use of the military.

Ray Spangenburg. 2000. *The Crime of Genocide: Terror against Humanity*. Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow Publishers.

1999. *Transatlantic Tensions: The United States, Europe, and Problem Countries*. Washington, D. C. : Brookings Institution Press.

*ABSTRACT: Americans and Europeans are divided over designing and carrying out policies toward countries that repress human rights, develop WMDs, and/or support terrorism. This divide occurs over profound disagreements over which foreign policy tools - sanctions, engagement, military force - to employ to change the behavior of problem countries. "Problem" countries selected for treatment in this study are Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya and Nigeria.*

*Roots of September 11*

Yonah Alexander. 2001. *Usama Bin Laden's Al-Qaida: Profile of a Terrorist Network*. Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.

Yonah Alexander. 1994. *Middle East Terrorism: Current Threats and Future Prospects*. New York and Toronto: G. K. Hall; Maxwell Macmillan Canada.

Peter Harclerode. 2000. *Secret Soldiers: Special Forces in the War against Terrorism*. London: Cassell.

*ABSTRACT: Harclerode provides a chronological history of major terrorist actions over the last thirty years and shows how countries under threat responded with the formation of counter-terrorist units within their Special Forces. He explains how Special Forces are organized, armed, trained and deployed.*

David C. And Alexander Rapoport, Yonah. 1989. *The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Authors in this collection focus on the relationship between violence and religion. Authors put the topic in a legal framework, asking if terrorists have rights and whether the laws of war can be effective in addressing terrorist acts.

A. Odasuo Alali. 1994. *Terrorism and the News Media: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography*. Jefferson, N. C. : McFarland.

Yonah Alexander and Richard Latter. 1990. *Terrorism & the Media: Dilemmas for Government, Journalists & the Public*. Washington: Brassey's (US).

The writers in this collection wrestle with the tension between the media's freedom to disseminate information, the public's right to know, and the need of governments and security forces to contain terrorism. The book looks at three particular media environments: the US, UK and Europe.

L. Paul Bremer. 1987. *Terrorism and the Media*. Washington, D. C. : U.S. Dept. of State Bureau of Public Affairs Office of Public Communication Editorial Division.

Richard W. Leeman. 1991. *The Rhetoric of Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. New York: Greenwood Press.

*ABSTRACT: Leeman analyzes the possible discursive responses to terrorism, prescribing "democratic rhetoric" as the most strategic counterterrorist response available. He examines counterterrorism as a response to terrorism, considering each side as one-half of a dialogue. Given the inherently anti-democratic nature of terroristic discourse, he hypothesizes that the best discursive strategy is to shift the dialogue by using democratic rhetoric.*

Abraham H. Miller. 1982. *Terrorism, the Media, and the Law*. Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. : Transnational Publishers.

This collection provides a brief analysis of the problems confronting law enforcement, the legal system and the media when dealing with terrorism. Two chapters pay particular attention to hostages: one on the hostage-taking in Iran in 1979 and the other on how the right to free press may impede on the safety of hostages.

Brigitte Lebens Nacos. 1994. *Terrorism and the Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the World Trade Center Bombing*. New York: Colombia University Press.

David L. Paletz and Alex Schmid. 1992. *Terrorism and the Media*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

This group of essays is intended to provide various perspectives on the relationship between the media and terrorism. Chapters present the views of researchers, governments, broadcasting agencies and memoirs and interviews with terrorists themselves.

Gabriel Weimann. 1994. *The Theatre of Terror: Mass Media and International Terrorism*. New York: Longman.

Edward W. Said. 1997. *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. Revised Edition. New York: Vintage.

### *Technology*

2001. *Super Terrorism: Biological, Chemical, and Nuclear*. Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.

1986. *Terrorism: Opposing Viewpoints*. St. Paul, Minn. : Greenhaven Press.

A collection of essays providing multiple viewpoints on the concept of terror. Authors represent different understandings of the definition of terrorism, some arguing that acts of terrorism can be justified according to context, as well as state sponsorship of terrorists.

Yonah Alexander and Eugene Sochor. 1990. *Aerial Piracy and Aviation Security*. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers; Sold and distributed in the U.S. A. and Canada by Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Yonah Alexander and Charles K Ebinger. Georgetown University. Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1982. *Political Terrorism and Energy: The Threat and Response*. New York, N. Y. : Praeger.

