Human Rights and the War on Terror: Complete 2005 - 2007 Topical Research Digest

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Abstract

"9/11 changed everything." Not really. In fact, there has been far more continuity than change over the past six years in both international and domestic politics. Nonetheless, human rights often have been harmed—although not by terrorism but by "the war on terror."

Keywords

Human rights, Terrorism, Middle East, Europe, Asia, Africa, United States, United Nations

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Publication Statement

Human Rights and the War on Terror
Second Edition

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"9/11 changed everything."

Not really. In fact, there has been far more continuity than change over the past six years in both international and domestic politics. Nonetheless, human rights often have been harmed—although not by terrorism but by "the war on terror."

War rarely is good for human rights. The American-led "global war on terror" has had predictably negative human rights consequences. In combating a tiny network of violent political extremists, human rights have been—both intentionally and unintentionally—restricted, infringed, violated, ignored, and trampled.

Civil liberties have been restricted or worse in numerous countries, including in the United States. Forces of repression have been emboldened, using the language of antiterrorism to justify violating the rights of ordinary political opponents. Actions directed against real terrorists have, as in Chechnya, been intensified in ways that have increased the suffering of innocent civilians. And the United States, although still a vocal and sometimes effective advocate for international human rights, has shown unfortunate tolerance for human rights violations by "partners" in the "war on terrorism."

Consider Pakistan. It has been the world's leading nuclear proliferator over the past two decades and was the leading supporter of the Taliban. Today it probably provides refuge for Osama bin Laden, and certainly offers safe haven for a variety of Islamist terrorists. It is ruled by a repressive military dictator, who was recently "re-elected" in a sham poll. Yet because General Musharraf provides limited assistance in the "war on terror," Pakistan is America's leading "friend" in the region.

As Thomas Friedman put it in his September 30, 2007 column in *The New York Times,* "9/11 has made us stupid … [and] we can't afford to keep being this stupid!" This bibliography documents some of the human rights stupidity arising from the "war on terror."

Like the other *HRHW Research Digest*s, it offers an introduction to a rapidly growing body of literature. The intended audience is those embarking on research. Each section includes an introduction that identifies some of the principal issues considered in the scholarly and policy literature and offers annotations of a generally representative selection of sources. There is no attempt to provide a complete or comprehensive bibliography. Within each topic we have emphasized instead careful selection and informative annotation.

Reflecting both the importance of the topic and the growing literature, this *Digest* is a "second edition"—a "first" for *HRHW*. It is presented in two parts.

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The second, supplementary part was produced in the spring of 2007. It covers the human rights implications of the "war on terror" for Chechnya, Europe (post London and Madrid bombings), Georgia, Sudan, Uganda, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Uzbekistan.

The first part, which was produced in spring of 2005, covers a more extensive range of issues. Because of material constraints, however, it has not been possible to update all of these entries. Nonetheless, the Background section remains timely, particularly with regard to its discussions of the more general literature on terrorism and the national and international legal context.

Both globally and in literally dozens of countries, the "war on terror" has transformed the context of the struggle for human rights, usually for the worse. This bibliography aims to improve understanding of the nature and consequences of these transformations.

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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 Unites 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.

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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

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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.

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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' 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.

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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-affects 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.

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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-affects 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.*

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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 Piszkiewicz. 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. Piszkiewicz 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.

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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.

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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. <u>Federal Legal Responses to Terrorism</u>. 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. Springfiled, 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.

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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/basictxt/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.

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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/terroris. 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.

United States Congress. 2003-4. "Congressional Reports: Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities before and after the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001". http://www. gpoaccess. gov/serialset/creports/911. html.

United States Institute for Peace. 1999. "Global Terrorism after the Iraq War." http://www. usip. org/pubs/specialreports/sr111. html.

United States Institute of Peace. 2004. "How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet: Special Report 116". http://www. usip. org/pubs/specialreports/sr116. html.

United States Department of State. Patterns of Global Terrorism: Annual Reports. http://www. state. gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/.

White House. Annual. Annual Report to Congress on Combating Terrorism. http://www. whitehouse. gov/omb/legislative/.

White House. 2002. Campaign against Terrorism: A Coalition Update. http://www. whitehouse. gov/march11/campaignagainstterrorism. pdf.

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. 2004. The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Washington, D. C. : National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. http://purl. access. gpo. gov/GPO/LPS51934.

John Gershman with Fpif Task Force on Terrorism. 2004. A Secure America in a Secure World. Foreign Policy in Focus. http://www. fpif. org/papers/04terror/index. html.

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Afghanistan
by Greg Sanders

Introduction

After September 11, Afghanistan became the first battleground of the War on Terror when the Taliban government refused to turn over Osama Bin Laden and other Al Qaeda members. Human rights concerns about these events fall in two areas. First, did the United States violate human rights when it launched Operation Enduring Freedom to overthrow the Taliban and during the subsequent occupation? Second, have the occupation forces and new regime of under the leadership of Hamid Karzai done enough to improve the previously miserable human rights situation in Afghanistan?

Choice of War

The United States invoked the right to self-defense described in the U.N. Charter as a justification for going to war with Afghanistan under the leadership of the Taliban. Specifically, the U.S. accused the Taliban of "harboring" Al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden, who it held responsible for the 9/11 attacks. While the U.S. did win some general support in the U.N. Security Council, none of these votes explicitly authorized the war in Afghanistan.

War on Terrorism

Piotr Balcerowicz. 2001." Afghanistan at the Cross-Roads." *Dialogue & Universalism*. 11(11/12): 97.

> ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the impact of the terrorism in the U.S. on the status of Afghanistan. Examines the political, historical, and ethical assumptions of fundamentalists on the concept of open society; Criticism on the military involvement of the U.S. in the nation; Personal view of Ahmad Shah Masood, the legendary commander of democratic anti-Taliban opposition, on the status of the country.*

Kurt Burch and James K. Oliver. 2002. "Policy Paths and Governance Blueprints." *International Studies Perspectives*. 3(2): c3.

> ABSTRACT: *Analyzes the policy options available to the U.S. government in pursuing justice in Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Significance of branding the bombings as an attack; Issues on the pursuit of criminal justice; Limitations of putting the accused under trial in the U.S.*

Noam Chomsky. 2003. "Wars of Terror." *New Political Science*. 25(1): 113.

> ABSTRACT: *Comments on various issues related to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Importance of U.S. foreign policy in determining consequences of these terrorist attacks; Moral standards on the basis of which a proper reaction to these attacks can be initiated; Various steps taken by the U.S. government to abolish Taliban rule over Afghanistan.*

Argues that 9/11 should be examined in light of series of U.S. "crimes" against the rest of the world and that more of the same should be expected. Primarily a history of U.S. wars on terrorism and opposed ideologies. Argues that basis for war in Afghanistan could apply against the U.S. itself.

Marjorie Cohn. 2002. "Understanding, Responding to, and Preventing Terrorism." Arab Studies Quarterly. 24(2/3): 25.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes why both the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan and Israel's massacre of the Palestinians violate international law. Factors that contribute to the conditions that create hatred within the Arab world directed at the U.S. ; Reasons behind the United States dependency on foreign oil; Reason the bombing of Afghanistan is not an authorized self-defense.*

Mat Coleman. 2003. "The Naming of 'Terrorism' and Evil 'Outlaws': Geopolitical Place-Making after 11 September." Geopolitics. 8(3): 87.

ABSTRACT: *In the aftermath of 11 September, techniques of spatial surveillance and processes of rebordering indicate a moment of American (re)territorialization. This said, it seems important to move beyond a simple notion of geography-as-territoriality to focus on place and the politics of identity. In the context of events following from the mid-September 2001 'attacks', I suggest that critical geopoliticians focus on the U.S. foreign policy naming of 'terrorism' as an iconographic place-making activity. However, perhaps the more poignant question is one concerning the post-11 September invocation of evil. I suggest here that scrutiny of the place-making naming of evil makes evident the potentially unjust and inhumane constitution of state responses to 'terrorism', declared as an outlaw to justice and humanity. This is particularly relevant given the U.S. bombing campaign in Afghanistan, the alleged poor treatment of Taliban and Al Qaeda prisoners at Camp X-Ray in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and the recent detainment of suspected residents in the US. I conclude with a brief thought concerning the need to contextualize the events of 11 September in a larger frame of U.S. global geopolitical relations and histories.*

Argues that labeling the enemies of the United States as terrorists and evil presages disregarding the humanity of opponents. Specifically that the label of terrorist used to justify bombing and denying prisoners of war protections. Concentrates on analyzing American popular and media reaction as well as theory and identity politics.

Emanuel Gross. 2001. "Thwarting Terrorist Acts by Attacking the Perpetrators or Their Commanders as an Act of Self-Defense: Human Rights Versus the State's Duty to Protect Its Citizens." Temple International and Comparative Law Journal. 15(195).

Douglas Kellner. 2002. "September 11, Social Theory and Democratic Politics". Theory, Culture & Society. 19(4): 147.

ABSTRACT: *In an analysis of the September 11 terror attacks on the U.S., the author of this article wants to suggest how certain dominant social theories were put in question during the momentous and world-shaking events of fall 2001. The author concludes with reflections on the implications of September 11 and the subsequent Afghanistan Terror War for critical social theory and democratic politics, envisaging a new global movement against terrorism and militarism and for democracy, peace, environmentalism and social justice.*

Steven R. Ratner. 2002. "Jus Ad Bellum and Jus in Bello after September 11." The American Journal International Law. 96(905).

Analyses just war discussions and finds U.S. substantially differs with conventional interpretations by focusing on the Taliban's "harboring" of Al Qaeda rather than Taliban ties with Al Qaeda and on status of prisoners of

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war. Explores a range of theoretical explanations for varying international reaction. Superb leaping off point for understanding the range of arguments.

J. A. Tickner. 2002. "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11." *International Studies Perspectives.* 3(4): 333.

ABSTRACT: *In this article I offer a feminist analysis of September 11, 2001 and its aftermath. I demonstrate how gendered discourses are used in this and other conflict situations to reinforce mutual hostilities. I suggest that men's association with war-fighting and national security serves to reinforce their legitimacy in world politics while it acts to create barriers for women. Using the framework of a post-9/11 world, I offer some alternative models of masculinity and some cultural representations less dependent on the subordination of women. Often in times of conflict women are seen only as victims. I outline some ways in which the women of Afghanistan are fighting against gender oppression and I conclude with some thoughts on their future prospects.*

Self-Defense

Piotr Balcerowicz. 2001. "Afghanistan at the Cross-Roads". *Dialogue & Universalism.* 11(11/12): 97.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the impact of the terrorism in the U.S. on the status of Afghanistan. Examines the political, historical, and ethical assumptions of fundamentalists on the concept of open society; Criticism on the military involvement of the U.S. in the nation; Personal view of Ahmad Shah Masood, the legendary commander of democratic anti-Taliban opposition, on the status of the country.*

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Mat Coleman. 2003. "The Naming of 'Terrorism' and Evil 'Outlaws': Geopolitical Place-Making after 11 September." Geopolitics. 8(3): 87.

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Emanuel Gross. 2001. "Thwarting Terrorist Acts by Attacking the Perpetrators or Their Commanders as an Act of Self-Defense: Human Rights Versus the State's Duty to Protect Its Citizens." Temple International and Comparative Law Journal. 15(195).

Douglas Kellner. 2002. "September 11, Social Theory and Democratic Politics." Theory, Culture & Society. 19(4): 147.

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Steven R. Ratner. 2002. "Jus Ad Bellum and Jus in Bello after September 11". The American Journal International Law. 96(905):

Analyses just war discussions and finds U.S. substantially differs with conventional interpretations by focusing on the Taliban's "harboring" of Al Qaeda rather than Taliban ties with Al Qaeda and on status of prisoners of war. Explores a range of theoretical explanations for varying international reaction. Superb leaping off point for understanding the range of arguments.

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conflict women are seen only as victims. I outline some ways in which the women of Afghanistan are fighting against gender oppression and I conclude with some thoughts on their future prospects.

Jack M. Beard. 2002. "America's New War on Terror: The Case for Self-Defense under International Law." Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy. 25(2): 559.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on different issues related to the campaign launched by the U.S. government to prevent terrorism. Provisions on self-defense under the international law; U.S. policy enacted in line with the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack; U.S. military operations launched in Afghanistan and the response of the government to previous terrorist attacks; Relation of the U. S with other Middle East countries.*

Well-written, point-by-point analysis and support of U.S. invocation of the right of self-defense in invading Afghanistan. Discusses history of invocations of the right to self-defense and world reaction. Compares strength of 9/11 claim relative to past claims. Discusses of state responsibility for an attack by a non-state actor.

Michael Byers. 2003. "Letting the Exception Prove the Rule." Ethics & International Affairs. 17(1): 9.

ABSTRACT: *Looks at the U.S. military and foreign policy in the era of terrorism, under the administration of President George W. Bush. Legal justifications for intervening in Afghanistan; Self-defense against terrorism and the weapons of mass destruction; Attitude of the government toward international law.*

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun. 2002. "The Responsibility to Protect." Foreign Affairs. 81(6): 99.

ABSTRACT: *Since September 11, 2001, international policy attention has been captured by the response to global terrorism and case for preemption against countries believed to be irresponsibly acquiring weapons of mass destruction. These issues, however, are conceptually and practically distinct. What is involved in the debates about intervention in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere is the scope and limits of countries' rights to act in self-defense. If the international community is to respond to this challenge, the issue must be reframed, not as an argument about the right to intervene but about the responsibility to protect. At the heart of this conceptual approach is a shift in thinking about the essence of sovereignty, from control to responsibility. Of the precautionary principles needed to justify intervention, the first is 'right intention. ' The second is 'last resort. ' The third is 'proportional means. ' Finally, there is the principle of 'reasonable prospects. ' The most difficult and controversial principle to apply is that of 'right authority. ' It is the responsibility of the whole international community to ensure that the mistakes of the 1990s will not be repeated. A good place to start would be agreement by the United Nations (UN) Security Council to systematically apply the principles set out here to any such case.*

Suggestions for rules of intervention in both humanitarian and to a lesser degree self-defense cases. Suggests reframing from the right to intervene to the responsibility to protect, analyzes possible criteria from a just war perspective. Only addresses Afghanistan in passing.

Richard Falk. 2002. "Identifying Limits on a Borderless Map." Ethics & International Affairs. 16(1): 1.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on an appropriate response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Importance of the need for action to reduce the incidence of terrorist attacks; Goal of the U.S. -led war in Afghanistan; Information on the moral, legal and political challenges associated with the war against terrorism.*

Questions possible repercussions of manner in which war on terrorism is waged. Argues Afghan invasion was justified, but rationale used risks a too broad definition of self-defense. Also briefly discusses the manner of

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fighting, raising concerns about decisions regarding pilots, media coverage, and the lack of restraints placed on allies.

Dr. Barry A. Feinstein. "Symposium: Bordering on Terror Global Business in Times of Terror--the Legal Issues: A Paradigm for the Analysis of the Legality of the Use of Armed Force against Terrorists and States That Aid and Abet Them." *The Transnational Lawyer.* 17(51).

Characterizes terrorism as one of the greatest threats we face. Discusses current state of international law and U.N. resolutions regarding state obligations regarding terrorists in their territories. Concludes that self-defense does allow military intervention, including anticipatory intervention, when states fail to meet their obligations regarding terrorists groups.

Justin N. B. Frank and Javaid Rehman. 2003. "Assessing the Legality of the Attacks by the International Coalition against Terrorism against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan: An Inquiry into the Self-Defence Argument under Article 51 of the Un Charter." *Journal of Criminal Law.* 67(5): 415.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes the issues surrounding the legality of attacks by the International Coalition against Terrorism against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Existence of the right to self-defense; concept of terrorism and its relationship with war; individual and collective self-defense in customary law.*

An overview of the international law regarding the legality of the invasion of Afghanistan and the manner in which it was fought. While sympathetic to the difficulties of fighting terrorists, it does go into detail on civilian casualties and whether specific attacks and weapon choices were justifiable.

Christopher Greenwood. 2002. "International Law and the 'War against Terrorism'." International Affairs. 78(2): 301.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes some of the international legal issues arising out of the events of September 11, 2001. Guilt of the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks; Argument that the United States and its allies were entitled to respond by using force; Legitimacy of military action against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan; Laws of armed conflict applied to ensuing fighting; Status of captives at Guantanamo Bay.*

Discussion of U.S. justification of invasion and treatment of prisoners, largely skims over conduct of the war. Explores legal status of the 9/11 attacks and supports the legal basis of the U.S. justification for invasion. Concludes some prisoners may not achieve POW status, but non-POW customary humanitarian law still applies to them.

Emanuel Gross. 2003. "The Laws of War Waged between Democratic States and Terrorist Organizations: Real or Illusive?" Florida Journal of International Law. 15(389. PG NUMBERS??

Questions if old rules of war are applicable to the new war on terror. Covers in detail law involving justifications for war against terrorist groups, alternatives to war, how the war may be fought, and anti-terror laws. Concludes current system is inadequate and outlines a new convention for fighting terrorism.

S. Neil Macfarlane, Carolin J. Thieking and Thomas G. Weiss. 2004. "The Responsibility to Protect: Is Anyone Interested in Humanitarian Intervention?" Third World Quarterly. 25(5): 977.

ABSTRACT: *The responsibility to protect needs adjustment in the light of the increasing demands on resources associated with the threat of terrorism. Humanitarian efforts that are not immediately connected with national*

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interests could be regarded as a diversion from pressing new security challenges. In addition, attacks on humanitarian personnel in Afghanistan and especially in Iraq have raised the stakes for the civilian purveyors of aid. The commission's report argued that the relationship between sovereignty and intervention was complementary rather than contradictory. Sovereignty was conceived as a conditional right dependent upon respect for a minimum standard of human rights and upon each state's honouring its obligation to protect its citizens.

Shaw Martin. 2002. "Risk-Transfer Militarism, Small Massacres and the Historic Legitimacy of War". International Relations. 16(3): 343.

ABSTRACT: *The perception of initial success in the 'war against terrorism' appears to strengthen a general relegitimation of war in Western society that has been gathering pace over the last two decades. This article considers the war in Afghanistan as the latest example of the new Western way of war, and analyses its casualties compared with previous campaigns in the Gulf and Kosovo. It identifies the new type as 'risk-transfer war', a central feature of which is a 'militarism of small massacres'. This new type thus offers only a partial answer to the problems, for the legitimacy of warfare, caused by the systematic targeting of civilians in earlier 'degenerate war'. Despite a closer approximation to 'just war' criteria, inequalities of risk between Western military personnel and civilians in the zone of war revive the question of legitimacy in a new form. The article suggests that in our concern for relatively small numbers of civilian casualties, we may be applying to war those standards from which it has historically been exempt. In this context the contradictions of the new Western way of war reinforce a 'historical pacifist' position towards the legitimacy of warfare.*

International Law

Jose E. Alvarez. 2003. "Editorial Comment: Hegemonic International Law Revisited." *The American Journal International Law.* 97(4): 873.

Argues that international law has biases in favor of the hegemon. Explores self-defense justification for invading Afghanistan among other cases. Suggest that post-9/11 Security Council actions strengthening the U.S. case resulted from the U.S. 's status as hegemon. Focuses solely on hegemonic international law, does not seek to address the merits of the ruling.

Anthony Clark Arend. 2002. "International Law and Rogue States: The Failure of the Charter Framework." New England Law Review. 36(4): 735.

John D. Becker. 2004. "The Continuing Relevance of Article 2(4): a Consideration of the Status of the U.N. Charter's Limitations on the Use of Force." Denver Journal of International Law and Policy. 32(583).

Discussion of Article 2(4) of the U.N. charter which forbids the threat or use of force without U.N. approval. The U.S. avoided this requirement by invoking the right of self-defense. Reviews debate of the strength and relevance of article 2(4). Suggests steps for improvements to current system rather than sole reliance on self-defense justification.

Ken Booth and Timothy N. Dunne. Eds. 2002. Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collection of essays that analyze the war on terrorism. Most essays do not address both Afghanistan and human rights in detail. "Who may we bomb" argues that active civilian

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supporters of rogue regimes are legitimate targets and that Operation "Enduring Freedom" correctly balanced targeting of the Taliban and the people of Afghanistan. "Upholding International Legality Against Islamic and American Jihad" describes the invasion of Afghanistan as the failure of international legal system. Calls for treating 9/11 attacks as international crimes and the conflict with the Taliban as one over extradition.

Elias Davidsson. 2003. "The U.N. Security Council's Obligations of Good Faith." Florida Journal of International Law. 15(541).

Mary Ellen O'connell and Richard B. Bilder (Ed.). 2003. "Recent Book on International Law: Review Essay: Re-Leashing the Dogs of War: International Law and the Use of Force. By Christine Gray. New York: Oxford." *The American Journal of International Law*. 97(2): 446.

Book review that summarizes the arguments continued relevance of international law and concludes that nations consistently try to justify their wars in the language of the U.N. charter. Concludes the laws still apply, but are violated at times and criticizes aspects of current system. Applies the book's argument to Afghanistan and finds in weakly supportive.

Rona Gabor. 2003. "Interesting Times for International Humanitarian Law: Challenges from the "War on Terror"". The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs Journal. 27(55).

William A. Schabas. 2003. "Theorical and International Framework: Punishment of Non-State Actors in Non-International Armed Conflict." *Fordham International Law Journal*. 26(907).

Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2002. "Symposium: Responding to Rogue Regimes; from Smart Bombs to Smart Sanctions; Luncheon Address Rogue Regimes and the Individualization of International Law". New England Law Review. 36(815).

Discussion of international law relating to "rogue regimes" in the context of focusing on individuals rather than states. Compares utility of military force versus an international justice system. Considers whether the Taliban "harbored" Al Qaeda or if Al Qaeda "hijacked" the Taliban and what this means from a legal perspective.

John N. Strawson. 2002. Law after Ground Zero. London: Glass House.

Explores the state of international law and its humanitarian implications after 9/11. Often technical relevant essays tend to concentrate on larger principles rather than the specifics of Afghanistan. "Degradation of International Law" Argues that international law has ceased to curb Western exercises of power, but instead is used to justify them. "Postmodern Just Wars: Kosovo, Afghanistan, and the New World Order" critically examines the implications of humanitarian justifications for war on what qualifies as a just war.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. ""Enduring Freedom": Abuses by U.S. Forces in Afghanistan." Human Rights Watch publications on Asia. 16(3): 60. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2004/afghanistan0304/.

2004 condemnation of U.S. arrest and detention policies in Afghanistan. Criticizes treatment of the thousand plus detainees for both military and criminal reasons. Accuses use of excessive force, abuses by allies, the means of detentions, the lack of transparency and due processes. Provides in depth discussion of specific alleged incidences of abuses.

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Humanitarian Intervention

Adrian Karatnycky. 2002. "Muslim Countries and the Democracy Gap." Journal of Democracy. 13(1): 99.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the democracy in Afghanistan. Tranquility of the advanced democracies; Decline of governments and market systems; Occurrence of gaps in the state of freedom.*

Catherine Moore. 2003. "The United States, International Humanitarian Law and the Prisoners at Guantanamo Bay." International Journal of Human Rights. 7(2): 1.

ABSTRACT: *This article, having established that the United States' military offensive, in Afghanistan, instigated in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11th, constitutes an international armed conflict for the purposes of the application of international humanitarian law, focuses on the actions taken by the United States authorities in relation to those captured during the conflict in Afghanistan. The article considers the status determination of these captives, the conditions of their transfer to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and their subsequent confinement there, and finally the legal remedies that are available to the captives pursuant to their detention. On all of these counts the article queries the extent to which the rules of international humanitarian law are being violated, as well as noting the relevant infringements of human rights law that are occurring.*

Critical discussion of U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. Briefly critiques U.S. basis for war. Focuses on wide ranging attack on U.S. treatment of Afghan prisoners that focuses on the requirements of the Geneva conventions. Explores legal and human rights complaints regarding treatment and due process at Guantanamo. Concludes U.S. actions are illegal and counterproductive.

Kenneth Watkin. 2004. "Controlling the Use of Force: A Role for Human Rights Norms in Contemporary Armed Conflict". The American Journal International Law. 98(1).

Explores interaction of human rights law (typically applied to internal conflicts) and international humanitarian law (typically applied to interstate conflicts) regarding war. Discusses both, their strengths, and their common elements in detail. Calls for reconciling the two codes where they overlap. Afghanistan receives fairly little attention.

Civilian Casualties

The U.S. repeatedly emphasized that "Operation Enduring Freedom" targeted the Taliban and not the people of Afghanistan. However, the methods the U.S. chose were not immune to criticisms about civilian casualties. The articles in this section ask whether the U.S. fought "Enduring Freedom" according to variable standards of morality, and if that variation is justifiable.

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Cluster Bombs

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Pressure Groups Condemn Us Use of Cluster Bombs in Afghanistan." *Lancet*. 358(9292): 1522.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the protests of leading anti-land mine groups against the use of cluster bombs by the United States in Afghanistan. View that children in Afghanistan will mistake the bombs for food packets, which have also been dropped by U.S. forces; U.S. radio broadcasts which warn of the differences between food and unexploded bombs; Pressure groups, including the British Red Cross, Landmine Action, Human Rights Watch, the Diana Princess of Wales Memorial Fund, and Mennonite Central Committee.*

Short critique of use of cluster bombs which leave unexploded brightly colored ordinance packages. These packets can be attractive to children and be confused with aid packets. In addition 10% to 30% of the bomb packets remain making a mind-field. Some statistics on use and civilian casualties.

Bonnie Docherty and Human Rights Watch. 2002. Fatally Flawed: Cluster Bombs and Their Use by the United States in Afghanistan. New York: Human Rights Watch. http://hrw. org/reports/2002/us-afghanistan/.

M. W. Herold. 2002. "U. S. Bombing and Afghan Civilian Deaths: The Official Neglect of 'Unworthy' Bodies." International Journal of Urban & Regional Research. 26(3): 626.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses how the bombing campaign of the U.S. and its allies resulted in thousands of civilian deaths during their military actions against the Taliban in Afghanistan. Environmental pollution with cluster bombs and depleted uranium; Destruction of homes, utilities and infrastructures; Comparison with the victims of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S.*

This article criticizes the use of air strikes in Afghanistan, arguing that civilians were killed to lessen risks to U.S. soldiers. The focus is on the bombing strategy and exploring the direct and indirect impact of each target type. There is no discussion of consequences of alternate war strategies.

Lives of Soldiers and the Lives of Civilians

Ken Booth and Timothy N. Dunne. 2002. Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collection of essays that analyze the war on terrorism. Most essays do not address both Afghanistan and human rights in detail. "Who may we bomb" argues that active civilian supporters of rogue regimes are legitimate targets and that Operation "Enduring Freedom" correctly balanced targeting of the Taliban and the people of Afghanistan. "Upholding International Legality Against Islamic and American Jihad" describes the invasion of Afghanistan as the failure of international legal system. Calls for treating 9/11 attacks as international crimes and the conflict with the Taliban as one over extradition.

Colin McInne . 2003. "A Different Kind of War? September 11 and the United States' Afghan War." Review of International Studies. 29(2): 165.

ABSTRACT: *The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and the U.S. response have been widely described as heralding a new kind of war. For over a decade previous to 11 September, however, a body of literature had*

developed arguing that during the 1990s a new kind of warfare had begun to emerge for the West. This article examines whether 11 September and its immediate aftermath--the U.S. campaign in Afghanistan—confirmed these trends, or whether it really did constitute a different kind of war. It does so through a four-part framework: that during the 1990s wars were localised; that the enemy was not a state but a regime or individual leader; that civilian deaths should be minimised; and that wars were fought on behalf of the West by professionals, but that the risks to these forces should also be minimised.

Analysis of whether 9/11 changed the post–Cold war way of fighting limited wars which empathize with the enemy. Gives military history of invasion. Concludes that Afghanistan fits this model, particularly rhetorically, although use of Northern Alliance, faulty intelligence, and less precise munitions than were used in Kosovo may have increased casualties.

Richard Falk. 2002. "Identifying Limits on a Borderless Map." Ethics & International Affairs. 16(1): 1.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on an appropriate response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Importance of the need for action to reduce the incidence of terrorist attacks; Goal of the U.S. –led war in Afghanistan; Information on the moral, legal and political challenges associated with the war against terrorism.*

Questions possible repercussions of manner in which war on terrorism is waged. Argues Afghan invasion was justified, but rationale used risks a too broad definition of self-defense. Also briefly discusses the manner of fighting, raising concerns about decisions regarding pilots, media coverage, and the lack of restraints placed on allies.

Justin N. B. Frank and Javaid Rehman. 2003. "Assessing the Legality of the Attacks by the International Coalition against Terrorism against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan: An Inquiry into the Self-Defence Argument under Article 51 of the Un Charter." Journal of Criminal Law. 67(5): 415.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes the issues surrounding the legality of attacks by the International Coalition against Terrorism against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Existence of the right to self-defense; concept of terrorism and its relationship with war; individual and collective self-defense in customary law.*

An overview of the international law regarding the legality of the invasion of Afghanistan and the manner in which it was fought. While sympathetic to the difficulties of fighting terrorists, it does go into detail on civilian casualties and whether specific attacks and weapon choices were justifiable.

Emanuel Gross. 2003. "The Laws of War Waged between Democratic States and Terrorist Organizations: Real or Illusive?" Florida Journal of International Law. 15(389).

Questions if old rules of war are applicable to the new war on terror. Covers in detail law involving justifications for war against terrorist groups, alternatives to war, how the war may be fought, and anti-terror laws. Concludes current system is inadequate and outlines a new convention for fighting terrorism.

Emanuel Gross. 2002. "Use of Civilians as Human Shields: What Legal and Moral Restrictions Pertain to a War Waged by a Democratic State against Terrorism?" Emory International Law Review. 16(445).

Discussion of the dilemma of striking at terrorists who locate themselves in civilian population centers. Lucidly cites relevant international law and moral thought. Argues that restraint must

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still be shown but that a balance can be made between risks to soldiers and risks to civilians. Concentrates on Israel but does also briefly apply arguments to Afghanistan.

Martin Shaw. 2002. "Risk–Transfer Militarism, Small Massacres and the Historic Legitimacy of War." International Relations. 16(3): 343.

ABSTRACT: *The perception of initial success in the 'war against terrorism' appears to strengthen a general relegitimation of war in Western society that has been gathering pace over the last two decades. This article considers the war in Afghanistan as the latest example of the new Western way of war, and analyses its casualties compared with previous campaigns in the Gulf and Kosovo. It identifies the new type as 'risk-transfer war', a central feature of which is a 'militarism of small massacres'. This new type thus offers only a partial answer to the problems, for the legitimacy of warfare, caused by the systematic targeting of civilians in earlier 'degenerate war'. Despite a closer approximation to 'just war' criteria, inequalities of risk between Western military personnel and civilians in the zone of war revive the question of legitimacy in a new form. The article suggests that in our concern for relatively small numbers of civilian casualties, we may be applying to war those standards from which it has historically been exempt. In this context the contradictions of the new Western way of war reinforce a 'historical pacifist' position towards the legitimacy of warfare.*

"Just War"

Anthony Burke. 2004. "Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence after 9/11." *International Affairs*. 80(2): 329.

ABSTRACT: *This article focuses on the moral discourses of strategic violence after the September 11 terrorist attack. For those who assume that the application of morality to foreign policy or war-making implies a radical critique of strategic violence--one that seeks to abolish it or at least to control its use--it may be surprising that moral convictions can be placed in its service. Death can be commuted not only through technological distancing media spin and military jargon, but also in theory which works to control its ethical disturbance through the creation of abstract moral and political rules that claim to fix truth, enable justice and provide a sure guide for policy.*

Critiques "just war" theories used to justify and advocate for wars. Reviews and critiques writers Walzer and Elhstein. Suggests "ethical peace" as a better alternative. Specifics in Afghanistan and Iraq are used to criticize morality of the wars and to argue that "just war" theory facilitates some of these violations.

Jennifer Leaning. 2002. "Was the Afghan Conflict a Just War?" *BMJ: British Medical Journal*. 324(7333): 353.

ABSTRACT: *Debates whether the war on terrorism in Afghanistan was a just war. Legitimate reasons for an aggressive war, including self-defence against an aggressor and humanitarian intervention against a sovereign state; Support of the international community for the war on terrorism; How intention to remove the threat of international terrorism led to action against al-Qaeda.*

Analyzes whether the choice to invade Afghanistan meets just war criteria. Concludes after discussing each criteria that the just war standards are unhelpfully vague and subjective. Criticizes U.S. conduct in the war as falling short of humanitarian law on the subject. Succinct and understandable but not particularly detailed.

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Nicholas Wheeler. 2002. "Dying for 'Enduring Freedom': Accepting Responsibility for Civilian Casualties in the War against Terrorism." International Relations. 16(2): 205.

ABSTRACT: *This article examines what moral theories are available to justify the harming of the innocent in war. Focusing on U.S. conduct of the war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda, the article examines how far the U.S. is responsible for the deaths of Afghan civilians. Although U.S. actions have been justified in terms of respect for the Just War principle of non-combatant immunity, the article shows how this principle rested uneasily with alternative moral theories of war that influenced the process of target selection. These are the realist doctrine of necessity in war and Michael Walzer's theories of 'supreme emergency' and 'war is hell'. Just War theory, realism and 'supreme emergency' acknowledge moral responsibility for a state's conduct of war. But the doctrine that 'war is hell' seeks to transfer any responsibility for the cruelty of war to the enemy. The article argues that, whilst the Taliban and al-Qaeda are responsible for exposing Afghan civilians to U.S. attacks, this does not absolve U.S. political and military leaders of responsibility for their conduct of the war.*

Hugo Slim. 2003. "Why Protect Civilians? Innocence, Immunity and Enmity in War." International Affairs. 79(3): 481.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the humanitarian cause of the U.S. war in Iraq in 2003. Point of difference between the Iraq war and civil wars of 1990s; Intent and scale of atrocities perpetrated against civilians in several wars; Efforts of the United Nations to address the question of civilian protection; Reasons for the need of civilian protection in wars.*

Northern Alliance

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Human–Rights Concerns Raised About Northern Alliance." *Lancet*. 358(9294): 1701.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses how advances by the Northern Alliance against the Taliban in Afghanistan are causing concern among international human-rights groups due to involvement in human rights abuses in the Afghan civil war; Accusations by Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) against the Northern Alliance; Opposition by the Pakistan Medical Association (PMA) to invasion.*

Conflict Justice

Substantial controversy has surrounded the question of how Taliban and Al Qaeda prisoners should be treated after they have been captured or have surrendered. The U.S. decided that Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters were unlawful combatants and thus not subject to the Geneva Convention's prisoner of war (P. O. W) protections. These fighters were imprisoned at the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The U.S. also claimed that the U.S. President had the right to determine the status of prisoners, and that prisoners had limited, if any, rights to challenge that classification. The U.S. determined that any alleged terrorists would be tried before U.S. military tribunals.

In response to international outcry the U.S. adjusted its position by saying that prisoners would receive almost all of the P. O. W. protections, but would still be subjected to controversial forms of detention and interrogation. All the articles in this section focus primarily on Afghan detainees.

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Additional information is available about issues the surrounding legal issues and treatment of U.S. prisoners at Guantanamo Bay (see in particular the sections on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Patriot Act).

Lawful Combatants

Lawrence Azubuike. 2003. "Status of Taliban and Al Qaeda Soldiers: Another Viewpoint." Connecticut Journal of International Law. 19(127.

Fairly technical exploration of whether Taliban and Al Qaeda fights merit prisoner of war status. Argues that while both the Taliban and Al Qaeda have committed atrocities this does not apply to the status of their fighters who largely fought in a conventional manner. Concludes that neither should be denied Geneva protections.

Jason Callen. 2004. "Unlawful Combatants and the Geneva Conventions." Virginia Journal of International Law. 44(1025).

Explores the meaning of "unlawful combatants," soldiers that fail to follow the rules of war. Argues that unlawful combatants caught outside of the battlefield are entitled to protection, but that those caught on the battlefield are not. Critiques those who disagree with a discussion of the drafting of the Geneva accords.

Mat Coleman. 2003. "The Naming of 'Terrorism' and Evil 'Outlaws': Geopolitical Place-Making after 11 September." Geopolitics. 8(3): 87.

ABSTRACT: *In the aftermath of 11 September, techniques of spatial surveillance and processes of rebordering indicate a moment of American (re)territorialization. This said, it seems important to move beyond a simple notion of geography–as–territoriality to focus on place and the politics of identity. In the context of events following from the mid-September 2001 'attacks', I suggest that critical geopoliticians focus on the U.S. foreign policy naming of 'terrorism' as an iconographic place-making activity. However, perhaps the more poignant question is one concerning the post-11 September invocation of evil. I suggest here that scrutiny of the place-making naming of evil makes evident the potentially unjust and inhumane constitution of state responses to 'terrorism', declared as an outlaw to justice and humanity. This is particularly relevant given the U.S. bombing campaign in Afghanistan, the alleged poor treatment of Taliban and Al Qaeda prisoners at Camp X-Ray in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and the recent detainment of suspected residents in the US. I conclude with a brief thought concerning the need to contextualize the events of 11 September in a larger frame of U.S. global geopolitical relations and histories.*

Argues that labeling the enemies of the United States as terrorists and evil presages disregarding the humanity of opponents. Specifically that the label of terrorist used to justify bombing and denying prisoners of war protections. Concentrates on analyzing American popular and media reaction as well as theory and identity politics.

Richard Falk. 2002. "Identifying Limits on a Borderless Map." Ethics & International Affairs. 16(1): 1.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on an appropriate response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Importance of the need for action to reduce the incidence of terrorist attacks; Goal of the U.S. -led war in Afghanistan; Information on the moral, legal and political challenges associated with the war against terrorism.*

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Questions possible repercussions of manner in which war on terrorism is waged. Argues Afghan invasion was justified, but rationale used risks a too broad definition of self–defense. Also briefly discusses the manner of fighting, raising concerns about decisions regarding pilots, media coverage, and the lack of restraints placed on allies.

Christopher Greenwood. 2002. "International Law and the 'War against Terrorism'." International Affairs. 78(2): 301.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes some of the international legal issues arising out of the events of September 11, 2001. Guilt of the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks; Argument that the United States and its allies were entitled to respond by using force; Legitimacy of military action against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan; Laws of armed conflict applied to ensuing fighting; Status of captives at Guantanamo Bay.*

Discussion of U.S. justification of invasion and treatment of prisoners, largely skims over conduct of the war. Explores legal status of the 9/11 attacks and supports the legal basis of the U.S. justification for invasion. Concludes some prisoners may not achieve POW status, but non-POW customary humanitarian law still applies to them.

Diane K. Hook. 2002. "Detainees or Prisoners of War? The Applicability of the Geneva Convention to the War on Terrorism." Journal of the Missouri Bar. 58(346.

ABSTRACT: *International laws regarding the treatment of prisoners of war are found in the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and the Hague Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land. Prisoners of war captured as a result of the War on Terrorism currently consist of members of the Taliban and members of the al Qaeda forces. Because neither the Taliban nor the al Qaeda qualify for belligerent status, members of those forces are not entitled to prisoner of war treatment. Notwithstanding, the United States is providing humane treatment in accordance with the principles of the applicable Geneva Convention and is not breaching its international law obligations by not affording prisoner of war status. Although the United States could choose to adjudicate the detainees in the United States federal courts or an international criminal court, the detainees will be tried using military tribunals.*

Supports U.S. position that neither Taliban nor Al Qaeda detains need to be provided Geneva protections. Quickly dismisses arguments that the Taliban or Al Qaeda meets the standard of a regular army. Opposes indefinite detention and discusses options for adjudication. Less detailed than other similar discussions on this topic.

David Meltzer. 2002. "Al Qa'ida: Terrorists or Irregulars?" Law after Ground Zero. John N. Strawson. London: GlassHouse.

Argues that treating Al Qaeda members as irregulars fighting a war is wiser than the U.S. policy of blending the law of war with criminal law. Critiques description of Taliban fighters as "unlawful combatants," because by the same standard would condemn widely recognized legitimate resistance movements. Does not specifically focus on Afghanistan.

Sean D. Murphy. 2002. "Decision Not to Regard Persons Detained in Afghanistan as Pows." American Journal of International Law. 96(2): 475.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the concerns about the treatment of Afghanistan war prisoners in the September 11, 2001 terrorists attack in the U.S. Observation of human rights according to international standards;*

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Consideration of international conflict; Compliance of the international humanitarian law by International Committee of the Red Cross.

Detailed Spring 2002 overview of situation treatment of Afghan prisoners taken to Guantanamo bay and the legal issues surrounding them. Covers changes in the administration's rationale for denial of POW status. Focuses on U.S. positions regarding international law. Good source if seeking a description rather than analysis.

Ahmed S. Younis. 2003. "Imputing War Crimes in the War on Terrorism: The U.S., Northern Alliance. And 'Container Crimes'." Washington and Lee Race and Ethnic Ancestry Law Journal. 9(109):

Evaluate U.S. responsibility for alleged war crimes by the Northern Alliance. Gives a history of the legal standard for holding a state sponsor responsible. Discusses alleged Northern Alliance war crimes. Finds there may be a case and recommends careful choosing or control of allies in the future.

Treatment of Prisoners

James Thuo Gathii. 2003. "Torture, Extraterritoriality, Terrorism, and International Law." Albany Law Review. 67(2): 335.

Describes lagging progress in Afghanistan's prisons which didn't have an aid coordinator until March 2003. Gives highly detailed and well organized description of current conditions with associated recommendations. Excellent source for studying status of Afghan prisoners who aren't enveloped in disputes over the Geneva accords or accused terrorists.

Derek Jinks. 2004. "The Declining Significance of Pow Status." Harvard International Law Journal. 45(367):

Considers the larger consequences of changes in POW status. Argues that the baseline rights for non-POWs are sufficient that achieving POW status has few additional rights. Includes detailed discussion of rights accorded non-POWs under the Geneva convention. Excellent source of wider perspective on meaning and future possibilities of POW status.

Amy E. Eckert and Manooher Mofidi. 2003. ""Unlawful Combatants" or "Prisoners of War": The Law and Politics of Labels." Cornell International Law Journal. 36(59):

Gives a detailed and readable history and explanation of Geneva Conventions and how they relate to the invasion of Afghanistan. Criticizes U.S. handling of prisoners as a violation of the conventions. Considers and dismisses arguments in support of the U.S. policy, concluding that actions at Guantanamo bay are counter-productive.

Wayne McCormack. 2004. "Military Detention and the Judiciary: Al Qaeda, the KKK and Supra-State Law." San Diego International Law Journal. 5(7):

Neil McDonald and Scott Sullivan. 2003. "Rational Interpretation in Irrational Times: The Third Geneva Convention and the 'War on Terror'." Harvard International Law Journal. 44(301):

Proposes that the Geneva convention on treatment of prisoners of war can adequately handle the situations like the invasion of Afghanistan. Posits that conventions do allow room for

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interpretation but those interpretations can effectively influenced by other countries. Gives detailed breakdown of meaning and application of key provisions.

Faith McLellan. 2002. "Doing Justice--Justly." *Lancet*. 359(9304): 372.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the topic of Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters being held by the United States at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Stance of the U.S. that the detainees from the war against terrorism and Afghanistan are unlawful combatants and are being treated humanely; Suggestion that the legal status of the prisoners be clarified; Issues of the detainees being prisoners of war (POW) and being protected by the Geneva Convention; Reference to a report by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which is monitoring conditions.*

Amnesty International. 2003. Afghanistan: Crumbling Prison System Desperately in Need of Repair. Amnesty International. ASA 11/017/2003. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGASA110172003?open.

Discusses failure of U.S. medical personnel to stop abuses of prisoners. Reviews recent policy history, evidence, and accusations regarding torture of U.S. prisoners. Specifically focuses on breakdown of medical review and documentation process. Finds U.S. failed to take adequate steps to prevent prisoner abuse. Focuses more on Iraq than Afghanistan.

Catherine Moore. 2003. "The United States, International Humanitarian Law and the Prisoners at Guantanamo Bay." International Journal of Human Rights. 7(2): 1.

ABSTRACT: *This article, having established that the United States' military offensive, in Afghanistan, instigated in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11th, constitutes an international armed conflict for the purposes of the application of international humanitarian law, focuses on the actions taken by the United States authorities in relation to those captured during the conflict in Afghanistan. The article considers the status determination of these captives, the conditions of their transfer to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and their subsequent confinement there, and finally the legal remedies that are available to the captives pursuant to their detention. On all of these counts the article queries the extent to which the rules of international humanitarian law are being violated, as well as noting the relevant infringements of human rights law that are occurring.*

Critical discussion of U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. Briefly critiques U.S. basis for war. Focuses on wide ranging attack on U.S. treatment of Afghan prisoners that focuses on the requirements of the Geneva conventions. Explores legal and human rights complaints regarding treatment and due process at Guantanamo. Concludes U.S. actions are illegal and counterproductive.

James D. Ross. 2002. "Promoting Human Rights." *Ethics & International Affairs*. 16(2): 27.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the need to promote human rights in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks. Actions taken by Human Rights Watch during the U.S. -led war in Afghanistan; Position of the U.S. government on individuals apprehended in connection with the war on terrorism; Important role for the human rights community.*

Marcy Strauss. 2003/2004. "Torture." *New York Law School Law Review*. 48(201).

John T. Parry. 2003. "What Is Torture, Are We Doing It, and What If We Are?" The University of Pittsburgh Law Review. 64(237).

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Provides detailed discussion of the legal definition of torture under international and U.S. law. Discusses range of accusation against the U.S. and concludes some actions, particularly combinations of interrogations techniques, can qualify as torture. Concludes that even if torture can be justified under rare life saving cases, current practices fail that standard.

Tessa Richards. 2002. "Conditions at Afghan Prison Violate Human Rights, Report Says." BMJ: British Medical Journal. 324(7333): 315.

ABSTRACT: *Reports that the Physicians for Human Rights have declared that conditions at a prison in Shebarghan, Afghanistan violate international human rights standards. Overcrowded and unsanitary conditions in which thousands of Taliban fighters are being held; Lack of medical services in the prison; Assertion by the physicians' group that the United States bears some responsibility for the fate of the prisoners, since they are jailed as a result of U.S. military action in Afghanistan.*

Johan D. Van Der Vyver. 2003. "Torture as a Crime under International Law." Albany Law Review. 67(427).

Explores and compares domestic law, international treaties, and international customary law on torture. Discusses and criticizes possible justifications for torture. Accusations and techniques specific to Afghanistan are discussed in passing. Concludes by concluding torture should always be illegal and with criticism of harsh interrogation tactics.

Appropriate Fora

Laura A. Dickinson. 2002. "Transitional Justice in Afghanistan: The Promise of Mixed Tribunals." Denver Journal of International Law and Policy. 31(1): 23.

Compares the questions of how to try terrorists to the difficulties of dealing with other perpetrators of mass atrocities. Explores past use of "mixed tribunals" with one domestic and international judge and compares them to the alternatives. Concludes "mixed tribunals" could deal with many Afghan cases of Taliban crime and help build Afghan judicial capacity.

Mark A. Drumbl. 2002. "The Taliban's 'Other' Crimes." *Third World Quarterly*. 23(6): 1121.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the possible legal responses to the crimes inflicted against Afghans during the Taliban rule. Forced deportation, massacres, torture, extrajudicial executions and disappearance among prisoners; War crimes committed during the autumn 2001 international armed conflict; International community's focus on punishing the Taliban's support of transnational terrorists.*

Mark A. Drumbl. 2002. "Terrorist Crime, Taliban Guilt, Western Victims, and International Law." Denver Journal of International Law and Policy. 31(1): 69.

Discussion of whether 9/11 attacks should be treated as a criminal attack or an armed attack, which greatly effects the law for trying the perpetrators. Argues that current U.S. policy runs against protections provided in either case. Concludes that international tribunals are well suited to the military and civilian law mix.

Mark A. Drumbl. 2002. "Victimhood in Our Neighborhood: Terrorist Crime, Taliban Guilt, and the Asymmetries of the International Legal Order." North Carolina Law Review. 81(1): 1.

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Argues that military strikes against Afghanistan are not justified as self-defense unless the definition is widened. Reviews the difficulties and range of national and international legal options for trying Taliban prisoners. Concludes that international tribunals would strengthen international law and help the war against terrorism, but that trials alone won't be a panacea.

Derek Jinks. 2002. "International Human Rights Law and the War on Terrorism." Denver Journal of International Law and Policy. 31(58):

Michael J. Kelly. 2003. "Cheating Justice by Cheating Death: The Doctrinal Collision for Prosecuting Foreign Terrorists -- Passage of Aut Dedere Aut Judicare into Customary Law & Refusal to Extradite Based on the Death Penalty." Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law. 20(491). http://www. law. arizona. edu/Journals/AJICL/AJICL2003/Vol203/kellyarticle. pdf.

Geert-Jan Alexander Knoops. 2004. "International Criminal Law Liability for Interrogation Methods by Military Personnel under Customary International Law and the ICC Statute." International Criminal Law Review. 4(2): 211.

ABSTRACT: *The legal literature to date has paid scant attention to the criminal liability of military officers for torturous interrogation methods. Now, however, this issue has become more topical due to recent US/UK military interventions in both Afghanistan and Iraq. In particular, numerous members of the Iraqi and Afghani regimes, political and military, have been arrested for alleged implication in international crimes, including terrorism. This article discusses the criminal law ramifications of interrogation methods, relying on the recent case law of the ICTY and of the ECHR, as well as significant judgments of the Israeli Supreme Court on this subject. I emphasize the tension between the international rule of law and the defense of necessity as such tension relates to conflicting jus cogens norms which arise during military interventions. I propose legal strategies that may be effectively applied to these controversial situations.*

Neil Kritz. 2002. "Symposium: Reluctant Nation Building: Securing the Rule of Law in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Promoting a Formal System of Justice." Connecticut Journal of International Law. 17(429).

Advocates taking creative, balanced and nuanced approaches to building a justice system. Discusses missteps made by governments, NGOs, and international institutions in Afghanistan and past cases. Explores use of non-judicial penalties for those involved in war-crimes. Discusses what benefits a truth and reconciliation commission could and could not provide.

Joseph Marguiles. 2004. "A Prison Beyond the Law." *Virginia Quarterly Review.* 80(4): 37.

Steven H. Miles. 2004. "Abu Ghraib: Its Legacy for Military Medicine." *Lancet.* 364(9435): 725.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the role of U.S. military medical personnel in the abuses of detainees in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantánamo Bay. Report which found the U.S. military medical system failed to protect detainees' human rights, sometimes collaborated with the abuse and failed to properly report injuries or deaths caused by beatings; Background on the policies of President George W. Bush regarding the treatment of suspected terrorists; Executive decisions which permitted the abuse and torture of prisoners; Inadequacy of training for medical personnel; Examples of some of the offenses; Where the system failed; How military doctors and health care workers face a loyalty conflict between obedience to the service and the care of detainees; Directive from the*

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Geneva Convention which addresses the problem; Call for a more extensive review of the human rights violations and reforms which must result.

Michael P. Scharf. 2002. "The Case for an International Trial of the Al-Qaeda and Taliban Perpetrators of the 9/11 Attacks." New England School of Law. 36(911).

Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2002. "Symposium: Responding to Rogue Regimes; from Smart Bombs to Smart Sanctions; Luncheon Address Rogue Regimes and the Individualization of International Law." New England Law Review. 36(815).

Discussion of international law relating to "rogue regimes" in the context of focusing on individuals rather than states. Compares utility of military force versus an international justice system. Considers whether the Taliban "harbored" Al Qaeda or if Al Qaeda "hijacked" the Taliban and what this means from a legal perspective.

Steven R. Swanson. 2003. "Enemy Combatants and the Writ of Habeas Corpus." Arizona State Law Journal. 35(939):

Juan R. Torruella. 2002. "On the Slippery Slopes of Afghanistan: Military Commissions and the Exercise of Presidential Power." University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law. 4(648).

Jennifer Trahan. 2002. "Trying a Bin Laden and Others: Evaluating the Options for Terrorist Trials." Houston Journal of International Law. 24(475).

Argument that accused terrorist leaders captured in Afghanistan should be tried before Federal courts or an international tribunal rather than a military tribunal. Gives a legal history of military tribunals and discusses their practical and legitimacy disadvantages. Discusses advantages of and specific potential forms for federal trials or international tribunals.

Military Tribunals

Kenneth Anderson. 2002. "The Military Tribunal Order: What to Do with Bin Laden and Al Qaeda Terrorists? A Qualified Defense of Military Commissions and United States Policy on Detainees at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base." Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy. 25(2): 591.

Qualified defense of military tribunals for terror suspects. Argues that they must still have limits but are justifiable and appropriate for active enemies of the United States. Critically examines the arguments presented by advocates for international tribunals and domestic cases. Considers what limits should be placed on military tribunals.

Joan Fitzpatrick. 2002. "Jurisdiction of Military Commissions and the Ambiguous War on Terrorism." The American Journal of International Law. 96(2): 345.

Critical legal discussion of military tribunals. Also discusses issues considering how the war on terrorism should be legally classified. Finds military tribunals could only be justified for treating prisoners of war from the invasion of Afghanistan, but only in cooperation with the new Afghan government.

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Diane F. Orentlicher and Robert Kogod Goldman. 2002. "The Military Tribunal Order: When Justice Goes to War: Prosecuting Terrorists before Military Commissions." Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy. 25(2): 653.

Seth J. Hawkins. 2003. "Up Guantanamo without a Paddle: Waves of Afghan Detainees Drown in America's Great Habeas Loophole." Saint Louis University Law Journal. 47(1243).

Daryl A. Mundis. 2002. "Military Commissions: The Use of Military Commissions to Prosecute Individuals Accused of Terrorist Acts." The American Society of International Law. 96(320).

Ruth Wedgwood. 2002. "Al Qaeda, Terrorism, and Military Commissions." American Journal of International Law. 96(2): 328.

ABSTRACT: *Reports the launch of war by the U.S. government in Afghanistan in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Displacement of the Taliban regime; Creation of a transitional government in Kabul; Difficulties presented by the idea of international trials for unlawful combatants.*

Defense of military tribunals for terrorist suspects. Answers against common critiques of military tribunals and argues for validity under international law. Critiques federal courts for weak intelligence safeguards, strict rules of evidence, and security concerns. International tribunals are critiques for risk of intelligence sharing by judges, security concerns, and difficulties of international politics.

Humanitarian Issues

Afghanistan was a miserable humanitarian case long before "Operation Enduring Freedom." Misrule by the Taliban, foreign sanctions, drought, and decades of civil war all conspired against the country and resulted in millions of refugees. Anticipation of war after 9/11 caused in some humanitarian organizations to pull out of Afghanistan , although efforts resumed at the periphery of the country once "Operation Enduring Freedom" began.

Not surprisingly, humanitarian aid and war are a problematic combination, and there were unheeded calls for a pause in bombing to allow aid to arrive in advance of Afghanistan 's harsh winter. The prominent U.S. airdrops of food were ineffective as anything but a political gesture. Similarly, aid agencies encountered difficulties even in the territory controlled by U.S. allies the Northern Alliance . However, in retrospect the U.S. strategy of carrying on the war without pause appears to have been effective at deposing the Taliban in time to prevent the catastrophic winter predicted by many.

With the Taliban gone and the country somewhat stable, humanitarian workers regained access. However, many Afghan refugees chose to delay their return from foreign camps until they had greater confidence that they could return safely. Neighboring countries, which had already tried to close their borders during the war itself, grew increasingly impatient with refugee populations that have now been present for decades. Meanwhile, inside of Afghanistan the need for humanitarian assistance has declined from crisis level, but sadly it has not disappeared.

S-36

Under the Taliban

Khabir Ahmad. 1999. "Despair as Sanctions against Afghanistan Start". *Lancet.* 354(9193): 1888.

> ABSTRACT: *Reports on the United Nations' sanctions against Afghanistan that went into effect on November 14, 1999. The Taliban's failure to surrender Saudi exile, Osama bin Laden for trial on charges of plotting the bombings of United States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998; Opposition to the sanctions.*

M. Michael and A. B. Zwi. 2002. "Oceans of Need in the Desert: Ethical Issues Identified While Researching Humanitarian Agency Response in Afghanistan". Developing World Bioethics. 2(2): 109.

> ABSTRACT: *Describes the interventions by the International Committee of the Red Cross to support a hospital in Afghanistan during the mid-1990s. Elements of the interventions introduced in Ghazni, Afghanistan; Ethical challenges arising from humanitarian interventions; Mechanisms for extending transparency and accountability in humanitarian health interventions.*

Anita Pratap. 2003. "Afghanistan: The Doomed Land." Island of Blood: Frontline Reports from Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Other South Asian Flashpoints. New York: Penguin Books.

> Gives personal account of Indian television reporter in pre-9/11 Afghanistan. Covers Kabul before and after the Taliban take–over, the Taliban front lines, and the territory controlled by the anti–Taliban warlord Dostum. Good source for highly readable narrative, personal experience in Afghanistan, and the stories of Afghans.

Humanitarian Inviolability

> Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Un Pleads for Support for Aid Workers in Afghanistan after Taliban Collapse". Lancet. 358(9295): 1792.

> ABSTRACT: *States that the United Nations (UN) High Commission for Refugees is concerned about the lawlessness in northern Afghanistan, which is hampering aid efforts and endangering aid workers. Suspension of convoys after two drivers were killed; Request from the U.N. to the Northern Alliance and the Taliban for aid agencies to have safe access to displaced persons and other vulnerable Afghans; Efforts of Amnesty International to prevent human rights abuse.*

Kenneth Anderson. 2004. "U. S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Article: Humanitarian Inviolability in Crisis: The Meaning of Impartiality and Neutrality for U.N. And Ngo Agencies Following the 2003'2004 Afghanistan and Iraq Conflicts". Harvard Human Rights Journal. 17(41).

> Insightfully discusses crisis in "humanitarian inviolability:" the concept that humanitarian aid should be neutral and impartial. Focus is on Iraq but relevant to Afghanistan. Argues that nation–building is a laudable, but not a neutral objective. Concludes that organizations that participate in nation-building should be separate from those claiming humanitarian inviolability.

S-37

Failures Under the New Regime

Alex Vass and Tessa Richards. 2002. "Focus on Afghanistan". BMJ: British Medical Journal. 324(7333): 371.

ABSTRACT: *Reviews a number of Web sites concerning Afghanistan, including questions about war and humanitarian aid. Web site of the Department for International Development of Great Britain; Section of the United Nations site on Afghanistan, which contains links to emergency aid programs; Review of the site Assistance Afghanistan; Sites featuring human rights issues in Afghanistan.*

John Pilfer and N. Carlton Television. 2003. Breaking the Silence: Truth and Lies in the War on Terror. Oley, PA: Bullfrog Films.

In 2001, as the bombs began to drop, George W. Bush promised Afghanistan "the generosity of America and its allies". Now, the familiar old warlords are regaining power, religious fundamentalism is renewing its grip and military skirmishes continue routinely. In "liberated" Afghanistan, America has its military base and pipeline access, while the people have the warlords who are, says one woman, "in many ways worse than the Taliban."

Tiffany A. Richards. 2004. "The War Is over but the Battle Has Just Begun: Enforcing a Child's Right to Education in the Wake of Armed Conflict". Penn State International Law Review. 23(203).

Recent history of education system in Afghanistan and current situation. Discusses international law on children's rights and calls for education as a top human rights priority in post-conflict and actively war-torn societies. More of a call to action than detailed history.

Victor W. Sidel and Barry S. Levy. 2003. "Part I: Global Challenges to Public Health: War, Terrorism, and Public Health". Medicine & Ethics Journal of Law. 31(516):

Refugees

Xavier Bosch. 2004. "Refugee Numbers Down as More People Return Home". Lancet. 363(9427): 2148.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the decline of refugees around the world. The decrease of 18% which is the smallest number in a decade; Reasons for the decline; Leading the return to homeland were the Afghani; Celebration of World Refugee Day around the world; Announcement of the awarding of the Nansen prize to the Russian Memorial Human Rights Center.*

Akram A. Eltom. 2001. "Internally Displaced People -- Refugees in Their Own Country". Lancet. 358(9292): 1544.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the number of people in Afghanistan who were affected by the humanitarian crisis before the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States. Efforts of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Afghanistan, where it has supported the voluntary returns of Afghans from Iran in cooperation with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees; Priorities of IOM, including managing camps for displaced people and delivering food, shelter, and other essentials before winter.*

S-38

Brief description with population numbers, of situation for internally displaced refugees in Afghanistan. Covers International Organization for Migration work to assist internally displaced refugees before and during the invasion. Second article discusses physical and mental health risks to aid workers in Afghanistan. Covers some steps taken by agencies to mitigate risks.

Amnesty International. 2003. Afghanistan: Out of Sight, out of Mind: The Fate of the Afghan Returnees. Amnesty International. ASA 11/014/2003. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGASA110142003?open&of=ENG-AFG.

Thoroughly documents and analyzes 2003 situation for refugees. Cites many refugees choice not to return to Afghanistan and pressure on other refugees to return before they are ready to. Describes poor conditions in Afghanistan. Calls for refugees to be allowed to stay in host countries until Afghanistan can support them.

Carolyn S. Walker. 2002. "Un Report: global Backlash of Afghan Refugees: When Is Enough, Enough?" New York Law School Journal of Human Rights. 18(535).

Explores the problem of countries' increasing reticence to accept Afghan refugees after receiving them through more than twenty years of conflict. Describes international human law requiring accepting refugees and not forcing their return until they can do so safely. Discusses what more limited restrictions countries can legally implement on refugees.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. "Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan: Closed Door Policy: Afghan Refugees in Pakistan and Iran". Human Rights Watch publications general short reports. 14(2): 45. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2002/pakistan/.

Describes situation for three and a half million Afghan refugees after overthrow of the Taliban. Includes many personal accounts. Focuses on problematic status and treatment of Afghanis in Pakistan and Iran. Explores refugees' reasons for leaving and fears about returning home. Condemns state policies towards refugees, specifically pressure to return.

Peter Moszynski. 2002. "Return of Refugees to Afghanistan Catches Agencies by Surprise". BMJ: British Medical Journal. 325(7370): 924.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the return of refugees to Afghanistan and the health problems this poses. Health issues in the region; Sections of the population that are most vulnerable; Network of non-governmental organizations involved in primary health care in Afghanistan; Lack of changes in health care since the U.S. started war against al-Qaeda.*

Barbara Sibbald. 2003. "'Move or Die': A Strained People Face the Prospect of yet More War". CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal. 168(12): 1082.

ABSTRACT: *Presents information on evacuation of refugees and other foreign workers in Afghanistan for fear of war after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Details on the closure of international aid organizations in Afghanistan; Number of workers of the Canadian Médecins sans Frontières working in Afghanistan; Problems facing refugees and foreign workers.*

S-39

Food Aid

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Health and Safety of Afghans Hangs in the Balance". Lancet. 358(9287): 1069.

ABSTRACT: *Reports that the World Food Programme resumed shipments of food aid to Afghanistan, in the wake of terrorist attacks in the United States. Reasons that the United Nations agency stopped food delivery; Threat of the Taliban against those who use computers and other communications equipment; Concern about refugees fleeing to neighboring countries in anticipation of attacks from the U.S. ; Conditions in Pakistan, which along with Iran has closed borders to Afghanistan.*

Summary of humanitarian situation in Afghanistan after 9/11 but while the invasion was still only anticipated. Focuses on cessation or reduction of efforts by international aid groups and the U.N. Discusses emptying of cities and outpouring of refugees and the policy of neighboring countries Pakistan, Iran, and Tajikistan to close their borders.

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Un Pleads for Break in Bombing in Afghanistan". Lancet. 358(9290): 1352.

ABSTRACT: *Reports that the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, has warned that the crisis in Afghanistan could become a large-scale humanitarian disaster if the bombing there continues. How the bombing raids and related anti-US protests in Pakistan, are interrupting the transport of food aid.*

Claudia Kelly Dixon. 2001. "2001 Yearbook: Human Rights and the Environment: Nowhere to Run, Nowhere to Hide: How the Events of September 11, 2001 Have Impacted the Refugee Humanitarian Crisis in Afghanistan". Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy. 2001(111).

Describes disastrous humanitarian situation in Afghanistan which was further complicated by the invasion. Discusses difficulties in sending aid and increase in internal displacement resulting from bombings. Calls air drops of food ineffective, primarily political in motivation, and perhaps dangerous to civilians and aid workers. Good short overview of situation during war.

Roger Dobson. 2001. "Stop Military Strikes and Ship in Aid, Doctors Say". BMJ: British Medical Journal. 323(7317): 823.

ABSTRACT: *Reports that health professionals in Great Britain and several relief agencies have called for an end to the attacks on Afghanistan and called for an international humanitarian aid program. Food shortages in the country as a result of drought; Argument that the United States bombings will result in more terrorism; Worry that innocent civilians will be harmed in the attack.*

United States Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on near Eastern and South Asian and N. Y. F. S. Hrg N. Y. F. S. Hrg N. United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on International Operations and Terrorism. 2002. Afghanistan's Humanitarian Crisis: Is Enough Aid Reaching Afghanistan? Washington, D. C. : U.S. G. P. O.

Records the debates in the U.S. on how to best provide aid during the invasion of Afghanistan. Great emphasis on welfare of Afghan people and importance of subsequent reconstruction. Witnesses include Testimony government officials and humanitarian groups. Many details about the difficulties in delivering aid, even to areas controlled by U.S. allies.

S-40

Media

Peter Baker. 2001. "Northern Exposure". *American Journalism Review.* 23(10): 28.

ABSTRACT: Discusses experiences while covering the war against terrorism in Afghanistan for the 'Washington Post' newspaper. Views on the press coverage of the war; Characteristics of the correspondents who arrived in Afghanistan immediately after September 11, 2001; Experiences while aboard an old helicopter of the Northern Alliance group.

Sarah Chayes. 2003. "Breaking Ranks". *Colombia Journalism Review.* 42(4): 66.

ABSTRACT: Presents an article on the experiences of a U.S. journalist in reporting on the military conflict in Afghanistan. Impact of journalists on the lives of the people they report about; Effect of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. on U.S. journalists working in Muslim countries; Efforts for public advocacy in Afghanistan.

Stephen Franklin. 2002. "Stories of Hope and Desperation. (Cover Story)". Colombia Journalism Review. 40(5): 32.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the problems faced by journalists who cover the war on terrorism in Afghanistan. Restriction on the access to Afghanistan and transportation within the country; Lack of housing and food supply; Sources of news stories; Difficulty faced by journalists on where and how to get information about the military operations.*

Arthur C. Helton. 2002. "Rescuing the Refugees". *Foreign Affairs.* 81(2): 71.

ABSTRACT*: The institutions that deal with refugees have not yet adapted effectively to new geopolitical realities. The time has come for innovation. The situation in Afghanistan shows both the intractable nature of the refugee problem and the inadequacy of the institutions responsible for addressing them. A major step toward addressing the problem would be the creation of an intergovernmental policy research center designed to enhance the international humanitarian action system. In Afghanistan, however, that country will need a substantial, multiyear reconstruction program to make any kind of refugee return sustainable. Another critical task in Afghanistan will be to overcome the disjuncture between relief agencies. Local human rights groups will also play a crucial role in Afghanistan's future, along with public security and rule of law. Slowly, knowledge is accumulating about how the problems of refugees and development can best be addressed, what kinds of partnerships are necessary among humanitarian organizations, and how operations can be carried out most effectively. However, until that knowledge can be assembled in one place and focused on specific tasks, it will not have the desired impact.*

Calls for more pro-active system that all seeks to assist internally displaced persons, not just refugees that cross the border. Gives history of aid efforts towards refugees in Afghanistan. Calls for international policy research on subject. Advocates linking relief and development efforts and discusses how this could help in Afghanistan.

Richard Falk. 2002. "Identifying Limits on a Borderless Map". Ethics & International Affairs. 16(1): 1.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on an appropriate response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Importance of the need for action to reduce the incidence of terrorist attacks; Goal of the U.S. -led war in Afghanistan; Information on the moral, legal and political challenges associated with the war against terrorism.*

Questions possible repercussions of manner in which war on terrorism is waged. Argues Afghan invasion was justified, but rationale used risks a too broad definition of self-defense. Also briefly discusses the manner of fighting, raising concerns about decisions regarding pilots, media coverage, and the lack of restraints placed on allies.

Neil Hickey. 2002. "Access Denied". *Colombia Journalism Review.* 40(5): 26.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the censorship policy of the United States Defense Department on the war on terrorism in Afghanistan. Reason for the Defense policy to control the flow of information; Measures taken by the Defense Department to restrict press access to information on military operations; Conflict on the expectations of the press and the government.*

Thomas Kunkel. 2002. "Casualties of War". *American Journalism Review.* 24(1): 4.

ABSTRACT: *Presents an article which documented the impact of the war against terrorism on the field of journalism. Risks faced by journalists in covering war; Casualties recorded among foreign journalists covering the war; Comparison between the treatment received by foreign journalists in Afghanistan and other war-zone countries.*

Sherry Ricchiardi. 2002. "A Killing Field for Journalists". *American Journalism Review.* 24(1): 32.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the casualties and injuries recorded among the foreign journalists covering stories happening in the war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Description of journalists on the war; Information on the journalists who were killed while covering the war; Analysis on why journalists take the risk of covering the war.*

Lori Robertson. 2003. "Whatever Happened to Afghanistan?" American Journalism Review. 25(5): 24.

ABSTRACT: *Talks about the presence of the media in the U.S. war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Details on the percentage of decline in media coverage as monitored by Andrew Tyndall, reporter; Newspapers that continue to provide updates about the commitment of the U.S. on reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan; Shift of the focus of media to the war in Iraq.*

Discusses media acknowledgement of decreasing attention to Afghanistan after the war in Iraq began. Reflects a long-standing trend for hot-spots to lose attention. Argues for media responsibility to keep focus on Afghanistan. Explores thoughts, actions, and preferences of reporters and news organizations. Does not address policy and human rights implications.

Terence Wright. 2004. "Collateral Coverage: Media Images of Afghan Refugees, 2001". Visual Studies. 19(1): 97.

ABSTRACT: *The paper is concerned with media coverage of the on-going refugee crisis in Afghanistan. It begins by looking at how the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center of 11 September 2001 had the result of stimulating renewed media interest in Afghan refugees. Paying special regard to the role of visual images in the reporting of disasters, the paper reviews the narrative strategies adopted by television news. It considers the factors that have instigated media response by examining some general issues arising from the media coverage of disasters.*

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While the central focus of the study is BBC Television News Special Reports on the Afghan refugee crisis, selective comparisons are made with other television broadcast channels, Sky News and Euronews. Based on the Afghan case study, I propose three main constituent factors contributing to the likelihood of effective media coverage of a refugee crisis. Firstly, in order to attract Western press coverage it is necessary for the crisis to be of such a magnitude that it cannot be ignored; or else it is necessary for it to be perceived as having some obvious connection with Western concerns. Secondly, the story will gain airtime if the nature of the crisis is such that it produces dramatic imagery - pictures with impact. Finally, if the style of the media coverage is sufficiently innovative it will stimulate interest in the viewers. The paper concludes with a critical review of media examples that break away from conventional news formulae.

State Building

Before "Operation Enduring Freedom" state building was quite controversial in the U.S. because it is difficult and requires great long-term commitment. However, there was agreement that it would be necessary because the present problems may have been avoided were Afghanistan properly rebuilt after the defeat of the Soviets.

The U.S. and international community pursued a "light footprint" approach, seeking to avoid Afghan dependency or hostility against a larger American force. Once Afghanistan was reasonably secure, the U.S. convened a nationwide tribal council called a "loya jirga" to give legitimacy to the process and develop a new constitution. Hahmed Karzai, a favorite of the U.S., took control of the interim government.

In the interim, disturbingly slow progress was been made on human rights issues. Today, warlords, often in regional government positions, still control the vast majority of the country outside of Kabul, the capital. After Hamed Karzai won the election in the fall of 2004 he acknowledged existing problems and began to lay out plans for solving them; starting with removing the warlords from power.

There is surprisingly little disagreement in the academic literature about state building in Afghanistan. Articles that cover similar issues tend to argue for compatible approaches. The disagreement present is largely implicit and over what should be the first and highest priority in the rebuilding effort.

General Overviews

Mohammed Ayoob. 2002. "South-West Asia after the Taliban". Survival. 44(1): 51.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the implication of the war on terrorism by the U.S. for Pakistani-Afghan relations. Installation of an interim Afghan government under the moderate Pashtun leader; Pledge of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf to break Pakistan-based terrorist groups; Principal economic beneficiaries of fragmentation and civil war.*

S-43

Sultan N. Barakat. 2004. "Reconstructing War-Torn Societies: Afghanistan". Third World Quarterly. viii(203).

Exemplary and well organized analysis of issues relating to Afghanistan's reconstructions. Explores many topics and their implications for the process: historical background, theories of reconstruction, legitimacy, institution building, refugees, and more.

Peter Chalk. 2003. "Non-Military Security in the Wider Middle East". Studies in Conflict & Terrorism. 26(3): 197.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the scope and dimensions of the regional security agenda in the Middle East. Opium trade, unregulated population movements and maritime piracy; Relevance of the issues to U.S. foreign policy; Role of the United States in the development of security countermeasures.*

Detailed look at region-wide problems of opium production and trafficking, massive movement of refugees, and piracy. Afghanistan is covered but does not have exclusive focus. Each issue is given a detailed recent history, analysis, and presents helpful tables and figures. Concludes with policy recommendations focusing on cross-border approaches.

Jarat Chopra and Tanja Hohe. 2004. "Participatory Intervention". *Global Governance*. 10(3): 289.

ABSTRACT: *The article presents information on the international intervention and political authority in transition at the level of local administration. Two particular factors drew the international community into the temporary exercise of political authority, whether minimally in the form of assistance to an interim government, as now in Afghanistan, or in a more intrusive escalation in partnership with the departing occupier, as in Namibia, control of divided factions, as in Cambodia and ultimately governorship of territory and population, most completely in East Timor. In the midst of complex emergencies, a wide range of inter governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations independently addressed security, humanitarian, developmental, human rights, judicial policing and economic concerns.*

Laura A. Dickinson. 2002. "Symposium: Reluctant Nation Building: Securing the Rule of Law in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Introductory Remarks". Connecticut Journal of International Law. 17(3): 429.

Antonio Donini, Norah Niland and Karin N. Wermester. 2004. Nation-Building Unraveled? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

Francis Fukuyama. 2004. "The Imperative of State-Building". *Journal of Democracy*. 15(2): 17.

ABSTRACT: *Argues that state-building must become a priority for the world community. Weak or failed states as root of serious global problems, including AIDS, drug trafficking and terrorism; Failure of democratic government; Major responsibility for nation- and state-building assumed by the U.S. in Afghanistan and Iraq.*

Larry Goodson. 2003. "Afghanistan's Long Road to Reconstruction". Journal of Democracy. 14(1): 82.

ABSTRACT: *Urges the United States and the world to make a deeper commitment to peacekeeping and decentralized government to forestall a worst-case scenario in Afghanistan. Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S.; Establishment of a workable government; Election of the Loya Jirga, the country's legislative body.*

S-44

Detailed description of difficulties of building Afghanistan, the government in particular. Lists three main problems as: fading U.S. interest, the level of destruction and anger after the war, the difficulties of building a workable multi–party government, and the self-interested and sometimes intransigent warlords. Calls for greater commitment to alleviate problems.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. Human Rights Watch: Asia: Afghanistan. http://hrw. org/doc/?t=asia.

Adrian Karatnycky. 2002. "Muslim Countries and the Democracy Gap". Journal of Democracy. 13(1): 99.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the democracy in Afghanistan. Tranquility of the advanced democracies; Decline of governments and market systems; Occurrence of gaps in the state of freedom.*

Kenneth Katzman and Library of Congress Congressional Research Service. 2003. Afghanistan: Current Issues and U.S. Policy. Washington, D. C. : Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

Superb background on the situation in Afghanistan from the perspective of the United States. Includes a history of both the Taliban and the Northern Alliance. Well organized breakdown of efforts to rebuild the country, activities of neighboring countries, foreign aid to Afghanistan, and U.S. policy concerns and initiatives.

Ali A. Jalali. 2003. "Afghanistan in 2002". *Asian Survey.* 43(1): 174.

ABSTRACT: *The year 2002 was one of rebirth and rebuilding in Afghanistan following a drawn-out civil strife that ended with the downfall of the Taliban regime in the U.S. -led coalition war on terrorism. But the struggle for peace proved to be much tougher than winning the war. International financial support and political backing helped Afghanistan move toward creating a broad-based government, improving security across the country, and rebuilding its devastated economy. However, the enormous humanitarian and development challenges involved require a sustained and multifaceted response as well as a long-term international commitment to assist the war-torn country in restoring peace, normalcy, and economic stability.*

William Maley. 2002. "The Reconstruction of Afghanistan." Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order. Ken Booth and Timothy N. Dunne Eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Describes the difficult process of rebuilding the state, not just the government, of Afghanistan. Emphasizes using existing economic and social strengths, building institutions, police, and giving warlords reason to cooperate rather than directly challenging them. Details threats to reconstruction; warlords, deskilled population, trauma from civil war, unrealistic expectations, and maintaining international commitment.

Amalendu Misra. 2004. Afghanistan: The Labyrinth of Violence. Cambridge, UK; Malden, Mass. : Polity.

William Reno. 2004. "Order and Commerce in Turbulent Areas: 19th Century Lessons, 21st Century Practice". Third World Quarterly. 25(4): 607.

ABSTRACT: *The recent collapse of some states, the proliferation of internal wars and of localized political authorities, so-called 'warlords', challenges the homogeneity of the international system of states at its margins.*

S-45

These new fragmented authorities often rely upon commercial deals with outsiders to consolidate their power. This threatens officials in strong states who depend upon organized states everywhere to control their realms and control their citizens' transactions, including with terrorists and criminals. Widespread direct rule by western powers, as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Bosnia, is too expensive and politically risky to apply to all disorderly parts of the globe. Instead, officials in powerful states use techniques of indirect control that utilize commercial networks to pacify disorderly areas. This strategy resembles techniques developed in 19th century European relations with stateless areas. Similar problems develop as well. This led in the 19th century to direct rule, while contemporary officials are forced to experiment with more intensive use of commercial relations to pacify unruly areas.

Argues that current practice of handling state-less areas is similar to 19th century efforts. Gives detailed and wide ranging support. Details need to control factionalism that caused the indirect and multiple business based approaches largely gave way to more centralized commerce and administrations. Discusses differences between 19th and 21st century world system.

Ekaterina Stepanova. 2004. "War and Peace Building". *Washington Quarterly*. 27(4): 127.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the U.S. -led war on terrorism and the need to achieve peace in postwar Iraq. Effect of turning rogue states into failed states; Russia's importance to the United States in Afghanistan compared to allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Joint antiterrorist efforts.*

2002. "Symposium: Reluctant Nation Building: Securing the Rule of Law in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Questions, Answers & Comment". Connecticut Journal of International Law. 17(3): 429.

Ramesh Chandra Thakur; United Nations University and Oddny N. Wiggen. 2004. South Asia in the World: Problem Solving Perspectives on Security, Sustainable Development, and Good Governance. Tokyo and New York: United Nations University Press.

Reviews Afghanistan's situation during rebuilding in the context of regional politics. Calls for South Asian states to respect Afghanistan's sovereignty. Pays attention to interests of sometimes transnational ethnic groups. Not focused on the human rights aspects of state building, but a good source for understanding the influence of regional countries on the process.

Relations United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign. 2002. The Political Future of Afghanistan. Washington: U.S. G. P. O.

Senate hearing on rebuilding Afghanistan while the invasion was still drawing to a close. State department officals and two academics testify and are questioned. Guardedly optimistic appraisal of the situation with concern about past failures in nation-building. Shows range of U.S. concerns and desires at the start of the process.

Naomi Weinberger. 2002. "Civil–Military Coordination in Peacebuilding: The Challenge in Afghanistan". Journal of International Affairs. 55(2): 245.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the evolution of multinational peace operations after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and subsequent international intervention. Differences between security and humanitarian dimensions of post–conflict peacebuilding; Evolution of multidimensional peace operations after the Cold War; Conflict prevention and reconstruction at the societal level in societies experiencing civil strife.*

S-46

Explores rebuilding Afghanistan in the larger context of rebuilding other nations after civil wars. Starts with an overview of U.N. actions in previous case with particular attention to more recent interventions. An exceptional exploration of the problems faced by the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan.

Michael P. Scharf and Paul R. Williams. 2004. "Report of the Committee of Experts on Nation Rebuilding in Afghanistan; December 10, 2001". New England School of Law. 36(709):

Provides an analysis of Afghanistan's state building needs and suggestions on how it can best be pursued. After reviewing the situation and discussing U.S. interests the article breaks down the general and Afghanistan–specific nation building goals. Discusses applications of recent legal concept of "intermediate and evolving sovereignty" for rebuilding states.

Local/Tribal/Ethnic/Islamic Legal Traditions

Thomas J. Barfield. 2002. "Symposium: Reluctant Nation Building: Securing the Rule of Law in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: On Local Justice and Culture". Connecticut Journal of International Law. 17(3): 437.

Cites need to understand local traditions and conditions when building up a justice system. Gives detailed cultural analysis and history regarding judicial systems and the striking differences between Afghan and Western legal thought. Argues that particularly in rural areas the task is not reconstructing but constructing a legal system.

Mark A. Drumbl. 2004. "Rights, Culture, and Crime: The Role of Rule of Law for the Women of Afghanistan". Colombia Journal of Transnational Law. 42(349).

