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***THEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES***  
***No. 7/2006***

**FIVE YEARS OF 'WAR ON TERROR'**  
**CINQ ANNEES DE 'GUERRE AU TERRORISME'**

***Bibliographies Thématiques***  
***No. 7/2006***

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# PART I : BOOKS

## PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\*

2006

323 /00961

Knowing the Enemy : Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror - New Haven,  
CT : Yale University Press.

vi, 243 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0300113064

Author(s):

1. Habeck, Mary R.

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--RELIGIOUS ASPECTS--ISLAM

2. JIHAD

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. ISLAM AND POLITICS

Notes:

Includes index.

'After September 11, Americans agonized over why nineteen men hated the United States enough to kill three thousand civilians in an unprovoked assault. Analysts have offered a wide variety of explanations for the attack, but the one voice missing is that of the terrorists themselves. This book is the first to present the inner logic of al-Qaida and like-minded extremist groups by which they justify September 11 and other terrorist attacks. The author explains that these extremist groups belong to a new movement - known as jihadism - with a specific ideology based on the thought of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Whahab, Hasan al-Banna, and Sayyid Qutb. Jihadist ideology contains new definitions of the unity of God and of jihad, which allow members to call for the destruction of democracy and the United States and to murder innocent men, women and children. The author also suggests how the United States might defeat the jihadis, using their own ideology against them.

ID number: 80020634

Year: 2006

Type: M

323 /00956

Axis of Evil : The War on Terror - Barnsley, UK : Pen & Sword Books.

viii, 295 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1844152626

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. IRAQ WAR, 2003-

3. AFGHAN WAR, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. Moorcraft, Paul L., ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book covers the dramatic world events which unfolded from 11 September 2001 to the end of the official occupation of Iraq in the summer of 2004. Many books have been written on the war on terror, but none includes contributions from so many top military and political leaders. The contributions are linked by a series of essays to form a compelling narrative of the new way of war.'

ID number: 80020594

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\* This list contains material received as of September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2006 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 27 septembre 2006.

Year: 2005

Type: M

## 2005

341.3 /00133

The Law of Armed Conflict : Constraints on the Contemporary Use of Military Force - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

xiv, 266 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0754645436

Subject(s):

1. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. Hensel, Howard M., ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'Modern armed conflict has taken a variety of forms and occurs at a variety of levels, very often raising serious questions concerning the relationship between the law of armed conflict and the reality of contemporary warfare. As throughout human history, many contemporary armed conflicts are fought in pursuit of unlimited objectives, whereas other modern wars seek to advance limited goals. While in some cases modern wars are fought by traditional armies composed of clearly identifiable soldiers, often, modern armed conflicts are waged by guerrilla or partisan fighters whose identities are easily confused with non-combatants. Terrorism is increasingly a characteristic manifestation of this contemporary warfare. In the broadest sense, contemporary warfare has raised often controversial and vexing questions concerning the applicability of the law of armed conflict and, when applicable, the interpretation of its principles and tenets. This volume brings together a group of scholars to address some of the contemporary normative and legal challenges and problems associated with the application of the concepts of just war, the just conduct of war, and the law of armed conflict to 21st century warfare.'

ID number: 80020360

Year: 2005

Type: M

323 /00921

Battling Terrorism : Legal Perspectives on the Use of Force and the War on Terror - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

vi, 209 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0754644073

Author(s):

1. Maogoto, Jackson Nyamuya

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM PREVENTION

2. TERRORISM--LAW AND LEGISLATION

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 197-203. Includes index.

'The attacks of September 11, 2001, the US response and the international community's approval of the subsequent military action represent a new paradigm in the international law relating to the use of force. Previously, acts of terrorism were seen as criminal acts carried out by private, non-governmental entities. In contrast, the September 11 attacks were regarded as an act of war which marked a turning point in international relations and law. This volume examines the use of force in the war against terror. The work is based on the central theme that the use of force is visibly enrolled in a process of change and it evaluates this within the

framework of the uncertainty and indeterminacy of the UN Charter regime. The status of preemptive self-defence in international law and how it applies to US policy towards rogue states is examined along with the use of military force, including regime change, as an acceptable trend in the fight against state-sponsored terrorism.'

ID number: 80020271

Year: 2005

Type: M

323 /00894

Not a Good Day to Die : The Untold Story of Operation Anaconda - New York : Berkley.

xix, 425 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0425196097

Author(s):

1. Naylor, Sean

Subject(s):

1. OPERATION ANACONDA, 2002

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

4. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 411-414. Includes index.