The authors in this collection consider the links between terrorism and energy sources, including threats to the U.S. energy industry. They cite attacks which have already taken place against pipelines and electric facilities and conclude with a section on policy suggestions.

Jin-Tai Choi. 1994. *Aviation Terrorism: Historical Survey, Perspectives and Responses*. New York, N. Y. : St. Martin's Press.

Nadine Gurr. 2000. *The New Face of Terrorism: Threats from Weapons of Mass Destruction*. London; New York, NY: I. B. Tauris; In the United States of America and in Canada distributed by St Martins Press.

Paul Leventhal and Yonah Alexander. 1987. *Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: The Report and Papers of the International Task Force on Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism*. Lexington, Mass. : Lexington Books.

Herbert M. Levine. 2000. *Chemical & Biological Weapons in Our Times*. New York: Franklin Watts.

*ABSTRACT: Examines the history and development of chemical and biological weapons and discusses their proliferation, association with terrorism, and efforts to control their use.*

Gary E. McCuen. 1999. *Biological Terrorism & Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Hudson, Wis. : G. E. McCuen Publications.

This book provides writings on biological, chemical and nuclear threats as well as weapons of mass destruction. The collection includes a chapter on the connection between religion and terror as well a section on containing Iraq.

Jessica Stern. 2000. The Ultimate Terrorists. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Stern considers the increasing likelihood of the use of weapons of mass destruction being used by terrorists. She provides a section on state terrorism that includes a discussion on Iraq's WMD program and the after-effects of the first Gulf War.

### **General: 2001-2004**

This section represents recent work on terrorism. These works are particularly informed by the new American policy position in this area. Literature has generally grouped in the following areas: Religion, Counterterrorism, History and Analysis of Terrorism, and September 11.

#### *Religion*

David Bukay. 2002. Total Terrorism in the Name of Allah: The Emergence of the New Islamic Fundamentalists. Shaarei Tikva, Israel: Ariel Center for Policy Research.

Bukay discusses contemporary Islamic fundamentalism displayed today as a relatively new phenomenon. He argues that this form of fundamentalism, more aggressive and violent, poses the greatest existing threat to modern society

Dilip Hiro. 2002. War without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and the Global Response. New York: Routledge.

*ABSTRACT: In order to properly comprehend September 11, one needs an elementary knowledge of Islam. Hiro provides historical information as well as an understanding of Islamic fundamentalism as an ideology both of resistance and of governance. He also discusses events in Afghanistan and on 9/11.*

Dawn Perlmutter. 2004. Investigating Religious Terrorism and Ritualistic Crimes. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Jessica Stern. 2004. Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill. New York: Ecco.

#### *Counterterrorism*

Yonah Alexander. 2002. Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

*ABSTRACT: The essays in this collection offer a unique overview and evaluation of the counterterrorism policies of ten countries, including the United States, United Kingdom, Israel and Turkey. Each country section concludes with a post-September 11 assessment of current counterterrorist practices.*

Sean Anderson. 2003. Terrorism: Assassins to Zealots. Lanham, Md. : Scarecrow Press.

A virtual dictionary of terrorist organizations, events and terminologies. The book also includes a brief, but comprehensive chronology of terrorist events and a useful bibliography on multiple issues such as counter-terrorism, the media and terrorism by region.

2003. Covertaction: The Roots of Terrorism. Melbourne; New York: Ocean Press.

Stern considers the increasing likelihood of the use of weapons of mass destruction being used by terrorists. She provides a section on state terrorism that includes a discussion on Iraq's WMD program and the after-effects of the first Gulf War.

Barry Davies. 2003. Terrorism: Inside a World Phenomenon. London: Virgin.

Frederick H. Gareau. 2004. State Terrorism and the United States: From Counterinsurgency to the War on Terrorism. Atlanta and London: Clarity Press and Zed Books. <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip047/2003017816.html>.

Pamala L. Griset. 2003. Terrorism in Perspective. Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage Publications.

Brigitte Lebens Nacos. 2002. Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Nacos provides a comprehensive examination of the media coverage of September 11, and considers how terrorists manipulate the media to their advantage. She concludes with recommendations for effective and ethical news coverage of terrorist events.

Meghan L. O'Sullivan. 2003. Shrewd Sanctions: Statecraft and State Sponsors of Terrorism. Washington, D. C. : Brookings Institution Press.