Details the slow post-war moves towards providing justice for human rights violation against women. Harsh critique of Pashtunwali, a local system of laws, as a source of new violations. Includes recommendations on use and integration of international law to assist the process.

Christopher P. Freeman. 2002. "Dissonant Discourse: Forging Islamist States through Secular Models: The Case of Afghanistan". Cambridge Review of International Affairs. 15(3): 533.

ABSTRACT: *Presents an alternative perspective on the U.S. war against terrorism and the intervention in Afghanistan in 2003. Manner by which Western nations regard political Islam or Islamism; Values and processes attached to liberal democracy which is not suited to the developmental stage of Afghanistan; Pervasiveness and power of Islam.*

Argues that some of Afghanistan's rebuilding problems result from a fear of political Islam (Islamisation). The article subsequently explores the concepts and history of Islamisation and problems arising from a clash with the West. Concludes with detailed argument that absent prolonged commitment from the occupiers, Islamisation is an unavoidable stage.

Catherine E. Polisi. 2004. "Universal Rights and Cultural Relativism Hinduism and Islam Deconstructed". World Affairs. 167(1): 41.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the connection between the application of cultural relativism to the human rights law and the degradation and marginalization of women in Hindu and Islamic societies. Examples of human rights violations committed against women in Hindu and Islamic cultures; List of rights protected under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Information on the conditions of women in Afghanistan in 2003.*

S-47

Nazif M. Shahrani. 2002. "War, Factionalism, and the State in Afghanistan". American Anthropologist. 104(3): 715.

ABSTRACT: *To understand the situation in Afghanistan, we must recognize that its political and military chaos is not an isolated or unique phenomenon, and at the same time acknowledge the particular social and political dynamics of Afghanistan's history. Communal conflicts in Afghanistan are part of a much wider affliction common to many postcolonial states and multinational societies.*

United States House of Representatives. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central and Nonproliferation and Human Rights N. Y. I. N. H. N. Y. I. N. H. N. 2004. Afghanistan: Democratization and Human Rights on the Eve of Constitutional Loya Jirga. Washington: U.S. G. P. O.

Discusses the Afghan constitution on the eve of the first post-invasion gathering of Loya Jurga. Concerns are raised about protection of women's rights and whether provisions acknowledging Islam go too far. Mention is made of security problems outside of Kabul. State department and NGO officials are witnesses.

Kathryn J. Webber. 2003. "The Economic Future of Afghan Women: The Interaction between Islamic Law and Muslim Culture". University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Economic Law. 24(959).

A legal review of what is allowed in under Islamic law and what is allowed by social norms. The article's conclusion is that oppressive social force and not Islamic law itself results in the economic oppression of Afghan Women.

Ali Wardak. 2002. "Jirga: Power and Traditional Conflict Resolution in Afghanistan." Law after Ground Zero. John N. Strawson. London: GlassHouse.

Examines the "Jirga," a gathering of people that functions as a traditional conflict resolution mechanism in Afghanistan. Explores its history at the local, tribal, and national ("Loya Jirga") level. Briefly debates the legitimacy and effectiveness of the post-"Enduring Freedom" Loya Jirga. Excellent source for understanding the context of the "Loya Jirga."

Warlords

Mariam Rawi. 2004. "Betrayal". *Reproductive Health Matters*. 12(23): 116.

Critique of women's right situation after the invasion. Attacks situation in areas under Karzai government and warlord control. Accuses the coalition of abandoning women's rights. Discusses steps by the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan to secure these rights. Few citations and limited data beyond anecdotes.

Paul Jackson. 2003. "Warlords as Alternative Forms of Governance". Small Wars & Insurgencies. 14(2): 131.

ABSTRACT: *Warlord is a label that currently besets us on all fronts. The 2001-2002 military action in Afghanistan is illustrative of the West's ambivalent view of armed factions in the developing world in general. The demonisation of the Taliban and the elevation of the former 'warlords' of the opposition to the rather more*

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grandiose sounding 'Northern Alliance', at once formalising the hitherto informal nature of the warlord system, implies that the term 'warlord' is synonymous with anarchy, violence and a breakdown in civilised values. 'Warlord' has become an ugly, detrimental expression, evoking brutality, racketeering and terrorism. Analysts referring to violence across developing countries routinely refer to 'new wars' and 'post-modern' conflict, and yet the language used to describe these phenomena is usually pre-modern (medievalism, baronial rule, new feudalism). This article outlines some examples of historical warlords and draws out the common issues. In particular it emphasises the fact that warlords have been present for centuries and have periodically emerged whenever centralised political-military control has broken down. All that has changed through history is the technology available to each generation and the relative economic base. The article concludes with a series of implications for policy-makers currently considering intervention in warlord-based economies. ABSTRACT FROM AUTHOR

A wide ranging article that offers a theoretical understanding of warlords. Specifically it addresses why they arise and what the consequences are when they are the primary form of government. However, it does not focus on the current situation in Afghanistan nor does it systematically address human rights effects.

Barry R. McCaffrey. 2004. "Afghanistan's Newest Challenge". *Armed Forces Journal International.* 141(6): 8.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the link between terrorism and drugs in Afghanistan. Destruction of the Taliban regime; Destruction from ethnic civil war.*

Argues that addressing the problems of post-war Afghanistan requires an aggressive anti-drug effort. Gives brief summary of difficulties facing Afghanistan with a particular focus on increase in drug cultivation. Arguments pertain more to the general argument of focusing against drug supply rather than being specific to the case of Afghanistan.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. "All Our Hopes Are Crushed: Violence and Repression in Western Afghanistan". Human Rights Watch publications on Asia. 14(6): 52. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2002/afghan3/.

Argues 2002 Afghanistan as a failing to achieve the promises of human rights due to warlord run "fiefdoms." Well organized and detailed documentation of alleged abuses in western Afghanistan and the city of Herat. Critical description of U.N. approach as lacking necessary personnel and resources. Calls for expanded Peacekeeping force.

Michael A. Rubin. 2000. "Afghanistan: As Bad as Its Reputation?" *Middle East Quarterly.* 7(3): 55.

ABSTRACT: *Presents an analysis of the negative notions linked to the military operations of the Taliban, a group of Arab rebels based in Afghanistan. Border conditions between Pakistan and Afghanistan; Speculation on the opium production by the Taliban group in the country; Human rights issues surrounding the social and religious standards of the Taliban.*

Afghanistan's Justice System

Amnesty International. 2003. Afghanistan: Police Reconstruction Essential for the Protection of Human Rights. Amnesty International. ASA 11/003/2003. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGASA110032003?open&of=ENG-AFG.

Argues that building up police forces, and public faith in police forces, is a key step for rebuilding Afghanistan. Explores with good organization and detail the history and present status of police forces in Afghanistan. Describes current force structure, policies, and human rights concerns. Makes wide ranging recommendations for improvements.

Amnesty International. 2003. Afghanistan: Re-Establishing the Rule of Law. Amnesty International. ASA 11/021/2003. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGASA110212003?open&of=ENG-AFG.

Analysis of status of rule of law in 2003 Afghanistan. Describes progress in urban areas but fragile or non-existent courts elsewhere. Well organized and detailed analysis of the full range of Afghan needs with recommendations. Focuses on improving independence of the courts and the legal status of women.

Pierre-Richard Prosper. 2002. "Reluctant Nation Building: Securing the Rule of Law in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: On Respect for the Rule of Law". Connecticut Journal of International Law. 17(429).

Suggestion that establish rule of law in Afghanistan requires fast action to give public security, collect criminal data, properly handle of prisoners, and establish courts for trying present crimes and past atrocities. Rejects the idea of an international tribunal. Recommends how to best massively build up of Afghan judicial capacities.

Derek Jinks. 2002. "International Human Rights Law and the War on Terrorism". Denver Journal of International Law and Policy. 31(58).

Neil Kritz. 2002. "Symposium: Reluctant Nation Building: Securing the Rule of Law in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Promoting a Formal System of Justice". Connecticut Journal of International Law. 17(429).

Advocates taking creative, balanced and nuanced approaches to building a justice system. Discusses missteps made by governments, NGOs, and international institutions in Afghanistan and past cases. Explores use of non-judicial penalties for those involved in war-crimes. Discusses what benefits a truth and reconciliation commission could and could not provide.

Barnett R. Rubin. 2003. "Transitional Justice and Human Rights in Afghanistan". International Affairs. 79(3): 567.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the transition of justice and human rights in Afghanistan since the defeat of the Taliban government and the signing of the Bonn Agreement on December 5, 2001. Condition of Afghanistan's prisons before the coup by the Taliban government in April 1978; Scope of violence brought into the police force by the Taliban revolution of 1978; Abuses prevalent during the rule of Taliban.*

Explores the difficulties of confronting the crimes committed in the twenty three years of Afghan civil war ending with the U.S. invasion. Gives personal account of how transitional justice was sacrificed to stability. Calls disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration the highest Afghan priority and discusses how transitional justice can be pursued in tandem.

William H. Spencer. 2002. "Symposium: Reluctant Nation Building: Securing the Rule of Law in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Establishing the Rule of Law". Connecticut Journal of International Law. 17(429).

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Describes the results of a study on how to best build rule of law in Afghanistan and the opinions of local leaders. Supports building off the progressive 1964 constitution and advocates integrating with tribal and Islamic law. Calls for improvement in management and for foreign governments to more effectively pursue rule of law.

Sima Wali. 2004. "Violence, Terror, and Accountability in Afghanistan". *Peace Review.* 16(1): 75.

ABSTRACT: *Delves into the issue of violence, terror and human security in Afghanistan. Implementation of the interim agreement of an international security force and process building in Afghanistan; Significance of the rights of women in the Afghan society.*

Critiques

Rachel Bronson. 2002. "When Soldiers Become Cops". *Foreign Affairs.* 81(6): 122.

ABSTRACT: *It is becoming evident that the U.S. military is not very well suited to the task of establishing security in precarious political environments. The situation in Afghanistan has revealed a pattern that the U.S. seems doomed to repeat elsewhere: the mismatch between resources and requirements will ensure that the country continues to use its forces inefficiently. It is therefore time to rethink the roles and missions of the U.S. military and related civilian organizations. Appropriate restructuring will not begin until Washington develops a greater appreciation for the fact that intervention entails not simply war-fighting but a continuum of force ranging from conventional warfare to local law enforcement. The U.S. must take a number of steps to better prepare for the new tasks before it. The measures include making changes at the National Security Council (NSC), State, and Justice Departments, rethinking how army dollars are spent, and designing a structure to leverage the skills other states bring to problem. Unless such measures are taken and serious attention is given to the shortcomings in America's approach to international security, the country will eventually bog down, both diplomatically and militarily, in Afghanistan, Iraq, and other unexpected places.*

Argues succinctly that the United States needs a more policing oriented approach for handling post-intervention rebuilding. The argument cites Afghanistan among other recent examples of interventions. Describes decentralized state of affairs in the United States and the lack progress despite severe problems. Suggests possible solutions including help from the E. U.

United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. 2003. Report on Afghanistan. U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. http://www. uscirf. gov/reports/02May03/afghanistan. php3.

Reports on state of religious freedom in Afghanistan that cites a mix of progress and disappointments. Organized overview of warning signs of curtailed rights and discriminatory measures against non-Muslims. Focuses on specific suggestions to reverse the trends and calls for sending high ranking U.S. official to Afghanistan to focus efforts.

Kamal Hossain. 2003. Questions of the Violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Any Part of the World: Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Afghanistan. United Nation Commission on Human Rights. E/CN. 4/2003/39.

January 2003 overview of the U.N. perspective on the range of human rights issues facing Afghanistan. Focuses on larger issues rather than specific incidents. Posits that lack of security is

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primary problem. Well organized and fairly brief treatment of each issue. Concludes with recommendations for the future.

Women's Rights

The Taliban government was notorious for its mistreatment of women. The most searing image of human rights violations was when women were required to wear a full body covering called a "burqa". The issues of women's rights in Afghanistan received more attention after 9/11, and sometimes functioned as a secondary moral justification for "Operation Enduring Freedom."

This oppression and similar acts from earlier regimes did not happen without women resisting. The Revolutionary Afghan Women's Association (RAWA) was an underground resistance movement which, among other goals, documented abuses and educated girls even when it was illegal to do so.

Unfortunately, cause for concern about women's rights did not disappear after the Taliban fell. While far more progressive than the Taliban, the constitution of the Karzai government only has limited protections for women's rights. More troubling warlords who are unfriendly to women's rights are in power in many regions or the country.

Women Under the Taliban

Lynn L. Amowitz, Michele Heisler and Vincent Iacopino. 2003. "A Population-Based Assessment of Women's Mental Health and Attitudes toward Women's Human Rights in Afghanistan". *Journal of Women's Health.* 12(6): 577.

ABSTRACT: *Provides a population–based assessment of women's mental health and attitudes toward women's human rights in Afghanistan during the Taliban rule. Prevalence of major depression among women exposed to Taliban policies than women living in a non–Taliban controlled area; Percentage of respondents supporting human rights upliftment.*

This rigorous study is a source for Taliban era data on of women's mental health and attitude towards women's rights and community needs. The data is well presented with only some advanced terminology. The study concluded that Taliban rule was damaging to women but not deeply representative of Afghan values.

Barbara Ayotte. 2002. "Women's Health and Human Rights in Afghanistan: Continuing Challenges". Journal of Ambulatory Care Management. 25(2): 75.

ABSTRACT: *Physicians for Human Rights has released a ground-breaking survey of more than 1,000 Afghan women and men on their attitudes and experiences regarding health and human rights for Afghan women. Health care for women in Afghanistan still poses daunting challenges.*

Analysis of Physicians for Human Rights report: "Women's Health and Human Rights in Afghanistan: A Population-Based Assessment." The survey provided detailed analysis of conditions and opinions regarding women in pre-invasion Afghanistan. This analysis and summary is shorter and less technical than the report itself.

Barbara L. Ayotte. 1999. "The Taliban's War on Women in Afghanistan: Challenges to Ambulatory Care Management". Journal of Ambulatory Care Management. 22(3): 82.

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ABSTRACT: *Reports the challenges to ambulatory care management for women in Afghanistan. Endurance of women under the Taliban regime; Restrictions on women's rights; Results to the health and human rights survey of the Physicians for Human Rights.*

Summarizes and analyzes data from Physicians for Human Rights survey on the condition of women's health in pre-invasion Afghanistan. Highly critical of the Taliban and effects of regime restrictions on the health women. While the article does cite many interesting results, the actual raw data from the study is not included.

Hafizullah Emadi. 2002. Repression, Resistance, and Women in Afghanistan. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Detailed history and analytical account of women's rights in Afghanistan before "Enduring Freedom." Includes in-depth coverage of Afghan context of the status of women. Critical discussion of benefits and limitations of capitalism and top down modernization. Describes grassroots efforts and women's resistance. Well organized and includes statistics in support of its points.

Barbara Friedman. 2002. "It's September 12th: Do You Know Where Afghanistan's Women Are?" Feminist Media Studies. 2(1): 137.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the limited news coverage given to the plight of women in Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Focus given on the war on terrorism and its political agenda; Failure to give attention to efforts by Afghan women who challenged Taliban law.*

Short critical description of coverage of women's rights in Afghanistan after 9/11. States that the situation for women was well known before the war and that attention was not given to the changes under the war itself and alternatives to war proposed by feminist were ridiculed.

Ratna Kapur. 2002. "Un-Veiling Women's Rights in the 'War on Terrorism'". Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy. 9(211).

Rose V. Lindgren. 2002. "W. Men under the Taliban". *Humanist.* 62(4): 21.

ABSTRACT: Discusses *the restrictions on women's rights in Afghanistan under the Taliban. Afghan women's problem with the required wearing of the chadari, a traditional bridal gift from husband to wife; Assertion of the Taliban leaders about their policy for women; Factors that must be considered in evaluating culture as the basis for human rights.*

Ricardo Lobo. 2001. Behind the Veil: Afghan Women under Fundamentalism. Princeton, N. J: Films for the Humanities & Sciences.

Advocacy film highly critical depiction of human rights violation under Taliban regimes. Includes interviews, mainly with women. Actively promotes and uses emotional imagery for the Revolutionary Afghan Women's Association viewpoints, programs, and desire for a democratic Afghanistan. Largely useful for video presentation of information reported elsewhere in greater detail in text.

Catherine E. Polisi. 2004. "Universal Rights and Cultural Relativism Hinduism and Islam Deconstructed". World Affairs. 167(1): 41.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the connection between the application of cultural relativism to the human rights law and the degradation and marginalization of women in Hindu and Islamic societies. Examples of human rights*

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violations committed against women in Hindu and Islamic cultures; List of rights protected under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Information on the conditions of women in Afghanistan in 2003.

Zohra Rasekh, Heidi M. Bauer, M. Michele Manos and Vincent Iacopino. 1998. "Women's Health and Human Rights in Afghanistan". JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association. 280(5): 449.

ABSTRACT: Presents results of a cross-sectional survey of health and human rights concerns and conditions of women living in Kabul under the Taliban regime. Setting; Design; Participants; Main outcome measures; Results compared with Afghan women living in Pakistan; Land mines; Radical Islamic doctrine.

Study by Physicians for Human Rights comparing of women's situation in Kabul before and after the Taliban took over. Finds that women's health conditions were negatively effected by the civil war but still dramatically deteriorated as a result of Taliban rule. Detailed description of methodology and conclusions are not provided.

Benazeer Roshan. 2004. "The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same". Berkeley Women's Law Journal. 19(270).

ABSTRACT: *Highlights the continual plight of Afghan women and their current lack of security, mobility, and access to education and employment. Description of the life of women before the Taliban and under the Taliban regime; Plight of women under the transitional government of Afghanistan; Recommendations from human rights organizations on ways to improve the situation of Afghan women; Recommendation to strengthen and protect the rights of women in the Afghan Constitution.*

Comparison of the women's situation under Taliban and after the invasion with emphasis on the transition government. Critical of what it describes as unfulfilled promises of improvements. Summarizes recommendations for improvements, concentrating on constitutional reforms. Well organized summary and gateway to other detailed research.

Sima Wali. 2002. "Afghan Women: Recovering, Rebuilding". Ethics & International Affairs. 16(2): 15.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the life of women in Afghanistan. Actions taken by the Taliban movement; Background on the status of women in the country; Effect of the war on terrorism and its aftermath; ASpect of the effect of the September 11 terrorist attacks.*

Fairly short history of the impact on women of the rise of the Taliban and changes after the invasion. Does not go in to detail, but is a good historical overview.

Kathryn J. Webber. 2003. "The Economic Future of Afghan Women: The Interaction between Islamic Law and Muslim Culture". University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Economic Law. 24(959).

A legal review of what is allowed in under Islamic law and what is allowed by social norms. The article's conclusion is that oppressive social force and not Islamic law itself results in the economic oppression of Afghan Women.

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Operation Enduring Freedom

Lynn L. Amowitz, Chen Reis and Vincent Iacopino. 2002. "Maternal Mortality in Herat Province, Afghanistan, in 2002: An Indicator of Women's Human Rights". JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association. 288(10): 1284.

ABSTRACT: *Presents a study that assesses the maternal mortality and human rights issues in Herat, Afghanistan. Access to health care for women in Afghanistan; Statistics related to complications of pregnancy and childbirth; Consequences of Taliban restrictions on the rights of women; Study design, setting, and participants; Results and conclusion that women in most of the Herat Province have a high risk of maternal mortality and that human rights factors may contribute to preventable maternal deaths in the region.*

Minimalist reporting of health and human rights data relating to pregnant women. Study is specific to Herat province, which has a high maternal mortality rate with human rights concerns as a likely contributing factor. Provides solid data, but detailed description of methodology and conclusions are not provided.

Sultan N. and Gareth Wardell Barakat. 2004. "Exploited by Whom? An Alternative Perspective on Humanitarian Assistance to Afghan Women." Reconstructing War-Torn Societies: Afghanistan. Sultan N. Barakat. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Critical examination of treating efforts to help Afghan women as a separate issue in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Emphasizes how Afghan women view themselves and how this view contrasts with the simpler outside perspective. Makes recommendations on how best to work with Afghan women to improve their condition.

Daniel Consolatore. 2002. "What Next for the Women of Afghanistan?" *Humanist.* 62(3): 10.

ABSTRACT: *Interviews Tahmeena Faryal, U.S. envoy of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), a political and social service organization in Afghanistan with a mission to work for peace, freedom, democracy and women's rights. Ambivalence toward the arrival of the Northern Alliance; Opinion on whether the Afghan population in distrustful of U.S. motives in its involvement in the war in Afghanistan; Views on fundamentalism and human rights.*

Interview with Tahmeena Faryal the envoy to the U.S. of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) an indigenous Afghani women's right group. Critical of the Taliban, the Northern Alliance, and compromises on women's rights after the invasion. Superb primary source for RAWA views.

Zama Coursen-Neff, John Sifton and Human Rights Watch. 2002. ""We Want to Live as Humans": Repression of Women and Girls in Western Afghanistan". Human Rights Watch publications on Asia. 14(11): 50. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2002/afghnwmn1202/Afghnwmn1202. pdf.

ABSTRACT: *Describes continuing restrictions and violations of human rights faced by women and girls in Afghanistan one year after the fall of the Taliban. Focuses on the province of Herat under the rule of Ismail Khan. Makes recommendations to Afghan authorities and to the international community to promote human rights, including rights for women and girls.*

December 2002 report on condition of women's rights in post-Taliban Afghanistan. Gives a background and a detailed and wide ranging description of the particularly egregious situation in Herat province. Also contains policy critiques and recommendations for local, national, and international authorities.

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Krista Hunt. 2002. "The Strategic Co-Optation of Women's Rights". International Feminist Journal of Politics. 4(1): 116.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the media coverage and political discourse on the abuse suffered by Afghan women from the Taliban following the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Response of the United Nation to the issues of women prior to the attacks; Consequences with the representation of Afghan women as passive and oppressed; Implications for protecting the rights of women.*

Skeptical account of the use of women's rights to help justify the invasion of Afghanistan. Argues the rights of women are pursued only when they coincide with other U.S. interests. Critical of marginal improvements after the invasion. Focus is on analysis rather than providing data on current conditions.

RAWA

Anne E. Brodsky. 2003. With All Our Strength: The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. New York and London: Routledge.

ABSTRACT: *The book chronicles the history of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) and their battle for women's rights in Afghanistan. Through interviews with more than 100 members and supporters of RAWA, Brodsky reveals that principles behind their success. It tells how RAWA's innovative structure and strong spirit of community have allowed this remarkable organization to survive. "With All Our Strength is an ode to the resilience of Afghan women and a model for human rights organizations. As RAWA says in the foreword, "This is the only book that uses firsthand experiences to accurately portray Afghan women not as silent victims under the burqas but warriors who have bravely resisted all oppressive regimes and have changed their lives and the lives of many others".*

Sympathetic and terrifically detailed description of the Revolutionary Afghan Women's Association (RAWA), an indigenous and covert women's right groups. Condemns both Taliban and Northern Alliance as oppressive. Concentrates on describing the history dating to the 70s, membership, organization, and humanitarian and reform projects of the RAWA. Makes heavy use of interviews.

Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. http://rawa. false. net/.

Military Intervention

Lila Abu-Lughod. 2002. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others". American Anthropologist. 104(3): 783.

ABSTRACT: *This article explores the ethics of the current "War on Terrorism," asking whether anthropology, the discipline devoted to understanding and dealing with cultural difference, can provide us with critical purchase on the justifications made for American intervention in Afghanistan in terms of liberating, or saving, Afghan women. I look first at the dangers of reifying culture, apparent in the tendencies to piaster neat cultural icons like the Muslim woman over messy historical and political dynamics. Then, calling attention to the resonances of contemporary discourses on equality, freedom, and rights with earlier colonial and missionary rhetoric on Muslim women, I argue that we need to develop, instead, a serious appreciation of differences among women in the world-- as products of different histories, expressions of different circumstances, and manifestations of differently structured*

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desires. Further, I argue that rather than seeking to "save" others (with the superiority it implies and the violences it would entail) we might better think in terms of (1) working with them in situations that we recognize as always subject to historical transformation and (2) considering our own larger responsibilities to address the forms of global injustice that are powerful shapers of the worlds in which they find themselves. I develop many of these arguments about the limits of "cultural relativism" through a consideration of the burqa and the many meanings of veiling in the Muslim world.

Mary Anne Franks. 2003. "Obscene Undersides: Women and Evil between the Taliban and the United States". Hypatia. 18(1): 135.

ABSTRACT: *Proposes to supplement an American self-identity predicated on a model of absolute difference from the Taliban Muslim political group in Afghanistan. Affinities between the respective ideologies of the U.S. and the Taliban; Place of women within and through the preponderance of sexual exploitation or violence common to the two ideologies; Perceptions of the Taliban after the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S.*

Alicia Galea. 2001. "No Freedom for Afghan Women: The Taliban Hides Behind Religion to Control Its People". University of Detroit Mercy Law Review. 78(341).

Sonali Kolhatkar. 2002. "The Impact of U.S. Intervention on Afghan Women's Rights". Berkeley Women's Law Journal. 17(12).

ABSTRACT: *Comments on the impact of the U.S. intervention on the rights of women in Afghanistan. History of women's rights in the country; Information on the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan; Consequences of the intervention campaigns.*

Highly sympathetic profile of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) an indigenous women's right group in Afghanistan. Also includes a medium-depth critical history of pre- and post-9/11 U.S. involvement in Afghanistan and the often negative impact on women's rights. Calls for changing policy by listening to the RAWA.

Shannon Walsh. 2002. "A Blindfold of Compassion? Women as Pawns in the New War". Feminist Media Studies. 2(1): 153.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the effect of the war against terrorism announced by the U.S. government against those who planned the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on women. Irony involved in the idea that a military campaign will give back human dignity to women in Afghanistan; Justification of the war by using the compassion felt by women in the U.S. to the plight of Afghani women.*

State-Building

Helene Cixous; Drucilla Cornell; Susan J. Brison; Lee Chana Kai; Ruth Irupe Sanabria; Muriel Hasbun; Marita Sturken; Mary Pat Brady; Diana Taylor; Hannah Naveh; Carla Freccero; Janice Haaken; Susannah Radstone; Lydia Potts; Silke Wenk; Susan Winnett; Ranjana Khanna; Ivy Schweitzer and Miriam Cooke. 2002. "Roundtable: Gender and September 11". *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society.* 28(1): 431.

ABSTRACT: *Presents articles about the role of gender in the collapse of the World Trade Center in New York City during the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Inclusion of genders of the Twin Towers; Abuse of*

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women and children in Afghanistan; Gendered aspects of the attack; Afghan fighters' ideals of masculinity; Image of working-class masculinity of those who died in the attacks.

Wide ranging article that offers multiple feminist commentaries on post-9/11 issues. Several of the included articles are uncomfortable with the perceived adoption by the cause of Afghan women only after 9/11. Tends to be critical and dubious of military approach to improve rights and looks for alternatives.

Mark A. Drumbl. 2004. "Rights, Culture, and Crime: The Role of Rule of Law for the Women of Afghanistan". Colombia Journal of Transnational Law. 42(349.

Details the slow post-war moves towards providing justice for human rights violation against women. Harsh critique of Pashtunwali, a local system of laws, as a source of new violations. Includes recommendations on use and integration of international law to assist the process.

Amnesty International. 2003. Afghanistan: 'No One Listens to Us and No One Treats Us as Human Beings': Justice Denied to Women. Amnesty International. ASA 11/023/2003. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGASA110232003?open&of=ENG-AFG.

Review of the status of women in 2003, finds that promised improvements have not occurred. Gives a highly detailed breakdown by issue of the current status women and related recommendations. Finds that criminal justice system reform and expansion of policing offers an opportunity, but not a guarantee, of improvements.

Mariam Rawi. 2004. "Betrayal". *Reproductive Health Matters.* 12(23): 116.

Critique of women's right situation after the invasion. Attacks situation in areas under Karzai government and warlord control. Accuses the coalition of abandoning women's rights. Discusses steps by the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan to secure these rights. Few citations and limited data beyond anecdotes.

Asia United States. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central and Nonproliferation and Human Rights N. Y. I. N. H. N. Y. I. N. H. N. United States. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Terrorism. 2004. Afghanistan: Democratization and Human Rights on the Eve of Constitutional Loya Jirga. Washington: U. S. G. P. O.

Discusses the Afghan constitution on the eve of the first post-invasion gathering of Loya Jurga. Concerns are raised about protection of women's rights and whether provisions acknowledging Islam go too far. Mention is made of security problems outside of Kabul. State department and NGO officials are witnesses.

Guglielmo Verdirame. 2001. "Testing the Effectiveness of International Norms: Un Humanitarian Assistance and Sexual Apartheid in Afghanistan". Human Rights Quarterly. 23(3): 733.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the effectiveness of the international law on prohibiting discrimination against women in the context of sexual apartheid in Afghanistan. Provision of humanitarian assistance by the United Nations; Impact of international norms on the behavior of states; Consideration of the three levels of assistance.*

Technical and detailed examination the effectiveness of the attempts of international law and international norms to improve conditions for women in pre-invasion Afghanistan. Analyzes the actions of U.N. political organs,

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bureaucratic institutions, and humanitarian operations on the ground. Excellent source for a detailed understanding of the U.N. failure to achieve positive change.

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Chechnya[1]
by Kelley Laird

The root of animosity between Russians and Chechens extends for more than a century, beginning when Chechens opposed Russia's conquest of the Caucasus between 1818 and 1917. Tension reached an apex in the 1940s when Stalin deported thousands of Chechens to Siberia and East Asia in fear that they would collaborate with German Nazis.

However, most scholars would agree that the long-standing Russian-Chechen resentment truly exploded when Chechnya vied for autonomy as a separate Republic after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. In 1994 a war ensued between the Russian Federation and Chechnya after the Pro-Russian Chechen opposition failed to defeat the separatist regime. In August 1996 the Khasavyurt Agreement, a tentative peace accord, ended the hostilities and a peace treaty was signed between the elected President of Chechnya, Aslan Maskhadov, and Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. Still, the peace was impermanent and human rights abuses continued against Chechen citizens, both from Russian military and Chechen insurgents. The autonomy Chechnya seeks was never realized by those negotiations.

After the failure of talks, both the conflict and the discussion about what constitutes human rights abuses and terrorism have become increasingly polarized and volatile. New Chechen insurgent tactics include terrorist attacks on Russian citizens. These actions claim to respond to continued human rights abuses taking place in Chechnya and against Chechen refugees in neighboring Republics like Dagestan. In turn, the Russian Federation renewed attacks against Chechnya in 1999, citing a response to Chechen terrorism and organized crime.

In the wake of September 11, the United States recast a new focus on terrorism, leading other political actors to adopt or reject the new discourse of terrorism according to their objectives. All over the world, revolutionaries and insurgents have been renamed as terrorists, and many protracted ethnic and regional conflicts have been considered in new light. If Chechnya originally had international and even Russian public support for secession in the 1994 conflict, today Chechen suicide attacks sway worldwide and public opinions to support Russia 's war on Chechen terrorists.

Is Putin using riding this wave to further his suppression of Chechen secession? This, along with a number of other questions must be considered when examining the Russian-Chechen conflict. The articles in this database seek answers to these questions, along with elucidating other relevant information concerning this conflict, the politics, economics, cultural and social injustices behind it, as well as the complications surrounding future policy initiatives regarding Chechnya.

The Background to the Russo-Chechen Conflict

Information in this section describes the various factors influencing the outbreak of both Chechen wars, and will give the reader a good background to this protracted conflict.

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[1] This section has a supplement that begins on page S-2.

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Omar Ashour. 2004. "Security, Oil, and Internal Politics: The Causes of the Russo-Chechen Conflicts." Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. 27(2): 127.

Claims three variables caused the Russo-Chechen wars between 1994 and 1999: Russian national security interests, the value of the Caspian Oil pipeline, and Russian domestic politics all were primary factors causing war in Chechnya.

Stephen Blank. 1995. Russia's Invasion of Chechnya: A Preliminary Assessment. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Delves into the background of the Russo-Chechen war, analyzing whether this invasion was necessary, successful, and viable. Considers the future of Russo-Chechen relations.

Nicholas Dima. 1995. "Russia, the Caucasus, and Chechnya." Journal of Social Political and Economic Studies. 20(2): 151.

Background information regarding the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the war in Chechnya. Looks at possible solutions to geopolitical and ethnic conflicts, in addition to Russian public opinion on these topics.

John Dunlop. 2000. Chechnya Weekly. http://www. jamestown. org/publications_view. php?publication_id=1.

Chechnya Weekly presents coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2000 with Volume I, Chechnya Weekly is written by John Dunlop.

John B. Dunlop. 1998. Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Provides the background to the Russian invasion of Chechnya in December 1994, tracing events from 4,000 BC to the time of the invasion. The genocide and oppression endured by the Chechens under the communists is discussed, along with the convulsive revolution of 1991. Excellent unbiased historical account of roots of separatist conflict.

Ib Faurby. 2002. "International Law, Human Rights and the Wars in Chechnya." Baltic Defense Review. 7(1).

Discusses the implications of the two Russian-Chechen wars for international law and the observance of human rights in Chechnya. Describes causes of the conflict; types of violations committed; legal definitions of the most serious crimes.

Pavel Felgengauer. 1996. "A War Moscow Cannot Afford to Lose." Transition. 2(11).

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation against the West." Central Asian Survey. 19(3/4): 315.

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geoeconomic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

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Carlotta Gall and Thomas De Waal. 1998. Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus. New York: New York University Press.

Written by two Russian reporters, gives background into the Chechen/Russian feud dating back to 1944, as well as current roots of conflict. Suggests that Russian leaders failed to review the context of the past as relevant to civil conflict of 1994. Argues that then President Yeltsin failed to "capitalize on moderate position" of Chechen leader to institute peace.

Stanley Greene. 2003. Open Wound: Chechnya 1994-2003. London: Trolley.

Written from a position more favorable to Chechens, this book is a resource of photos documenting the human rights implications of the destruction of Grozny. Discusses fall of the Soviet Union and claims for Islamic freedom for Chechnya. Indicates the importance of oil in Chechnya as a telling factor in the continued conflict.

Greg Hansen and Robert Seely. 1996. War and Humanitarian Action in Chechnya. Providence, RI: The Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies.

Paul B. Henze. 1996. "Russia and the Caucasus." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 19(4): 389.

Describes history of Russian dominance in Caucasus, focusing particularly on the violence that began in 1994. Emphasizes that Russia must adopt coherent policies when dealing with the Caucasus, or the area will be unstable.

Dale R. Herspring. 2003. Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain, 2nd Expanded Edition. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

This is a highly recommended reading for understanding Russian domestic politics impacts political, economic, and social dimensions of the conflict in Chechnya.

James Hughes. 2001. "Chechnya: The Causes of a Protracted Post-Soviet Conflict." Civil Wars. 4(4): 11.

Examines the main explanations for the civil war in Chechnya, Russia in 1994. Background and causes of the Chechen conflict with discussion on the Russian strategies in Chechnya during the term of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Charles King. 2003. "Crisis in the Caucasus: A New Look at Russia's Chechen Impasse." Foreign Affairs. 82(2): 134.

Discusses Matthew Evangelista's book The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union? Argues that Chechen violence of the 90's was idiosyncratic. Explains Chechnya was an example for all Russian Republics, and discusses Putin's renaming of war in Chechnya along with Russia's support.

Stasys Knezys and Romanas Sedlickas. 1999. The War in Chechnya. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

This book discusses how Russia's superior military had to withdraw and give way to stalemated peace to Chechnya after the first two-year civil conflict. It ties the failure to the "strategy of

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ambush and military terrorist actions" by Chechen rebels. Its strength lies in the in-depth study of the war, it's phases, and the internal documents accompanying these phases.

Rajan Manan. 2000. "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War." *Foreign Affairs.* 79(2): 32

Argues that the Russian Federation's war with the breakaway Republic of Chechnya is indicative of much larger problems within the federation; Russia's practice of inflating reports of military success. Gives history of Russian relations with the Caucasus, Islamic influences in Caucasus, and the inadequacy of military solution in Chechnya.

N. V. Markelov. 2002. "Where Martial Plunder Prowls the Mountains." Russian Studies in History. 41(2): 21

Discusses the lessons to be learned from the Caucasus War and its link to Russia's problems with Chechnya. Reviews key issues of interest, analyzes pertinent topics and relevant issues, and connects the implications of the conflicts in the Caucasus with Russian history.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. Chechnya Revisited. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

International pressure for Russia to reach a peaceful solution in Chechnya was intense until September 11. However since then, Putin has convinced the West that the Chechen conflict was a fight against Islamic terrorists, and international pressure has waned since. Background on Russia's military involvement in Chechnya, and past, present and possible future implications are elaborated.

C. Cem Oguz. 2001. "Is Secessionism a Real Danger in the North Caucasus?" Review of International Affairs. 1(1): 53.

Explores the demographic and economic concerns of the North Caucasian regarding the war between Chechnya and Russia. Economic dependency of the North Caucasian republics on the center, and the legacy of the past in North Caucasian politics.

Scott Parrish. 1995. "A Turning Point in the Chechen Conflict." *Transition.* 1(13): 42.

Council on Foreign Relations. 2004. Chechnyan-Based Terrorists or Russian-Separatists. http://cfrterrorism. org/groups/chechens. html.

Describes the background to Russo-Chechen conflict, discussing Chechens as terrorists and citizens. Discusses the fight for independence since 1992 and Russia's response.

Stephen Shulman. 2001. "Justifying Forceful Resistance to Ethnic Separatism: The Case of Russia Versus Chechnya, 1994-96." European Security. 10(1): 107.

ABSTRACT*: Investigates state efforts to justify armed resistance to ethnic secessionism on the 1994-1996 war fought by Russia against Chechnya. Strategies of justification which Russia used against Chechnya; Discussion of mass response to forceful resistance to Chechen separatism; Effectiveness of government to justify forceful resistance to Chechen separatism.*

Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. Chechnya Weekly. http://www. jamestown. org/publications.

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Chechnya Weekly is the foundation's coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2003 with Volume IV, Chechnya Weekly is written by Lawrence A. Uzzell.

Prague Watchdog. 2000. Watchdog. http://www. watchdog. cz/.

Prague Watchdog is an online service that collects and disseminates information on the conflict in Chechnya, focusing on human rights, humanitarian aid conditions, media access and coverage, and the local political situation. It is generally sympathetic to Chechen cause.

The Russian Connection with the "War on Terror"

The documents here analyze Russia's links to terrorism, describing domestic terrorism in Russia perpetrated by Chechen insurgents, and reflecting on renaming the Russian-Chechen conflict as part of the global "War on Terror."

Amnesty International. 2003. Human Rights and Counter-Terrorism. IOR 41/004/2003. http://web. amnesty. org/library/engindex.

This document highlights the clash between conventional approaches to terrorism and upholding civil liberties and human rights.

Amnesty International. 2002. Russian Federation: Update on the Situation Regarding Chechens and in the Chechen Republic Following the October Hostage Taking Incident in Moscow. EUR 46/060/2002. http://web. amnesty. org/library/engindex.

Human rights abuses have been committed by both sides in this conflict. However, since the terrorist attacks on the Moscow theatre the situation for refugees, civilians still within Chechnya, and Chechens throughout the Russian Federation seems to have worsened.

Pavel K. Baev. 2004. "Instrumentalizing Counterterrorism for Regime Consolidation in Putin's Russia." Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. 27(4): 337.

Counterterrorism and Chechnya are different matters in Russian security policy. This article examines how the struggle against terrorism shapes essential features of Russia's domestic policies and international responses.

Stephen Blank. 2002. "Putin's Twelve-Step Program." *Washington Quarterly* 25 (1): 417.

Discusses the Russian strategy in responding to threats from terrorists, and explains Putin's 12-step policy program which includes "finishing the job" in Chechnya, and the need for more military control within to discipline the ranks as well as in the Chechen region to maintain security.

Stephen Blank. 2003. "An Ambivalent War: Russia's War on Terrorism." Small Wars and Insurgencies. 14(1): 127.

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Relations between the U.S. and Russia have grown closer since September 11, especially regarding international terrorism. However, Russia's approach to fighting international terrorism is sometimes ambivalent, and their military lacks the infrastructure to be "tough on terror."

Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul. 2001. "America's Real Russian Allies." Foreign Affairs. 80(6): 46.

Focuses on the supportive relations between Russia and the United States since the September 11. Discusses difficulties surrounding the democratization of Russia and American promotion of democracy. Discusses President Vladimir Putin's crusade against rebels in Chechnya and the importance of Russia as an ally in the War on Terror.

2000. "Counter-Terrorist Operation in Northern Caucasus: Main Lessons and Conclusions." Military Thought. 9(3): 6.

Assesses the counter-terrorist operations (CTO) of the combined military forces and units of Russian Federation in Northern Caucasus, Russia. Implications of the operation on the military ability to perform constitutional duty. Advantages of using coordinated forces in a CTO; factors influencing the difficulty in combating terrorists.

2003. "Dying for Independence." *Harvard International Law Review*. 25(2): 32.

Analyzes separatist movements and terrorist issues up to 2003 from Sri Lanka, Russian Caucasus and northern Spain. Discusses the success and failure of separatists in politics.

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation Against the West." Central Asian Survey. 19(3/4): 315.

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geo-economic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

Paul B. Henze. 1995. Islam in the North Caucasus: The Example of Chechnya. Santa Monica, CA: Rand, Inc.

Graeme P. Herd. 2000. "The Counter-Terrorist Operation in Chechnya: Information Warfare Aspects." The Journal for Slavic Military Studies. 13(4).

Charles W. Kegley. 1990. "Chapter One." International Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

A reader providing an analytic framework for understanding the nature of terrorism and its causes. It brings together 28 readings--five specially written for this volume--written from a range of viewpoints and providing a balance between descriptive and interpretative approaches.

Stasys Sedlickas & Romanas Knezys. 1999. The War in Chechnya. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

This book discusses how Russia's vastly superior military had to withdraw and give way to a stalemated peace to Chechnya after the first two-year civil conflict. It ties the failure to the guerilla tactics of Chechen rebels. The book's strength lies in the in-depth study of the war, it's phases, and the internal documents accompanying these phases.

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V. V. Kvachkov. 2000. "Special Operations: Basic Types and Forms." *Military Thought*. 9(5): 70.

Discusses the types, forms and methods of action by the Russian Armed Forces during special military operations. Differences between the antiterrorist operation by the Joint Force; Assessment of the antiterrorist operation in Northern Caucasus, Russia.

Gail W. Lapidus. 2002. "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya." Post-Soviet Affairs. 18(1): 41.

Examines Russian President Vladimir Putin's political backing behind the U.S. anti-terrorist campaign. Description on Putin's representations of the Chechen war; allegations of Chechen links with terrorism.

Gerard Libaridian. 2002. "A Reassessment of Regional Politics and International Relations in the South Caucuses." Iran and the Caucasus. 6(1/2): 237.

Focuses on regional politics and international relations in the Caucasus and Central Asia, following the September 11, 2001. Analyzes the impact of the terrorist attacks, and the attitude of citizens toward the international community. Discusses republics in south Caucasus that will be affected by the changes in the U.S. foreign relations with Iran and Russia.

Anatol Lieven. 2000. "Nightmare in the Caucasus." *Washington Quarterly*. 23(1): 145.

Focuses on the problems confronting Russia in concurrence with the proximity of the Caucasus to Chechnya. Impact of the failed peace settlement between Russia and Chechnya; Reason for the withdrawal of Russian control in Chechnya; Portrayal of Chechnya as an anarchical society; Influence of Islam on Chechen nationalism.

Rajan Manan. 2000. "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War." *Foreign Affairs*. 79(2): 32.

Argues that the Russian Federation's war with the breakaway Republic of Chechnya is indicative of much larger problems within the federation. Notes the Russian practice of inflating reports of military success. Gives history of Russian relations with the Caucasus, Islamic influences in Caucasus, and the inadequacy of military solution in Chechnya.

Stephen Lee Myers. 2002. "Russia Recasts Bog in Caucasus as War on Terror." *New York Times*. 152 (52262).

Reports on the violence in Chechnya, Russia. President Vladimir Putin has accused Georgia of sheltering what he calls Chechen and international terrorists. The article also details deadly clashes with rebels in Grozny

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. <u>Chechnya Revisited</u>. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

International pressure for Russia to reach a peaceful solution in Chechnya was intense until September 11. Since then, Putin has convinced the West that the Chechen conflict was a fight against Islamic terrorists, and international pressure has waned since. Background on Russia's military involvement in Chechnya, and past, present and possible future implications are elaborated.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "A Hotbed of Terrorism and Destabilisation" in Chechnya Revisited. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

This book chapter discusses terrorism and destabilization in the Chechnya break-away republic and also throughout Russia by Chechen rebels. It discusses Russia's policy implications, and continued insistence for assistance from the West for this "War on Terror" in Chechnya.

Boris Nikolin. 1998. "The Threat from the Caucasus." *Russian Social Science Review.* 39(4): 46.

Focuses on the potential threats to the national security and territorial integrity of Russia, relating to boundary disputes with Chechnya in the North Caucasus. Identifies these threats, and details the boundary disputes. Gives insight into an interview with former Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation General Pavel Grachev.

John O'Loughlin and Gearoid Tuathail. 2004. "Russian Geopolitical Storylines and Public Opinion in the Wake of 9-11: A Critical Geopolitical Analysis and National Survey." Communist and Post Communist Studies. 37(3): 281.

Examination of the Putin Administration's response in the aftermath of September 11. Equates Russia's war against Chechen terrorists with the U.S. attack on Al Qaeda. Made strong case for a Russian alliance with the U.S. against terrorists. Discusses two alternative storylines in opposition to Putin's response, and those who support all sides represented.

V. Ye. Pavlov and V. M. Azarov. 2000. "The Antiterrorist Operation in the Northern Caucasus: Main Lessons and Conclusions." Military Thought. 9(5): 5.

Focuses on the antiterrorist operation in Northern Caucasus, Russia. Missions performed by army aviation on orders of the Joint Armed Force commander; Organization of teamwork between army aviation and combined arms and artillery; Main shortfalls in airfield technical support; Command and control of army aviation subunits.

Michael Powelson. 2003. "U. S. Support for Anti-Soviet and Anti-Russian Guerrilla Movements and the Undermining of Democracy." Demokratizatsiya. 11(2): 297.

Explores the ways which the U.S. contributed to the spread of terrorism as it concerns the former Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. Support of the U.S. for terrorist groups; Role of U.S. -trained terrorists in Russia's conflict with Chechnya.

Council on Foreign Relations. 2004. Chechnyan-Based Terrorists or Russian-Separatists. http://cfrterrorism. org/groups/chechens. html.

Answers questions regarding basic background information to Russo-Chechan conflict, discussing Chechens as terrorists and as citizens; also discussing the fight for independence since 1992 and Russia's response.

John Russell. 2002. "Mujahedeen, Mafia, Madmen: Russian Perceptions of Chechens During the Wars in Chechnya, 1994-96 and 1999-2001." Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics. 18(1): 73.

Discusses the perception of the Russian public concerning the Russo-Chechen wars, and the way in which former President Boris Yeltsin and incumbent President Vladimir Putin used the

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war to their political advantage. Gives lessons learned by the government from the media during the war and the classification of Chechen insurgents.

Afanasy Sborov. 2002. "Russia Tries to Save the Caucasus from War." Current Digest of Post Soviet Press. 54(13): 13.

Reports on conflicts in the Caucasus, relevant political stakeholders and their actions to promote peace in the region, and discusses President Putin's need to stamp out terrorism in the regions.

Dianne L. Sumner. 2003. "Success of Terrorism in War: The Case of Chechnya." Chechnya Revisited. Yu. K. Nikolaev. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Discusses how the Chechen rebels have used terrorism to try to push their agenda in Chechen conflict; also discusses how Putin has used these actions to further his support for renewed aggression in Chechnya.

Celeste Wallander. 2003. "Silk Road, Great Game or Soft Underbelly? The New Us-Russia Relationship and Implications in Eurasia" in Strategic developments in Eurasia after September 11. Shireen Hunter. London and Portland, OR: 2004.

The impact of the U.S. war against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan brought Russia closer with the United States, and set it firmly on the path of security, political and economic integration with the West. Will the United States and Russia succeed in defeating terrorist networks in Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Caucasus?

Tariq Yasn. 2002. "Chechen Chagrin." *Harvard International Review.* 24(1): 6.

Reports the abuses of human rights among Caucasus in the Russian Federation, and the increase in conflict between the residents and the occupying Russian forces. Gives origin of the conflict, and a brief comparison between international war against terrorism.

Russia's Suppression of the Chechen Secession

This section examines Russia's reluctance to allow Chechen secession. Political and economic reasons for keeping Chechnya in the Russian Federation are cited.

Omar Ashour. 2004. "Security, Oil, and Internal Politics: The Causes of the Russo-Chechen Conflicts." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism.* 27(2): 127.

Claims three variables caused the Russo-Chechen wars between 1994 and 1999: Russian national security interests, the value of the Caspian Oil pipeline, and Russian domestic politics all were primary factors causing war in Chechnya.

Stephen J. Blank. 2002. "Putin's Twelve-Step Program." *Washington Quarterly.* 25(1): 147.

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Good discussion of Russian anti-terrorist strategy; including Putin's 12-step policy program which includes "finishing the job" in Chechnya. Of key interest is the need for more military control within to discipline the ranks as well as in the Chechen region to maintain security.

John Dunlop. 2000. Chechnya Weekly. http://www. jamestown. org/publications_view. php?publication_id=1.

Chechnya Weekly presents coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2000 with Volume I, Chechnya Weekly is written by John Dunlop.

Matthew Evangelista. 2003. The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union? Washington D. C. : Brookings Institution Press.

Author claims Yeltsin and the Kremlin used Chechnya as an example to prevent a separatist domino effect in Russia, and Putin has since used the rise of crime during the "uneasy armistice" for renewed aggression in Chechnya. Claims the reasons for Chechen violence in the 90's stem from elite personality clashes and initiatives on either side of the conflict.

James Hughes. 2001. "Chechnya: The Causes of a Protracted Post-Soviet Conflict." *Civil Wars*. 4(4): 11.

Examines the main explanations for the civil war in Chechnya, Russia in 1994. Background and causes of the Chechen conflict with discussion on the Russian strategies in Chechnya during the term of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Charles King. 2003. "Crisis in the Caucasus: A New Look at Russia's Chechen Impasse." Foreign Affairs. 82(2): 134.

Discusses Matthew Evangelista's book The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union? while purporting the idea that Chechen violence of the 90's "concerns idiosyncrasies of individual personalities and collective decision-making." Explains Chechnya was an example for all Russian Republics, and discusses Putin's renaming of war in Chechnya along with Russia's support.

N. V. Markelov. 2002. "Where Martial Plunder Prowls the Mountains." Russian Studies in History. 41(2): 21.

Discusses the lessons to be learned from the Caucasus War and its link to Russia's problems with Chechnya. Reviews key issues of interest, analyzes pertinent topics and relevant issues, and connects the implications of the conflicts in the Caucasus with Russian history.

Michael McFaul. 1997-1998. "A Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy." International Security. 22(3): 5

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. Chechnya Revisited. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

International pressure for Russia to reach a peaceful solution in Chechnya was intense until 9-11. After 9-11, Putin finally convinced the West that the Chechen conflict was a fight against Islamic

terrorists, and international pressure has waned since. Background on Russia's military involvement in Chechnya, and past, present and possible future implications are elaborated.

Boris Nikolin. 1998. "The Threat from the Caucasus." *Russian Social Science Review.* 39(4): 46.

Focuses on the potential threats to the national security and territorial integrity of Russia, relating to boundary disputes with Chechnya in the North Caucasus. Identifies these threats, and details the boundary disputes. Gives insight into an interview with former Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation General Pavel Grachev.

C. Cem Oguz. 2001. "Is Secessionism a Real Danger in the North Caucasus?" Review of International Affairs. 1(1): 53.

Explores the demographic and economic concerns of the North Caucasian regarding the war between Chechnya and Russia. Economic dependency of the North Caucasian republics on the center, and the legacy of the past in North Caucasian politics.

Martha Brill Olcott. 1998. "The Caspian's False Promise." *Foreign Policy.* (111): 94.

The discovery of billions of dollars of energy wealth has put the Caspian Sea back on the map. Yet for most of the region's inhabitants, the oil boom has so far been more of a bust. It is also sparking developments that threaten to turn all of Central Asia into a zone of instability and crisis.

Council on Foreign Relations. 2004. Chechnyan-Based Terrorists or Russian-Separatists. http://cfrterrorism. org/groups/chechens. html.

Answers questions regarding basic background information to Russo-Chechan conflict, discussing Chechens as terrorists, and as citizens; also discussing the fight for independence since 1992 and Russia's response.

Afanasy Sborov. 2002. "Russia Tries to Save the Caucasus from War." Current Digest of Post Soviet Press. 54(13): 13.

Reports on conflicts in the Caucasus, relevant political stakeholders and their actions to promote peace in the regions, and discusses President Putin's need to stamp out terrorism in the region.

Stephen Shulman. 2001. "Justifying Forceful Resistance to Ethnic Separatism: The Case of Russia Versus Chechnya, 1994-96." European Security. 10(1): 6.

Investigates state efforts to justify armed resistance to ethnic secessionism on the 1994-1996 war fought by Russia against Chechnya. Strategies of justification which Russia used against Chechnya; Discussion of mass response to forceful resistance to Chechen separatism; Effectiveness of government to justify forceful resistance to Chechen separatism.

Dianne L. Sumner. 2003. "Success of Terrorism in War: The Case of Chechnya." Chechnya Revisited. Yu. K. Nikolaev. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Discusses how the Chechen rebels have used terrorism to try to push their agenda in Chechen conflict; also discusses how Putin has used these actions to further his support for renewed aggression in Chechnya.

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Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. <u>Chechnya Weekly</u>. http://www. jamestown. org/publications.

> Chechnya Weekly is the foundation's coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2003 with Volume IV, Chechnya Weekly is written by Lawrence A. Uzzell.

Legal and Illegal Measures Towards an Independent Chechnya

Documents primarily analyze Chechen roles as freedom fighters, terrorists, victims, citizens, and politicians, and how the fight for independence manifests differently for Chechens. Reflects on relevant documents and events produced and perpetuated by Chechens.

John Arquilla and Theodore Karasik. 1999. "Chechnya: A Glimpse of Future Conflict?" Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. 22(3): 207-230.

> "Netwar"--a mode of conflict engaged in by networked, nonstate actors--is associated with social activism, terror and crime. The recent war in Chechnya shows how netwar can be used in ways to confront the larger conventional forces of nationstates. The Chechens employed a range of activities, from social activism to terror to complement their military netwar.

Francis Boyle. 2001. "Chechen Foreign Minister's Letter to the International Court of Justice." Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs. 21(1): 165-171.

> Presents a letter from Chechen Republic of Ichkeria foreign minister Ilyas Akhmadov to the International Court of Justice regarding the independence of the republic upon the dissolution of the former Soviet Union.

2003. "Dying for Independence." *Harvard International Law Review*. 25(2): 32.

Analyzes separatist movements and terrorist issues up to 2003 from Sri Lanka, Russian Caucasus and northern Spain. Discusses the success and failure of separatists in politics.

Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia/Chechnya: A Legacy of Abuse. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/1997/russia2/.

> Tensions between Russia and Chechnya are likely to remain, especially because the Khasavyurt agreements, which ended the war, did not resolve Chechnya's legal status, but postponed until December 31, 2001. Chechnya faces the challenge of creating state institutions that protect the rights of all its citizens, yet it's criminal conduct code is not on par.

1994. International Law: Chechnya Constitution 1992. Available through the Washburn University School of Law Library at http://www. oefre. unibe. ch/law/icl/cc01000_. html.

> A record of the constitution formulated by the Chechen Republic in 1992. Discusses *inter alia* the formation of Independent Chechen Republic, specifies respect for human rights, autonomy over resource use and management, and the right to self-determination primarily.

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2003. International Law: Chechnya Constitution 2003. Available through the Washburn University School of Law Library at http://www. oefre. unibe. ch/law/icl/cc00000_. html.

A record of the new constitution formulated by the Chechen Republic in 2002-2003.

2004. International Law: Chechnya Index. Available through the Washburn University School of Law Library at http://www. washlaw. edu/forint/asia/chechnya. htm.

Explains how Chechen Republic Administrators attempted to rewrite the constitution and hold a referendum in 2002, but shows how the Kremlin disagreed with part of the new constitution, thus slowing the process of referenda until 2003. Suggests referendum should not be upheld, as voters were intimidated and human rights abuses were recorded during voting process.

Anne Speckhard; Nadejda Tarabrina and Valery Krasnov. 2004. "Observations of Suicidal Terrorists in Action." Terrorism and Political Violence. 16(2): 305-328.

Hostage-taking coupled with suicidal terrorism is new, played out in a Moscow theater in late October 2002. Forty armed Chechen terrorists announced to 800 plus hostages that the event was a suicide mission. Suicidal terrorists are rarely observed in action. An American psychologist collaborated with Russian colleagues to collect interviews from the hostages.

Dianne L. Sumner. 2003. "Success of Terrorism in War: The Case of Chechnya." Chechnya Revisited. Yu. K. Nikolaev. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Discusses how the Chechen rebels have used terrorism to try to push their agenda in Chechen conflict; also discusses how Putin has used these actions to further his support for renewed aggression in Chechnya.

Prague Watchdog. 2000. Watchdog. http://www. watchdog. cz/.

Prague Watchdog is an on-line service that collects and disseminates information on the conflict in Chechnya, focusing on human rights, humanitarian aid conditions, media access and coverage, and the local political situation. It is generally sympathetic to Chechen cause.

Russian Public Opinions on Chechens, The War and Terrorism

The information in this section elucidates Russian public opinions of Chechnya, the Chechen wars, and terrorism both before and after the first and second war, and since September 11, 2001.

Theodore P. Gerber and Sarah E. Mendelson. 2002. "Russian Public Opinion on Human Rights and the War in Chechnya." *Post Soviet Affairs*. 18(4): 271-306

Analyzes a survey on how Russians view human rights and the conflict in Chechnya. Discusses support for human rights; indifference to threats to human rights and censorship; views on Chechnya.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "A Hotbed of Terrorism and Destabilisation." Chechnya Revisited. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

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This book chapter discusses terrorism and destabilization in the Chechnya break-away republic and also throughout Russia by Chechen rebels. It discusses Russia's policy implications, and continued insistence for assistance from the West for this "War on Terror" in Chechnya.

John O'Loughlin and Gearoid Tuathail. 2004. "Russian Geopolitical Storylines and Public Opinion in the Wake of 9-11: A Critical Geopolitical Analysis and National Survey." Communist and Post Communist Studies. 37(3): 281.

Examination of the Putin Administration's response in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks equating Russia's war against Chechen terrorists with U.S. attack on Al Qaeda. Made strong case for a Russian alliance with the U.S. against terrorists. Discusses two alternative storylines in opposition to Putin's response, and those who support all sides represented.

John Russell. 2002. "Exploitation in Islamic Factor in Russian-Chechen Conflict Before and After September 11th." European Security. 11(4): 96-120.

Examines the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the Islamic factor in the Russo-Chechen war. Role of the Russian media in maintaining and consolidating public support for the conflict in Chechnya during the second war; Information on the shifts in Russian popular attitudes toward the war.

John Russell. 2002. "Mujahedeen, Mafia, Madmen: Russian Perceptions of Chechens During the Wars in Chechnya, 1994-96 and 1999-2001." Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics. 18(1): 73-97.

Discusses the perception of the Russian public concerning the Russo-Chechen wars, and the way in which former President Boris Yeltsin and incumbent President Vladimir Putin used the war to their political advantage. Gives lessons learned by the government from the media during the war and the classification of Chechen insurgents.

2004. "Sociologists: Acts of Terrorism Are Intensifying Russian's Negative Feelings toward People from Caucasus; When Polled, Most Russians Say Such People Should Be Kept out of Russia." Current Digest of Post Soviet Press. 56(6): 6-11.

Discusses the increasingly negative attitudes Russian society has toward the Caucasus regarding terrorism in Russia. Discusses deporting terrorists out of Russia.

Alexander Verkhovsky. 2004. "Who Is the Enemy Now? Islamophobia and Antisemitism among Russian Orthodox Nationalists before and after September 11." Patterns of Prejudice. 38(2): 127-134.

This article discusses Russian Orthodox nationalist groups and the intense debates on how to rename Islamic fundamentalism. Previously, Islam was not a focused enemy like the West, but opinions have shifted in the wake of September 11 toward incorporating Islamic fundmentalists as enemies to the Russian Orthodox tradition.

Charlotte Wagnusson. 2000. Russian Political Language and Public Opinion on the West, Nato and Chechnya Securitisation Theory Reconsidered. Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Dept. of Political Science.

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Russian Relations with International Actors Regarding Chechnya

Documents in this section are all linked with international opinions mostly regarding the current Russian-Chechen conflict. Some go into policy recommendations, while others decry human rights violations, but all give an interesting picture of various international actors' support or outrage rage regarding Chechnya.

Amnesty International. 2000. 2001 U.N. Commission on Human Rights: Bridging the Gap between Rights and Realities. IOR 41/014/2000. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGIOR410142000?open&of=ENG-RUS.

Discusses the failure due to lack of funding of the National Public Commission that Russia set up to appease international actors during the 2000 U.N. Commission, as well as problems of the Office of the Special Representative of the President on Human Rights and Freedoms. Calls for these organizations to be strengthened and for Russia to be more accountable.

Amnesty International. 2001. Amnesty International: 57th Un Commission on Human Rights (2001). IOR 42/002/2001. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGIOR420022001?open&of=ENG-RUS.

Reports on Amnesty International's global concerns. Urges the U.N. to pass a resolution of "serious concern" regarding human rights abuses by all parties in Chechnya with special request of Russian Federation to take steps to halt these abuses and to follow through on last year's resolutions. Also calls for international inquiry committee to examine abuses.

2000. Chechnya: Implications for Russia, and the Caucus. Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, First Session, November 4, 1999.

2000. Chechnya: The Politics of Terror. Doctors Without Borders. http://www. doctorswithoutborders. org/publications/reports/2000/chechnya_11-2000. html.

A report describing the humanitarian actions Doctors Without Border took upon the request from the Council of Europe.

1995. Crisis in Chechnya: Hearings before the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, One Hundred Fourth Session.

2003. The Critical Human Rights and Humanitarian Situation in Chechnya: Briefing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe- 108th Congress 1st Session.

2003. Current Situation and Future of Chechnya.

1995. Hearing on Chechnya: Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, One Hundred Fourth Session.

2002. Russian Federation: Failure to Protect or Punish: Human Rights Violations and Impunity in Chechnya. EUR 46/004/2002. http://web. amnesty. org/library/engindex.

Decries the Chechen conflict in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and calls for Russian government officials to investigate abuses committed by Russian military. Describes

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forced disappearances, village clean-ups, and arson along with other rights violations committed by both sides.

Stephen Blank. 1995. Russia's Invasion of Chechnya: A Preliminary Assessment. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Delves into the background of the Russo-Chechen war, and analyzes whether this invasion was necessary, successful, and viable. Considers the future of Russo-Chechen relations.

Leszek Buszynski. 2003. "Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2002." Asian Survey. 43(1): 15.

Discussion of Putin's initial economic and political policies and mandates as President. Discusses his "turn to the West," and how it has decentralized Russia's control over situations in the Caucasus and Central Asia, resulting in declining control in these areas.

John O. Cerone. 2001. "Legal Constraints on the International Community's Responses to Gross Violations of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law in Kosovo, East Timor, and Chechnya." Human Rights Review. 2(4): 19.

Examines the legal constraints on the international community's responses to gross violations of human rights and humanitarian law in Kosovo, East Timor and Chechnya. Nature of the international legal system; Relevant provisions of human rights and humanitarian law; Legal constraints and available remedies.

S. Chugrov. 2000. "Russian Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Conflicted Culture and Uncertain Policy." Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy. Tokyo, New York and Paris: United Nations University Press.

Analyzes Russia's foreign policy as a two-level system where both foreign and domestic factors should be identified. Argues that most states don't want to raise human rights standards over traditionally greater concerns like security and economics. Uses culture clashes in Russia as a main reason for the uncertainty in its foreign policy.

Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul. 2001. "America's Real Russian Allies." Foreign Affairs. 80(6): 46.

Focuses on the supportive relations between Russia and the United States since September 11. Discusses difficulties surrounding the democratization of Russia; U.S. promotion of democracy. Discusses President Vladimir Putin crusade against rebels in Chechnya, and the importance of Russia as an ally in the war against terrorism.

Rachel Denber. 1997. Russia/Chechnya: Report to the 1996 OSCE Review Conference. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/summaries/s. russia96n. html.

This report identifies the failure of Russia and Chechnya to fully comply with the Code of Military Conduct, which was adopted by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) before the Chechen war broke in 1994. Also updates the current status of human rights violations in Chechnya. Insists that action should be taken.

John Dunlop. 2000. Chechnya Weekly. http://www. jamestown. org/publications_view. php?publication_id=1.

Chechnya Weekly presents coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2000 with Volume I, Chechnya Weekly is written by John Dunlop.

Ib Faurby. 2002. "International Law, Human Rights and the Wars in Chechnya." Baltic Defense Review. 7(1): 103.

Discusses the implications of the two Russian-Chechen wars for international law and the observance of human rights in Chechnya. Describes causes of the conflict; types of violations committed; legal definitions of the most serious crimes.

Rick Fawn. 2002. "Correcting the Incorrigible? Russia's Relations with the West over Chechnya." Journal of Communist Studies & Transition Politics. 18(1): 3.

Evaluates the ability of the Council of Europe to change the policy of Russia toward its conflict with Chechnya. Russian perceptions of the Council of Europe; reaction of Russian officials to the urges of the Council of Europe against its use of violence against Chechnya.

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation against the West." Central Asian Survey. 19(3/4): 315

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geoeconomic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

Greg Hansen and Robert Seely. 1996. War and Humanitarian Action in Chechnya. Providence, RI: The Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies.

Eric A. Heinze and Douglas A. Borer. 2002. "The Chechen Exception: Rethinking Russia's Human Rights Policy." Politics. 22(2): 86.

Russia's adherence to emerging international human rights is commonly judged by the human rights disaster in Chechnya. Contested are the notions that human rights abuses in Chechnya fully illustrate Russia's stance on international human rights. Suggests that Chechnya is an exceptional case, and that Russia has brought human rights standards in line with the West.

Graeme P. Herd. 2002. "The Russo-Chechen Information Warfare and 9/11: Al-Qaeda through the South Caucasus Looking Glass?" European Security. 11(4): 110.

Focuses on the Russo-Chechen information warfare. Peacetime and wartime applications of the Information Security Doctrine in 2000; Impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the foreign policy of Russia; Factors that drive the information warfare.

Dale R. Herspring. 2003. Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain, 2nd Expanded Edition. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

This is highly recommended reading for understanding how Russian domestic politics impacts political, economic, and social dimensions of the conflict in Chechnya.

Pamela A. Jordan. 2003. "Russia's Accession to the Council of Europe and Compliance with European Human Rights Norms." Demokratizatsiya. 11(2): 271.

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Examines the reasons that allow the Russian Federation to enter the Council of Europe in 1996. Compliance with entrance requirements and human rights norms; Assurances made by Russia. Discussion on the political dialogue over human rights violations in Chechnya.

Mark N. Katz. 2004. "Saudi-Russian Relations since 9/11." *Problems of Post-Communism.* 51(2): 3.

This article examines the evolution of Saudi-Russian relations since September 11 focusing in particular on Chechnya and the Saudi role in the "global war on terrorism." Some analysts argue that the recent improvement in Saudi-Russian relations heralds the beginning of something akin to an alliance.

Gail W. Lapidus. 2002. "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya." Post-Soviet Affairs. 18(1): 41-9.

Examines Russian President Vladimir Putin's political backing behind the U.S. anti-terrorist campaign. Description on Putin's representations of the Chechen war; allegations of Chechen links with terrorism.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "Beyond Chechnya: Some Options for Russia and the West." Chechnya Revisited. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Includes a chapter discussing Russia's relations with the West regarding Chechnya and options for policy and diplomacy.

P. & Giragosian Pavillionis, R. 1996. "The Great Game." Harvard International Review. 19(1): 24-32.

Investigates Russia's foreign relations with the former Soviet republics, focusing on conflicts over the energy resources in the former Soviet South, Central Asia and Caucasus. Discusses Russian control of the former Soviet republics' economic development and trade.

Michael Powelson. 2003. "U. S. Support for Anti-Soviet and Anti-Russian Guerrilla Movements and the Undermining of Democracy." Demokratizatsiya. 11(2): 297.

Explores the ways in which the U.S. contributed to the spread of terrorism as it concerns the former Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. Support of the U.S. for terrorist groups; Role of U.S. -trained terrorists in Russia's conflict with Chechnya.

International Federation for Human Rights. 2001. Both Parties to the Conflict in Chechnya Continue to Commit Serious Violations. International Federation for Human Rights. http://www. fidh. org/article. php3?id_article=1402.

Describes both parties human rights abuses towards Chechens, but especially the Russian Federation's tenuous accountability in the prosecution of perpetrators of human rights abuses on both sides. Calls for the European Parliament to take serious action in ensuring Russia is committed to ending the Chechen conflict.

International Federation of Human Rights. 2002. Chechnya, Terror and Impunity: A Planned System. International Federation of Human Rights. http://www. fidh. org/article. php3?id_article=1796.

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Decries the ongoing two year conflict to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, and calls for member countries to insist Russian government officials commit to investigations of ongoing abuses committed by Russian military. Calls on Russia to stop citing terrorist threats as an excuse for military human rights abuses in Chechnya.

International Federation of Human Rights. 2001. The War in Chechnya: The Council of Europe Must Reinforce Its Pressure on Russia and Demand Political Negotiations. International Federation of Human Rights. http://www. fidh. org/article. php3?id_article=1379.

Calls for Council of Europe to pressure Russian Federation to first follow up on charges of human rights abuses committed and sanctioned by Russian Federation. Points out Russia's culpability and hypocrisy in human rights abuses in Chechnya; even as it has passed resolutions to work for peace human rights abuses still occur.

Afanasy Sborov. 2002. "Russia Tries to Save the Caucasus from War." Current Digest of Post Soviet Press. 54(13): 13.

Reports on conflicts in the Caucasus, relevant political stakeholders and their actions to promote peace in the regions, and discusses President Putin's need to stamp out terrorism in the regions.

Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. Chechnya Weekly. http://www. jamestown. org/publications.

Chechnya Weekly is the foundation's coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2003 with Volume IV, Chechnya Weekly is written by Lawrence A. Uzzell.

Human Rights Watch. 1995. Helsinki Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/1995/Russia. htm.

Describes the indiscriminate bombing and shelling of civilians and their property in Grozny. Applauds Western Europe's quick response denouncing these actions, while urging Boris Yeltsin to condemn these attacks and follow through to punish those responsible.

Human Rights Watch. 2000. Russia/Chechnya: "No Happiness Remains," Civilian Killings, Pillage and Rape in Alkhan-Yurt, Chechnya. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2000/russia_chechnya2/.

Describes the human rights abuses at Alkhan-Yurt including looting, rape, and murder of civilians and their property. Discusses Russia's responsibility to act in accordance with Protocol II of the Geneva Convention and with the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms which Russia has ratified.

Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia/Chechnya: A Legacy of Abuse. http://www. hrw. org/reports/1997/russia2/.

Tensions between Russia and Chechnya are likely to remain, especially because the Khasavyurt agreements, which ended the war, did not resolve Chechnya's legal status, but postponed until December 31, 2001. Chechnya faces the challenge of creating state institutions that protect the rights of all its citizens, yet it's criminal conduct code is not on par.

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Human Rights Watch. 2002. Russia/Chechnya: Swept Under: Torture, Forced Disappearances, and Extra-Judicial Killings During Sweep Operations in Chechnya. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2002/russchech/.

Human Rights Watch decries the continued human rights abuses in Chechnya committed by the Russian military. Calls for the international community to establish an independent monitoring committee to investigate human rights abuses, and for international actors to track these abuses and apply pressure on Russian Federation to reform.

Paul Wood. 2001. "The Pursuit of 'Terrorists' in Chechnya: Blood on Whose Hands?" Human Rights Review. 2(3): 128.

Examines if the Russian army were indeed guilty of human rights abuses, the nature of abuses and whether the military and political leadership could have chosen different methods. Evidence of human rights violations documented in Chechnya stem from tactics adopted by the Russian state; basis of the main Western allegation of human rights abuses.

Refugees from Chechnya

Documents here reveal the dire circumstances of the internally displaced people who have had to flee their homes in the midst of this conflict, describing their plight, problems, and probable futures as refugees.

Amnesty International. 2002. The Russian Federation: Denial of Justice. EUR 46/046/2002. http://web. amnesty. org/library/engindex.

This report points to serious violations of international human rights by Russian law enforcement and security forces; it emphasizes the obstacles faced by victims, particularly women, children and ethnic minorities, in obtaining justice. Accounts for the dramatic changes in the political, economic and legal systems of the Russian Federation and discusses impact.

Amnesty International. 2003. Russian Federation:The Chechen Conflict: Crimes against Civilians Continue Unchecked. EUR 01/016/2003. http://web. amnesty. org/library/engindex.

Describes the current state of crises in Chechnya by discussing continued human rights abuses like forced disappearances and torture from both sides. Claims that violence has now spread into neighboring areas where many refugees have fled. Discusses the referendum for a new constitution, and obvious signs of vote rigging.

Johanna Nichols. 2000. "The Chechen Refugees." *Berkley Journal of International Law.* 18(2): 241-260.

Interesting look at Russian human rights abuses against Chechens during first war, which caused mass migration and displacement. Describes the refugee population and the conditions refugees live in after the war. Gives civilian toll during the 1994 to 1996 war between Russia and Chechnya.

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Robert Bruce Ware and Enver Kisriev. 1998. "After Chechnya: At Risk in Dagestan." *Politics*. 18(1): 39.

Population displacements in the aftermath of the Chechen conflict undermine a complex political balance existing among the numerous ethnic groups in the neighboring Republic of Dagestan. The destabilisation of Dagestan threatens to bring ethnic conflict to virtually the only state in the Caucasus to have avoided it thus far.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. Into Harm's Way: Forced Return of Displaced People to Chechnya. http://hrw. org/reports/2003/russia0103/.

Documents new attempts on the part of Russian government to force internally displaced persons living in Ingushetia back to Chechnya, and also looks at continued human rights violations by both sides within Chechen borders. Encourages the international community to prevent Russia from forcing refugees to return to an unsafe home.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. Spreading Despair: Russian Abuses in Ingushetia. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2003/russia0903/.

The deteriorating security situation in Ingushetia shows compelling pressure on part of Russian Federation and pro-Kremlin Chechen government to force Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to return to Chechnya. Ingushetia has suffered many of the same human rights abuses as Chechnya due to its harboring of IDPs.

Russia's Future in Chechnya

These articles and books consider future policy initiatives in Chechnya, and what their prospects for Chechen autonomy may be.

Stephen Blank. 1995. Russia's Invasion of Chechnya: A Preliminary Assessment. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Delves into the background of the Russo-Chechen war, and analyzes whether this invasion was necessary, successful, and viable. Considers the future of Russo-Chechen relations.

Stephen J. Blank. 2002. "Putin's Twelve-Step Program." *Washington Quarterly*. 25(1): 147.

Good discussion of Russian anti-terrorist strategy; including Putin's 12-step policy program which includes "finishing the job" in Chechnya. Of key interest is the need for more military control within to discipline the ranks as well as in the Chechen region to maintain security.

Nicholas Dima. 1995. "Russia, the Caucasus, and Chechnya." Journal of Social Political and Economic Studies. 20(2): 151.

Background information regarding the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the war in Chechnya. Looks at possible solutions to geopolitical and ethnic conflicts, in addition to Russian public opinion on these topics.

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John Dunlop. 2000. Chechnya Weekly. http://www. jamestown. org/publications_view. php?publication_id=1.

Chechnya Weekly presents coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2000 with Volume I, Chechnya Weekly is written by John Dunlop.

Pavel Felgengauer. 1996. "A War Moscow Cannot Afford to Lose." *Transition*. 2(11): 28-31.

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation against the West." Central Asian Survey. 19(3/4): 315.

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geo-economic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

Paul B. Henze. 1996. "Russia and the Caucasus." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism.* 19(4): 389.

Describes history of Russian dominance in Caucasus, focusing particularly on the violence that took off in 1994. Emphasizes that Russia must adopt coherent policies when dealing with the Caucasus or the area will destabilize.

Dale R. Herspring. 2003. Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain. 2nd Expanded Edition. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

This is highly recommended reading for understanding Russian domestic politics impacts political, economic, and social dimensions of the conflict in Chechnya.

Stasys Knezys and Romanas Sedlickas. 1999. The War in Chechnya. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

This book discusses how Russia's vastly superior military had to withdraw and give way to a stalemated peace to Chechnya after the first two-year civil conflict. It ties the failure to the guerilla tactics of Chechen rebels. It's strength lies in the in-depth study of the war, it's phases, and the internal documents accompanying these phases.

Miriam Lanskoy. 2000. "When Personalities Clash: Assessing the 1994-1996 Russian-Chechen War." Nationalities Papers. 28(3): 579.

Reviews the books Russia Confronts Chechnya: The Roots of a Separatist Conflict by John B. Dunlop, Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus by Carlotta Gall and Thomas de Waal, and The War in Chechnya by Stasys Knezys and Romanas Sedlickas.

Rajan Manan. 2000. "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War." *Foreign Affairs.* 79(2): 32.

Argues that the Russian Federation's war with the breakaway Republic of Chechnya is indicative of much larger problems within the federation. Russian practice of inflating reports of military success. Gives history of Russian relations with the Caucasus, Islamic influences in Caucasus, and the inadequacy of military solution in Chechnya.

Michael McFaul. 1995. "Eurasia Letter: Russian Politics after Chechnya." *Foreign Policy.* (99): 149.

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Michael McFaul. 1997-1998. "A Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy." International Security. 22(3): 5.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "Beyond Chechnya: Some Options for Russia and the West." in Chechnya Revisited. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Includes a chapter discussing Russia's relations with the West regarding Chechnya and options for policy and diplomacy.

Boris Nikolin. 1998. "The Threat from the Caucasus." *Russian Social Science Review.* 39(4): 46.

Focuses on the potential threats to the national security and territorial integrity of Russian, relating to boundary disputes with Chechnya in the North Caucasus. Identifies these threats, and details the boundary disputes. Gives insight into an interview with former Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation General Pavel Grachev.

International Federation of Human Rights. 2002. Chechnya, Terror and Impunity: A Planned System. International Federation of Human Rights. http://www. fidh. org/article. php3?id_article=1796.

Decries the ongoing two year conflict to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, and calls for member countries to insist Russian government officials commit to investigations of ongoing abuses committed by Russian military. Calls on Russia stop citing terrorist threats as an excuse for military human rights abuses in Chechnya.

Dmitri V. Trenin, Aleksia V. Malashenko and Anatol Lieven. 2004. Russia's Restless Frontier: The Chechnya Factor in Post-Soviet Russia. Washington, D. C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Distributor, Brookings Institution Press.

In Russia's Restless Frontier, the authors examine the implications of the war with Chechnya for Russia's post-Soviet evolution. Considering Chechnya's impact on Russia's military, domestic politics, foreign policy, and ethnic relations, the authors contend that the Chechen factor must be addressed before Russia can continue its development

Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. Chechnya Weekly. http://www. jamestown. org/publications.

Chechnya Weekly is the foundation's coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2003 with Volume IV, Chechnya Weekly is written by Lawrence A. Uzzell.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. The 'Dirty War' in Chechnya: Forced Disappearances, Torture, and Summary Executions. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2001/chechnya/.

While fighting in Chechnya has ceased, forced disappearances continue. Little inquiry has been done by Russian Federation, and this report highlights disappearances. It also advises Russia to act according to 1992 U.N. General Assembly's Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Disappearances.

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Colombia
by Travis Ning

The events of September 11 continued of the pattern of redefinition in the conflict in Colombia. The complex war of today actually began decades ago as a small political struggle, which has gradually developed into a large-scale civil war. The continuation and growth of civil strife in Colombia witnessed the emergence of several organized anti-government guerrilla movements. Some of these groups have since been defeated or have integrated themselves into the recognized political system. Others have continued to violently challenge Colombian government authority. Currently, the two most significant anti-government insurgency groups are the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN). These guerrilla groups seek profound economic and political revolution that threatens the Colombian government as well as the existing social structure of the country. To address the specific concerns of the economic elite paramilitary forces have formed with the purpose of combating the guerrilla groups. The coalition of paramilitary forces is known as the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC). The government of Colombia mobilized a large military effort to quell the insurgency, and has frequently been accused of collaborating with the AUC in the fight against the guerrillas.

The introduction of the illicit drug trade has added immense financial support to many different sides of the conflict, and altered external perceptions of the war. The civil war eventually came to be known as a "War on Drugs," and was characterized by both domestic and international efforts to deal with Colombia 's role in the flourishing trade of narcotics. Meanwhile, the FARC, ELN, and AUC stand accused of making substantial profits from the production and sale of illicit drugs.

The consequences of September 11 have profoundly altered the context of the conflict in Colombia. This is most pronounced in the rhetoric of the Colombian government when it seeks assistance in asserting state authority. Colombian President Uribe recently declared that any armed opposition to a democratic state is considered a terrorist threat. By this definition, the Colombian state is under siege by many terrorist organizations. The United States, a significant actor in Colombia, has largely endorsed Uribe's interpretation of the post-September 11 language of terrorism. Thus, anti-drug funding is increasingly identified as anti-terror support. Both the Colombian and U.S. governments have changed the nature of war by redefining the previous "War on Drugs" as a "War on Terror." The U.S. and Colombian emphasis has shifted from narcotics control to regional stabilization, security, and anti-terrorism. All three of the major non-state military movements in Colombia (AUC, ELN, FARC) are on the U.S. State Department's list of terrorist organizations.