'After the Al Qaida attacks of September 11, 2001, America quickly toppled the Taliban regime that had sheltered the terrorist organization in Afghanistan. But the military strategy that succeeded so well against the ragtag Taliban began to backfire as US forces pursued Osama bin Laden's fighters into the mountains. Award-winning combat reporter Sean Naylor reveals how close to disaster American forces came in Afghanistan.'

ID number: 80020044

Year: 2005

Type: M

323 /00954

Imperial Hubris : Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror - Washington : Potomac Books.

xxi, 314 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1574888498

Author(s):

1. Scheuer, Michael

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. JIHAD

3. BIN LADEN, OSAMA,

4. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

5. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 298-304. Includes index.

'Though US leaders try to convince the world of their success in fighting al Qaeda, one anonymous member of the US intelligence community would like to inform the public that we are, in fact, losing the war on terror. Further, until US leaders recognize the errant path they have irresponsibly chosen, he says, our enemies will only grow stronger. According to the author, the greatest danger for Americans confronting the Islamist threat is to believe that Muslims attack us for what we are and what we think rather than for what we do. Blustering political rhetoric 'informs' the public that the Islamists are offended by the Western world's democratic freedoms, civil liberties, inter-mingling of genders, and separation of church and state. However, although aspects of the modern world may offend conservative Muslims, no Islamist leader has fomented jihad to destroy participatory democracy, for example, the national

association of credit unions, or coed universities. Instead, a growing segment of the Islamic world strenuously disapproves of specific US policies and their attendant military, political, and economic implications. Capitalizing on growing anti-US animosity, Osama bin Laden's genius lies not simply in calling for jihad, but in articulating a consistent and convincing case that Islam is under attack by America. Al Qaeda's public statements condemn America's protection of corrupt Muslim regimes, unqualified support for Israel, the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, and a further litany of real-world grievances. Bin Laden's supporters thus identify their problem and believe their solution lies in war. The author contends they will go to any length, not to destroy our secular, democratic way of life, but to deter what they view as specific attacks on their lands, their communities, and their religion. Unless US leaders recognize this fact and adjust their policies abroad accordingly, even moderate Muslims will join the bin Laden camp.'

ID number: 80020545

Year: 2005

Type: M

341.3 /00131

Terrorism, the Laws of War, and the Constitution : Debating the Enemy Combatant Cases - Stanford, CA : Hoover Institution Press.

xix, 196 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0817946225

Subject(s):

1. COMBATANTS AND NONCOMBATANTS--LEGAL STATUS, LAWS, ETC.--USA
2. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
3. TERRORISM--LAW AND LEGISLATION--USA
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
5. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Added entry(s):

1. Berkowitz, Peter, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The modern laws of war that emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were developed with a particular concept of war in mind - one that does not apply to the conflict with our current adversaries. With the September 11 attacks the United States found itself engaged in a new kind of war, with new dilemmas that needed new rules. This book examines three significant enemy combatant cases - Padilla, Hamdi, and Rasul - that represent the leading edge of US efforts to devise legal rules, consistent with American constitutional principles, for waging the global war on terror. The volume's contributors analyze the crucial questions these cases raise about the balance between national security and civil liberties in wartime, discuss critical separation of powers issues, and call upon the courts, the political branches, and the country to reexamine the complicated connections between the Constitution and international law. Spanning the spectrum of informed legal opinion, the essays gathered here show that debating the enemy combatant cases is indispensable to meeting the legal challenges to come in the long war that lies ahead. Although they may disagree as to the details, the contributors are in full agreement that fortifying the rule of law at home is both a demand of justice and a national security imperative.'

ID number: 80020276

Year: 2005

Type: M

323 /00890

Saudi Arabia : Islamic Threat, Political Reform, and the Global War on Terror - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 65 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 158487189X

Author(s):

1. Zuhur, Sherifa

Subject(s):

1. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--SAUDI ARABIA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--SAUDI ARABIA

3. SAUDI ARABIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'This monograph examines the emergence and progress of an Islamist threat in Saudi Arabia and the simultaneous development of other forces for political change, and assesses the strategic situation in the Kingdom in light of the regional war on terrorism.'

ID number: 80019998

Year: 2005

Type: M

355.4 /01468

A Nation at War : Reconciling Ends and Means - Newport, RI : Naval War College Press.

ii, 146 p. : ill.; 26 cm.

(William B. Ruger Chair of National Security Economics Papers ; 1)

ISBN: 1884733344

Subject(s):

1. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY--ECONOMIC ASPECTS

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001---ECONOMIC ASPECTS

3. USA--ECONOMIC POLICY

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Lloyd, Richmond M., ed.