O'Sullivan briefly examines the historical use of sanctions, and gives historical context for the relative effectiveness of sanctions. She compares sanctions with other strategies in four cases: Iran, Iraq, Libya and Sudan.

Thomas Powers. 2002. Intelligence Wars: American Secret History from Hitler to Al-Qaeda. New York: New York Review Books.

This collection of essays addresses the role of U.S. intelligence organizations in foreign affairs. Content begins on the eve of World War II and continues to the present day, including two essays questioning the capacity of the CIA and the FBI to respond to new terrorist threats.

2002. U.S. Counterterrorist Forces. St. Paul, Minn. : MBI Publishing Co.

### *History and Analysis of Terrorism*

Sean Anderson. 2002. Historical Dictionary of Terrorism. Lanham, Md. : Scarecrow Press.

Sean Anderson. 2003. Terrorism: Assassins to Zealots. Lanham, Md. : Scarecrow Press.

*ABSTRACT: A virtual dictionary of terrorist organizations, events and terminologies. The book also includes a brief, but comprehensive chronology of terrorist events and a useful bibliography on multiple issues such as counter-terrorism, the media and terrorism by region.*



Caleb Carr. 2003. *The Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare against Civilians*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks.

Carr provides examples of terrorism defined as war through history, tracing this phenomena back to the Roman Empire. The author argues that warfare against civilians should never be reciprocated in kind and suggests preemptive military offensives as a solution to all terrorist threats.

2002. *Confronting Fear: A History of Terrorism*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.

Ann H. Coulter. 2003. *Treason: Liberal Treachery from the Cold War to the War on Terrorism*. New York: Crown Forum.

Coulter, a prominent author in the American conservative movement, examines foreign policy issues from the Cold War to the present terrorist threat, arguing that American liberal attitudes have consistently undermined U.S. interests and security.

Barry Davies. 2003. *Terrorism: Inside a World Phenomenon*. London: Virgin.

Davies begins with a review of the history of modern terrorism and terrorist organizations, focusing heavily on the PLO and the IRA, with mention of Al-Qaeda. The book provides global examples of terrorist events and counter-terrorist actions.

Pamala L. Griset. 2003. *Terrorism in Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage Publications.

Michael Kronenwetter. 2004. *Terrorism: A Guide to Events and Documents*. Westport, Conn. : Greenwood Press.

Kronenwetter provides much material for further research on terrorism, including a selection of terrorists groups, a chronology of events and a selected bibliography. His book also contains interesting documents such as an apology from the IRA and a summary from the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui, the "20th hijacker".

Edward F. Mickolus. 2002. *Terrorism, 1996-2001: A Chronology*. Westport, Conn. : Greenwood Press.

Michael Pellowski. 2003. *The Terrorist Trial of the 1993 Bombing of the World Trade Center: A Headline Court Case*. Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow Publishers.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the trials of Mahmoud Abouhalima, Ramzi Yousef, Mohammad Salameh, Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, and others for their roles in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center.*

Dennis Piskiewicz. 2003. *Terrorism's War with America: A History*. Westport, Conn. : Praeger.

This short history looks out from a U.S. government perspective and places a heavy emphasis on Islamic manifestations of terrorism, looking at particular leaders such as Qaddafi and Osama bin Laden. Piskiewicz provides an edited list of terrorist organizations as defined by the U.S. Department of State.

Andrew Sinclair. 2003. *An Anatomy of Terror: A History of Terrorism*. London: Macmillan.

2003. *Terrorism: A Documentary History*. Washington, D. C. : CQ Press.

2003. Terrorism: Great Speeches in History Series. San Diego: Greenhaven Press.

Howard Zinn. 2002. Terrorism and War. New York: Seven Stories Press.

*September 11*

John B. Alexander. 2003. Winning the War: Advanced Weapons, Strategies, and Concepts for the Post-9/11 World. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Written by a retired U.S. Army colonel, this book provides descriptive accounts of military actions followed by examples of military technology and tools. It also addresses such issues as money laundering and the media, concluding with high-tech solutions to warfare such as weather modification, antigravity physics and human psychokinesis.

Dean C. Alexander. 2004. Business Confronts Terrorism: Risks and Responses. United States: Terrace Books, University of Wisconsin Press.

The authors give a comprehensive overall look and brief treatments of the multiple business sectors both detrimentally affected and helped, by 9/11. These areas include insurance, real estate, transportation, security products and services. New employment opportunities are also discussed.