Regardless of labels and official designations, the human rights situation in Colombia is severe: all of the different armed actors struggling to assert authority over the territory and population of the country have been been complicit in grave offenses. Decades of war have produced a range of human rights violations, most notably internal displacement and the wide usage of child soldiers. This bibliography seeks to orient the reader to these problems by paying specific attention to the changes in the human rights situation after September 11.

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General Background

The Colombian civil conflict once popularly known as a key component in the "War on Drugs" and has recently begun to be identified as a part of the global War on Terror. However, well before the emergence of narco-trafficking and official listings of terrorists a war against the state was underway. The conflict arose from a small and politically disenfranchised population into today's 40-year old conflagration. These resources examine the initial causes of the uprising and how it evolved into its current form.

2000. "Chronology, 1509-2000". International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society. 14(1): 5-14.

ABSTRACT: *The article presents a chronology of events that occurred between 1509-2000 in Colombia. During the period 1509 to 1830 the following events took place. Early Spanish exploration and colonization of present-day Colombia took place. Santa Fe de Bogota was established in 1538. Comunero uprising against Crown officials in north-central Colombia took place. The Republic of New Granada was established. In the year 1958 the Frente Nacional was formed. The two parties agree to share power, splitting all elected and appointed offices and public employment and alternating the presidency for 16 years. Elements of this bipartisan arrangement would persist even after the formal end of the Frente in 1974. In 1972, the M-19 guerrilla movement was established by ex-members of ANAPO and of the FARC. Urban in origin, it eventually began to operate in the countryside. Its leadership cadres also largely come from among young intellectuals. In the year 1987 Medeilin Cartel affiliated drug lord Carlos Lehder was captured and extradited to the U.S., where he was sentenced to a 135 year prison term and committed to a maximum-security federal prison in Illinois.*

Details the origins of many of the factors in the current Colombian civil crisis such as political and military movements, the development of the illegal drug industry, human rights, and failed peace initiatives. Features more specific chronologies of the previous three presidential administrations.

Catherine C. Legrand. 2003. "The Colombian Crisis in Historical Perspective". Canadian Journal of Latin American & Caribbean Studies.

ABSTRACT*: This article explores the nineteenth- and twentieth-century roots of the present violence in Colombia. Focusing on the civilian government, the Colombian military, the FARC and ELN guerrillas, and the paramilitaries, it emphasizes the chronic weakness of the state, the privatization and regionalization of conflict, the impact of the cocaine export economy, and the difficulties of coming to a peace agreement.*

Gabriel Marcella, and Donald E. Schulz. 1999. "War and Peace in Colombia." Washington Quarterly. 22(3): 213.

ABSTRACT: *Highlights the different conflicts that plague Colombia. United States' policy on Colombia; Communist insurgency; Expansion of paramilitary networks; Drug traffickers and government corruption; Threat posed by continued Colombian disintegration to the inter-American community; Approaches to U.S. involvement in the peace process; Lessons from El Salvador's civil wars.*

Frank and Palacios Safford, Marco. 2002. Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society.

A detailed history of Colombia spanning from Pre-Columbus times to the end of the 20th century. Special emphasis on the fragmentation of Colombia into regions and the development of

distinct economic and cultural characteristics. Explains the delayed economic development, and the weakness of the state and the state's authority.

Julia E. Sweig. 2002. "What Kind of War for Colombia". 81(5): 122.

ABSTRACT: *Colombian President Alvaro Uribe, inaugurated in August 2002, promised democratic security--meaning a frontal assault on the country's two leftist guerrilla groups and, perhaps, its right-wing paramilitaries as well. But stopping these rebels will not be easy. Between drugs, paramilitaries, guerrillas, and a collapsing state, Colombia's condition is steadily worsening. There is a widespread consensus that drug eradication in Colombia has failed. The United States has tried to balance the overriding U.S. interest in drug eradication against local efforts to combat domestic insurgencies in Latin America. If clear and tough demands are not put on the Colombian military and political elite to double tax revenues, double the defense budget, cut ties to the paramilitaries, send their sons to fight, return the internally displaced to their homes, and to enact other reforms, Colombia's precipitous decline will only continue.*

Presents the numerous and complex problems facing President Uribe and makes a critical review of U.S. policy towards Colombia. Includes a description of the effects of the war in Colombia on the Andean and Amazonian neighbors. The author asserts that the U.S. retains a delicate role in the conflict, and must further consult European and Latin American governments in addressing the problem.

Juan Gabriel Tokatlian. 2000. "Colombia at War: The Search for a Peace Diplomacy". International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society. 14(2): 333.

ABSTRACT: *This essay analyzes Colombian foreign policy over the last three decades with specific emphasis on Bogota's peace diplomacy from 1978 up to 2000 in the context of an ongoing and degrading internal war. Initially, it assumes a modified realist perspective that links international relations with domestic structures. Then, the text defines three models of Colombian peaceful diplomacy according to the purposes, the means, and the rationales employed by the administrations that covered the above-mentioned period. After empirically evaluating the governments of Presidents Turbay, Betancur, Barco, Gaviria, and Samper and the first two years of the presidency of Pastrana, the article concludes with an assessment of the country's peace diplomacy and its impact on internal violence and instability. The foreign policies of the six different mandates show that Colombia never developed an overall, consensual state strategy towards peace, that the multiple peaceful diplomacies were partially successful in terms of sustaining the political regime and that, notwithstanding the latter, the successive governments failed to achieve a genuine resolution to domestic war. Finally, the article calls for a serious, active, and simultaneous state foreign policy and citizen's diplomacy in favor of peace.*

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Human Rights Issues in Colombia

The lethal combination of narcotics trade, guerrilla insurgency, paramilitary retaliation, and government security measures impart Colombia with the distinction of leading the Western Hemisphere in reported human rights and international law violations. With several armed forces struggling for dominance over

*territory and population, the consequences on the civilian populace are wide-ranging and severe (*Human Rights Watch).

Human rights abuses in Colombia long pre-date the iteration of political violence. Internal displacement, child soldiers, and the hampering of civil liberties have long been commonplace in Colombia. Armed with the new language of terror, the Colombian government now benefits from an increased flexibility in combating guerrilla movements. With insurgency efforts being funded by the narcotics trade, actions once considered to be anti-drug measures are now classified as anti-terror tactics. Crop fumigation is an effort to cut terror funding. The "the anti-democracy terrorists" label redefines the guerrilla fighters who are often children under fifteen years of age. Uribe's "Informants Network" initiative incorporates civilians into the military "anti-terror" efforts. This list of resources provides a look at some of the central human rights violations still occurring in Colombia.

Human Rights Bureau of Democracy, and Labor. 2003. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices". http://www. state. gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2002/18325. htm.

This U.S. State Department report presents an overview of the Colombian conflict with respect to human rights in year 2002. The article gives a brief description of the principle actors in the civil war and evaluates each group's human rights record. The report categorically reviews human rights violations in Colombia by listing basic human rights principles, then applying these standards to the violations in Colombia.

Nora Segura Escobar. 2000. "Colombia: A New Century, an Old War, and More Internal Displacement". Human Sciences Press. 14(1): 107.

ABSTRACT: *The article focuses on internal displacement in Colombia. The violence, which Colombia has endured for over fifty years, has had as its main stage the rural areas of the country and has made the peasantry and the colonizers of the agrarian frontier its principal, though not exclusive, victims. Today, migratory currents in multiple directions witness to the shifting nature and extensive geography of the social conflicts and to the unprecedented proliferation of armed groups. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the magnitude and degradation of the armed confrontation has made displacement the only option for security for many of the inhabitants of the territories in conflict. The problem of the displaced, does not, however, correspond solely to confrontations between insurgent forces, paramilitary squads, and the state. Offshoots of these hostilities as well as other forms of the violent exercise of power expel populations from those areas that are involved in mega-development projects that have become zones whose control is of strategic economic and military importance, and those that have become arenas for the defense of landed interests or the consolidation of regional power.*

The article focuses on internal displacement in Colombia. The violence has had as its main stage the rural areas of the country and has made the peasantry and the colonizers of the agrarian frontier its principal, though not exclusive, victims. Article cites specific gender-related consequences of internal displacement, and evaluates the behavior of these marginalized groups in relation to public sentiments.

The Latin America Working Group. 2003. "The Wrong Road, Colombia's National Security Policy". http://www. lawg. org/docs/WrongRoad0707C. pdf.

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ABSTRACT: *The Wrong Road outlines Colombian President Alvaro Uribe's controversial security policies. These include permitting police and army to search homes and offices, tap phones and detain people without warrants, suspending basic civil liberties in war zones, and employing armed civilians as soldiers and informants. These measures "set the stage for an increase in human rights violations, while providing none of the safeguards--respect for the rule of law, civilian oversight, ensuring that military forces understand and embrace their duty to protect all citizens rather than a privileged few--that are the foundation of real security." July 2003*

Details President Uribe's security initiatives that focus on the expansion of military force and powers of the Colombian military institutions. The "Informants Network" and "Peasant Soldiers Program" are attempts to integrate armed civilians into the armed forces for intelligence and military operations. Questions the consititutionality of these acts and criticizes President's role in the deteriorating human rights situation in Colombia.

Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human and Rights on the Human Rights Situation in Colombia. 2004. "Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the Human Rights Situation in Colombia*". http://www. hchr. org. co/documentoseinformes/informes/altocomisionado/Informe2003_eng. doc.

This report by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights covers the year 2003. Contents include chapters on the dymanics of internal armed conflict, state policies and international recommendations, breaches international law by armed actors, an evalution of the current human rights situation, and a description of the status of vulnerable groups.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. Colombia: Beyond Negotiation: International Humanitarian Law and Its Application to the Conduct of the FARC-EP. New York: Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2001/farc/colmfarc0801. pdf.

ABSTRACT: *Whether they live in Bogotá or in remote rural areas, Colombian civilians bear the brunt of the country's violent armed conflict. Thousands have been killed in recent years, and thousands more have been kidnapped for ransom. Their children, some as young as thirteen or fourteen, have been recruited into the irregular forces - guerrillas and paramilitaries - that play a primary role in the conflict. Fleeing their homes to protect themselves and their families, some two million Colombians have become internally displaced or have left their country as refugees. Human Rights Watch abhors the conflict's heavy civilian toll and supports ongoing efforts to achieve peace. Yet we insist on the protection of civilians even in the absence of peace. The international humanitarian law norms applicable to the conflict were designed to shield civilians from war, and to protect sick and wounded combatants as well as those who have surrendered. In Colombia, to the great discredit of the warring parties, these norms are largely ignored. This report, which is based on first-hand research in Colombia, including a visit in May-June 2000 to the Zone, describes the range of international humanitarian law violations committed by FARC-EP. Both in format and substance, it closely follows a July 2001 letter to Commander Marulanda addressing these issues.*

This comprehensive report criticizes the human rights situation in Colombia, specifically condemning the behavior of the FARC group. The report specifically cites incidents of extrajudicial killings, the use of child combatants, hostage taking, forced displacement, and attacks on medical workers. Includes applicable international laws and recommendations to the FARC General Secretariat and the countries facilitating negotiations between FARC and the state.

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Amnesty International. 2003. "Amnesty International's Briefing to the Un Committee against Torture on the Republic of Colombia". http://www. amnestyusa. org/countries/colombia/document. do?id=3D53C24D8C7374C980256DB800529336.

This document focuses on the failure of the Colombian government to ensure that Articles 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Covenant Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Punishment (CAT) are upheld. Focuses criticism on the government's participation in torture via the Colombian Military and the government-linked paramilitaries. Specific violations, including rape and torture, are reviewed. Lists recommendations to Colombian Government.

Amnesty International. 2004. "Colombia Annual Report 2004". http://www. amnestyusa. org/countries/colombia/document. do?id=7226D17FCB39404980256E9E005A9548.

Annual report detailing the activity in the areas of paramilitaries, guerrillas, and armed forces in reference to human rights abuses in 2003. Evaluates the behavior and violations of each group for the 2003 period. Also details attacks on human rights monitors, violence towards women, kidnapping, and abuses against civilians.

Amnesty International. 2004. "Colombia, a Laboratory of War: Repression and Violence in Arauca". http://www. amnestyusa. org/countries/colombia/document. do?id=93581D5105D8C49C80256D2400379147.

Briefly outlines the failed peace negotiations initiated in 1999 and the subsequent intensification of the conflict. Describes President Uribe's efforts to curb civil liberties during the "state of emergency" in 2002. Detailed examples of human rights violations such as kidnappings and persecution of human rights defenders.

Betsy Marsh. 2004. "Going to Extremes: The Aerial Spraying Program in Colombia". http://www. lawg. org/Misc/Publications. htm.

ABSTRACT: *Report critically analyzes the US-funded aerial spraying program to eradicate coca production in Colombia. States that the controversial strategy has harsh human and environmental costs and does little to curb narcotics production or usage. Urges that resources be redirected towards alternative crop production and drug treatment.*

Colombia Human Rights Network. 2004. http://colhrnet. igc. org/.

This website focuses on the human rights situation in Colombia, paying particular attention to the U.S. military aid to the Colombian government. Features links to U.S. and Colombian organizations with similar aims, legislative updates, and archives.

Center for International Policy. 2004. http://ciponline. org/colombia/background. htm

Extensive list of websites on human rights and Colombia. Links to resources on general human rights, refugees, media protection, and labor. Includes non-governmental, UN, US, and Colombian government links. Materials in both Spanish and English.

Defensoria Del Pueblo. 2004. http://www. defensoria. org. co

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A Spanish language Colombian website dedicated to the issue of human rights within the armed conflict. Features Colombia-related urgent action petitions, a virtual classroom regarding human rights, and reports. Links to Colombian government, International agency, and NGO websites.

Adriana Herrera Tellez. 2002. "Children of War". *Hemisphere: A Magazine of the Americas*. 11(16).

Focuses on the effect of the civil war on children in Colombia. Practice of using child combatants by guerrilla forces; Statistics of minor deaths in the civil conflict; Reason for children joining guerrilla groups in Colombia; Long-term psychological effect of violence on children; Absence of social provisions for former child combatants in Colombian Law.

Defensoria Del Pueblo Y Unicef. 2002. "La Ninez En El Conflicto Armado Colombiano". http://www. defensoria. org. co/investigacion/informes_a. php?i=9.

Spanish language report detailing the results of interviews with 86 former child-soldiers with the intent of discerning the context in which a child becomes a soldier in the Colombian conflict. Explores motives for joining, the children's role in the conflict, and the demobilization and recovery. Includes various tables and graphs detailing the various dimensions of the problem of child combatants: its origins, membership, and drug use.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Colombia: Child Soldier Use 2003". http://hrw. org/doc/?t=americas_pub&c=colomb.

Briefing details both governmental and non-state participation in the use of children in the civil conflict. Cites that all major actors in the war in Colombia utilize children in various capacities. Briefly summarizes abuses and demobilization and child protection programs.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. "A Wrong Turn: The Record of the Colombian Attorney General's Office". http://hrw. org/doc/?t=americas&c=colomb&document_limit=40,20.

ABSTRACT: *Colombia's Attorney General has seriously undermined the investigation and prosecution of major human rights cases. The 14-page report ?A Wrong Turn: The Record of the Colombian Attorney General?s Office,? documents how the attorney general's office has failed to make progress on critical human rights investigations. Upon taking office in July 2001, Attorney General Luis Camilo Osorio made it clear that he was deeply suspicious of ongoing efforts to prosecute human rights cases, particularly those involving allegations against members of the Colombian military. Publicly, he promised to correct what he described as excessive attention to these allegations by prosecutors. Within seventy-two hours of his arrival, Osorio had demanded the resignations of two high-ranking officials who had handled some of the institution?s most important human rights cases. A third official felt compelled to resign in response to the attorney general?s actions.*

Documents how Attorney General Luis Camilo Osorio's office has failed to make progress on critical human rights investigations. Specifically cites the lack of support of prosecutors in human rights trials, a failure to protect justice officials, and the forced resignation of prosecutors and officials. Makes several recommendations to the U.S. and Colombia.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "You'll Learn Not to Cry: Child Combatants in Colombia". http://www. hrw. org/reports/2003/colombia0903/colombia0903. pdf.

ABSTRACT: *More than 11,000 children fight in Colombia's armed conflict, one of the highest totals in the world. Both guerrilla and paramilitary forces rely on child combatants, who have committed atrocities and are even*

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made to execute other children who try to desert. The first comprehensive report published on this issue, "You'll Learn Not to Cry" documents how Colombia's illegal armies have recruited increasing numbers of children in recent years. Only Burma (Myanmar) and the Democratic Republic of Congo are believed to have significantly larger numbers of child combatants than Colombia. The 150-page book, based on interviews with 112 former child combatants, documents how both guerrillas and paramilitaries exploit the desperation of poor children in rural combat zones. Many join up for food or physical protection, to escape domestic violence, or because of promises of money. Some are coerced to join at gunpoint, or join out of fear. Others are street children with nowhere to go. Children as young as thirteen are trained to use assault rifles, grenades and mortars. Human Rights Watch urged guerrilla and paramilitary forces to end all recruitment of children under the age of eighteen and to demobilize the children in their ranks. Pending complete demobilization, the group urged the following immediate and unconditional steps: firmly prohibit forcible recruitment; allow those who wish to leave without reprisals; cease executions of children; and provide proper medical care for the sick or wounded.

One in four combatants in Colombia are under 18 years of age. Both paramilitary and guerrilla forces utilize child soldiers. Report covers recruitment, training, life in ranks, role in combat and treatment after capture, desertion or rescue. Estimates 11,000 child combatants currently participating in the Colombian conflict. Makes recommendations to principle participating actors such as the paramilitary and guerrilla groups, the Colombian Military, the US, and the United Nations.

Non-State Actors

The internal conflict of Colombia is unique in the relatively high number of state and non-state actors asserting varying degrees of military and political influence and independence. In addition to the state army, Colombia features at least three paramilitary forces currently waging a war within the country's borders. Each actor's distinct motivations create a complex and morphing web of interests.

The U.S. State Department has classified the three organized non-state armed groups as terrorist organizations. The AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia), FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia), ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional) each feature different founding ideals, thousands of soldiers, and a history of human rights abuses. Another critical dimension to the definition of these groups is the very lucrative drug trade. This section also features material general to non-state actors and guerillas.

General

Jeff Browitt. 2001. "Capital Punishment: The Fragmentation of Colombia and the Crisis of the Nation-State". Third World Quarterly. 22(6): 1063.

ABSTRACT: *The Colombian nation-state is in its worst period of crisis since the infamous Violencia of the late 1940s and 1950s. State power is being contested by a number of groups: paramilitaries, the revolutionary Left, drug cartels and corrupt high-level officials. But these latest challenges must be set in a wider historical context: a 200-year history of failed attempts by the oligarchy to forge a stable modern nation-state without undermining their dominant position in the Colombian polity. The writing of a new constitution in 1991, the first since 1886,*

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was an attempt to address many of the above problems, including the granting of special powers to the executive to deal with civil unrest, the need for a decentralised and pluralised political landscape and constitutional guarantees for minority and indigenous representation and rights. However, constitutional change has also taken place in the context of the consolidation of the globalisation project and the practical effects of the new constitution have been its provision of legal and administrative measures to facilitate the neoliberal restructuring of the economy, a process which, over the past 10 years, has been a devastating form of 'capital punishment' for the Colombian underclasses and has contributed to the further fragmentation of the nation.

Details the crisis of the nation-state in Colombia as multiple armed groups contest state authority. The negative consequences of globalization and neoliberal policies on the underclass have undermined the 1991 constitution that sought to increase government power

Center for International Policy - Colombia. 2004. http://ciponline. org/colombia/infocombat. htm

This expansive website presents several papers opposing large increases in U.S. military aid. It includes several Colombia-related sub-sections including: U.S. military and police aid, U.S. government information, peace initiatives, and links to governmental and non-governmental sites.

Dr. Max G. Manwaring. 2002. "Non-State Actors in Colombia: Threat and Response". Strategic Studies Institute. http://www. carlisle. army. mil/ssi/pubs/pubResult. cfm/hurl/PubID=16/.

ABSTRACT: *Colombia's deeply rooted and ambiguous warfare has reached crisis proportions in that Colombia's "Hobbesian Trinity" of illegal drug traffickers, insurgents, and paramilitary organizations are creating a situation in which life is indeed "nasty, brutish, and short." The first step in developing a macro-level vision, policy, and strategy to deal with the Colombian crisis in a global context is to be clear on what the Colombian crisis is, and what the fundamental threats implicit (and explicit) in it are. Political and military leaders can start thinking about the gravity of the terrorist strategy employed by Colombia's stateless adversaries from this point. It is also the point from which leaders can begin developing responses designed to secure Colombian, Hemispheric, and global stability. The author seeks to explain the Colombian crisis in terms of nonstate threats to the state and to the region--and appropriate strategic-level responses.*

The author seeks to explain the Colombian crisis in terms of non-state threats to the state and to the region, and appropriate strategic-level responses. The principle non-state actors are drug traffickers, insurgents and paramilitaries. Author asserts that the threat of these non-state actors, which he considers to be terrorists, can be addressed via education and organizational solutions.

Max G. Manwaring. 2002. "Non-State Actors in Colombia: Threats to the State and to the Hemisphere". Small Wars & Insurgencies. 13(2): 68.

ABSTRACT: *Explains the Colombian crisis in terms of non-state threats to the state and to the region. Political and economic problems of Colombia; Emergence of the illegal drug industry and various insurgent organizations/paramilitary groups in the country; Development of a macro-level vision, policy and strategy by U.S. political and military leaders to deal with the Colombian crisis.*

The author explains the Colombian crisis in Hobbesian terms of non-state threats to the state and region. The Colombian state is threatened by three non-state actors: paramilitaries, guerrillas, and the illegal drug industry. The strength of these forces is leading to the partial collapse of the state of Colombia, as evidenced by the diminishing state authority over large portions of the country and the non-physical erosion of democracy via widespread corruption.

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Center for International Policy. 2004. http://ciponline. org/colombia/infocombat. htm.

This website, which was last updated August 27, 2002 at the time of this writing, features information on the four dominant actors in the Colombian conflict: the FARC, AUC, and ELN and the State Armed Forces of Colombia. Areas covered include: maps of controlled territory, current leadership of each organization, and links to the status of negotiation for each group.

Cynthia Watson. 1992. "Guerrilla Groups in Colombia: Reconstituting the Political Process". Terrorism & Political Violence. 4(2): 84.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the hypotheses on the guerrillas and generalizations related to the advent of an altered political party arrangement in Colombia. Constitutional political system in the country; Refusal to participate in the electoral process by Guerrilla groups; Factors contributing to the reintegration of guerrillas into the political arena.*

This article provides a description of the origins of the anti-government guerrilla forces in Colombia, paying particular attention to the decades of the 70's and 80's until the writing of a new constitution in 1991. During this time period, some guerrilla movements attempted to legitimize their movements via direct political participation. It also details the impact of narcotics on the insurgent efforts.

Guerrillas

Max G. Manwaring. 2002. "Non-State Actors in Colombia: Threats to the State and to the Hemisphere". Small Wars & Insurgencies. 13(2): 68.

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Mauricio Romero. 2000. "Changing Identities and Contested Settings: Regional Elites and the Paramilitaries in Colombia". International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society. 14(1): 51.

ABSTRACT: *The article focuses on regional elites and the paramilitaries in Colombia. The armed confrontation in Colombia is an important case of violence in the Americas. Escalating progressively since the mid-1970s, it has reached such an intensity that it now threatens to divide the country into three different territories: the northwest, dominated by counterinsurgent paramilitary groups, the Andean and central area, controlled by the constitutional armed forces, and the southeast, where leftist guerrillas prevail. Until recently, such intranational or civil wars tended to be regarded as reflections of Cold War hostilities. Scholars focused on interstate or systemic dynamics, and paid little attention to domestic conflicts, violent nonstate entrepreneurs, or the implications of intranational struggle for longer-term patterns of political change and state transformation in so-called Third World societies. By bringing real social actors back in, this study of armed conflict in contemporary Colombia shows that the state's*

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monopoly of the means of violence-an attribute that is often considered as given, permanent, and even natural-is actually social and practical. Authority over the means of violence is contested and changing, and is, in fact, a variable quality of the state.

The article examines thirty years of political polarization in Colombia via a study of the state of Cordoba. Cordoba is headquarters of Colombia's strongest paramilitary organization, and the author explores how the increase in guerrilla presence in the 1980's encouraged the local elites and state forces to consolidate a paramilitary and eventual political force.

Philippe Serres. 2000. "The Farc and Democracy in Colombia in the 1990s". Democratization. 7(4): 191.

ABSTRACT: *Addresses issues regarding the Colombian guerrilla group Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) through the concept of the partial breakdown of the state. Discussion of the strengthening of FARC and the involvement of FARC with drug trafficking. Details the factors that led to the guerilla group's incapacity to defeat the Colombian state.*

Alfredo Rangel Suarez. 2000. "Parasites and Predators: Guerrillas and the Insurrection Economy of Colombia". Journal of International Affairs. 53(2): 577.

ABSTRACT*: Discusses the economic prosperity of Colombia's guerrilla groups as of year 2000. Evolution and current situation of the guerrilla phenomenon in Colombia; Analysis of the guerrilla economy as a function of its expansion and territorial control.*

Explores how economic prosperity of the guerrilla groups impacts the larger Colombian economy. The broad-based guerrilla economy has never relied heavily on any international support, and is fueled by extortion, kidnapping, taxes, robbery, and drug trafficking. A failure to negotiate a peace with these forces is a major detriment to the economic welfare of Colombia.

Cynthia Watson. 1992. "Guerrilla Groups in Colombia: Reconstituting the Political Process". Terrorism & Political Violence. 4(2): 84.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the hypotheses on the guerrillas and generalizations related to the advent of an altered political party arrangement in Colombia. Constitutional political system in the country; Refusal to participate in the electoral process by Guerrilla groups; Factors contributing to the reintegration of guerrillas into the political arena.*

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ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional)

Ejercito De Liberacion Nacional (ELN). 2004. http://www. eln-voces. com/

This basic Spanish language ELN homepage expresses the self-defined characteristics of the group. In the site, the ELN details its historical foundations, why the group has taken up armed

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struggle, and the goals it intends to achieve via militaristic and political efforts. Includes ELN-authored essays.

Center for International Policy. 2004. http://ciponline. org/colombia/infocombat. htm.

This website, which was last updated August 27, 2002 at the time of this writing, features information on the four dominant actors in the Colombian conflict: the FARC, AUC, and ELN and the State Armed Forces of Colombia. Areas covered include: maps of controlled territory, current leadership of each organization, and links to the status of negotiation for each group.

FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia)

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias De Colombia (FARC). 2004. http://www. farcep. org/pagina_ingles/

The basic, 2002, English-version FARC homepage includes a variety of information including the group's history, letters, and interviews. It links with the more comprehensive and current Spanish version.

Roman D. Ortiz. 2002. "Insurgent Strategies in the Post-Cold War: The Case of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia". Studies in Conflict & Terrorism. 25(2): 127.

ABSTRACT: *This article analyzes the adaptation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) to the post-Cold War strategic scene. In this process of change the Colombian guerrilla organization has broken away from the traditional behavior patterns of Latin American armed groups in four key ways. First, the FARC has reduced the rigidity of its ideology in order to make its political message more attractive. Second, it has made a great effort to boost its military potential. Third, it has established independent channels of funding and arms supply. Finally, the Colombian rebels have developed a very decentralized organic structure that nevertheless maintains a sufficient degree of cohesion. These innovations have made the FARC a new model of insurgency that has managed to corner the Bogota government and destabilize a significant part of the Andean region.*

The author observes the fundamental ways that the FARC has changed in since the end of the Cold War. The article details the four key ways that the FARC has also broken away from traditional behavior patterns of armed groups in Latin America: reduction in rigidity of ideology, boosting military potential, the establishment of independent funding, and a decentralized organizational structure. These innovations have made the FARC a new model of insurgency that has managed to corner the Bogota government and destabilize a significant part of the Andean region.

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Paramilitaries

Autodefensas Unidas De Colombia (AUC). 2004. http://www. colombialibre. org/

This well-organized and current Spanish language homepage of the AUC positively portrays the group's activities in the Colombian conflict. The site details the group's current efforts in peace negotiations, human rights protection, and anti-terror measures. Features current press AUC-leaning releases, videos, and interviews.

Staffan Löfving. 2004. "Paramilitaries of the Empire". *Social Analysis*. 48(1): 156.

ABSTRACT: *Comments on the construed paramilitary violence in terms of excessive responses to insurgencies by means of conventional warfare. Paramilitary function of state power in countries that survived the Cold War to find their fate; Prevalence of paramilitary violence in countries where it is the military that monopolizes the use of violence and where the police and the judicial system operates; Details of information on the paramilitary violence in Guatemala, Colombia and Israel.*

Discusses the evolving role of the paramilitary forces in Colombia, specifically their evolution from small, state sanctioned militia to groups building political platforms claiming the right to participate in peace negotiations. The emergence of paramilitaries resulted from a weak central state authority. Observes the AUC's attempts to foster legitimization. Author compares the paramilitaries of Colombia, Guatemala and Israel.

Mauricio Romero. 2000. "Changing Identities and Contested Settings: Regional Elites and the Paramilitaries in Colombia". International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society. 14(1): 51.

ABSTRACT: *The article focuses on regional elites and the paramilitaries in Colombia. The armed confrontation in Colombia is an important case of violence in the Americas. Escalating progressively since the mid-1970s, it has reached such an intensity that it now threatens to divide the country into three different territories: the northwest, dominated by counterinsurgent paramilitary groups, the Andean and central area, controlled by the constitutional armed forces, and the southeast, where leftist guerrillas prevail. Until recently, such intranational or civil wars tended to be regarded as reflections of Cold War hostilities. Scholars focused on interstate or systemic dynamics, and paid little attention to domestic conflicts, violent nonstate entrepreneurs, or the implications of intranational struggle for longer-term patterns of political change and state transformation in so-called Third World societies. By bringing real social actors back in, this study of armed conflict in contemporary Colombia shows that the state's monopoly of the means of violence-an attribute that is often considered as given, permanent, and even natural-is actually social and practical. Authority over the means of violence is contested and changing, and is, in fact, a variable quality of the state.*

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Victoria Sanford. 2003. "Learning to Kill by Proxy: Colombian Paramilitaries and the Legacy of Central American Death Squads, Contras, and Civil Patrols". Social Justice. 30(3): 63.

ABSTRACT: *The article traces the founding of Colombian paramilitaries to the cold war era when the U.S. helped the Colombian and Central American governments establish proxy paramilitary forces in its fight against international communism. The author summarizes the devastating effects this paramilitarism had on Colombian and Central American society during the 1960s to the late 20th century. A concluding section provides an update on the impact of paramilitarism on human rights in contemporary Colombia, and on the implications for peace in the region.*

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Human Rights Watch. 2003. Colombia's Checkbook Impunity: A Briefing Paper.

In 2003, the AUC paramilitary forces signed an agreement with the Colombian government to demobilize by 2005. This article protests the Colombian government's agreement to introduce legislation that would allow paramilitaries convicted of serious human rights crimes to make cash payments in lieu of serving prison sentences. According to the legislation, the President would determine which individuals qualify for a suspended sentence. Report cites examples of AUC abuses.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. The "Sixth Division": Military-Paramilitary Ties and U.S. Policy in Colombia. Human Rights Watch.

Asserts that there is compelling evidence that certain Colombian Army brigades and political detachments continue to promote, work with, support, and profit from paramilitary groups. Specific focus on 3 brigades. Strong condemnation of Pastrana administration. Includes recommendations to Colombian and U.S. governments.

Scott Wilson. 2002. Cocaine Trade Causes Rifts in Colombian War. The Washington Post. Date. http://www. washingtonpost. com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&contentId=A22043-2002Sep15&notFound=true.

The AUC paramilitary group is in danger of fracturing as a result of the drug trade, and this impacts significantly on the anti-drug Plan Colombia strategy. The once-united force of 15,000 members has split over the a disagreement over whether the financial benefit of protecting the country's cocaine trade outweighs the political costs and internal corruption it has brought the group. The split further threatens the stability of Colombia by creating a collection of regional groups that do not support the government's anti-drug initiatives.

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State Actors

To combat this increase in drug production, the **United States** introduced Plan Colombia. This program provides substantial financial and military assistance to the **Colombian government**. This plan intricately added the United States' financial and military support into the crowded puzzle of principle actors. In light of the events of September 11, the language and purpose of the Plan Colombia has shifted to reflect the transition from a "War on Drugs" to a "War on Terror."

United States

Washington Office on Latin America. 2003. "Plan Colombia 3 Year Report Card". http://www. wola. org/Colombia/plan_col_report_card03. pdf.

> A negative evaluation of the U.S. Plan Colombia. Specifically assesses Plan Colombia's impact on the eradication of illegal drugs, the use of a balanced approach, the institution of judicial reform, the protection of human rights, and the fostering of peace.

Washington Office on Latin America. 2003. "Protecting the Pipeline: The Us Military Mission Expands". Colombia Monitor. http://wola. org/Colombia/colombia. htm.

> Analyzes the role of oil in Colombia's conflict and the dangers of the United States' growing military mission in Colombia.

Max G. Manwaring. 2001. "U. S. Security Policy in the Western Hemishphere: Why Colombia, Why Now, and What Is to Be Done?" Strategic Studies Institute. http://www. carlisle. army. mil/ssi/pubs/pubResult. cfm/hurl/PubID=22/.

> ABSTRACT: *This is one in the Special Series of monographs stemming from the February 2001 conference on Plan Colombia cosponsored by the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College and The Dante B. Fascell North-South Center of the University of Miami. In substantive U.S. national security terms, the author addresses the questions, Why Colombia, Why Now, and What Is To Be Done? He explains the importance of that troubled country to the United States. He points out that the fragile democracy of Colombia is at risk, and that the violent spillover effects of three simultaneous wars pose a threat to the rest of the Western Hemisphere and the interdependent global community. Then he makes a case against continued tactical and operational approaches to the Colombian crisis and outlines what must be done. In that connection, he recommends an actionable political-military strategy to attain security, stability, democratic governance, and a sustainable peace. The proposed strategy would not be costly in monetary or military terms. It would, however, require deliberate planning, cooperation, time, and will.*

> *A monograph stemming from the February 2001 conference on Plan Colombia. The author asserts the need for U.S. leadership and the strategic importance of Colombia to U.S. interests. The author cites sets of requirements necessary to restore Colombian state legitimacy: the need for Colombian leadership to optimize capabilities, and the need for U.S. -Colombia partnership to achieve a national and international unity of effort.*

Peter McLaren and Gregory Martin. 2004. "The Legend of the Bush Gang: Imperialism, War, and Propaganda". Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies. 4(3): 281.

> ABSTRACT: *This article explores the dialectical relationship between the Bush administration's domestic policies and its deranged "war on terrorism," which is being waged on a number of different fronts, for example,*

Iraq, Afghanistan, Colombia, and the United States. The authors argue that the Bush gang is using the external "international crisis" to override the remnants of U.S. bourgeois democracy in order to reestablish conditions of profitability. Perhaps not surprisingly, at least from a Marxist perspective, the supporting repressive (e. g., the Department of Homeland Security's secret police) and ideological state apparatuses (e. g., schools and the corporate media) have played a profound role in building support for the Bush gang's totalizing ambitions.

This article explores the dialectical relationship between the Bush administration's domestic policies and its War on Terrorism, which is being waged on a number of different fronts, including Colombia. The authors argue that the Bush administration is using an external "international crisis" to override democracy in order to reestablish conditions of more narrow profitability.

Colombia

Dr. Geoffrey Demarest. 2003. "Mapping Colobmia: The Correlation between Land Data and Strategy". Strategic Studies Institute. http://www. carlisle. army. mil/ssi/pubs/display. cfm/hurl/PubID=12/.

The author asserts that government efforts to counter narcotics and lawlessness in Colombia will worsen unless the it firmly enforces property rights. For instance, many parts of Colombia are not yet mapped, so rule of law cannot exist until there is a knowledge of the location of different properties. The current U.S. and Colombian efforts to assert state authority will require complete mapping to define boundaries of lawlessness and civilization.

Julia E. Sweig. 2002. "What Kind of War for Colombia". *Foreign Affairs*. 81(5).

This broad overview illustrates the difficulties facing the current presidential administration of Colombia, and examines the country's status as a functioning democracy. Contrasts the Pastrana Presidency to that of the current Uribe regime and their distinct efforts to establish stability in the lawless regions of the country. Describes the evolution of the Plan Colombia, and the significant influence that the U.S. exerts over the situation.

War on Terror

*In the weeks and months following September 11, it was not uncommon to see images of Osama Bin Ladin edited into the news reports about FARC actions in Colombian television news broadcasts. Conservative politicians, church leaders, and members of the Colombian armed forces creatively developed new adjectives to describe Colombian rebels as "Talibanes" or "Bin Ladenes." This approach rendered any efforts at negotiating a political solution to the decades-long conflict as illegitimate, if not morally repugnant (*Mario Murillo, Colombia and the United States: War, Unrest and Destabilization*).*

The traditional view of the Colombian conflict is of an internal war of political ideology that had been spun to include the effects of the narcotics trade on the escalation of violence. The events of September 11th 2001 spawned yet another redefinition of the civil war in Colombia. As I argued in the introduction, the "War on Drugs" has been enveloped by the "War on Terror." This

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bibliography features several resources that detail this transformation and specify the altered roles some of the principal actors.

Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. 2004. "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report". http://www. state. gov/g/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2003/vol1/html/29832. htm.

ABSTRACT: *Despite dramatic progress against the narcotics trade, Colombia remains a major producing country. Proceeds finance the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the United Self Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), and, to a lesser extent, the National Liberation Army (ELN). They control areas within Colombia with concentrations of coca and heroin poppy cultivation and their involvement in narcotics is a major source of violence in Colombia. In 2003 the Government of Colombia (GOC) eradicated illicit crops at a record-setting pace. The U.S. -supported Colombian National Police Antinarcotics Directorate (DIRAN) sprayed over 127,000 hectares of coca and 2,821 hectares of opium poppy. Subsequent field verification demonstrated that this spraying effectively eradicated 116,000 hectares of coca. In addition to spray operations, the GOC manually eradicated 8,441 hectares of coca and 1,009 hectares of opium poppy. Plan Colombia has reduced narcotics production and seizures of illicit commodities are up; the scope and delivery of key government services have been extended; the effectiveness and availability of institutions of justice have been increased; and, the GOC is in negotiations with the AUC toward demobilization. Colombia is party to the 1988 U.N. Drug convention.*

This 2004 U.S. State Department website notes the progress being made against narcotics production and trade in Colombia for the year 2003. Attributes narcotics production and trade to the non-state actors in Colombia (FARC, AUC, ELN), and details the Colombian Government's actions to curtail production via fumigation. Site includes categories such as accomplishments, law enforcement efforts, corruption, treaties, transit, cultivation, and U.S. participation in anti-drug measures.

Patricia Bibes. 2001. "Transnational Organized Crime and Terrorism: Colombia, a Case Study". Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice. 17(3): 243.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the complex relationships that exist among drug traffickers, insurgent guerrilla groups, paramilitary forces and the Colombian government's military and police agencies. Use of violence and terrorism to achieve disparate ends; Colombia's importance as a key source country for coca leaf and as an incubator for organized crime; Institutional initiatives to combat drug production, trafficking and terrorism.*

Discusses the complex relationships that exist among drug traffickers, insurgent guerrilla groups, paramilitary forces and the Colombian government's military and police agencies. Details use of violence and terrorism to achieve disparate ends. Colombia's importance as a key source country for coca leaf and as an incubator for organized crime. Institutional initiatives to combat drug production, trafficking and terrorism.

Lieutenant Colonel Kevin W. Buckley. USAWAC Strategy Research Project. U.S. Army War College. http://carlisle-www. army. mil/search/search. asp.

This report, written as an SRP from a lieutenant colonel, evaluates the effectiveness of U.S. participation in Plan Colombia. The article cites drug-related statistics that reflect the successes of the aerial spraying program, increased government interception of narcotics, and increased police presence. Includes the viewpoints of some Plan Colombia critics, but considers the program to be effective. Makes several conclusionary recommendations such as the need to

decrease drug demand, restriction of drug movement to neighboring countries, and to restrict U.S. forces from combat roles.

Justin Delacour. 2000. "Plan Colombia: Rhetoric, Reality, and the Press". *Social Justice*. 27(4): 63.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the anti-narcotics drug aid package of the United States to Colombia, known as Plan Colombia, and the objections of human rights groups to the package. Describes opposition of the U.S. government to human rights conditions. Support of drug-connected paramilitaries to U.S. policy; Paramilitary massacres and violations; Political issue behind press coverage of Colombia; Rhetorics behind Plan Colombia's objectives.*

Discusses the anti-narcotics drug aid package of the United States to Colombia, known as Plan Colombia. Asserts that the $1. 3 billion aid package is actually a counterinsurgency measure more than an anti-narcotics program. This idea stems from the proven links between the Colombian Military and the drug-producing AUC paramilitaries with a history of human rights abuses. States that U.S. aid heightens human rights concerns and internal conflict.

Stokes Doug. 2003. "Why the End of the Cold War Doesn't Matter: The Us War of Terror in Colombia". Review of International Studies. 29(4): 569.

ABSTRACT: *Orthodox narratives of U.S. foreign policy have been employed as uncontested modes of historical interpretation with U.S. post-Cold War foreign policy in the Third World characterised by discontinuity from its earlier Cold War objectives. Chomsky's work adopts an alternative revisionist historiography that views U.S. post-Cold War foreign policy as characterised by continuity with its earlier Cold War objectives. This article examines the continuities of U.S. post-Cold War policy in Colombia, and explains this in terms of the maintenance of U.S. access to South American oil, the preservation of regional (in)stability and the continued need to destroy challenges to US-led neoliberalism.*

Utilizing Colombia as a case study, the author evaluates Noam Chomsky's theory of post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. Examines the continuities of U.S. post-Cold War policy in Colombia, and explains this in terms of the maintenance of U.S. access to South American oil, the preservation of regional stability and the continued need to destroy challenges to US-led neoliberalism.

Adam Isacson. 2004. "Optimism, Pessimism, and Terrorism: The United States and Colombia in 2003". The Brown Journal of World Affairs. 10(2): 245.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the relationship between the U.S. and Colombia in 2003. Financial contributions of the U.S. to Colombia's war on drugs; Criticisms of Plan Colombia, the law governing the war on terrorism funding; Effects of increased U.S. engagement through Plan Colombia.*

Discusses the transformation of the U.S. "War on Drugs" into a "War on Terror" in Colombia in light of the events of 9/11. Profoundly details how U.S. financial aid has increased via Plan Colombia. Critically evaluates the successes of Plan Colombia, argued by Colombian and U.S. military officials, with the contrasting opinions of human rights reports. Asserts that the current, military-focused involvement of the U.S. is counterproductive and needs revision.

Robin Kirk. 2004. "Colombia and the War on Terror: Rhetoric and Reality". The World Today. http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/03/04/colomb7932. htm.

How the contemporary "War on Terror" post 9-11 has been applied to the decades-old civil war in Colombia. The Colombian government has utilized the new vocabulary to declare insurgents

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as "terrorists" and captured guerillas have been deemed "illegal combatants." Also details how the U.S. military links Illicit drugs to the funding of Islamic terrorist groups, and narcotics are "weapons of mass destruction." These new classifications facilitate U.S. anti-terror funding. Takes a critical view of this new policy, as Colombia's new "War on Terror" is focusing on the anti-government guerrillas and leaving the paramilitary forces to maintain and increase their power.

John Marulanda Marin. 2002. "The Urban Battlefield". Hemisphere: A Magazine of the Americas. 11(20).

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the spread of the Colombian civil war to cities. Impact of the displacement of people from the countryside on the urban population; Activity of guerrilla organizations in the countryside; Increase in strikes, protests and popular mobolizations in cities; Reasons for efforts by guerrilla groups to establish urban presence; Factors working against generalized urban violence.*

Post 9/11 article focuses on the threat of terrorism the spread of Colombian civil war to the urban areas. Details the history and impacts of the displacement of rural people on the urban populations. Provides motivations for guerrilla groups to establish an urban presence. Details the factors inhibiting the urbanization of the conflict: media, popular sentiment, armed forces and a modernized state.

Thomas A. Marks. 2002. Colombian Army Adaptation to Farc Insurgency. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute U.S. Army War College. http://www. carlisle. army. mil/ssi/pdffiles/PUB13. pdf.

The author analyzes Colombia's problems and makes recommendations regarding what it will take to achieve stated U.S. and Colombian objectives in that crisis situation. Critical analysis of Plan Colombia, corruption, the armed forces, and leadership. Explores implications of September 11 on the U.S. relations with Colombia and the regional repercussions.

Mario Murillo. 2004. Colombia and the United States. War, Unrest and Destabilization. New York: Seven Stories Press.

This informative book features a keen description of how the "War on Terror" has allowed an increased militaristic approach by Colombian government. The post-9/11 context has reduced the original social political sources of the Colombia conflict to a mere extension of the global war on terror.

United States. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. 2002. International Global Terrorism: Its Links with Illicit Drugs as Illustrated by the Ira and Other Groups in Colombia: Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, One Hundred Seventh Congress, Second Session, April 24, 2002. Washington: U.S. G. P. O. : For sale by the Supt. of Docs. U.S. G. P. O. [Congressional Sales Office]. http://purl. access. gpo. gov/GPO/LPS42862.

Report by the House of Representatives Committee on International Relations details the "Globalization of Terror" with a focus on the Colombian civil war and the hemispheric concerns of the United States. Portrays narco-funded FARC as a "multinational terrorist network" similar to Al Queda, and explores the links between FARC and the IRA. Includes DEA reports.

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Europe[2]
by Victoria Lowdon, Angela Woolliams and Robin Davey

Both individually and collectively, European countries have vast experience with international and domestic terrorism. Because the point of terrorist attacks is primarily within a particular country (United Kingdom, Turkey and Spain), terrorism has come to be viewed by these states as a domestic problem. At the same time European countries have recognized the value of inter-governmental cooperation, which has been codified in various bilateral and multilateral agreements and conventions dating back to the 1950's.

Yet, it was the September 11 attacks that truly spurred the creation of coordinated counter-terrorism efforts in Europe. Recent domestic and transnational anti-terrorism legislation has sparked debates throughout the region due to the European Union's long standing emphasis on human rights. Human rights are a defining feature of the European Union: one requirement of admission is long standing compliance with EU human rights standards. In short, European anti-terror legislation necessarily raises a wide variety of questions regarding the balance between human rights and security.

Basic Documents

This section provides a review of some of the many human rights and terrorism conventions and measures implemented in Europe. These two issues have been of interest in Europe for decades. Consequently, the conventions of the Council of Europe, Europe's oldest political organization, are still relevant. The Council of Europe has been in existence since 1949 and includes 45 countries, including many non-EU members. The second section, on European Union instruments, includes succinct guides to contemporary EU law, and provides the texts of the official documents containing the counter-terrorism measures that were passed both after September 11 and the Madrid bombing in March 2004. Some of these measures are under scrutiny for their possible human rights implications.

Council of Europe

Two books are especially helpful in interpreting this vast body of law:

Council of Europe. 2003. <u>The Fight against Terrorism: Council of Europe Standards</u>. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publications.

Helpful basic guide to Council of Europe documents pertaining to terrorism. Includes conventions, as well as recommendations, declarations, orders, resolutions, and guidelines created by various Council of Europe bodies.

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[2] This section has a supplement that begins on page S-10.

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United Nations. 2001. *International Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism*. New York: United Nations.

An excellent general resource on international legal measures on the issue of terrorism. Spanning more than the Council of Europe's documents on terrorism-related conventions, it also contains materials on instruments passed by various international bodies.

The relevant conventions include:

Council of Europe. 1979. *Additional Protocol to the European Convention on Extradition* (CETS No. 086). http://conventions. coe. int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/086. htm

Bars extradition in respect of all political offences. Excludes such offences war crimes, crimes against humanity and the assassination of heads of state. Supplements provisions that deal with the principle *ne bis in idem* by enlarging the number of instances in which extradition of person is barred if she has already been tried for the same crime.

Council of Europe. 1998. *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as Amended by Protocol No. 11 with Protocol Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 12 and 13* (ETS No. 005). http://www. echr. coe. int/Eng/BasicTexts. htm.

Stipulates the fundamental rights and freedoms of people living in the signatory countries. Establishes the European Court of Human Rights, including its procedural matters and is still currently used by the Court.

Council of Europe. 1981. *Convention for the Protection of Individuals with Regard to Automatic Processing of Personal Data* (CETS No. : 108). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous. asp?NT=108&CM=8&DF=10/2/04&CL=ENG.

Protects people against abuses associated with the collection and processing of personal data. Seeks to regulate the flow of personal data. Gives people the right to know that information is stored on them and, if necessary, to have it corrected. Restrictions on rights only possible when overriding interests (i. e. --state security) are threatened.

Council of Europe. 1957. *European Agreement on Regulations Governing the Movement of Persons between Member States of the Council of Europe* (CETS No. : 025). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous. asp?NT=025&CM=8&DF=10/2/04&CL=ENG.

Lists specific documents that must be presented by citizens of signatory states who wish to cross state boundaries. Holders of such documents are guaranteed reentry into a state without formality even if his/her nationality is under dispute.

Council of Europe. 1957. *European Convention on Extradition* (CETS No. : 024). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous. asp?NT=024&CM=8&DF=10/2/04&CL=ENG.

Provides for the extradition of individuals wanted for non-political or military criminal proceedings or for the carrying out of a sentence. Sets forth the conditions under which extradition can be requested or refused in these cases.

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Council of Europe. 1959. European Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters (CETS No. : 030). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous. asp?NT=030&CM=8&DF=10/2/04&CL=ENG.

Parties agree to provide mutual assistance in the areas of gathering evidence, hearing witnesses, experts and prosecuted persons, etc. Sets rules for the enforcement of letters rogatory by States, aiming to gather evidence or communicate the evidence in trials in another state. Specifies the requirements that requests have to meet.

Council of Europe. 1977. European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism (ETS No. 090). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous. asp?NT=090&CM=8&DF=10/2/04&CL=ENG.

Designed to facilitate the extradition of suspected terrorists. Lists offences that should not be considered as political offences, or as offences connected with or inspired by political offences. Also empowers Parties not to consider as a political offence any act of violence against the life, physical integrity or liberty of a person.

Council of Europe. 1972. European Convention on the Transfer of Proceedings in Criminal Matters (CETS No. : 073). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous. asp?NT=073&CM=8&DF=10/2/04&CL=ENG.

Gives states the right to request another state to prosecute a suspected criminal in its place. Stipulates the conditions under which this request can be made and under which the request can be refused.

Council of Europe. 2004. Protocol No. 14 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Amending the Control System of the Convention (CETS No. : 194). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous. asp?NT=194&CM=8&DF=10/2/04&CL=ENG.

Makes changes to the Convention, regarding clearly inadmissible and repetitive cases. Gives the Committee of Ministers more powers in certain areas and changes term limits for judges. Also sets forth new admissibility criterion.

Council of Europe. 1996. Revised European Social Charter (ETS No. 163). http://conventions. coe. int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/163. htm.

Revises the 1961 European Social Charter with new social and political rights promised to specific populations within signatory countries (i. e. --workers, children, the elderly, and the disabled). Amends several portions of the Charter, including better protection of vulnerable populations, the reinforcement of the right against discrimination, etc.

Council of Europe. 2004. Fight against Terrorism. http://www. coe. int/T/E/Legal_affairs/Legal_co-operation/Fight_against_terrorism/.

A website detailing the Council of Europe's actions against terrorism with links to adopted texts, thematic files, the Committee of Experts on Terrorism, and other general information. Also provides access to recent publications on the topic of terrorism.

European Union

European Commission. 2000. Charter of Fundamental Rights. http://europa. eu. int/comm/justice_home/unit/charte/index_en. html.

> Website containing information on the Charter, which lists all fundamental rights within six categories: dignity, freedoms, equality, solidarity, citizens' rights and justice; ends the distinction between civil, political, economic, and social rights. Includes protection of personal data and bio-ethical standards; requires governments to be open and transparent; and reaffirms the EU's commitment to the elimination of discrimination.

Council of the European Union. 2004. Council Common Position 2004/309/C. F. S. P. Of 2 April 2004 Updating Common Position 2001/931/C. F. S. P. On the Application of Specific Measures to Combat Terrorism and Repealing Common Position 2003/906/C. F. S. P. http://europa. eu. int/eur-lex/pri/en/oj/dat/2004/l_099/l_09920040403en00610064. pdf.

> Updated list of terrorists and terrorist organizations. Includes Abu Nidal, the Continuity IRA, Kurdistan Workers Party, Euskadi Ta Akatasuna, Loyalist Volunteer Force, Palestine Liberation Front, Real IRA, Red Hand Defenders, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, Revolutionary Nuclei, Shining Path, Revolutionary 17 November, and others.

Council of the European Union. 2002. Council Common Position of 2 May 2002 Updating Common Position 2001/931/Cfsp on the Application of Specific Measures to Combat Terrorism (2002/340/Cfsp).

Council of the European Union. 2002. Council Common Position of 17 June 2002 Updating Common Position 2001/931/Cfsp on the Application of Specific Measures to Combat Terrorism and Repealing Common Position 2002/340/Cfsp (2002/462/CFSP).

Council of the European Union. 2001. Council Common Position of 27 December 2001 on the Application of Specific Measures to Combat Terrorism (2001/931/CFSP).

> One of the first lists designating a series of individuals and organizations as "terrorists". Requires Member States to freeze the assets of the listed people and groups and to halt the flow of such resources. List to be reviewed regularly.

Council of the European Union. 2003. Council Decision 2003/48/Jha of 19 December 2002 on the Implementation of Specific Measures for Police and Judicial Cooperation to Combat Terrorism in Accordance with Article 4 of Common Position (2001/931/CFSP).

> Asks members to pass information to Europol and Eurojust. Calls for the formation of specialized law enforcement branches to collect information on criminal investigations linked to terrorist activities. Joint investigative teams are to be created when necessary. Categorizes mutual assistance requests as urgent, top priorities for Members. Requires Members to make information immediately accessible to investigators.

Council of the European Union. 2004. Council Decision of 2 April 2004 Implementing Article 2(3) of Regulation (EC) No 2580/2001 on Specific Restrictive Measures Directed against Certain Persons and Entities with a View to Combating Terrorism and Repealing Decision 2003/902/EC (2004/306/EC).

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Implements the Council Regulation passed on 27 December 2001, regarding the freezing of assets. Applies to the groups and individuals listed in this document.

Council of the European Union. 2002. Council Framework Decision of 13 June 2002 on Combating Terrorism (2002/475/JHA).

Describes offences considered to be terrorist within the European Union and those that can be linked to terrorist activities. Sets a common punishment for those found to be participating in certain acts. Dictates criteria under which States may reduce these sentences. Also describes the procedures related to prosecution, jurisdiction, liability, implementation, and reports.

Council of the European Union. 2002. Council Framework Decision of 13 June 2002 on the European Arrest Warrant and the Surrender Procedures between Member States (2002/584/JHA).

Official document describing the scope of and the procedures for the use of the European Arrest Warrant.

Council of the European Union. 23 March 1999. Council Recommendation of 9 December 1999 on Cooperation in Combating the Financing of Terrorist Groups (1999/C 373/01). http://europa. eu. int/eur-lex/pri/en/oj/dat/1999/c_373/c_37319991223en00010001. pdf.

Council of the European Union. 2001. Council Regulation (EC) No 2580/2001 of 27 December 2001 on Specific Restrictive Measures Directed against Certain Persons and Entities with a View to Combating Terrorism.

Authorizes the freezing of the economic assets of specific people and groups classified as terrorists. Halts the flow of resources to such entities. Also requires private financial institutions to provide authorities with access to information that would facilitate compliance with this document.

Council of the European Union. 1996. Joint Action of 15 October 1996 Adopted by the Council on the Basis of Article K. 3 of the Treaty on European Union Concerning the Creation and Maintenance of a Directory of Specialized Counter-Terrorist Competences, Skills and Expertise to Facilitate Counter- Terrorist Cooperation between the Member States of the European Union (31996f0610).

Paul Craig and Grainne De Burca . 2003. EU Law: Text Cases, and Materials. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

While occasionally dense and legalistic, this introductory text enables readers to understand the structure of the EU and several important topical areas. Contains detailed descriptions of various treaties, allowing the tracing of EU evolution in a clear and precise manner.

European Commission: Justice and Home Affairs. European Union Plugging the Gaps in the Fight against Terrorism. http://europa. eu. int/comm/justice_home/doc_centre/criminal/terrorism/doc_criminal_terrorism_en. htm.

European Commission: Justice and Home Affairs. A Single Roof for Asylum in the European Union. http://europa. eu. int/comm/justice_home/doc_centre/asylum/doc_asylum_intro_en. htm.

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European Commission: Justice and Home Affairs. Towards a Common European Union Immigration Policy. http://europa. eu. int/comm/justice_home/doc_centre/immigration/doc_immigration_intro_en. htm.

European Council. 2001. Anti-Terrorism Roadmap Justice and Home Affairs Aspects. European Union. SN 4019/1/01 REV 1. http://www. statewatch. org/news/2001/oct/sn4019-r1. pdf.

ABSTRACT: *Created post-September 11th. Lists forty-seven measures the European Council instructed the Justice and Home Affairs Council to implement as soon as possible. Includes the creation of the European Arrest Warrant, the establishment of common definitions, penalties and lists of terrorists and terrorist organizations. Specifies the deadlines of and the bodies responsible for implementation.*

European Council. 2004. Declaration on Combating Terrorism. http://ue. eu. int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/79637. pdf.

Urges members to do everything in their power to ensure that current EU bodies, like Europol, are optimally used. Calls upon Members to implement all previously adopted measures and to improve intelligence cooperation. Attempts to increase security at all transportation sites. Instructs the Council to pass proposals related to biometric passports and visas

European Union. Personal Data Protection. http://europa. eu. int/eur-lex/en/index. html.

European Union. 1993. Treaty of the European Union. http://europa. eu. int/en/record/mt/top. html.

Amends the Treaty of Rome. Established the European Union, an organization based upon the European Community. Formalized inter-governmental cooperation into three pillar: Pillar I - Common Provisions, Pillar II - Common Foreign and Security Policy, and Pillar III - Justice and Home Affairs.

Ralph H. Folsom. 2004. European Union Law in a Nutshell. St. Paul, MN: Thomson West.

Succinct guide to European Union law. Chapter breakdown facilitates easy access to subjects of interest, including internal policies and the free movement of people. the history and structure of the organization. Excellent tool for those unfamiliar with EU law.

Religious Freedom and Xenophobia

The war on terror has had a profound impact on religious freedom in Europe. While most European countries have historically embraced secularism, challenges to it have escalated since September 11. Turkey and France have recently passed laws that ban the wearing of headscarves in public schools and it appears Germany is not far behind. In Italy a Muslim woman has brought a case against the government over fines placed on her for wearing a veil in public. More than any other European state, France is the hotbed for the issue because of the strict enforcement of the headscarf ban in public high schools, which has excluded many girls. "Islamaphobia" as it termed by some, is becoming more evident in Europe on the whole. Most European governments insist that the new laws are the result of an aim for a secular, not anti-Muslim society. This section presents news articles, journal articles, and electronic resources on the headscarf issue, as well as the broader

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impact of the War on Terror on religious liberties and the perception of Islam and Muslims in Europe.

Susie Alegre and Marisa Leaf. 2004. "Mutual Recognition in European Judicial Cooperation: A Step Too Far Too Soon? Case Study: The European Arrest Warrant". *European Law Journal*. 10(2): 200.

ABSTRACT*: The article discusses the human rights problems emerging around the European Arrest Warrant (EAW), particularly with respect to the protection of individual rights and legal certainty in the European judicial space. The way in which these problems are tackled will be a litmus test of the respect for fundamental rights across the EU.*

Simon Barnett. 2001. "Religious Freedom and the European Convention on Human Rights: The Case of the Baltic States". Religion, State & Society. 29(2): 91.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on religious freedom in the Baltic states. Adherence to standards set by the European Convention on Human Rights; Religions experiencing difficulties in getting legal recognition in Austria; Distinction between traditional and nontraditional religions.*

Jocelyne Cesari. 2004. Young, Muslim and French. http://www. pbs. org/wnet/wideangle/shows/france/.

This source, targeted toward youth, is centered around a brief regarding the issue of secularism in France and how it is impacting the French community. In addition to the brief, the page also features link to an Interactive map, photo essay, polls, and a resource guide which has a number of good sources related to Muslims in France.

Liz Fekete. 2004. "Anti-Muslim Racism and the European Security State". *Race & Class*. 46(1): 3.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the impact of the war on terror on race relations policies across Europe. Discusses the effect of new legislation, policing and counter-terrorist measures on Muslims, perception in Europe regarding Islam and the promotion of multicultural homogeneity through assimilation.*

Silvio Ferrari. 2004. "Individual Religious Freedom and National Security in Europe after September 11." Brigham Young University Law Review. 2004(2): 357.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the impact of religiously-motivated terrorism on the balance between religious freedom and national security. Analyzes religion and security after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and deals with the creation of laws approved by the European states affecting religion and church-state relations.*

Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper. 2003. "The Roots of Public Attitudes toward State Accommodation of European Muslims' Religious Practices before and after September 11". Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. 42(2): 247.

ABSTRACT: *More than nine million Muslims currently live in Western Europe, which makes them the largest religious minority in the region. There has been significant political controversy in various European states over how best to recognize Muslims' religious rights. These questions have become even more significant and contentious in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks by Islamic extremists. Using privately commissioned polls on attitudes toward Muslim religious rights taken before and after September 11 in Britain, France, and Germany, this article determines the extent of popular opposition to state accommodation of Muslim practices and tests several leading theories of attitudes toward Muslims.*

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Willi Fuhrmann. 2000. "Perspectives on Religious Freedom from the Vantage Point of the European Court of Human Rights". Brigham Young University Law Review. 2000(3): 829.

ABSTRACT: Presents information on a study which analyzed the case law of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in relation to freedom of religion.

Human Rights Watch . 2004. Headscarf Is No Human Right, Court Rules. http://www. hrw. org/wr2k2/europe19. html.

Discusses The European Court on Human Rights ruling that banning headscarves in academic institutions is not a violation of human rights in Turkey. Implies this ruling might help the french case for a similar ban on headscarves.

Javier Jordan and Luisa Boix. 2004. "Al-Qaeda and Western Islam". Terrorism & Political Violence. 16(1): 1.

ABSTRACT: *The terrorism of Al-Qaeda could gravely endanger social co-existence in western countries with large Islamic communities. Al-Qaeda uses the presence of Muslims in Europe and the United States in order to hide itself, recruit new members and obtain aid. Even though the majority of the Muslims who live in the West reject terrorism, there exists proof that Al-Qaeda has managed to locate itself in minority sectors of Europe and America. The social alarm could endanger the relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims that live in the same country. It is necessary to adopt preventive measures to lessen this risk.*

Xing Li. 2002. "Dichotomies and Paradoxes: The West and Islam". Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations. 16(4): 401.

ABSTRACT: *The article focuses on the worldwide spread of radical Islamism. Since the Iranian revolution of 1979, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism has generated several issues of analytical significance for social and political scientists. The author provides analyses and arguments to uncover the paradoxes behind the dichotomous discourses on West-Islam conflicts. Islamism is seen as counter-hegemonic political movement representing an outlet for action and a force for change. Contrary to the civilization paradigm in conceptualizing and dichotomizing the long-term conflicts between the West and Islam, the current terrorist crises are less about religion and more about politics.*

Virginie Mamadouh. 2003. "11 September and Popular Geopolitics: A Study of Websites Run for and by Dutch Moroccans". Geopolitics. 8(3): 191.

ABSTRACT: *In the eyes of many, the events of 11 September have validated Huntington's prediction of a 'clash of civilizations' between the Islam and the West. Accordingly, the Muslims communities in the West are seen as vanguards of a hostile civilization. The essay aims at exploring the significance of such a geopolitical script in popular geopolitics. It deals with the position of Muslim communities in Western Europe. The analysis focuses on Moroccans in the Netherlands, a Muslim community resulting from recent immigration and on the new media. The empirical section examines how the events and their aftermath were presented and represented on websites run for and by young Dutch Moroccans (websites that have became key public places for this first generation of Muslims born in the Netherlands), and aims at assessing to what extent the 'clash of civilizations' script inform their understanding of the events.*

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2002. "Freedom of Religious Association: The Right of Religious Organizations to Obtain Legal Entity Status under the European Convention". Brigham Young University Law Review. 2002(2): 561.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the applicability of the freedom of association cases handled by the European Court of Human Rights in the right of religious organizations to obtain legal entity status under the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Discusses potential limits of the freedoms as a result of the war on terrorism.*

Gerd; Niblock Nonneman, Tim; Szajkowski, Bogdan. 1996. Muslim Communities in the New Europe. Reading, Berkshire, UK: Ithaca Press.

Discusses Muslim communities in the contemporary Europe. Contains broad thematic chapters on Islam and ethnicity in eastern Europe and the role of human rights in European relations with the Islamic world. Regional foci include Muslim communities in France, Germany and Spain.

Ayla Schbley. 2004. "Religious Terrorism, the Media, and International Islamization Terrorism: Justifying the Unjustifiable". Studies in Conflict & Terrorism. 27(3): 207.

ABSTRACT: *This study examines International Islamization Terrorism. It revisits the effects of the media on the propensity of Muslim zealots for conflict and terrorism by sampling 2,619 individuals in 8 European Union countries, and empowers the field with some foundations for Islamist violence.*

Ivkovi Zcedil, Gordana. 2004. "Is Religious Freedom Possible?" Religion in Eastern Europe. 24(2): 29.

Human Rights, Civil Liberties and Domestic Cooperation

Prior to the September 11 attacks in the United States, European countries cooperated on terrorism policy, but they primarily dealt with threats domestically. Now, European states are increasingly recognizing the importance of international intelligence information sharing, law enforcement capacity, and judicial cooperation to combat security and terrorist threats. The European arrest warrant (EAW) is the most striking example of the extensive judicial cooperation in criminal matters that is beginning to take place in the European Union (EU). It replaces traditional extradition between EU member states and will operate on the basis of mutual recognition of judicial decisions.

Unfortunately, the EAW and other cooperative efforts to enhance security have begun to blur the lines between criminal behavior and actual security threats. This shift in perception has led to the re-interpretation of security threats. As a result of this new measurement, the number of human rights abuses and restrictions on civil liberties has increased since the beginning of the War on Terror. The European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights (2001) addresses, *inter alia*, the detainment of suspects and rights to due process of law. While the Charter presents a further step by the European community toward a rights-based approach, it is not legally binding and depends on individual states to adhere to it. Many human rights and civil liberties cases have made their way into European courts where precedents for dealing with the need for balance between security, rights and liberty are being established.

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Looking at the cases of the EAW and the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights shows us that European cooperation efforts are linked at both the security and rights levels. This section provides further resources exploring these linkages of European Cooperation Efforts and Human Rights and Civil Liberties in the war on terror.

European Cooperation Efforts

2002. "Ninth Meeting of the Ministerial Council, Bucharest, 3-4 December 2001". Helsinki Monitor. 13(1): 80-123.

> ABSTRACT: *Discusses proceedings of the ninth meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) in Europe's Ministerial Council in Bucharest, Romania in December 2001. Decision on combating terrorism and the Bucharest plan of action; International legal obligations and political commitments; Strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law; Promoting human rights, tolerance, and multiculturalism.*

Susie Alegre and Marisa Leaf. 2004. "Mutual Recognition in European Judicial Cooperation: A Step Too Far Too Soon? Case Study: the European Arrest Warrant". European Law Journal. 10(2): 200-218.

> ABSTRACT: *The European arrest warrant (EAW) is the first and most striking example of the extensive judicial cooperation in criminal matters that is beginning to take place in the European Union. Replacing traditional extradition between EU member states, including the ten accession countries after May 2004, it will operate on the basis of mutual recognition of judicial decisions, thus taking extradition decisions out of the hands of politicians. It rests on the presumption that criminal justice systems are equivalent throughout the EU and that the rights of the defence, in particular, are safeguarded adequately and in a comparable way EU-wide. However, before the EAW has even been implemented, a number of practical problems are beginning to emerge, in particular in relation to the protection of individual rights and legal certainty in the European judicial space. The way in which these problems are tackled will be a litmus test of the respect for fundamental rights across the EU in the field of justice and home affairs. This article highlights the problems inherent in the rapid development of the principle of mutual recognition and suggests ways in which these problems can be addressed allowing for full protection of fundamental rights within a fully functioning European area of freedom, security, and justice. The EAW will be used to illustrate the prominent features of the emerging landscape of judicial cooperation in criminal matters, providing as it does the most radical example of developments in this field so far and their implications for fundamental rights.*

Arie Bloed. 2003. "OSCE Chronicle". *Helsinki Monitor*. 14(1): 65-69.

> ABSTRACT: *Reports on the Netherlands' takeover of the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) in Europe. Adoption of a charter on preventing and combating terrorism; OSCE missions.*

United States Congress. 2002. International Cooperation in the War on Terrorism: Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, One Hundred Seventh Congress, Second Session, May 8, 2002. Washington: United States General Publishing Office.

Monica Den Boer. 2002. "Towards an Accountability Regime for an Emerging European Policing Governance". Policing & Society. 12(4): 279-290.

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ABSTRACT: *Law enforcement cooperation in the European Union (EU) is booming business, as new actors emerge on the scene and inter-institutional working relationships arise between the different governance levels of policing. This dynamic has been given new impetus as a result of the terrorist attacks against the USA on 11 September 2001. These events have provided the EU with a window of opportunity for the adoption of several new measures in the area of police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters. This article looks at ways in which an appropriate and measurable accountability system could be developed for an emerging European police governance, thereby taking into account the discussions at EU-level about the review of its administration and the functioning of its institutions. The article analyses the accountability systems which are currently in place for European policing, in particular Europol, by drawing a distinction between internal and external accountability, and by looking at the complementarity between political, legal and citizens' accountability.*

Andrew Der-Chin Horng. 2003. "The Human Rights Clause in the European Union's External Trade and Development Agreements". European Law Journal. 9(5): 677.

ABSTRACT: *Since 1992, the European Union (EU) has included in all its agreements with third countries a clause defining respect for human rights and democracy as an 'essential element' of its external relationship. A Council decision of May 1995 spells out the basic modalities of this clause, with the aim of ensuring consistency in the text used and its application. The human rights clause is unique to the EU's bilateral agreements, and now applies to over 120 countries. It represents a new model for EU external relations as well as for international cooperation. The EU plays a leading role in the WTO and international economic relations. The human rights clause will have implications for the development of international rules concerning trade-related human rights policy.*

Victor-Yves Ghebali. 2002. "The Bucharest Meeting of the Ministerial Council (3-4 December 2001): Towards a New Consensus at the OSCE?" Helsinki Monitor. 13(2): 157-167.

ABSTRACT: Reports on the agenda of the Bucharest Meeting of the Ministerial Council in Romania, which discussed reform of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and regional response to terrorism and area conflicts.

C. Grant. 2002. "The Eleventh of September and Beyond: The Impact on the European Union". Political Quarterly. 73(4, Supplement 1): 119-135.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the European Union's foreign and defense policies. Specifically emphasized are transatlantic police and judicial cooperation and the beginnings of effort to enhance military performance and become a more effective international actor.*

Mar A. Jimeni-Bulnes. 2004. "After September 11th: The Fight against Terrorism in National and European Law. Substantive and Procedural Rules: Some Examples". European Law Journal. 10(2): 235.

ABSTRACT: *The terrorist attacks suffered by the United States of America on 11 September 2001 have caused a considerable increase in legislation at national and European level with the same objective: the fight against terrorism. The special nature of this crime makes judicial cooperation among states indispensable. In this context, both kinds of instruments are contemplated in order to provide the necessary measures especially, and not especially, addressed to prevent and repress terrorism: they give place to substantial and procedural rules, such as the European Arrest Warrant in the territory of the European Union. But in this claimed fight against terrorism there are also two important risks, namely the creation of a kind of "Security Criminal Law" from a material point of view and the arguable breach of human rights infringed by some of those procedural measures.*

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Marie Lesure. 2002. "No Room for Failure". *Armed Forces Journal International.* 140(4): 10-11.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the intensification of transnational cooperation by Europe to counter terrorism in the region. Account of the terrorist activities in France; Emergence of several terrorist networks in Europe; Details of the action plan developed by the European Commission after the September 11, 2001 terrorist strikes in the U.S. ; Increase in defense budget envisaged in France's budget plan for 2003-2008 military program.*

John D. Occhipinti. 2003. The Politics of EU Police Cooperation: Toward a European FBI? Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Ltd.

Describes judicial cooperation within the EU in detail. Traces the developments in this area back to the 1970's. Discusses the progress made between the various treaties. A helpful timeline for those interested in a simple presentation of the events that have taken place from 1970 until 2002.

Fernando Reinares. 2000. European Democracies against Terrorism: Governmental Policies and Intergovernmental Cooperation. Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

ABSTRACT: *Assesses the different measures designed and implemented by western European democratic governments since the late 1960s to counter terrorism. Analyzes the problems and perspectives surrounding intergovernmental co-operation on counter-terror as developed within the framework of the European Union.*

Lord Robertson. 2003. "Our Grandchildren's NATO". European Foreign Affairs Review. 8(4): 509-513.

ABSTRACT: *In the 1990's NATO evolved to engage former adversaries and deal with instability and ethnic cleansing in the Balkans. Through the same common framework of military interoperability NATO is playing a new role in the fight against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. The article asserts that Canada's Joint Task Force 2 and Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry were able to operate effectively in Afghanistan because of decades of cooperation in NATO. The NATO at November 2002 summit in Prague, Czeck Republic is identified as a turning point for planning the military contribution against terrorism.*

Michael Santiago. 2000. Europol and Police Cooperation in Europe. New York: Edwin Mellen Press.

Good background on the developments in police cooperation within the EU prior to 2000 and the formation of EUROPOL. Provides a very detailed discussion of the negotiations and the tensions that existed between member states.

Nikki Swartz. 2004. "EU Proposes Terrorist Database". *Information Management Journal.* 38(3).

ABSTRACT*: The European Union's (EU) head office recently proposed a Europe-wide database of criminal records for terrorists to help improve cooperation between governments in the wake of the March 2004 train bombings in Madrid, Spain. A European Parliament committee voted against a commission deal allowing U.S. authorities to collect personal data on airline passengers, saying it undermined privacy rights. A report from the European Commission has proposed a register of suspected terrorists' convictions to help governments keep track of their activities and disable their finances. Since 2001, the 15 EU governments have agreed in principle on at least 10 different pan-European laws to combat terrorism but implementation has been spotty according to the New York Times.*

Asle Toje. 2003. "The First Casualty in the War against Terror: The Fall of Nato and Europe's Reluctant Coming of Age". European Security. 12(2): 63-76.

ABSTRACT: *In 2003, hardly a keynote speech goes by without Western leaders stressing that the transatlantic bond is as important as ever. This is perhaps true - a timelier question is whether the same can be said for the perception of common values and common threats that used to define this partnership and its sole institutional link: NATO. This essay explores five security policy conundrums that point towards a revised burden-sharing and power-sharing in the transatlantic strategic partnership: the UK's ambiguous role in the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP): the blocking of the formal bond between NATO and the EU: the implications of a change in U.S. policy towards Europe: NATO's improbable move into soft security and, finally, NATO's invocation of Article 5 in the wake of the September U attacks on New York and Washington.*

Neil N. Wnn. 2003. "Towards a Common European Security and Defence Policy? The Debate on Nato, the European Army and Transatlantic Security". Geopolitics. 8(2): 47-68.

ABSTRACT: *The movement forwards a Common European security and Defence Policy (CESDP) in the contemporary European Union (EU), and the possible creation of a European army, capture the leitmotiv of contemporary European political integration. The movement towards a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in western Europe transatlantic relations about the very nature of European foreign and defence policy, transatlantic relations and, most most significantly, the core meaning and destination of European union. Defence therefore takes on a salience not just in its own field, but in the entire European integration process. The culmination of interstate security cooperation would be the formation of an integrated security community in which identities and policy-making capacities have been consolidated or unified at the European level. Defence policy forms the spine of broader European security policy and a security strategy can only exist with a strong military spin. This is especially prescient following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on New York and Washington, DC. Washington expects Europe to follow its lead in international politics and terrorism policy. Since 1998, the Europeans have developed new plans to gain greater political and military independence from Washington and NATO. To what extent, therefore, does the EU want to go beyond being a mere 'civilian power' consequences of such a transformation for western Europe, the United States (US) and transatlantic relations? To what extent will the U.S. remain involved in European security and in what form? The present analysis begins with an analysis of key issues in European defence and security after 11 September 2001. The article then goes on to consider options for transatlantic relations and European security. The article then considers the positions of the major western European powers towards the so-called CESDP.*

Rob Zaagman. 2002. "Terrorism and the OSCE. An Overview". *Helsinki Monitor*. 13(3): 204-215.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the enhancement of the legal and operational capacity of national governments to fight terrorism by the United States and numerous regional bodies after September 11.*

Wolfgang Zellner. 2001. "The 9th OSCE Ministerial in Bucharest 2001". Helsinki Monitor. 13(1): 62-71.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the proceedings of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE) Ministerial meeting in Bucharest, Romania in 2001. Issues addressed included the capacity of the OSCE to regulate conflicts and crises in its field of application in the geopolitical aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks; the failure of the Vienna Ministerial meeting in 2000; and the Bucharest plan of action for combating terrorism.*

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Human Rights

2000. "Magee V. The United Kingdom". *Human Rights Case Digest.* 11(5): 277-279.

> ABSTRACT*: Bombing suspect kept incommunicado and denied access to a solicitor for forty eight hours during which time he made a confession. Discusses differences in treatment between detainees in Northern Ireland and other parts of the United Kingdom under prevention of terrorism legislation is to be explained in terms of geographical location and not personal characteristics.*

2001. "Marshall V. The United Kingdom". *Human Rights Case Digest.* 12(7): 669-671.

> ABSTRACT: *Detention prolonged more than six days under the UK Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1989 without the detainee being brought before a judge.*

Dirk Haubrich. 2003. "Anti-Terror Laws and Civil Liberties: Britain, France and Germany Compared". Government & Opposition. 38(1): 3-29.

> ABSTRACT: *Compares anti-terrorism laws and civil liberties in Great Britain, France and Germany with special attention to the broader liberal democratic tradition and the protection of human rights.*

Magnus Hörnqvist. 2004. "Risk Assessments and Public Order Disturbances: New European Guidelines for the Use of Force?" Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology & Crime Prevention. 5(1): 4-27.

> ABSTRACT: *Over the last twenty years, the prison system, border controls, crime prevention programmes, anti-terror measures and private security companies have expanded within Europe. This article discusses some of the implications. It will be argued that we are witnessing a paradigmatic shift in the manner in which state-sanctioned force is employed. The distinction between what is criminal, to be dealt with by the justice system, and what creates a 'perception of security'--formerly to be dealt with by social policy--is being eroded at both macro- ('war on terror') and micro- ('public order') levels. The rule of law is giving way to a security mentality, where force is employed on the basis of risk assessments. Social problems are re-interpreted as security threats, and met with measures recreating the original threats. This gives the policy field a distinctive rationality of its own.*

Istvan S. Pogany. 1995. Human Rights in Eastern Europe. Brookfield, Vt., USA: E. Elgar.

A. H. Robertson. 1993. Human Rights in Europe: A Study of the European Convention on Human Rights. Manchester, UK; New York: Manchester University Press: Distributed exclusively in the USA and Canada by St. Martin's Press.

Steven D. Roper. 2001. "A Comparison of East European Constitutional Rights". International Journal of Human Rights. 5(2): 1.

> ABSTRACT*: Examines the human rights and liberties prescribed in East European constitutions. Presents background on the historical development of constitutional rights; a discussion on the changes in the constitutions; and a comparison of the rights in east European constitutions.*

W. Sadurski. 2002. "Charter and Enlargement". *European Law Journal.* 8(3).

> ABSTRACT: *Current debates about the contents, status, and the future role of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights should have a stronger enlargement dimension: the constitutionalisation of Europe (with the Charter as its key element) and the EU enlargement should be seen as two interrelated (and, possibly, mutually*

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supportive) phenomena rather than as two separate challenges which must be approached one at a time. There are two main aspects to this relationship. First, the Charter may be seen as a yardstick by which the human rights credentials of the candidate states will be tested. Second (the central focus of this article), one may ask whether the candidate states, once involved in the debate about the constitutional future of Europe, will bring any constitutional insights which may affect the articulation of Charter rights. It is argued, against the background of candidate states recent experience of constitution-making, that these insights should be embraced rather than feared, and that the current member states should resist a temptation of adopting a paternalistic approach towards the candidate states as participants in the European constitutional debate.

Patrick Thornberry. 2003. "Conclusions of the Conference by the General Rapporteur". International Journal on Minority & Group Rights. 10(4): 381-386.

Andrew A. T. Williams. 2003. "Mapping Human Rights, Reading the European Union". European Law Journal. 9(5): 659-676.