Notes:

Proceedings, Naval War College Intersessional Conference, Newport, Rhode Island 7-8 March, 2005.

'The conference agenda included three sets of speakers and panels that addressed reconciling ends and means at three successive levels : Competing National Priorities : Strategic and Resource Choices (at the national and federal budget level); Global War on Terrorism, Homeland Security, Defense and Intelligence (at the national security interagency level); 2005 Quadrennial Defense Review : Issues and Options (within the Department of Defense).'

ID number: 80020559

Year: 2005

Type: M

2004

323 /00844

The 9/11 Commission Report : Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States - New York : Norton.  
xviii, 567 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

ISBN: 0393326713

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA
3. INTELLIGENCE SERVICE--USA
4. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)
5. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (US)

Notes:

'Nearly three thousand people died in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. In Lower Manhattan, on a field in Pennsylvania, and along the banks of the Potomak, the United States suffered the single largest loss of life from an enemy attack on its soil. In November 2002 the United States Congress and President George W. Bush established by law the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, also known as the 9/11 Commission. This independent, bipartisan panel was directed to examine the facts and circumstances surrounding the September 11 attacks, identify lessons learned, and provide recommendations to safeguard against future acts of terrorism. This volume is the authorized edition of the Commission's final report.'

ID number: 80019441

Year: 2004 ?

Type: M

355 /00450

Islamic Rulings on Warfare - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.  
vii, 43 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871776

Author(s):

1. Aboul-Enein, Youssef H.
2. Zuhur, Sherifa

Subject(s):

1. MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE IN THE KORAN
2. JIHAD IN THE KORAN
3. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The global war on terror (GWOT) and the battles with specific Islamist groups is, to some degree, a war of ideas. With a better understanding of Islamic concepts of war, peace, and Muslim relations with non-Muslims, those fighting the GWOT may gain support and increase their efficacy. The authors explain the principles of jihad and war and their conduct as found in key Islamic texts, the controversies that have emerged from the Quranic verses of war and peace, and the conflict between liberal or moderate Islamic voices and the extremists on matters such as the definition of combatants, treatment of hostages, and suicide attacks.'

ID number: 80019694

Year: 2004

Type: M



341.3 /00138

Guantanamo : le bagne du bout du monde - Paris : La Decouverte.

234 p.; 22 cm.

(Cahiers Libres)

ISBN: 2707143871

Author(s):

1. Bolopion, Philippe

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--CUBA--GUANTANAMO BAY NAVAL BASE

2. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

'Au coeur de la Cuba communiste, sur une base qui a survécu à la guerre froide, le Pentagone a méthodiquement créé fin 2001 une zone de non-droit où sont détenus depuis dans le plus grand secret près de six cents 'ennemis combattants', originaires d'une quarantaine de pays et soupçonnés d'activités terroristes. Que se passe-t-il dans les geôles de Guantanamo Bay ? Qui sont ces 'ennemis' de l'Amérique ? Que savent-ils de si précieux ? Comment leurs interrogateurs les font-ils parler ? L'auteur fait partie des quelques journalistes qui ont pu observer le camp Delta. Il livre dans cet ouvrage documenté les résultats de son enquête sur ce 'bagne du bout du monde'. Mêlant à son récit de l'étonnante visite des témoignages d'anciens détenus, de juristes et d'officiers de l'armée américaine, il dresse le premier tableau complet d'une expérience anachronique qui, au même titre que les camps d'internement des Japonais vivant aux États-Unis pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, restera comme une tache sur l'histoire de l'Amérique. 'On ne peut juger du degré de civilisation d'une nation qu'en visitant ses prisons' disait Dostoïevski. Detention d'enfants, interrogatoires brutaux, cellules-cages, emprisonnement illimité, sans motif, sans procès, sans avocat : de la poussière des attentats du 11 septembre émerge le portrait d'une Amérique déboussolée, qui utilise sa 'guerre contre le terrorisme' pour justifier l'injustifiable.'

ID number: 80020611

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00876

Al-Qaeda : The True Story of Radical Islam - London : Tauris.

xxvii, 355 p. : ill.; 20 cm.

ISBN: 1850436665

Author(s):

1. Burke, Jason

Subject(s):

1. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

2. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

3. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

5. TERRORISM

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 339-343. Includes index.