Dean C. Alexander. 2002. Terrorism and Business: The Impact of September 11, 2001. Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.

David Cole. 2002. Terrorism and the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security. New York: New Press.

*ABSTRACT: Provides a recent history of the FBI's investigation of first amendment activities, discusses the limits of legal restrictions on the FBI's authority, and argues that the 1996 and 2001 Antiterrorism Acts curtail civil liberties in the name of fighting terrorism.*

William J. Crotty. 2004. The Politics of Terror: The U.S. Response to 9/11. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

David Frum. 2003. An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror. New York: Random House.

Written in part by a former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense, this book provides a particular viewpoint on how to win the war on terror. With a heavy emphasis on Islamic threats, the authors identify U.S. enemies and offer advice on how to fight these enemies and promote democracy.

Patrick Hayden; Tom Lansford and Robert P. Watson. 2003. America's War on Terror. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Frances Fox Piven. 2004. The War at Home: The Domestic Causes and Consequences of Bush's Militarism. New York: New Press; Distributed by W. W. Norton.

Argues that the Bush administration uses the war on terror to solidify its political base, manipulate public perceptions of a terrorist threat, and to justify the necessity of conservative social and economic agendas.

William F. Schulz. 2003. *Tainted Legacy: 9/11 and the Ruin of Human Rights*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books.

*ABSTRACT: Schulz argues the Bush administration's "War on Terror" has prioritized security at the expense of human rights. He explores America's historically ambivalent response and disregard for human rights and theorizes that greater respect for these rights will ultimately help win the war on terror.*

William W. Turner. 2004. *Mission Not Accomplished: How George Bush Lost the War on Terrorism*. Roseville, Calif. : Penmarin Books.

## Laws

Yonah Alexander and Edgar H. Brenner. 2002. *U.S. Federal Legal Responses to Terrorism*. Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.

A selective listing of portions of the United States Code, highlighting the titles and chapters that relate to terrorist activities.

Yonah Alexander and Edgar H. Brenner. 2001. *Terrorism and the Law*. Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.

Presents numerous case studies, with particular focus on genocide and cyber-terrorism. Briefly examines the role of the FBI's overseas Legal Attachés as well as intergovernmental efforts to combat terrorism. Provides U.S. state and federal laws that address terrorist threats and acts.

Yonah Alexander and Michael F. Noone. 1997. *Cases and Materials on Terrorism: Three Nations' Response*. Boston: Kluwer Law International.

Presents numerous case studies, with particular focus on genocide and cyber-terrorism. Briefly examines the role of the FBI's overseas Legal Attachés as well as intergovernmental efforts to combat terrorism. Provides U.S. state and federal laws that address terrorist threats and acts.

M. Cherif Basouini. Ed. 2002. *International Terrorism: A Compilation of U.N. Documents, 1972-2001*. Ardsley, N. Y. : Transnational Publishers.

M. Cherif Basouini. Ed. 2001. *International Terrorism: Multilateral Conventions, 1937-2001*. Ardsley, N. Y. : Transnational Publishers.

M. Cherif. International Institute for Advanced Criminal Sciences. Bassiouni. 1975. *International Terrorism and Political Crimes*. Springfield, Ill. : Thomas.

This collection is edited by the Egyptian lawyer who led the first revolt against the British occupation. Bassiouni contributes three of the chapters in a book which considers national liberation movements, extradition and the formation of an International Criminal Court.

British Parliament. 2001. "Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001." Legislative <http://www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts2001/20010024.htm>.

British Parliament. 1998. Criminal Justice (Terrorism and Conspiracy) Act 1998. <http://www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts1998/19980040.htm>.

British Parliament. 2000. “Terrorism Act of 2000.” <http://www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts2000/20000011.htm>

This Act makes specific provisions for dealing with issues of terrorism. It includes sections on terrorist property, outlining conditions for the exposure and seizure of terrorist forms of financing. It also expounds upon counter-terrorist activities, making exceptional, temporary provision for Northern Ireland around the prosecution and punishment of particular offences.

Martin David Dubin. 1991. International Terrorism: Two League of Nations Conventions, 1934-1937. Millwood, N. Y. : Kraus International Publications.

Rosalyn Higgins and Maurice Flory. 1997. Terrorism and International Law. London: Routledge.

Peter J. Van Krieken. 2002. Terrorism and the International Legal Order: With Special Reference to the UN, the EU and Cross-Border Aspects. The Hague: T. M. C. Asser Press.