ABSTRACT: *The EU's human rights policy has provoked increasing scholarly attention over the last decade. Yet rarely has it been subjected to rigorous analysis in the context of any integration theory. This article is an attempt to rectify the omission. By building on the approach of historical institutionalism, whilst at the same time recognizing its analytical deficiencies, a method of reading the EU and interpreting its human rights policies is promoted. Specifically, the article contends that an analysis based on the textual nature of the EU and the configuration of this text through 'institutional narrative' will enable a better understanding of the institutional logic behind the construction of human rights policy. An agenda for research and analysis is thus suggested that might map the development of human rights in the EU and predict the compass of future policy direction more effectively.*

Neil N. Winn. 2003. "Towards a Common European Security and Defence Policy? The Debate on Nato, the European Army and Transatlantic Security". Geopolitics. 8(2): 47-68.

ABSTRACT: *The movement forwards a Common European security and Defence Policy (CESDP) in the contemporary European Union (EU), and the possible creation of a European army, capture the leitmotiv of contemporary European political integration. The movement towards a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in western Europe transatlantic relations about the very nature of European foreign and defence policy, transatlantic relations and, most most significantly, the core meaning and destination of European union. Defence therefore takes on a salience not just in its own field, but in the entire European integration process. The culmination of interstate security cooperation would be the formation of an integrated security community in which identities and policy-making capacities have been consolidated or unified at the European level. Defence policy forms the spine of broader European security policy and a security strategy can only exist with a strong military spin. This is especially prescient following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on New York and Washington, DC. Washington expects Europe to follow its lead in international politics and terrorism policy. Since 1998, the Europeans have developed new plans to gain greater political and military independence from Washington and NATO. To what extent, therefore, does the EU want to go beyond being a mere 'civilian power' consequences of such a transformation for western Europe, the United States (US) and transatlantic relations? To what extent will the U.S. remain involved in European security and in what form? The present analysis begins with an analysis of key issues in European defence and security after 11 September 2001. The article then goes on to consider options for transatlantic relations and European security. The article then consi*ders the positions of the major western European powers towards the so-called CESDP.

2001. "Yaman V. Turkey". *Human Rights Case Digest*. 12(11): 1087-1089.

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Transatlantic Relations and Collaborative Efforts

Transatlantic relations have been more controversial than ever. Some observers have asserted that the fundamental cultural and structural basis for a Euro-American alliance has eroded to an almost critical level since the beginning of the Iraq war in 2003. This stands in contrast to the feeling immediately after September 11th that European and American common values and political cohesiveness were strengthened. Whatever its current status, it is clear that the bond is an important one, demonstrated by the inclusion of both sides of the Atlantic in organizations like NATO and the OSCE.

In spite of the perception of animosity between Europe and America, Western leaders have consistently contended that the transatlantic bond is as important as ever. Both sides are seeking to strengthen diplomacy and collaboration, reevaluate security threats and address human rights and minority issues in order to respond to threats that do no arise neatly from within the borders of other nation-states. At the same time, because this policy stance is unique, its impact on human rights is easily overlooked. This section seeks to provide information regarding transatlantic relations, collaborative efforts, and these security organizations in particular.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Arie Bloed. 2003. "OSCE Chronicle". *Helsinki Monitor.* 14(1): 65-69.

ABSTRACT*: Reports on the Netherlands' takeover of the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) in Europe. Adoption of a charter on preventing and combating terrorism; OSCE missions.*

Arie Bloed. 2001. "The OSCE and the War against Terror". *Helsinki Monitor.* 12(4): 313-318.

ABSTRACT*: Focuses on the history of Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Effect of the war against terrorism on OSCE agenda; Loss of American interest in developments in other parts of the OSCE region; Role of the OSCE in the implementation of the peace agreement in Macedonia.*

Victor-Yves Ghebali. 2002. "The Bucharest Meeting of the Ministerial Council (3-4 December 2001): Towards a New Consensus at the OSCE?" Helsinki Monitor. 13(2): 157-167.

ABSTRACT*: Reports on the agenda of the Bucharest Meeting of the Ministerial Council in Romania, which discussed reform of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and regional response to terrorism and area conflicts.*

Rob Zaagman. 2002. "Terrorism and the OSCE. An Overview". *Helsinki Monitor.* 13(3): 204-215.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the enhancement of the legal and operational capacity of national governments to fight terrorism by the United States and numerous regional bodies after September 11.*

Wolfgang Zellner. 2001. "The 9th OSCE Ministerial in Bucharest 2001". Helsinki Monitor. 13(1): 62-71.

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ABSTRACT: *Discusses the proceedings of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE) Ministerial meeting in Bucharest, Romania in 2001. Issues addressed included the capacity of the OSCE to regulate conflicts and crises in its field of application in the geopolitical aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks; the failure of the Vienna Ministerial meeting in 2000; and the Bucharest plan of action for combating terrorism.*

OSCE

Arie Bloed. 2001. "The OSCE and the War against Terror". *Helsinki Monitor.* 12(4): 313-318.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the history of Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Effect of the war against terrorism on OSCE agenda; Loss of American interest in developments in other parts of the OSCE region; Role of the OSCE in the implementation of the peace agreement in Macedonia.*

Arie Bloed. 2003. "OSCE Chronicle". *Helsinki Monitor.* 14(1): 65-69.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the Netherlands' takeover of the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) in Europe. Adoption of a charter on preventing and combating terrorism; OSCE missions.*

Victor-Yves Ghebali. 2002. "The Bucharest Meeting of the Ministerial Council (3-4 December 2001): Towards a New Consensus at the OSCE?" Helsinki Monitor. 13(2): 157-167.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the agenda of the Bucharest Meeting of the Ministerial Council in Romania, which discussed reform of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and regional response to terrorism and area conflicts.*

2002. "Ninth Meeting of the Ministerial Council, Bucharest, 3-4 December 2001". Helsinki Monitor. 13(1): 80-123.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses proceedings of the ninth meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) in Europe's Ministerial Council in Bucharest, Romania in December 2001. Decision on combating terrorism and the Bucharest plan of action; International legal obligations and political commitments; Strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law; Promoting human rights, tolerance, and multiculturalism.*

Rob Zaagman. 2002. "Terrorism and the OSCE. An Overview". *Helsinki Monitor.* 13(3): 204-215.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the enhancement of the legal and operational capacity of national governments to fight terrorism by the United States and numerous regional bodies after September 11.*

Wolfgang Zellner. 2001. "The 9th OSCE Ministerial in Bucharest 2001". Helsinki Monitor. 13(1): 62-71.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the proceedings of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE) Ministerial meeting in Bucharest, Romania in 2001. Issues addressed included the capacity of the OSCE to regulate conflicts and crises in its field of application in the geopolitical aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks; the failure of the Vienna Ministerial meeting in 2000; and the Bucharest plan of action for combating terrorism.*

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Case Studies

Spain

Spain has had a long struggle with irredentism. Under the regime of the dictator Franco, languages such as Basque and Catalan were banned and regional identities were suppressed. It was during this period that the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) was founded. ETA is an outgrowth of the Basque separatist movement and has long used terrorism as a "negotiation tool" with the Spanish government. While Basques on the whole have voted to remain part of Spain, the separatist movement is alive and well. Since September 11, however, what for decades had been considered a problem for Spain alone became recognized and acknowledged as a problem for the world under the banner of the "War on Terror."

This has had many implications for the ETA. Most important was the insistence of the Aznar administration that ETA was linked to the 2004 train bombing in Madrid, which claimed more than 200 lives. Unconvinced of this relation, Spaniards reacted to the Madrid attacks by voting out the Aznar administration, which they felt had distanced itself from the wishes of the Spanish people and pursued an ineffective counterterrorism policy that included involvement in the invasion of Iraq.

The articles in this section present some background information and history of ETA and further explore the 2004 Madrid train bombing and its impact on the Spanish political environment.

2004. "Europe without Aznar". *Economist*. 370(8367): 56.

ABSTRACT: *Asserts that the departure of Spanish Prime Minister José María Aznar and his People's Party will shift the balance of power within the European Union. The election of Spain's Socialist Party marks a shift in Spanish policy toward the big European powers and away from the U.S.*

2004. Euskal Herria Eta Askatasuna: The Basques and Their Fight for Freedom Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA). http://free. freespeech. org/askatasuna/docs/eta. htm. (Spanish/English)

Published by Basque nationalists, this site provides a history of ETA as well as a history of the Basque separatist movement in general. There are links to Basque nationalist songs, video clips and timeline of the Basque Separatist movement.

Dale Fuchs. 2004. "Investigation of Madrid Bombings Shows No Link to Basque Group, Spanish Minister Says." The New York Times. 153(52804): A6.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the lack of evidence linking the Basque separatist group ETA to the terrorist bombings of commuter trains in Madrid, Spain. Further discusses the unpopularity of Prime Minister José Maria Aznar with the Spanish public.*

Tim Golden; Douglas Jehl and David Johnston. 2004. Spanish Officials Divided on Whom to Blame for Train Attacks: Basques or Islamists. The New York Times. 153(52787): A7.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on Spanish officials' investigation of the terrorist bombing of the rail transport system in Madrid. Discusses the type of bomb used by the terrorists and the clues being considered by the investigators to determine prime suspects.*

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Keith Johnson. 2003. "With Basques, Spain Hits Snag in War on Terror". Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition. 241(59): B4B.

ABSTRACT: *Reports the problem faced by the Spanish government with the Basque terror group ETA.*

Benjamin Jones. 2001. "Spain Endures Scourge of the ETA". *Europe.* (410): 44.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the terrorist actions of the armed Basque separatist organization, ETA, in Spain. Discusses both how Spain expressed solidarity with the United States after September 11, 2001 and the scope of ETA activities as of October 2001.*

Lucy Jones. 2004. ""Europe Is Scared," Says Le Parisien after Madrid Attacks". Washington Report on Middle East Affairs. 23(4): 36.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses reasons why the Spanish government immediately blamed the ETA for the March 11, 2004 explosions in Madrid, Spain, which killed at least 200 people and injured many more. The European press, as well as many ordinary people, has questioned whether they instead were al-Qaeda's response to Spain's support for the United States in Iraq.*

Renwick McLean. 2004. Spain Considers Financing for Major Religions. The New York Times. 153(52930): A6.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the formal discussions of a proposal to expand financing to religious organizations by the Spanish government. Discusses the government's support of the mosques to make them less dependent on money from international militant groups and its implication on the prevention of the terrorism activities.*

Ludger Mees. 2001. "Between Votes and Bullets. Conflicting Ethnic Identities in the Basque Country". Ethnic & Racial Studies. 24(5): 798.

ABSTRACT: *This article focuses on the historical origins of the Basque conflict, its evolution during the Francoist dictatorship (1939-75), and the reasons for its continuity in the new political context of democracy. Special attention is paid to the attempt of kick-starting a peace process in 1998, comparison with the Northern Irish experience, and factors which contributed to the collapse of that attempt of peaceful accommodation. Several proposals for the necessary rethinking of this problem are presented.*

Valentí Puig. 2004. "Spain's Atlantic Option". *National Interest.* (76): 69.

ABSTRACT: *Deals with the effects of the U.S. -Iraq war on the foreign policies of Spain. Information on how the U.S. helped in the Madrid government's fight against Basque terrorism. Discusses the reasons conservative Prime Minister José María Aznar is working toward a shift in government.*

Alan Riding. 2004. Europe Knows Fear, but This Time It's Different. The New York Times. 152(52788).

ABSTRACT: *Dicusses the bombings in Madrid, Spain as an effect of terrorism. Explores terrorism in Europe and the opposition of the government in European countries on the call for an all out war on terrorism.*

Andrew Rigby. 2000. "Amnesty and Amnesia in Spain". *Peace Review.* 12(1): 73.

ABSTRACT: *Important background information for understanding the current political environment in Spain. Discusses the issues of amnesty, human rights violations and political reform during and after the regime of dictator Francisco Franco of Spain.*

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2004. "Terror & Truth in Spain". *The Nation*. 278(13): 3.

> ABSTRACT: *This article discusses the impact of the train bombings in Spain. It asserts the perpetrators of the Madrid attacks were able to meet their objective of punishing the Aznar government because Bush had drawn the Spanish government into the war on Iraq. According to the article, the attack reinforces beliefs that the war on Iraq has undermined the effort against Al Qaeda.*

Jackie Urla. 2003. "Voice of the People Recast as Language of Terrorism". Times Higher Education Supplement. 1604): 18.

> ABSTRACT: *Discusses the impact of Spain's campaign against separatist bombers on its quest to preserve the Basque Language. Arrest of the staff of the Basque language magazine 'Egunkaria' due to its presumed collaboration with the Basque national liberation organization, ETA. Recognition of the act as a threat to democracy and violation of linguistic rights and concern over the potential loss of language diversity.*

United Kingdom

For decades, terrorism has been a major concern for the government of the United Kingdom. The UK passed numerous counter-terrorism laws, all of which primarily focused upon the situation in Northern Ireland. As of 2000, however, the focus of the government became more international in nature, leading to the passage of the Terrorism Act of 2000 and, more recently, the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA), one of the strictest anti-terror legislations passed in Europe since September 11.

The act is extensive in scope and has been questioned by the European Council of Human Rights. According to this new policy, foreign nationals suspected of terrorist involvement can be detained indefinitely, and confessions obtained under torture on foreign soil can be used to detain suspected terrorists in the UK. However, the ATCSA have been highly criticized. Many cite it, as a means to undermine human rights in the UK. This is of further concern because the UK, which is at the center of major international institutions including NATO and the UN, has the ability to influence major international decisions.

Amnesty International. 2001. Amnesty International Report 2004, United Kingdom.

> This section of the AI Report 2004 discusses the impact post-September 11 legislation has had on human rights in the United Kingdom. It deals specifically with the detention of foreign nationals under the Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA) the impact of Section 55 of the Nationality, Immigration, and Assylum Act 2002 on asylum-seekers, and the use of police force granted by "anti-terrorist" legislation to interupt peaceful demonstrations. Summary: http://web. amnesty. org/report2004/gbr-summary-eng
> Full text: http://web. amnesty. org/report2004/2eu-index-eng

Amnesty International. 2002. Rights Denied: The Uk's Response to 11 September 2001. http://web. amnesty. org/library/index/ENGEUR450162002.

> This article cites the "anti-terrorist" legislative measures taken by the UK since September 11, 2001, particularly the Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA), as a means to

undermine human rights in the UK. Amnesty International asserts that human rights violations have occurred since the ATCSA's inception and makes recommendations to the UK government.

David Bonner. 1992. "United Kingdom: The United Kingdom Response to Terrorism". Terrorism & Political Violence. 4(4): 171.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the United Kingdom's response to terrorism, particularly with respect to security legislation, policy, and antiterrorist personnel. It asserts that the situation in Northern Ireland has shaped the government response most. The article also describes measures taken in the economic, political, security and intelligence, prison and media spheres, as well as the organisation of specialized anti-terrorist units and the anti-terrorist bureaucracy in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.*

Clare Dyer. 2004. "Goldsmith Defends Indefinite Detention." The Guardian. Special Reports (October 7).

Report on the attorney general's decision to defend the government's decision to allow foreign nationals to be detained indefinitely on suspicion of involvement in terrorism, thus ignoring obligations under the European convention on human rights. Cites the attorney general, Lord Goldsmith, as saying, "This was not a step taken lightly. The government believes it was a legitimate and appropriate response to protect the human rights of the suspected international terrorists."

H. Fenwick. 2002. "Responding to 11 September: Detention without Trial under the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001." Political Quarterly. 73(4): 80.

ABSTRACT*: Argues that the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA) satisfies the terrorist aim of installing authoritarianism in democratic states. It concludes that it is unarguable that detention without trial is opposed to fundamental human rights norms and legislation that allows for such practices should be seen as a threat to our base human rights.*

Xavier Groussot. 2003. "UK Immigration Law under Attack and the Direct Application of Article 8 ECHR by the ECJ". Non-State Actors & International Law. 3(2): 187.

ABSTRACT*: Immigration law might be wrongly perceived as a field where the so-called doctrine of purely internal matters applies with virulence. Between 2002 and 2003, UK immigration law has been the object of three preliminary rulings referred to the European Court of Justice (ECJ). The ECJ has already delivered two judgments, i. e. Carpenter (July 2002) and Baumbast (September 2002). Similarly, the Opinion of the Advocate General (AG) in Akrich (February 2003) concerns an identical issue and thus appears of interest.*

Peter Hain. 2002. "Britain, Europe and the Commonwealth". *Round Table*. (363): 41.

ABSTRACT: *Being at the centre of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the United Nations, the G8 group of major economic powers, and the European Union advances Britain's interests Just as Europe contributed to the end of the Milosevic regime in the former Yugoslavia, Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth have worked to restore democracy in Fiji and Sierra Leone, and engage constructively in Zimbabwe. The Government's aim is a strong Britain, a strong Europe, a strong United Nations and a strong Commonwealth.*

James Hammerton. 2003. The Terrorism Act 2000 - Commentary. http://cynatech. co. uk/gwi/docs/ Terrorism%20Act%20 2000 %20-%20Commentary. doc.

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This web page provides information about the Terrorism Act 2000 and enumerates the problems with the bill in relation to human rights.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. UK: Promises on Torture Don't Work: "Diplomatic Assurances" Will Not Protect Deportees. http://www. hrw. org/english/docs/2004/10/06/uk9459. htm.

Focuses on the implication of allowing UK-detained terrrorism suspects to be sent back to their home countries after receiving diplomatic assurance that they will not be tortured once they arrive. Human Rights Watch is opposed to the United Kingdom's decision to simply seek diplomatic assurance stating that such assurances have not been effective in preventing torture in the past.

Donald Jackson. 1994. "Prevention of Terrorism: The United Kingdom Confronts the European Convention on Human Rights". Terrorism & Political Violence. 6(4): 507.

ABSTRACT: *Examines cases filed before the European Court of Human Rights on the efforts of Great Britain in controlling terrorism in Northern Ireland. Evidence of a constraint imposed by the European Convention on Human Rights. Also covered are the use of emergency power by Great Britain in Northern Ireland and the withdrawal of 1973 derogations by Britain.*

Ben Ward. 2004. Britain's Core Values Face Ultimate Trial. The Observer. Date. http://observer. guardian. co. uk/international/story/0,1318486,00. html.

The article discusses the United Kingdom's current counter terrorism strategies. It claims that the current startegies are eroding the Britan's core human rights values. Claims the ban on torture, principle of equality under the law, and the right to a fair trial have all been but in jeopardy as a result of legislative action that has yet to prove effective against torture.

Turkey

Since the modernization of Turkey by President Mustafa Kemal Ataturk during the interwar period, Turkey has struggled with a tension between secularism and its Muslim heritage. Cleavages have deepened between the Turkish government and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as a result. Turkey has been condemned by the international community members for its treatment of Kurds in 1980s and 1990s, and also for torture and other human rights abuses. Many of these violations have been over the repression of extremist Muslims. Current members of the EU who are implementing such policies may stand to look at lessons learned from Turkey.

Turkey is an interesting case because Turkish policies toward terrorists, unlike those in Spain and the UK, have not tightened as a result of September 11. Their reticence to crack down is likely due to their desire to gain acceptance into the EU. The Turkish government claims to be making efforts to promote democracy and human rights for all, including its Kurds. However, the international community remains dubious of Turkey's preparedness for EU membership and unsure of the effect the inclusion of a Muslim country will have on the community of developed liberal-democratic states.

Mark Bentley. 1999. "Turkey Targets Islamist Factions". *Middle East*. (296): 8.

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ABSTRACT: *A report on the plan of Turkish government to pass legislation opposing radical Islamic movements. Discusses the effect of anti-Islamic legislation on human rights and the claims of the Turkish government to promote democracy and human rights protection. Also addresses a Turkish Court of Appeals speech against religious terrorism.*

Bill Cooke. 2004. "World Report". *Free Inquiry.* 24(2): 42.

ABSTRACT: *This broad ranging article reports that Turkey has become a target for jihadist terrorists. Turkey's longstanding Western orientation angers Muslim terrorists.*

Steven Greenhouse. 1994. After Convictions of Kurds, U.S. Presses Turkey on Rights. The New York Times. 144(49911): A10.

ABSTRACT: *Details President Bill Clinton's request to Turkey to stop human rights abuse. Discusses the Turkish court's conviction of eight Kurdish members of Parliament and the importance of Turkey in the Middle East. Suggestion for Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller to solve the Kurdish crisis by nonmilitary means.*

Roger Hardy. 2004. Islam in Turkey: Odd One Out. http://news. bbc. co. uk/1/hi/talking_point/3192647. stm.

This brief provides a general background on Turkey and its struggle between secular "modernism" and traditional Muslim identities.

James C. Helicke. 2004. PKK Declares End of Cease Fire with Turkey. Kurdistan Observer. Date. http://home. cogeco. ca/~kurdistan3/15-6-04-pkk-rejects-ceasefire-appeal. htm.

Reports on the killing three security guards by suspected Kurdish rebels in an overnight attack in southern Turkey. A rebel commander rejected an appeal to reinstate a five-year unilateral cease-fire that ended in June 2004.

David A. Korn. 1995. "A Dynamic of Peace-and Terror". *Freedom Review.* 26(1): 32.

ABSTRACT: *Presents an update of developments in Turkey. Addresses human rights violations and the repression of the Kurdish populations in Iraq and Turkey.*

Kevin McKiernan and Axel Koester. 1993. "Turkey Terrorizes Its Kurds". *Progressive.* 57(7): 28.

ABSTRACT: *Looks at how Turkey, a firm American ally, is supporting the use of death squads against its Kurdish minority. Statistics on the number of unsolved murders in Turkish Kurdistan from human-rights monitors; information on the Kurdish separatist war in Turkey; a discussion of the shooting death of Turkish reporter Halit Gungren.*

1986. "Nihilism and Terrorism". *New Republic.* 195(10): 9.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses how the recent murder of Jews in an Istanbul synagogue relate to the evolution of Arab terrorism in the 1980s. Further investigates the implications of the attacks in Istanbul for the position that appeasement is the best strategy for the War On Terror.*

H. Tarik Oguzlu. 2004. "Changing Dynamics of Turkey's U.S. And Eu Relations". Middle East Policy. 11(1): 98.

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ABSTRACT: *Talks about one of the greatest challenges to Turkey's foreign policy in the post-Iraq War era and the changing dynamics of Turkey-European Union relations. Discusses the* effect of the inclusion of a predominantly Muslim country in the community of developed liberal-democratic states.

Mark Thomas. 2002. "New Labour Backs the Turks over the Kurds Because Turkey Is the Richard Desmond of the British Arms and Construction World". New Statesman. 131(4591): 11.

ABSTRACT: *Comments on the idea of banning terrorist groups. Mention of the banning of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) by the European Union. and the role of the PKK in war in Turkey. Further discusses relations between Great Britain and Turkey.*

Georgia[3]
by James Smithwick

The conflict between Chechnya and Russia combined with September 11 has focused more international attention on the Russian Caucuses. However, little has changed since America declared a War on Terror in the Republic of Georgia. The state turned a blind eye to religious persecution before September 11, and continues to do so. Multiple separatist movements persist in the same manner as they did prior to September 11.

Although very little has changed in the substance of these conflicts, all the disputants have attempted to label the other as terrorist since September 11. "In the context of a global war on terror, those who are successfully branded as terrorists by world opinion risk isolation and elimination" (Fawn, 2002). To date, the United has yet to find any separatist party in Georgia guilty of employing terrorism.

As a part of the War on Terror, the United States has expanded its role in the Caucuses. The primary vehicle for American military presence in Georgia is the Georgia Train and Equip Program (GTEP). Currently it is mostly focused on the perceived Chechen terrorist threat in the Pankisi Gorge in northeastern Georgia stipulates that "…trained units will not be used in domestic conflicts" (Chigorin, 2003). However, there are some in Georgia's separatist movement that fear an American trained and equipped Georgian army will be able to tighten its grip on breakaway regions. Government officials have gone so far as to announce that, "… Washington promised to help T'bilisi to sort things out in Abkhazia (a breakaway region) as soon as the problem of Iraq was sorted out" (Chigorin, 2003).

Background

This part of the bibliography provides the reader with a basic background on the Republic of Georgia. It was designed to orient the reader to the geography and history of the Russian Caucuses from the early 1600s, through independence in 1991, to the present. Also included are entries that specifically address religious persecution by the Georgian Orthodox Church against, among others, Jehovah's Witnesses. Many of the entries contained in this subsection are cross-referenced in other subsections.

Amnesty International. 2004. "Georgia".
http://web. amnesty. org/report2004/geo-summary-eng.

Report covers events from January to December 2003. Discusses religious persecution by members of the Georgian Orthodox Church and the extradition of Chechens accused of terrorism by the Russian Federation. Also presents information on the change of political power in Georgia in 2003, the Revolution of the Roses.

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[3] This section has a supplement that begins on page S-33.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "World Report 2003: Georgia". http://www. hrw. org/wr2k3/europe7. html.

> Report on human rights developments in Georgia that focuses on abuses associated with the war on terror in the Pankisi Gorge region, home to thousands of Checheyan refugees. Report also analyzes the persecution of various religious groups in Georgia and concludes with the role of the international community in Georgia.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Georgia". http://hrw. org/doc/?t=europe_pub&c=georgi.

> URL provides a link to eight Human Rights Watch publications addressing various human rights issues in the Republic of Georgia. Publications address topics including: landmines, the South Ossetia conflict, and the Georgian legal system.

Erika Dailey. 1996. The Commonwealth of Independent States: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Russian Federation, and Tajikistan. New York, N. Y. : Human Rights Watch/Helsinki: 8(7).

> This report focuses on the plight of refugees in several former Soviet republics. Regional conflicts have created large numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons. Within the framework of refugees and displaced persons, this report addresses human rights in several former Soviet republics.

Erika Dailey. 1994. Georgia, Torture and Gross Violations of Due Process in Georgia: An Analysis of Criminal Case No. 7493910. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch/Helsinki: 6 (11).

> Report analyzes the human rights abuses associated with criminal trial # 7493910. Nineteen men have been charged with a variety of crimes ranging from arms possession to murder, all crimes carry the possibility of a death sentence. Abuses include: coerced confessions, lack of due process, and denial of legal representation.

William A. Dando. 1995. Russia and the Independent Nations of the Former USSR: Geofacts and Maps. Dubuque, Iowa : Wm. C. Brown Communications, 1995.

> This work provides basic geographic information about Russian Caucasus with both maps and geographic facts about the region. It is a good source for individuals looking for a place to start their research.

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. 2004. Georgia. http://www. csce. gov/state_query. cfm?state_id=19.

> URL link provides access to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe's findings on the republic of Georgia as of 2004. The CSCE is an independent agency of the United States Government. The press releases, hearings/briefings, reports, and congressional statements address topics including: terrorism, religious persecution, separatist movements, domestic politics, and foreign involvement in Georgia. This link is a great starting point for anyone interested in an overview of human rights issues facing the republic of Georgia.

R. G. Gachechiladze. 1995. The New Georgia: Space, Society, Politics (Eastern European Studies, No 3). College Station, Tex. : Texas A&M University Press, 1995

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ABSTRACT: *Text provides a brief historical and geographical summary of the country followed by an examination of various aspects of the nation's general situation as of 1995, including problems generated by the shift to a market economy, regional variations in welfare, variations in levels of crime and drug use, and religious and ethnic tensions. [Edited from synopsis.]*

Paul B. Henze. 1996. "Russia and the Caucasus". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 19(4): 389.

ABSTRACT: *This book is a general history of the turbulent relationship between Russia the Caucasus, beginning with Tsar consolidation at the end of the 16th century. Specific focus is paid to the Russian/ Chechenya conflict post 1991, although Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan are also discussed*

Human Rights Watch. 2000. Georgia: Backtracking on Reform: Amendments Undermine Access to Justice: Human Rights Watch Publications on Europe and Central Asia. http://hrw. org/english/docs/2000/10/02/georgi697. htm.

Report on criminal procedure, justice, and investigation practices in the Republic of Georgia. Primary argument is that the Georgian government has taken steps to diminish Georgians access to justice through amendments to the constitution.

Antero Leitzinger. 1997. Caucasus and an Unholy Alliance. Helsinki, Finland: Kirja-Leitzinger.

Articles on the history and current political situation of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Chechnya and their relations with the "unholy alliance" of Russia, Iran and the West.

Dov Lynch. 2002. Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS, 1992-1997: The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press in association with the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russian and Eurasia Programme, 2000

ABSTRACT: *This study examines the evolution of Russian policy towards conflicts in the former Soviet Union. This work underlines the mixture of defensive and offensive stimuli driving Russian "peacekeeping" strategies, and highlights the dangers that the new Russian Federation faces in undertaking these operations.*

Tim Potier. 2001. Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia: A Legal Appraisal. The Hague; Boston: Kluwer Law International.

Article presents a legal analysis of the ongoing conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia and their respective struggles for autonomy. Article also presents a brief history of the entire Transcaucasus region with specific emphasis on independence movements.

Human Rights Watch. 1991. "Conflict in Georgia: Human Rights Violations by the Government of Zviad Gamsakhurdia." News from Helsinki Watch. New York, N. Y. : Human Rights Watch: 3(16).

Article focuses on human rights abuses in the Republic of Georgia with specific focus on the plight of political prisoners. Article also addresses the infringement of freedom of speech and freedom of the press in the newly formed independent republic as of 1991.

Human Rights Watch. 1995. Georgia/Abkhazia: Violations of the Laws of War and Russia's Role in the Conflict. Human Rights Watch: 7(7).

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Report discusses the dynamics between Georgians, Abkhazians, and Russians in the ongoing independence movement in Abkhazia, a region in northeast Georgia. Addresses Georgian and Abkhazian forces violating rules of war during 1992 armed conflict; also analyzed is Russia's role in this conflict.

External Politics

The two largest sources of international influence in the Republic of Georgia are Russia and the United States. Former Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze once remarked that "…for Georgia the sun rose in the north" (quoted in Chigorin, 2003). This quip is illustrative of the power Russia exerts over the region. Likewise, Georgia has historically looked to the West as an important source of foreign aid. Through the War on Terror, the United States has developed a larger sphere of influence in the region, a growing concern to many in Moscow . Many analysts have noted compared the current situation in Georgia to the U.S. and Soviet Cold War. This subsection presents entries that address Russian and American foreign polices with respect to Georgia, including by not limited to, the War on Terror.

2004. "The End of the Affair?" *The Economist.* 372(8394).

> Analyzes Russia's relationship with Europe and the United States after September 11. Argues that Vladimir Putin's domestic and foreign policies are damaging relations with the West. If Russia makes good on threats to launch pre-emptive strikes against terrorists in Georgia, for example, Putin runs the risk of alienating Western countries.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Georgia". http://hrw. org/doc/?t=europe_pub&c=georgi.

> Provides direct links to thirty-seven reports, letters, and or memorandum addressing human rights abuses in Georgia from 1992 to 2004. Reports primarily focus on abuses related to war on terror and religious persecution.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "In the Name of Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Abuses Worldwide". http://hrw. org/un/chr59/counter-terrorism-bck. htm.

> Report focuses on anti-terror measures around the world and subsequent human rights abuses. Page links to Georgia and anti-terrorism measures with specific focus on the Pankisi Gorge region, home to several thousand Chechen refugees. Also discusses several "disappearances" carried out by Georgian forces.

Amnesty International. 2004. "Report 2004: Resisting Abuses in the Context of the 'War on Terror'". http://web. amnesty. org/report2004/hragenda-1-eng.

> Several reports addressing the impact of the war on terror on human rights. Reports consistently argue that in the name of the war on terror, governments are eroding human rights principles, standards and values. Information specific to Georgia is contained in several of the reports.

Dov Lynch. 1998. "The Conflict in Abkhazia: Dilemmas in Russian 'Peacekeeping' Policy".

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ABSTRACT: *This paper examines the policy dilemmas for the Russian government created by the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and uncertain factors in Russian-Georgian military relations. It also suggests scenarios for future Russian engagement in the region.*

Paul Starobin; Paul Magnusson and Rose Brady. 2002. "Is Washington Fighting Terrorism on Too Many Fronts?" Business Week. (3774).

Analyzes the military strategy of the U.S. in its war on terrorism, and provides details on troop movement into the Caucuses. With respect to Georgia, discusses the 200 trainers deployed to help the Georgian military combat militants in the Pankisi Gorge. Concludes with argument that the U.S. is overextending itself in its anti-terrorism efforts.

Richard Stone. 2002. ""Hot" Legacy Raises Alarm in the Caucasus. " *Science*. 295(5556): 777.

Article focuses on the deployment of an international team to Abkhazia from the U.N. to assist local officials in obtaining radioactive objects. Also discussed is the impact of September 11 and the resulting fear of a possible terrorist attack utilizing radioactive materials. Article also discusses the potential liability of Russian authorities that were responsible for the dumping said materials.

Robert Wall. 2002. "Counterterror Combat Shrinks Special Ops Inventory". Aviation Week & Space Technology. 156(11).

Technically orientated, this article examines the role of the U.S. special operation force in the war against terrorism, and the strain on available military equipment because of the expansion of the operation into Yemen and Georgia. It also provides detailed analysis of the various U.S. helicopters.

Human Rights Watch. 1995. Georgia/Abkhazia: Violations of the Laws of War and Russia's Role in the Conflict. Human Rights Watch: 7(7).

Report discusses the dynamics between Georgians, Abkhazians, and Russians in the ongoing independence movement in Abkhazia, a region in northeast Georgia. Addresses Georgian and Abkhazian forces violating rules of war during 1992 armed conflict; also analyzed is Russia's role in this conflict.

Internal Politics

In November 2003 the political landscape of Georgia was fundamentally changed by a fraudulent parliamentary election, which led to the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze. Mikhail Saakashvili was subsequently elected based on promises to restore good governance. Events starting with the parliamentary elections continuing through the ouster of Shevardnadze are known as the "Revolution of Roses." This peaceful change in power is a turning point in the internal politics in Georgia.

Human Rights Watch (Organization). 2004. "Georgia". http://hrw. org/doc/?t=europe_pub&c=georgi.

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URL provides a link to eight Human Rights Watch publications addressing various human rights issues in the Republic of Georgia. Publications address topics including: landmines, the South Ossetia conflict, and the Georgian legal system.

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. 2004. "Georgia". http://www. csce. gov/state_query. cfm?state_id=19.

URL link provides access to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe's findings on the republic of Georgia as of 2004. The CSCE is an independent agency of the United States Government. The press releases, hearings/briefings, reports, and congressional statements address topics including: terrorism, religious persecution, separatist movements, domestic politics, and foreign involvement in Georgia. This link is a great starting point for anyone interested in an overview of human rights issues facing the republic of Georgia.

Pamela Gomez. 2000. Georgia: Backtracking on Reform: Amendments Undermine Access to Justice: Human Rights Watch Publications on Europe and Central Asia. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2000/georgia/.

Report on criminal procedure, justice, and investigation practices in the Republic of Georgia. Primary argument is that the Georgian government has taken steps to diminish Georgians access to justice through amendments to the constitution.

Separatist Movements

Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Ajaria have all attempted to become autonomous states separate from the Republic of Georgia This subsection presents entries that look specifically at these separatist movements. Much of the literature contained here is cross-referenced in other subsections.

Maya Beridze. 2004. "South Ossetia: A Frozen Conflict Turns Warm". http://www. ciaonet. org/pbei/tol/tol_2004/july7-12/july7-12h. html.

Article addresses the renewed violence in the South Ossetia region of Georgia. This north central area of the republic has struggled for independence since 1992. Many Ossetians fear a renewal tensions between themselves and the Georgians following the election of Mikheil Saakashvili as Georgia's new president.

Aleksandr Chigorin. 2003. "Russian-Georgian Relations". International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy & International Relations. 49(4): 125.

This article focuses on two issues in Georgian/Russian relations. This first is Russian insistence on eliminating the Chechen terror threat in Georgia, the second is the Georgian desire for Russia to exert pressure on Abkhazia to rejoin the former. The article concludes with an analysis of the current social, economic, and political situation in Georgia. Also discussed is how the United States factors into the Georgian political sphere

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Bruno Coppieters; David Darchiashvili and Natella Akaba, eds. 2001. "Federal Practice: Exploring Alternatives for Georgia and Abkhazia". http://poli. vub. ac. be/publi/orderbooks/federal_practice_contents. html.

The contributors to this volume analyze the historic roots of the conflict between Georgians and Abkhazians and explore the relevance of practical federal experience from various parts of Europe in the regulation of ethnic conflicts. [Editorial review.]

Svante E. Cornell. 2002. Autonomy & Conflict: Ethnoterritoriality & Separatism in the South Caucasus - Cases in Georgia (Uppsala University Department of Peace & Conflict Research, Report No. 61). Uppsala University Press.

This work addresses the idea of granting minority populations autonomy as a means of ameliorating ethnic conflict. With specific focus on Georgia, it advances the argument that territorial autonomy was a contributing factor to the violent ethnic conflicts taking place since the 1980s (edited from publisher review).

Svante E. Cornell. 2002. "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective." World Politics. 54(2): 245-276.

Presents a rudimentary theoretical framework identifying qualities of autonomy solutions increasing in the likelihood of conflict. Article also discusses the role of autonomy in the escalation of conflicts and the mitigation of separatist and secessionist sentiments in the absence of autonomy (taken from existing abstract).

Rachel Denber. 1992. Bloodshed in the Caucasus: Violations of Humanitarian Law and Human Rights in the Georgia-South Ossetia Conflict. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch.

This article focuses on the conflict in the South Ossetia region of Georgia. This north-central region has been attempting to unify with North Ossetia, an area in the Russian Federation, to become an independent state. Also discussed are ethnic relations between Ossetians, Georgians, and Russians and how they contribute to the struggle for Ossetian autonomy.

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. 2004. "Georgia". http://www. csce. gov/state_query. cfm?state_id=19.

URL link provides access to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe's findings on the republic of Georgia as of 2004. The CSCE is an independent agency of the United States Government. The press releases, hearings/briefings, reports, and congressional statements address topics including: terrorism, religious persecution, separatist movements, domestic politics, and foreign involvement in Georgia. This link is a great starting point for anyone interested in an overview of human rights issues facing the republic of Georgia.

Rick Fawn. 2002. "Russia's Reluctant Retreat from the Caucasus: Abkhazia, Georgia and the Us after 11 September 2001". European Security. 11(4): 131.

Discusses Russia's strategic interests in the Caucasus before and after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. Strategic significance of the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict; Implication of the U.S. involvement in Georgia on the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict; Impact of the September 11 incident on the conflict.

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Zaza Gachechiladze. 1995. "The Conflict in Abkazia: A Georgian Perspective". http://www. ndu. edu/inss/strforum/forum21. html.

> Article focuses on the independence movement Abkhazia from the Georgian perspective. This northwestern region of Georgia represents a strategically important position along the Black Sea and the southern Russian Federation border. Also discussed are the specifics of the major fighting that took place in the region in 1993 between ethnic Abkhaz and Georgian troops.

Vladimir Novikov. 2004. "Strasbourg Sides with Georgian President ". Current Digest of the Post Soviet Press. 56(15).

> Focuses on the decision of the international court of human rights in Strasbourg to order the release of Tengiz Asanidze, opponent of Aslan Abashidze, head of the Adzhar Autonomous Republic. Article analyzes the recognition of the existence of political prisoners in Adzharia, and effect of the court?s decision on the Georgian government.

Overland. 2004. "Georgia's "Rose Revolution"". *INTERNASJONAL POLITIKK.* 62(2): 219.

> Article discusses the Rose Revolution and subsequent change of leadership in Georgia. New President Mikheil Saakashvili faces several pressing problems such as widespread corruption and the possible disintegration of the Georgian state with separatist movements existing in several regions.

Tim Potier. 2001. Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia: A Legal Appraisal. The Hague; Boston: Kluwer Law International.

> Article presents a legal analysis of the ongoing conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia and their respective struggles for autonomy. Article also presents a brief history of the entire Transcaucasus region with specific emphasis on independence movements.

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Iran
by Syd Dillard

> *[Y]ou won't believe it…but the whole country is in mourning. You should have been here for the demonstrations and candlelight vigils for America , it's all true: the tears, the long-stemmed roses the candles,…and then of course the hoodlums attacked and started beating us, especially the young kids, and arresting them. …The funny thing about it is that those bastards felt betrayed by the love we showed 'the imperialist Zionist Enemy. ' Ever since that night I keep asking myself, what is it that makes us in this God forsaken place to feel so orphaned and so filled with grief for what happened in a city we have never seen, except in dreams? (*Azar Nafisi, 2003 "They the People," *New Republic).*

The West has been conditioned to perceive Iran as hostile, suspect, and promoting terrorism. The conventional wisdom is that Iran is not an "open society", but one where dissent is repressed. However, the literature, as in the quote above, paints a picture of diverse peoples and political thought. Yet diversity in popular attitudes does not preclude Iran from a troubling human rights record. The more reformers demand and speak out, the more repressive the regime becomes. In defense of these activities, Iran appeals to cultural and religious tradition. Outside its borders, Iran has also been either a sponsor or supporter of terrorism for a long time, including in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There is also evidence connecting the Iranian regime with Hamas, Hizbolleh, and even Al-Qaeda.

Reflecting this mixed experience, the literature on Iran and the War on Terror is a combination of work on Iran's role in promoting terror in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, its relationship to Iraq, its questionable connections to Al-Qaeda, and its approach to civil and political rights in is own territory.

Included in this bibliography is a wide range of sources for exploring these connections, information on Iran's own war against terror, and the regime's continuing human rights abuses against women and political dissidents. Also included are studies and articles documenting and monitoring the dissatisfaction of the Iranian people with the current authoritarian-clerical regime.

Websites

The Arab Regional Resource Center on Violence Against Women. http://wwwamanjordan. org.

This is an important news resource about terrorism and women's human rights abuses in the Middle East.

Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy. http://www. islam-democracy. org.

Attempts to educate the public on issues relating to Islam, the Muslim world, and seeks to stimulate dialogue among policy makers, politicians, and academics.

Community-Online. Com Non-Profit Organizations in the Iranian Community. http://www. community-online. com.

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An informational website with links to a variety of organizations relating to Iran and Iranians inside and outside the country.

Human Rights Watch World Report 2003 Middle East and Northern Africa-Iran. http://www. hrw. org/wr2k3/mideast4. html.

Reports on the human rights abuses in Iran.

Institute for the Secularization of Islamic Society. http://www. isisforum. com.

This organization monitors events in Iran and other countries such as human rights abuses, terrorism, and regimes' fights against terror while promoting secularism.

Iran Focus-News. http://www. iranfocus. com/modules/news.

This website is a collection of news articles from around the world which focus on Iran offering a wealth of perspectives.

Islamic Republic News Agency (Irna) Irna News. http://www. irna. com/en/tnews.

News of events in Iran as well as the regime's perspective of global events presented in the state controlled media.

Muslim World Journal of Human Rights. http://www. bepress. com.

This is a free, academic forum dedicated to the discussion of the various human rights debates facing the Muslim world which is of utmost concern in the current climate.

The National Council of Resistance of Iran Foreign Affairs Committee. http://www. iran-e-zad. org.

Provides a perspective from ex-patriots who oppose the current regime in Iran.

United States Institute of Peace. http://www. usip. org.

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote the prevention, management, and peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Established in 1984, the Institute meets its congressional mandate through an array of programs, including research grants, fellowships, professional training, education programs from high school through graduate school, conferences and workshops, library services, and publications. The Institute's Board of Directors is appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate.

Women's Rights and Feminist Activism. http://www. wifp. org/feministactivism. html.

Provides articles and editorials concerning women in Iran, human rights abuses, and efforts to engage the international community to pressure Iran to stop and prevent these abuses.

UNCHR-United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Religion

W. Andersen. 2003. "Meaningful Emptiness: Ground Zero 1." *European Legacy*. 8(1): 5.

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On September 11, 2001, a battle said to be between the god of Muslims and the god of Jews and Christians, removed 3,000 humans from the earth. "Praise Allah!" said the Muslim terrorist, "for helping us kill that many." "Thank God," said the Jew and the Christian, "for saving so many others." What a misuse of religion! The irony of all ironies is the slaughter of innocents in the name of God.

L. Griffith. 2002. <u>The War on Terrorism and the Terror of God</u>. Grand Rapids, Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.

O. And B. Hoffman Roy. 2000. "America and the New Terrorism: An Exchange." *Survival*. 42(2): 156.

ABSTRACT: *Presents the comments of three field experts on a thesis of Steven Simon and Daniel Benjamin describing the emergence of a religiously motivated terrorism that neither relies on the support of sovereign states nor is constrained by limits on violence. Islam, Iran and the new terrorism; American perspective; Whether religious terrorism is a new form of terrorism or not; Response of Simon and Benjamin.*

Human Rights Watch. <u>Human Rights Watch World Report 2003 Middle East and Northern </u>Africa-Iran. http://www. hrw. org/wr2k3/mideast4. html.

Reports on the human rights abuses in Iran.

Ann Elizabeth Mayer. 2000. "The Universality of Human Rights: Lessons from the Islamic Republic." Social Research. 67(2): 519.

Exposes and explores Iran's subordination of human rights to its brand of Islamic criteria since the 1979 Cultural Revolution. After twenty years, the corrosive impact of human rights violations on Iran's legitimacy threatens the regime's monopoly of power. Though cleric hardliners retaliate against reformists demands for human rights, the status quo is untenable.

Ayla Schbley. 2003. "Defining Religious Terrorism: A Causal and Anthological Profile." Studies in Conflict & Terrorism. 26(2): 105.

This research redefines terrorism by refocusing the definition away from politics; proposes a unifying definition that is viable for global assessment and understanding; defines what a religious terrorist is by using a convergence of psychometric measures. Finally, it introduces the concept of International Islamization Terrorism (IIT) and calls on future research to assess the propensity of lit to global calamity, and the viability of a universal religious terrorist profile.

Women's International Network News. 2003. "Iran: The Encounter between Feminism and Reformism/Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Programme." *United Nations Research Institute for Social Development*. 29(1): 62.

Political Sociology

H. Horan. 2002. "Those Young Arab Muslims and Us". *Middle East Quarterly*. 9(4): 51.

ABSTRACT: *Deals with the issue regarding the involvement of Arab Muslims in the terrorist attacks against the U.S. Reasons for the anger of Arab Muslims against the U.S. ; Suggestions to Arab Muslims; Ways on how the U.S. could resolve its conflict with Arab Muslims.*

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J. E. B. Lumbard. 2004. Islam, Fundamentalism, and the Betrayal of Tradition: Essays by Western Muslim Scholars. Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom.

Azar Nafisi. 2003. "They the People." *New Republic*. 228(8): 19.

> Analysis of Islamist hatred of the United States suggesting that it is fear of modernity, progressive thought, and loss of culture; but also suggests that the West should separate the people of the Muslim world and the self-proclaimed extremist representatives. Seeks to provide understanding and broad context of Muslims.

G. Sick. 2003. "Iran: Confronting Terrorism." *The Washington Quarterly*. 26(4): 83.

> ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the effectiveness of Iran in handling of terrorism on its territory. Existence of radical institutions in Iran that effect its policy on all issues; Iran's international image on its policy on terrorism; Integration of Iran's policy with international policy on terrorism after the election of President Muhammad Khatami in 1997.*

Policy Briefs

George W. Bush. 2003. Continuation of the National Emergency with Respect to Persons Who Commit, Threaten to Commit, or Support Terrorism: Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Notification That the National Emergency Declared with Respect to Persons Who Commit, Threaten to Commit, or Support Terrorism Is to Continue in Effect Beyond September 23, 2003, Pursuant to 50 U.S. C. 1622(D). U.S. G. P. O.

George W. Bush. 2003. Periodic Report on the National Emergency with Respect to Persons Who Commit, Threaten to Commit, or Support Terrorism: Message from the President of the United States Transmitting a 6-Month Periodic Report on the National Emergency with Respect to Persons Who Commit, Threaten to Commit, or Support Terrorism That Was Declared in Executive Order 13224 of September 23, 2001, Pursuant to 50 U.S. C. 1641(C) and 50 U.S. C. 1703(C). U.S. G. P. O.

George W. Bush. 2003. Report on Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism: Communication from the President of the United States Transmitting a Report, Consistent with the War Powers Resolution and Public Law 107-40, to Keep Congress Informed on United States Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism. U.S. G. P. O.

George W. Bush. 2003. Report on the Status of United States Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism: Communication from the President of the United States Transmitting a Report, Consistent with the War Powers Resolution and Public Law 107-40, to Help Ensure That the Congress Is Kept Informed on the Status of United States Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism. U.S. G. P. O.

George W. Bush. 2002. Report on the Status of United States Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism: Communication from the President of the United States Transmitting a Report, Consistent with the War Powers Resolution and Public Law 107-40, to Help Ensure That the

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Congress Is Kept Informed on the Status of United States Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism. U.S. G. P. O.

Implications of Transnational Terrorism for the Visa Waiver Program. Washington, D. C. : U.S. G. P. O.

2003. A Review of the State Department's "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices". Washington, D. C. : U.S. G. P. O.

Status of International Religious Freedom: An Analysis of the State Department's 2003 Annual Report. Washington, D. C. : U.S. G. P. O.

Terrorism: Radical Islamic Influence of Chaplaincy of the U.S. Military and Prisons. Washington, D. C. : U.S. G. P. O.

CD

Palestinian-Israeli Connection

Bill Cooke. 2004. "Free Inquiry." *World Report*. 24(2): 42.

This article focuses on several issues of concern in Iran such as: Turkey, which borders Iran, has become a target of jihadist terrorists; and, Shirin Ebadi winning the Nobel Peace Prize for her defense of human rights.

A. A. Halim. 2004. "The New 'New World Order': Regional Security after Iraq." *Palestine-Israel Journal*. 11(1): 11.

ABSTRACT: *Explains that as the situation in the Middle East crystallizes, the changes being affected are profound. Desire of Israel to end the Palestinian problem and to eliminate the threats to its security from Iraq and Iran; Goal of the United States to eliminate obstacles to its policy in the Middle East; Aftermath of the Iraq War of 2003; Effect on Iran and Syria; Issue on weapons of mass destruction and terrorism.*

Avi Jorisch. 2004. "Al-Manar: Hizbullah TV, 24/7." *Middle East Quarterly*. 11(1): 1.

ABSTRACT*: Presents information on Al-Manar, the official television station of Hizballuh, the Iranian-supported Shi'ite movement that appears on every U.S. terrorism list. Significance of the television station; Role of the television station in the media revolution in the Arab world; Details of the operations of the television station.*

Eric Moore and Kevin W. Hershberg, ed. 2002. Critical Views of September 11: Analyses from Around the World. New York: New Press: Distributed by W. W. Norton & Company Inc.

Shaul Shay. 2005. The Axis of Evil: Iran, Hizballah, and the Palestinian Terror. New Brunswick, NJ: Tansaction Publishers.

S. Zunes. 2003. Tinderbox: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Roots of Terrorismu. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.

Books

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Reza Afshari. 2001. Human Rights in Iran: The Abuse of Cultural Relativism. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

History of human rights abuses since the 1979 Cultural Revolution by the Islamic Republic of Iran against its people, its war of terror and war on terror, and reflections since September 11.

Stephen Kinzer. 2003. All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror. Hoboken, N. J. : John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Interesting exploration of the historical events in which the U.S. played a major part in the overthrow of Mossadegh in 1953 to support the Shah of Iran. Kinzer plays the "what if" scenario suggesting that Iran could be a democracy instead of the authoritarian and terror-supporting regime it now is.

B. Reed, ed. 2002. Nothing Sacred: Women Respond to Religious Fundamentalism and Terror. New York: Thunder Mouth's Press.

A collection of feminist responses to religious fundamentalism which particularly targets women before and after September 11. Though this collection includes diverse responses concerning most religions, it provides insight into the plight of women in Iran and the Middle East in general.

Shaul Shay. 2005. The Axis of Evil: Iran, Hizballah, and the Palestinian Terror. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Israel
by Sydney Fisher

Israel and Palestine have been in an "interim period" between full scale occupation and a negotiated end to the conflict for a long time. This supposedly intermediate period in the conflict has seen no respite from violations of Palestinians' human rights or the suicide bombings affecting Israelis. This section will provide resources spanning the issues regarding Israel, Palestine and how the human rights dimensions of this conflict interact with the war on terror. The issue of how both sides will arrive at peace remains a mystery.

Background

Marek Arnaud. 2003. "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Is There a Way Out?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs.* 57(2): 243.

ABSTRACT: *States that the blame for the inability to put an end to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians must be shared by all parties. Discusses issues of trust and U.S. involvement under both Bill Clinton and George W. Bush.*

Joel Beinin. 2003. "Is Terrorism a Useful Term in Understanding the Middle East and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict?" *Radical History Review.* 12.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the definition of the term "terrorism" in the context of the Middle East and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Politically motivated violence directed against civilian populations and atrocities committed in the course of repressing anticolonial rebellions.*

Shlomo Hasson. 1996. "Local Politics and Split Citizenship in Jerusalem." *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research.* 20(1): 116.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the relationship between ethno-national conflict, local politics and citizenship rights in Jerusalem. Shows historical conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews concerning political control over the city. Examines local politics within an ethnically divided city such as Jerusalem and raises several questions such as who are the institutions and agents involved in local politics and what is their ethnic composition? What type of human rights do they have?*

Saree Makdisi. 2003. "The Israel Divestment Campaign and the Question of Palestine in America." *The South Atlantic Quarterly.* 102(4): 877.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the continual violation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions with regard to Palestine by Israel as of September 1, 2003. Reasons for complete support of the U.S. to Israel and comparison of the U.S. attitude towards Iraq and Israel both of which violate the United Nations resolutions and human rights principles. Discussion of the controversy generated from the Israel disinvestment campaign in university campuses of the U.S.*

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Danny Rubinstein. 1995. The Mystery of Arafat. South Royalton, VT: Sterrforth Press.

> Gives a history of Arafat and his motivations throughout the Intifada and Six Day War. Describes his transitions and negotiations with Israel.

Keith W. Whitelam. 1996. The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History. New York: Routledge.

> Shows how the history of ancient Palestine has been obscured by the search for Israel. Author argues that ancient Israel has been invented by scholars in the image of a European nation state.

The Intifada

Although the Palestinian leadership has long demanded a full Israeli withdrawal from all territory Israel captured during the 1967 Middle East war, it opposes Israel 's disengagement plan, especially in the West Bank. In addition to objecting to the limited pullout from the area, Palestinians say the security barrier Israel is building in parts of the West Bank is establishing the de facto border of a future Palestinian state without prior negotiations. Sharon, who says Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat has failed to stop attacks on Israelis, insists there is no Palestinian with whom he can negotiate. Israelis fear that a pullout without first securing a peace commitment from the Palestinians is "rewarding terror." The militants, who considered the withdrawal tantamount to surrender, called on Palestinians to launch an uprising to end Israel 's occupation of Palestinian territories. The Intifada broke out four months later.

Sari Hanafi and Linda Tabar. 2003. "Palestinian HROs: Agenda and Praxis." *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture*. 10(3): 23.

> ABSTRACT: *Reports on the agenda and practices of the human rights movement in Palestine. Legal form of the human rights discourse; Defense to the rights of persons and groups regardless of political affiliation or ideological orientation of the victims; International sources of funding human rights activism.*

> *Talks about Palestinian human rights organizations, their history, and actions during the Intifada. Explains their status in international law and society.*

Lama Jamjoum. 2002. "The Effects of Israeli Violations During the Second Uprising "Intifada" on Palestinian Health Conditions." *Social Justice*. 29(3): 53.

> ABSTRACT: Examines the Israeli violation of international human rights and humanitarian law during the second intifada. Disrespect for the principle of medical neutrality and use of collective punishment measure against Palestinian civilians.

Efraim Karsh. 2004. "Arafat's Grand Strategy." *Middle East Quarterly*. 11(2): 1.

> Focuses on Arafat and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership. Gives details on the war of terror launched by Arafat against Israel in September 2000. Information on the supposed

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Jewish conspiracy. Discussion on the Palestinian independence under the administration of Arafat.

Ruchama Marton. 2004. "The Psychological Impact of the Second Intifada on Israeli Society." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 11(1): 71.

ABSTRACT: *Examines Jewish Israeli society at the present stage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, particularly the second Intifada which started in September 2000, following the breakdown of the Oslo peace negotiations. Avoidance of historical awareness; Splitting; Self-image as a victim; Increased aggression and violence within Israeli society; Cognitive dissonance; Uncertainty; Psychological trauma; Prevalence of hate.*

Examines the Israeli leaders' thirst for power and how it is creating a permanent and cruel enemy of all Palestinians through the eyes of the average Israeli. It explains the vicious cycle that stems from Israelis not understanding the coherent connections between action and result.

Norton Mezvinsky. 2003. "The Underlying Realities of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict after 11 September." Arab Studies Quarterly. 25(1/2): 197.

ABSTRACT: *Outlines the effect of September 11 on the Palestinian intifada and its Israeli response. Shows the effect on the underlying realities of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Gives a description of how Israeli military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza has increased the level of oppression that Palestinians endure. Finally the idea of the Zionist state of Israel is discussed.*

Frances Raday. 2003. "The Impact of the Intifada on Human Rights in Israel." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 32.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the impact of the Second Intifada on human rights in Israel. Threat to the socio-psychological basis for human rights agenda; Prevalence of inter-ethnic violence; Erosion of social commitment to the human rights agenda.*

Gives and insightful perspective of the conflict and the result of violence in the form of terrorism. Addresses the issue of compromise and the deep principles surrounding it. Questions human rights violations and the issue of what is considered fair when it comes to fighting terrorist attacks with another form of violence.

Danny Rubinstein. 1995. The Mystery of Arafat. South Royalton, VT: Sterrforth Press.

Gives a history of Arafat and his motivations throughout the Intifada and Six Day War. Describes his transitions and negotiations with Israel.

International Involvement

This section provides literature about the involvement of various other nations in this country, though primarily the United States. The support and involvement of these countries has been imperative in this struggle. This section also contains literature concerning international law and violations concerning human rights and Israeli authority.

Robert Freedman. 2003. "The Bush Administration and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Preliminary Evaluation." *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 25(6): 505.

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ABSTRACT: *Discusses the United States' involvement in the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. Factors that influenced the U.S. administration's decision to get involved in the dispute; Impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack against the U.S. on the country's Middle East foreign policy.*

Sari Hanafi and Linda Tabar. 2003. "Palestinian HROs: Agenda and Praxis." *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture.* 10(3): 23.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the agenda and practices of the human rights movement in Palestine. Legal form of the human rights discourse; Defense to the rights of persons and groups regardless of political affiliation or ideological orientation of the victims; International sources of funding human rights activism.*

Talks about Palestinian human rights organizations, their history, and actions during the Intifada. Explains their status in international law and society.

Edy Kaufman and Ibrahim Bisharat. 2003. "Are Human Rights Good for the Top Dog as Well?" *Palestine - Israel Journal.* 10(3): 89.

Reports on the human rights consideration of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Limits to the supremacy of military power within the international system. Distinguishes between inter- and intra-state conflicts. Priority of national security to reduce the level of hatred.

Mobility

The Palestinian right of return is undoubtedly one of the central problems in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Some say that allowing Palestinian refugees to return to Israel would put an end to the State of Israel arguing that they are not refugees as "displaced persons" who left their homes but stayed within the bounds of their homeland. The U.N. Resolution of 1948 affirmed the Palestinian right to repatriation and compensation. The demographic suggests that all refugees (no less than 4. 5 million) return and all Israelis stay. Many analysts believe this is an irresolvable problem.

2002. "A Just Solution for the Palestinian Refugees." Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 9(2): 67.

ABSTRACT: *Presents a roundtable discussion on the Right of Return of Palestinian refugees in Israel. Further discusses the recognition of Israelis on the problem and the survival of the Jewish state.*

Rachelle H. B. Fishman. 1997. "Death and Detention in Palestine and Israel." *Lancet.* 349(9066): 1680.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses human rights abuses in Palestine and the Palestinian Authority's death-penalty edict on Arabs who sell land to Jews.*

Efraim Karsh. 2004. "Arafat's Grand Strategy." *Middle East Quarterly.* 11(2): 1.

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ABSTRACT: *Focuses on Arafat and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership. Gives details on the war of terror launched by Arafat against Israel in September 2000. Information on the supposed Jewish conspiracy. Discussion on the Palestinian independence under the administration of Arafat.*

Camille Mansour. 2002. "The Impact of 11 September on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." Journal of Palestinian Studies. 31(2): 5.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the impact of September 11 on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Factors that influenced Israeli-Palestinian developments on the eve of the attack and discussion on Palestinian mobilization and demobilization.*

Imad Musa. 2003. "The Road Map and Human Rights." *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture.* 10(3): 40.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the implication of the three-part peace plan for Israeli-Palestinian conflict on human rights in Palestine. Covers the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within temporary boundaries and the legal justifications for implementing security commitments by the Palestinians.*

Walid Salem. 2002. "Citizenship and Return." *Palestine - Israel Journal.* 9(2): 80.

ABSTRACT: *Comments on the relationship between citizenship and return in Israel and Palestine, Utilization of the Rights of return, context of the International Human Rights Convention and Legality of the Jewish immigration.*

Hillel Shuval. 2002. "There Can Be No 'Return'." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 9(2): 74.

ABSTRACT: *Comments on the problems faced by Palestinian refugees in Israel and rejections of the Right to Return. Describes the complaints of Palestinians against the Israeli peace camps. Further comments on the resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees.*

Peace Process

There are many plausible reasons why a solution to the seemingly intractable differences between both sides has not been reached. Much of the literature in this section addresses the endless debate of Israel 's occupation of Palestinian territory and agrees that it is indeed illegal according to international law.

1993. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1992: `Israel and the Occupied Territories'." Journal of Palestinian Studies. 23(1): 125.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on human rights practices in territories under Israel's military occupation in 1992. Information on political and other extrajudicial killing, torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment, arbitrary arrest, detention and exile.*

2003. "Documents." *Palestine - Israel Journal.* 10(3): 118.

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ABSTRACT: *Presents several documents on human rights. Extract from the September 2003 report 'Israel and the Occupied Territories: Surviving Under Siege,' of the Amnesty International legal review on Palestinian Prisoners.*

1997. "Documents and Source Material: Arab." *Journal of Palestinian Studies*. 26(2): 151.

ABSTRACT: *Presents articles which focus on the Arab aspect of the conflict between the Israelis and the Arabs. Interview with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. Reports on the uprising of 25th to 29th September, 1996 by the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment (LAWE). Excerpts from the Palestinian Legislative Council Self-Evaluation Report.*

2003. "Extracts from the Fourth Geneva Convention." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(1): 122.

2003. "Human Rights Now." *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture*. 10(4): 78.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the highlights of the human rights forum organized by the "Palestine-Israel Journal" and Development Cooperation Ireland held on Tel Aviv on November 2003. Participation from human rights representatives, public figures and artists from Israel and Palestine; Role of civil society in reinforcing peace initiatives; Appeal for the Israeli government to abandon its plans to build a wall that will separate Israeli and Palestinian societies.*

Reports efforts made on both sides to "build bridges, not fences." Broad array of personal testimonies about human rights and the need to inform younger generations of important issues.

2003. "Human Rights Versus Security Rights." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 66.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the discussion on human rights at the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem. Concerns about the Israel's violation of Palestinian human rights, struggle of women in Arab countries and social interaction according to the universal human values.*

Mohammed Abu-Nimer. 2004. "Religion, Dialogue, and Non-Violent Actions in Palestinian-Israeli Conflict." *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society*. 17(3): 491.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the potential constructive role that religious peace builders can play in contributing to Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation and peace. In such encounters, there is a wide range of interfaith dialogue activities and possibilities that can be deployed. Based on applied training and interfaith dialogue workshops and experiences, this article proposes a framework for conducting interfaith dialogue among Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Palestine and Israel.*

Kofi Annan. 2004. "Leadership Can Make a Difference between Hope and Despair." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 11(2): 5.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the importance of leadership for the peace process of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. Call on the Palestinian Authority to meet its obligations under the Road Map. Further discusses possible consequences of the intention of Israel to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and importance of human rights movements in the region.*

David John Ball. 2004. "Toss the Travaux? Application of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Middle East Conflict--a Modern (Re)Assessment." New York University Law Review. 79(3): 990.

ABSTRACT: *Gives background concerning this long lasting conflict. Shows details on the cycle of battle and negotiation that has strewn the landscape with failed attempts at peace and generated decades of discussion concerning human rights. At the center of the human rights discussion stands the Fourth Geneva Convention, an international agreement codifying certain rules of war designed to protect civilians caught in the midst of conflict. It finally argues however that this convention is not applicable to the conflict between Israel and Palestine.*

Yossi Beilin. 2004. "Out of Gaza?" *New Perspectives Quarterly.* 21(3): 37.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's plan to withdraw after 37 years of occupation and both sides' promises to the other to resume the negotiations immediately after the elections. Further discusses that when Sharon was voted in as Israeli prime minister, he announced that he would not be returning to the negotiating table as long as terrorism continued.*

Hanna Biran. 2003. "The Difficulty of Transforming Terror into Dialogue." Group Analysis. 36(4): 490.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the relationship between Israel and Palestine from a psychoanalytical point of view, while emphasizing the processes taking place in the social domain. Discusses parallels to the lack of dialogue between both societies and relating qualities of leadership to the Oedipus legend.*

Gloria Bletter. 2003. "Israel's Impunity under International Law." *Peace Review.* 15(1): 3.

ABSTRACT*: Reports on the long-standing abuses stemming from Israel's failure to accommodate non-Jewish inhabitants into its social and political system, while at the same time denying them the rights and means of forming a viable system of their own.*

Victor Cygielman. 2001. "Ariel Sharon Is Courting Disaster." *Palestine - Israel Journal.* 8(3): 3.

ABSTRACT: *Looks into the issues concerning the political aspect of the conflict between Palestine and Israel. Impact of terrorism on the lives and geo-politics of both countries. Confrontation between Israelis and Palestinians. Military approach of the government of Israel Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. How the war on terrorism is affecting this conflict.*

Hillel Frisch. 2003. "Between Bullets and Ballots: The Palestinians and Israeli Democracy." Review of International Affairs. 2(3): 171.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes Palestinian perception of Israel's democratic regime in its own right and how they tried to take advantage of it to help achieve their objectives. Relates the strains manifested themselves in the conflict between two paradigms: bullets, reflecting the PLO's deep roots and commitment to terrorist and catharsis ideologies; and ballots, which reached its peak in the present Israeli-Palestinian confrontation.*

Lisa Hajjar. "Human Rights in Israel/Palestine: The History and Politics of a Movement." Journal of Palestinian Studies.

ABSTRACT: *Traces the development and transformation of the human rights movement in Israel/Palestine. Focus on the situation in the West Bank and Gaza concerning conflicts on the rights of the Israeli state over the human rights of the Palestinian population.*

Sari Hanafi and Linda Tabar. 2003. "Palestinian HROs: Agenda and Praxis." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 23.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the agenda and practices of the human rights movement in Palestine. Legal form of the human rights discourse; Defense to the rights of persons and groups regardless of political affiliation or ideological orientation of the victims; International sources of funding human rights activism.*

Talks about Palestinian human rights organizations, their history, and actions during the Intifada. Explains their status in international law and society.

Edy Kaufman and Ibrahim Bisharat. 2003. "Are Human Rights Good for the Top Dog as Well?" Palestine - Israel Journal. 10(3): 89.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the human rights consideration of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Limits to the supremacy of military power within the international system. Distinguishes between inter- and intra-state conflicts. Priority of national security to reduce the level of hatred.*

Dan Leon. 2001. "The Right of Return: Different Approaches to a Crucial Issue." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 8(2): 86.

ABSTRACT: *Comments on the issue regarding the Palestinian rights of return. Consideration of the right as one of the central problems in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Represents the right as unique among all the aspects of the conflict.*

Natan Lerner. 2003. "Human Rights, Humanitarian Law and the Occupied Territories." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 17.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the application of humanitarian law and of human rights laws in the Palestinian territories under Israeli occupation. Legal status of the occupied territories under Israeli jurisdiction; Consequence of the peace process for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Disapproval of the international community to the Israeli position.*

Disputes the legitimacy of Israel's military occupation of territories such as Gaza, Golan, Judea and Samaria. Also, discusses the violations of international law by ignoring rules of humanitarian law or basic human rights in general.

David Makovsky. 2004. "How to Build a Fence." *Foreign Affairs*. 83(2): 50.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the idea of a fence separating Israel and Palestine. An idea of the admission of failure. Also that a realistic negotiated partition is out of reach due to the fact that the opposite sides do not trust each other. A fence could cut these problems and facilitate a final agreement. Agrees that the U.S. should therefore back a version of the fence that boosts Israeli security without unduly hurting the Palestinians or foreclosing a return to diplomacy.*

Mustafa Mari. 2003. "The Negotiation Process: The Lack of a Human Rights Component." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 5.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the human rights component in the negotiation process for the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory and the commitment to the protection of civilians in the resolution. Further examines the zero tolerance policy for terror and violence.*

Ruchama Marton. 2004. "The Psychological Impact of the Second Intifada on Israeli Society." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 11(1): 71.

ABSTRACT: *Examines Jewish Israeli society at the present stage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, particularly the second Intifada which started in September 2000, following the breakdown of the Oslo peace negotiations. Avoidance of historical awareness; Splitting; Self-image as a victim; Increased aggression and violence within Israeli society; Cognitive dissonance; Uncertainty; Psychological trauma; Prevalence of hate.*

Examines the Israeli leaders' thirst for power and how it is creating a permanent and cruel enemy of all Palestinians through the eyes of the average Israeli. It explains the vicious cycle that stems from Israelis not understanding the coherent connections between action and result.

Norton Mezvinsky. 2003. "The Underlying Realities of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict after 11 September." Arab Studies Quarterly. 25(1/2): 197.

ABSTRACT: *Outlines the effect of September 11 on the Palestinian intifada and its Israeli response. Shows the effect on the underlying realities of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Gives a description of how Israeli military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza has increased the level of oppression that Palestinians endure. Finally the idea of the Zionist state of Israel is discussed.*

Imad Musa. 2003. "The Road Map and Human Rights." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 40.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the implication of the three-part peace plan for Israeli-Palestinian conflict on human rights in Palestine. Covers the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within temporary boundaries and the legal justifications for implementing security commitments by the Palestinians.*

Benjamin Netanyahu. 2001. "How to Stop the Terror." *New Perspectives Quarterly*. 18(3): 50.

ABSTRACT: *Opposes the notion that there is no military solution to the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Discusses ways to restore personal security to the people of Israel. Gives background on the conflict and lessons to be learned from Jerusalem's experience of terrorism in the 1990s.*

Barbara Opall-Rome. 2004. "Targeting 'Ticking Bombs'." Armed Forces Journal International. 141(10): 28.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the efforts of the Israeli Cabinet to invoke a new policy expanding the list of critical aerial assassination missions for its military. Gives justification of the new policy to step up the country's campaign against terrorism includes types of weapons considered for such campaigns and debates over the merits of aerial assassinations.*

Ami Pedahzur and Magnus Ranstorp. 2001. "A Tertiary Model for Countering Terrorism in Liberal Democracies: The Case of Israel." Terrorism & Political Violence. 13(2): 1.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the extent of using democracy in fighting terrorism in Israel. Gives an analysis of Israeli response to Jewish terrorism and focuses on anti-terrorist campaigns against Jewish terrorist. Further Discusses challenges posed by terror and political violence.*

Samuel Peleg. 2000. "Peace Now or Later? Movement-Countermovement Dynamics and the Israeli Political Cleavage." Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. 23(4): 235.

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ABSTRACT*: Examines the conditions and timing of the countergroup appearance on the scene and on the movement-countermovement dynamics in Israel. Relations between the two movements and the circumstances they set in motion. Also, covers mutual benefits each movement begets from emulating, preempting and reacting to its counterpart.*

Shimon Peres. 2003. "A Two-Way Road Map." *New Perspectives Quarterly*. 20(3): 49.

ABSTRACT*: Focuses on the peace and political negotiation between Palestine and Israel to fight terrorism. Discusses measures to be taken by the two countries. Discusses the confrontation between former Palestinian Prime Minister Yasser Arafat and the newly appointed Prime Minister Abu Mazen and the proposal of U.S. President George W. Bush to develop Middle East a free trade zone.*

Frances Raday. 2003. "The Impact of the Intifada on Human Rights in Israel." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 32.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the impact of the Second Intifada on human rights in Israel. Threat to the socio-psychological basis for human rights agenda; Prevalence of inter-ethnic violence; Erosion of social commitment to the human rights agenda.*

Gives and insightful perspective of the conflict and the result of violence in the form of terrorism. Addresses the issue of compromise and the deep principles surrounding it. Questions human rights violations and the issue of what is considered fair when it comes to fighting terrorist attacks with another form of violence.

Naser Rayyes. 2003. "The Rule of Law and Human Rights within Palestinian National Authority Territories." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 10(3): 50.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the rule of law and human rights within the Palestinian territories after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. Repercussion of the political, social and administrative disruptions on the Palestinian population and effects of changing administrations on the political system. Further discusses legislative, executive and judicial responsibilities of the Israeli military authority on the basis of international law.*

Condoleezza Rice. 2003. "What Counts Is the Character of the Palestinian State." New Perspectives Quarterly. 20(4): 50.

ABSTRACT: *Presents views on issues on the war against terrorism in the Middle East as of September 2003 including the stand of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon on the division of land between Palestinians and Israelis.*

Yael Stein and Ron Dudai. 2001. "On Human Rights in the Occupied Territories." Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture. 8(3): 109.

ABSTRACT: *Presents the excerpts from a report by the B'Tselem organization in relation to the issue of human rights in the occupied territories in Israel. Further discusses the outcome of the Al-Aqsa Intifada and the expansion on the license of the soldiers for national security involving the use of lethal force in life-threatening situations.*

Shibley Telhami. 2004. "The Ties That Bind." *Foreign Affairs*. 83(2): 8.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the foreign policy of the U.S. government toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict after September 11. Far beyond their tragic consequences, the bombings that followed the collapse of the Israeli-*

Palestinian talks in 2000 undermined the principal defensive strategy Israel has developed since its founding. This article highlights the fears and concerns of both Israel and Palestine following the above events and the involvement of the U.S.

Richard V. Wagner. 2002. "Peace and Conflict's First Response to September 11." Peace & Conflict. 8(1): 1.

ABSTRACT: *Argues that the most promising features of a peace psychological approach to the events of September 11 is the recognition that extreme acts do not occur in a vacuum. They thrive in a context of experienced social injustice. Concludes that the Palestinians essentially adopt two marginal identities: one a civic identity and the other an ethnic identity. Notes that this requires them to establish a "critical stability" between these two identities. States that this stability is jeopardized by the stressful events and demands for solidarity resulting from the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.*

Dov Waxman. 2000. "Terrorizing Democracies." *Washington Quarterly*. 23(1): 15.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the challenges of reconciling democratic norms with terrorism. Account on the British government and the Irish Republican Army efforts to overcome the challenges. Includes details of Israeli efforts in establishing democracy and decency in terrorist attacks and moral and social implications of human rights violations.*

Jean Zaru. 2002. "The Demands of Peace and Reconciliation." *Feminist Theology*. 86.

ABSTRACT: *Presents the demand for peace and reconciliation between Israel and Palestine. Discusses crimes against Palestinians and failure of Christians to support Palestinian human rights and factors which contribute to the promotion of reconciliation.*

Religion

Religion is clearly among the central components of this conflict. All sides make appeals to an Israeli homeland that are legitimate by any number of third party standards. The literature presented here addresses how this important variable has shaped the course of the conflict.

Mohammed Abu-Nimer. 2004. "Religion, Dialogue, and Non-Violent Actions in Palestinian-Israeli Conflict." *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society*. 17(3): 491.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the potential constructive role that religious peace builders can play in contributing to Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation and peace. In such encounters, there is a wide range of interfaith dialogue activities and possibilities that can be deployed. Based on applied training and interfaith dialogue workshops and experiences, this article proposes a framework for conducting interfaith dialogue among Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Palestine and Israel.*

Moshe Amon. 2004. "Can Israel Survive the West Bank Settlements?" Terrorism & Political Violence. 16(1): 48.

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ABSTRACT*: Describes how Talmudic Orthodoxy postulated the reestablishment of a Jewish state only by an act of God's grace and how occupation of the West Bank is seen by Jews as a sign of redemption and an opportunity to take an active role in a "Zionist" enterprise of fulfilling God's promise. The violent conduct of the religious sector among settlers provides a threat to Israel's character and existence.*

Kobi Cohen-Hattab. 2004. "Zionism,Tourism,and the Battle for Palestine:Tourism as a Political-Propaganda Tool." Israel Studies. 9(1): 61.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the use of tourism as political propaganda in Palestine and the interaction between ideology and tourism. Addresses the influence of terrorism and political instability to the tourist industry and the importance of tourism in the economic and politics in Palestine.*

Efraim Karsh. 2004. "Arafat's Grand Strategy." *Middle East Quarterly*. 11(2): 1.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on Arafat and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership. Gives details on the war of terror launched by Arafat against Israel in September 2000. Information on the supposed Jewish conspiracy. Discussion on the Palestinian independence under the administration of Arafat.*

Jean Zaru. 2002. "The Demands of Peace and Reconciliation." *Feminist Theology*. 86.

ABSTRACT: *Presents the demand for peace and reconciliation between Israel and Palestine. Discusses crimes against Palestinians and failure of Christians to support Palestinian human rights and factors which contribute to the promotion of reconciliation.*

Pakistan

by Susannah Compton and Toni Panetta

Following armed hostilities in 1947-1949 between India and Pakistan, the region once known as the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir was divided. The disputed territory continues to split relations between Pakistan and India and the threat of war has been a daunting force as recently as 2002.

The events of September 11 and the ensuing War on Terror have refocused international attention on India and Pakistan's dispute over Kashmir. Under immense international pressure, the two nations have reevaluated their policies concerning Kashmir in an attempt to rectify the situation. Neither want to be viewed as a provocateur, but both countries have nuclear capabilities and have come close to using them against each other on more than one occasion.

Above all, the international community worries that their nuclear weapons are vulnerable to terrorist groups in the region. There is also considerable anxiety concerning terrorist cells linked to Al Qaeda and other extremist groups that the on-going Kashmir conflict has attracted from Pakistan and elsewhere due to instability. Related to security issues are the egregious human rights abuses committed on all sides of the controversy.

This is an interesting and complex time for both India and Pakistan. There have been notable changes to their policies in reaction to the War on Terrorism. Pakistan has become a strong ally of the United States in an effort to stifle the terrorist entities in the region. Both Pakistan and India have an opportunity to reshape regional problems and emerge as international leaders, but they must remedy the human rights violations that have become commonplace.

Terrorism in the Region

2002. "The Case for the Undecided." *New Statesman.* 131(4591): 6.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the question of whether terrorism can be justified. Mention of the use of terrorism in the Arab-Israeli conflict and in the war between Pakistan and India over the Kashmir territory; Suicide bombings; Role of violence in political persuasion; Issue of civilian casualties and human rights.*

K. Shankar Bajpai. 2003. "Untangling India and Pakistan." *Foreign Affairs.* 82(3): 112.

The article looks at the nature of the issues involved in the confrontation between India and Pakistan and explores possibilities for resolving them. It is sympathetic to India and claims that Pakistan pursues contradictory policies in that it has aligned itself with the U.S. -led War on Terrorism, yet fosters cross-border terrorism in Kashmir.

Zulfiqar a Bhutta and Samiran Nundy. 2002. "Commentary: The Myth of Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia." *BMJ: British Medical Journal.* 324(7333): 358.

ABSTRACT: *Comments on nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan, and the development of nuclear weapons in those countries. Claim that the weapons act as a deterrent against conventional armed conflict; View*

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that the countries do not possess sophisticated nuclear control systems or share details of their nuclear capacity; Attempts by al-Qaeda terrorists to obtain nuclear weapons.

Brahma Chellaney. 2001. "Fighting Terrorism in Southern Asia: The Lessons of History." *International Security.* 26(3): 94-116.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes the trends of transnational terrorism in Southern Asia. Challenges of terrorism; Impact of the anti-terrorism campaign on the security of India and Pakistan; Implications of the war on terrorism for the region.*

Irm Haleem. 2004. "Micro Target, Macro Impact: The Resolution of the Kashmir Conflict as a Key to Shrinking Al-Qaeda's International Terrorist Network." Terrorism & Political Violence. 16(1): 18-47.

Discusses how the conflict in Kashmir has attracted extremist groups from Pakistan and Al Qaeda. The article argues that bringing an end to the India-Pakistan Kashmir conflict will deter further growth of terrorist networks in Kashmir. The author feels that the resolution of the Kashmir conflict is part of the broader War on Terrorism.

P. M. Kamath. 2002. "India's War against International Terrorism in the 21st Century: Issues, Challenges and Evolving a Strategy." India Quarterly. 58(2): 135.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the war against international terrorism in India. Sponsorship of cross-border terrorism by Pakistan; Focus of the policies on relations with nations; Alleged violation of human rights by Pakistan.*

Bernard-Henri Levy. 2004. "Center of Islamist Fundamentalism Shifting Eastward." NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly. 21(1): 34-35.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the shift of Islamist fundamentalism from the Arab world to the Asiatic world as of January 2004. Significance of Kashmir to jihadists; Observation on the alliance between the U.S. and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf in the war on terrorism; Views on the arrest of Khalid Shaikh Mohammed in March 2003 before the United Nations vote on going to war in Iraq.*

George Perkovich. 2002. "External Factors: Facilitating Military and Political Stability in South Asia." Cambridge Review. 15(2): 289-297.

This is an interview with George Perkovich of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which provides an informed perspective of regional stability in the Indian subcontinent. Perkovich emphasizes that stability can only be ensured with the reconciliation of the situation in Kashmir.