'To most in the West 'al-Qaeda' is seen as a byword for terror : a deadly, highly organized fanatical group masterminded by Osama bin Laden. But does this tell the whole truth ? The author has spent a decade reporting from the heart of the Middle East and gaining unprecedented access to the world of radical Islam. Now, drawing on his frontline experience of recent events in Iraq and Afghanistan, on secret documents and astonishing interviews with intelligence officers, militants, mujahideen commanders and bin Laden's associates, he reveals the full story of al-Qaeda - and demolishes the myths that underpin the 'war on terror'. The author demonstrates that in fact 'al-Qaeda' is merely a convenient label applied by the West to

a far broader - and thus more dangerous - phenomenon of Islamic militancy, and shows how eradicating a single figure or group will do nothing to combat terrorism. Only by understanding the true, complex nature of al-Qaeda, he argues, can we address the real issues surrounding our security today.'

ID number: 80019816

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00826

Against All Enemies : Inside America's War on Terror - London : Free Press.

xiii, 304 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0743260244

Author(s):

1. Clarke, Richard A.

Subject(s):

1. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

2. TERRORISM--USA

3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

4. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

5. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Includes index.

'Richard Clarke served seven presidents and worked inside the White House for George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush until he resigned in March 2003. He knows, better than anyone, the hidden successes and failures of the Clinton years. He knows, better than anyone, why the Americans failed to prevent 9/11. He knows, better than anyone, how President Bush reacted to the attack and what happened behind the scenes in the days that followed. He knows whether or not Iraq presented a terrorist threat to the United States and whether there were hidden costs to the invasion of that country. Most disturbing of all are Clarke's revelations about the Bush administration's lack of interest in al Qaeda prior to September 11. From the moment the Bush team took office and decided to retain Clarke in his post as the counterterrorism czar, Clarke tried to persuade them to take al Qaeda as seriously as had Bill Clinton. For months, he was denied the opportunity even to make his case to Bush. He encountered key officials who gave the impression that they had never heard of al Qaeda; who focused incessantly on Iraq; who even advocated long-discredited conspiracy theories about Saddam's involvement in previous attacks on the United States. Clarke was the nation's crisis manager on 9/11, running the Situation Room - a scene described here for the first time - and then watched in dismay at what followed. After ignoring existing plans to attack al Qaeda when he first took office, George Bush made disastrous decisions when he finally did pay attention. Coming from a man known as one of the hard-liners against terrorists, this book is both a powerful history of America's two-decades-long confrontation with terrorism and a searing indictment of the current administration.'

ID number: 80019240

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00966

A War of a Different Kind : Military Force and America's Search for  
Homeland Security - Annapolis, MD. : Naval Institute Press.  
xx, 366 p.; 24 cm.  
ISBN: 1591142202

Author(s):

1. Duncan, Stephen M.

Subject(s):

1. INTERNAL SECURITY--USA
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. TERRORISM PREVENTION--USA
4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

Notes:

Includes index.

'The dramatically new homeland security, military, and legal strategies developed by the United States in the months following the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon are given comprehensive treatment in this book. The author draws on a lifetime of military and legal experience to examine the many questions relating to the role of the armed forces in homeland security, including elements of constitutional and criminal law, foreign policy, tradition and custom, federal-state and interagency relations, politics, and military strategy and operations. Among the diverse subjects the author discusses are military tribunals and the International Criminal Court, the statute governing the use of military personnel in law enforcement, defense transformation, the constitutional power of the president, and the reorganization of the government to meet the terrorist threat. He also analyzes the strategy and tactics used in Afghanistan and Iraq, and he critically evaluates the nation's political leadership before and after the attacks on September 11th. His book gives readers access to information essential to a full understanding of the problems facing homeland security and at the same time puts them in the midst of policy debates to grasp the immediacy of the situation.'

ID number: 80020695

Year: 2004

Type: M

355.4 /01421

European Security After 9/11 - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.  
ix, 165 p.; 24 cm.  
ISBN: 0754635945

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Shearman, Peter, 1950- , ed.
2. Sussex, Matthew, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 145-157. Includes index.

'Much scholarly attention has been paid to the United States' response to the events of 9/11. This timely volume broadens our understanding of the impact of the attacks by considering instead their consequences for European security and for the relationship between the US and leading European states. The book places into theoretical context the notion that the world changed by assessing shifting conceptions of security and warfare, linking this to new thinking in these areas. It also critically evaluates the idea that the war against terrorism is a manifestation of a cultural clash between the West and Islam, and provides detailed evaluations of British, French, German

and Russian reactions to 9/11 and the subsequent war on Iraq. Bringing together an impressive collection of experts this work is an excellent resource for courses on international security, European politics, and international relations.'