NATO. 2002. “Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism”. <http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/b021122e.htm>.

Yonah Alexander and Michael F. Noone. 1997. Cases and Materials on Terrorism: Three Nations’ Response. Boston: Kluwer Law International.

Presents numerous case studies, with particular focus on genocide and cyber-terrorism. Briefly examines the role of the FBI’s overseas Legal Attachés as well as intergovernmental efforts to combat terrorism. Provides U.S. state and federal laws that address terrorist threats and acts.

Ramesh Chandra Thakur and Peter Malcontent. 2004. From Sovereign Impunity to International Accountability: The Search for Justice in a World of States. New York: United Nations University Press.

Addresses the tensions between state sovereignty and international law. Topics addressed include: human rights and humanitarian law; the International Criminal Court; the individual in national law; and a feminist perspective.

United Nations Treaty Collection: Conventions on Terrorism. <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>.

This web site includes a full listing of the relevant conventions of terrorism proposed by the United Nations. It includes earlier conventions dealing with the protection of diplomats and the taking of hostages, as well as recent documents addressing terrorist financing and the protection of nuclear material.

U. S. Congress. 1996. “Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996.” Legislative January 1, 1995. <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/F?c104:1:./temp/~c104p1RgnE:e931>.

Passed in response to terrorist attacks in Oklahoma City and the World Trade Center in 1993, this Act restricts prisoners’ rights of habeas corpus, a primary method for challenging state-imposed death sentences. It also encourages immigration policies to deter “alien terrorists”, including allowances to narrow asylum provisions and expedite deportation of criminal aliens.

U. S. Congress. 2001. "Aviation and Transportation Security Act of 2001 - S. 1447 ". <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?c107:4./temp/~c107YLUH40>.

U. S. Congress. 2001. "Bioterrorism Response Act of 2001 (HR 3448)". <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:h.r.03448>.

The purpose of this act is to improve the ability of the United States to prevent, prepare for, and respond to bioterrorism and other public health emergencies.

U. S. Congress. 2002. "Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002 ". <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:h.r.03525>.

U. S. Congress. 2001. "Terrorist Bombings Convention Implementation Act of 2001 (HR 3275)".

This Act implements the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings to strengthen criminal laws relating to attacks on places of public use as well as the International Convention of the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism to combat terrorism and defend the Nation against terrorist acts, and for other purposes.

U. S. Congress. 2001. "USA Patriot Act (HR 3162) ". <http://www.epic.org/privacy/terrorism/hr3162.html>.

U. S. Congress. 2001. "Terrorism Risk Protection Act - H. R. 3210." <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:h.r.03210>.

## Reports

American Bar Association. 2002. "American Bar Association Task Force on Terrorism and the Law Report and Recommendations on Military Commissions". <http://www.abanet.org/leadership/military.pdf>.

Responds to President Bush's order that non-citizens would be subject to detention and trial by military authorities. It notes the U.S.'s responsibilities as a signatory to the Convention on Civil and Political Rights and the historical justification for using military commissions. The report concludes that trials should be limited in scope and "full and fair".

Amnesty International. 2004. Amnesty International Report 2004. <http://web.amnesty.org/report2004/index-eng>.

This report reviews the challenges confronted by the international human rights movement in 2003. It looks in part at the War on Terror and resulting violations of human rights standards such as unlawful detentions, unfair trials and torture. It reflects upon the UN's crisis of legitimacy and documents the human rights situation in 155 countries and territories.

L. Paul Bremer. 1987. *Terrorism and the Media*. Washington, D. C. : U.S. Dept. of State Bureau of Public Affairs Office of Public Communication Editorial Division.

Cato Institute. 2004. *Cato Handbook for Congress: Policy Recommendations for the 108th Congress*. Cato Institute. <http://www.cato.org/pubs/handbook/handbook108.html>.

- F. B. I. Annual. Terrorism in the United States. <http://www.fbi.gov/publications/terror/terrorism.htm>.
- Human Rights Watch. 2003. In the Name of Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Abuses Worldwide. Human Rights Watch. <http://www.hrw.org/un/chr59/counter-terrorism-bck.htm>.
- Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Neither Just nor Effective: Indefinite Detention without Trial in the United Kingdom under Part 4 of the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001". <http://hrw.org/backgrounder/eca/uk/index.htm>.
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