Shaukat Qadir. 2001. "The Concept of International Terrorism: An Interim Study of South Asia." Round Table. 360): 333-343.

This article asserts that terrorism seeks legitimacy from religion. Shaukat emphasizes that many people entering Pakistan's seminaries are from underprivileged backgrounds and believes that better education and the elimination of poverty will curb the emergence of terrorist activities.

R. K. Raghavan. 2003. "The Indian Police: Problems and Prospects." *Publius.* 33(4): 119-133.

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Raghavan asserts that India's terrorist problem stems from deep tensions between the Hindu majority and the Muslim minority. These tensions are magnified by the government and police force's overt partisanship.

Anita D. Raman. 2004. "Of Rivers and Human Rights: The Northern Areas, Pakistan's Forgotten Colony in Jammu and Kashmir." International Journal on Minority & Group Rights. 11(1/2): 187-228.

This essay outlines the history of hostilities between India and Pakistan concerning Kashmir. It explains how Kashmir's territory is divided and controlled and discusses the right of self-determination for people living in the region.

Farzana Shaikh. 2002. "Pakistan's Nuclear Bomb: Beyond the Non-Proliferation Regime." International Affairs. 78(1): 29.

Discusses the status of Pakistan as a nuclear power in light of September 11. Pakistan has come under international scrutiny because their nuclear weapons are believed to be vulnerable to Muslim terrorist groups.

Jasjit Singh. 2002. "Kashmir, Pakistan and the War by Terror." Small Wars & Insurgencies. 13(2): 81.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes the origin of the culture of militant violence in the Jammu Kashmir region in India. Involvement of Pakistan in terrorist activities by Muslims in Kashmir; Wars fought between Pakistan and India; Impact of the Islamization of Pakistan's government and military; Involvement of Pakistan in Afghanistan's conflicts.*

Praveen Swami. 2004. "Failed Threats and Flawed Fences: India's Military Responses to Pakistan's Proxy War." India Review. 3(2): 147-170.

This article examines the series of threats made by India in response to Pakistan's unconventional warfare in Jammu and Kashmir. It argues that India's strategy has not effectively deterred Pakistan's activities and claims that an alternate plan must be implemented by India.

Praveen Swami. 2003. "Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir in Theory and Practice." *India Review.* 2(3): 55-88.

The author discusses the terrorist threat in Kashmir, naming specific groups operating in Kashmir and their connection to Pakistan. The author makes recommendations to the Indian government concerning ways to win the loyalty of Kashmir.

Kashmir

M. M. Ali. 2003. "Peace Conference on Kashmir." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs.* 22(8): 64-65.

This article covers the 2003 international peace conference on Kashmir held by the Association of Human Rights Lawyers and the Kashmir American Council. It discusses the current

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significance of Kashmir due to India and Pakistan's nuclear capabilities and the egregious human rights violations that continue to take place in Kashmir.

Shakti Bhatt. 2003. "State Terrorism Vs. Jihad in Kashmir." Journal of Contemporary Asia. 33(2): 215.

ABSTRACT*: Argues that the situation in Kashmir marked by extreme human rights violations is a consequence of the state terrorism practiced by the Indian army against Kashmiris in combating an insurgency that is abetted by Pakistan and other Islamic nations in the name of jihad. Clash between the colonial attitude of the Indian army and the anti-modern practices of the fundamentalist militant groups.*

Abdus Sattar Ghazali. 2002. "Pana's Letter to Colin Powell: Help Solve Kashmir Issue." Washington Report for Middle East Affairs. 21(7): 89.

ABSTRACT: *Reports the call for U.S. aid to the settlement of the conflict between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir Valley. Impact of the brutal direct rule of India over the Kashmiri people; Consequences of the conflict to U.S. interest; U.S. priority on the respect for human rights and rights to self-determination in Kashmir.*

Bernard-Henri Levy. 2004. "Center of Islamist Fundamentalism Shifting Eastward." NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly. 21(1): 34-35.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the shift of Islamist fundamentalism from the Arab world to the Asiatic world as of January 2004. Significance of Kashmir to jihadists; Observation on the alliance between the U.S. and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf in the war on terrorism; Views on the arrest of Khalid Shaikh Mohammed in March 2003 before the United Nations vote on going to war in Iraq.*

Amitabh Mattoo. 2003. "India's 'Potential' Endgame in Kashmir." *India Review.* 2(3): 14-33.

The article attempts to articulate the Indian strategy for the settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir situation with Pakistan. The author notes that September 11 has shifted international attention towards Kashmir, putting pressure on India to find a solution and emerge a clear leader.

Carole McGranahan. 2003. "Kashmir and Tibet: Comparing Conflicts, States, and Solutions." India Review. 2(3): 145-180.

This article compares the situations in Kashmir and Tibet and claims that there are many commonalities. The author focuses on possible political solutions for the two conflicts that will address collective rights, national identity, and state sovereignty.

R. S. Saini. 2001. "Self-Determination, Terrorism and Kashmir." *India Quarterly.* 57(2): 59.

ABSTRACT: *Considers the role of self-determination and terrorism in the foreign relations between India and Pakistan. Principle of self-determination under the United Nations (UN) charter; Provisions of the charter on self-determination through its resolutions and declarations; Covenants on human rights; Resolution of U.N. on international terrorism; Self-determination in the context of Jammu and Kashmir.*

Robert Wirsing. 2002. "Kashmir in the Terrorist Shadow." *Asian Affairs.* 33(1): 91.

ABSTRACT: *Presents discussions on the political disputes in Kashmir, India. Impact U.S. war against terrorism on national policies; Information on Kashmiri uprisings; Foreign relations with Pakistan.*

Policy Changes in India

Rajesh M. Basrur. 2003. "Kargil, Terrorism, and India's Strategic Shift." *India Review.* 1(4): 39-56.

> ABSTRACT*: Traces the process of change in Indian strategic thinking and behavior from its genesis in the Kargil conflict in 1999 to a military confrontation in 2001 to 2002. Role of politics and force in the context of relations between India and Pakistan; Details of the Kargil conflict; Implications of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on India's military strategies.*

Stephen Blank. 2003. "India's Rising Profile in Central Asia." *Comparative Strategy.* 22(2): 139.

> This essay explores India's growing interest and presence in Central Asia and its relation to the rise of Indian power in general. According to Blank, India's changing strategy is due to the international affects of September 11, terrorism in Kashmir, and the war in Afghanistan.

Lowell Duttmer. 2001. "South Asia's Security Dilemma." *Asian Survey.* 41(6): 897.

> ABSTRACT: *Explores the problems with weaponization in South Asian countries. Implications of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in the U.S. on South Asian countries; Ambivalence of India on nuclear weapon; Reasons for Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear weapons; Information on the national defense strategy of China.*

Marty Kauchak. 2002. "US Ties Expand with India & Pakistan." Armed Forces Journal International. 139(8): 14.

> ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the relationship of the U.S. with India and Pakistan. Partnership in military forces; Impact of the September 11 terrorist attack on the relationship of U.S. with the two countries; Contribution of India and Pakistan on the fight of U.S. against terrorism.*

R. P. Khanna and Lalit Sethi. 2003. "Balancing Act." Armed Forces Journal International. 141(4): 8-10.

> ABSTRACT: *Discusses how U.S. -Pakistan ties weigh on U.S. -Indian relationship. Perceptions over Pakistani support to terrorists; Attempt of the U.S. to impress on the Indian leadership that Pakistan is its coalition partner; Involvement of Pakistan with the Iranian nuclear program.*

Jessie Lloyd and Nathan Nankivell. 2002. "India, Pakistan and the Legacy of September 11th." Cambridge Review of International Affairs. 15(2): 269-287.

> ABSTRACT: *Explores the changes experienced by India and Pakistan since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Ways in which the two countries will be the lynchpins of security in the Asia Pacific region; Reliance of the success of the security order in Southeast Asia on India and Pakistan's cooperation; Need for the two countries to balance their domestic challenges and the demands of the international community.*

William Maley. 2003. "The 'War against Terrorism' in South Asia." Contemporary South Asia. 12(2): 203.

> ABSTRACT: *Terrorism is a complex rather than a simple phenomenon, and if powers are to respond appropriately to terrorist challenges, these complexities must be taken into account. The cases of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India illustrate some of the diverse forms of terrorism, and suggest that there is no easy solution to*

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the problem that terrorism poses. At the same time, the interconnections between Afghanistan, Pakistan and India require the integration of responses so that they add up to an appropriate package of measures.

V. R. Raghavan. 2004. "The Double-Edged Effect in South Asia." Washington Quarterly. 27(4): 147-155.

ABSTRACT: *Reports that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States changed South Asia's security calculus in unexpected ways. India's surprise that the U.S. did not isolate Pakistan; Change in India's strategy from defensive to proactive responses to terrorism; Possibility of using air strikes to take out terrorist bases in Pakistani territory.*

Human Rights in Pakistan

Ahmad. 2001. "Fears That Afghan Exodus Threatens Polio Eradication." *Lancet.* 358(9288): 1161.

ABSTRACT: Reports on the concern of Pakistani health officials that the mass movement of Afghans in the region after terrorist attacks on the United States could pose a serious threat to the global polio eradication initiative. Background on agencies' efforts to vaccinate incoming Afghan children; Appeal for funds by UNICEF and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan to immunize Afghan children.

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Health and Safety of Afghans Hangs in the Balance." Lancet. 358(9287): 1069.

ABSTRACT: Reports that the World Food Programme resumed shipments of food aid to Afghanistan, in the wake of terrorist attacks in the United States. Reasons that the United Nations agency stopped food delivery; Threat of the Taliban against those who use computers and other communications equipment; Concern about refugees fleeing to neighboring countries in anticipation of attacks from the U.S. ; Conditions in Pakistan, which along with Iran has closed borders to Afghanistan.

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Human-Rights Concerns Raised About Northern Alliance." Lancet. 358(9294): 1701.

Addresses the Pakistan Medical Association's opposition to the U.S. -led attacks in Afghanistan. The PMA claims that the Northern Alliance is comprised of factions who were involved in human rights abuses during the Afghan civil war.

Burton Bollag. 2000. "Afghan Academics Are at Risk, Pakistani Says." Chronicle of Higher Education. 46(46): A41.

ABSTRACT: *Reports that hundreds of Afghan academics in exile in Pakistan are in danger of attacks from hard-line Islamic forces in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Statement issued by the Pakistani Human Rights Commission's chairman, Afrasiab Khattak; Deportation of a university professor, Mohammad Enam Wak.*

Nazila Ghanea. 2004. " Human Rights of Religious Minorities and of Women in the Middle East." Human Rights Quarterly. 26(3): 705-729.

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The article addresses various attacks on religious minorities in the middle east. It explores the human rights issues that these minorities experience living among Muslim majorities, including mass murders that have occurred without interjection from authorities.

Sikeena Karmali. 2003. "Unraveling the East-West Myth." *Utne Reader.* (115): 92.

ABSTRACT: *Relates an experience of a human rights worker in Peshawar, Pakistan. Arrival in the country after a month of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. ; Account of the invasion of the U.S. in Afghanistan; Meeting with Afghan refugees.*

Pakistan, Al Qaeda, and the Taliban

C. Christine Fair. 2004. "Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: Implications for Al Qaeda and Other Organizations." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism.* 27(6): 489-504.

ABSTRACT: *Despite Pakistan's extensive contribution to the global war on terrorism, many questions persist about the extent to which Al Qaeda and its associated outfits are currently operating within Pakistan. This article examines this issue by posing several empirical questions: (1) What are the general contours of militancy in Pakistan? (2) What motivates individuals to join specific Pakistan-based militant outfits? (3) By what means do groups recruit specific individuals? (4) What do these findings suggest for Al Qaeda operations in Pakistan? (5) What linkages exist between Pakistan-based organizations to Al Qaeda? These issues are addressed through regional fieldwork, extensive literature reviews, and consultation with numerous highly regarded analysts to South Asia. This article concludes that Al Qaeda likely does not have an explicit and dedicated recruiting infrastructure to recruit Pakistanis for its operations. Rather, Al Qaeda relies upon a web of informal relations with groups based in Pakistan to gain access to operational collaborators and individuals to execute attacks within Pakistan.*

Irm Haleem. 2004. "Micro Target, Macro Impact: The Resolution of the Kashmir Conflict as a Key to Shrinking Al-Qaeda's International Terrorist Network." *Terrorism & Political Violence.* 16(1): 18-47.

Discusses how the conflict in Kashmir has attracted extremist groups from Pakistan and Al Qaeda. The article argues that bringing an end to the India-Pakistan Kashmir conflict will deter further growth of terrorist networks in Kashmir. The author feels that the resolution of the Kashmir conflict is part of the broader War on Terrorism.

Peter Dale Scott. 2003. "The CIA's Secret Powers: Afghanistan, 9/11, and America's Most Dangerous." Critical Asian Studies. 35(2): 233.

This essay addresses the secret powers conferred by the National Security Act of 1947 which has been used to to train, arms, and develop the terrorist enemies, such as Al Qaeda. The author claims that in Pakistan and Afghanistan, CIA programs have had tremendous political consequences which have culminated in various attacks against the U.S., including September 11.

Julie Sirrs. 2001. "The Taliban's International Ambitions." *Middle East Quarterly.* 8(3): 61.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the alleged terrorist activities of the Taliban and its supporters. Recruitment of foreign supporters; Logistics and technical assistance from Pakistan and several terrorist organizations; Relationship of Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization with the Taliban.*

Jessica Stern. 2000. "Pakistan's Jihad Culture." *Foreign Affairs.* 79(6): 115.

ABSTRACT: *Reports on the presence of religious militants in Pakistan in 2000. Influence of the jihad, and how the terrorism is not as well known in the West as that of the Middle East; Thoughts on the war in Kashmir between the Indian army and the Pakistani mujahideen; Impact of these religious militants on the political conditions in Pakistan.*

Jessica Stern. 2003. "The Protean Enemy." *Foreign Affairs.* 82(4): 27.

Discusses how Al Qaeda continues to thrive as an organization despite U.S. attacks on its main cell in Afghanistan. Addresses Al Qaeda's recruiting and survival methods.

Policy Changes in Pakistan

Samina Ahmed. 2001. "The United States and Terrorism in Southwest Asia: September 11 and Beyond." *International Security.* 26(3): 79-93.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the policy of the United States in Southwest Asia. Development of a military partnership between Pakistan and the U.S. ; Need to assess the implications of the policy for Pakistan and Afghanistan; Background of the relationship between the U.S. and the region.*

Mohammed Ayoob. 2002. "South-West Asia after the Taliban." *Survival.* 44(1): 51.

ABSTRACT*: Focuses on the implication of the war on terrorism by the U.S. for Pakistani-Afghan relations. Installation of an interim Afghan government under the moderate Pashtun leader; Pledge of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf to break Pakistan-based terrorist groups; Principal economic beneficiaries of fragmentation and civil war.*

Benazir Bhutto. 2001. "Islamabad and the Taliban." *NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly.* 18(4): 50.

ABSTRACT*: Interviews Benazir Bhutto, former prime minister of Pakistan and head of Pakistan's opposition party Pakistan People's Party, on Islamabad and the Taliban. Views on Pakistani regime as an ally in the war against terror; Limits of Pakistan's support of an attack on Osama Bin Laden; Way on how to stop the kind of terror committed against the U.S.*

Benazir Bhutto. 2002. "Pakistan's Dilemma." *Harvard International Review.* 24(1): 14.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the dilemma on the side of the forces aligned against international terror faced by Pakistan. Impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the lives of the people; Fears on the failure of the policy of strategic depth in Kabul; Concerns on the breaking of the linkages between military and religious groups.*

Melissa Dell. 2002. "Learning Curve." *Harvard International Review.* 24(1): 34.

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ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the attempt of the United States to form an ally with Pakistan president Pervez Musharraf. Need to develop an alliance into a long-term relationship; Involvement of the Western nations in the affairs of Afghanistan; Need for the support of Muslim states in the war on terrorism.*

Lowell Duttmer. 2001. "South Asia's Security Dilemma." *Asian Survey.* 41(6): 897.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the problems with weaponization in South Asian countries. Implications of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in the U.S. on South Asian countries; Ambivalence of India on nuclear weapons; Reasons for Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear weapons; Information on the national defense strategy of China.*

Nathan Gardels. 2002. "Civilian Democracy Is Best Way to Fight Terror and Avoid War." NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly. 19(4): 67.

ABSTRACT*: Interviews former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Effects of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. on Pakistan; Information on the plan of the Pakistani generals behind Kashmiri militants to provoke war; Background on the tension between India and Pakistan; Views on a democratically elected civilian government.*

Nathan Gardels. 2003. "Enlightened Moderation Is the Best Course to Fight Terror." NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly. 20(4): 46-48.

ABSTRACT: *Presents comments of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf on the war between the U.S. and Iraq in 2003. Measures that may be taken by the U.S. to reduce the visibility of its forces in Iraq to win the war against terrorism; Approach needed by the U.S. to remove the root causes of terrorism; Outlook of the Islamic world on the war against terrorism.*

Marty Kauchak. 2002. "U. S. -Pakistan Ties in the Balance." *Armed Forces Journal International.* 140(5): 8.

ABSTRACT: Analyzes the military relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. Mutual commitment to combat terrorism in South Asia; Evidence of Pakistan's war against terrorism; Concerns about Pakistan's nuclear program.

Marty Kauchak. 2002. "US Ties Expand with India & Pakistan." Armed Forces Journal International. 139(8): 14.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the relationship of the U.S. with India and Pakistan. Partnership in military forces; Impact of the September 11 terrorist attack on the relationship of the U.S. with the two countries; Contribution of India and Pakistan on the fight of the U.S. against terrorism.*

R. P. Khanna and Lalit Sethi. 2003. "Balancing Act." Armed Forces Journal International. 141(4): 8-10.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses how U.S. -Pakistan ties weigh on the U.S. -Indian relationship. Perceptions over Pakistani support to terrorists; Attempt of the U.S. to impress on the Indian leadership that Pakistan is its coalition partner; Involvement of Pakistan with the Iranian nuclear program.*

Anatol Lieven. 2002. "The Pressures on Pakistan." *Foreign Affairs.* 81(1): 106.

Discusses U.S. interest in keeping President Musharraf in power in Pakistan as opposed to Taliban-linked armed groups within Pakistan who want control. Islamists have exerted a political and ideological influence in Pakistan that threatens the security of the region.

Jessie Lloyd and Nathan Nankivell. 2002. "India, Pakistan and the Legacy of September 11th." Cambridge Review of International Affairs. 15(2): 269-287.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the changes experienced by India and Pakistan since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Ways in which the two countries will be the lynchpins of security in the Asia Pacific region; Reliance of the success of the security order in Southeast Asia on India and Pakistan's cooperation; Need for the two countries to balance their domestic challenges and the demands of the international community.*

Peter Maass. 2002. "Dirty War. (Cover Story)." *New Republic.* 227(20): 18.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses United States allies' government policies on terrorism and terrorists. Support of the U.S. for Egyptian methods, which feature summary executions and torture of suspects; Ineffectiveness of the Pakistani justice system; Methods used by the Citizens-Police Liaison Committee (CPLC) in Pakistan; Failure of the U.S. to promote democracy in places where it would impede its political aims, such as in many allied nations.*

William Maley. 2003. "The 'War against Terrorism' in South Asia." Contemporary South Asia. 12(2): 203.

ABSTRACT: *Terrorism is a complex rather than a simple phenomenon, and if powers are to respond appropriately to terrorist challenges, these complexities must be taken into account. The cases of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India illustrate some of the diverse forms of terrorism, and suggest that there is no easy solution to the problem that terrorism poses. At the same time, the interconnections between Afghanistan, Pakistan and India require the integration of responses so that they add up to an appropriate package of measures.*

Iftikhar H. Malik. 2002. "The Afghanistan Crisis and the Rediscovery of the Frontline State." Asian Survey. 42(1): 204.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the political conditions in Pakistan as of 2001. Establishment of a bipartisan relationship; Details on the massive human losses in the terrorist attacks of September 11; Details on the policy of virtual alignment with the U.S.*

Bessma Momani. 2004. "The IMF, the U.S. War on Terrorism, and Pakistan." Asian Affairs: An American Review. 31(1): 41-50.

ABSTRACT: *Probes into the issue of whether the U.S. interfered with or politicized the approval of the final disbursement of Pakistan's loan from the International Monetary Fund. Functions of the economic instruments of statecraft of the U.S. ; Contribution of Pakistan to the war on terrorism; Rewards offered by the U.S. to the Pakistani regime if they joined the war on terrorism campaign.*

Aqil Shah. 2002. "Democracy on Hold in Pakistan." *Journal of Democracy.* 13(1): 67.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the democracy in Pakistan. Recurrence of political turmoil; Decline of military and economic assistance; Occurrence of financial losses.*

Ian Talbot. 2003. "Pakistan in 2002." *Asian Survey.* 43(1): 198.

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This article discusses Pakistan's transition to democracy in 2002, its tense relations with India, and the affects of terrorism within Pakistan's borders aimed at Western targets and the Musharraf government.

Robert G. Wirsing. 2003. "Precarious Partnership: Pakistan's Response to U.S. Security Policies." Asian Affairs: An American Review. 30(2): 70.

ABSTRACT: *Examines Pakistan's compliance with U.S. strategic doctrine and policy, particularly as it relates to the war on terrorism. Advantage and disadvantage of Pakistan cutting its diplomatic ties with Kabul following the U.S. -led bombing campaign against Afghanistan; Key interests of Pakistan in return for its collaboration with the global coalition; Dilemma facing the U.S. in terms of the dispute between India and Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir.*

Samina Yasmeen. 2003. "Pakistan's Kashmir Policy: Voices of Moderation?" Contemporary South Asia. 12(2): 187.

This paper focuses on Pakistan's Kashmir policy during the 1990's and the different approaches favored by different groups within Pakistan. The essay argues that Pakistan has made efforts to resolve the Kashmir dilemma but has many constraining factors, therefore India needs to work within the framework of Pakistan's limitations.

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The USA PATRIOT Act
by Toni Panetta

*The PATRIOT Act had lofty aspirations, for it was designed to correct five perceived weaknesses, or failures, of the national government to prevent the 9/11 atrocity. It sought 1) to improve sharing of information between law enforcement and foreign intelligence agencies; 2) to gather antiterrorism intelligence by taking advantage of the flexible warrants requirement of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA); 3) to expand wiretap authority over electronic communications; 4) to seize funding utilized in terrorist activities; and 5) to impose mandatory detention and deportation of non-U. S. citizens who are suspected of having links to terrorist organization (*Christopher P. Banks. 2004. "Protecting (or Destroying) Freedom through Law: The USA PATRIOT Act's Constitutional Implications." *American National Security and Civil Liberties in an Era of Terrorism.* David B. Cohen and John W. Wells. New York: Palgrave MacMillan).

The events of September 11, 2001 serve as the origin of the United States' War on Terror as popularized by the Bush administration. Previously, American strategies to combat terrorism focused on attacks against its interests abroad, and support for other governments' efforts to curb terrorist acts within their own boundaries. However, September 11 revealed vulnerability to violence by non-state actors within U.S. borders. In response, the United States reshaped its anti-terrorist strategies to prevent future attacks by targeting terrorists, foreign and domestic, known and potential.

To facilitate the prosecution of terrorists, the United States Congress passed the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act, commonly referred to as the USA PATRIOT ACT. Signed into law on October 26, 2001, the Act was enacted to eliminate anachronistic laws that obstructed surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities by government agencies. Since its adoption, debate has raged over how expanded surveillance and intelligence-gathering powers conflict with civil liberties, both in theory and in practice.

Much of the literature contained in this bibliography examines the repercussions of the USA PATRIOT Act through the analysis of civil liberties. This reflects the American emphasis on civil and political rights, rather than the compendium of rights recognized by international human rights doctrines. The growing bodies of legal and academic literature on the Act and its implementation reflect this bias.

What's Missing

It is worth noting that due to the complexity and scope of U.S. law dealing with the War on Terror, the PATRIOT Act is just one legal element affecting human rights in the United States. The literature referenced here does not address the issues of executive authority and judicial review, both of which have profound consequences on the legal limits of government behavior and the protection of civil liberties.

Moreover, a number of closely related topics have been excluded from this bibliography because they do not relate directly to international human rights doctrines. That said, substantial literature

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exists (and continues to grow) in the areas of immigration law and non-citizen detention policies following September 11 that are separate from the PATRIOT Act; financial privacy concerns raised by U.S. investigation and prosecution of international money-laundering activities; bioterrorism; and the general conflict between national security and civil liberties. While these topics are referenced in literature included in this bibliography, the resources cited focus specifically on human rights-based civil rights concerns and/or constitutional discussions of the PATRIOT Act. In addition, technical discussions about provisions of the Act dealing with electronic surveillance have been excluded. Literature about electronic surveillance is included to the extent that it contributes to an understanding of constitutional challenges to the Act.

Background and Context

They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety (Benjamin Franklin).

The debate between national security and citizens' liberties is centuries old; in America, the most recent iteration of that debate came with the enactment of the USA PATRIOT Act following the terrorist attacks of September 11. This section presents an historical and contextual understanding of the USA PATRIOT Act, with the available literature providing a cohesive foundation to investigate how the Act factors into the debate between security and liberty. Specifically, literature falls into the categories of the PATRIOT act itself, including neutral explanation of the provisions of the Act; historical context of the debate between national security and civil liberties in America; recent U.S. anti-terrorism initiatives; human rights concerns within the context of the debate; and foundations for constitutional challenges to the Act.

The PATRIOT Act

Full and complete text of the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001: http://frwebgate. access. gpo. gov/cgi-bin/getdoc. cgi?dbname=107_cong_public_laws&docid=f:publ056. 107. pdf

Howard Ball. 2004. The U.S. A. Patriot Act of 2001: Balancing Civil Liberties and National Security: A Reference Handbook. Santa Barbara, Calif. : Abc-Clio.

Discusses terrorist actions against Americans and government efforts to protect national security before September 11, 2001; passage of the U.S. A. PATRIOT Act of 2001; debate over civil liberties' endangerment by Act and national security strategies; Bush administration's defense of the Act; and introduction of PATRIOT II.

Christopher P. Banks. 2004. "Protecting (or Destroying) Freedom through Law: The USA Patriot Act's Constitutional Implications." American National Security and Civil Liberties in an Era of Terrorism. David B. Cohen and John W. Wells. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Provides clear, concise context for passage of the PATRIOT Act, including related legislation and case law upon which provisions of the Act expanded. Provides framework to understand challenges to the Act on First (freedom of association and speech), Fourth (search and seizure),

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Fifth (due process and grand jury), Sixth (right to counsel), Eighth (cruel and unusual punishment), and Fourteenth (due process, privacy, and equal protection) amendment grounds.

Barbara Dority. 2004. "Your Every Move". *Humanist*. 64(1): 14.

Charles Doyle. 2001. Terrorism: Section by Section Analysis of the USA Patriot Act. Washington, D. C. : Congressional Research Service.

> Provides an easy-to-understand description of the USA PATRIOT Act and how it amended pre-existing laws dealing with terrorism, executive authority, financing, and surveillance and investigatory powers. Essential to understand provisions of the PATRIOT Act.

Michael T. McCarthy. 2002. "Recent Developments: USA Patriot Act". Harvard Journal on Legislation. 39(Summer 2002): 435-6.

> This neutral legal analysis provides a detailed interpretation of the PATRIOT Act and how U.S. law changed as a result of its enactment. This well-reasoned piece provides a useful source to understand the Act and criticisms raised by civil libertarians.

2001. Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA Patriot Act) Act of 2001.

John W. Whitehead and Steven H. Aden. 2002. "Forfeiting Enduring Freedom" for "Homeland Security": A Constitutional Analysis of the USA Patriot Act and the Justice Department's Anti-Terrorism Initiatives". The American University Law Review. 51(August, 2002).

> This well-written constitutional analysis of the PATRIOT Act provides intelligible interpretation of how particular provisions of the Act changed U.S. law. The article focuses on Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth amendment concerns with the PATRIOT Act and provides a nice background to understand constitutional challenges to the Act.

Historical Context of the Debate

Richard C. Leone and Jr. Greg Anrig. 2003. The War on Our Freedoms: Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism. New York: The Century Foundation.

> ABSTRACT: *A collection of 13 contributed essays that examine the lack of political discourse in America about preserving and protecting civil liberties and questioning government's authority and enactment of various policies under the guise of national security, including the USA PATRIOT Act. Essays of interest discuss historical instances of tensions between liberty and national security; lack of checks on government authority; Guantanamo Bay detainees and detention policies; incursions onto personal privacy; changes in immigration policies and the use of racial profiling following 9/11; increased governmental use of secrecy and reduction in availability of publicly accessible information; the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and decline in media coverage and scrutiny of government actions; and attempts to protect individual rights in America via a constitutional challenge to the PATRIOT Act.*

Paul Rosenzweig. 2004. "Civil Liberty and the Response to Terrorism". Duquesne University Law Review. 42(Summer 2004).

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Provides a nice summation of the historical tension between civil liberties and security while addressing concerns specific to the PATRIOT Act. Attempts to provide pros and cons of the Act; discussion of the most controversial provisions of the Act, particularly sections 213 and 215; and an understanding of First Amendment challenges to provisions through which the government has identified certain donors as potential terrorists.

Recent U.S. Anti-Terrorism Initiatives

1996. Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDPA). http://www. fas. org/irp/crs/96-499. htm.

Passed in response to the domestic terrorism incident of the Oklahoma City bombing, this legislation added or amended laws regulating anti-terrorism efforts. Title IV specifically deals with deportation of non-citizens.

Elaine Cassell. 2004. The War on Civil Liberties: How Bush and Ashcroft Have Dismantled the Bill of Rights. Lawrence Hill Books.

ABSTRACT: *Examining the legal foundations of the war on terror, this book investigates the loss of the civil liberties of American citizens and legal immigrants. In a detailed look at bills such as the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, the USA PATRIOT Act, and the Homeland Security Act, and executive orders, it provides a comprehensive picture of the war on terror and explores the claimed victories by the Bush administration. Chronicling the major battles with Muslim charities, immigrants, lawyers, and "enemy combatants," this exposé reveals how the values and freedoms of all Americans are at risk or have already been destroyed. Also surveyed is the growing grassroots dissent by groups such as the ACLU and the resistance movement against the policies and major figures of the Bush administration.*

Jennifer C. Evans. 2002. "Hijacking Civil Liberties: The USA Patriot Act of 2001". Loyola University Chicago Law Journal. 33(Summer 2002).

ABSTRACT: *This legal article presents the case for Fourth Amendment challenges to the PATRIOT Act. Includes a history of anti-terrorism legislation, primarily Title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (OCCSSA), the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA), and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDPA).*

Emanuel Gross. 2002. "The Influence of Terrorist Attacks on Human Rights in the United States: The Aftermath of September 11, 2001". North Carolina Journal of International Law & Commercial Regulation. 28(1).

Discusses balance between human rights and U.S. security needs post September 11. Relevant discussion examines protections given to human rights prior to PATRIOT Act and popular knowledge or perceived understanding of international terrorism, legislation enacted after September 11 (esp. U.S. A. PATRIOT Act), and comparison of U.S. anti-terrorism measures to British and Israeli efforts.

Vijay Sekhon. 2003. "The Civil Rights of "Others": Antiterrorism, the Patriot Act, and Arab and South Asian American Rights in Post-9/11 American Society". Texas Journal On Civil Liberties & Civil Rights. 8(1): 117.

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Frames concerns about the PATRIOT Act's incursion on First, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth amendment guarantees within the context of the Arab and Southern Asian populace. While the focus is on ethnocentric limits of liberties, the first section of the article provides a concise overview of particular provisions of the PATRIOT Act that conflict with constitutional rights.

John W. Whitehead and Steven H. Aden. 2002. "Forfeiting Enduring Freedom" for "Homeland Security": A Constitutional Analysis of the USA Patriot Act and the Justice Department's Anti-Terrorism Initiatives". The American University Law Review. 51(August, 2002).

This well-written constitutional analysis of the PATRIOT Act provides intelligible interpretation of how particular provisions of the Act changed U.S. law. The article focuses on Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth amendment concerns with the PATRIOT Act and provides a nice background to understand constitutional challenges to the Act.

Human Rights Concerns

Emanuel Gross. 2002. "The Influence of Terrorist Attacks on Human Rights in the United States: The Aftermath of September 11, 2001". *North Carolina Journal of International Law & Commercial Regulation.* 28(1).

Discusses balance between human rights and U.S. security needs post September 11. Relevant discussion examines protections given to human rights prior to PATRIOT Act and popular knowledge or perceived understanding of international terrorism, legislation enacted after September 11 (esp. U.S. A. PATRIOT Act), and comparison of U.S. anti-terrorism measures to British and Israeli efforts.

Neil Hicks and Michael McClintock. 2004. Defending Security: The Right to Defend Rights in an Age of Terrorism. New York: Human Rights First.

ABSTRACT: *This Human Rights First report raises alarm over the new global emphasis on counter-terrorism and its implications on human rights. "Defending Security" provides insight from human rights activists around the world about the impact of the new security situation on their work. This insight offers a vital perspective on the security challenges facing the international community in the first decade of the twenty-first century.*

Foundations for Constitutional Challenges to the Act

Christopher P. Banks. 2004. "Protecting (or Destroying) Freedom through Law: The USA Patriot Act's Constitutional Implications." American National Security and Civil Liberties in an Era of Terrorism. David B. Cohen and John W. Wells. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Provides clear, concise context for passage of the PATRIOT Act, including related legislation and case law upon which provisions of the Act expanded. Provides framework to understand challenges to the Act on First (freedom of association and speech), Fourth (search and seizure), Fifth (due process and grand jury), Sixth (right to counsel), Eighth (cruel and unusual punishment), and Fourteenth (due process, privacy, and equal protection) amendment grounds.

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David B. Cohen and John W. Wells. 2004. American National Security and Civil Liberties in an Era of Terrorism. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collection of essays examines the tensions between civil liberties and national security; relevant essay by Christopher Banks analyzes the PATRIOT Act's constitutional implications.

David Cole; James X. Dempsey and Carole Goldberg. 2002. Terrorism and the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security. New York: New Press.

This easy-to-read book chronicles the tension between civil liberties and national security policy in America during the 20th century. The 2nd edition of the text adds reference to the September 11 attacks and the USA PATRIOT Act. Useful for contextual understanding of the delicate balance between civil liberties and national security, but does not provide exhaustive analysis of PATRIOT's impact.

Susan Hansen. 2004. The USA Patriot Act: The Basics. The Century Foundation. http://www. tcf. org/Publications/HomelandSecurity/USAPatAct. pdf.

Provides an overview of the USA PATRIOT Act and those provisions deemed most dangerous to civil liberties. Good resource to use to obtain a basic understanding of the Act and the conflict with civil libertarians and constitutional scholars.

Lindsay N. Kendrick. 2004. "Alienable Rights and Unalienable Wrongs: Fighting the "War on Terror" through the Fourth Amendment". *Howard Law Journal.* 47(Spring 2004).

ABSTRACT: *This legal article argues for the creation of a Fourth Amendment challenge on claims of racial profiling for people who believe they were unconstitutionally targeted by law enforcement for committing acts of terrorism under the USA PATRIOT Act because of their race, ethnicity, national origin, or religion. Argues that the USA PATRIOT Act is a broad and vague criminal law that grants law enforcement wide latitude in investigating crime, arresting suspects, and charging the accused with crimes that require harsh sentences.*

Richard C. Leone and Jr. Greg Anrig. 2003. The War on Our Freedoms: Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism. New York: The Century Foundation.

ABSTRACT*: A collection of 13 contributed essays that examine the lack of political discourse in America about preserving and protecting civil liberties and questioning government's authority and enactment of various policies under the guise of national security, including the USA PATRIOT Act. Essays of interest discuss historical instances of tensions between liberty and national security; lack of checks on government authority; Guantanamo Bay detainees and detention policies; incursions onto personal privacy; changes in immigration policies and the use of racial profiling following 9/11; increased governmental use of secrecy and reduction in availability of publicly accessible information; the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and decline in media coverage and scrutiny of government actions; and attempts to protect individual rights in America via a constitutional challenge to the PATRIOT Act.*

Stephen J. Schulhofer. 2003. "No Checks, No Balances: Discarding Bedrock Constitutional Principles." The War on Our Freedoms. Richard C. Leone and Jr. Greg Anrig. New York: The Century Foundation.

Argues that in the wake of legislation enacted following the September 11 attacks, long-held checks on government authority have been suspended, both knowingly and unwittingly. First

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half focuses on PATRIOT Act's expansion of surveillance capabilities and the relation to existing Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA); additional discussions devoted to new FBI policing guidelines, detention of foreign nationals, and detention and designation of enemy combatants.

Vijay Sekhon. 2003. "The Civil Rights of "Others": Antiterrorism, the Patriot Act, and Arab and South Asian American Rights in Post-9/11 American Society". Texas Journal On Civil Liberties & Civil Rights. 8(1): 117.

Frames concerns about the PATRIOT Act's incursion on First, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth amendment guarantees within the context of the Arab and Southern Asian populace. While the focus is on ethnocentric limits of liberties, the first section of the article provides a concise overview of particular provisions of the PATRIOT Act that conflict with constitutional rights.

William J. Stuntz. 2002. "Local Policing after the Terror". *Yale Law Journal.* 111(June 2002):

This legal article proposes policies to balance between constitutional rights guaranteed by the Fourth and Fifth Amendments while meeting the needs of homeland security and policing activities, especially in the age of terrorism. Discusses provisions of the PATRIOT Act specific to these issues.

John W. Whitehead and Steven H. Aden. 2002. "Forfeiting "Enduring Freedom" for "Homeland Security": A Constitutional Analysis of the USA Patriot Act and the Justice Department's Anti-Terrorism Initiatives". The American University Law Review. 51(August, 2002).

This well-written constitutional analysis of the PATRIOT Act provides intelligible interpretation of how particular provisions of the Act changed U.S. law. The article focuses on Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth amendment concerns with the PATRIOT Act and provides a nice background to understand constitutional challenges to the Act.

Issues Relating to Information-Sharing and Expanded Surveillance Capabilities

*The right of the people to be secure on their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized (*Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution).

The bulk of the literature challenging the PATRIOT Act's constitutionality focuses on Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable search and seizures. These challenges stem from the expanded surveillance and intelligence-gathering powers codified in Title II of the Act. Of particular note are the Act's amendment of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) and the extension of electronic surveillance techniques to Internet Communications.

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Amendment of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA)

Nola K. Breglio. 2003. "Leaving FISA Behind: The Need to Return to Warrantless Foreign Intelligence Surveillance". *Yale Law Journal*. 113(1): 179.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses history of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) and the establishment of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC), explains how the PATRIOT Act and In re Sealed Case damaged the usefulness and legitimacy of FISA and the FISC. Argues for the abolition of FISA and the appropriateness of warrantless searches as the standard in foreign intelligence cases.*

Michael J. Bulzomi. 2003. "Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act: Before and after the USA Patriot Act". FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. (June).

Rebecca A. Copeland. 2004. "War on Terrorism or War on Constitutional Rights? Blurring the Lines of Intelligence Gathering in Post-September 11 America". Texas Tech Law Review. 35(2004):

This paper analyzes the potential impact the combined powers of the FISA, the USA PATRIOT Act, and the Department of Homeland Security have on the constitutional rights of American citizens, particularly Fourth Amendment rights. Includes a brief history of foreign intelligence surveillance and how the PATRIOT Act changed FISA regulations. A good background piece on foreign intelligence surveillance law in the U.S. and FISA in particular; useful primer to understand the constitutional challenges to PATRIOT that cite FISA precedents.

Heath H. Galloway. 2002. "Don't Forget What We're Fighting For: Will the Fourth Amendment Be a Casualty of the War on Terror?" Washington & Lee Law Review. 59(Summer 2002):

This highly legal analysis examines provisions of the PATRIOT Act the challenge the Fourth Amendment. Particular focus is paid to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), its history and its balance with constitutional rights, and whether the PATRIOT Act provides government agencies with too much authority at the expense of constitutional rights.

Paul T. Jaeger. 2003. "The Impact of the USA Patriot Act on the Collection and Analysis of Personal Information under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act". Government Information Quarterly. 20(July 2003).

Kathleen Sullivan. 2003. "Under a Watchful Eye: Incursions on Personal Privacy." The War on Our Freedoms. Richard C. Leone and Greg Anrig Jr. New York: The Century Foundation.

Explores issues of personal rights to privacy in America and how those rights have been imposed upon following September 11. Relevant discussion related to PATRIOT Act addresses PATRIOT Act's expansion of surveillance capabilities with respect to Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA); additional discussion addresses failed proposed Total Information Awareness (TIA) and Terrorism Information and Prevention Systems (TIPS) programs.

George P. Varghese. 2003. "A Sense of Purpose: The Role of Law Enforcement in Foreign Intelligence Surveillance". University of Pennsylvania Law Review. 152(1): 385.

Criticizes the U.S. Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review opinion in cases which allow law enforcement to invoke a foreign intelligence purpose as a pretext to obtain a FISA warrant for use in a criminal investigation. Questions the constitutionality of the PATRIOT Act's relaxing of barriers between law enforcement and intelligence investigations. Provides

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background about the foreign intelligence exception to the Fourth Amendment warrant requirement; evolution of the interpretation of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 by the courts and the executive branch.

Internet Communications

Joshua L. Dratel. 2002. "Fourth Amendment Implications of the USA Patriot Act". The Champion. 26.

Provides a concise summary of provisions of the PATRIOT Act that incur on Fourth Amendment rights, particularly those amending electronic surveillance regulations, jurisdictional authority, "sneak and peak" search authority, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), and regulations permitting disclosure of grand jury and other information.

Orin S. Kerr. 2003. "Internet Surveillance Law after the USA Patriot Act: The Big Brother That Isn't". Northwestern University Law Review. 97(Winter 2003).

ABSTRACT: *Argues that claims of the PATRIOT Act broadly enhancing government surveillance capabilities are incorrect. Includes technical discussion about what Internet surveillance is and how it works, analysis of three major criticisms of the Act, and an examination of FBI's "Carnivore" Internet surveillance software. Major point of argument claims Internet surveillance is not a matter of Fourth Amendment guarantees but is statutorily regulated.*

Peter G. Madrinan. 2003. "Devil in the Details: Constitutional Problems Inherent in the Internet Surveillance Provisions of the USA Patriot Act of 2001". University of Pittsburgh Law Review. 64(Summer 2003).

This highly technical article discusses the history of electronic surveillance law in the U.S. and the impact of changes in technology on surveillance law and techniques, specifically pen/trap device law. Included is a brief history of those sections of the PATRIOT Act dealing with electronic surveillance, as well as a discussion about the consequences of the Act on Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable searches and seizures.

Stephen W. Tountas. 2003. "Carnivore: Is the Regulation of Wireless Technology a Legally Viable Option to Curtail the Growth of Cybercrime?" *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy.* 11(2003).

Discusses history of case and statutory law relating to surveillance and Fourth Amendment rights to privacy. Specific analysis pertains to FBI's "Carnivore" Internet surveillance software; PATRIOT Act is discussed within this general framework. Worth reading are case laws on surveillance and PATRIOT Act's contribution to surveillance powers.

Issues Relating to Immigration Policy, Detention & Deportation

Many aspects of the PATRIOT Act unfairly target immigrants. The attorney general has the ability to 'certify' that the government has 'reasonable grounds to believe that an alien is a terrorist or is engaged in

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other activity that endangers the national security of the United States . ' Once that certification is made and someone is labeled a potential threat, the government may detain him or her indefinitely--based on secret evidence it isn't required to share with anyone (Barbara Dority. 2004. "Your Every Move". *Humanist.* 64(1): 14).

Title IV, Subtitle B of the USA PATRIOT Act has particular consequences for immigrants, resident aliens, and other non-U. S. citizens. In examining these issues existing literature tends to divide itself into two categories: discussion of general immigration law and examination of U.S. detention and deportation policies. In the former category, legal analyses trace the evolution of immigration law in the United States, with the PATRIOT Act largely referenced as another (though not the most important or only) legislative attempt by the United States government to limit immigrants' rights. Rather, the PATRIOT Act often is described as the inevitable consequence of a series of laws enacted under the auspices of improving national security at the expense of the rights of non-U. S. citizens. Discussion about U.S. detention and deportation policies regarding non-citizens is much more specific in its examination of the PATRIOT Act. Overall, the literature suggests the Act places non-citizens' liberty in jeopardy by creating statutory precedence for the detention and deportation of non-U. S. citizens. Relevant literature has been broken into the following sections: immigration policy and national security, detention and deportation of non-citizens**,** and implications for refugees and asylum seekers.

Immigration Policy and National Security

Adrienne R. Bellino. 2002. "Changing Immigration for Arabs with Anti-Terrorism Legislation: September 11th Was Not the Catalyst". *Temple International and Comparative Law Journal.* 16(Spring 2002).

Karen Engle. 2004. "Constructing Good Aliens and Good Citizens: Legitimizing the War on Terror(Ism)". Colorado Law Review. 75(Winter 2004).

   While lacking in discussion about the PATRIOT Act in particular, this article provides a thorough, legal analysis of how the U.S. government has distinguished between "bad" aliens and "good" aliens in the past. Includes a history of U.S. immigration law and policy; discussion of how some of the same demarcations were used to distinguish good from bad citizens based on presumed affiliations with bad aliens or enemy states; and analysis of how this practice is used in times of threat, particularly the post-September 11 era.

Catherine Etheridge Otto. 2002. "Tracking Immigrants in the United States: Proposed and Perceived Needs to Protect the Borders of the United States". *North Carolina Journal of International Law & Commercial Regulation.* 28(Winter 2002):

   This article reviews U.S. immigration policy, with discussion of the PATRIOT Act in this context. Little discussion of individual rights.

1996. Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIA). http://uscis. gov/graphics/publicaffairs/factsheets/948. htm.

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ABSTRACT: *Legislation amending the Immigration and Nationality Act to improve deterrence of illegal immigration to the United States by increasing border patrol and investigative personnel, by increasing penalties for alien smuggling and for document fraud, by reforming exclusion and deportation law and procedures, by improving the verification system for eligibility for employment, and through other measures, to reform the legal immigration system and facilitate legal entries into the United States, and other purposes.*

Ruchir Patel. 2003. "Immigration Legislation Pursuant to Threats to Us National Security". *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy.* 32(Winter 2003).

Examines U.S. immigration legislation in the face of threats to national security from World War I to present. Evaluates the PATRIOT Act's adequacy in resolving the present threat to national security, with specific attention paid to immigration policies, and proposes reforms to certain immigration provisions of the PATRIOT Act.

U. S. Department of Justice. 1997. Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 Grounds of Inadmissibility Fact Sheet. http://uscis. gov/graphics/publicaffairs/factsheets/950. htm.

Provides a brief summary of the salient points of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDPA) that make non-citizens inadmissible to the United States.

Quinn H. Vandenberg. 2004. "How Can the United States Rectify Its Post-9/11 Stance on Noncitizens' Rights?" Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics & Public Policy. 18(2004).

ABSTRACT: *Establishes an overview of constitutional and critical issues concerning U.S. immigration law and argues that the U.S. Congress' procedural and substantive changes to crime-related deportation by the Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), Immigration Reform and Death Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), and the USA PATRIOT Act lead to a "rights-deprived" environment for immigrants in the United States.*

Detention and Deportation of Non-Citizens

David Cole. 2002. "Enemy Aliens". *Stanford Law Review.* 54(May 2002).

Cole provides an extensive evaluation of non-citizen detention policies in the U.S. pre- and post-September 11, with particular emphasis paid to the further erosion of non-citizen rights following the enactment of the PATRIOT Act. Piece provides strong background understanding to detention policies and argues that human rights concerns stem from U.S. obligations to non-citizens, both on constitutional grounds and as a matter of international legitimacy.

Whitney D. Frazier. 2001. "The Constitutionality of Detainment in the Wake of September 11th". Kentucky Law Journal. 90(2001/2002).

Provides a collection of reports related to individuals detained by the U.S. during the war on terrorism, including some designated as enemy combatants or others held at Guantanamo Bay.

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Human Rights Watch. 2002. Human Rights Watch World Report 2002: United States: Anti-Terrorism Measures in the United States. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/wr2k2/us. html.

In its annual world report, Human Rights Watch provides discussion about the detention of 1,000+ predominantly Arab and Muslim individuals within the U.S. Minimal discussion of the USA PATRIOT Act; focus is on U.S. detention policies.

Human Rights Watch. August 2002. Presumption of Guilt: Human Rights Abuses of Post-September 11 Detainees. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2002/us911/.

Human Rights Watch. United States: Detainees and Other U.S. Post 9/11 Policies.

Collection of letters, press releases, and reports issued by Human Rights Watch regarding the United States' detention policies following September 11. With a strong focus on detention policies as defined by the U.S. Department of Justice and Executive Authority, this resource provides limited information specific to the USA PATRIOT Act. http://hrw. org/doc/?t=usa_detentions&document_limit=0,20.

Dana Keith. 2004. "In the Name of National Security or Insecurity? The Potential Indefinite Detention of Noncitizen". Florida Journal of International Law. 16(June 2004).

This article examines sections 411 and 412 of the PATRIOT Act, which allows for the detention of non-citizen terrorism suspects, and the British counterparts in the U. K. Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA). Examines theories of mandatory detention and conjectures whether the non-citizen detention provisions would be upheld as constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court and in keeping with human rights obligations by the European Court of Human Rights. Argues that PATRIOT Act is an appropriate domestic security law, whereas ATCSA is flawed.

Office of the Inspector General U.S. Department of Justice. 2003. The September 11 Detainees: A Review of the Treatment of Aliens Held on Immigration Charges in Connection with the Investigation of the September 11 Attacks. U.S. Department of Justice.

While not an analysis of the PATRIOT Act in particular, this report reviewed the treatment of those detained in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks in accordance with select provisions of the Act. In particular, the report criticized unusual or harsh treatment of prisoners, their lack of access to counsel, and the length of their detentions.

Shirin Sinnar. 2003. "Patriotic or Unconstitutional? The Mandatory Detention of Aliens under the USA Patriot Act". Stanford Law Review. 55(April 2003).

Provides a fairly comprehensive overview of the history of non-citizen detentions, detentions during "times of emergency" and non-citizen detentions following the enactment of the PATRIOT Act. Closely analyzes mandatory detention provisions of the PATRIOT Act and subjects them to detailed constitutional scrutiny, with particular emphasis paid to Fifth Amendment guarantees of due process of law.

U. S. State Department. Civil Liberties & Terrorism. http://usinfo. state. gov/dhr/human_rights/war_on_terrorism. html.

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Dana B. Weiss. 2002. "Protecting America First: Deporting Aliens Associated with Designated Terrorist Organizations That Have Committed Terrorism in America in the Face of Actual Threats to National Security". Cleveland State Law Review. 50(2002-2003).

ABSTRACT: *Presents a provocative counter-argument to claims of rights violations in instances of non-citizen deportations. Proposes legislation that would provide for removal of aliens who are merely associated with a known terrorist organization that has committed acts of terrorism in the U.S., arguing that such legislation is necessary to uphold the interest of national security in the face of actual, imminent threats of more terrorist acts against this country.*

Implications for Refugees and Asylum Seekers

Regina Germain. 2002. "Rushing to Judgment: The Unintended Consequences of the USA Patriot Act for Bona Fide Refugees". *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal*. 16(2): 505.

Discusses the implications of the USA PATRIOT Act for asylum-seekers and refugees. Presents a history of immigration law as it pertains to refugees and asylum seekers and offers proposals to implement the Act to ensure that bona fide refugees receive the protections they are entitled to under U.S. law. Contends that overly cautious adjudicators may deny refugees' claims based on little if any evidence of wrongdoing and argues that any individual who has received a final grant of asylum should not be certified or detained as a suspected terrorist.

Inna Nazarova. 2002. "Alienating "Human" from "Right": U.S. And UK Non-Compliance with Asylum Obligations under International Human Rights Law". *Fordham International Law Journal*. 25(June 2002):

In this article about international refugee and asylum law, the repercussions of the PATRIOT Act on asylum seekers and immigrants are examined. Explores U.S. and U. K. human rights obligations with respect to asylum-seekers.

Marie A. Taylor. 2002. "Immigration Enforcement Post-September 11: Safeguarding the Civil Rights of Middle Eastern-American and Immigrant Communities". Georgetown Immigration Law Journal. 17(Fall 2002):

ABSTRACT: *Examines some of the implications of post-September 11 immigration policies, practices, and laws for non-citizens and Middle Eastern-American immigrant communities, including the PATRIOT Act. Addresses some of the constitutional challenges raised by civil rights advocates and proposes mechanisms for data collection and monitoring of the most troublesome aspects of current immigration enforcement activities by the Immigration & Naturalization Service and the Justice Department.*

Additional Constitutional Challenges to the PATRIOT Act

Although not as broad as the other categories presented in this bibliography, this literature exists to challenge aspects of the PATRIOT Act on First Amendment bases. Specifically, these authors have challenged assertions of expanded executive authority, *de facto* reinterpretations of the principle

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of judicial review, and the way government has suppressed political dissent and curtailed the principle of open government following the attacks of September 11.

S. S. Beale and J. E. Felman. 2002. "The Consequences of Enlisting Federal Grand Juries in the War on Terrorism: Assessing the USA PATRIOT Act's Changes to Grand Jury Secrecy." *Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy* 25(2): 699.

N. Chang. 2003. "How Democracy Dies: The War on Our Civil Liberties". *Lost Liberties: Ashcroft and the Assault on Personal Freedom.* C. Brown. New York: The New Press.

N. Chang. and H. Zinn. 2002. *Silencing Political Dissent: How Post-September 11 Anti-Terrorism Measures Threaten Our Civil Liberties.* New York: Seven Stories Press.

J. M. Collins. 2002. "And the Walls Came Tumbling Down: Sharing Grand Jury Information with the Intelligence Community Under the USA PATRIOT Act." *American Criminal Law Review* 39(3): 1261.

Discusses provisions of the PATRIOT Act regarding the disclosure of grand jury material that contains foreign intelligence or counterintelligence information. Presents overview of the tradition of grand jury secrecy codified by Rule 6(e) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure; changes to Rule 6(e) adopted in the USA PATRIOT Act; and analysis of the grand jury secrecy exception of the law in light of traditional concerns that have animated the policy of grand jury secrecy.

C. A. Flint. 2004. "CHALLENGING THE LEGALITY OF SECTION 106 OF THE USA PATRIOT ACT." *Albany Law Review* 67.

ABSTRACT: *This article explores to what extent section 106 of the PATRIOT Act conflicts with Brown v. United States, in which the Supreme Court outlined a two-step procedure for the government to confiscate enemy property found within its jurisdiction. Examines how a court would resolve conflicts by examining definitions of enemy and states of warfare, the doctrine of military necessity, international law regarding unlawful expropriations, the application of customary international law in American jurisprudence, and the evolution of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA).*

International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). 1977. 50 U.S. C. 35**.**

ABSTRACT: U.S. *law enacted in 1977 that extends the president's emergency powers by enabling the president, after declaring that a national emergency exists because of a threat from a source outside the United States, to investigate, regulate, compel or prohibit virtually any economic transaction involving property in which a foreign country or national has an interest.*

S. H. Rackow. 2002. "How the USA PATRIOT Act Will Permit Governmental Infringement upon the Privacy of Americans in the Name of 'Intelligence' Investigations." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 150(5): 1651.

S. D. Ross. 2004. "SECRECY'S ASSAULT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO OPEN TRIALS." *Idaho Law Review* 40(2004).

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N. T. Saito. 2002. "Whose Liberty? Whose Security? The USA PATRIOT Act in the Context of COINTELPRO and the Unlawful Repression of Political Dissent." *Oregon Law Review* 81(Winter).

S. A. Scheindlin and M. L. Schwartz. 2004. "With All Due Deference: Judicial Responsibility In A Time Of Crisis." *Hofstra Law Review* 32(Spring).

Political Responses

In addition to attorneys and scholars, private citizens, organizations, and government entities have weighed in about the Act's consequences for civil liberties in America . The resources below represent individuals and organizations from both sides of the debate that have advocated for either repeal or expansion of the Act, as well as legislative responses calling for restrictions on or expansion of provisions of the Act.

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Patriot Act Resource Page of the American Civil Liberties Union. http://www. aclu. org/SafeandFree/SafeandFree. cfm?ID=12126&c=207.

Presents comprehensive resources related to civil rights in light of the USA PATRIOT Act, including analyses of PATRIOT 1 & 2, fact sheets, advocacy tools, details about lawsuits filed to request information about the consequences of the Act, and more.

American Library Association. American Library Association USA Patriot Act Page. http://www. ala. org/ala/oif/ifissues/usapatriotact. htm.

Comprehensive information about the organization's interpretation of provisions of the PATRIOT Act relating to libraries' obligations to comply with investigations and requests for patrons' lending records.

John Ashcroft. 2002. Remarks to U.S. Attorneys Conference. U.S. Attorneys Conference. New York: October 1.

U. S. Attorney General John Ashcroft's remarks to the U.S. Attorneys Conference in 2002 defending USA PATRIOT Act and other legislation empowering the U.S. government to enhance its antiterrorism activities. Counters charges that civil liberties are at risk and outlines successful prosecution of terrorist suspects. http://www. usdoj. gov/ag/speeches/2002/100102agremarkstousattorneysconference. htm

Bill of Rights Defense Committee. Civil Liberties Groups & Information About Incursions on Civil Liberties. http://www. bordc. org/links. html.

Fairly comprehensive collection of links to organizations devoted to protection or maintenance of civil rights in America, especially freedom of expression and thought, and legislation described as threatening to the U.S. Bill of Rights.

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Bill of Rights Defense Committee. Local Efforts to Oppose Patriot Act. http://www. bordc. org/OtherLocalEfforts. htm.

> Comprehensive list of U.S. cities, communities and states that have passed resolutions opposing parts of the PATRIOT Act.

Coalition for Civil Liberties. Defending Our Rights and Freedoms against Attacks by the USA Patriot Act and Other Government Actions. http://ccl-foothills. org/CCL_InfoPacket_9. 12. 03-Pas. pdf.

> Resource packet aimed at groups advocating against the USA PATRIOT Act. Includes analysis of the Act and its implications for civil liberties, collection of resolutions and letters opposing the Act, books, and other resources.

Coalition for Civil Liberties. Useful Resources for Efforts to Oppose or Limit the Scope of the USA Patriot Act. http://ccl-foothills. org/resources. html.

> Collection of resources aimed at advocacy groups opposing the USA PATRIOT Act. Includes links to anti-PATRIOT resolutions, fact sheets, books, and advocacy organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

2003. Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003 (A. K. A. Patriot II) (Draft).

> Text of proposed PATRIOT II legislation calling for the expansion of the PATRIOT Act's scope, particularly with respect to domestic intelligence-gathering, surveillance and law-enforcement activities. http://www. publicintegrity. org/docs/PatriotAct/story_01_020703_doc_1. pdf

Human Rights Watch Et Al. 2004. Asking Congress to Support the Civil Liberties Restoration Act. http://www. hrw. org/english/docs/2004/06/16/usdom8771. htm.

> This letter to the U.S. Congress advocates for the passage of the Civil Liberties Restoration Act of 2004 in an effort to secure individual rights in the U.S. to offset rights-incursive policies and procedures implemented after September 11, 2001. Signatories include both international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Human Rights Watch and U.S. organizations.

U. S. Senator Edward Kennedy. 2004. "Civil Liberties Restoration Act of 2004." Legislative S. 2528, related to H. R. 4591. Body

> Legislation introduced to amend federal immigration law to increase civil liberties in immigration proceedings. Also includes provisions requiring data entered into the National Crime Information Center database to meet Privacy Act accuracy requirements; amending the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA) to authorize (currently, require) courts to review in camera and ex parte materials relating to, or information derived from, electronic surveillance, physical searches, business records, and pen registers or trap and trace devices under FISA where the Attorney General asserts that disclosure implicates national security; and requiring federal agencies to report datamining activities to Congress.

Charles Lewis and Adam Mayle. 2003. Justice Dept. Drafts Sweeping Expansion of Anti-Terrorism Act. http://www. publicintegrity. org/report. aspx?aid=94&sid=200.

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Article detailing efforts to expand scope of PATRIOT Act to expand "domestic intelligence-gathering, surveillance and law-enforcement prerogatives, and simultaneously decrease judicial review and public access to information" through failed legislation dubbed PATRIOT II.

U. S. Representative Charlie Norwood. 2003. "Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal Act of 2003 (Clear Act)." Legislative H. R. 2671. Body

Seeks to further reform U.S. immigration law regarding detention and deportation policies by, among other things, establishing criminal penalties and forfeiture for non-citizens illegally present in the United States; providing for the listing of immigration violators in the National Crime Information Center database; and requiring states and localities to provide the Department of Homeland Security with specified information about apprehended illegal aliens.

Alison Parker and Wendy Patten. Letter to U.S. Senate and House of Representatives Regarding the "Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal Act of 2003" (CLEAR) and the "Homeland Security Enhancement Act of 2003" (HSEA).

Outlines Human Rights Watch's opposition to the CLEAR and HSEA acts of 2003. Includes rights-based analysis of the acts. http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/04/21/usdom8473. htm

Jesselyn A. Radack. 2003. "United States Citizens Detained as "Enemy Combatants": The Right to Counsel as a Matter of Ethics". William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal. 12(December).

Discusses implications for provision of PATRIOT II that would allow for U.S. citizens to be labeled as "enemy combatants," and therefore potentially denied right of counsel.

Natsu Taylor Saito. 2004. "Civil Liberties Post-September 11: For "Our" Security: Who Is an "American" and What Is Protected by Enhanced Law Enforcement and Intelligence Powers?" Seattle Journal for Social Justice. 2(Fall 2003 / Winter 2004):

Provides an overview of the PATRIOT Act and discussion of PATRIOT II. Particularly relevant is suggestion that provisions of PATRIOT II would allow government to label certain U.S. citizens as "non-citizens," thereby curtailing the rights afforded to them by U.S. law.

U. S. Representative Bernard Sanders. 2003. "Freedom to Read Protection Act of 2003." Legislative H. R. 1157.

Library of Congress record for the Freedom to Read Protection Act of 2003, which calls for exemptions for bookstores and libraries to produce items for certain investigations, contrary to popular interpretation of certain provisions of the USA PATRIOT Act.

Nikki Swartz. 2004. "Patriot Act's Reach Expanded Despite Part Being Struck Down". The Information Management Journal. (March/April):

Provides update about the status of some provisions of PATRIOT II that were enacted with the 2003 passage of the Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004, specifically, provisions allowing FBI to obtain records from financial institutions without a court order through the issuance of National Security Letters. Discusses District Court ruling striking down sections of PATRIOT Act that prohibit provision of expert advice or assistance as violations of First and Fifth amendments.

U. S. Justice Department. Preserving Life & Liberty. http://www. lifeandliberty. gov/.

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A public relations effort created by the U.S. Justice Department to act as an educational resource about the USA PATRIOT Act. Includes counter-arguments to ACLU analysis of the Act, articles in support of the Act, and highlights of the Act's scope and function.

Issues Relating to the International Money Laundering Abatement and Antiterrorist Financing Act Of 2001

Anti-money-laundering legislation for the purpose of fighting terrorism had already been drafted prior to the events of September 11. As the USA PATRIOT Act legislation evolved into a comprehensive measure to combat terrorist activities, the existing anti-money-laundering provisions were incorporated into the omnibus measure . Much of the literature about Title III relates to technical and procedural changes to financial regulations, so the business implications for financial industries are not included here. Some scholars have suggested that individuals targeted under Title III--those identified by the U.S. government as terrorists or terrorist financiers--may be at risk of losing their First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and association. Also included are Congressional hearings reflecting Senatorial and House oversight of anti-money-laundering initiatives related to the PATRIOT Act.

2003. Anti-Terrorism Investigations and the Fourth Amendment after September 11: Where and When Can the Government Go to Prevent Terrorist Attacks? Washington, D. C. http://www. heritage. org/Research/HomelandDefense/test052103b. cfm.

ABSTRACT: *Congressional oversight hearing to consider the extent to which the implementation of the USA PATRIOT Act and other recent changes to the FBI's investigative guidelines comport with the Fourth Amendment and Fourth Amendment values. Examines where and when the federal government can go to search the addressing information of electronic communications, library records, and public settings in order to prevent terrorist attacks.*

Nola K. Breglio. 2003. "Leaving FISA Behind: The Need to Return to Warrantless Foreign Intelligence Surveillance". *Yale Law Journal*. 113(1): 179.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses history of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) and the establishment of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC), explains how the PATRIOT Act and In re Sealed Case damaged the usefulness and legitimacy of FISA and the FISC. Argues for the abolition of FISA and the appropriateness of warrantless searches as the standard in foreign intelligence cases.*

Michael J. Bulzomi. 2003. "Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act: Before and after the USA Patriot Act". FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. (June 1).

Rebecca A. Copeland. 2004. "War on Terrorism or War on Constitutional Rights? Blurring the Lines of Intelligence Gathering in Post-September 11 America". *Texas Tech Law Review*. 35(2004).

This paper analyzes the potential impact the combined powers of the FISA, the USA PATRIOT Act, and the Department of Homeland Security have on the constitutional rights of American citizens, particularly Fourth Amendment rights. Includes a brief history of foreign intelligence surveillance and how the PATRIOT Act changed FISA regulations. A good background piece

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on foreign intelligence surveillance law in the U.S. and FISA in particular; useful primer to understand the constitutional challenges to PATRIOT that cite FISA precedents.

Joshua L. Dratel. 2002. "Fourth Amendment Implications of the USA Patriot Act". The Champion. 26.

Provides a concise summary of provisions of the PATRIOT Act that incur on Fourth Amendment rights, particularly those amending electronic surveillance regulations, jurisdictional authority, "sneak and peak" search authority, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), and regulations permitting disclosure of grand jury and other information.

Heath H. Galloway. 2002. "Don't Forget What We're Fighting For: Will the Fourth Amendment Be a Casualty of the War on Terror?" Washington & Lee Law Review. 59(Summer).

This highly legal analysis examines provisions of the PATRIOT Act the challenge the Fourth Amendment. Particular focus is paid to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), its history and its balance with constitutional rights, and whether the PATRIOT Act provides government agencies with too much authority at the expense of constitutional rights.

Paul T. Jaeger. 2003. "The Impact of the USA Patriot Act on the Collection and Analysis of Personal Information under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act". Government Information Quarterly. 20(July).

Orin S. Kerr. 2003. "Internet Surveillance Law after the USA Patriot Act: The Big Brother That Isn't". Northwestern University Law Review. 97(Winter).

ABSTRACT: Argues that claims of the PATRIOT Act broadly enhancing government surveillance capabilities are incorrect. Includes technical discussion about what Internet surveillance is and how it works, analysis of three major criticisms of the Act, and an examination of FBI's "Carnivore" Internet surveillance software. Major point of argument claims Internet surveillance is not a matter of Fourth Amendment guarantees but is statutorily regulated.

Peter G. Madrinan. 2003. "Devil in the Details: Constitutional Problems Inherent in the Internet Surveillance Provisions of the USA Patriot Act of 2001". University of Pittsburgh Law Review. 64(Summer 2003).

This highly technical article discusses the history of electronic surveillance law in the U.S. and the impact of changes in technology on surveillance law and techniques, specifically pen/trap device law. Included is a brief history of those sections of the PATRIOT Act dealing with electronic surveillance, as well as a discussion about the consequences of the Act on Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable searches and seizures.

Susan Nevelow Mart. 2004. "Protecting the Lady from Toledo: Post-USA Patriot Act Electronic Surveillance at the Library ". Law Library Journal. 96(Summer 2004).

Examines impact of PATRIOT Act on individuals' privacy within context of library usage, with specific discussion about sections 206, 214, 215, 216, 218, and 505.

Stephen J. Schulhofer. 2002. The Enemy Within: Intelligence Gathering, Law Enforcement, and Civil Liberties in the Wake of September 11. Century Foundation Press.

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ABSTRACT: *Schulhofer reviews comprehensive new powers extended to the federal executive branch, in the name of fighting a war on terrorism, particularly with respect to spying electronically, obtaining access to previously confidential financial and educational records, detaining without charge, precluding public hearings, and restricting access to counsel for both foreigners and citizens, in both military and civilian systems. Schulhofer also assesses the need for the new federal powers, their combined effects, and the dangers they may pose.*

Kathleen Sullivan. 2003. "Under a Watchful Eye: Incursions on Personal Privacy." The War on Our Freedoms. Richard C. Leone and Greg Anrig Jr. New York: The Century Foundation.

Explores issues of personal rights to privacy in America and how those rights have been imposed upon following September 11. Relevant discussion related to PATRIOT Act addresses PATRIOT Act's expansion of surveillance capabilities with respect to Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA); additional discussion addresses failed proposed Total Information Awareness (TIA) and Terrorism Information and Prevention Systems (TIPS) programs.

Stephen W. Tountas. 2003. "Carnivore: Is the Regulation of Wireless Technology a Legally Viable Option to Curtail the Growth of Cybercrime?" Washington University Journal of Law & Policy. 11(2003).

Discusses history of case and statutory law relating to surveillance and Fourth Amendment rights to privacy. Specific analysis pertains to FBI's "Carnivore" Internet surveillance software; PATRIOT Act is discussed within this general framework. Worth reading are case laws on surveillance and PATRIOT Act's contribution to surveillance powers.

Gregory F. Treverton. 2003. "Terrorism, Intelligence and Law Enforcement: Learning the Right Lessons". Intelligence & National Security. 18(4): 121.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the reshaping of intelligence and law enforcement in the U.S. ; examines distinctions between the intelligence service and law enforcement; analyzes misdealings between the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation over Al-Qaeda-affiliated terrorists; explores limited cooperation between intelligence and law enforcement; and explores the PATRIOT Act in this context.*

George P. Varghese. 2003. "A Sense of Purpose: The Role of Law Enforcement in Foreign Intelligence Surveillance". University of Pennsylvania Law Review. 152(1): 385.

Criticizes the U.S. Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review opinion in In re Sealed Case, which allows law enforcement to invoke a foreign intelligence purpose as a pretext to obtain a FISA warrant for use in a criminal investigation. Questions the constitutionality of the PATRIOT Act's relaxing of barriers between law enforcement and intelligence investigations. Provides background about the foreign intelligence exception to the Fourth Amendment warrant requirement; evolution of the interpretation of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 by the courts and the executive branch.

Sri Lanka
by Amanda Donahoe

Sri Lanka has been entrenched in a civil war for two decades. As in ethnic conflicts in many other post-colonial countries, the different groups of Sri Lanka give loyalty primarily to the group, rather than to the entire country. The Sinhalese majority have slowly populated the government and treated the Tamil minority as a threat to national stability, instead of as candidates for conciliation and power sharing. Consequently, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has taken up arms against the Sinhalese controlled government to fight for an independent homeland in the north and north-east parts of the country in 1983.

Since then, the LTTE has been responsible for numerous terrorist bombings directed against politicians and civilian targets. In July 2001 an LTTE suicide squad attacked the Bandaranaike International Airport and destroyed a large number of military and civilian aircraft. Terrorist incidents have occurred in Colombo, the capital, and other cities throughout the country. Since the beginning of the conflict, tens of thousands of people have been killed, wounded or driven from their homes. Through all this bloodshed, both sides use the language of human rights to attack the other.

Though the Tamil minority comprises only 18% of the population, they have received support from other Tamils in Tamil Nadu, the Southern most state in India. As a result, the conflict received international attention when the Sri Lankan government accused India of supporting Tamil insurgents. India in turn served as a mediator in 1987, placing peace-keeping forces in the north and east but also helping to secure official status for the Tamil language. However, mediation fell apart when the LTTE declared its intent to continue its struggle for independence and the Indian peace-keeping forces found themselves engaged in police action against the LTTE on Sri Lankan soil.

In early 1990 India withdrew its forces. In October 1997, the U.S. government designated the LTTE as a foreign terrorist organization under provisions of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 and has maintained this designation since then. Heavy fighting continued until Dec. 2001 when a newly elected United National Party government and the LTTE declared a unilateral cease-fire. In Feb. 2002, a Norwegian-brokered peace process began, but broke down in April of 2003 when the LTTE withdrew. The U.S. most recently redesignated the group's terrorist status in October of 2003. In May of 2004, the talks resumed with both the current government and the Tamils publicly committing themselves to the process.

Much of the literature in this bibliography discusses the progress the peace process has made in the last few years. Sri Lanka is a very small country with a population of less than 20 million. As a result, little has been written on Sri Lanka with respect to terrorism and less has been written with regard to September 11th and the War on Terror. Of the literature referenced here, most is tangentially related the U.S. -led War on Terror.

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Civil War and the Peace Process

Richard L. Armitage. 2003. "Sri Lanka Prospects for Peace". *DISAM Journal of International Security Assistance Management*. 25(3): 89-93.

ABSTRACT: *Presents an excerpt from a speech given by U.S. Deputy State Secretary Richard L. Armitage, on February 14, 2003, which deals with the peace process in Sri Lanka and the role of the U.S. in the peace process.*

Mia M. Bloom. 2003. "Ethnic Conflict, State Terror and Suicide Bombing in Sri Lanka". Civil Wars. 6(1): 54-85.

ABSTRACT: *What accounts for the absence of extremism surrounding the current peace talks between the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan state? In similar cases of ethnic conflict, the strategies employed by the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have exacerbated extremism on both sides and led to ever increasing degrees of violence. In the Palestinian case, for example, suicide bombings mobilized and radicalized the Palestinian community, decimated the Israeli Left and hardened Israeli right-wing attitudes regarding prospects for peace. This research seeks to examine the Sri Lankan case, provide a detailed background to the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict that is relatively unfamiliar to some Western audiences and draw comparisons between the Sri Lanka and Palestinian cases.*

Seeks to examine the Sri Lankan case, provide a detailed background to the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict and draw comparisons between the Sri Lanka and Palestinian cases in terms of extremism and ethnic conflict.

Alan Bullion. 2001. "Norway and the Peace Process in Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars*. 4(3): 70-23.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the motivations and rationale behind Norway's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process. Complexities of third-party involvement in ethnic conflicts; Differences between facilitation and mediation; Importance of mediation to the peace process.*

Martha Crenshaw. 2000. "Democracy, Commitment Problems and Managing Ethnic Violence: The Case of India and Sri Lanka". Terrorism & Political Violence. 12(3/4): 135-160.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the relationship between democracy and effective third party intervention to resolve civil violence, on the basis of a case study of the Indian intervention in Sri Lanka's ethnic war from 1987 to 1990. Difficulties that democracies may face as mediators; Conditions for credible security guarantees by third parties; Analysis of the timing of India's initiatives and factors influencing its decisions in Sri Lanka.*

Discusses the relationship between democracy and effective third party intervention to resolve civil violence, based on the Indian intervention in Sri Lanka from 1987 to 1990. Difficulties that democracies face as mediators; Conditions for security guarantees by third parties; Analysis of India's initiatives and factors influencing its decisions in Sri Lanka.

2003. "Dying for Independence". Harvard International Review. 25(2): http://hir. harvard. edu/articles/1119/.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses issues concerning world separatist movements and terrorism as of 2003. Asymmetric warfare characterizing the respective separatist movements in Sri Lanka, Russian Caucasus and northern Spain; Examples in Spain which reveal that insurrections cannot be dealt with by force alone; Political domination of separatists.*

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Kristine Hoglund and Isak Svensson. 2002. "The Peace Process in Sri Lanka". Civil Wars. 5(4): 103-119.

ABSTRACT: *This article sets out to analyse the current peace process in Sri Lanka. It is argued that the prospects for peace are better than at any other time since the inception of the armed conflict in 1983, because the parties' concerns about the consequences of continued conflict, as well as the consequences of settlement, have changed. In the first section of the article we demonstrate how the costs--militarily, financially and politically--for continuing the war have drastically increased for the parties. Furthermore, with the involvement of the international community and the special approach to the peace process by the Wickremasinghe government, the perceived risks involved in a peaceful settlement have decreased. These parallel developments in the incentives structures of war and peace, explain the readiness of both primary parties to engage in serious efforts to solve the protracted conflict. From this perspective, the roles of Norway as a mediator, and the Nordic countries as ceasefire monitors, are analysed. The second section analyses the prospects for a solution, by looking at the reconciliation of positions that have taken place between the parties. The major obstacles, such as the LTTE's intentions, the Muslim minority and divisions within the Singhalese community, are also discussed. We end the analysis with the observation that even though the prospects for a stable, negotiated settlement between the adversaries appear promising, several problems related to postconflict reconstruction and democratic development, are likely to remain obstacles in the future.*

Sets out to analyze the current peace process in Sri Lanka. Section one explains the rising costs and decreasing risks for conflicting parties, section two analyses the prospects for a solution as well as major obstacles. It concludes with a discussion of post-conflict reconstruction.

Bruce Matthews. 2004. "In Pursuit of an 'Interim Administration' in Sri Lanka's North and East: Opportunity or 'Peace Trap'?" Round Table. (373): 75-95.

ABSTRACT: *After 19 years of exhausting civil war between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a long-term ceasefire was signed in February 2002. Government critics argue that this is a windfall for the war-weary LTTE, allowing time for rearmament. Some LTTE supporters are suspicious that the ceasefire will impede their goal of political autonomy. This article reviews the topic from several perspectives. These include the initial, surprising speed of the peace process associated with the parliamentary victory of Ranil Wickremesinghe's United National Front in December 2001; the reaction of the Sinhala public and the presidency of Chandrika Kumaratunga to the government's subsequent negotiations for an interim administration in the sensitive LTTE-controlled Northern and Eastern Provinces; LTTE strategy; the issue of the possible demobilization of the vastly expanded Lankan armed forces; and the consequences of the increased involvement of the international community (e. g., the successful Nordic Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission) in Sri Lanka's affairs. The conclusion argues that Sri Lanka's prospects are much brighter than at any time in two decades, but with a fierce, unabated power struggle between president and prime minister and the absence of a "national government", and LTTE consolidation of de facto rule over a large terrain, what began as an opportunity for a genuine peace process may be compromised by historic and unresolved factors.*

This article Reviews the civil war between the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers, and the 2002 ceasefire from several perspectives. It argues that Sri Lanka's prospects are brighter than at any time in two decades, but that these prospects may be compromised by historic and unresolved factors.

Magnus Norell. 2003. "A New Medievalism?--the Case of Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars*. 6(2): 121-138.

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ABSTRACT: *Since the 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam' (LTTE) took up arms to fight for an independent homeland in the north and north-east parts of Sri Lanka in 1983, tens of thousands of people have been killed, wounded or driven from their homes. At the beginning of the millennium, new peace initiatives have surfaced with Norway emerging as a major external player. After 20 years of vicious civil warfare the case of Sri Lanka is an example of a kind of inter-communal, 'neo-medieval' civil war that has resulted in changes in order, territory and identities in host populations. Hedley Bull defines neo-medievalism as a system of 'overlapping authorities and criss-crossing loyalties'. Neo-medievalism eliminates the absolute authority of the sovereign state (and especially its monopoly of using violence through police and military forces), and instead heralds an international system where the mutual recognition between states is replaced, or at least challenged, by non-state actors.]*

Sri Lanka is an example of 'neo-medieval' civil war, resulting in changes in order, territory and identities. Neo-medievalism eliminates the absolute authority of the sovereign state (and its monopoly of violence through police and military forces), and instead heralds an international system where the mutual recognition between states is replaced/challenged, by non-state actors.

Magnus Norell. 2000. "Is Peace Possible? The Case of Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars.* 3(4): 105-119.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses the possibility of making moves towards a longer term political solution to the war in Sri Lanka. Cause of the conflict; Internal parliamentary divisions between the government and the main opposition party United National Party; Information on the Tamil rebels led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam.*

Shahid Fiaz Ranabir Samaddar. 2001. Peace Audit 2: Peace Process in Sri Lanka. South Asian Forum for Human Rights. For more information see http://www. safhr. org/working_papers. htm.

This "peace audit" reviews both the current situation in Sri Lanka and its contentious history in depth finding that the situation requires both a discourse on democratization and on the other hand comprehensive democratization, devolution and sharing of power. This situation creates an enormous obligation on civil society and its organizations.

Amita Shastri. 2003. "Sri Lanka in 2002". *Asian Survey.* 43(1): 215-221.

ABSTRACT: *Embroiled in a civil war for two decades, a peace process was reinitiated in Sri Lanka with international support. Has Sri Lanka finally turned the comer from war? This article argues that major progress has been made by the United National Front government in opening a dialogue with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Yet, major hurdles remain: support by the Tigers for a political solution remains conditional, they have not laid down their arms, and negotiating an agreement about the prospective political structure promises to be problematic.*

Argues that major progress has been made by the United National Front government in opening a dialogue with the Tamil Tigers. Yet, major hurdles remain: support by the Tigers for a political solution remains conditional, they have not disarmed, and negotiating an agreement on political structure promises to be problematic.

Chandra Lekha Sriram. 2002. "Dilemmas of Accountability: Politics, the Military and Commissions of Inquiry During an Ongoing Civil War -- the Sri Lankan Case". Civil Wars. 5(2).

ABSTRACT: *Examines the concept of transitional justice with reference to the case of Sri Lanka, a democratic country engaged in an internal armed conflict. Description of the civil war that made Sri Lanka different from*

other countries that are emerging from authoritarian rule; History of the conflict and abuses in the country; Contemporary policies dealing with accountability and reform.

Examines transitional justice with reference to the case of Sri Lanka, a democratic country engaged in an internal armed conflict. Description of the civil war making Sri Lanka different from other countries emerging from authoritarian rule; history of the conflict and abuses in the country; contemporary policies dealing with accountability and reform.

Leaders, Politics and Elections

Dennis Austin. 2002. "Terrorism, Sri Lanka and a Letter from President Kumaratunga". *Round Table*. 363: 67-76.

ABSTRACT: *Sri Lanka's troubled recent history has given its president authority to speak on issues related to terrorism. Over 20 years of ethnic and religious conflict have left their mark, not least on President Kumaratunga herself. She has endured the assassination of her father and husband, and lost the sight in her right eye in an attack by a Tamil Tiger suicide bomber. In the light of President Kumaratunga's letter to the Times after 11th September in which she recalled that terror was not the sole preserve of al Quaida or Western governments, the author recalls a visit to Sri Lanka, one of its leading universities and the accounts of the 'labyrinth of violence'.*

Sri Lanka's President Kumaratunga sent a letter to the Times after 11th September in which she recalled that terror was not the sole preserve of al Qaeda or Western governments. The author recalls a visit of Sri Lanka, one of its leading universities and the accounts of the "labyrinth of violence."

Saul Ben. 2002. "Election Violence in Sri Lanka: Implementing the Right to a Free and Fair Election". Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights & the Law. 3(1): 1-39.

ABSTRACT*: This article assesses the freedom and fairness of the 2001 parliamentary election in Sri Lanka according to a variety of criteria, judging the effects of violence and procedural irregularity on the election outcome. Despite its ambiguity, the international right to a free and fair election, expressed through the principles of the UDHR and the ICCPR, is substantially incorporated in the domestic law of Sri Lanka. The Constitution and elections legislation recognise essential democratic and electoral rights and establish administrative procedures and judicial remedies for enforcing them. Specific controversies over electoral laws have typically been resolved within the framework of the rule of law, through either the political process or the courts, including debates about the method of voting, the powers of the Election Commissioner and the registration of parties. Referendum and emergency powers have, however, been abused to interfere with free elections in some situations. Further, recent elections have degenerated in to widespread violence, intimidation and procedural irregularity, culminating in the December 2001 parliamentary election. The violent events of the 2001 election suggest that despite the formal maturity of Sri Lankan election law, the law is not being adequately enforced and deterrence, through criminal sanctions, is failing. While most police and election officials are committed to ensuring the integrity of elections, many politicians and candidates have undermined elections, in a society militarist by a protracted ethnic separatist conflict.*

Assesses the fairness of the 2001 parliamentary election in Sri Lanka, judging the effects of violence and procedural irregularity on the election outcome. Recent elections have degenerated in to widespread violence, intimidation and procedural irregularity, including the undermining of the process by politicians and candidates.

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Fernand De Varennes. 2000. "In Memory of Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam Legal Scholar and Human Rights Activist Assassinated 29 July 1999". Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights & the Law. 1(1): 7-8.

ABSTRACT: *The article pays tribute to Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam, one of Asia's leading human rights scholars and constitutional lawyers, who was also a member of the first International Advisory Board of "Asia-Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law." Tiruchelvam became another victim of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka which has claimed more than 50,000 lives in the last three decades when he was killed by a suicide bomber on his way to work on July 29, 1999. Tiruchelvam was part of the think-tank behind the 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan Accord and played a significant role in the 1995 constitutional reform and devolution programme of Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga's government. He was a lawyer devoted to human rights work as well as a committed moderate Tamil politician. His activism was a result of deeply held beliefs arising out of his work. He practiced measures in order to uproot causes of ethnic conflicts in his country. He understood that by addressing the root causes of ethnic conflict, one can restore peace.*

Pays tribute to Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam, a leading human rights scholar and constitutional lawyer. He was a victim of the violence in Sri Lanka. Included is his participation and activism in the Sri Lanka peace process and his work on ethnic conflict.

Neil DeVotta. 2003. "Sri Lanka's Political Decay: Analysing the October 2000 and December 2001 Parliamentary Elections". Commonwealth & Comparative Politics. 41(2): 141-159.

ABSTRACT: *Beginning in the mid-1950s, Sri Lanka's Sinhalese politicians began outbidding each other on who could provide the best deal for their community. This ethnic outbidding was initially influenced by linguistic nationalism, though it was soon also used to undermine agreements designed to accommodate the minority Tamils. The Sinhalese tolerated ethnocentrism and illiberal governance because this relatively deprived the Tamils even as it benefited their majority community. What they did not realise is that illiberalism cannot be compartmentalised and that eventually it affects the entire polity. This is indeed what happened over time. Consequently, inter-ethnic violence has influenced intra-ethnic violence and the project that permitted dominating the minority Tamils along ethnic lines has now influenced Sinhalese politicians to dominate their fellows along political lines. This has led to a milieu where violence is now institutionalised as a way to settle political disputes even as ethnic outbidding continues and the civil war remains unresolved. The recent parliamentary elections, accompanied by massive violence and manifold irregularities, especially signify the illiberalism and political decay that have befallen Sri Lanka.*

Discusses the way in which competition among Sinhalese politicians has been used to undermine political accommodation of minority Tamils, and eventually led to their domination over their own ethnic group. This political decay has led to a milieu where violence is institutionalized as a method of settling political disputes.

Margo Kleinfeld. 2003. "Strategic Troping in Sri Lanka: September Eleventh and the Consolidation of Political Position". Geopolitics. 8(3): 105-126.

ABSTRACT: *This essay investigates the deployment of the trope of September eleventh in Sri Lanka from 11 September 2001 until Sri Lanka's parliamentary elections and change of government on 5 December 2001. The essay argues that September eleventh in the tropic form of synecdoche performed political work for both parties to Sri Lanka's long-running conflict -- the People's Alliance Government and the Tamil Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and demonstrates how each belligerent used September eleventh and the lexicon associated with the U.S. attacks and early global response to brand their adversary as terrorist, to recode political and conflict narratives in September eleventh terms, and to indicate the appropriate scale and scope of the war. The article raises important*

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questions about the translation of geopolitical events from one domestic context to another, the representation of political violence as global terror, and the strategic power of narrative.

Investigates the way that the September 11 terrorist attacks affected the 2001 parliamentary elections, arguing that terrorism was used by both political parties to brand the other as terrorists. Raises important questions about the translation of geopolitical events from one domestic context to another.

Amita Shastri. 2002. "Year of Reversals". *Asian Survey*. 42(1): 177-182.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on the political conditions in Sri Lanka as of 2001. Assessment on the leadership under president Chandrika Kumaratunga; Details on the post-election alliance between the People's Alliance and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress; Efforts to resolve ethnic crisis in the country.*

Refugees, Displacement and Marginalization

Ahilan T. Arulanantham. 2000. "Restructured Safe Havens: A Proposal for Reform of the Refugee Protection System". *Human Rights Quarterly*. 22(1): 1-56.

ABSTRACT: *Presents a proposal for reforming the refugee protection system of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Sri Lanka. Importance of state participation in the refugee protection system; Restructure of the information network that governs reporting on safe havens; Consideration of the human rights policy in the refugee policy.*

Global IDP Project. 2004. <u>Profile of Internal Displacement: Sri Lanka</u>. Geneva: Norwegian Refugee Council.

Report of the Norwegian Refugee Council regarding persons who have been internally displaced as a result of the conflict in Sri Lanka, compiled by the Global IDP Database.

Ragnhild Lund. 2000. "Geographies of Eviction, Expulsion and Marginalization: Stories and Coping Capacities of the Veddhas, Sri Lanka". Norwegian Journal of Geography. 54(3): 81-102.

ABSTRACT: *This paper identifies why the Veddhas, the indigenous population of Sri Lanka, have been exposed to forced relocation and marginalization at various historical junctures. Their history is a dramatic story of eviction, expulsion and marginalization, and a sad story of deprivation, ethnic discrimination and lack of human rights. The disempowerment of the Veddhas primarily relates to the dominating powers of authority of the Sri Lankan State and its effectuation of detrimental development policies and practices. The key concepts of marginalization, eviction and expulsion are discussed in relation to an analytical model illustrating how external and internal factors, collective capabilities and individual characteristics interact on and influence people's coping capacity. Veddhas in two villages have given accounts of their understanding of the situation. It is concluded that the disempowerment and disappearance of the Veddha culture are due to ignorance and the unwillingness of the State to procure an enabling environment that would improve the coping capacity of its indigenous population.*

Identifies why the indigenous population of Sri Lanka (Veddhas) have been exposed to forced relocation and marginalization at various historical junctures. Marginalization, eviction and expulsion are discussed in relation to an analytical model illustrating how external and internal factors, collective capabilities and individual characteristics interact on and influence people's coping capacity.

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Non-Governmental Organizations

Amnesty International. 2000. Sri Lanka: New Emergency Regulations- Erosion of Human Rights Protection. Amnesty International. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGASA370192000?open&of=ENG-LKA.

Discusses the way new "emergency regulations" allowing for arrest and detention are eroding Sri Lanka's human rights. These regulations already exceed the limits permissible under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Offers recommendations on lessening the abuse of detainees rights.

Centre for Policy Alternatives. www. cpalanka. org

NGO website containing research into the issues of governance and conflict resolution in Sri Lanka, the strengthening of civil society and its contribution to public policy and documents such as the Peace Confidence Index gauging the level of public confidence in the peace process.

Jonathan Goodhand and Nick Lewer. 1999. "Sri Lanka: NGOS and Peace-Building in Complex Political Emergencies". Third World Quarterly. 20(1): 69-87.

ABSTRACT: *This 'work in progress' gives an overview of the conceptual background and preliminary field work findings of a research programme investigating the consequences of violence and conflict in villages in the Trincomalee and Batticaloa Districts of eastern Sri Lanka. 1 Initial and speculative conclusions from these community surveys indicate that NGOs have only a limited impact on the local dynamics of conflict, and point to a need for NGOs to understand in more depth the complex historical and social aspects of protracted and violent conflict. To have any limited peace-building role NGOs must also undertake a more fine grained analysis of community social fabric and processes together with the associated economic, political and military factors.*

Preliminary research findings, investigating the consequences of violence and conflict in villages of eastern Sri Lanka. Initial conclusions indicate that NGOs have only a limited impact on the local dynamics of conflict, and need to understand in more depth the historical and social aspects of protracted and violent conflict.

Linda Kelly and Patrick Kilby. 2004. "Impact Measurement for NGOS: Experiences from India and Sri Lanka". Development in Practice. 14(5): 696-701.

ABSTRACT: *Examines impact measurement for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) based on experiences from India and Sri Lanka. Worth and relevance of the work of NGOs; Changes experienced by people where NGOs have worked; Political factors affecting the effectiveness of NGOs in helping the poor and marginalized women; Accountability of NGOs to its constituency.*

National Peace Council of Sri Lanka. www. peace-srilanka. org

"Independent" NGO website containing background information to the conflict and the current situation as well as media statements and updates on the NGO's activities and strategies leading with the rejection of "peace through war."

Arve Ofstad. 2002. "Countries in Violent Conflict and Aid Strategies: The Case of Sri Lanka". World Development. 30(2): 18.

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ABSTRACT: *Focuses on a study which analyzed the strategies applied in Sri Lanka by donors undertaking a traditional development approach and those following a more comprehensive approach. Information on human rights approach; Overall aid volume and the government's war efforts; Contents and orientation of the aid program.*

Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

Jayatilleke S. Bandara. 2003. "Economic Cost of Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict: Comment". Journal of Contemporary Asia. 33(1).

ABSTRACT: *Comments on Pradhan's article on 'Economic Cost of Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict,' published in the vol. 31, no. 4 issue of the 'Journal of Contemporary Asia.' Clarifications on some information regarding the article; Provision of background information on ethnic conflict and trends in variables such as economic and investment growth; Impact of ethnic conflict on Sri Lanka's economic growth.*

Damani De Silva. 2002. "Psychiatric Service Delivery in an Asian Country: The Experience of Sri Lanka". International Review of Psychiatry. 14(1): 66-70.

ABSTRACT: *Sri Lanka is an island with a population of 19. 4 million. Compared to its south Asian neighbors it has favorable health statistics for its per capita income and the health investment. Currently, the country is facing several crises: declining world economy, the Asian economic crises, political instability, and ongoing terrorist activities. The health sector too has been adversely affected by these factors with the added impact of plateauing of State investments on health, and a demographic and epidemiological transition. The mental health services suffer from a history of under-investment, an emphasis towards 'asylum-based care' inherited from the British and from emerging problems such as violence, displacements and disruption in social groupings. The demands for more sophisticated and comprehensive care too have increased. As a result, mental healthcare is at a critical juncture in its development in the country. With the renewed global interest in the area, Sri Lanka is in an ideal situation to make a quantum leap in developing its services to new heights.*

Discusses how Sri Lanka's mental health services suffer from current crises, under-investment, an emphasis towards 'asylum-based care' and from violence, displacements and disruption in social groupings. Because mental healthcare is at a critical juncture in its development, Sri Lanka is in an ideal situation to make vast improvements in developing its services.

Jonathan Goodhand; Nick Lewer and David Hulme. 2000. "Social Capital and the Political Economy of Violence: A Case Study of Sri Lanka". Disasters. 24(4): 390-406.

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the links between militarised violence and social capital (trans)formation. It first maps out emerging theoretical and policy debates on social capital and violent conflict and questions a number of the assumptions underpinning these debates. This is followed by an empirical analysis of several war-affected communities in Sri Lanka. The case studies illustrate that the links between militarised violence and social capital are complex, dynamic and context specific. It is argued that social capital cannot be understood in isolation from political and economic processes, and the belief that violent conflict inevitably erodes social capital is questioned. Finally, the implications for external agencies are highlighted. Rather than focusing on engineering social capital, external agencies need to focus on understanding better the preconditions for social capital formation and how they can contribute to the creation of an enabling environment. This requires as a starting-point a rigorous analysis of political and economic processes.*

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Examines the links between militarized violence and social capital transformation. It first maps out emerging theoretical debates on the issue, then analyses case studies of several war-torn communities. It concludes by highlighting the implications for external agencies.

Kanishka Goonewardena. 2004. "Postcolonialism and Diaspora: A Contribution to the Critique of Nationalist Ideology and Historiography in the Age of Globalization and Neoliberalism". University of Toronto Quarterly. 73(2): 390-406.

ABSTRACT: *Discusses contentious issues of postcolonialism and diaspora as well as Sri Lankan affairs. Disjunction between postcolonial theory and postcolonialism or radical politics; Politics of diaspora; Commonalities of diasporas; Politics of identity and identification.*

B Korf. 2004. "War, Livelihoods and Vulnerability in Sri Lanka". DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE. 35(2): 275-295.

ABSTRACT: *As the number of de-stabilized regions of warfare or post-war conditions worldwide continues to grow, this article investigates how civilians survive in the context of a civil war. It analyses livelihood strategies of farmers in the war-torn areas of Sri Lanka, using an analytical framework based on a revised form of DFID's sustainable rural livelihoods approach, placing particular attention on the institutional reproduction of household capital assets in the war economy. The author delineates a three pillar model of household livelihood strategies focusing on how households (1) cope with the increased level of risk and uncertainty; (2) adjust their economic and social household assets for economic survival; and (3) use their social and political assets as livelihood strategies. Empirical evidence comes from four case study villages in the east of Sri Lanka. Although the four case Studies were very close together geographically, their livelihood outcomes differed considerably depending on the very specific local political geography. The role of social and political assets is essential: while social assets (extended family networks) were important to absorb migrants, political assets (alliances with power holders) were instrumental in enabling individuals, households or economic actors to stabilize or even expand their livelihood options and opportunities. The author concludes that civilians in conflict situations are not all victims (some may also be culprits in the political economy of warfare), and that war can be both a threat and an opportunity, often Lit the same time.*

Analyses livelihood strategies of farmers in the war-torn areas of Sri Lanka. The author focuses on how households cope with increased risk, adjust economic and social assets, and use their social and political assets. Using four case study villages, the author concludes that war can be both threat and opportunity.

Anita Nesiah. 2002. "The Challenge of Christian Responsibility in Times of War and Violence: The Case of Sri Lanka". *Feminist Theology: The Journal of the Britain & Ireland School of Feminist Theology.* (31): 71-81.

ABSTRACT: *Christians and Christian Feminists have to respond to a whole variety of circumstances. This article asks whether the liberation theology that arose from the political struggles and violence of Latin America can be read onto the situation in Sri Lanka. The reality of war challenges male-centered doctrines of a 'just war', which ignore the many injustices of any war. Women and men are raped both in conquest and in custody. Children are dispersed, orphaned, and turn to begging or prostitution, or take up arms. Christians tend to retreat to liturgical solutions, while secular women's organizations face the need to rebuild society. The article challenges the churches to join in the dual task of reflecting on the real traumas of war in the light of theology, and rebuilding the bloodstained, shattered community.*

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Asks whether the liberation theology of Latin America can be read onto the situation in Sri Lanka. The reality of war challenges male-centered doctrines of a 'just war', which ignore injustices of war. The article challenges churches to join in reflecting on the real traumas of war and rebuilding the community.

Krishnan Srinivasan. 2001. "The Commonwealth, India and Lost Opportunities in South Asia". *Asian Affairs.* 32(2): 131-141.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the failure of India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, four Commonwealth countries in South Asia, to maximize the benefits of their Commonwealth membership. History of the Commonwealth; Benefits of the Commonwealth association to the member countries; Details on the political opportunities lost by Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan in line with its Commonwealth membership.*

Explores the failure of India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, to maximize the benefits of their Commonwealth membership. Describes the history of the Commonwealth; benefits of association to the member countries; and details on the political opportunities lost by Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan in line with its Commonwealth membership.

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Sudan[4]
by Alexandra Nichols

Since independence Sudan has found itself almost constantly embroiled in civil conflict within its own borders. Throughout the 1990's, Sudan was widely known to sponsor terrorism, having such as including Osama bin Laden from 1991-1996. American sanctions have been in place in Sudan since 1997, the last American ambassador was removed in 1998, and Sudan has been on the U.S. State Departments list of sponsored terrorists since 1993.

Potentially, facing a military threat by the United States following September 11th , Sudan for the first time opened talks with the United Sates on counter-terrorism. Since Sudan began to provide intelligence to the U.S. on Al Qaeda and cut ties with outside terrorist groups, a rapprochement between Sudan and the U.S. has begun. In May 2004 Sudan was removed from the U.S. list of countries deemed as uncooperative in the war against terrorist networks. While the decision was made to remove Sudan from this list it should be noted that this action does not remove Sudan from the State Department's list of terrorist sponsors.

Although Sudan is making efforts to help the U.S. fight the "War on Terror", within its own borders a dictatorship is waging war on its own citizens, making a strong alliance in the war against terror with the United States difficult. Though Sudan has helped search for Al Qaeda operatives, many argue that the civil unrest and terror campaigns carried out on its own citizens are leading to instability that could in fact have grave impacts for citizens of other states.

In hopes of fostering a diplomatic relationship with Sudan and of forging forward with the "War on Terror", American officials have played a key role in brokering peace talks in the ongoing civil war. However, while peace appeared to be within reach for Southern Sudan, the Darfur region of Western Sudan deteriorated into war. All of this has halted progress made in the South, resulting in massive human rights violations and deeper political destabilization.

Background

This section provides comprehensive introductory background information on Sudan , focusing on the disintegration of the country into civil war, along with information on the numerous and complex forces involved in the ongoing conflicts. Historical, political, economic and social factors are taken into account while considering Sudan 's connections to international terrorists and the changing relationship between Sudan and the United States in the aftermath of September 11 . This section provides background information for the reader who may be unfamiliar with Sudanese history to better understand the context of the conflicts and debates.

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[4] This section has a supplement that begins on page S-39.

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P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly. 2000. A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day: 5th. Edition. London and New York: Longman.

ABSTRACT: *Provides a very good introductory history the disintegration of Sudan into brutal civil war and the attempts to establish an Islamist state under a new military regime. Describes the making of modern Sudan over the last 150 years and offers a clear, readable and succinct introduction to an area that is seldom out of the world's headlines.*

Yusuf Fadl and Richard Gray Hasan. 2002. Religion and Conflict in Sudan. Nairobi: Paulines Productions Africa.

A collection of papers presented at an international conference at Yale discussing the influence of religion, modernity and globalisation on the war in Sudan.

Douglas Johnson. 2003. The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

A well-balanced account of the numerous and complex forces involved in Sudan's ongoing conflicts. Examines historical, political, economic, and social factors of the trajectory of Sudan's civil wars. Focuses on the differences between Sudan's first civil war in the 1960s, the current war, and the minor conflicts generated by and contained within the larger wars. Considers regional and international factors, such as humanitarian aid, oil revenue, and terrorist organizations, as underlying issues that have exacerbated the violence. Edited from various sources

Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban and Richard Lobban. 2001. "The Sudan since 1989: National Islamic Front Rule. (Cover Story)". 23(2): 1-9.

Provides essential background information on the political conditions in Sudan from 1989 to 2001. Includes such topics as the Coup d'etat in 1989, the human rights crises, resumption of the civil war in 1983 and the conflict between General Umar al-Bashir and Muslim Brother leader Hasan al-Turabi.

Donald Petterson. 2003. Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe. Boulder: Westview Press.

Petterson, the last American ambassador to complete an assignment in Sudan, provides insight into the events transpiring from 1998 to the present. Petterson explores the experiences of Americans in Khartoum after Washington put Sudan on the black list of state sponsors of terrorism and considers Sudan's connections to international terrorists, while assessing the changes in the relationship between Sudan and the United States after 9/11. Provides appropriate background information for someone unfamiliar with Sudanese history to understand the context of conflicts and debates.

The Darfur Crisis

Recently the focus on Sudan has narrowed to terrorism within its own borders and primarily on the recent escalating crises in the Darfur region. This section provides extensive information on the events leading up to the crises and the role of the Sudanese government and various factions

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involved in the crises. Attention is also given to the lack of involvement from the international community, as well as the socio-economic backdrop of the Darfur conflict and the political and ethnic divisions.

> 2004. "Darfur's Turning Point". *Africa Confidential*. 45(17): http://www. africa-confidential. com/index. aspx?pageid=21.

Provides a brief overview of the varying factions involved in the current Darfur crises. From the SLA (Sudanese Liberation Army) and JEM (Justice and Equality Movement) to the "Janjaweed" and government forces. Discusses the socio-economic backdrop to the Darfur conflict as well as the ethnic and political divisions.

2004. "The Darfur Emergency: Current Conflict and International Response". International Debates. 2(6): 166-9.

Provides information on the ongoing humanitarian crisis in the Darfur Province in western Sudan, as of September 2004. Focuses on the significance of ethnic discrimination to the emergence of the crisis in February 2003, as well as the role of resource constraints in fueling the conflict. Provides background information on a ceasefire agreement between the government of Sudan and rebel groups, including the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA).

2004. "Spinning on the Edge". *Africa Confidential*. 45(19): 1-3.

A brief analysis discussing the possible scenarios of if the NIF (National Islamic Front), the Sudanese government, were to fall. Brings into light the dilemma for Washington, as those to some extent involved in and responsible for Darfur are in fact helpful in the Khartoum "Security Operation".

2004. "Sudan and Its New Weapons of War ". *The Lancet*. 364(9432): 390.

Presents an editorial on how war, rape and sexual violence are seen as legitimate weapons in Darfur, Sudan and provides a description of the way in which these crimes obliterate the will of the people. Notes the reluctance of state leaders to move past legal arguments surrounding if Darfur falls into the definition of genocide or not, which has resulted in the suffering of thousand of people.

"How did Darfur Happen?". The New York Times Magazine. Available from the Sudan Tribune here: http://www. sudantribune. com/article. php3?id_article=6003.

A clear and deep analysis of development of the current crises in Darfur dating back to the 1970's and 80's. Excellent resource for those with little knowledge on the current Darfur crises. Clearly lays out the differences between the SPLA movement in Southern Sudan and the SLA movement in the Darfur region as well the extent of government involvement in both conflicts. Discusses the extent of American involvement and the issues surrounding the use of the "genocide" label.

Warren Hogue. 2004. "Annan Says Sudan Hasn't Curbed Militias, Urges More Monitors." New York Times. (A)5.

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Focuses Sudan's failure to keep commitments to rein in militias terrorizing the Darfur region. Identities the importance of deploying an international force in the region and discusses the absence of steps taken to bring justice of the militias.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. Darfur Destroyed - Ethnic Cleansing by Government and Militias Forces in Western Sudan. HRW Index No. : A1606. http://hrw. org/reports/2004/sudan0504/.

Documents how Sudanese Government forces have overseen and directly participated in massacres, summary executions of civilians, burnings of towns and villages, and the forcible depopulation of Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa land. The report also documents how Janjaweed Arab militias have destroyed mosques, killed Muslim religious leaders and desecrated Korans belonging to their enemies.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. Empty Promises? Continuing Abuses in Darfur, Sudan. http://hrw. org/doc/?t=pubs&document_limit=20,20.

Documents and analyzes how the Sudanese armed forces and the government-backed Janjaweed militias continue to target civilians and their livestock in villages in rural areas and in the towns and camps under government control. The report also analyzes Sudanese government pledges to rein in the militias, end impunity and restore security in Darfur.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. UN: Darfur Resolution a Historic Failure. http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/09/18/darfur9355. htm.

A brief critique by Human Rights Watch of the U.N. Security Council's sanctions on the Sudanese government. It argues that the failure of the Security Council to impose an oil embargo on Sudan's government is in fact enabling the atrocities to continue, ensuring that the government continues to have the resources necessary to carry out its mass murder campaign.

Ulrich Mans. 2004. "Briefing: Sudan: The New War in Darfur". *African Affairs*. 103(17): 291.

Discusses the two main anti-government groupings in the Darfur region of Sudan. The SLA (Sudanese Liberation Army) and the JEM (Justice Equality Movement) and their reasoning for rising up against the Sudanese government in Khartoum.

Samantha Power. 2004. "Dying in Darfur". The New Yorker. http://www. newyorker. com/fact/content/?040830fa_fact1.

An in depth and informative article focusing on the events leading up to the current situation in Darfur as well as U.S. involvement in Sudan over the years. Demonstrates the extensive impact and atrocities committed on refugees and internally displaced people in the Darfur region while highlighting the extent to which the current situation is deeply rooted and extremely complicated. Brings into question if there can actually be an end to the ethnic cleansing currently taking place.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army. www. splmtoday. com/

The official website of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army. Provides extensive information on various issues and points of view as well as information on the vision and

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objectives of the SPLM. Offers historical background on the conflict as well as the peace initiatives put forth. A fairly extensive website with a variety of information.

Human Rights Abuses in Sudan

Human rights abuses in Sudan have been ongoing for years and widely acknowledged by various human rights organizations, academics and governments. This section provides an overview of the various human rights abuses in Sudan . Attention is on the role that oil has played in causing abuses as well as those human rights violations perpetrated by the SPLA and more recently by the *Janjaweed*. Also covered here is the role of the Sudanese government forces in recent massacres, summary execution of civilians, and the burning of towns and villages.

César Chelala. 2002. "Sudan: A War against the People". *The Lancet*. 359

> Focuses on the role that resources, primarily oil, have played in the now two decade long Sudanese conflict. Details human rights abuses and the forced displacement of Dinka tribe members, as well as the deteriorating health situation. The article ultimately argues that economic aid to Sudan should be contingent on ceasing civilian attacks and unrestricted mobility for humanitarian agencies and human right monitors.

European-Sudanese Public Affairs Council. 2000. The Clinton Administration, War Criminals and Sudan. European-Sudanese Public Affairs Council. http://www. espac. org/pdf/The%20Clinton%20Admin,%20War%20Criminals%20etc. pdf.

> Documents human rights abuses by the SPLA (Sudan People's Liberation Army) through eyewitness reports. Also discusses American assistance to the SPLA and the controversies surrounding the American government's involvement in providing direct food aid to the SPLA.

The European-Sudanese Public Affairs Council. 2000. The Displacement of Truth: Amnesty International, Oil and Sudan. http://www. espac. org/oil_pages/amnesty_oil_sudan. html.

> A critique of Amnesty International's article "Sudan: The Human Price of Oil". Its principal contention is that Amensty only considered government involvement in the war, and not militia groups like the SPLA. It also takes issue with the methodology of the Amnesty report.

Editorial. 2004. "Sudan and Its New Weapons of War ". *The Lancet*. 364(9432): 390.

> An editorial on how war, rape and sexual violence are seen as legitimate weapons in Darfur, and provides a description of the way in which these crimes obliterate the will of the people. Notes the reluctance of leaders to move past legal arguments over whether the crisis in Darfur fits the definition of genocide or not.

Abdelwahab El-Affendi. 2001. "Islam and Human Rights: The Lessons from Sudan." Muslim World. 91(3/4): 481-506.

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An in depth analysis of human rights abuses in Sudan highlighting the controversy over the contrast of human rights and Islamic norms. Presents the underlying causes, its ideological justification and explores possible remedies.

Amnesty International. 2000. Sudan: The Human Price of Oil. AI INDEX: AFR 54/01/00 ERR. http://www. woek. de/pdf/sudan_ai_the%20human%20price%20of%20oil_may_2000. pdf.

Explores the link between the human rights violations committed by the government forces and its allied militias and the oil operations by foreign companies. Argues that the companies involved have a responsibility to contribute to the promotion and protection of human rights wherever they operate. Calls on the Sudanese government, the SLA and the international community to condemn human rights violations and confirm their commitment to various articles in the Geneva Convention.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. Darfur Destroyed - Ethnic Cleansing by Government and Militias Forces in Western Sudan. HRW Index No. : A1606. http://hrw. org/reports/2004/sudan0504/.

Documents how Sudanese Government forces have overseen and directly participated in massacres, summary executions of civilians, burnings of towns and villages, and the forcible depopulation of Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa land. The report also documents how Janjaweed Arab militias have destroyed mosques, killed Muslim religious leaders and desecrated Korans belonging to their enemies. (Abridged from the website.)

Human Rights Watch. 2004. Empty Promises? Continuing Abuses in Darfur, Sudan. http://hrw. org/doc/?t=pubs&document_limit=20,20.

Documents and analyzes how the Sudanese armed forces and the government-backed Janjaweed militias continue to target civilians and their livestock in rural villages and towns and camps under government control. The report also analyzes Sudanese government pledges to rein in the militias, end impunity and restore security in Darfur.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. Sudan, Oil and Human Rights. HRW Index No. : 1564322912. http://hrw. org/doc/?t=africa_pub&c=sudan.

Investigates the role that oil has played in Sudan's civil war. A very comprehensive examination of the links between natural-resource exploitation and human rights abuses. The report provides evidence of the complicity of oil companies in the human rights abuses as well as the SPLA's role in the struggle over oil fields. In addition to its regular army, the government has deployed militant Islamist militias to prosecute the war, and has armed southern factions in a policy of ethnic manipulation and destabilization.

Terrorism and Sudan

Attention to international terrorism and Sudan was extensive throughout the 1990's. However, since the September 11 attacks on the United States , attention has shifted to what U.S. President Bush coined the "Axis of Evil", Iran , Iraq and North Korea . Sudan has taken steps to cut off ties with external terrorist networks; according to the U.S. State Department Sudan has arrested some

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thirty suspected terrorists. While this has resulted in a rapprochement between the U.S. and Sudan, it is apparent that Sudan has been unable to quell the ongoing conflict and escalating terrorism within its own borders. An unfortunate effect of such instability is often terrorists with cross-border objectives.

This section provides information on aspects of terrorism in Sudan such as a Sudan's role in harboring terrorists and supporting terrorism throughout the 1990's; a brief account of the opportunities that were missed to gain information on Osama bin Laden in the years leading up to the September 11, 2001 attacks; Sudan's recent cooperation with the U.S. in fighting the "War Against Terror"; and the changing relationship between Sudan and the United States post 9/11.

2004. "Spinning on the Edge". *Africa Confidential.* 45(19):

A brief analysis discussing the possible outcomes of a collapse of the Sudanese state. Brings into light the dilemma for the United States as a country with some level of historical involvement in the current crises in Darfur.

Hassan Al-Turabi. 2002. "America Will Not Tolerate Islamic Movements, Even If They Are Peaceful". New Perspectives Quarterly. 19(2): 59.

An interview with Hassan al-Turabi, the Islamic spiritual leader of Sudan who hosted terrorist Osama bin Laden before he left for Afghanistan. Also includes his view about the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. and on Islamic movements. Provides a description of his relationship with Osama bin Laden and the United States.

Edgar O'Ballance. 2000. Sudan, Civil War and Terrorism, 1956-99. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Macmillan Press;St. Martin's Press.

O'Ballance brings us from the 16-year civil war beginning soon after independence through a second southern revolution breaking out in 1983 and up to Sudan's extensive involvement in terrorism in the mid 1990's. Exemplifies the central governments consisting of mainly military dictatorships, plagued by plots, and ongoing quarrels with adjacent countries.

Donald Petterson. 2003. Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe. Westview Press.

Petterson, the last American ambassador to complete an assignment in Sudan provides insight into the events in Sudan from 1998 to the present. Petterson explores experiences of Americans in Khartoum after Washington put Sudan on the black list of state sponsors of terrorism and considers Sudan's connections to international terrorists, while assessing the changes in the relationship between Sudan and the United States after 9/11. Provides sufficient background information for someone unfamiliar with Sudanese history to understand the context of conflicts and debates.

Linda Robinson. 2002. "A Timeworn Terrorism List". U.S. *News and World Report.* 132(17):

Focuses on the annual U.S. list of states that sponsor terrorism, which is accompanied by a report, 'Patterns of Global Terrorism. ' Argues against the rigidity of the list by suggesting a clearer distinction between current sponsors and past supporters of terrorism. Argues both that

Sudan should not be on the list and which other countries should be. Suggests gradating the list to allow more flexibility in setting penalties.

Yehudit Ronen. 2002. "Sudan and the United States: Is a Decade of Tension Winding Down?" Middle East Policy. 9(1):

Focuses on a study that examined the relationship between Sudan and the U.S. and analyzed the roots and development of the bilateral dispute which began in 1990. Discusses the designation of Sudan as a sponsor of terrorism by the United States. Explores the effect of the bombings of U.S. Embassy buildings in Kenya and Tanzania on the US-Sudan relationship and actions taken for the reconciliation of the two countries.

David Rose. 2001. Resentful West Spurned Sudan's Key Terror Files. The Observer. Date. http://observer. guardian. co. uk/waronterrorism/story/0,1373,560675,00. html.

A brief account of the ways in which security chiefs on both sides of the Atlantic repeatedly turned down opportunities from the Sudanese government to acquire an intelligence database on Osama bin Laden and more than 200 leading members of his al-Qaeda terrorist network in the years leading up to the September 11, 2001 attacks.

Robert Rotberg. 2002. "Failed States in a World of Terror". *Foreign Affairs*. 81(4):

Discusses the immediacy and importance of addressing the problem of failed nation-states in the wake of September 11, 2001. Argues that failed states are incapable of projecting power and asserting authority within their own borders, leaving their territories governmentally empty. The instability that these countries harbor not only threatens the lives and livelihoods of their own people but also endangers world peace.

Michael Rubin. 2001. Don't 'Engage' Rogue Regimes. *Wall Street Journal*.

Discusses the importance of the United States' decision to engage rather than confront Sudan following the September 11 attacks. Argues that Washington should not engage or negotiate with rogue regimes as Sudan does not appear to have changed much of its behavior as terror campaigns are continuously carried out upon Sudanese citizens.

Michael Rubin. 2001. In the War against Terror, Where Goes Sudan? The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. P0licy #570.

With attention focused on the bombings against Afghanistan, the most radical change in U.S. policy toward any other Muslim state since September 11 has been the accelerated rapprochement between the United States and Sudan, a country that hosted Osama bin Laden between 1991 and 1996. Rubin raises the question as to if Sudan has in fact changed its behavior since Sept. 11, 2001. While the State Department has said that since September 11, Khartoum has arrested some thirty suspected terrorists Rubin argues that only a demonstrable pattern of sustained behavioral change should merit rehabilitation of a government that has been so deeply involved with terror for so many years.

Shaul Shay. 2005. Red Sea Terror Triangle: Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and Islamic Terror. Transaction Publishers.

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In the aftermath of 9/11 the United States declared a war on terror. The Bush administration focused its efforts on what they called the "axis of evil" (Iran, Iraq, and N. Korea). There is however a triangle of countries in the Red Sea region that are also potential targets in the war against terror - Sudan, Somalia, and Yemen. Shay examines the three countries designated as the Red Sea Terror Triangle, and explores the ties each maintains with Islamic terror, as well as the reciprocal links between them.

Peter Stone. 2001. "Sudan Shifts Its Sands toward Washington". *National Journal.* 33(43):

Discusses the role of Sudan in the coalition assembled by the United States to fight the terrorist network run by Osama bin Laden. Discusses gestures of support from Sudanese President Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir and the decision of Sudanese banks to provide financial information to U.S. government agencies. Exemplifies the willingness of Sudan to help in the search for bin Laden's Al Qaeda network.

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on African Affairs. 1997. Sudan and Terrorism: Hearing before the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Washington: U.S. G. P. O. : For sale by the U.S. G. P. O. Supt. of Docs. Congressional Sales Office.

Senate hearing detailing Sudanese involvement in harboring terrorists and promoting terrorism through the early to mid 1990's, as well as responsive actions taken by the U.S. government. Provides testimonies as well as a statement of the Embassy of the Republic of Sudan Regarding Sudan and terrorism.

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Uganda[5]
by Simon Amajuru

The war in northern Uganda is one against civilians. Although the government purports to be targeting Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels, it is well known that more than 80% of the current rebels were conscripted against their will. The war has continued for more than 17 years, caused displacement of more than 1. 6 million people, and left more than 100,000 people dead. Over 20,000 children have been abducted and forced to join the LRW ranks or become sex slaves, while over 50,000 children have turned into "night commuters" for fear of abductions.

> *[T]he LRA explained to us that all five brothers couldn't serve in the LRA because we would not perform well. So they tied up my two younger brothers and invited us to watch. Then they beat them with sticks until the two of them died. They told us it would give us strength to fight. My youngest brother was nine years old* (Human Rights Watch, July 2003).

> *I have been increasingly surprised how northern Uganda can remain the world's greatest neglected humanitarian crisis* (Jan Egeland, United Nation's Emergency Relief Coordinator while briefing the U.N. Security Council on the situation in northern Uganda. *The New Vision*, Oct 23, 2004).

Uganda had no laws on terrorism before September 11, 2001 but enacted the Anti-Terrorism act in 2002. This legislation reduces a broad cross-section of dissidents to

> *'opponents of the state,' thus making those in the media and public life who have divergent views suspect. The terrorism law contains rather sweeping provisions. For example, possession of unlicensed firearms is tantamount to terrorism…Clause 14 empowers ministers to declare an organization "terrorist," without challenge in court* (Human Rights Watch Report: State of Pain: Torture in Uganda, March 2004).

Uganda gained independence from the British on October 9, 1962. Many people believe that the colonial legacy created the south-north divide in Uganda and planted seeds of ethnic conflict in the country. The British created white color jobs and plantations in the south and used northerners as army reserves and laborers in the plantations. Idi Amin and Tito Okello, both semi-illiterate, became presidents through military coups and were beneficiaries of the colonial legacy. To date, northerners continue to feel marginalized.

Uganda's record of open human rights abuse dates back to Milton Obote's first administration in the late 1960s, which sought a one-party system. Conditions worsened with Idi Amin's military coup in 1971. Since then, the army has been vital to Uganda's political direction.

The bibliography covers literature on human rights abuses, terrorism and the War on Terror beginning in 2000. Most of the articles are about human rights issues in northern Uganda, where the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) of Joseph Kony claims to be fighting for the liberation of Uganda and to rule it according to the Ten Commandments.

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[5] This section has a supplement that begins on page S-51.

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Conflict Causes and Resolution

Causes of The Conflict

Lawrence E. Cline. 2003. "Spirits and the Cross: Religiously Based Violent Movements in Uganda." *Small Wars and Insurgencies.* 14(2): 113-131.

Provides detailed analysis of the havoc caused to humanity in northern Uganda from various rebellions since 1986. Combination of doctrines of traditional and "modern" religions, ethnicity, marginalization, and external forces played complementary roles in the rise and sustenance of the terrorist forms of rebel movements in Uganda.

Nick Grono and Jim Terrie. 2004. "Trying Times in Uganda." The Diplomat. http://www. icg. org/home/index. cfm?id=2564&l=1.

As rebels of the LRA kill over 300 people in a camp for displaced people, there are calls for the ICC to investigate both rebels and government soldiers for atrocities. The ICC has taken the challenge as its first investigation.

International Crisis Group. 2004. Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict. Africa Report No. 77. http://www. icg. org/home/index. cfm?id=2588&l=1.

A report on the root causes of the northern conflict that provides possible solutions and reasons why current "efforts" to solve this conflict have failed. Calls on the government, rebels, local community and international community to be committed to end human rights abuses.

International Crisis Group. 2001. "Rwanda/Uganda: A Dangerous War of Nerves." http://www. icg. org//library/documents/report_archive/A400688_21122001. pdf.

Gives complete picture of the causes and implications of the war between Uganda and Rwanda, who were once allies. Rivalry and struggle over resources in the Democratic Republic of the Congo contributed to much of the causes of the past war and only international intervention can stop further suffering of civilians.

International Crisis Group. 2000. Conflict Prevention and Resolution Uganda and Rwanda: Friends or Enemies? Africa Report No. 14. http://www. crisisweb. org/home/index. cfm?id=1646&l=1.

An account of the historical relationship between Uganda and Rwanda and how differences in their sometimes hidden agendas and a mutual strategy of sending national troops led to competition of the army commanders of the two countries in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Only intervention by "stronger countries" could avoid further war.

2004. "Northern Uganda Alarms UN." The New Vision. http://www. newvision. co. ug/detail. php?newsCategoryId=13&newsId=395320.

UN's Jan Egeland describes the situation in northern Uganda as the worst in the World and not producing the global outcry it should. Believes that there is a conspiracy of silence over the war that has caused several deaths and abductions.

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Conflict Resolution

Nick Grono and Jim Terrie. 2004. "Trying Times in Uganda." The Diplomat. http://www. icg. org/home/index. cfm?id=2564&l=1.

As rebels of the LRA kill over 300 people in a camp for displaced people, there are calls for the ICC to investigate both rebels and government soldiers for atrocities. The ICC has taken the challenge as its first investigation.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "ICC: Investigate All Sides in Uganda." Human Rights Watch. http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/02/04/uganda7264. htm.

Human Rights Watch is concerned about the partiality of the International Criminal Court, given that both rebels and government soldiers have committed crimes against civilians in the more than 16-year war in northern Uganda.

International Crisis Group. 2004. Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict. Africa Report No. 77. http://www. icg. org/home/index. cfm?id=2588&l=1.

A report on the root causes of the northern conflict that provides possible solutions and reasons why current efforts to solve this conflict have failed. Calls on the government, rebels, local community and international community to be committed to end human rights abuses.

Okello Lucima. 2002. "Protracted Conflict: Elusive Peace Initiatives to End the Violence in Northern Uganda." Accord. 47(1): http://www. c-r. org/accord/uganda/accord11/index. shtml.

Attributes the sustained conflict in northern Uganda to government's use of violence against opponents, indiscipline of the army, previous support of LRA by Sudan in retaliation to Uganda's support to Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and declaration of LRA as terrorists by the U.S. All negotiations have failed because of lack of trust in Museveni, issuing of ultimatum by Museveni for rebels to surrender during peace talks of 1994, continued infighting by LRA, and failure by the Carter Center to involve LRA and SPLA in peace talks between Sudan and Uganda. Humanitarianism has focused much on abductions at the expense of the welfare of suffering civilians living in "protected camps." Civil society peace efforts have not succeeded because of failure to bring government and the LRA into meaningful dialogue but the Amnesty Act is in place and functional. There exists lack of trust between both government and the LRA, and government and the Acholi political community. People are suffering and questioning the hidden motive of both government and LRA in this war.

Joanna R. Quinn. 2004. "Constraints: The Un-Doing of the Ugandan Truth Commission." Human Rights Quarterly. 26(2): 401-428.

ABSTRACT: *In the aftermath of a period of mass atrocity at the hands of the state, the restoration of the political and social fabric of a country is a pressing need. Hundreds of thousands of people were murdered throughout the period, while the various heads of Ugandan government sought to legitimize their rule and cement their positions of power in any way possible. Civil war leaves in its path a series of communities in need of many things, all of which stretch budgets that have been depleted by years of significant military expenditure. These include roads, hospitals, education, and security, among others, and each of these must be carefully weighed against the country's need for justice. In transitional societies, the outward signs of poverty and destitution sometimes mask*

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the importance of rebuilding those structural social institutions that form the basis of any stable society. A restructured judicial system and strengthened networks of civic engagement all lead to increased levels of social trust. And these processes are particularly important in addressing the causes of conflict within divided transitional societies.

Uganda has moved through difficult times as each government tries to legitimize its power through dictatorship and military suppression. Investments in social infrastructure and justice continue to be neglected as military expenditure takes priority and the result is conflict with associated effects.

Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

Internally Displaced People

2004. "Northern Uganda Alarms UN." *The New Vision*. http://www. newvision. co. ug/detail. php?newsCategoryId=13&newsId=395320.

> UN's Jan Egeland describes the situation in northern Uganda as the worst in the World and not producing the global outcry it should. Believes that there is a conspiracy of silence over the war that has caused several deaths and abductions.

International Crisis Group. 2004. Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict. Africa Report No. 77. http://www. icg. org/home/index. cfm?id=2588&l=1.

> A report on the root causes of the northern conflict that provides possible solutions and reasons why current "efforts" to solve this conflict have failed. Calls on the government, rebels, local community and international community to be committed to end human rights abuses.

Jemera Rone. 2003. "Uganda: Sharp Decline in Human Rights." Human Rights News. http://www. hrw. org/press/2003/07/uganda071503. htm.

> The war against terror in northern Uganda is in a vicious cycle and only the intervention of United Nations and members of the international community can reverse this bad crisis. All mortality rates are high and HIV/AIDS prevalence is high in northern Uganda.

Jemera Rone. 2002. "Uganda: Army and Rebels Step up Attacks on Civilians." Human Rights News. http://hrw. org/press/2002/10/uganda1029. htm.

> Steps taken to end the war in northern Uganda have brought more misery to civilians: Forcing civilians to vacate their homes for camps in 48 hours, bombing villages, following the LRA in Sudan, and Sudan's cutting of food aid to the LRA, have made the steps more ruthless to civilians in Uganda and Sudan.

Refugees

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Briefing to the 59th Session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights Special Envoy for the Abducted Children in Northern Uganda." http://www. hrw. org/un/chr59/uganda. htm.

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The briefing to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights indicates that both the government and the LRA are involved in recruiting child soldiers, and the military offensive against the LRA in Sudan has been counterproductive; calls for the Secretary General to appoint a special envoy for abducted children.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. "LRA Conflict in Northern Uganda and Southern Sudan, 2002. " Human Rights News. http://hrw. org/press/2002/10/uganda1029-bck. htm.

Describes how the war of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels causes human rights abuses both in Uganda and Sudan, despite the earlier support of Sudan to the LRA. The military offensive by Uganda government has worsened the situation and humanitarian aid is affected.

Jemera Rone. 2002. "Uganda: Army and Rebels Step up Attacks on Civilians." Human Rights News. http://hrw. org/press/2002/10/uganda1029. htm.

Steps taken to end the war in northern Uganda have brought more misery to civilians: Forcing civilians to vacate their homes for camps in 48 hours, bombing villages, following the LRA in Sudan, and Sudan's cutting of food aid to the LRA, have made the steps more ruthless to civilians in Uganda and Sudan.

HIV/AIDS

Lisa Karanja. 2003. Uganda Just Die Quietly: Domestic Violence and Women's Vulnerability to HIV in Uganda. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2003/uganda0803/.

Domestic violence associated with rape within marriage is a high contributing factor to HIV/AIDS transmission to women in Uganda. Government is doing little to protect women.

Samuel Olara. 2004. Rape: The Hidden Weapon against Women in War-Torn Northern Uganda. http://www. km-net. org/e-news/2004/nov04/nov14. htm#item5.

Reports that rape is a hidden weapon of war in northern Uganda and is committed by both government soldiers and rebels. Condemns acts of rape and violence against women and young girls as acts contravening both the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). With HIV/AIDS, rape is is like death sentence.

Jemera Rone. 2003. "Uganda: Sharp Decline in Human Rights." Human Rights News. http://www. hrw. org/press/2003/07/uganda071503. htm.

The war against terror in northern Uganda is in a vicious cycle and only the intervention of the United Nations and members of the international community can reverse this bad crisis. All mortality rates are high and HIV/AIDS prevalence is high in northern Uganda.

World Vision. 2004. Pawns of Politics: Children, Conflict and Peace in Northern Uganda. http://www. worldvision. org/worldvision/wvususfo. nsf/stable/globalissues_uganda_report.

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As the war in northern Uganda continues to escape substantive action by the UN, the LRA continues to abduct and train children to rape, maim and torture. In Gulu, more than 75% of death cases are war related, the HIV/AIDS rate is very high, child malnutrition rates are high too, and night commuting to town for safety occurs daily. Corruption in the military is a factor in prolonging the war.

Civil Rights Violations

Three bills--the Non-Governmental Organizations Registration (Amendment) Bill, the Suppression of Terrorism Bill and the Political Organizations Bill--before the parliament of Uganda would put human rights at great risk if passed the way they are formulated now.

Susan Dicklitch and Doreen Lwanga. 2003. "The Politics of Being Non-Political: Human Rights Organizations and the Creation of a Positive Human Rights Culture in Uganda." *Human Rights Quarterly*. 25(2): 482-510.

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on what role human rights organizations (HROs) actually play in the development of a rights-protective regime and a rights-respective society in Uganda, given structural, internal, and regime limitations. We argue that Ugandan HROs are significantly limited in their ability to help create a positive human rights culture in Uganda by historical/structural legacies that have created a culture of political apathy and fear amongst the general population. Regime repression of vocal "political" non-state actors and foreign donors' implicit acceptance of the regime's human rights transgressions in light of neo-liberal economic reforms reinforce this fear and political apathy. Ugandan HROs, not willing to risk state repression or lose foreign aid, thus resort to non-contentious human rights issues that do not engage the regime or test the resolve or interest of society to demand human rights for all.

Dicklitch and Lwanga articulate how, in the quest for donor funds and fear of repressive government actions, human rights organizations have neglected the cause of human rights in Uganda. This has jeopardized the development of a rights-protective and rights-respective society in Uganda.

Susan Dicklitch. 2002. "A Basic Human Rights Approach to Democracy in Uganda." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 20(2): 203-223.

This article discusses with clear quotations from various reputable sources how the "internationally" respected no-party movement system in Uganda has failed to develop into a rights-protective regime and rights-respective society. The paper also analyses how donors, weak civil society and disintegrated political parties have endorsed the status-quo in Uganda.

Human Rights Watch. 1999. Hostile to Democracy: The Movement System and Political Repression in Uganda. http://hrw. org/reports/1999/uganda/.

The liberation of Uganda from the dictatorial governments of Idi Amin and Milton Obote has lost meaning as the Museveni government has restricted political parties. Arbitrary arrests of people on allegations of treason are increasing and a one-party system seems to be on the way.

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Lisa Karanja. 2003. Uganda Just Die Quietly: Domestic Violence and Women's Vulnerability to HIV in Uganda. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2003/uganda0803/.

Domestic violence associated with rape within marriage is a high contributing factor to HIV/AIDS transmission to women in Uganda. Government is doing little to protect women.

Julianne Kippenberg. 2001. "Uganda Attacks Freedom of the Press: Closes Main Independent Newspaper." Human Rights News. http://www. hrw. org/press/2002/10/uganda1011. htm.

On October 10, 2002, the *Monitor* newspaper in Uganda probably became the first victim of the new anti-terrorism law that was enacted in May 2002. The law provides for a possible death sentence for anyone publishing news "likely to promote terrorism."

Samuel Olara. 2004. Rape: The Hidden Weapon against Women in War-Torn Northern Uganda. http://www. km-net. org/e-news/2004/nov04/nov14. htm#item5.

Reports that rape is a hidden weapon of war in northern Uganda and is committed by both government soldiers and rebels. Condemns acts of rape and violence against women and young girls as acts contravening both the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). With HIV/AIDS, rape is is like death sentence.

Joanna R. Quinn. 2004. "Constraints: The Un-Doing of the Ugandan Truth Commission." Human Rights Quarterly. 26(2): 401-428.

In the aftermath of a period of mass atrocity at the hands of the state, the restoration of the political and social fabric of a country is a pressing need. Hundreds of thousands of people were murdered throughout the period, while the various heads of Ugandan government sought to legitimize their rule and cement their positions of power in any way possible. Civil war leaves in its path a series of communities in need of many things, all of which stretch budgets that have been depleted by years of significant military expenditure. Needs include roads, hospitals, education, and security, among others, and each of these must be carefully weighed against the country's need for justice. In transitional societies, the outward signs of poverty and destitution sometimes mask the importance of rebuilding those structural social institutions that form the basis of any stable society. A restructured judicial system and strengthened networks of civic engagement lead to increased levels of social trust. Such processes are particularly important in addressing the causes of conflict within divided transitional societies.

Uganda has moved through difficult times as each government has tried to legitimize its power through dictatorship and military suppression. Investments in social infrastructure and justice continue to be neglected as military expenditures take priority and the result is conflict with associated effects.

Jemera Rone, Julianne Kippenberg and Bronwen Manby. 2004. Uganda, State of Pain Torture in Uganda. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2004/uganda0404/.

Since 2001, torture by government security agents has been on the increase in Uganda, purportedly to suppress political opponents. Many people have been detained in "safe houses" instead of official police stations, which has led to reports of torture and related deaths.

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Jemera Rone. 2003. "Uganda: Unacknowledged Detention of 14 Persons and Reported Executions of 4 of Them." Human Rights News. http://www. hrw. org/press/2003/10/uganda100203-ltr. htm.

An open letter by Human Rights Watch to President Museveni regarding executed people and detention without trial by the newly formed Anti Terrorism Task Force and other state organs, who at times violate human rights. Requests the President to take action against human rights violation by state agents.

Abductions

2004. "Northern Uganda Alarms UN." *The New Vision*. http://www. newvision. co. ug/detail. php?newsCategoryId=13&newsId=395320.

UN's Jan Egeland describes the situation in northern Uganda as the worst in the World and not producing the global outcry it should. Believes that there is a conspiracy of silence over the war that has caused several deaths and abductions.

Jo Becker. 2003. "Uganda: Drop Treason Charges against Child Abductees." Human Rights Watch. http://hrw. org/press/2003/03/uganda030403. htm.

Treason is a very serious charge and should not be used against children who have been abducted by force and compelled to commit acts of violence. The government should immediately drop treason charges and ensure that the boys in question have access to rehabilitation assistance. Charging children under 17 years of age and who have been abducted by rebels to fight against the government with treason defeats the purpose of fighting to free abducted children from the rebels.

Jo Becker, Tony Tate, Lois Whitman and Jemera Rone. 2003. "Uganda, Stolen Children Abduction and Recruitment in Northern Uganda." Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports/2003/uganda0303/uganda0403. pdf.

A discussion of the torture, sexual abuse of girls, killings and abduction of about 20,000 children by the Lord's Resistance Army and recruitment of child soldiers by the government in northern Uganda. Calls for an end to these inhumane acts and the appointment of a special envoy by the Secretary General of UN.

Lawrence E. Cline. 2003. "Spirits and the Cross: Religiously Based Violent Movements in Uganda." Small Wars and Insurgencies. 14(2).

Provides detailed analysis of the havoc caused to humanity in northern Uganda by various rebellions since 1986. Combination of doctrines of traditional and modern religions, ethnicity, marginalization, and external forces played complementary roles in the rise and sustenance of the terrorist forms of rebel movements in Uganda.

Rosa Ehrenreich. 1997. The Scars of Death: Children Abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. Human Rights Watch. http://www. hrw. org/reports97/uganda/.

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First true stories of abductions and life with the LRA from former abductees. Abducted children were hardened through torture, and being forced to torture and kill.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Abducted and Abused: Renewed Conflict in Northern Uganda." http://www. hrw. org/reports/2003/uganda0703/.

Draws on evidence from eyewitnesses that the governments of both Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army are still abusing human rights abuses in Uganda. This time, the war has spread to eastern Uganda.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Briefing to the 59th Session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights Special Envoy for the Abducted Children in Northern Uganda." http://www. hrw. org/un/chr59/uganda. htm.

The briefing to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights indicates that both government and the LRA are involved in recruiting child soldiers and the military offensive against the LRA in Sudan has been counterproductive; calls for the Secretary General to appoint a special envoy for abducted children.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Uganda Government Forces." http://hrw. org/reports/2004/childsoldiers0104/18. htm.

Both the government (mostly through Local Defense Units) and rebels (through abductions) continue to recruit child soldiers. Rescued rebels and those who escaped are reported to be kept under military confinement for a long time before being released for counseling services.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. "LRA Conflict in Northern Uganda and Southern Sudan, 2002." Human Rights News. http://hrw. org/press/2002/10/uganda1029-bck. htm.

Describes how the war of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels causes human rights abuses both in Uganda and Sudan, despite Sudan's earlier support of the LRA. The military offensive by Uganda's government has worsened the situation and humanitarian aid is affected.

Okello Lucima. 2002. "Protracted Conflict: Elusive Peace Initiatives to End the Violence in Northern Uganda." Accord. 47(1): http://www. c-r. org/accord/uganda/accord11/index. shtml.

Attributes the sustained conflict in northern Uganda to the government's use of violence against opponents, indiscipline of the army, previous support of the LRA by Sudan in retaliation for Uganda's support to SPLA and declaration of LRA as terrorists by the U.S. All negotiations have failed because of a lack of trust in Museveni, an issuing of an ultimatum by Museveni for rebels to surrender during peace talks of 1994, continued infighting by LRA, and the Carter Center's failure to involve LRA and SPLA in peace talks between Sudan and Uganda. Humanitarianism has focused much on abductions at the expense of the welfare of suffering civilians living in "protected camps." Civil society peace efforts have not succeeded because of a failure to bring the government and the LRA into meaningful dialogue but the Amnesty Act is in place and functional. There exists a lack of trust between both the government and LRA, and the government and the Acholi political community. People are suffering and questioning the hidden motive of both government and LRA in this war.

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Jemera Rone. 2003. "Uganda: Sharp Decline in Human Rights." Human Rights News. http://www. hrw. org/press/2003/07/uganda071503. htm.

The war against terror in northern Uganda is in a vicious cycle and only the intervention of the United Nations and members of the international community can reverse this crisis. All mortality rates are high and HIV/AIDS prevalence is high in northern Uganda.

Jemera Rone. 2002. "Uganda: Army and Rebels Step up Attacks on Civilians." Human Rights News. http://hrw. org/press/2002/10/uganda1029. htm.

Steps taken to end the war in northern Uganda have brought more misery to civilians: Forcing civilians to vacate their homes for camps in 48 hours, bombing villages, following the LRA in Sudan, and Sudan's cutting of food aid to the LRA, have made the steps more ruthless to civilians in Uganda and Sudan.

Frank Van Acker. 2004. "Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: The New Order No One Ordered." African Affairs. 103(412): http://afraf. oupjournals. org/cgi/content/abstract/103/412/335.

ABSTRACT: *For almost 18 years, the so-called Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has waged war on the Ugandan government and its own people, the Acholi. The robustness of the conflict indicates that the forces working against peace outstrip those working for it. Analysis of the conflict is often reduced to describing the LRA rebellion as the handiwork of a religious fanatic. However, the social disorder that the National Resistance Movement, led by current President Museveni, inherited in 1986 after the downfall of the Acholi-led Okello regime, contained the root causes for continued insurgency. These were amplified by external circumstances that created the operational leeway for rebellion, gathering force in the absence of a credible Acholi political leadership. A deliverance couched in religious discourse resolved the quandary. The emergence and transformation of the LRA can be made comprehensible only in relation, or even in opposition, to the emergence and downfall of the Holy Spirit Mobile Forces (HSMF) as a radical structure of rejection. Millenarian religious justification contextualizes violence and the use of terror as a means of immobilization and control of the population. As the character and composition of the LRA evolved to include the kidnapping of children, and as the terror escalated, the insurgency became increasingly ensnared in a web of internal contradictions. The result is that the LRA has exacerbated the process of dehumanization the HSMF first set out to counter.*

Emily Wax. 2004. "In Uganda, Terror Forces Children's Nightly Flight: Thousands in Rural Areas Flee Villages to Avoid Abduction by Rebels." Washington Post. http://msnbc. msn. com/id/4260453.

Emotional story of the plight of children and parents in Gulu town. Fearing abductions by the Lord's Resistance Army, children trek daily to sleep in Gulu and other towns under very difficult conditions. Two girls sang "they are all raped, there are no more virgins in Gulu."

World Vision. 2004. Pawns of Politics: Children, Conflict and Peace in Northern Uganda. http://www. worldvision. org/worldvision/wvususfo. nsf/stable/globalissues_uganda_report.

As the war in northern Uganda continues to escape substantive action by the UN, the LRA continues to abduct and train children to rape, maim and torture. In Gulu, more than 75% of death cases are war-related, the HIV/AIDS rate is very high, child malnutrition rates remain high, and night commuting to town for safety occurs daily. Corruption in the military is a factor in prolonging the war.

U. S. Foreign Policy[6]
by Charles Hess

> *They hate our freedoms--our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other* (George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, September 20, 2001).

> *These values of freedom are right and true for every person, in every society—and the duty of protecting these values against their enemies is the common calling of freedom-loving people across the globe and across the ages* (National Security Strategy, September 2002 http://www. whitehouse. gov/nsc/nss. html).

The historical connection between U.S. foreign policy and human rights has been strong on occasion. The War on Terror has not diminished but rather intensified that relationship if public statements from President Bush and his administration are to be believed. Some argue that just as in the Cold War, the American way of life as a free and liberal people is at stake. They argue that the enemy now is not communism but the disgruntled few who would seek to impose fundamentalist values on societies the world over and destroy those who do not conform. Proposed approaches to neutralizing the problem of terrorism vary. While most would agree that protecting human rights in the face of terror is of elevated importance, concern for human rights holds a peculiar place in this debate. It is ostensibly what the U.S. is trying to protect, yet it is arguably one of the first ideals compromised in the fight.

The Bush administration has chosen a controversial path to protecting human rights during its war on terror. Criticisms that America is developing an empire bent not on freedom as much as exploitation have only intensified since the U.S. invaded Iraq. At home the USA PATRIOT Act and charges of mistreatment of "unlawful combatants" have eroded the position of eminence once held by the U.S. government regarding concern for human rights.

One could argue that the two dominant approaches to terrorism were neatly contrasted in the U.S. presidential election of 2004. The first approach, frequently referred to as the "Bush Doctrine," regards taking the fight to the terrorists wherever they are hiding before they attack us at home. Because of the decentralized nature of international terrorism this leads to pre-emptive war all over the globe. Speed is of the essence and resorting to diplomacy takes time. The second approach calls for attacks only when American justification is sound and hopefully globally recognized. Some diplomacy and consultation is advisable. A third alternative looks at the underlying reasons for terrorism, asks if American foreign policy provokes it, and looks to address the motivation for attacking America in the first place.

Whatever popularity the Bush Doctrine enjoys invites further scrutiny. Members of the Bush administration and like-minded analysts have frequently referred to the changed world born on September 12th, 2001. They contend the previous American reliance on sanctions and other forms of "soft power" are insufficient to deal with this new threat. Protecting the peace now means

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[6] This section has a supplement that begins on page S-18.

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making war pre-emptively as necessary. We must be swift and decisive. Whereas nations like Pakistan, Russia and China were once criticized for human rights violations, they have become key allies in the War on Terror. While the U.S. military makes use of their air space and intelligence-gathering capabilities, many wonder at the consequences of establishing warmer relations with leaders perceived as dictators and regimes perceived as repressive.

American Interests and Oil

The Nation. 2004. "Iraq and 1,000 Deaths." 9(3).

Michael T. Klare. 2002. "Oiling the War Machine." *Utne Reader.* (113): 34.

> ABSTRACT: *Discusses factors driving the convergence of America's anti-terrorist cause and the goal of securing the nation's oil supply. National energy policy under U.S. president George Bush; Foreign policy on Saudi Arabia and Colombia; Author's question about the validity of the Bush administration's initiative to expand sources of foreign oil.*

George Leaman. 2004. "Iraq, American Empire, and the War on Terrorism." *Metaphilosophy.* 35(3): 234.

> ABSTRACT: *Argues that the U.S. government is trying to secure American military and economic supremacy on a global scale over the long term and that the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq is part of this imperial project. Examines these developments in the context of U.S. military spending and foreign policy since the end of the cold war.*

Gar Smith. 2002. "Afghanistan: It's About Oil". *Earth Island Journal.* 17(1): 37.

> ABSTRACT: *Argues that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. provided the government with the opportunity to use the military to pave the way for an Afghan oil pipeline. Proponents of the Afghan oil route; Implications of the establishment of a pro-Western government in Afghanistan; Basis of U.S. foreign policy.*

Gar Smith. 2002. "Defeat Terrorism: Abandon Oil". *Earth Island Journal.* 17(1): 35.

> ABSTRACT: *Argues that the U.S. government should abandon its dependence on petroleum in order to defeat terrorism. Encourages a shift to clean, renewable energy even at the cost of superpower status. Provides a brief list of human rights abuses by the U.S. government presumably related to the greater foreign policy goal of securing access to foreign oil.*

Slavoj Zizek. 2004. "Iraq's False Promises." *Foreign Policy.* (140): 43-50.

> ABSTACT: *Criticizes the U.S. government for attacking Iraq in early 2003. Allegations of the U.S. government on the involvement of Saddam Hussein in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks; views of neoconservative thinkers on the National Security Strategy calls of George W. Bush; intention of the U.S. to take over Iraq's oil industry.*

Analysis and Reflection as a Means to Combat Terrorism

Phyllis Bennis. 2003. Before & After: U.S. Foreign Policy and the September 11th Crisis. New York: Olive Branch Press.

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Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change. 2004. http://diplomatsforchange. com/.

> From the website: Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change is an unprecedented bipartisan coalition of 27 career chiefs of mission and retired four-star military leaders who have launched a nationwide campaign to change U.S. foreign and defense policy because they are deeply concerned by the damage the Bush administration has caused to our national and international interests.

Rahul Mahajan. 2003. Full Spectrum Dominance: U.S. Power in Iraq and Beyond. New York City: Seven Stories Press.

> Argues that Iraqi connections to al-Qaeda; its putative weapons of mass destruction; and the Bush administration's stated desire to bring peace, democracy, and liberation to the Middle East are obscure and fundamentally offensive postures by the United States. Addresses questions that remain unresolved by the military effort. Examines U.S. intentions in occupying Iraq and its plans for the Middle East and the administration's compromising positions on weapons of mass destruction, international law, and oil.

Rahul Mahajan. 2002. The New Crusade: America's War on Terrorism. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

> Argues that the War on Terror is inhumane in theory and application and benefits only a few American elites. Criticizes the mainstream media for distortions and affection for easy answers. Distinguishes between terrorist apologists and people who believe in the existence of legitimate grievances against the US. Cites an economic agenda that preserves the U.S. position of power as both motivation for the War on Terror and a cause of terrorism. Anticipates new directions in the War on Terror presciently including Iraq.

Detainees and "Unlawful Combatants"

Amnesty International. 2004. Restoring the Rule of Law: The Right of Guantánamo Detainees to Judicial Review of the Lawfulness of Their Detention. http://web. amnesty. org/library/Index/ENGAMR510932004?open&of=ENG-USA.

> Five-part legal memorandum arguing for the application of international human rights law in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Builds from the presupposition that human rights are inherent in the person and not subject to creative reinterpretation in times of war.

Richard Falk. 2004. "Human Rights." *Foreign Policy*. (March/April): 18.

> ABSTRACT: *Looks at the most effective and most misguided ways for promoting human rights worldwide. Absence of global consensus on the universality of human aspirations for human rights; error of the notion that human rights are violated more as of 2004 than in previous years; discussion on the notion that human rights are irreconcilable with the war on global terrorism launched by the United States in 2001; truth of the allegation that human rights abuses worsened worldwide after September 11, 2001; contention that human rights include political, social and economic freedoms.*

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Edward Greer. 2004. "'We Don't Torture People in America': Coercive Interrogation in the Global Village." New Political Science. 26(3): 371.

ABSTRACT: *While not publicly acknowledged, after 9/11 the systematic deployment of torture on captured Muslims became America's policy and practice. It is utilized for the purpose of counterinsurgency intelligence-gathering. Based exclusively on publicly available documentation (prior to the Abu Ghraib revelations), the article conclusively demonstrates that the Bush administration deliberately chose this policy option. The evidence of this authorization includes: post-9/11 testimony before Congress; statements to news media by intelligence operatives who engaged in physical coercion in secret facilities; and a focused, aggressive legal strategy to strip suspected terrorists of all human rights. This legal posture included positive representations to the federal courts that the Executive has entitlement to torture; and an official determination that the Geneva Convention protection against coercive interrogations would be circumvented.*

Rebuts the official U.S. position on the use of torture to extract information from detainees. Details perceived contradictions in the Bush administration's statements regarding torture depending on venue. Presents torture as an integral and ultimately self-destructive tool in the War on Terror.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. "Background Paper on Geneva Conventions and Persons Held by U.S. Forces." http://hrw. org/backgrounder/usa/pow-bck. htm.

Highlights international law issues pertaining to the treatment of Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters from Afghanistan in U.S. custody. Cites the need for a formal and individualized determination of prisoner-of-war status in ambiguous cases. Also sets out international law requirements governing prisoners of war and "unlawful combatants," including humane treatment, interrogation and prosecution.

Wedgwood, Ruth. 2002. "al Qaeda, Military Commissions, and American Self-Defense." Political Science Quarterly. 117(3): 357-372.

ABSTACT: *Critically examines the U.S. detention of al Qaeda prisoners and others accused of being enemy combatants. In a world where terrorist action flirts with catastrophic weapons, the competing paradigms of crime and war may provide no more than analogies. Fitting the law to this new world will require tact, judgment, and the weight of a heavy heart.*

Just War and Preemptive War

Anthony Burke. 2004. "Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence after 9/11." *International Affairs.* 80(2): 329.

ABSTRACT: *Deconstructs arguments made using just-war theory to excuse the humanitarian costs of the War on Terror. Argues that just-war theory may liberate war rather than morally restrain it. Concludes by developing "ethical peace" as an alternative conceptual framework that seeks to create a genuinely universal moral community.*

Bob Catley. 2003. "The USA and the Second Gulf War." *Quadrant.* 47(4): 8.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes the foreign policy of the U.S. from the perspective of a realist theory of politics. Information on major books about political realism; foreign policy objectives of the U.S. after it won the Cold*

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War against the Soviet Union; justifications of the U.S. for its plan to invade Iraq and oust Iraqi President Saddam Hussein; legality of the pre-emptive attack policy of the US; and public opinion on the U.S. plan to attack Iraq.

Richard Falk. 2003. <u>The Great Terror War</u>. New York: Olive Branch Press.

ABSTRACT: *Criticizes the categorization of the War on Terror as a means of responding to current and preventing future terror attacks. Outlines a comprehensive historical framework, and provides new insights into the entire range of issues that must be addressed if terrorism is indeed to be eradicated. Judges the erosion of liberties at home and human rights in general as an indirect victory for al Qaeda and anticipates the greatest cost of September 11 will be the damage done to the global normative order consisting of international law, limits on warmaking, the authority of the UN, and the promotion of human rights.*

Gerard Huiskamp. 2004. "Minority Report on the Bush Doctrine." New Political Science. 26(3): 389.

ABSTRACT: *Provides a framework for understanding the implications of the Bush administration's War on Terror through an analysis of Stephen Spielberg's 2002 film,* Minority Report. *Spielberg's film has been called prescient for the eerie similarity between its fictitious Precrime program and actual post-Patriot Act Department of Justice operations. Illuminates the administration's foreign policy doctrine of pre-emptive war in battling international terrorism.*

Gerd Oberleitner. 2004. "A Just War against Terror?" *Peace Review.* 16(3): 263-268.

Analyzes the premise that the War on Terror is just and real through a review of the history of just war from Ancient Rome to today. Juxtaposes definitions of war versus crime in responding to terrorism. Categorizes pre-emptive self-defense as against international law and just war as a concept righteously abandoned long ago.

Diplomatic or Military Engagement?

Richard K. Betts. 2002. "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror." *Political Science Quarterly.* 117(1): 19.

Examines the imbalance of power between terrorist groups and counterterrorist governments and the operational advantage of attack over defense in the interaction between terrorists.

Thomas Donnelly. 2003. Fighting Terror: Lessons and Implications from the Iraqi Theater. The American Enterprise Institute. http://www. aei. org/publications/pubID. 18061,filter. all/pub_detail. asp.

Representative of conservative thought on the War on Terror. Argues that it is first a struggle to bring the fight to the terrorists before they can bring it to us and ultimately a political struggle for the hearts and minds of Muslims throughout the greater Middle East. Sets a mission of spreading democracy and respect for human rights.

Robert F. Drinan. 2003. "Wars and Terrorism Threaten Civil Liberties and Human Rights." Human Rights: Journal of the Section of Individual Rights & Responsibilities. 30(1): 2.

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ABSTRACT: *Advocates a new U.S. foreign policy that lives up to the ideals of human rights proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. Identifies a need for American lawyers to act as moral architects who will restrain policies that teach that violence, armed conflict, and military might can solve the moral, spiritual, and human problems of humanity.*

David Hastings. 2003. "Myths, Motivations and 'Misunderestimations': The Bush Administration and Iraq." International Affairs. 79(2): 279.

ABSTRACT: *Explores the myths and motivations behind U.S. foreign policy toward Iraq in America's 'War on Terrorism.' Argues that the foreign policy of the Bush administration is widely misunderstood. Addresses arguments that the Bush administration is motivated by oil, revenge or hubris as well as the more mainstream arguments.*

Nathan Gardels. 2002. "Anticipatory Defense in the War on Terror." NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly. 19(4): 5.

ABSTRACT: *Interviews U.S. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice on the pre-emptive actions of the U.S. against terrorism. Views on anticipatory defense; information on the U.S. government's policy of containment; role of United Nations resolutions in the U.S. campaign against Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.*

Victor Davis Hanson. 2004. Between War and Peace. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks.

Drawing from essays first published in the National Review Online, this collection takes a positive view of the War on Terror as it unfolded between January 2002 and July 2003. Predicts American success in backing up a humanitarian message of liberal reform with military strength aimed at eradicating rogue regimes. Frequently criticizes Arab states for their support of fanaticism and tolerance of corruption, the U.N. for its undermining of U.S. policy and self-loathing Americans uncomfortable with their nation's dominance.

Michael Hirsh. 2002. "Bush and the World." *Foreign Affairs.* 81(5): 18.

ABSTRACT: *Theorizes a new international consensus on the War on Terror is possible, but it will require some political sacrifice. U.S. allies must accept that some U.S. unilateralism is inevitable, even desirable. The U.S. must strive to minimize rather than emphasize its power advantage.*

Michael Hirsh, Martha Brant, Tamara Lipper and Mark Hosenball. 2002. "Hawks, Doves and Dubya." Newsweek (August 2).

ABSTRACT: *Discusses U.S. foreign policy in Iraq. Debate within the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush about a strategy to take action against Iraq; concern that a unilateral rush into pre-emptive war in Iraq could undercut worldwide support for the War on Terror and cast the U.S. as an aggressor nation; perspectives of members of the Bush administration, including (former) Secretary of State Colin Powell and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld; goal of ousting Saddam Hussein; need for Republican consent before the nation can consent.*

Michael Ignatieff. 2004. The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror. Princeton University Press.

Ignatieff recommends a middle course between a civil libertarianism and pragmatism that would judge counterterrorism measures solely by their effectiveness. Allows for emergency suspensions of civil liberties provided they are temporary, publicly justified, and employed as a last resort.

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Proposes providing oppressed groups with peaceful political means of redress as a successful alternative to terrorism. Looks extensively at terrorism in history.

Douglas Kellner. 2004. "Preemptive Strikes and the War on Iraq: A Critique of Bush Administration Unilateralism and Militarism." New Political Science. 26(3): 417.

ABSTRACT: *Examines the unilateralism evident in the manner U.S. military power is used to advance U.S. interests and geopolitical hegemony. Sketches out the genesis and origins of Bush administration foreign policy and its application in Afghanistan and the build-up to the Iraq war. Develops a critique of the Bush doctrine and its application in the 2003 Iraq invasion.*

W. Lafeber. 2002. "The Bush Doctrine." *Diplomatic History.* 26(4): 543.

ABSTRACT: *Analyzes the doctrine propagated by U.S. President George W. Bush's administration after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack. Purposes of presidential doctrines; Bush's priorities in the field of international relations; approach of the government in fighting terrorism; foreign policy transformations resulting from the terrorist attack.*

Mark Mazzetti. 2004. "Two for One." *New Republic.* 230(12): 18-22.

ABSTRACT*: Argues that the U.S. military is becoming increasingly strained by its commitments in Iraq and Afghanistan, thereby limiting the ability of America to threaten rogue states with military action and fight the War on Terror. Anticipates the U.S. military will have significant obligations in Iraq and Afghanistan for years and evaluates the consequences.*

Winston P. Nagan and Craig Hammer. 2004. "The New Bush National Security Doctrine and Rule of Law." Berkeley Journal of International Law. 22(375): 375-434.

ABSTACT*: Seeks to advance the discussion of national security in general, with specific regard to American foreign policy as outlined by President George W. Bush. Examines historically significant national security doctrines as well as the legal basis underlying the 2003 American attack on Iraq in order to explore the Bush administration's international policy determinations.*

Joseph S. Nye Jr. 2004. "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy." Political Science Quarterly. 119(2): 255-270.

Analyzes recent developments in U.S. foreign policy in light of evidence that American "soft power" has eroded. Nye suggests that the challenges posed by transnational terrorism require more attention to soft power and cooperation with allies and institutions.

Paul R. Pillar. 2001. Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy. Washington, D. C. : Brookings Institution Press.

Argues that counterterrorism is not accurately represented by the war metaphor and that the problem of terrorism cannot be solved, only managed. Defines the purpose of counterterrorism as saving lives without unduly compromising national interests and objectives. Focuses more on the effect of U.S. counterterrorism efforts on foreign relations than on domestic concerns like civil liberties. Encourages the use of multiple methods, including "soft power."

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Human Rights Violators as Allies

2004. "Our Former Man in Uzbekistan." *Economist.* (October 23).

ABSTRACT: *Comments on the ousting of Craig Murray, a British diplomat in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. In August 2003, after increasingly outspoken criticism of human rights abuses in Uzbekistan, a key ally in the War on Terror, Murray was disciplined and asked to resign. Some say Downing Street is stifling dissent at the expense of human rights.*

Thomas Carothers. 2003. "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror." *Foreign Affairs.* 82(1): 84.

ABSTRACT: *Focuses on President George W. Bush's approach to the promotion of democracy during the War on Terror. Bush the realist seeks warm ties with dictators who may help in the fight against al Qaeda, while Bush the neo-Reaganite proclaims that democracy is the only solution to terror.*

Thomas Carothers and Paula J. Dobriansky. 2003. "Democracy Promotion." Foreign Affairs. 82(3): 141.

Offers a response to the article "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror" by Thomas Carothers. Argues that the Bush administration has struck the right balance between security concerns, economic issues, and human rights imperatives in the War on Terror. Includes a reply from Carothers.

Rosemary Foot. 2004. "Human Rights and Counter-Terrorism in America's Asia Policy." Adelphi Papers. 363(1).

Focuses on five Asian countries: Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and China. Analyzes how U.S. policy toward each, particularly in the area of human rights, has shifted after September 11, 2001. Takes the position that human rights concerns have been weakened in U.S. foreign policy for political, normative and institutional reasons.

Rosemary Foot. 2003. "Bush, China and Human Rights." *Survival.* 45(2): 167-186.

ABSTRACT: *Questions whether the September 11th attacks on the U.S. have resulted in a reduction in the Bush administration's attention to China's human rights record. Argues the administration will find it difficult to downgrade the issue. References the U.S. designation of the "East Turkestan Islamic Movement" as a terrorist organization operating in China.*

Mohan Malik. 2002. Dragon on Terrorism: Assessing China's Tactical Gains and Strategic Loss Post-September 11. Strategic Studies Institute.

ABSTRACT: *Offers an overview of China's foreign policy goals and achievements prior to September 11, examines Beijing's response to terrorist attacks on the U.S. mainland, provides an assessment of China's tactical gains and strategic losses following the September 11 attacks, and concludes with an evaluation of Beijing's future policy options. Argues that the U.S. led War on Terror has ushered in a new geopolitical alignment whose ramifications will be felt far into the future. Lists muted criticism of China's human rights record as a transitory benefit to China of the U.S. led War on Terror.*

Kate Martin. 2002. "Intelligence, Terrorism, and Civil Liberties." Human Rights: Journal of the Section of Individual Rights & Responsibilities. 29(1): 5.

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ABSTRACT: *Broadly outlines the historical distinction between intelligence and law enforcement agencies and how the barrier between them has been eroded through acts of congress, particularly the USA PATRIOT Act. Expresses concern that protection of intelligence methods has become a justification for limiting liberty and the rule of law.*

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Uzbekistan[7]
by Chris Maggard

The Central Asian republics have largely remained hidden from the world attention since they gained independence a decade ago. However, immediately following September 11th the region was brought into focus as a part of the US-led "War on Terror". Uzbekistan became a full partner in this initiative when the government decided to allow the U.S. military full use of its territory in the invasion against Afghanistan . As Uzbek President Karimov has become willing to work with the West than neighboring countries, the debate in recent years has been how and to what extent, rather than whether or not the United States should commit resources to Uzbekistan and the rest of Central Asia.

The West's previous hesitance to work with these countries was based on their record of widespread human rights abuses and their refusal to bring about reform. No one denies that these abuses are still occurring. There is considerable difference of opinion about what should be done to bring about human rights reform and if this should be a requirement for continued U.S. and international involvement. Many fear that a partnership based solely on security needs without attention to human rights, equality and justice will legitimate the authoritarian governments of the region and ultimately lead to elevated levels of instability and repression there.

Since 1999 , international observers and policymakers have often viewed Central Asia as swept up in a tide of Islamic fundamentalism. In his speech to Congress in September 2001, President George W. Bush singled out the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) as a terrorist group demanding immediate attention. Instability in Central Asia has often been blamed on radical Islamic groups such as the IMU who aspire to establish a state based on Islamic Law, and provide assistance to worldwide terrorist networks. However, President Karimov's efforts to control radical Muslims have gotten out of hand and persecution of many ordinary Muslims has come about as a result. With Muslims making up 90 percent of Uzbekistan 's population, many believe the United States is purposefully strengthening the repressive regime against them. Further repression, of course, could lead to increased support for Islamic extremists and radicalization of a larger portion of the population.

Background

General Information

Svante E. Cornell; Roy Allison. 2003. "Strategic Security Dilemmas in the Caucasus and Central Asia". NBR Analysis. 14(3): http://www. nbr. org.

ABSTRACT: A two-part inquiry dealing first with the "Military and Economic Security Perspectives" of the Central Asian states. The creation of American bases within this region has, in a

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[7] This section has a supplement that begins on page S-62.

way, redrawn the political map, complicating the states' abilities to address the endemic problems of the region. The second part, "The Limits of Multilateralism", asserts that it will be difficult to implement multilateral strategies to solve regional problems.

Simon Churchyard. 2002. "Supporting Tyranny in the Name of Freedom". Utne Reader. (112): 25.

Focuses on the U.S. -Uzbekistan partnership to fight terrorism and how ironic it is to be teaming up with a tyrant in the name of freedom. Discusses the terms agreed to for assistance to be extended by Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov to the U.S. forces during the terrorism campaign in Afghanistan.

Economist. July 26, 2003. "Your Move". *Economist*. 368(8334): 15.

Central Asia has come a long way since independence but is still facing serious security problems, which America, Russia and China are keen on alleviating. The Shanghai Co-operation Organisation was set up to deal with border issues, but has recently concentrated on anti-terrorist measures. It provides non-lethal military assistance and training to most Central Asian countries.

Bakhtiyar Babajanov and Martha Brill Olcott. 2003. "The Terrorist Notebooks". Foreign Policy. 31(March/April).

Notebooks of radical Islamic students learning to become terrorists in Uzbekistan. Students are taught mostly in military subjects and once that is mastered they turn to jihad, how, when and who to kill for the faith.

Farkhad Tolipov and Roger N. Mcdermott. 2003. "Uzbekistan and the Us: Partners against Terrorism". The Review of International Affairs. 2(4): 1-18.

Focuses on the threat of terrorism in the Central Asia region and the newly-emerged US-Uzbek strategic partnership that has emerged. This relationship is a key factor in shaping the region's geopolitical status quo. Analysis deals with military aspects of the partnership in conjunction with Uzbekistan's military reform dynamics and state policy towards counter-terrorism.

Norwegian Refugee Council; Global IDP Project. July 1, 2003. "Profile of Internal Displacement: Uzbekistan". http://www. idpproject. org.

In 2000 the Uzbekistan government forced many villages along the Tajikistan border to relocate to hastily-built, destitute settlements in order to decrease the flow of armed Islamic forces into the country. Though this threat has considerably lessened since then, there government shows no inclination to repatriate the roughly 3000 villagers, who are now suffering in extreme poverty.

Svante E. Cornell and Regine A. Spector. Winter 2002. "Central Asia: More Than Islamic Extremists". The Washington Quarterly. 25(1): 193-206.

Rather than viewing the incursions in Central Asia by Islamic extremists as the cause of the current instability, they should be understood as indicators of the region's complex dynamic. This involves the role of Islam in Central Asia, the challenges of regional poverty and drug trafficking, and the ideological spillover effects of the war in Afghanistan.

Human Rights Watch. September 26, 2001. "Press Backgrounder: Human Rights Abuse in Uzbekistan". http://www. hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek092501-bck. htm.

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After 9/11, President Bush announced that the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) was linked to Osama bin Laden. The IMU is a militant group that seeks the establishment of Islamic Law in Uzebekistan. In the Uzbek governments efforts to stop this group, many innocent Muslims have been branded "extremist" and had their rights violated.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. "Sacrificing Women to Save the Family? Domestic Violence in Uzbekistan". http://www. hrw. org/reports/2001/uzbekistan/.

Women in Uzbekistan have their rights doubly violated, first by suffering physical and other abuse from their husbands and then by the government, who accomplish the goal of "save the family" through coercing women victims to remain in abusive situations, ignoring violence against women, and perpetuating impunity for violent husbands. Many recommendations are given to Uzbekistan and international actors for increasing women's rights.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. "U. S. Policy in Central Asia". http://www. hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbekistan0605-bck. htm.

A good overview of U.S. policy towards Central Asia before September 11th. Argues that the U.S. has failed to effectively address human rights problems, and that allowing these abuses undermines economic reform, deters honest investment and stunts the development of strong civil societies.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Uzbekistan: From House to House: Abuses by Mahalla Committees". http://www. hrw. org/reports/2003/uzbekistan0903/

The mahalla is a centuries-old autonomous institution organized around Islamic rituals and social events. Under President Karimov, the Uzbek government has converted the mahalla committees from an autonomous expression of self-government to a national system for surveillance and control. The people find themselves under increasing pressure from government and law enforcement authorities to enforce government policies that violate human rights norms.

Central Asia

Svante E. Cornell and Roy Allison. 2003. "Strategic Security Dilemmas in the Caucasus and Central Asia". NBR Analysis. 14(3): http://www. nbr. org.

ABSTRACT: A two-part inquiry dealing first with the "Military and Economic Security Perspectives" of the Central Asian states. The creation of American bases within this region has, in a way, redrawn the political map, complicating the states' abilities to address the endemic problems of the region. The second part, "The Limits of Multilateralism", asserts that it will be difficult to implement multilateral strategies to solve regional problems.

Svante E. Cornell. 2002. "Central Asia: More Than Islamic Extremists". Washington Quarterly. 25(1): 193.

Reports on the integral participation of Central Asian republics in the U.S. campaign against terrorism, the launch of insurgencies by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan in the republic, and consequences brought by the rise of the Taliban government for Central Asia. Economic conditions in Central Asia are also discussed.

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Svante E. Cornell. 2004. "The United States and Central Asia: In the Steppes to Stay?" Cambridge Review of International Affairs. 17(2): 239.

> September eleventh elevated the importance of Central Asia in U.S. global strategy and the Central Asian republics proved crucial bases for military and intelligence operations. As its Central Asian footprint grows, Washington must consider the interests of key Eurasian powers and demonstrate a sustained economic and political commitment to the region.

"Your Move". *2003. Economist.* 368(8334): 15.

> Central Asia has come a long way since independence but is still facing serious security problems, which America, Russia and China are keen on alleviating. The Shanghai Co-operation Organisation was set up to deal with border issues, but has recently concentrated on anti-terrorist measures. It provides non-lethal military assistance and training to most Central Asian countries.

Pauline Jones Luong. 2002. "After Afghanistan Implications of the "War on Terrorism" for Central Asia". PONARS Policy Memo No 212.

> To prevent political and economic instability in Central Asia, the article recommends long term, pro-active U.S. policy that will give a comprehensive economic aid package to help dealing with the impending refugee crisis, continue pressure for human rights and democratization and prevent a unilateral military buildup in Uzbekistan.

Alec Rasizade. 2002. "The Specter of a New "Great Game" in Central Asia". Foreign Service Journal. 48.

> Since the US-led intervention in Afghanistan, Central Asia has been transformed into a crucible of international diplomacy. The three fundamental challenges confronting any model of American involvement in Central Asia are to uphold human rights, promote meaningful economic development and stay engaged in the region for the long haul.

United States Senate Subcommittee on Central Asia and South Caucasus of the Committee on Foreign Relations, One Hundred Seventh Congress. Second Session, June 27, 2002. "Balancing Military Assistance and Support for Human Rights in Central Asia". http://www. access. gpo. gov/congress/senate.

> This hearing explores American policy in Central Asia focusing simultaneously on human rights and the U.S. security agenda. Many opinions are shared, and it is generally believed that rooting out terrorism, promoting democracy and human rights are not mutually exclusive and may even be mutually enforcing. Emphasis is put on "enhanced engagement" to ensure justice, equality and human rights are actively promoted in Central Asia.

Elizabeth Wishnick. 2004. "Strategic Consequences of the Iraq War: U.S. Security Interests in Central Asia Reassessed". http://www. carlisle. army. mil/ssi/pdffiles/PUB383. pdf.

> By focusing on antiterrorism in Central Asia the United States is addressing a symptom, rather than a causes of regional security. This is a counterproductive strategy that is contributing to the radicalization of opposition movements and discrediting the U.S. and democracy. Instead,

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underlying human security problems in the region should be addressed because weakness in that area creates opportunities for terrorist movements.

Turkmenistan

107th Congress Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Second Session, 2002. "Democracy and Human Rights Trends in Eurasia and East Europe". http://www. csce. gov.

Focuses on leadership in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Turkmenistan has not liberalized at all since 1992, and President Niyazov rules over all aspects of the country with an iron hand. No basic freedoms are allowed and elections are nothing but a fraud. Uzbekistan under President Islam Karimov has become an oppressive police state, banning opposition and basic freedoms.

Congress Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second session, March 21, 2001. "The State of Democratization and Human Rights in Turkmenistan ". http://www. eurasianet. org/turkmenistan. project/files2/00-03-21Hearing. pdf

Congress. March 2000. "Human Rights and Democratization in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan". http://files. csce. gov/centralasia. pdf.

Chemen Durdiyeva. 2003. "Turkmenistan: Historic Pact Signed with Russia". Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst. http://www. cacianalyst. org/.

ABSTRACT: *Turkmen president Saparmurad Niyazov paid an official two days visit to Moscow from the 10th to 11th of April 2003. During the visit, he signed agreements on security cooperation, exporting Turkmen gas to Russia, and canceled a dual citizenship deal between Russia and Turkmenistan.*

The Lancet. 2003. "Health and Dictatorship: Effects of Repression in Turkmenistan". 361. www. thelancet. com

A short article listing the many human rights abuses taking place in Turkmenistan. The government seems immune to international pressure and it still seems unclear whether the international community will take President Niyazov to task for his abuses against the Turkmen people.

United Nations. 2004. "Situation of Human Rights in Turkmenistan". Commission on Human Rights: Report on the Sixtieth Session. E/CN. 4/2004/127 (Part I).

A resolution outlining the general human rights abuses being committed in Turkmenistan and the actions that the government there is being called upon to do to ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Viktoria Panfilova. 2003. "Cold Genocide". *Digest of the Post Soviet Press.* 55(6): 16.

Reports on the launch of an effort to evict people from their apartments as part of Turkmenistan's campaign to combat terrorism, displacement of potentially disloyal residents of Ashgabat by military, law-enforcement and security personnel and confiscation of apartments by the Turkmen authorities.

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Anna Sunder-Plassmann. 2002. "The Human Rights and Security Situation in Turkmenistan". International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights. http://www. ihf-hr. org.

> The largest meeting yet of human rights organizations and exiles came together to discuss the human rights situation in Turkmenistan. It was agreed upon that Turkmenistan has one of the worst human rights records in the world and that it is the most authoritarian of all former Soviet Union countries. A joint press statement was released calling on the international community to push for implementation of the recommendations in this report.

Human Rights

General Human Rights

Elizabeth Andersen. 2003. "Letter to EBRD Executive Directors from HRW and CEE Bankwatch Network". Europe and Central Asia Division, Human Rights Watch. Available from http://www. hrw. org/doc?t=europe&c=uzbeki&document_limit=80,20.

> Letter encouraging the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) to use a recent meeting to communicate to the Uzbek government clear demands for progress, including an end to torture, decriminalization of legitimate religious activity and an end to harassment of human rights defenders and civil society groups.

Charles Buxton. September 28, 2004. "Central Asia: Intrigue, Neutrality and Inter-Dependent Development". http://www. intrac. org

> While Central Asia was beginning to see reform and the development of a civil society in certain places, the war on terrorism has begun to threaten democratization in the region. The regime took the chance to crack down on human rights activists, religious groups, NGOs and international organisations, arguing that the measures against terrorism require unpopular moves.

Nick Cohen. 2003. "The Mystery of Our Man in Tashkent". *New Statesman*. (13 October): 25-27.

> Craig Murray, UK ambassador to Uzbekistan, loudly spoke out against the Uzbek regime, causing an investigation into his conduct and disciplinary charges against him. He is now in the hospital and allegations are being made that this is because various threats and actions have been made against him for inconveniencing the war against terrorism.

Congress Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. 107th Congress, 2nd session, March 7, 2002. "U. S. Policy in Central Asia and Human Rights Concerns". http://www. csce. gov/index. cfm?FuseAction=Files. Download&FileStore_id=70.

Gregory Feifer. 2002. "Uzbekistan's Eternal Realities: A Report from Tashkent". World Policy Journal (Spring): 81-90.

> Focuses on human rights abuses and corruption in Uzbekistan. Uzbek President Karimov has absolute power, and the U.S. will not be able to change him by threatening force. The most effective way to make him reform is through incentives. In its drive to combat terrorism, the U.S. must not ignore Uzbekistan's appalling state of affairs.

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Ed McWilliams. 2003. "Putting Human Rights Back on the Agenda". Foreign Service Journal. (April): 25-32.

Across Central Asia, human rights problems are abundant and conditions are not improving. The Bush administration is pursuing "enhanced engagement" with the region because the War on Terror requires their cooperation on security matters, but is providing only rhetoric in promoting human rights and reform. The U.S. must set strict benchmarks for progress or the region will become more insecure and anti-US.

Craig Murray. April 2003. "Diplomatic License". *Index on Censorship*. 32(2): 171-3.

Presents excerpts from the British ambassador to Uzbekistan about politics and government in the country. Includes its prospects for democracy, its role in the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking, and its record in the human rights field.

United Nations. April 24, 2004. "Situation of Human Rights in Turkmenistan". Commission on Human Rights: Report on the Sixtieth Session. E/CN. 4/2004/127 (Part I).

A resolution outlining the general human rights abuses being committed in Turkmenistan and the actions that the government there is being called upon to do to ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Anna Sunder-Plassmann. June 8-10, 2002. "The Human Rights and Security Situation in Turkmenistan". International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights. http://www. ihf-hr. org.

The largest meeting yet of human rights organizations and exiles came together to discuss the human rights situation in Turkmenistan. It was agreed upon that Turkmenistan has one of the worst human rights records in the world and that it is the most authoritarian of all former Soviet Union countries. A joint press statement was released calling on the international community to push for implementation of the recommendations in this report.

Human Rights Watch. "In the Name of Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Abuses Worldwide". http://www. hrw. org/un/chr59/counter-terrorism-bck. htm.

Since September 11, the government of Uzbekistan has used the global campaign against terrorism to justify its own abusive five-year campaign to eliminate independent Islam. Western governments, particularly the United States, have been less critical of the Uzbek government's human rights record in view of the country's strategic importance to international counter-terrorist efforts.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Persecution of Human Rights Defenders in Uzbekistan". http://hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek050103-bck. htm.

The Uzbek government persecutes human rights defenders and obstructs human rights work, and in the past twelve months alone has imprisoned six human rights defenders and harassed numerous others. Human Rights Watch urges the Uzbek government to cease the illegal arrest, physical mistreatment, and harassment of human rights defenders that impedes the work of human rights activists.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. "Press Backgrounder: Human Rights Abuse in Uzbekistan". http://www. hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek092501-bck. htm.

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After 9/11, President Bush announced that the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) was linked to Osama bin Laden. The IMU is a militant group that seeks the establishment of Islamic Law in Uzebekistan. In the Uzbek governments efforts to stop this group, many innocent Muslims have been branded "extremist" and had their rights violated.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Uzbekistan and the EBRD: Progress Report on the Human Rights Benchmarks". http://hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/ebrd_benchmark. pdf

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) gave Uzbekistan one year to make improvements on human rights in order to continue receiving aid money. Specific measures include greater freedom of speech, better functioning of civil society and implementing the U.N. recommendations on torture. These reforms have not taken place and the EBRD must act on this or lose credibility.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Uzbekistan: Free Speech Stifled as Summit Opens". http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/06/17/uzbeki8854. htm.

Uzbek authorities have stepped up the use of harsh methods to block peaceful demonstrations and silence political activists prior to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's six-nation summit. Argues that ensuring protection for basic human rights, including freedom of speech and assembly, should be a key element toward promoting security in the region. The government should protect people's right to speak out peacefully.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Uzbekistan: Progress on Paper Only". http://hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek060303-bck. htm

The U.S. State Department certified that Uzbekistan made "substantial and continuing progress" in meeting its human rights and democracy commitments. This certification is required to release U.S. assistance to the Uzbek government. In many areas outlined here, progress was outweighed by significant setbacks for reform.

Religious Persecution

Elizabeth Andersen. 2002. "Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and the International Religious Freedom Act". http://hrw. org/press/2002/08/religious-freedom-ltr. htm

Letter urging U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell to designate Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan as countries of particular concern under the U.S. International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) because of their imprisonment and persecution of law-abiding Muslims. This action would strengthen the US's ability to reform the region and reverse the perception that the it puts the war on terror above human rights concerns.

Zeyno Baran. 2004. "Uzbekistan: The Key to Success in Central Asia?" House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia. http://www. nixoncenter. org/publications/ZeynoTestimony. pdf.

Explains the dangers of allowing radical Islamists to take power and describes the terrorist groups within Uzbekistan. Suggests that U.S. follow Turkey's model of religious freedom, where

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Islam is controlled politically but not banned. The U.S. should not certify Uzbekistan because it has not reformed, but should continue engagement or it will lose the country to Russia and China's pull.

Acacia Shields. 2004. "Creating Enemies of the State: Religious Persecution in Uzbekistan". http://hrw. org/reports/2004/uzbekistan0304/

ABSTRACT: *In-depth and detailed report documenting all forms of religious persecution in Uzbekistan from 1996 to 2003. Extensive recommendations are given to the US, EU, U.N. and OSCE on how to remedy all aspects attributing to persecution.*

Svante E. Cornell and Regine A. Spector. 2002. "Central Asia: More Than Islamic Extremists". The Washington Quarterly. 25(1): 193-206.

ABSTRACT: *Rather than viewing the incursions in Central Asia by Islamic extremists as the cause of the current instability, they should be understood as indicators of the region's complex dynamic. This involves the role of Islam in Central Asia, the challenges of regional poverty and drug trafficking, and the ideological spillover effects of the war in Afghanistan.*

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Hear No Evil, See No Evil: The U.N. Security Council's Approach to Human Rights; Violations in the Global Counter-Terrorism Effort". http://hrw. org/backgrounder/un/2004/un0804/.

Uzbekistan has criminalized legitimate religious practice and belief in a way that casts individual's exercise of their rights to freedom of conscience, expression, and association as attempts to overthrow the government. Uzbek leaders use the war on terrorism to legitimize their actions and increase their power.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. "Memorandum to the U.S. Government Regarding Religious Persecution in Uzbekistan". http://www. hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek-aug/.

Detailed account of the systematic religious persecution of independent Muslims in Uzbekistan, where unlawful arrest, incommunicado detention, torture, unfair trials, and incarceration of non-violent believers are being carried out. Uzbekistan should be designated a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. "Religious Persecution of Independent Muslims in Uzbekistan from September 2001 to July 2002". http://hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek-aug/uzbek-brief0820. pdf

For years the government of Uzbekistan has violated the right to freedom of conscience by imprisoning and persecuting independent Muslims whose peaceful practice of their faith falls beyond government controls. This briefing paper describes arrests, trials, torture, and other persecution of independent Muslims during the past year, as well as cumulative effects of Uzbekistan's five-year campaign against them.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Uzbekistan: Crackdown Targets Dissident Muslim Women". http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/04/13/uzbeki8425. htm

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Gives specific details of Muslim women being detained incommunicado, which puts them at serious risk for torture. The arrests indicate a broadening of the government's crackdown on nonviolent independent Muslims, who practice their faith outside state religious institutions.

Russell Zanca. 2004. "'Explaining' Islam in Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach for Uzbekistan". Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs. 24(1).

In the debate about religion in Uzbekistan the rise and practice if Islam remain unexamined. Ethnography shows that Islam reaches beyond state-level politics to the social fabric of daily life. The article argues that people are not merely prey for extremists and that culture and history must be also taken into account.

Torture

Human Rights Watch; Aire Center. 2004. "Mamatkulov and Askarov V. Turkey". Application Nos. 46827/99 and 46951/99.

ABSTRACT: *Details relevant general information collected by Human Rights Watch about the human rights situation in Uzbekistan, including specific information about the applicants' experiences on their return to Uzbekistan, and sets out more general information about reliance on diplomatic assurances as a safeguard against torture in extradition and expulsion cases.*

Julia Hall. April 2004. "Empty Promises: Diplomatic Assurances No Safeguard against Torture". 16(4): 26-65.

Despite a request of the European Court of Human Rights, the Turkish government extradited two Uzbek nationals at a request from the Uzbekistan government, which charged that they had been involved in terrorist activities in Uzbekistan. The extradition was done after the Uzbek government gave assurances that torture would not be used, but the government's record hardly deems this assurance trustworthy.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. "Deaths in Custody in Uzbekistan". http://hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek040403-bck. htm

Despite hope that the Uzbek government was beginning to seriously address the problem of torture, Human Rights Watch documents 21 suspicious deaths that the Uzbek authorities refused to investigate and calls on the international community to make rigorous implementation of anti-torture measures a key element in their relations with the country.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Elizabeth Andersen. 2003. "Letter to EBRD Executive Directors from HRW and CEE Bankwatch Network". *Europe and Central Asia Division, Human Rights Watch.* http://hrw. org/press/2003/03/uzbekistan030603ltr. htm

Letter encouraging the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) to use a recent meeting to communicate to the Uzbek government clear demands for progress, including

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an end to torture, decriminalization of legitimate religious activity and an end to harassment of human rights defenders and civil society groups.

Steve Crawshaw. 2003. "Clare Short Helps out a Tyrant". *New Statesman*. (February 24): 17.

Though Uzbekistan's human rights record is very bad, Clare Short, England's Secretary of State for International Development, is due to chair the annual meeting of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in Uzbekistan without asking for any concessions towards democracy or human rights. This is a big reward for bad behavior, which can only make matters worse there.

US Policy

US Should Change

Zeyno Baran. 2004. "Uzbekistan: The Key to Success in Central Asia?" House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia. http://commdocs. house. gov/committees/intlrel/hfa94278. 000/hfa94278_0. htm.

Explains the dangers of allowing radical Islamists to take power and describes the terrorist groups within Uzbekistan. Suggests that U.S. follow Turkey's model of religious freedom, where Islam is controlled politically but not banned. The U.S. should not certify Uzbekistan because it has not reformed, but should continue engagement or it will lose the country to Russia and China's pull.

Matthew Brzezinski. 2001. "Whatever It Takes". *New York Times Magazine*. 151(51969): 72.

Accessible discussion on the leaders of Uzbekistan, particularly Communist Party leader Islam Karimov, and their tyrannical efforts to control Islamic militants. Though the U.S. is cooperating with and supporting these leaders, they continue to silence all opposition and allow human rights abuses without meaningful efforts toward reform.

The Carter Center. May 2004. "Human Rights Defenders on the Frontlines of Freedom: Protecting Human Rights in the Context of the War on Terror". http://www. cartercenter. org/documents/1682. pdf.

Contains several good accounts on the reality of the streets in Uzbekistan, where the people have become increasingly angry at the Uzbek government's abusive and exclusive policies. The people are gaining courage in standing up to the government and attacks are often targeted at policemen. The international community should not justify oppression, but should push for reforms and human rights.

Belinda; Traugott Cooper, Isabel. 2003. "Women's Rights and Security in Central Asia". World Policy Journal. 20(1): 59.

The U.S. is making allies out of countries with bad human rights records. Rather than focusing on straight military strategies to win the region, Washington needs to recognize that promoting

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rights, particularly women's rights, can further U.S. security interests and lay the groundwork for long-term resistance to terrorism.

Svante E. Cornell. July 2004. "The United States and Central Asia: In the Steppes to Stay?" Cambridge Review of International Affairs. 17(2): 239.

ABSTRACT: *September 11 elevated the importance of Central Asia in U.S. global strategy and the Central Asian republics proved crucial bases for military and intelligence operations. As its Central Asian footprint grows, Washington must consider the interests of key Eurasian powers and demonstrate a sustained economic and political commitment to the region.*

Gregory Feifer. 2002. "Uzbekistan's Eternal Realities: A Report from Tashkent". World Policy Journal. (Spring) 81.

Focuses on human rights abuses and corruption in Uzbekistan. Uzbek President Karimov has absolute power, and the U.S. will not be able to change him by threatening force. The most effective way to make him reform is through incentives. In its drive to combat terrorism, the U.S. must not ignore Uzbekistan's appalling state of affairs.

Veronika Leila Szente Goldston. 2004. "U. S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe Hearing "Uzbekistan: Stifled Democracy, Human Rights in Decline"". http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/06/24/uzbeki8959. htm.

US legislation giving assistance to the Uzbek government is conditional on that government's efforts to improve its human rights record and institute political and institutional reform. Because the Uzbek government has unquestionably failed to make credible progress toward meeting these goals, the U.S. administration should do anything but decertify their support.

International Crisis Group. 2004. "The Failure of Reform in Uzbekistan: Ways Forward for the International Community". ICG Asia Report Number 76. www. crisisgroup. org/home/index. cfm?id=2537&l=1

The international community has long urged political and economic reform in Uzbekistan. There are no grounds for the State Department to certify that Uzbekistan has made "continuing and substantive progress" on political liberalisation, human rights, and economic reforms. The U.S. and others must force change in the region.

Pauline Jones Luong. 002. "After Afghanistan Implications of the "War on Terrorism" for Central Asia". PONARS Policy Memo No 212.

To prevent political and economic instability in Central Asia, the article recommends long term, pro-active U.S. policy that will give a comprehensive economic aid package to help dealing with the impending refugee crisis, continue pressure for human rights and democratization and prevent a unilateral military buildup in Uzbekistan.

Ed McWilliams. 2003. "Putting Human Rights Back on the Agenda". Foreign Service Journal. (April): 25-32.

Across Central Asia, human rights problems are abundant and conditions are not improving. The Bush administration is pursuing "enhanced engagement" with the region because the War on Terror requires their cooperation on security matters, but is providing only rhetoric in

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promoting human rights and reform. The U.S. must set strict benchmarks for progress or the region will become more insecure and anti-US.

Martha Brill Olcott. 2003. "The War on Terrorism in Central Asia and the Cause of Democratic Reform". Demokratizatsiya. 11(1): 86-105.

Leaders in Washington may be reluctant to hold the Central Asian states to democratic norms, for fear of the political uncertainty it could cause when their help is needed. This legitimizes tyrannical leaders and stops reform. The U.S. should immediately increase pressure on this region to democratize and respect human rights.

Transitions Online. 2004. "The Uzbek Tinderbox". *Transitions Online*. April 12.

Compares Uzbekistan under President Karimov as a tinderbox that could go up in any flames at any minute. The U.S. should pull out of Uzbekistan immediately, because their presence is making Karimov's tyranny stronger and making more terrorists target the US. The U.S. needs to put political pressure on Karimov to allow opposition parties.

Charles V. Peña. 2001. "The Anti-Terrorism Coalition: Don't Pay an Excessive Price". http://www. cato. org/pub_display. php?pub_id=1592.

The United States needs to avoid longer-term entanglements, open-ended commitments, and the potential for an extreme anti-American backlash in waging the anti-terrorist campaign. If the U.S. is not careful, there is a good chance that its war or terrorism could end up breeding more terrorists than there are now in countries such as Uzbekistan, which is cited throughout the text.

Alec Rasizade. 2002. "The Specter of a New "Great Game" in Central Asia". Foreign Service Journal. http://www. afsa. org/fsj/nov02/greatgame. pdf.

Since the US-led intervention in Afghanistan, Central Asia has been transformed into a crucible of international diplomacy. The three fundamental challenges confronting any model of American involvement in Central Asia are to uphold human rights, promote meaningful economic development and stay engaged in the region for the long haul.

Center for Strategic and International Studies. 2004. "Assessing the "War on Terror" in Central Asia". Islam in Eurasia and the "War on Terror" Series. http://www. csis. org/ruseura/wot/040503. pdf.

Seminar on Central Asia featuring two panels that explore questions surrounding the sources of instability and extremism in the region and the role of the United States given its strategic and long-term interests in Central Asia. Large emphasis is put on economic reform and on the underlying economic, political and social causes of extremism.

United States Senate Subcommittee on Central Asia and South Caucasus of the Committee on Foreign Relations, One Hundred Seventh Congress. Second Session, June 27, 2002. "Balancing Military Assistance and Support for Human Rights in Central Asia". http://www. access. gpo. gov/congress/senate.

This hearing explores American policy in Central Asia focusing simultaneously on human rights and the U.S. security agenda. Many opinions are shared, and it is generally believed that rooting out terrorism, promoting democracy and human rights are not mutually exclusive and may even

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be mutually enforcing. Emphasis is put on "enhanced engagement" to ensure justice, equality and human rights are actively promoted in Central Asia.

United States Senate Subcommittee on Central Asia and South Caucasus of the Committee on Foreign Relations, One Hundred Seventh Congress. First Session, December 13, 2001. "Contributions of Central Asian Nations to the Campaign against Terrorism". http://www. access. gpo. gov/congress/senate.

US policy in Central Asia must include a commitment to deeper, more sustained, and better-coordinated engagement on the full range of issues upon which we agree and disagree. These include security cooperation, energy, and internal strengthening of these countries through political and economic reform.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. "Memorandum to the U.S. Government Regarding Religious Persecution in Uzbekistan". http://www. hrw. org/backgrounder/eca/uzbek-aug/.

Detailed account of the systematic religious persecution of independent Muslims in Uzbekistan, where unlawful arrest, incommunicado detention, torture, unfair trials, and incarceration of non-violent believers are being carried out. Uzbekistan should be designated a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act.

Elizabeth Wishnick. 2004. "Strategic Consequences of the Iraq War: U.S. Security Interests in Central Asia Reassessed". http://www. carlisle. army. mil/ssi/pdffiles/PUB383. pdf.

By focusing on antiterrorism in Central Asia the United States is addressing a symptom, rather than a causes of regional security. This is a counterproductive strategy that is contributing to the radicalization of opposition movements and discrediting the U.S. and democracy. Instead, underlying human security problems in the region should be addressed because weakness in that area creates opportunities for terrorist movements.

Official U.S. Standpoint

George Bush. 2004. "Extension of Waiver for Turkmenistan". *108th Congress, 2nd Session.*

Turmenistan President Niyazov has restricted movement and emigration in the country, violating the Jackson-Vanik freedom of emigration provisions. In June 2003 a waiver was given to Turkmenistan allowing it time to fix matters, which it hasn't done. A 12 month extension is now necessary to fully liberalize its policies and Bush has granted this.

Congress Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second session, March 21, 2001. "The State of Democratization and Human Rights in Turkmenistan ".

Congress Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. 107th Congress, 2nd session, March 7, 2002. "U. S. Policy in Central Asia and Human Rights Concerns ".

House of Representatives Committee on International Relations, One Hundred Eighth Congress. First Session

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2003. "Central Asia: Terrorism, Religious Extremism, and Regional Stability". October 29. http://www. house. gov/international_relations.

Congressional hearing featuring a wide range of testimonies and written statements about the impacts of the U.S. strategic shift to the region and what must further be done. Highlights the need for the U.S. to continue to focus on the region, deterring religious extremism and terrorism while at the same time promoting democratic institutions and human rights so that this isolated region may become integrated into the larger international community.

Lutz Kleveman. October 13, 2003. "How America Makes Terrorists of Its Allies". *New Statesman.* http://www. kleveman. com/middleeast/statesman131003. htm.

Argues that since the current Bush administration turned the 11 September terror attacks into an excuse to pursue policies seen by many as arrogant, aggressive and imperialist, the change in perception could not be more drastic. The U.S. has lost most of its cultural attractiveness in the ex-Soviet countries of central Asia and their neighbours, and is widely hated for its politics.

Human Rights Watch. July 14, 2004. "Uzbekistan: U.S. Cuts Aid over Rights Concerns". 3p. http://hrw. org/english/docs/2004/07/14/uzbeki9062. htm.

Human Rights Watch applauds the U.S. State Department's decision to cut aid to the Uzbek government over its lack of progress on human rights. This action will show that the United States takes human rights records seriously and means what it says. Now the United States needs to continue its engagement with the Uzbek government and press for human rights improvements.

Conservative

Zeyno Baran. 2004. "Uzbekistan: The Key to Success in Central Asia?" *House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia.* http://commdocs. house. gov/committees/intlrel/hfa94278. 000/hfa94278_0. htm.

Explains the dangers of allowing radical Islamists to take power and describes the terrorist groups within Uzbekistan. Suggests that U.S. follow Turkey's model of religious freedom, where Islam is controlled politically but not banned. The U.S. should not certify Uzbekistan because it has not reformed, but should continue engagement or it will lose the country to Russia and China's pull.

Svante E. Cornell. 2002. "Central Asia: More Than Islamic Extremists". *Washington Quarterly.* 25(1): 193-207.

ABSTRACT: Reports on the integral participation of Central Asian republics in the U.S. campaign against terrorism, the launch of insurgencies by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan in the republic, and consequences brought by the rise of the Taliban government for Central Asia. Economic conditions in Central Asia are also discussed.

Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe. 2002. "Striking a Fair Balance: Protecting Human Rights in the Fight against Terrorism". *OSCE Newsletter.* 9(4): 13. www. osce. org.

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Spells out areas in which the Uzbekistan government has cooperated and began human rights reform. The Independent Human Rights Organization was legally registered, prison personnel began undergoing more training and alternative prison sentencing was promoted in an open seminar.

Roger Mcdermott Farkhad Tolipov. 2003. "Uzbekistan and the U. S." *The Review of International Affairs.* 2(4): 19.

Discusses the threat of terrorism in Central Asia and the new strategic partnership between the U.S. and Uzbekistan. Focus is on military aspects of eliminating terrorism and religious extremism. Concludes that security is more important than human rights at this time.

Arch Puddington and Adrian Karatnycky. 2002. "The Human-Rights Lobby Meets Terrorism". *Commentary.* (January): 28-31.

An attack against major human rights groups, particularly Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, claiming that their overemphasis on human rights skews their ability to recognize more important security concerns to the U.S. and the international community. Claims that criticizing the U.S. is reprehensible and shows a lack of judgment.

Erkin Nazarov. April 12, 2004. "Uzbekistan: A Terrorist Target Again". *Transitions Online.*

ABSTRACT: Focuses on the outbreak of violence due to terrorism in March 2004 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan and the number of suspected terrorists that have been arrested, according to Uzbek Prosecutor-General Rashid Kadyrov. Actions taken by the country to implement security measures and reactions of the Uzbek media on the limited information on the bombings are also covered.

Paul Starobin. August 15, 2001. "The 'Stans' Seize the Day". *Business Week.* (3753): 58-61.

Increased U.S. relations with Central Asian countries are welcomed by the leaders of those countries, who hope for economic growth. The citizens of those countries are largely anti-American, but may be swayed over with the prosperity brought on by becoming an economic partner with the US.

Angela Stephens. June 12, 2004. "Uzbekistan Faces Human-Rights Test". *National Journal.* 36(24): 1874-6.

Though the human rights record of Uzbekistan remains bad and many say that President Islam Karimov is using the new alliance as a smokescreen for oppressing political opponents and devout Muslims, the article points out that the country is increasingly cooperating with the U.S. and that continued engagement is necessary.

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Human Rights and the War on Terror
2007 Supplement

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Chechnya: Human Rights Issues
By Latife Bulur

Chechnya is a country plagued by terrorism and human rights abuses. A primary source of these issues is the unsettled situation between local insurgents and the Russian military. This conflict, increasing in magnitude over time, makes it incredibly difficult to negotiate the terms of Chechnya's independence perpetuating the crisis. Rising violence fuels Russia's frustration in addressing the conflict with Chechen groups. Russia has and continues to employ various tactics to minimize the violence, but such tactics have all so far been unsuccessful.

There is also a debate in Chechnya regarding whether or not these terrorist attacks are motivated by Islam. Some scholars argue that Islamic fundamentalists are using Chechnya as a vehicle for the pursuit of their own goals, while others say that Islam itself is not conflict-generating. Nevertheless, while the conflict continues, so does the violation of Chechen human rights. Many attempts are being made to determine solutions for a more positive future, but perhaps much can be determined by first examining Chechnya's history of conflict with Russia.

Chechnya and Russia's difficult co-existence intensified after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are various explanations for this tumultuous relationship. One view is that Chechnya took advantage of a weakened Russian state during the fall of the USSR. During the Cold War, the USSR was consumed with national problems, and turned a blind eye to the Northern Caucasus. After dissolution, Chechnya incited a movement to gain independence from the Russian Federation. Many scholars argue that this resistance movement against Russia is the source of tension between Chechnya and Russia today.

Another view is that Russia had been stifling the people of Chechnya, creating the need for a resistance movement. During Joseph Stalin's reign, many Chechen civilians evacuated the Northern Caucasus out of fear of oppression and death. Some scholars argue that this initial mistreatment and the lack of human rights advocacy inspired the Chechen insurgents to begin a resistance movement.

With tensions and conflicts between Russia and Chechnya on the rise, violence continues to erupt between them. Chechen insurgents continue to attack Russian civilians, claiming that their attacks are motivated by mistreatment and human rights violations perpetuated by the Russian military. In retribution for Chechen attacks, the Russian military focuses its efforts in attacking sections of Chechnya, in attempts to quell the insurgents. The quarrels persist cyclically from insurgent attacks to vicious retaliation.

Various tactics of warfare are employed by Russian forces, consisting not only in military means, but also through other influential methods such as media slandering. While attacks on the media have succeeded in tarnishing Chechnya's legitimacy across the globe, the military tactics have done little to reduce the terrorist attacks.

As the attacks continue, large numbers of Chechen civilians are victimized in multiple ways. Many civilians have become refugees and have fled to other countries. Those who stay in the Northern Caucasus are in danger of losing their lives. As demonstrated by the large discrepancies in reports on the number of displaced and dead, the population is under constant threat of human rights infringement.

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A tainted image with a reputation for terrorism leaves the Chechnya region without much hope for an immediate resolution. However, many human rights groups and organizations have become involved in Chechnya's cause. Before any refugees are encouraged to come home, something must be done to resolve the tension between the Chechen insurgents and the Russian military. Some solutions involve offering economic and financial support to Russia, which will in turn support Chechnya, while another solution would have Russia rein in its military and provide a safe haven for Chechen civilians. Many recommendations continue to be made—perhaps one of them will lead to a resolution to the endless Russo-Chechen conflict in the future.

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History of Russo-Chechen Conflict

Cherasov, A. 2005. "Chechnya: 10 Years of Armed Conflict." Helsinki Monitor 16 (2): 143-149.

> Annotation: The author compares the past conflict and civilian casualties with the current situation involving the Russo-Chechen conflict. He addresses the negotiations between Chechnya and Russia, emphasizing how they have demonstrated no progress. He also reveals his opinion on the current conflict by mentioning how Russia views activities in Chechnya simply as counter-terrorist operations. The author suggests greater involvement of the international community and organizations in preventing constant human rights violations and securing peace.

Cimbala, S. J. 2007. Russia and Postmodern Deterrence: Military Power and its Challenges for Security. Washington: Potomac Books, Inc.

> Annotation: This book mainly focuses on the evolution of Russia's military power. The author explores how past experiences have shaped Russia's behavior in current events. The last topic that is mentioned in this book is Chechnya. Points made by the author earlier in the book tie in nicely with the issue of Chechnya. One of the more interesting connections the author makes is between Russia's radical change in military ideology and how it is reflected in the conflict in Chechnya.

Hammerli, A., R. Gattiker, *et al.* 2006. "Conflict and Cooperation in an Actors' Network of Chechnya Based on Event Data." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (2): 159-175.

> Annotation: The main point of this piece is to develop a network of people involved in the Russo-Chechen conflict. Specifically, the authors want to determine who are the actors contributing to the conflict, the ties between various involved actors, and most importantly, the intensity of involvement between each group. These authors take a scientific and thus methodologically rigorous approach to the conflict. They suggest that in order to resolve the

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conflict on the Russian or Chechen side, all the actors involved must make a collective effort to achieve peace.

Herspring, D. R. 2005. <u>Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain</u>. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Annotation: The author of this book gives an account of various past problems and current situations in Russia. In one of the chapters, the author explores the history of Russia and its problem with Chechnya. He begins by delving into the first Russo-Chechen conflict, saying how the Chechens took advantage of a weakened Soviet Union by claiming their right for independence from the Russian Federation. He then goes on to explain more of the history of Russia in regards to Chechnya, eventually arriving at Putin's desire to handle the Chechnya situation without external interference.

Jaimoukha, A. 2005. <u>The Chechens</u>. London: Routledge Curzon.

Annotation: This book is a handbook of sorts, detailing an entire history of Chechnya, from ancient times to its current political situation. The author also provides an easy-reading section on Chechen culture and social structure. The section detailing the current situation sides heavily with Chechnya in regards to the Russo-Chechen conflict. The author mentions a few incidents where Russia failed to address violent insurgencies and human rights violations properly. However, the book provides a concise and quick timeline of events during the conflict.

Rasizade, A. 2005. "Chechnya: the Achilles Heel of Russia - Part One." *Contemporary Review*. 286: 193-197.

Annotation: This piece is the first of three written by this author. In this initial piece, the author delves into the complicated background of the conflict between Russia and Chechnya. The author describes the death of the Chechen resistance leader, Aslan Maskhadov, and how this pivotal moment in time quite possibly acted as a catalyst to the Russo-Chechen conflict. He also explores how Chechnya has received ill-favored media attention after certain terrorist acts.

Sakwa, R. 2005. <u>Chechnya: from Past to Future</u>. London: Anthem Press.

Annotation: The author of this volume attempts to analyze the perspectives of the U.S., Russia, and Chechnya on the Russo-Chechen conflict. In this piece, the author details the conflict, outlining what he believes were the issues contributing to its inception, which include fear of international terrorism, increasing human rights violations, and overall poor conduct in warfare. The author concludes by discussing how Chechnya's fate remains unclear, as resolution of this conflict and achievement of Chechen independence appear distant and, at times, bleak.

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Terrorism

Dunlop, J. B. and R. Menon. 2006. "Chaos in the North Caucasus and Russia's Future." *Survival* 48 (2): 97-114.

Annotation: In this piece, the authors address how Russia is losing its power over Chechnya, and has no control over the situation in the Chechen area. They mention that the Chechen insurgency and terrorist activity will most likely spread throughout the region. Without proper application of force from Russia, the conflicts will affect the rest of the region and the region will continue to produce extremists who see violence as their only resource. The piece provides no solution, stating that considering Russia's problematic military tactics and intelligence in the past, the Russo-Chechen conflict will not end.

Fatullayev, A., Y. Vershov, *et. al.* 2005. "Is N. Caucasus Losing Battle with Muslim Extremists?" *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 57 (5): 5-7.

Annotation: These authors explain how terrorist groups are resisting many counter-terrorist measures initiated by Russia. There are increased occurrences of successful attacks by Muslim extremists. The authors give examples of measures that have been taken, and while some have been more forceful than others, they ultimately have led to failure. The authors conclude by stating that new counter-terror methods need to be established soon, since terrorist activity in the Chechen region seems to be increasing.

Kozenko, A. 2006. "Residents of Chechnya Are Left with the Right to Fear." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 58 (32): 9-10.

Annotation: This article is an overview of a publication released regarding human rights issues and the citizens of Chechnya over the course of one year. The author of this piece takes information from the article and states that the publication proves the lack of stability and democracy, as well as demonstrating how the Chechen people are in fear of the uncertainty of their government and of attacks by insurgents.

Kramer, M. 2005. "The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya." *International Security* 29 (3): 5-63.

Annotation: This article is an assessment of Russia's military tactics in the Russo-Chechen conflict. It describes a brief history of the conflict, followed by the various tactics used by the Chechen guerillas and the response of the Russian military. The author also takes a noted interest in exploring the Russian military failure. He asks why Russian troops, who outnumber the Chechen rebels by more than 50:1, are unable to eliminate the armed resistance. Lastly, the article sums up a total evaluation of Russia and its military efforts in Chechnya.

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Meier, A. 2005. <u>Chechnya: to the Heart of a Conflict</u>. New York: Norton.

> Annotation: This book is a portrait of Chechnya that takes a more personal approach. The author recounts his experiences from Chechnya, and discusses how the Russo-Chechen conflict impacts the civilians still living there. He also mentions how the death of many has wounded the Chechen people, and that the youth are doomed to take up a war begun by their elders. He includes quotes and phrases used by Chechen civilians, providing the reader with a realistic but also one-sided view of the Russo-Chechen conflict.

Moore, C. 2005. "Post-Modern War, Genocide and Chechnya: The Case of Female Suicide Attacks as a Problem for International Law and International Relations Theory." *International Criminal Law Review* 5 (3): 485-500.

> Annotation: The author of this piece explores the ongoing violence in Chechnya, giving a more detailed account of the human rights violations. She argues that there is insufficient sympathy on the part of the public, on behalf of Chechnya's case, likely because there has not been much research done in Chechnya to understand the violence and its roots. She also thinks that this omission is largely due to Chechnya's tainted image, and because of post-September 11th international relations. While she makes strong cases about how Chechnya has been demonized by the media, she does not actually present a feasible and clear solution.

Mukhina, I. 2005. "Islamic Terrorism and the Question of National Liberation, or Problems of Contemporary Chechen Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28: 515-532.

> Annotation: The purpose of this article is to prove that Chechen insurgents are not fighting a religious war for independence, despite what scholars in the past have found. The struggle in Chechnya for independence, the author argues, may have nothing to do with religious freedom. The author explains how the rhetoric used by the insurgents is portraying a different image, and that insurgents are easily being labeled as terrorists.

Nivat, A. 2005. "The Black Widows: Chechen Women Join the Fight for Independence – and Allah." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28: 413-419.

> Annotation: This author focuses on the role that women have played in various terrorist activities, including the hostage situation in the Dubrovka Theater in Moscow, and at the elementary school in Beslan. She examines the participation of the women who engaged in the hostage taking. The author also explores how women may be engaging in terrorist activities to join the Chechen men, either out of sympathy, or out of a desire for alliance.

Russell, J. 2005. "Terrorists, Bandits, Spooks and Thieves: Russian Demonisation of the Chechens Before and Since 9/11." *Third World Quarterly* 26 (1): 101-116.

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Annotation: The author claims that any Chechens who oppose Russian President Vladimir Putin are immediately labeled as bandits and terrorists. After the Nord-Ost theater attack and Beslan school siege, Russia's tasks of demonizing Chechnya are effortless. All the mudslinging done toward Chechnya only serves to justify Russia's war against Chechnya, and causes further difficulties in achieving peace in the Caucasus region. This article provides an interesting view on the conflict, but does not address Russia's perspective on the conflict at all.

Spencer, R. 2005. "Chechens Declare Jihad.' *Human Events* 61 (10): 12.

Annotation: This article focuses on terrorist activity and its Islamic ties. The author explores possible reasoning behind the incessant attacks, and examines specifically the Beslan school massacre. The article explains how the Islamic forces engaged in the attack mainly due to the declaration of jihad against Russian forces. While the article describes yet another aspect of the conflict, the author fails to provide any other possible motivation or explanation behind the terrorist activity.

Wilhelmsen, J. 2005. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: the Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 57 (1): 35-59.

Annotation: This article admits to the radicalization and "Islamisation" of parts of the resistance movement in Chechnya. However, this author argues against the idea that Islam is the key contributing factor. The author explores the notion that Islam did play a role in the ideology of some of the separatists. She also analyzes how the moderates lost their ground to the Islamic insurgents and radical separatists.

The Future of Chechnya

Forsberg, T. and G. P. Herd. 2005. "The EU, Human Rights, and the Russo-Chechen Conflict." *Political Science Quarterly* 120 (3): 455-478.

Annotation: The authors of this article explore the E.U.'s involvement and interest in the Russo-Chechen conflict. The E.U. hopes to approach a solution to this conflict by supporting Russia and by encouraging them to implement positive policies to end the conflicts in the Chechen region. The authors also mention how past E.U. engagement has not been very successful. If the E.U. continues its involvement in the Russo-Chechen conflict, a balance needs to be established so that Russia can improve on many fronts, not just that involving Chechnya.

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Mendelson, S. E. 2006. "Human Rights Abuse in the North Caucasus." *Problems of Post-Communism* 53 (6): 3-15.

Annotation: The author of this piece states that Chechnya is now a site of one of the worst human rights records in Europe, and that response to this growing case is lacking. The purpose of the article is to educate the reader about Chechnya's lack of external involvement regarding Russia and international organizations. Russia is acting as a superpower, using its force to install peace, while international groups serve little or no purpose in aiding human rights advocacy in Chechnya. The author makes very specific recommendations in increasing the effectiveness of human rights protection in the region.

Rasizade, A. 2005. "Chechnya: the Achilles Heel of Russia - Part Three." *Contemporary Review*: 327-332.

Annotation: This piece completes this author's three-piece series about the Russo-Chechen conflict. He continues the topic by mentioning how the death of the Chechen resistance leader, Aslan Mashkhadov, opens the window for future radical leaders to enter, and for more civil unrest to occur in the region. The author discusses how Russia has become a unifying power in the region, and how with that power, Russia must learn to grow more socially and economically responsible in interactions with neighbors in the region.

Russell, J. 2006. "Obstacles to Peace in Chechnya: What Scope for International Involvement?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (6): 941-964.

Annotation: This article seeks to explore how international groups can get involved in efforts to end the violence in Chechnya. The author makes distinctions between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding, stressing that subtle differences in all three need to be carefully applied in the Chechen region. Also, he states that not only Chechen civilians, but also Russian civilians are victims of this conflict. A clear system of peacebuilding needs to be established, or Chechnya and Russia will continue to find themselves in an impasse.

Sunderland, W. 2006. "The Caucasian Tangle." *Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 7 (1): 111-122.

Annotation: This review provides a glimpse into a few books that address the Russo-Chechen conflict. One view discussed is how Chechens are sometimes viewed as abnormal, and how Russia and the Northern Caucasus are drifting farther apart. He criticizes a couple of the books for presenting the Russian point of view too exclusively, only serving to taint Chechnya's image further. He blames the media for broadcasting one-sided views, and suggests that both sides of the conflict should be portrayed more fairly so that the resolution process comes much more easily.

S-8

Vendina, O. I., V. S. Belozerov, *et al.* 2007. "The Wars in Chechnya and Their Effects on Neighboring Regions." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48 (2): 178-201.

Annotation: The authors of this piece analyze how the conflict in Chechnya is having an impact on the region. The main approach to this topic is an economic one, showing that the conflict not only impacts human rights advocacy, but the financial security of the state, as well. While not providing an immediate solution to the problem, the authors consider whether or not Chechnya and the neighboring regions will once again establish a working relationship with Russia.

S-9

Chechnya: Human Rights Issues
By Latife Bulur

Chechnya is a country plagued by terrorism and human rights abuses. A primary source of these issues is the unsettled situation between local insurgents and the Russian military. This conflict, increasing in magnitude over time, makes it incredibly difficult to negotiate the terms of Chechnya's independence perpetuating the crisis. Rising violence fuels Russia's frustration in addressing the conflict with Chechen groups. Russia has and continues to employ various tactics to minimize the violence, but such tactics have all so far been unsuccessful.

There is also a debate in Chechnya regarding whether or not these terrorist attacks are motivated by Islam. Some scholars argue that Islamic fundamentalists are using Chechnya as a vehicle for the pursuit of their own goals, while others say that Islam itself is not conflict-generating. Nevertheless, while the conflict continues, so does the violation of Chechen human rights. Many attempts are being made to determine solutions for a more positive future, but perhaps much can be determined by first examining Chechnya's history of conflict with Russia.

Chechnya and Russia's difficult co-existence intensified after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are various explanations for this tumultuous relationship. One view is that Chechnya took advantage of a weakened Russian state during the fall of the USSR. During the Cold War, the USSR was consumed with national problems, and turned a blind eye to the Northern Caucasus. After dissolution, Chechnya incited a movement to gain independence from the Russian Federation. Many scholars argue that this resistance movement against Russia is the source of tension between Chechnya and Russia today.

Another view is that Russia had been stifling the people of Chechnya, creating the need for a resistance movement. During Joseph Stalin's reign, many Chechen civilians evacuated the Northern Caucasus out of fear of oppression and death. Some scholars argue that this initial mistreatment and the lack of human rights advocacy inspired the Chechen insurgents to begin a resistance movement.

With tensions and conflicts between Russia and Chechnya on the rise, violence continues to erupt between them. Chechen insurgents continue to attack Russian civilians, claiming that their attacks are motivated by mistreatment and human rights violations perpetuated by the Russian military. In retribution for Chechen attacks, the Russian military focuses its efforts in attacking sections of Chechnya, in attempts to quell the insurgents. The quarrels persist cyclically from insurgent attacks to vicious retaliation.

Various tactics of warfare are employed by Russian forces, consisting not only in military means, but also through other influential methods such as media slandering. While attacks on the media have succeeded in tarnishing Chechnya's legitimacy across the globe, the military tactics have done little to reduce the terrorist attacks.

As the attacks continue, large numbers of Chechen civilians are victimized in multiple ways. Many civilians have become refugees and have fled to other countries. Those who stay in the Northern Caucasus are in danger of losing their lives. As demonstrated by the large discrepancies in reports on the number of displaced and dead, the population is under constant threat of human rights infringement.

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A tainted image with a reputation for terrorism leaves the Chechnya region without much hope for an immediate resolution. However, many human rights groups and organizations have become involved in Chechnya's cause. Before any refugees are encouraged to come home, something must be done to resolve the tension between the Chechen insurgents and the Russian military. Some solutions involve offering economic and financial support to Russia, which will in turn support Chechnya, while another solution would have Russia rein in its military and provide a safe haven for Chechen civilians. Many recommendations continue to be made—perhaps one of them will lead to a resolution to the endless Russo-Chechen conflict in the future.

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History of Russo-Chechen Conflict

Cherasov, A. 2005. "Chechnya: 10 Years of Armed Conflict." Helsinki Monitor 16 (2): 143-149.

> Annotation: The author compares the past conflict and civilian casualties with the current situation involving the Russo-Chechen conflict. He addresses the negotiations between Chechnya and Russia, emphasizing how they have demonstrated no progress. He also reveals his opinion on the current conflict by mentioning how Russia views activities in Chechnya simply as counter-terrorist operations. The author suggests greater involvement of the international community and organizations in preventing constant human rights violations and securing peace.

Cimbala, S. J. 2007. Russia and Postmodern Deterrence: Military Power and its Challenges for Security. Washington: Potomac Books, Inc.

> Annotation: This book mainly focuses on the evolution of Russia's military power. The author explores how past experiences have shaped Russia's behavior in current events. The last topic that is mentioned in this book is Chechnya. Points made by the author earlier in the book tie in nicely with the issue of Chechnya. One of the more interesting connections the author makes is between Russia's radical change in military ideology and how it is reflected in the conflict in Chechnya.

Hammerli, A., R. Gattiker, *et al.* 2006. "Conflict and Cooperation in an Actors' Network of Chechnya Based on Event Data." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (2): 159-175.

> Annotation: The main point of this piece is to develop a network of people involved in the Russo-Chechen conflict. Specifically, the authors want to determine who are the actors contributing to the conflict, the ties between various involved actors, and most importantly, the intensity of involvement between each group. These authors take a scientific and thus methodologically rigorous approach to the conflict. They suggest that in order to resolve the

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conflict on the Russian or Chechen side, all the actors involved must make a collective effort to achieve peace.

Herspring, D. R. 2005. <u>Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain</u>. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Annotation: The author of this book gives an account of various past problems and current situations in Russia. In one of the chapters, the author explores the history of Russia and its problem with Chechnya. He begins by delving into the first Russo-Chechen conflict, saying how the Chechens took advantage of a weakened Soviet Union by claiming their right for independence from the Russian Federation. He then goes on to explain more of the history of Russia in regards to Chechnya, eventually arriving at Putin's desire to handle the Chechnya situation without external interference.

Jaimoukha, A. 2005. <u>The Chechens</u>. London: Routledge Curzon.

Annotation: This book is a handbook of sorts, detailing an entire history of Chechnya, from ancient times to its current political situation. The author also provides an easy-reading section on Chechen culture and social structure. The section detailing the current situation sides heavily with Chechnya in regards to the Russo-Chechen conflict. The author mentions a few incidents where Russia failed to address violent insurgencies and human rights violations properly. However, the book provides a concise and quick timeline of events during the conflict.

Rasizade, A. 2005. "Chechnya: the Achilles Heel of Russia - Part One." *Contemporary Review*. 286: 193-197.

Annotation: This piece is the first of three written by this author. In this initial piece, the author delves into the complicated background of the conflict between Russia and Chechnya. The author describes the death of the Chechen resistance leader, Aslan Maskhadov, and how this pivotal moment in time quite possibly acted as a catalyst to the Russo-Chechen conflict. He also explores how Chechnya has received ill-favored media attention after certain terrorist acts.

Sakwa, R. 2005. <u>Chechnya: from Past to Future</u>. London: Anthem Press.

Annotation: The author of this volume attempts to analyze the perspectives of the U.S., Russia, and Chechnya on the Russo-Chechen conflict. In this piece, the author details the conflict, outlining what he believes were the issues contributing to its inception, which include fear of international terrorism, increasing human rights violations, and overall poor conduct in warfare. The author concludes by discussing how Chechnya's fate remains unclear, as resolution of this conflict and achievement of Chechen independence appear distant and, at times, bleak.

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Terrorism

Dunlop, J. B. and R. Menon. 2006. "Chaos in the North Caucasus and Russia's Future." *Survival* 48 (2): 97-114.

Annotation: In this piece, the authors address how Russia is losing its power over Chechnya, and has no control over the situation in the Chechen area. They mention that the Chechen insurgency and terrorist activity will most likely spread throughout the region. Without proper application of force from Russia, the conflicts will affect the rest of the region and the region will continue to produce extremists who see violence as their only resource. The piece provides no solution, stating that considering Russia's problematic military tactics and intelligence in the past, the Russo-Chechen conflict will not end.

Fatullayev, A., Y. Vershov, *et. al.* 2005. "Is N. Caucasus Losing Battle with Muslim Extremists?" *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 57 (5): 5-7.

Annotation: These authors explain how terrorist groups are resisting many counter-terrorist measures initiated by Russia. There are increased occurrences of successful attacks by Muslim extremists. The authors give examples of measures that have been taken, and while some have been more forceful than others, they ultimately have led to failure. The authors conclude by stating that new counter-terror methods need to be established soon, since terrorist activity in the Chechen region seems to be increasing.

Kozenko, A. 2006. "Residents of Chechnya Are Left with the Right to Fear." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 58 (32): 9-10.

Annotation: This article is an overview of a publication released regarding human rights issues and the citizens of Chechnya over the course of one year. The author of this piece takes information from the article and states that the publication proves the lack of stability and democracy, as well as demonstrating how the Chechen people are in fear of the uncertainty of their government and of attacks by insurgents.

Kramer, M. 2005. "The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya." *International Security* 29 (3): 5-63.

Annotation: This article is an assessment of Russia's military tactics in the Russo-Chechen conflict. It describes a brief history of the conflict, followed by the various tactics used by the Chechen guerillas and the response of the Russian military. The author also takes a noted interest in exploring the Russian military failure. He asks why Russian troops, who outnumber the Chechen rebels by more than 50:1, are unable to eliminate the armed resistance. Lastly, the article sums up a total evaluation of Russia and its military efforts in Chechnya.

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Meier, A. 2005. <u>Chechnya: to the Heart of a Conflict</u>. New York: Norton.

Annotation: This book is a portrait of Chechnya that takes a more personal approach. The author recounts his experiences from Chechnya, and discusses how the Russo-Chechen conflict impacts the civilians still living there. He also mentions how the death of many has wounded the Chechen people, and that the youth are doomed to take up a war begun by their elders. He includes quotes and phrases used by Chechen civilians, providing the reader with a realistic but also one-sided view of the Russo-Chechen conflict.

Moore, C. 2005. "Post-Modern War, Genocide and Chechnya: The Case of Female Suicide Attacks as a Problem for International Law and International Relations Theory." *International Criminal Law Review* 5 (3): 485-500.

Annotation: The author of this piece explores the ongoing violence in Chechnya, giving a more detailed account of the human rights violations. She argues that there is insufficient sympathy on the part of the public, on behalf of Chechnya's case, likely because there has not been much research done in Chechnya to understand the violence and its roots. She also thinks that this omission is largely due to Chechnya's tainted image, and because of post-September 11th international relations. While she makes strong cases about how Chechnya has been demonized by the media, she does not actually present a feasible and clear solution.

Mukhina, I. 2005. "Islamic Terrorism and the Question of National Liberation, or Problems of Contemporary Chechen Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28: 515-532.

Annotation: The purpose of this article is to prove that Chechen insurgents are not fighting a religious war for independence, despite what scholars in the past have found. The struggle in Chechnya for independence, the author argues, may have nothing to do with religious freedom. The author explains how the rhetoric used by the insurgents is portraying a different image, and that insurgents are easily being labeled as terrorists.

Nivat, A. 2005. "The Black Widows: Chechen Women Join the Fight for Independence – and Allah." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28: 413-419.

Annotation: This author focuses on the role that women have played in various terrorist activities, including the hostage situation in the Dubrovka Theater in Moscow, and at the elementary school in Beslan. She examines the participation of the women who engaged in the hostage taking. The author also explores how women may be engaging in terrorist activities to join the Chechen men, either out of sympathy, or out of a desire for alliance.

Russell, J. 2005. "Terrorists, Bandits, Spooks and Thieves: Russian Demonisation of the Chechens Before and Since 9/11." *Third World Quarterly* 26 (1): 101-116.

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Annotation: The author claims that any Chechens who oppose Russian President Vladimir Putin are immediately labeled as bandits and terrorists. After the Nord-Ost theater attack and Beslan school siege, Russia's tasks of demonizing Chechnya are effortless. All the mudslinging done toward Chechnya only serves to justify Russia's war against Chechnya, and causes further difficulties in achieving peace in the Caucasus region. This article provides an interesting view on the conflict, but does not address Russia's perspective on the conflict at all.

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The Future of Chechnya

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Annotation: The authors of this article explore the E.U.'s involvement and interest in the Russo-Chechen conflict. The E.U. hopes to approach a solution to this conflict by supporting Russia and by encouraging them to implement positive policies to end the conflicts in the Chechen region. The authors also mention how past E.U. engagement has not been very successful. If the E.U. continues its involvement in the Russo-Chechen conflict, a balance needs to be established so that Russia can improve on many fronts, not just that involving Chechnya.

S-15

Mendelson, S. E. 2006. "Human Rights Abuse in the North Caucasus." *Problems of Post-Communism* 53 (6): 3-15.

Annotation: The author of this piece states that Chechnya is now a site of one of the worst human rights records in Europe, and that response to this growing case is lacking. The purpose of the article is to educate the reader about Chechnya's lack of external involvement regarding Russia and international organizations. Russia is acting as a superpower, using its force to install peace, while international groups serve little or no purpose in aiding human rights advocacy in Chechnya. The author makes very specific recommendations in increasing the effectiveness of human rights protection in the region.

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Annotation: This piece completes this author's three-piece series about the Russo-Chechen conflict. He continues the topic by mentioning how the death of the Chechen resistance leader, Aslan Mashkhadov, opens the window for future radical leaders to enter, and for more civil unrest to occur in the region. The author discusses how Russia has become a unifying power in the region, and how with that power, Russia must learn to grow more socially and economically responsible in interactions with neighbors in the region.

Russell, J. 2006. "Obstacles to Peace in Chechnya: What Scope for International Involvement?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (6): 941-964.

Annotation: This article seeks to explore how international groups can get involved in efforts to end the violence in Chechnya. The author makes distinctions between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding, stressing that subtle differences in all three need to be carefully applied in the Chechen region. Also, he states that not only Chechen civilians, but also Russian civilians are victims of this conflict. A clear system of peacebuilding needs to be established, or Chechnya and Russia will continue to find themselves in an impasse.

Sunderland, W. 2006. "The Caucasian Tangle." *Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 7 (1): 111-122.

Annotation: This review provides a glimpse into a few books that address the Russo-Chechen conflict. One view discussed is how Chechens are sometimes viewed as abnormal, and how Russia and the Northern Caucasus are drifting farther apart. He criticizes a couple of the books for presenting the Russian point of view too exclusively, only serving to taint Chechnya's image further. He blames the media for broadcasting one-sided views, and suggests that both sides of the conflict should be portrayed more fairly so that the resolution process comes much more easily.

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Vendina, O. I., V. S. Belozerov, *et al.* 2007. "The Wars in Chechnya and Their Effects on Neighboring Regions." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48 (2): 178-201.

Annotation: The authors of this piece analyze how the conflict in Chechnya is having an impact on the region. The main approach to this topic is an economic one, showing that the conflict not only impacts human rights advocacy, but the financial security of the state, as well. While not providing an immediate solution to the problem, the authors consider whether or not Chechnya and the neighboring regions will once again establish a working relationship with Russia.

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United States Foreign Policy: Liberty and Security?
By Jessi Schimmel

We must find ways of reconciling security with liberty, since the success of one helps the other. The choice between security and liberty is a false choice…. Our history has shown us that insecurity threatens liberty. Yet as our liberties are curtailed, we lose the values that we are struggling to defend (The 9/11 Commission Report: 395).

Prior to September 11, 2001, the United States had the reputation of being a leader in the field of human rights. As information of torture and abuse in Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo Bay, and secret CIA detention centers has surfaced, however, the image of America has changed from human rights champion to that of violator. In large part, the international community of scholars and activists has come to deride the foreign policy of the United States as misguided and out of balance with the threats the country faces. However, there are also plenty of outspoken defenders who believe that the tactics chosen in this fight against terror are necessary and proportionate to such threats. Human rights and homeland security need not be mutually exclusive; indeed, they are necessarily congruent to one another. This bibliography highlights some of the most important issues at the nexus of the "War on Terrorism" and human rights as they pertain to the United States' foreign policy. It does so by addressing the issues of war, detainees, torture, military tribunals, the spread of democracy and global governance, defining terrorism, and other facets of the complex relationship between security and liberty.

The most perplexing questions presented in the literature in this bibliography are: Just what is the relationship between human rights and security? What is the "War on Terror" really a war against? The "War on Terror" is not a conventional war. It is not conducted strictly between nations. Yet, the United States has approached the "War on Terror" after September 11th as a matter requiring state military intervention. This has been embodied in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As these wars drag on, the so-called "rally-around-the-flag" effect has worn off of the American public; with this falter in public support, the message behind the "war" has changed. Today, major issues in this fight include nation-building, multilateralism and shifting alliances, and the changing need for preparedness.

As the international community tries to create a marriage between human rights and security in an age of uncertainty, there have been several unexpected consequences. Immediately after September 11th, the American government experienced strong support in the fight against terrorism from foreign governments, academics, non-governmental organizations, and especially the public. Nearly six years later, the public is asking how the government hopes to stem terrorism when its every action seems to further aggravate extremist groups. The international community also demands to know on what grounds the United States continues to call itself a beacon for human rights when it routinely violates the civil liberties of people at home and abroad. To this end, the "War on Terror" has become—in part—a war of public relations; in order to reassert its moral authority and regain international support, the U.S. must find some way to align the principles of human rights with the priorities of national security.

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Perhaps the most predominant issue in current scholarly works on the connection between human rights and the "War on Terror" is that of detainees in Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo Bay, and secret CIA and other detention centers. Some contend that keeping these so-called "alien unlawful enemy combatants" out of the regular U.S. judicial system is necessary in order to extract information about pending terrorist activity in a timely manner. However, the detailed accounts of physical and mental abuse, along with the refusal of all writs of *habeas corpus*, have badly damaged the American reputation as a leader in international human rights. American officials have said that the Geneva Conventions do not apply to these "terrorists," among whom it is reported there are children as young as 13 years old. The legality and the necessity of the use of extreme interrogation tactics and torture are very much in question by the international community, as well as are practices of rendition and proxy custody. Nor is there any justice for these "alien unlawful enemy combatants." In October of 2006, the United States Congress passed the Military Commission Act, which allows for military tribunals to try these cases without regard for jurisdiction or due process. Thus far, the United States has not proven that these violations of human and civil rights are outweighed by the pressing need and ability to protect the country or the international community from terrorist attacks.

The Bush Administration continues to maintain its own counsel. A common thread running through the pieces in the bibliography that supports the current administration's foreign policy plan is the idea that the public is uninformed as to the true nature of the terrorist threat and must be kept in the dark as to how the American Government is fighting that war. This administration has worked with Congress to pass into legislation much of what is contentious about this war. However, acts of executive privilege are also at an all-time high. Questions of abuse of power abound. The government approaches the "War on Terror" from a different viewpoint than most academics. Clear primacy has been given to issues relating to homeland security, which trump concerns for human rights under this paradigm. The government has been careful to say that it is concerned for human rights in its foreign policy, but that winning the "War on Terror" decisively is the best way to protect human rights internationally, as well as at home.

As the "War on Terror" has matured, news articles continue to be published everyday, but they fail to encapsulate the issues as succinctly as possible. For this reason, among others, there are many more books and treatises than articles in this bibliography. Also, the academic community, generally, seems to have a strong opinion about the illegality of the ways and means that the United States has chosen to approach dealing with suspected terrorists, as well as the countries that harbor them, in order to prevent the next terrorist attack. There is a thriving community outside of academia, in think tanks and government, that strongly stands behind the tactics chosen by the U.S. government. Because of the nature of academic versus policy writing, there is a disparity of coverage in this bibliography, leaning toward the more thorough academic discourse, rather than the brief policy papers available from think tanks. The topics covered in this bibliography include detainees, military tribunals, the spread of democracy, defining terrorism, United States' foreign policy, and international law.

Currently, winning the "War on Terror" is the main objective of U.S. foreign policy, and the impact of this campaign on human rights is a question that has raised tremendous skepticism. Because of the centrality of this topic in international affairs, all the literature available for public consumption cannot be covered here in its entirety. Hopefully, however, the pieces included in this

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bibliography span the range of topics and complexity necessary to provide a solid starting point to any researcher.

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Detainees

Al-Dossari, Jumah Muhammad. 2005. "Days of Adverse Hardship in U.S. Detention Camps Testimony of Guantánamo Detainee Jumah al-Dossari." Amnesty International.

Annotation: This handwritten testimony from a Muslim Pakistani who was detained in Guantánamo Bay was delivered to Amnesty International in 2005 by his civilian lawyer. It contains a detailed account of the physical, mental, and emotional abuses al-Dossari says he suffered, including torture, horrific living conditions, and the desecration of the Koran. The piece follows each stage of the detention from his arrest at the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, to his transfer into American custody, and subsequent relocation to Guantánamo Bay. There is no discussion of why he was purportedly detained, or how his case is proceeding.

Amnesty International. 2007. "Close Guantánamo: Symbol of Injustice." London: Amnesty International.

Annotation: This is an Amnesty International piece aimed at attacking the continued detention of uncharged civilians at Guantánamo Bay. It gives a colorful commentary, containing some useful information, providing it is read in the appropriate context. It includes a timeline of events surrounding Guantánamo, pictures from the base, and sound bite testimony from prisoners, policy makers, and foreign diplomats. It also addresses the issue of the "legal black hole" and tries to give names and background to the detainees. Strikingly, it indicates that at least 17 children have been held illegally at Guantánamo.

Casey, Lee A., and David B. Rivkin Jr. 2005. "How to Treat A Captured Terrorist." *National Review* 57(12): 20-21.

Annotation: In this opinion piece, the authors argue that the detention of "enemy combatants" in special terror facilities is superior to the domestic criminal law approach which places the accused in the justice system because the domestic system is only reactive to committed crimes, not proactive to prevent future attacks. They also discount the Geneva Conventions as incongruent with the type of war waged in the "War on Terror." This is a supportive argument for the continued detentions at the Guantánamo Bay facility.

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Greenberg, Karen, ed. 2006. The Torture Debate in America. New York: Cambridge University.

Annotation: Approaching the issue of torture from historical, religious, ethical, pragmatic, and antithetical angles, the author of this edited volume contributes to the debate surrounding the significance torture plays in the American psyche. The volume includes a transcription of a panel debate and relevant documents, placing a heavy focus on the applicability of the Geneva Conventions and the spread of democracy through this "War on Terror."

Greer, Edward. 2004. "'We Don't Torture People in America': Coercive Interrogation in the Global Village." *New Political Science* 26(3): 371-387.

Annotation: While not publicly acknowledged, the systematic torture of captured Muslims after September 11th became America's policy. The article conclusively demonstrates that the Bush Administration deliberately chose this policy option. By drawing exclusively on publicly available documentation (prior to the Abu Ghraib revelations), it provides positive evidence from the federal courts demonstrating that that the Executive is entitled to sanction torture. It also includes an official determination that Geneva Convention protection against coercive interrogations would be circumvented. The article also rebuts the official U.S. support of the use of torture for the purpose of extracting information from detainees. It details perceived contradictions in the Bush Administration's permissive statements regarding torture depending on venue. And finally, it presents torture as an integral and ultimately self-destructive tool in the War on Terror.

Human Rights Watch. 2006. "By the Numbers: Findings of the Detainee Abuse and Accountability Project." New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: After the exposure of the abuses at Abu Ghraib in 2004, there was a clear demand for greater accountability in the American detention system. The Center for Human Rights and Global Justice at the New York University School of Law, Human Rights Watch and Human Rights First analyzed credible claims of abuses through April 2006, finding that there have been over 300 cases, involving more than 600 U.S. personnel, and 460 detainees in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Guantánamo Bay. This report includes an analysis of how the United States has dealt with accusations and recommendations, as well as insightful statistics.

_____. 2006. "No Blood, No Foul: Soldiers Accounts of Detainee Abuse in Iraq." New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: This report is composed largely of first-hand accounts from U.S. personnel, who either saw or participated in specific abuses of detainees that took place in Iraq. The soldiers discuss ways that military and CIA personnel circumvented legal and practical ramifications of their behavior. Specific references are made to how authorizations flowed down the chain of

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command (from former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on down) and the difficulty of reporting abuses. The report closes with a discussion of the legal standards being violated, with specific references to conventions and articles.

_____. 2007. "Ghost Prisoner: Two Years in Secret CIA Detention." New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: The story of Marwan Jabour is used to criticize the U.S. Government's policy of using secret CIA prisons to detain supposed terrorists. Human Rights Watch (HRW) focuses on those detentions and so-called proxy detentions (by a third party) as it calls for the end of the use of secret prisons worldwide, and especially in Pakistan where most of these detainees are arrested. HRW condemns the United States for criticizing other countries' human rights record, when the current U.S. policy of violating those norms against torture and enforced disappearances. This piece includes a list of detainees with unknown whereabouts (created through interviews) and recommendations.

MacDonald, Heather. 2005. "How to Interrogate Terrorists." Foundation for the Defense of Democracies.

Annotation: This piece gives a short history of the evolution of interrogation tactics since the September 11, 2001 attacks, claiming that the public is woefully misinformed as to what interrogation really is. The "torture narrative" is fed by critics and is damaging to Americans' ability to interrogate. The combatants' willingness to martyr themselves for their cause has outwitted traditional tactics in this case. This article states that the United States does not diverge from the Geneva Conventions, claiming that the interrogator's power lies within the imagination of the detainee. This article presents a strong statement of support for the current interrogation tactics.

Rose, David. 2004. Guantánamo: The War on Human Rights. New York: The New Press.

Annotation: Deliberately leaving aside moral and legal arguments about the process of internment at Guantánamo Bay, Rose argues that there are deep pragmatic failings as well – primarily that the base imprisons thousands inhumanely, including innocent civilians, and that the interrogation there delivers few viable results. Interviews with freed detainees (all British) shed light on the experience of being detained in this "legal black hole." Rose also consults American officials and documents to demonstrate how the government justifies its actions there. He concludes by analyzing the meaning of the detention center domestically and internationally.

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United States Senate. 2005. "Detainees." Committee on the Judiciary. One Hundred Ninth Congress, First Session. June 15.

Annotation: This piece is the transcript of a June 2005 hearing focused more on the violation of due process rights than issues of torture for United States' detainees in the "War on Terror." This session presents both sides of the argument well and equally. Using a balanced approach of witness testimony and submissions for the record, and a significant question and answer session between committee members and witnesses, the overall conclusion of the Committee is that Congress needs to increase its involvement in this issue dramatically and not leave this policy issue in the hands of the Executive and Judicial branches of the Federal Government.

Military Tribunals

Amnesty International. 2007. "Justice Delayed or Justice Denied? Trials under the Military Commissions Act." London: Amnesty International.

Annotation: This Amnesty International report derides the process of the military tribunals set up by the Military Commission Act of October 2006. It attacks the designation of "alien unlawful combatant," as well as the retroactive law and refusal of writs of *habeas corpus*. It attacks the tribunal process in terms of jurisdiction, impartiality, failure to allow right to counsel or presumption of innocence. Most specifically it condemns the admissibility of evidence and the use of coerced confessions. This document concludes with suggestions on how to end "unfettered executive power" and dramatic violations of human rights.

Carafano, James Jay. 2006. "Congress Should Compromise." The Heritage Foundation.

Annotation: A short memo on how Congress and the Administration must come to an agreement regarding how to conduct military commissioned trials. Foremost in this memo are the ideas that there should be no compromise on the issue of national security and that Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions has been left deliberately vague. Carafano states that the enemy combatants now in U.S. custody are due only humane treatment, but that they ought to be detained until the "War on Terror" is over. Carafano argues that there are clear means of satisfying the United States' obligations under the Geneva Convention, while still giving full protection to national security.

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Elsea, Jennifer, and Louis Fisher. 2006. Suspected Terrorists and What to Do with Them. New York: Novinka Books.

Annotation: Working under the assumption that President George W. Bush considers the "War on Terror" to be a matter of state that requires military intervention, Elsea and Fisher address the basic violations of political and legal rights involved in military tribunals for "unlawful combatants." Using essay format, the authors address the legal and practical implications of treating terrorists as war criminals rather than submitting them to the criminal justice system, and the Quirin precedent for military tribunals, respectively. While both seem to be simplistic arguments, they lay a solid foundation for someone new to the subject. This book also includes text of pertinent documents.

Fitzpatrick, Joan. 2002. "Jurisdiction of Military Commissions and the Ambiguous War on Terrorism." *The American Journal of International Law* 96 (2): 345-354.

Annotation: Fitzpatrick decries the use of military tribunals in what she calls "the ambiguous 'war' on terror." She argues that this is not a war at all, and therefore, the military tribunals are wildly out of place in what need to be criminal proceedings. Indeed, she contends that using the war paradigm gives terrorist groups particular standing, when they should be carefully considered as separate standing in international relations. Fitzpatrick argues that using military commissioned tribunals is in this case *prima facie* illegal because it violates basic human rights. The article states that military tribunals are only legal under the narrowest definition, and that it is very important that that definition be followed.

Human Rights Watch. 2006. "Q & A: Military Commissions Act 2006." New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: In response to the Supreme Court decision in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, the U.S. Congress passed the Military Commissions Act, which redefines tribunal procedure, the definition of unlawful enemy combatant, and the U.S. relationship to the Geneva Conventions and the War Crimes Act. This short question and answer sheet has a clear opinion that what the government has done is wrong, but it provides a basic level of understanding about the Act that should be supplemented by explanation from the other side of this debate.

The Spread of Democracy

Bennett, Andrew, and George Shambaugh, eds. 2006. Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in American Foreign Policy. Dubuque, Iowa: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin.

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Annotation: This edited reader presents both pro and con viewpoints on multiple issues of U.S. foreign policy as it pertains to the "War on Terror" and human rights. The stated purpose of this book is to leave its reader well-informed and capable of making educated policy decisions. Post-September 11th, as the "rally-around-the-flag" effect wore off the American public, it became necessary to debate how global governance, promoting democracy abroad, the PATRIOT Act, and humanitarian intervention are enacted on both the international and national scene. With a special focus on the current Iraq war, this book strives to answer those questions.

Carothers, Thomas. 2003. "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror." *Foreign Affairs* 82 (1): 84-97.

Annotation: Carothers focuses on President George W. Bush's approach to the promotion of democracy during the War on Terror. He concludes that Bush, as a realist, seeks warm ties with dictators who may help in the fight against al Qaeda, while Bush the neo-Reaganite proclaims that democracy is the only solution to terror.

Carothers, Thomas, and Paula J. Dobriansky. 2003. "Democracy Promotion." *Foreign Affairs* 82 (3): 141-145.

Annotation: This piece offers a response to the article "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror" by Thomas Carothers. Dobriansky argues that the Bush Administration has struck the right balance between security concerns, economic issues, and human rights imperatives in the War on Terror. The article includes a reply from Carothers.

Dalacoura, Katerina. 2005. "U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: A Critique." International Affairs 81(5): 963.

Annotation: The author lays out a clear argument that she believes that United States' promotion of democratic values in the Middle East is failing for three reasons. The first is the "War on Terror" has only served to limit civil liberties in these countries; secondly, it ignores issues of implementation of democracy; and finally the United States lacks the credibility to promote human rights as fundamental to democracy. Dalacoura argues that U.S. democracy initiatives in the Middle East are more strongly tied to U.S. security issues than human rights concerns. She critiques the three-tiered American approach and the impact of that tactic. This piece concludes with policy recommendations.

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Defining Terrorism

Falk, Richard. 2003. <u>The Great Terror War</u>. New York: Olive Branch Press.

> Annotation: Falk criticizes the categorization of the "War on Terror" as a means of responding to current and preventing future terror attacks. The book outlines a comprehensive historical framework, and provides new insights into the entire range of issues that must be addressed if terrorism is to be eradicated. Falk judges the erosion of liberties at home and human rights in general as indirect victories for al Qaeda. He anticipates that the greatest cost of September 11th will be the damage done to the global normative order consisting of international law, limits on war making, the authority of the U.N., and the promotion of human rights.

Gross, Emanuel. 2006. <u>The Struggle of Democracy against Terrorism</u>. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

> Annotation: The author defines terrorism as antithetical to human rights. The argument made in this book attempts to identify what the roots of terrorism are (especially as it is tied to Islam) and how democratic societies balance human rights and security. Written by a former Israeli Defense Force judge, the books seeks to compare Israeli and British responses to terrorism with those of the United States in terms of foreign policy. Gross theorizes that the "War on Terror" has reached the point that it is beginning to violate the foundation of its own democratic regime.

Habeck, Mary. 2006. <u>Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror</u>. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

> Annotation: Approaching the issue from a new angle, Habeck questions what it is that makes *jihadists* what they are. This explanation of *jihadi* ideology begins with a history of the movement, an analysis of how Islam relates to al Qaeda, and how the West clashes with this culture because it does not understand it. Habeck explains that to the "terrorists," *jihad* is a just war, and that they are fighting for what they perceive to be their basic human rights. The book concludes with a section explaining how *jihadi* theory and practice relate to the "War on Terror" and how the West should perceive this movement.

Hunter, Shireen T., and Huma Malik, eds. 2005. <u>Islam and Human Rights: Advancing a U.S.-Muslim Dialogue</u>. Vol. 27, *Significant Issues Series*. Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

> Annotation: This edited anthology addresses what human rights mean from an Islamic perspective and how the United States should understand those concepts. Individual sections

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address Muslim perspectives on human rights issues such as universality versus relativity, and the difference between secular and religious rights. Overall, the pieces address how to move forward in Iraq and in the Middle East, while augmenting both interests and ideals for Muslim countries and the West. The collective conclusions are that Muslim ethical values harmonize with the Universal Declaration model of human rights, but that these values are not understood as such by the West.

Nguyen, Tram. 2005. We Are All Suspects Now: Untold Stories from Immigrant Communities after 9/11. Boston: Beacon Press.

Annotation: Explaining the United States government's apparent fear of so-called "clandestine transnational actors," the author highlights violations of civil liberties in the name of national security through the lens of personal narrative. With special focus on the post-September 11, 2001 roundup of Muslim, Arab, and South Asian men, the PATRIOT Act, and Operation Liberty Shield, the book focuses on violations of due process and other Constitutional rights which immigrants in the United States have been denied post-September 11, 2001.

United States' Foreign Policy

Apodaca, Clair. 2006. Understanding U.S. Human Rights Policy: A Paradoxical Legacy. New York: Routledge.

Annotation: This book is both a theoretical and practical approach to the last 50 years of human rights policy, moving methodically through the last seven presidential administrations and reflecting on the foreign policy evolution in this field to explain how many current paradoxes have come into being. Using an idealist-realist continuum, the author demonstrates how foreign aid has been a tool used to accomplish the United States' goals. Focused on the interaction of the president, Congress, governmental bureaucracy and the American public, Apodaca claims that antiterrorism has replaced anticommunism in accounting for U.S. foreign policy.

Carafano, James Jay. 2006. "More for Congressional Anti-Terror To-Do List." The Heritage Foundation.

Annotation: This piece is a brief policy paper on the shortfalls of Congressional anti-terrorism policy. Carafano states in this article that there is too much focus on preparing to respond to terrorist attacks, and not enough energy expended on preventing them before they occur. Through the article, Carafano advocates for local, regional, and national information sharing and

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data mining capabilities to help thwart homegrown terrorists. He concludes by saying that the benefits of good counterterrorism policy significantly outweigh civil liberties concerns.

Foot, Rosemary. 2004. Human Rights and Counterterrorism in America's Asia Policy. New York: Oxford University Press.

Annotation: The author argues that there have been dramatic changes in United States' human rights policy as it pertains to Asian countries which Washington views as valuable in the anti-terrorist campaign – Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and China. Taking a before-and-after (September 11, 2001) approach, Foot argues that human rights no longer provides the moral basis for apportioning foreign aid, but that it is premature to say that the country has aligned itself with human rights abusers considered necessary to combat the "War on Terror."

Gardiner, Nile, and James Jay Carafano. 2006. The UN's Guantánamo Folly: Why the United Nations' Report is Not Credible. The Heritage Foundation.

Annotation: This article criticizes the United Nations report on the Guantánamo Bay detention center because it was commissioned by a group led by some of the worst human rights violators internationally. The authors insist that the United States should ignore the United Nations on matters of national security, that Guantánamo Bay is a better facility than where the prisoners would be kept in the field, and that long-term detention is justified by the need to keep these "enemy combatants" off the battlefield. The article concludes that until the United Nations gets tough on terrorism and human rights violators, the United States is not obligated to abide by the institution.

Gingrich, Newt. 2006. "Lessons from the First Five Years of the War: Where Do We Go from Here?" American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Annotation: Gingrich praises the progress that has been made in the "War on Terror," but says that the threat posed by terrorists is very real and that there is still significant work to be done to protect the United States. He calls the "War on Terror" an emerging Third World War based on an anti-American coalition. To win this war, he states the first step should be winning the war on the home front through public opinion and the media. The article concludes with explicit instructions for how to effect change in the United States, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and North Korea to help make the world safe from terrorists.

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Ignatieff, Michael. 2004. <u>The Lesser of Two Evils: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror</u>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Annotation: Ignatieff recommends a middle course between civil libertarianism and pragmatism that would judge counterterrorism measures solely by their effectiveness. He allows for emergency suspensions of civil liberties provided they are temporary, publicly justified, and employed as a last resort. Ultimately, he proposes providing oppressed groups with peaceful political means of redress as a successful alternative to terrorism. The book also looks extensively at terrorism in history.

Leaman, George. 2004. "Iraq, American Empire, and the War on Terrorism." *Metaphilosophy* 35 (3): 234-248.

Annotation: This piece argues that the U.S. Government is trying to secure American military and economic supremacy on a global scale over the long term, and that the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq is part of this imperial project. It examines these developments in the context of U.S. military spending and foreign policy since the end of the Cold War.

Ledeen, Michael A. 2002. The War Against the Terror Masters: Why It Happened, Where We Are Now, How We'll Win. New York: Truman Talley Books, St. Martin Press.

Annotation: This book gives an introduction to the history of terrorist movements. Ledeen reminds the reader that this is really an age-old battle of the American spirit against tyranny. The author analyzes the "War on Terror" through a lens of past, present, and future issues. Ledeen is adamant about the need to bring down the "terror masters," that is the state-sponsors of terrorism (Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Saudi Arabia) and the leaders and soldiers of the movement. The book concludes with recommendations for the future.

Morel, Lucas. 2002. <u>The Choice for Peace</u>. Ashbrook Center.

Annotation: Using a speech President George W. Bush gave at the Virginia Military Institute, this piece states that Bush is a mighty liberator who will be remembered in history with the likes of Washington and Lincoln. Using the argument that resolve is the most important attribute in the War on Terror, Morel claims that the press has ignored Bush's call for peace in favor of his statements that the War on Terror will be long and arduous. Thus Morel concludes that the only way to achieve human dignity is through fighting the good fight, in which he fully supports Bush.

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Muravchik, Joshua. 2006. <u>Weakening Rights to Save Them</u>. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Annotation: Muravchik argues in this opinion piece that the ends absolutely justify the means when it comes to detainees and other counterterrorism policy in the twentieth century. He points to the victory of the United States over the Axis powers in World War II, and over the Soviet Union in the Cold War, as the two greatest achievements for human rights in the twentieth century. He strongly argues that human rights abuses in war will lead to better human rights protections internationally. The article concludes that the failure to win the "War on Terror" presents much greater risks for civil liberties and human rights than the current violations.

Nacos, Brigitte. 2006. Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding Threats and Responses in the Post-9/11 World. New York: Pearson Education.

Annotation: This book is solid primer on the definition, context, goals, and tactics of terrorism, this book also addresses the means of using anti- and counterterrorism to balance human rights, security, and liberty with this "War on Terror" (see especially part two, chapters 9-11). It also discusses ways to circumvent the traditional "War on Terror" through military and non-military responses, and prevention and preparedness. It is well-written and to be read as an introductory book for the reader who wants to know more about the "War on Terror" (outside the violations of human rights aspect).

Wilson, Richard Ashby, ed. 2005. <u>Human Rights in the "War on Terror</u>." New York: Cambridge University Press.

Annotation: This is an edited collection based on the assumption that counterterrorism strategies must support human rights because they best uphold the democratic ideals for which the "War on Terror" is being fought. The pieces demonstrate why human rights and security can be reconciled in the future, and how this should be done. This includes analysis of the shrinking role of global governance, and the shift toward domestic abuses. There is also a significant focus on human rights as a cause of war versus a consequence. The development of and changing uses for international criminal and humanitarian law is critiqued in the above paradigm.

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Yoo, John. 2006. War by Other Means: An Insider's Account of the War on Terror. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

Annotation: Through the eyes of a former Department of Justice lead counsel, this book demonstrates that the choices made by the Bush Administration after September 11, 2001 were right for a country at war. Yoo admits that the administration failed to properly share information about its campaign against terror with the public. To that end, he directly approaches the issues of the Geneva Conventions, the PATRIOT Act, wiretapping, Guantánamo Bay, interrogation tactics, and the military commissions in individual chapters. The ultimate conclusion Yoo draws is that a more informed public would agree with the tactics chosen by the administration.

International Law

Bilder, Richard B., and Detlev F. Vagts. 2004. "Speaking Law to Power: Lawyers and Torture." *The American Journal of International Law* 98(4): 689-695.

Annotation: This is an editorial piece demanding a return to respect for international law on the domestic level, this piece reminds the U.S. Government that foreign policy should be bound by law regardless of politics. This article points out flaws in the memos written about the legal status of detainees, in addition to pointing to how the treaties in question ought to be applied. Bilder and Vagts demand that American lawyers step up to their own ethical standards, while reminding the country that the disrespect engendered internationally on this issue has hurt the objectives of the "War on Terror."

Falk, Richard. 2003. "What Future for the UN Charter System of War Prevention?" *The American Journal of International Law* 97 (3): 590-598.

Annotation: The United Nations, as the legal arbiter of human rights and war, must exercise its power in order to ensure its future as such. The U.S.'s attack on Afghanistan was justified in this forum, but the war in Iraq has left many questions unanswered. Falk asks if there is a right to pre-emptive strike. Will America's attack on Iraq be remembered as "illegal, but legitimate," as was the invasion of Kosovo? Falk concludes that the United States will be best served in the future by working within the U.N. Charter system because of its legal flexibility. Changing perceptions will be crucial for this process to succeed.

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Greenwood, Christopher. 2005. "International Law and the 'War on Terrorism.'" In edited by J. Davis, <u>The Global War on Terrorism: Assessing Americans Response</u>. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Annotation: This article addresses how international law applies to the "War on Terrorism" by taking a broad cut at international law violations both by the September 11th hijackers and inherent in the response to that attack. Greenwood discusses three contexts: the attacks of September 11, the use of force in response to those attacks, and how international law applies to the continuing hostilities in Afghanistan. The article concludes that the attack was illegal and the response justified, but it was never justified on the scale to which it has risen.

Watkin, Kenneth. 2004. "Controlling the Use of Force: A Role for Human Rights Norms in Contemporary Armed Conflict."'" *The American Journal of International Law* 98 (1): 1-34.

Annotation: This article addresses ways to control the use of force by non-state actors through the combined use of normative regimes for international human rights law and international humanitarian law. Watkin assesses the legality of framing terrorism as armed conflict, issues of self-defense, and what the most appropriate state response to terrorism should be. Watkin argues that international law and internal criminal enforcement meet at the point where the conflict becomes war through discussion on America's "War on Terror." He concludes by saying that issues of accountability will have to be reconciled with domestic and international regulations of the use of force in order to protect humanity.

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Human Rights Challenges in Georgia
By Latife Bulur

Since the Rose Revolution of 2003, human rights problems in Georgia have been improving. Economically and socially, Georgia has been reaching milestones as it continues to improve different facets of the state. In contrast to past research, current writing on Georgia has become increasingly more positive. Many pieces written on Georgia tell of a growing and thriving country that has gone to great lengths to strengthen national pride and to gain positive global recognition.

Georgia has gained the attention of many foreign countries, such as Russia and the United States. Continuing a history of tense relations, Russia and Georgia are still unable to resolve their differences. Small skirmishes continue between these two countries as they had in the past, and hope for a resolution seems unlikely.

The relationship between Georgia and Russia extends back to the early 1600s, and has worsened since Georgia became an independent state in 1991. Much of the data found on Georgia's tumultuous history with Russia has already been addressed in the previous research done on Georgia. An understanding of the conflict between these two countries can help lay the groundwork for a better comprehension of Russia's and Georgia's current tensions.

The contemporary relationship between Russia and Georgia is tense and complicated. As Georgia began to transition into a more democratic state, a schism was forged between itself and Russia. Small conflicts continue to arise between the two countries, although the reasons for such conflicts are debated.

Some scholars believe that Russia grew bitter towards Georgia because of Georgia's interest in "joining the West," and in building strong relations with the United States. Also, Russia disapproved of Georgia joining NATO. Others believe that the tension arose out of the era of Putin and Shevardnadze. Previous research delves mainly into the effect these two men have had on Georgia in the past, and illustrates how tensions between the countries have developed from this history. Current research illustrates Russia's problems with Mikhail Saakashvili, the present day Georgian president, and his goals to modernize Georgia.

As a corollary to the past conflicts with Russia, Georgia has also suffered conflict closer to home. Various separatist groups have attempted to become an independent state, autonomous from Georgia. While the separatists' movement is no longer a major threat in Georgia, there is a good amount of literature that details this complex time in Georgia's history.

Since the Rose Revolution, however, Georgia has made positive internal developments. As discussed in past research, the Rose Revolution was a major turning point in Georgian history, removing a corrupt Shevardnadze from power and elevating Saakashvili as the new Georgian president. This non-violent revolution has positively changed the face of Georgian government and its view on national politics.

Since the changing of the regime, Georgia has made many advances towards developing economic stability and national security. Current research shows that Georgia has taken steps towards democratization and modernization. As Georgia builds more positive relationships with strong allies, such as the U.S., it continues to gain more global prestige and recognition. It is fitting

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that past research highlights the Rose Revolution and that current research demonstrates the rewards of the successful revolution.

An examination of past research reveals that Georgia's future was once very uncertain, with the separatist movements and the Rose Revolution affecting internal politics. However, Georgia has since managed to suppress the separatists, and lay the foundation for a strong government. These optimistic developments promise a brighter future for Georgia, its democracy and its people.

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General Resources

Champion, M. 2007. "Georgia Thrives Despite Russian Cloud." *Wall Street Journal – Eastern Edition.* New York**:** A6.

Annotation: This brief article illustrates how Georgia has been developing economically, despite efforts by Russia to halt such progress. The author provides various examples of this growth, such as the new railway system between Turkey and Azerbaijan, and efforts to join NATO. However, it should be noted that Russia imposes embargos on trade and transportation between Russia and Georgia, supposedly in response to an espionage dispute. This article also mentions the President of Georgia's (Mikhail Saakashvili) actions taken to improve economic affairs.

Dubnov, A. 2006. "EU Sticks Up for Georgia." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 58 (42): 18.

Annotation: This short article reports on the E.U.'s involvement in relations between Russia and Georgia. The E.U. is siding with Georgia, and condemns Russia for its harsh policies regarding economic, political, and humanitarian issues. This article also mentions how the E.U. strongly encourages both states to settle their current situation before the issues escalate.

Dvali, G. and G. Sysoyev. 2002. "Georgia Won't Let Itself be Bombed Again." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 54 (35): 3-4.

Annotation: This article reviews the relationship between Russia and Georgia, evaluating how it has become strained in light of past experiences. Former Georgian Minister Eduard Shevardnadze accused Russia of the bombing of Georgian villages, while Russian officials deny having any involvement in the bombings. Shevardnadze warned Russia that Georgia would retaliate should another similar incident transpire.

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Mitchell, L. A. 2006. "Democracy in Georgia Since the Rose Revolution." *Orbis*: 669-676.

Annotation: This optimistic article examines the positive relationship that has been forged between the U.S. and Georgia. Georgia's democracy-promotion efforts have been successful, and the U.S. has continued to show unconditional support for the Georgian government. On the other hand, the U.S. shows disinterest in pointing out Georgia's democratization shortcomings, which some claim is politically motivated. This author believes that the U.S. is truly sincere in keeping a positive approach with Georgia, not only to promote friendly foreign relations, but to actually promote worldwide democracy.

Nixey, J. 2006. "Feeling the Heat: Georgia Nation and Russian Relations." *The World Today* 62 (12): 21-22.

Annotation: This short article reports on the current relations between Georgia and Russia. The author believes that much of the tension between these two countries is due to Georgia's desire to build relations with the U.S. and to move toward democratization.

Weir, F. 2006. "Putin Pinched by Russia-Georgia Crisis." *Christian Science Monitor* 98 (227): 2.

Annotation: This article reviews Russia's opinions on the Saakashvili government in Georgia. Russian experts are accusing Saakashvili of aggravating relations with Russia all in the attempts of adopting Western ideals and support. There is mention that both countries worry about the outbreak of war. This is because experts speculate that both sides will not back down and the E.U. will not be able to push harder than it already has for a resolution. Georgia hopes that the E.U. will be able to convince Russia to stop trying to intimidate Georgia.

Chocheli, V. and V. Papava 2005. "Global Exchange Rate Instability and Its Implications for Georgia." *Problems of Economic Transition* 48 (4): 55-83.

Annotation: The authors of this piece focus on how monetary policy in Georgia has been transformed since the post-communist era. The authors look closely at the impact of inflation on economic growth. Issues such as Georgia's underdeveloped monetary system are reviewed and the authors make the claim that Georgia's biggest concerns should not be external factors, but rather internal economic instability.

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Coppieters, B. and R. Legvold. 2005. Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Annotation: The authors of this book examine the challenges Georgia has faced since the success of the Rose Revolution. Under President Saakashvili, many of Georgia's problems are being confronted, but the authors argue that issues in Georgia need to be taken seriously by the rest of the world as well. This book also illustrates the complex relationship Georgia has with Russia. Chapters in this book are written by Georgian and non-Georgian writers, providing an interesting and wide-range of different points of views and topics.

Fairbanks Jr, C. H. 2004. "Georgia's Rose Revolution." *Journal of Democracy* 15 (2): 110-124.

Annotation: In this dense article, the author discusses the complex issues Georgia faces in developing its democracy. The author begins by discussing how Georgia gained its independence. After that monumental event, the Rose Revolution followed in Georgia's history, shoving the country quickly into modernization. The author states that Georgia's example of a peaceful and powerful revolution can inspire other troublesome states aspiring for democracy.

Freese, T. 2005. "A Report from the Field: Georgia's War against Contraband and Its Struggle for Territorial Integrity." *SAIS Review* 25 (1): 107-121.

Annotation: The author of this piece explores how Georgia, led by President Saakashvili, wishes to maintain its territorial integrity despite Russian influence. A major problem for Georgia is the passing of contraband through the region and the black market trading occurring there. The author examines various tactics employed by Georgian officials to end the illegal trade. While attempts are somewhat successful, the author also explains a few remaining anti-contraband problems faced by the Georgian government.

Khaduri, N. 2005. "Mistakes Made in Conducting Economic Reforms in Postcommunist Georgia." *Problems of Economic Transition* 48 (4): 18-29.

Annotation: The author portrays what he believes are good economic reforms to make in a growing government. After mentioning those reforms, he compares them to the policies made by the Georgian government shortly after the fall of the Soviet Union. The author criticizes Georgia, and claims that it has yet to gain any positive experience in reforming economically. This piece is somewhat informative on Georgia's economic politics. However, the author clearly takes an anti-Georgian policy approach.

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Kwok, J. 2005. "Red Blues: Strife in Post-Soviet Georgia." *Harvard International Review*: 11-12.

Annotation: This short but powerful article explains the state of Georgia after former President Shevardnadze was removed from power. Current President Saakashvili has much to do to repair Georgia, but substantial foreign aid is required, in addition to a balance of political pressure and cultural compromise. Even with the remnants of a separatist movement in the early 1990s still affecting the current policies, Georgia shows promise for reform. The author hopes that Saakashvili will strengthen domestic policies and encourage economic growth.

Papava, V. 2005. "Georgia's Economic Role." *Problems of Economic Transition* 48 (4): 84-92.

Annotation: The author of this piece takes an economic approach to how the Caucasus region developed independently from Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union. Russia, in its weakened state, lost much power over the Caucasus states, including Georgia. Many countries in that region began to develop methods for improving their economies and for becoming self-sufficient. This author suggests ways in which the countries of the Caucasus, along with Georgia, can develop their economies using the natural resources available in the region, such as gas and oil.

Papava, V. 2006. "The Political Economy of Georgia's Rose Revolution." *Orbis* 50 (4): 657-667.

Annotation: This author examines the impact of the Rose Revolution on Georgia. The revolution proved to be a turning point for the country, successfully boosting the country's economy and establishing valuable relationships with foreign institutions such as NATO. Georgia is nationally growing stronger, but by doing so, it has also forged a further rift between itself and Russia. This author recommends that Georgia refine its policies to better protect its democracy against Russia and to further its economic development.

Rogers, P., R. Keukens, et al. 2006. "Reforming the Delivery of Forensic Mental Health and Prison Mental Health in the Republic of Georgia." *Mental Health Practice* 9 (5): 38-40.

Annotation: The authors of this piece are concerned with the human rights violations that have occurred since Georgia attained independence. Regardless of improving conditions in the region, there are still issues of corruption and torture in psychiatric services in Georgia. After findings were discovered that assessed the full scale of this problem, the Georgian government has taken action to investigate the matter further. This article explores the facets of the process, from the initial discovery of the human rights violations, to the government's actions to counter such violations.

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Saakashvili, M. 2006. "The Way Forward: Georgia's Democratic Vision for the Future." *Harvard International Review*. 68-73.

> Annotation: This piece is written by current Georgian President, Mikhail Saakashvili. In this article, the President tells of ways he plans on reforming the Georgian state, and points to the problems the country faces as improvements are made. He writes of how the government is attempting to stop the corruption left over from the separatist movement, how he wishes to reform the education system, and other ways he hopes to build a stronger democratic Georgia. In doing so, Saakashvili wants Georgia to gain global prestige and national strength.

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Sudan: A Survey of Terrorism and Human Rights
By Arika Long

"The politics of fear are fueling a downward spiral of human rights abuses in which no right is sacrosanct and no person safe" (Secretary General Irene Khan, Amnesty International).

Introduction

Sudan is a primary example of a country dominated by terror and human rights violations. Upon the release of Amnesty International's 2007 annual report, Secretary General Khan described the continuing conflict in Sudan's Darfur region as a "bleeding wound on the world's conscience." In the report, the authors declare that the world has been "impotent" in the face of major crises like Darfur. They state that policies linked to the "War on Terror" are creating a more polarized and dangerous world, with grave effects in Sudan. In addition to the terror and human rights violations permeating the North, frustration also exists over the elusive dividends of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in war-decimated Southern Sudan.

International donors, the U.N., and the government of Southern Sudan struggle to provide the resources necessary for investment in essential post-humanitarian and pre-development support, in addition to services for the estimated hundreds of thousands of people returning to the South. While the government of Sudan, the Sudanese people, and the international community have a once-in-a-generation opportunity to establish a basis for a stable society in southern Sudan, without a sufficient infrastructure, the South faces an imminent health crisis and the possibility of a broader humanitarian crisis.

Darfur

In February of 2003, two guerrilla groups—the Sudanese Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement—took up arms in Darfur against the government of Sudan. In late 2004, cease-fire monitoring troops from the African Union entered the region in an attempt to stabilize the situation. In January 2005, the final North/South Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed, which granted the southern rebels autonomy for six years. In late 2006, peacekeeping troops struggled to stabilize the situation, which has become increasingly regional in scope, and has brought instability to eastern Chad and Sudanese incursions into the Central African Republic (CAR). In 2004, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution labeling the events in Darfur as "genocide." According to the United Nations, more than 200,000 people have died in Darfur and more than two million have been displaced. The crisis is currently the worst humanitarian disaster in the world.

Peace Process

Although a peace process is technically under way in Sudan, peace negotiations have repeatedly foundered over issues of self-determination for the South, and particularly over the application of

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Sharia (Islamic law) in the predominately Christian southern population. The government of Sudan has also hesitated to allow aid into the country from the United Nations. Thus far in the peace process, the Sudanese Government has failed to disarm the *Janjaweed* militia, which attacks civilians in Sudan and in eastern Chad. As a result, civilians continue to face violence, and are inadequately protected by their government. Most notably, conflict continues in the Darfur region of Sudan, despite the Darfur Peace Agreement. Tens of thousands of Darfuris who have escaped the killing, rape, and pillage, live in refugee camps in CAR and Chad, and are unable to return to their villages. According to Amnesty International's 2007 report, at least 200,000 people died and 2.5 million were internally displaced by the end of 2006.

In May of 2007, the semiautonomous government of Southern Sudan, which emerged after the 2005 peace agreement, set up a task force to bring Darfur rebel groups to southern Sudan for peace talks. Its secretary, Achier Deng Akol, said it might take until July of 2007 to convince the rebel groups to meet. In addition, the United Nations Security Council endorsed a resolution to extend by six months the 10,000-member United Nations mission that would help enforce the 2005 peace accord.

Terrorism

Sudan has a long history of protecting terrorists and condoning their actions. In March of 1973, Palestinian terrorists murdered the American ambassador to Sudan. In the early to mid-1990s, Khartoum was home to several well-known international terrorists, including Abu Nidal and Osama bin Laden. Additionally, the Sudanese government was accused in 1995 of complicity in the attempted assassination of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa. In 1993 the United States designated Sudan as a state sponsor of terrorism because of the National Islamic Front's reported links with international terrorist networks. American sanctions were put in place against Sudan in 1997 and the last American ambassador was removed in 1998. In 1998 the United States launched missiles at an alleged chemical munitions factory in Khartoum in response to terrorist attacks in East Africa. Sudan has been accused of providing training facilities for various terrorist organizations. Since 2000, Sudan has officially reversed its policies and begun to cooperate with international counterterrorism efforts.

Potentially facing a military threat by the United States following September 11th, because of its relationship to terrorist groups and Al Qaeda especially, Sudan opened talks with the U.S. on counter-terrorism efforts for the first time. Since Sudan began to provide intelligence to the U.S. on Al Qaeda, a rapprochement agreement occurred between Sudan and the U.S. In May 2004, Sudan was removed from the U.S. list of countries deemed as uncooperative in the war against terrorist networks. While the decision was made to remove Sudan from this list it should be noted that this action does not remove Sudan from the State Department's list of terrorist sponsors. Sudan has taken steps to cut off ties with external terrorist networks; according to the U.S. State Department, Sudan has arrested some thirty suspected terrorists.

Although Sudan is making efforts to help the U.S. fight the "War on Terror," within its own borders a dictatorship is waging war on its own citizens, making a strong alliance in the war against terror with the United States difficult. Although Sudan has helped search for Al Qaeda operatives,

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many academics, journalists, and advocates argue that the civil unrest and terror campaigns carried out on Sudan's own citizens are leading to instability that could, in fact, have grave impacts for citizens of other states. Sudan's inability to quell the ongoing conflict and escalating terrorism within its own borders has caused destruction in the North, and has halted humanitarian progress in the South, resulting in massive human rights violations and deeper political destabilization. Still, Sudan is a party to all twelve international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism.

Human Rights

The Government of Sudan has placed significant restrictions on its citizens' freedoms of assembly, speech, religious practice, and political association. Personal rights are often disrespected, especially with regard to women. The judicial system is not independent, but is subject to government interference. Conditions in prisons are harsh, and long sentences are common. Security forces, including the police, routinely disregard basic human rights.

Sudan continues to be a source country for the trafficking of men, women, and children trafficked for forced labor and sexual exploitation. Reportedly, boys are trafficked to the Middle East, particularly to Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, for use as camel jockeys. A small number of girls are trafficked within Sudan for domestic servitude, as well as for commercial sexual exploitation in small brothels in internally displaced persons camps. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) of Uganda continues to abduct and to forcibly conscript small numbers of children, most notably in Southern Sudan, for use as cooks, porters, and combatants; some of these children are then trafficked across borders into Uganda or possibly the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Furthermore, children have been used by rebel groups and the Sudanese Armed Forces and associated militias in the conflict in Darfur.

During the decades of civil war, thousands of Dinka women and children were enslaved by members of Baggara tribes, and were subjected to various forms of forced labor without remuneration. This exploitation occurred in addition to extensive physical and sexual abuse. Following the cessation of the North-South conflict, there were no known new abductions of Dinka by Baggara tribes. However, inter-tribal abductions of a different nature continue in Southern Sudan, and constitute cases that warrant further investigation. According to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's World Fact Book, Sudan does not fully comply with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, and is not making significant efforts to do so.

In May of 2007, judges at the International Criminal Court in The Hague issued arrest warrants for two Sudanese citizens, Ahmad Muhammad Harun, a former security official accused of playing a role in planning atrocities, and Ali Muhammad Ali Abd-al-Rahman, also known as Ali Kushayb, accused of being a former leader of the *Janjaweed* militia in Darfur. The arrest warrants represent the Court's most concrete steps to address the atrocities that have occurred in Darfur. In issuing the warrants, the judges said there were reasonable grounds to conclude that the two suspects were "criminally responsible" for torture, mass rape and the forced displacement of entire villages in western Darfur in 2003 and 2004. It is up to Sudan to arrest the men, but the Sudanese government has asserted that the court has no jurisdiction. Sudan's president has repeatedly insisted that any necessary trials can be handled within the country.

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Interestingly, Mr. Harun appeared at a 2007 human rights conference in Egypt in his new capacity as Sudan's Minister for Humanitarian Affairs. He also oversees Darfur's large refugee camps, where international aid agencies have complained he is hindering their access to the needy. Mr. Kushayb, who the Khartoum government said was under arrest pending its own investigation, has been seen traveling under police protection in the Darfur region.

The following references comprise a survey of information available about terrorism and human rights issues in Sudan. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but is meant to provide the reader with a representative sample of information in the field. The citations are organized by topic. The plethora of entries about Darfur is a reflection of the international community's focus on this area.

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Background to the Conflict and Broad Analysis

Akol, J. 2005. "Did Britain divide Sudan?" *New African* (441): 66-66.

> Annotation: The author asserts that the British-initiated system of divide and rule in Sudan is misguided. He provides a historical account showing that the north and south regions of Sudan were never united any time before the British arrived, and describes the constant state of war between the regions prior to the arrival of the British. He offers a lengthy account of the implications on Sudanese history.

Central Intelligence Agency. 2006. "CIA: The World Factbook: Sudan." CIA World Fact Book.

> Annotation: This webpage is an encyclopedia entry for Sudan.

Dagne, T. 2006. "Sudan: Humanitarian Crisis, Peace Talks, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy." *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, U.S. Library of Congress.

> Annotation: The author of this Congressional Research Brief provides an account of recent events in Sudan (as of April 2006). Background and historical information about the conflict, a description of current issues, and information and analysis regarding the crisis in Darfur, are also included. The humanitarian situation in Northern Sudan, the U.S.'s response, the humanitarian crisis in Southern Sudan, and terrorism in Sudan are summarized as well.

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De Waal, A. 2007. "The Wars of Sudan." *Nation* 284 (11): 16-20.

Annotation: The author describes the history of violence that has plagued Sudan since the country gained independence in 1956, including its two civil wars and the current crisis in Darfur. The author offers a history of the conflicts, and highlights details related to the role of dissident Islamic factions in the violence in Darfur.

Fadl, Y. and R. G. Hasan. 2002. Religion and Conflict in Sudan. Nairobi: Paulines Productions Africa.

Annotation: In this collection of conference papers, the authors analyze the influence of religion, modernity, and globalization on conflict in Sudan.

IRIN. 2007. "Republic of the Sudan Humanitarian Country Profile."

Annotation: This website includes basic information about Sudan from a humanitarian perspective. It is updated regularly with links to news and analysis about the humanitarian crises in Sudan.

Johnson, D. 2003. The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Annotation: The author of this book focuses on the differences between Sudan's two civil wars, and highlights the minor conflicts generated by and contained within the larger wars. He examines historical, political, economic, and social factors that influenced Sudan's civil wars and considers humanitarian aid, oil revenue, and terrorist organizations as underlying issues that have exacerbated the violence.

Meyer, G. 2005. War and Faith in Sudan. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Annotation: The author offers a personal narrative of his life among the Nuba people. Meyer lived in a number of Nuba villages and traveled the countryside with them, seeing first-hand the effects of the vicious warfare that the government in Khatroum waged against these people. Senior Sudan scholar, Frances M. Deng, contributes a forward to the book.

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Warburg, G. 2005. "The Wingate Literature Revisited: The Sudan As Seen by Members of the Sudan Political Service during the Condominium: 1899-1956." *Middle Eastern Studies* 41 (3): 373-389.

Annotation: The author examines documents from the Wingate administration, and perspectives of the members of the Sudan Political Service (SPS) regarding benefits derived by the Sudanese from British administration under Governor-General Sir Reginald Wingate. He highlights contentions of General Horatio H. Kitchener and colonial administrators that the country required efficient British administration, with little Egyptian interference, despite the signing of the Condominium agreements. He describes animosities in Egyptian-Sudanese relations, as well as Egyptian interference in local politics. The author offers insights about the future political stability of Sudan based on the SPS. He also details the government's Southern Policy and the programs implemented on the non-Muslim Africans in southern Sudan.

Warburg, G. R. 2007. "The Search for the Sources of the White Nile and Egyptian-Sudanese Relations." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43 (3): 475-486.

Annotation: In this article, the author argues it is the Nile Valley that unites Sudan and Egypt diplomatically.

Williams, P. 2006. "Military Responses to Mass Killing: The African Union Mission in Sudan." *International Peacekeeping* 13 (2): 168-183.

Annotation: The author provides an overview of the military options available to the international community in response to instances of mass killing, and focuses on the military response to the Darfur Crisis. The author highlights the role of the African Union's Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and analyzes AMIS's international legitimacy, its effectiveness in achieving its mandate, and its ability to foster lasting peace in Darfur.

Woodward, P. 2006. US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Annotation: The author examines the relationship between U.S. perceptions of Islamism in Sudan and Somalia and argues that the U.S. has pursued the containment of Sudan and Somalia. He describes the effects of the Eritrean-Ethiopian war, as well as other conflicts, on U.S. policy and posture in the region.

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Darfur

2006. "CHAD: Janjaweed Attacks Claim." Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series 43 (5): 16650-16651.

> Annotation: The article reports on attacks by Sudanese Janjaweed militias and local Chadian recruits in villages in Chad. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), more than a hundred civilians were massacred in the cluster of villages west of the Sudan border on April 12 and 13, 2006.

2006. "Sudanese Smoke Screen." *America* 195 (2): 4.

> Annotation: This short article is a critique of the creation of a special criminal court by the Sudanese government to investigate crimes in Darfur. The focus of the critique is the Government of Sudan's alleged failure to give justice to the victims of rape and murder.

2007. "Sudan: 'We're all Africans, we're all black', says President Bashir." *New African* (461): 33-33.

> Annotation: The article is a presentation of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's views on the conflict in Darfur, Sudan. Al-Bashir denies the 2006 U.S. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices," which reported continued genocide in the region. He blames both the U.S. and British governments in exaggerating the crisis. Al-Bashir argues the cause of the problem is the rebellion in the region. He also emphasizes his decision to oppose the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers to the region.

Cockburn, A. 2006. "Gaza and Darfur." *Nation* 283 (21): 13-13.

> Annotation: The author argues that a focus on Darfur takes attention away from the ongoing attack of Palestinians in the Gaza strip. According to the author, Darfur is a crisis that Americans can feel good about condemning, as it has no real connection to the U.S.

Faris, S. 2007. "The Real Roots of Darfur." *Atlantic Monthly* 299 (3): 67-69.

> Annotation: The author discusses how global warming, and not ethnic hatred, may have contributed to the crisis in Darfur. The author suggests that global climate changes led to fighting between settled farmers and nomadic herders over failing lands.

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Grono, N. 2006. "Briefing on Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect." *African Affairs* 105 (421): 621-631.

Annotation: The author directs the concept of the doctrine "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) on conflicts of large-scale atrocities, particularly Darfur.

Hagan, J., W. Rymond-Richmond, *et. al.* 2005. "The Criminology of Genocide: the Death and Rape of Darfur." *Criminology* 43 (3): 525-562.

Annotation: Using victimization survey data collected from Darfuri survivors living in refugee camps in Chad, and drawing on conflict theory, the authors present evidence that the Sudanese government has directly supported violent killings and rapes in a lethally destructive exercise of power and control. The data include explicit evidence of the central mediating role played by racism in the attacks. According to the authors, there is little or no evidence from the surveys to support the claim of the Sudanese government that the attacks have been aimed at rebel groups as a counter-insurgency strategy. By the authors' analysis, the Sudanese government claims are not credible as self-defense arguments, but rather exemplify the exercise of power and control through denial. The authors consider additional forms of denial, including the slowness of modern American criminology to advance the study of genocide.

Hanson, S. 2007. "Crisis Guide on Darfur."

Annotation: This Council on Foreign Relations website provides information on the tragedy in Sudan's Darfur region. Seven photojournalists introduce the site's content through a multimedia essay. The site depicts human, political, military, and historical realities in the region, and provides links to deeper resources from the Council's think tank and other organizations around the world.

Hegland, C. 2007. "Sudan Sanctions Loom." *National Journal* 39 (12): 58-59.

Annotation: The author discusses the plans of the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush to levy sanctions against several Sudanese leaders for their failure and obstinate refusal to curb the violence in Darfur. The author describes events in April, 2006, when the United Nations Security Council targeted four midlevel Sudanese leaders by freezing their assets and banning their travel, a move designed to pressure both the Sudanese government-backed militias and the rebel leaders into protecting civilians in the Darfur region.

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Piiparinen, T. 2007. "Reconsidering the Silence over the Ultimate Crime: A Functional Shift in Crisis Management from the Rwandan Genocide to Darfur." *Journal of Genocide Research* 9 (1): 71-91.

Annotation: The author offers a comparison of genocide in Darfur in 2004 and Rwanda in 1994. He analyzes what has stayed the same, what approaches have been made, and what could still be ameliorated by acknowledging and condemning the genocides.

Peace Process

2005. "Lengthening the Arm of Global Law." *Economist* 375 (8421): 38-38.

Annotation: This short article is focused on the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague. It describes three ways the ICC can launch an investigation into a sealed list of 51 suspected war criminals, drawn up by the commission and said to include the names of Sudanese officials, members of state-sponsored militias and Darfuri rebels, given to Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the ICC's chief prosecutor in 2005.

2006. "Text of the Communication of the African Union Peace and Security Council, 46th Meeting, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, MARCH 10th, 2006." *International Peacekeeping* 13 (4): 601-605.

Annotation: This is a transcript of the communication of the African Union Peace and Security Council's meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on March 10, 2006. At the meeting, the council adopted a number of resolutions about the situation in Darfur, Sudan. The council set a number of deadlines for the Sudanese government and parties concerned in the conflict to come to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The council also requested that the Sudanese government comply with a number of previous treaties and agreements.

2007. "Ending Sudan's impunity." *Economist* 382 (8518): 53-54.

Annotation: The article is a description of the International Criminal Court's (ICC) prosecution of two people suspected of atrocities in Darfur. The ICC chief prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, has asked that the court issue summons for two men: Ahmad Muhammad Harun, a former junior interior minister and now minister for humanitarian affairs; and Ali Muhammad Ali Abd-al-Rahman, also known as Ali Kushayb. The article includes details of the cases, the death toll of the fighting in Darfur, and a description of the conflict's root causes.

Feinstein, L. 2007. "Darfur and Beyond: What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities," Council on Foreign Relations.

Annotation: In this report, Council on Foreign Relations Senior Fellow Lee Feinstein points to the U.N.'s acceptance that sovereignty may need to be compromised when a government is unable or unwilling to provide for the basic needs of those within its state borders. He argues that the challenge for the United States and the international community is to translate this principle into practice. To that end, this report recommends that the new U.N. Secretary-General take genocide prevention as a mission statement and mandate, and place it at the center of his and his organization's agenda. He also makes a number of recommendations for the United States and others to build a sustainable capacity for genocide prevention that is substantial enough to deal with inevitable crises, but sustainable given other national security demands. Feinstein makes a strong case that this is workable—if the international community is prepared to do it.

Heyder, C. 2006. "The U.N. Security Council's Referral of the Crimes in Darfur to the International Criminal Court in Light of U.S. Opposition to the Court: Implications for the International Criminal Court's Functions and Status." *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 24 (2): 650-671.

Annotation: The author analyzes the abstention of the U.S. from the decision of the United Nations Security Council to refer the conflict in Darfur, Sudan to the International Criminal Court (ICC). According to the author, the U.S.'s abstention enables the ICC to exercise criminal jurisdiction. The author also describes the political debate over the content of Security Council Resolution 1593 and examines whether the referral of the Security Council actually mandated the Court with full authority to investigate and prosecute the crimes committed in Darfur.

Kagwanja, P. and P. Mutahi. 2007. "Protection of Civilians in African Peace Missions: the Case of the African Union Mission in Sudan, Darfur." Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: The authors examine the problems of civilian protection created by the war in Darfur, focusing on the role of AMIS and the challenges it has encountered in protecting civilians in Darfur. They examine the challenges that have faced the proposed U.N. force, and the prospects of a hybrid force involving the African Union (A.U.) and U.N. They also explore the role of external players such as the European Union (E.U.), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Arab League and China in resolving the Darfur crisis. The authors argue for the strengthening of the A.U. force in the context of U.N. support, and for the fast tracking of the peace process within Darfur between Khartoum and the Darfur rebels. They also draw attention to the need for dialogue between Khartoum and its neighbors to ensure that the region does not become another haven for extremism and terrorism.

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Steidle, B. 2005. "Ceasefire, Sudan Style." *World Policy Journal* 22 (1): 1-8.

Annotation: The author presents a photographic essay on Sudan's Darfur region.

Udombana, N.J. 2007. "Still Playing Dice with Lives: Darfur and Security Council Resolution 1706." *Third World Quarterly* 28 (1): 97-116.

Annotation: The author examines the recent Security Council Resolution 1706 authorizing U.N. peacekeeping in Sudan, in the context of the deteriorating humanitarian crisis in Darfur. He assesses the African Union Mission in Sudan and elaborates on the reasons for its current fatigue and failure. In addition, the author analyzes the proposed mandate of the U.N. force, the organizing principles and rules of engagement and, sadly, the politics that continue to derail efforts at ending the genocide. The author urges the global community, and in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, to unite in an effort to compel the government of Sudan to accept U.N. deployment in order to save the dying and end the tragedy in Darfur.

United Nations Statute of the Court. International Court of Justice, United Nations.

Annotation: The Statute of the International Court of Justice is a primary legal source underlying the international foreign policy debate about Sudan.

Young, J. 2007. "Sudan People's Liberation Army: Disarmament in Jonglei and Its Implications," Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: Using the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of January 9th, 2005, and the Juba Declaration of January 8th, 2006, the author analyzes the disarmament campaign of the Lou Nuer of Jonglei State based on research carried out in Juba and Malakal and a week-long stay at the United Nations Mission in Sudan camp in Motot in late August 2006. The camp was the center of the Jonglei disarmament and of the resistance to the campaign. The author includes some analysis drawn from investigations conducted in February of 2006 of a parallel but largely peaceful disarmament campaign carried out in the eastern Upper Nile, among the Jikan Nuer.

Terrorism

Bailey, C. F. 2006. "The Red Sea Terror Triangle: Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and Islamic Terror." *Military Review* 86 (1): 121-121.

Annotation: The authors offer a review of the book The Red Sea Terror Triangle: Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and Islamic Terror, translated by Shaul Shay and Rachel Liberman.

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O'Ballance, E. 2000. <u>Sudan, Civil War, and Terrorism, 1956-1999</u>. New York: MacMillan Press.

  Annotation: In this book, the author describes Sudan's civil wars and the country's involvement in terrorism in the mid 1990s.

Petterson, D. 2003. Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict, and Catastrophe. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

  Annotation: The author, the last American ambassador to complete an assignment in Sudan, offers insight into events that occurred between 1998 and 2003. He describes Americans' experiences in Khartoum after the U.S. government put Sudan on the list of state sponsors of terrorism. Petterson considers Sudan's connections to international terrorists while assessing changes in the relationship between Sudan and the United States after 9/11. He also includes appropriate background information about Sudan.

Institute for Security Studies, 2007. "Terrorism."

  Annotation: This Institute website provides information on on-going initiatives and measures to prevent and combat terrorism in Africa, as well as its effects on the people. The site offers extensive analysis and links to key legislative documents related to terrorism in Africa, such as the "Compendium on International and Regional Legal Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism." The site also provides a calendar, proceedings, and other documents from significant meetings about terrorism in Africa.

A Survey of Terrorism and Human Rights in Uganda
By Arika Long

Tragically, Uganda is a primary example of a country dominated by terror and human rights violations. In a 2006 interview with Integrated Regional Information Networks IRIN, the news department of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Egeland, called the conflict in Uganda "the worst form of terrorism in the world." Defining terrorism as indiscriminate violence against civilians, he declares that nowhere in the world is there a more concentrated area where so many people are being terrorized, and have been for such a long period of time. According to UNOCHA, the conflict in northern Uganda has forced some 1.7 million people—close to 90 percent of the region's population—to leave their homes for the relative safety of about 200 camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) scattered around the region.

Background to the Conflict

Uganda gained independence from Great Britain on October 9, 1962, after almost 70 years of colonial rule. Several decades of political unrest and widespread violence followed, notably under President Milton Obote in the 1960s and again in the 1980s. Amnesty International estimated that in 1985, Obote's administration was responsible for over 300,000 civilian deaths. In 1971, Idi Amin ousted Obote in a military coup, ushering in one of the most brutal chapters in Uganda's history. Amin viciously quashed all opposition to his regime, often beheading suspected insurgents. He killed as many as 300,000 civilians during his eight years as president. In 1972, he expelled Uganda's entire Asian population, giving them three days to leave the country—a move that wreaked havoc on the country's economy. In 1978, Amin attempted to invade Tanzania to claim its Kagera region for Uganda. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere retaliated, and, with the help of exiled Ugandan opposition members, deposed Amin, who fled to Saudi Arabia where he died in 2003. In 1981, current President Yoweri Museveni launched a five-year guerrilla war against then-leader Okello Lutwa. He succeeded and was first elected democratically in 1996 following the formation of a new constitution; he was re-elected in 2001 and (to a controversial third term) in 2006.

The Lord's Resistance Army

Since 1987, northern Uganda has been the scene of violent conflict between the rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and government troops. The LRA's leader, self-proclaimed mystic Joseph Kony, claims to be fighting to replace Museveni's government with one based on the Bible's Ten Commandments. In 1994, the LRA extended its war to the civilian population in northern and eastern Uganda, terrorizing the people and decimating humanitarian conditions in the affected areas. The LRA insurgency also extends into north-eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as Sudan, where it has established headquarters, bases, and support from the Sudanese government.

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It is important to note that the LRA war against the Ugandan government can be seen as a proxy war by the government of Sudan to perpetuate insecurity in northern Uganda; the government of Uganda can also be observed as reciprocating by supporting the Sudan People's Liberation Army war against the government of Sudan. The LRA is known for its brutality, routinely maiming and killing civilians, and abducting children for use as child soldiers, sex slaves and domestic workers.

Peace Process

In 2006, the government of Southern Sudan began mediating peace talks in Juba between the government of Uganda and the LRA. Four previous attempts at negotiation were unsuccessful, most likely because they were held in Uganda. Between July 2006 and January 2007, the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CHA) was signed and violated, both parties walked out of the negotiations, two addenda were signed, civilians were killed in LRA-style ambushes in southern Sudan—later suspected to have been committed by others—the discussions reached a stalemate over the mediator and venue of the peace talks. The LRA, in particular, is highly suspicious of hidden agendas in the talks.

Terrorism

In 2002, Uganda passed anti-terrorism legislation to protect the country's national security and to ensure that Uganda meets its international obligations with respect to counter-terrorism. After September 11, 2001, President Museveni's government designated the LRA as a terrorist organization in response to the organization's designation on the U.S. Terrorist Exclusion List. As a result, the LRA faces indictments from the International Criminal Court, and the United Nations Security Council has noted the LRA as a threat to Uganda's stability.

Additionally, the LRA has abducted more than 25,000 children since 1986. In conflict-affected districts such as Gulu and Kitgum, around 40,000 unaccompanied children, known as "night commuters," walk from their homes in outlying villages to urban centers every night in search of protection from the LRA.

Human Rights

Uganda is dominated by accounts of torture and human rights abuses, including the extensive use of child soldiers. While the Uganda Human Rights Commission was established in the mid-1990s to promote and protect human rights, according to multiple human rights organizations claim Uganda is dominated by accounts of torture and human rights abuses.

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As mentioned above, the conflict has produced large populations of displaced persons—both internally and externally. These people are almost entirely dependent upon humanitarian support for their survival. In addition, by December 2005, Uganda was host to more than 140,000 refugees, mainly from Sudan, Rwanda and the DRC. With the help of the Ugandan Government, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and other partners, refugees are being housed in over 60 communities around the country.

<p style="text-align:center">໐໑</p>

The following references constitute a survey of information available about the conflict, the peace process, terrorism and human rights in Uganda. This list is by no means exhaustive, but is meant to provide the reader with a representative sample of information in the field. The citations are organized first by topic and then by author. The plethora of entries about the peace process is a reflection of the international community's focus on this topic.

Background to the Conflict and General Information

2006. "Tea with the Messiah." *New Statesman* 135 (4810): 30-32.

> Annotation: The author describes her experience of interviewing Yoweri Museveni, the leader of Uganda. Once considered an African leader of a new type, more concerned with his country than with his own power, Museveni had become, by 2006, a more typical African head of state.

Caruso, N. 2006. "Refuge from the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda: A Report from a *Medecins Sans Frontieres* Team Leader." *Emergency Medicine Australasia* 18 (3): 295-298.

> Annotation: In 2005, the author worked for *Medécins Sans Frontières* (MSF, or Doctors without Borders) in northern Uganda. His short report shares some background information on MSF, the situation in northern Uganda as a consequence of the activities of the LRA, the work of the MSF project, and his personal experience there.

Eriksen, S.S. 2005. "The Congo War and the Prospects for State Formation: Rwanda and Uganda Compared." *Third World Quarterly* 26 (7): 1097-1113.

> Annotation: In this article, the author analyzes the effects of the Congo war on state power in Rwanda and Uganda. Drawing on theories of European state formation, he argues that the Congo war has not led to a strengthening of the state in either country. He describes how the war has weakened the state of Uganda, and asserts that the remarkable strength of the Rwandan

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state, just a few years after the 1994 genocide, must be understood as a result of the security threat faced by the regime from Hutu militias, and not as a result of the Congo war. The author shows how this demonstrates that security threats against the regime can, in certain circumstances, have the same effect on state formation as war had in early modern Europe.

Institute for Security Studies. 2007. "ISS Country File: Uganda."

Annotation: This regularly updated website includes key economic, political, social, and demographic information about Uganda. It includes historical and geographical information as well. It also links to multiple reports and analyses about recent events in the country, including terrorist and human rights activity.

Taylor, I. 2006. "China's Oil Diplomacy in Africa." *International Affairs* 82 (5): 937-959.

Annotation: The author offers an analysis of China's growing expansion into Africa's oil markets. He argues that while China is providing investment where little previously existed, concerns about Beijing's engagement with Africa's oil industries need to be resolved, not least by African leaders themselves. According to the author, Chinese oil diplomacy in Africa has two main goals: in the short-term, to secure oil supplies to help feed growing domestic demand back in China; and in the long-term, to position China as a global player in the international oil market. He suggests China's pursuit of oil is accompanied by an explicit stance that emphasizes state sovereignty and "non-interference" in domestic affairs, and is wholly disinterested in transparency or human rights. He also asserts that Beijing has increasingly turned a blind eye to autocracy and corruption in Africa, and is threatening to undercut efforts by the African Union and its Western partners to make government and business more accountable.

The Lord's Resistance Army

Finnstrom, S. 2006. "Wars of the Past and War in the Present: The Lord's Resistance Movement/Army in Uganda." *Africa* 76 (2): 200-220.

Annotation: Based on anthropological fieldwork with young, displaced Ugandan men, this article focuses on the war in northern Uganda. The author exemplifies the ways in which non-combatants' experiences of the war and violence are domesticated as strategies of coping. Finnstrom also relates tales of wars in the past to experiences of violent death and war in the present. Furthermore, the article explores the politicized debate in Uganda over whether or not the LRM/A rebels have the elders' ceremonial warfare blessing. The author interprets the possible warfare blessing—which some informants interpreted as having turned into a curse on Acholiland—as a critical event benefiting from further deliberation, regardless of its existence or non-existence.

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Price, S. 2006. "Uganda a Huge Dilemma." *New African* (453): 34-35.

Annotation: In this article, the author discusses speculations on the possible end of the Lord's Resistance Army's insurgent activities in Uganda. The author refers to a videotaped meeting of rebel leader Joseph Kony with officials of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, indicating that Kony wants peace talks with Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. In the video, Kony explains that media and the government have branded him as a terrorist.

Peace Process

2005. "How to Help Wars End." The Economist 374 (8708): 11-12.

Annotation: This article is an examination of the impact of truces signed in the Sudan, Senegal and Uganda. According to the report, truces are common in Africa, and often signal no more than that the rainy season has made the roads impassable, or that both sides need a break to buy more bullets.

2006. "Pressure Mounts to End Neglect of the North." *Africa Confidential* 47 (15): 2-2.

Annotation: The article is a presentation of information on the mounting international pressure on Uganda's President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni to end the two decades-old conflict between the government and the LRA. According to the report, about 100,000 people have died due to the war.

2006. "Revamped Truce." Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series 43 (11): 16870-16871.

Annotation: This article is a report on the signing of the most recent peace agreement between the Ugandan government and the rebel LRA in Juba, South Sudan. The agreement aims to end the existing war in northern Uganda.

2006. "UGANDA: Ceasefire Extended." Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series 43 (12): 16908-16908.

Annotation: This article is a report on the extension of ceasefire by the Lord's Resistance Army and the Government of Uganda with Sudan. The talks between the LRA peace negotiators led by Martin Ojul and South Sudan Vice-President Rick Machar were held at Juba Raha Hotel on December 17, 2006.

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2006. "Uganda: ICC Adamant." Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series 43 (5): 16660-16660.

Annotation: The article is a report on President Yoweri Museveni's announcement that Uganda and South Sudan have given Joseph Kony until July to end hostilities. Included is a report that the International Criminal Court (ICC) said it expects Uganda to arrest the LRA leader because Uganda referred the case to the Court and must honor its commitment.

2006. "Will Kony Come Out of the Bush?" *The Economist* 381 (8500): 56-57.

Annotation: The article is an analysis of talks aimed at ending the conflict in Uganda, where one of Africa's longest and most savage civil wars is occurring. According to the report, leaders of LRA insist that there can be no peace deal unless the ICC drops its indictments against four of its members. Uganda's government referred the conflict to the ICC in January of 2004 after the peace process stalled.

De Zeeuw, J. 2005. "Projects Do Not Create Institutions: The Record of Democracy Assistance in Post-Conflict Societies." *Democratization* 12 (4): 481-504.

Annotation: Focusing on international electoral assistance, human rights, and the media, the author reviews the practical experiences of eight post-conflict countries: Cambodia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, El Salvador and Guatemala. He argues that the lack of focus on institution-building greatly limits the potential impact of international democracy assistance on post-conflict societies. Drawing from the recent work of local research teams within a major comparative research project, he concludes that international assistance has been instrumental in setting up new organizations, but relatively unsuccessful in consolidating effective democratic institutions. He argues that the international community's "democracy template" is particularly ill-suited to achieve democracy in post-conflict countries.

Gettleman, J. 2006. "Uganda Peace Hinges on Amnesty for Brutality." *New York Times* 155 (53703): A1-A6.

Annotation: The author reports that a cease-fire agreement between the Ugandan government and the rebel group, the Lord's Resistance Army, may depend upon whether or not the rebels are granted amnesty. He describes that this outcome is uncertain, because leaders of the LRA have been charged with crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

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Hegland, C. 2007. "Uganda's Peace at Mercy of Court." *National Journal* 39 (6): 53-54.

Annotation: The author offers insights on the call for peace talks by Joseph Kony, leader of the Lord's Resistance Army of northern Uganda, and LRA commanders, after they were indicted by the International Criminal Court in The Hague for crimes against humanity. The author describes briefly Kony's role in the war in Uganda, and presents various perspectives regarding the peace process.

Lamb, I. 2006. "From Horror to Hope: The Story of the Ugandan Conflict." *New Presence: The Prague Journal of Central European Affairs* 8 (3): 20-24.

Annotation: The author provides an examination of the conflict in Uganda between government forces and the Lord's Resistance Army. He suggests that a renewed possibility of peace offers a glimmer of hope to a country that has been devastated by decades of fighting. However, he cautions that whatever the outcome of the peace process may be, the protracted conflict in the country raises many other questions, including the inattentiveness of the international community to this conflict.

Mwaniki, D. and M. Wepundi. 2007. "The Juba Peace Talks—the Checkered Road to Peace for Northern Uganda." *Situation Report*. Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: The authors give a detailed description and analysis of the Juba peace talks in this report. They also include description and analysis of the history of conflict in Uganda, and of the Lord's Resistance Army and the Museveni government. They explore the implications of the Museveni government's designation of the LRA as a terrorist organization.

Quaranto, P. 2006. "Ending the Real Nightmares of Northern Uganda." *Peace Review* 18(1): 137-144.

Annotation: The author comments on the war between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army. The article describes how the United States government has fostered a strong working relationship with the government of Uganda, in support of efforts against AIDS and terrorism, but that, as of 2006, the American government had solely supported military efforts to end the war. The author argues the U.S. has provided no support to catalyze a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

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Taylor, J. 2005. "Taking Spirituality Seriously: Northern Uganda and Britain's 'Break the Silence' Campaign." *Round Table* 94 (382): 559-574.

Annotation: The author describes conditions in Northern Uganda and relates them to the history of the 'Break the Silence' Campaign, initiated and coordinated by the Church Mission Society. The campaign significantly increased political activity in Northern Uganda. The author argues international religious solidarity, and particularly Christian churches, broke the dehumanizing and isolating circle of secular indifference to the war, and utilized largely untapped resources for crisis resolution and peace building.

Terrorism

2005. "National Security: Uganda." Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series 42 (10): 16405-16407.

Annotation: This article is a report on the issue of an arrest warrant served to Joseph Kony, one of the commanders of the rebel Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International hailed the warrants against LRA commanders accused of war crimes as a positive measure. The organizations also called for all government's cooperation in apprehending Kony for trial at International Criminal Court headquarters.

2006. "ARMS TRADE: Kenya, Uganda Pact to Curb Trade." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 43 (5): 16662-16662.

Annotation: The article reports on a communiqué between Kenya and Uganda to curb the trade of firearms. Kenya and Ugandan border commissioners signed the Fifth Joint Communiqué, which proposed that the two countries cooperate and contain the flow of illegal small arms. The agreement called for a joint approach on terrorism, disarmament, and cattle rustling.

Human Rights

2007. "Rough justice." *Africa Confidential* 48 (7): 8-9.

Annotation: The article reports on the condition of the justice system in Uganda. The military raid on the High Court in Kampala on March 1, 2007 has alarmed the Museveni government. It is stated that the President hosted a judiciary meeting on March 16 to deal with the crisis. He supported the U.S. attacks on Iraq, and offers logistical support for the Somalia mission.

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Butagira, F. K. 2005. "Human Rights Dominate the Development Agenda." *UN Chronicle* 42 (4): 14-16.

Annotation: The author reports on the importance of the Third Committee of the United Nations' General Assembly in developing social, cultural, and humanitarian commitment as discussed at the 2005 World Summit in New York City. He describes the range of the Committee's concerns, including issues of international drug control and indigenous rights. He also describes the Committee's recommended 59 resolutions to the General Assembly, and focuses on its resolution to establish reparations for victims of human rights abuses.

Caruso, J. and K. Cope 2006. "The Lost Generation: How the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations Are Protecting the Rights of Orphans in Uganda." *Human Rights Review* 7 (2): 98-114.

Annotation: The author describes how millions of Ugandan children have become orphaned over the last two decades as a result of the increasing HIV/AIDS epidemic. He shows how this phenomenon has prompted the government to institute numerous legal reforms, and describes how these internal reforms greatly influence the legal inheritance rights of Ugandan orphans and their chances for prosperity. He argues that in many regions, the local traditions trump both national and global standards. The author describes key impediments to solving this problem and offers suggestions for significant reforms.

Cohen, J., R. Schleifer, *et. al.* 2005. "AIDS in Uganda: the Human-Rights Dimension." *Lancet* 365 (9477): 2075-2076.

Annotation: In this article, the authors analyze the issue of abstinence and Uganda's successes in HIV prevention. They argue that it is dangerous to assume that abstinence is the sole cause for Uganda's HIV decline, and suggest that abstinence programs funded by the United States have a history of censoring or distorting information about any other method of HIV prevention. The authors highlight potential issues involving human rights that they believe are ignored by a policy of abstinence-only HIV prevention.

IRIN. 2006. "Uganda: Interview with Jan Egeland, U.N. Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs." 2007.

Annotation: In this interview, Jan Egeland describes how northern Uganda has been the scene of one of the most brutal civil wars in the world for the past two decades. He describes the humanitarian emergency there, and calls the conflict "the worst form of terrorism in the world."

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IRIN. 2007. "Uganda: IDPs Begin Slow Journey Home amid Concerns Over Peace Process." 2007.

> Annotation: This report is a description of IDPs' experiences and the challenges they face in returning home in light of the peace talks between the Ugandan government and the LRA.

Nabacwa, M. S. 2005. "Gender Networking and Advocacy Work in Uganda: Controlling the Agenda and Strategies of Resistance." *Gender & Development* 13 (3): 34-41.

> Annotation: The author describes the complex relationships among donors, advocacy networks, member NGOs, national NGOs, and women at the grassroots level who are undertaking gender advocacy work in Uganda. Her research considers advocacy to promote gender equality, and shows how this activity both affects, and is shaped by, power relationships among the various actors involved. She asserts that donors and national NGOs accept that there is a need for advocacy, in order to raise the profile of key gender issues and to try to influence policy and practice. However, she believes they have different motives for doing this work, and describes how their agendas may diverge from each other at times. She argues that ultimately, this divergence affects the quality of the work they do to represent the interests of Ugandan women.

Otunnu, O. A. 2006. "Death of a People." *Christian Century* 123 (8): 11-12.

> Annotation: The author reflects on the difficulties experienced by those interned in concentration camps by the government of Uganda. According to his report, the government uses the activity of the Lord's Resistance Army to divert attention away from its concentration camps, which are accused of perpetuating human rights violations such as the denial of education to children as a government policy. The author suggests the dismantling of the camps should not be made contingent on ending the war against the LRA.

Otunnu, O. A. 2006. "The Secret Genocide." *Foreign Policy* (155): 44-46.

> Annotation: The author of this article describes genocide and other human rights violations in Uganda. According to the author, the LRA has abducted an estimated 25,000 children during the Sudanese conflict. The author points out that what most people do not realize is that the Ugandan government itself is also perpetrating serious crimes, specifically the destruction of the Acholi people in concentration camps.

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Sheikh, F. 2006. "Return of the Stolen Girls." *Ms.* 16 (2): 24-25.

> Annotation: The author describes the experiences of Ugandan women and girls in the hands of the Lord's Resistance Army. She narrates the experiences of 25-year-old Milly Amongy under the hands of her husband Lieutenant Colonel John Odour, the commander of the LRA who was known as Acel Calo Apar. The author details how the young woman escaped from him in 2005.

Uzbekistan at the Crossroads
By Latife Bulur

Uzbekistan is at the crossroads of the Central Asian region. Because of its strategic location and natural resources, Uzbekistan is becoming an interest to many different states, including the United States. However, many states that are interested in Uzbekistan are cautious about developing relations due to civil and governmental unrest.

Uzbekistan is facing many problems regarding human rights policies and terrorist activity. The Islamic radical groups that reside in Uzbekistan are fighting the Uzbek government in response to what they claim have been years of repression. Meanwhile, the government serving under President Islam Karimov is under the impression that these radical groups are staging an uprising, and therefore is retaliating against Islamic groups.

In assessing where the true terrorism lies, some scholars believe that the Islamic groups are attempting to overthrow the secular government established there, while other scholars argue that the true terrorist activity is being propagated by the government itself.

Possible solutions for this now dysfunctional state are in much demand. However, Uzbekistan is closely tied to other Central Asian states. Therefore, whatever international policies are directed toward Uzbekistan may affect the region as a whole. With this in mind, scholars seek to address not only issues faced by Uzbekistan, but to view such problems in the context of the region in which it is situated.

Islamic fundamentalism constitutes a serious impediment for human rights in Uzbekistan. Radical Islamic groups sometimes incite civil conflicts, the reasons for which are oftentimes unknown. Some of the conflict may be influenced by terrorists from Afghanistan who are using Uzbek forces to achieve their own ambitions. Certain scholarly works argue that terrorists throughout the region are collaborating in an effort to gain supremacy over the secular government already established. Countering this notion, other authors contend that collaboration between regional radical groups is nothing but a government conspiracy against Islamic groups.

One of the most prominent hypotheses regarding why Islamic groups are inciting conflict is that they have endured terrible religious persecution by the government. Yet not all Islamic groups make this claim. At least one reason why this is the case is because these groups are not all militarized. There are various Islamic groups in the Uzbek region, some of which are very moderate, while others are extremely radical. Because of the large number of Islamic groups, many Muslims who may participate in a more moderate group are being falsely accused of crimes committed by radical Islamic insurgents. The government oftentimes fails to differentiate between the various groups, and instead deems all groups as "bandits." This, in turn, encourages (otherwise) non-violent groups to retaliate against governmental repression.

Some scholars accuse the Uzbek government of being ignorant regarding the differences between these groups. Many works can be found that portray the Uzbek government in a very negative light, and which argue that the government has been repressing its people and producing insurgents.

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One of the most important and disastrous events that occurred in the Central Asian region is the massacre in the city of Andijan in May of 2005. This event began when several individuals broke a number of businessmen out of prison who were accused of belonging to a radical Islamic group in the area. While the protest that followed began somewhat peacefully, it quickly turned violent. Government authorities opened fire on the crowds, killing hundreds of protestors and civilians.

Since this incident, the Uzbek regime and its leader, President Karimov, have been criticized for the use of excessive force. At the time, the regime claimed that the protest was an attempt to stage a coup on the government, but many scholars believe that the government's response was too harsh. Some scholars even declare that the government, led by Karimov, is the true terrorist. The government, it is claimed, inflicts daily human rights violations on its people. Others believe that the Islamic groups hope to destroy the secular government in efforts to replace it with a religious state.

The situation in Uzbekistan is difficult for proponents of human rights to evaluate, and for advocates to agree upon an appropriate course of action. Islamic fundamentalism, disorganization within the government, and regional instability are only a few of the factors that continue to make the situation tenuous. However, due to Uzbekistan's strategic location, there is much international support for development and stability. The resources listed in the bibliography that follow provide a glimpse into this tragic situation, and present possible solutions for Uzbekistan's many human rights issues.

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Central Asian Focus

Bowers, S. R., B. Musayev, et al. 2006. "The Islamic Threat to Eastern Central Asia." *Journal of Social, Political & Economic Studies* 31 (4): 375-397.

Annotation: The authors of this piece analyze the evolution of violence in the Central Asian region. They state that the region initially developed culturally and socially, but later began to morph into a jihadist campaign in which attempts were made to undermine the secular authority. Terrorist attacks increased against security personnel, and worse, against civilian targets. This article illustrates this evolving history well, and establishes that the violence has been steadily increasing in the region over the past five years.

Chaudet, D. 2006. "Hizb ut-Tahrir: an Islamist Threat to Central Asia?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26 (1): 113-125.

Annotation: This author explores the Hizb ut-Tahrir—a new danger in the Central Asian Region, in addition to examining other possible threats. It is argued that Hizb ut-Tahrir could be the new Al-Qaida, threatening the safety and security of Central Asia, and even of the United

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States. The author also takes the position that there are other sub-national rivalries, such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, that are equally threatening.

Crosston, M. 2006. Fostering Fundamentalism: Terrorism, Democracy and American Engagement in Central Asia. Burlington: Ashgate.

Annotation: The author of this book examines how the U.S. is influencing countries in the Central Asian region such as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. The author states that the U.S. is creating conditions in this region that serve no purpose other than to produce a new generation of Islamic radicals. This book provides a relatively controversial approach to U.S. foreign policy as it relates to the Central Asian region.

MacFadyen, D. 2006. Russian Culture in Uzbekistan: One Language in the Middle of Nowhere. London: Routledge.

Annotation: This book focuses on the Russian side of the relationship with Uzbekistan. Russian-speaking citizens who reside in the Uzbekistan are faced with a complication that Russia is no longer the only power in the region. The author of this piece concerns himself with examining Russia's experience in and around Uzbekistan since 1900, and addresses the role of Islam in the Central Asian region.

Petrenko, V. D., Y. N. Karimov, *et al.* 2005. "Efforts of Uzbekistan to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism and Smuggling of Radioactive and Nuclear Materials." *Applied Radiation & Isotopes* 63 (5/6): 737-740.

Annotation: This article focuses on how safeguarding nuclear materials has come to the forefront since terrorism has increased in the Central Asian region. Uzbekistan lies in the crossroads of the North and the South, and should terrorist activity increase regionally, transporting such materials through the country will become risky. This article also covers the developments that have been made to prevent possible interceptions of nuclear materials by terrorist groups.

Trisko, J. N. 2005. "Coping with the Islamist Threat: Analyzing Repression in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan." *Central Asian Survey* 24 (4): 373-389.

Annotation: This article takes an empirical approach to understanding the Central Asian region, specifically Uzbekistan and its government. The author delves into a decision-theoretic model formulated by Gartner and Regan; it is a theory that analyzes the use of governmental repression. The role of Islam in the region is discussed as well. The author acknowledges the

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importance of building positive relationships with moderate Islamists who are open to a dialogue with the government.

Religious Oppression

Andersen, M. 2005. "Chronicle of a Massacre Foretold." *Index on Censorship* 34 (4): 11-16.

Annotation: The author reviews decisions made by President Karimov regarding Uzbekistan. There has been much criticism of Karimov, particularly regarding how he has been responding to the uprising of certain Islamic groups. This author, along with other critics, agrees that the Uzbek government and Karimov is applying too much pressure on the Islamic groups, which equates to repression. The author believes that this repression may lead to another Andijan incident.

Bakker, E. 2006. "Repression, Political Violence and Terrorism: the Case of Uzbekistan." *Helsinki Monitor* 17 (2): 108-118.

Annotation: This article concentrates on the issues that have contributed to the rise of violence and terrorism in Uzbekistan. The author explores how repression has resulted in terrorism, and discusses the ways in which an increase in terrorism may even lead to a collapse in the regime. The author makes a suggestion in this piece about how to resolve this issue, as well. The Karimov regime, in the author's opinion, would have much to gain if it were to find a more liberal and comprehensive approach to security.

Gannushkina, S. and Y. Ryabinina. 2005. "Muslims on Faked Charges." *Index on Censorship* 34 (4): 118-119.

Annotation: This article focuses on the charges placed on Muslims falsely for committing acts of terrorism. According to the authors, Muslims are being tried for extremism based on trumped-up charges. Meanwhile, human rights groups in the region are receiving many requests for aid. This article mentions how the "Civic Assistance" group and the human rights group "Memorial" have been monitoring the trial process that is taking place in Russia.

Hill, F. and K. Jones. 2006. "Fear of Democracy or Revolution: the Reaction to Andijon." *The Washington Quarterly* 29 (3): 111-125.

Annotation: These authors analyze the reaction from the Uzbekistan government, specifically Uzbek president Karimov, following the Andijan incident. The article gives a short account of the massacre, and discusses how people present in the crowd felt about the government.

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Citizens highlighted government repression and corruption, particularly as Karimov had ordered his troops to open fire on the crowd, killing many Uzbek civilians. The authors portray Karimov's behavior as a panicked act against protesters, whom he thought were staging a coup against his government. Karimovk, according to this article, is only focusing on short-term stability solutions, and is ignoring what the people truly need.

Horsman, S. 2005. "Themes in Official Discourses on Terrorism in Central Asia." *ThirdWorld Quarterly* 26 (1): 199-213.

Annotation: The author of this piece explores how the governments of Central Asian region—Uzbekistan specifically—have perceived the threat of Islamic terrorist groups. He critiques the perception of the threat, turning to a theoretical definition of terrorism. The author wants to view the wider political culture, and to analyze the objectives of these regimes. He suggests that what is truly necessary is an effective and coherent assessment of the nature and extent of the terrorist threat.

Ilkhamov, A. 2006. "The Phenomenology of 'Akromiya': Separating Facts from Fiction." *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 4: 39-48.

Annotation: The author of this piece examines the group known as Akromiya, and considers its involvement in the violence in Uzbekistan. The Uzbek government labels this group as an extremist Islamic organization with intentions of overthrowing the order of the state. Other works, it is noted, contend that such a group does not even exist. This author aspires to decipher the truth of this preponderance. The article concludes with a suggestion that if the Uzbek government desires to boost its relations with its own population, it needs to make a distinction between moderate and radical Islamic groups.

Kamp, M. 2006. The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Annotation: This book explores the lives of Uzbek women before and after the Russian Revolution of 1917. The author takes a personal approach, by including direct quotes and words from Uzbek women. Uzbek women have chosen to become unveiled, as a path to Islamic social and intellectual liberation. The author explains how this movement has triggered violence against women, and how this event remains highly volatile for women today.

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Kendzior, S. 2006. "Inventing Akromiya: The Role of Uzbek Propagandists in the Andijon Massacre." *Demokratizatsiya* 14 (4): 545-562.

Annotation: The author of this piece discusses the relationship between the Akromiya group and the Uzbek government. The government currently views Akromiya as a highly violent organization set on overthrowing the state. Akromiya, according to the government, is responsible for what happened in Andijan when the violence broke out. The author argues that this portrayal is nothing but a government conspiracy, and has been propagated by members of the Uzbek government.

McGlinchey, E. 2005. "The Making of Militants: the State and Islam in Central Asia." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25 (3): 554-566.

Annotation: The author of this piece addresses variations between Islamic groups, and specifically seeks to explain why the tension between the state and Islam has proven greater and considerably more violent in Uzbekistan than in many other areas of Central Asia. The author also makes an interesting point that the more authoritarian the state, the more pronounced political Islam will be in society.

Murray, C. 2007. Murder in Samarkand: a British Ambassador's Controversial Defiance of Tyranny in the War on Terror. Edinburgh: Mainstream.

Annotation: This is an autobiography on the life of British Ambassador to Uzbekistan, Craig Murray. He was removed from his post after exposing human rights abuses by the regime of President Karimov. Described as a candid and, at times, shocking memoir, this book analyzes the countless acts of tyranny from Karimov. He also mentions how despite these violations of human rights, Karimov was still viewed as a key U.S. ally in the "War on Terror."

Naumkin, V. V. 2005. Radical Islam in Central Asia: between Pen & Rifle. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Annotation: This book examines the history of Islam in Uzbekistan. The author breaks down the history of Islam by splitting it into several important periods of time, beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and leading all the way up to the September 11th terrorist attacks. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan became involved in campaigns against the United States. The author studies the main political Islamic movements in Uzbekistan, and acknowledges that while he has touched on many points; his work still does not exhaust the topic of religious radicalism in the Uzbek region.

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Terrorist Activity

2005. "Bullets Were Falling Like Rain: the Andijan Massacre, May 13, 2005." *Human Rights Watch* 17 (5): 1-66.

> Annotation: This article deeply examines the Andijan Massacre that occurred on May 13, 2005. The authors who complied this work start the piece by giving an overview of how the massacre built up momentum. They convey the many kinds of suffering experienced by individuals, which included hostage situations, prison breaks, and the sealing off of the Bobur Square. The authors conclude their piece by providing recommendations for easing the conflict in Uzbekistan.

Shishkin, P. 2005. "Uzbek Crackdown Fuels Instability in Central Asia." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition* 245 (98): A1-A8.

> Annotation: This article is a review of the incident in Andijan in May 2005. It begins by reviewing the beginning of the incident, outlining how armed men attacked a prison in order to free businessmen accused of belonging to a radical Islamic group. Then the article reviews the response by the Uzbek government, including its use of excessive force, which left hundreds of people dead. This article also reports on the reaction of the people in Andijan and on how this incident is shaping the relationship between Uzbekistan and the United States.

Zanca, R. 2005. "Believing in God at Your Own Risk: Religion and Terrorisms in Uzbekistan." *Religion, State & Society* 33 (1): 71-82.

> Annotation: This author boldly takes a side against the Uzbek regime by beginning his article with a story of a man murdering a woman in front of dozens of people. The Uzbek authorities witnessed the murder and did nothing. This author portrays two forms of terrorism in Uzbekistan: one committed randomly by radicals in the name of Islam; and the second committed on a daily basis by the Uzbek regime. He believes that Muslims in the area must take drastic action against the regime if they are to pursue their own religious lives freely.

Policy

Akbarzadeh, S. 2007. "Uzbekistan and the United States: Friends or Foes?" *Middle East Policy* 14 (1): 107-116.

> Annotation: This author examines the complex relationship between Uzbekistan and the United States. There have been many cases where the Uzbek Government has used particular attempts to bolster its own power. Uzbek leaders have developed a flexible posture towards foreign relations. This article illustrates how Uzbekistan relies heavily on foreign support.

S-68

Dubnov, A. 2005. "Putin Avoids Delving into Aspects." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 57 (26): 1.

Annotation: The author of this piece focuses on Russian president Vladimir Putin's views on the issue of the Andijan massacre. The author discusses how Putin claims that militants from Afghanistan have enmeshed themselves into the ranks of the Uzbek protesters. Putin also contends, against the claims of the Uzbek president Karimov, that the incident was a foreign conspiracy. The author also briefly discusses the Russian and Uzbek governments' military cooperation post-Andijan.

Naumkin, V. 2006. "Uzbekistan's State-Building Fatigue." *The Washington Quarterly* 29 (3): 127-140.

Annotation: This article provides insight into the complex relationship between the U.S. and Uzbekistan. Originally, Uzbekistan was important to the U.S. because of its ability to act as a partner on the "War on Terror" and because of its prime location next to Afghanistan. However, the relationship between the two states deteriorated after the reaction to the Andijan massacre. The author mentions how now the Uzbek president, Karimov, has decided to abandon the U.S., realizing that the alliance is becoming a liability.

Rumer, E. 2006. "The U.S. Interests and Role in Central Asia after K2." *The Washington Quarterly* 29 (3): 141-154.

Annotation: The author of this piece explains the relationship between the U.S. and Uzbekistan. The article also goes into the Russian and Uzbekistan relationship in comparison to U.S. relations. The U.S. immediately pulled out of Uzbekistan in response to the Uzbek government's use of excessive force during the uprising in Andijan in May of 2005. The author recommends that the U.S. cooperate with Uzbekistan in order to advance U.S. interests in Central Asia, and specifically in Afghanistan.

Sidorov, D. 2005. "American Planes Leave Uzbekistan with a Boom." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 57 (23/24): 4.

Annotation: The author of this piece discusses how the U.S. transferred from a base in Uzbekistan to a neighboring base. Uzbek authorities informed U.S. military personnel that they were no longer permitted to fly planes at night, and banned them from doing so. The U.S. had previously applied pressure to Uzbekistan by suggesting an independent investigation of the Andijan incident. This author views the ban placed on the U.S. as retaliation for such pressure.

S-69

Wall, C. and J. Overton. 2006. "Unethical ethics?: applying research ethics in Uzbekistan."
Development in Practice 16 (1): 62-67.

Annotation: This article focuses on the application of Western research ethics in Uzbekistan.
The author points out the need to make vital ethical considerations in conducting development-
related research. Barriers to the adoption of new technologies include human rights and
repression, ethical principles of self-determinism, non-malfeasance, and justice and beneficence.
Finally, the author argues that it is wrong to replace local notions of what constitutes appropriate
behavior assessment with Western ethical concepts.

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