ID number: 80019486

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00893

Chain of Command : The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib - London : Penguin Books.

xix, 394 p. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0713998458

Author(s):

1. Hersh, Seymour M.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. IRAQ WAR, 2003---PRISONERS AND PRISONS, AMERICAN

3. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA

4. ABU GHRAIB PRISON

Notes:

Includes index.

'The author reveals here what really lies behind the public story of Bush's war on terror, giving the full picture of the intelligence failures, lies, distortions and obsessions - including the White House's false claims about weapons of mass destruction - that led to the invasion of Iraq and turned America from victim of terror into perpetrator of torture. Examining the full extent of the abuse at Abu Ghraib, the author discloses the institutional failures of the Army prison system and lays responsibility at the highest levels. He shows how policy decisions at the Pentagon - endorsed by Rumsfeld and his aides - to expand a top secret 'special-access program' brought extreme torture methods to the prisons in Iraq and created a culture of brutality where the old rules no longer applied. He also looks at who blew the whistle and what the Pentagon's reaction was to the scandal.'

ID number: 80020037

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00875

Fitna : guerre au coeur de l'islam : essai - Paris : Gallimard.

380 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 2070712974

Author(s):

1. Kepel, Gilles

Subject(s):

1. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. IRAQ WAR, 2003-

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 365-376. Includes index.

'Avec les attentats du 11 septembre 2001, Ben Laden et son mentor le Dr Zawahiri visaient a enrayer le declin du jihad qui avait echoue pendant les annees 1990 - en Egypte comme en Bosnie, en Arabie saoudite ou en Algerie. En frappant l'ennemi lointain' americain, ils esperaient galvaniser leurs partisans et faire triompher l'islamisme radical dans le monde entier. Cette provocation advint au moment ou la seconde intifada enfonceait Israeliens et Palestiniens dans le chaos. Pendant ce temps, a Washington, l'influent lobby neoconservateur repensait les interets strategiques traditionnels des Etats-Unis au Moyen-Orient : la securite simultanee de l'Etat d'Israel et des

approvisionnementnements petroliers. Melant aspirations democratiques et reaffirmations hegemoniques, la 'guerre contre la terreur' ouvrit en definitive la boite de Pandore dans l'Irak occupe. Les sevices infliges aux prisonniers irakiens, les prises d'otages occidentaux executes ou egorges par les jihadistes illustrent l'impasse dans laquelle sont precipites la politique americaine et surtout le monde musulman. Le chaos met en peril le Moyen-Orient, menace ses lieux saints et dechire le tissu social : c'est la hantise seculaire des oulemas, docteurs de la Loi - ils l'appellent fitna, la guerre au coeur de l'islam. Face a cela, c'est en Europe, parmi les millions de musulmans qui y vivent desormais, que se joue la bataille pour l'evolution de l'islam - elle oppose la regression communautaire et la fusion avec la modernite. L'islam d'Europe est aujourd'hui a l'avant-garde de ce combat, le modele sur lequel ont les yeux fixes les musulmans du monde qui aspirent a vivre liberes des regimes autoritaires comme des fantasmes sanglants des jihadistes.'

ID number: 80019798

Year: 2004

Type: M

341.3 /00122

From '9-11' to the 'Iraq War 2003' : International Law in an Age of Complexity - Oxford, UK : Hart.

xv, 380 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1841134961

Author(s):

1. MacGoldrick, Dominic

Subject(s):

1. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

2. IRAQ WAR, 2003-

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book is a tale of two towers, two wars and two visions. It is concerned with whether the world was changed by the terrorist attacks on the two towers of the World Trade Centre in New York on '9/11'. It explores the two wars after '9/11' - the War on Terrorism and the War on Iraq. It considers the principal international law and international order issues involved in the two Wars. Specific attention is given to the application of international humanitarian and international human rights law in the wars. Among the issues discussed are the relationship between war and the international legal order; how the international debate on the Iraq War was conducted and why; the relationship between moral and international legal debates; the US approach to international law and the international legal system after '9/11'; the post-war situation in Iraq; the consequences of the two wars for the Middle East; and their implications for world order in the twenty-first century. There is also a broader assessment of whether the post-1945 system of international laws and organisations can survive. What vision of international order will emerge in the twenty first century ? The book also introduces the idea of 'complexity theory' as a possible framework for understanding the events and issues it considers.'

ID number: 80019335

Year: 2004

Type: M

355 /00456

Winning the War by Winning the Peace : Strategy for Conflict and Post-Conflict in the 21st Century - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vii, 53 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871822

Author(s):

1. Matthews, Lloyd J.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003-

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. USA--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'During each of the last 15 years, the US Army War College has sponsored a broad-based strategy conference that addresses a major security issue of current relevance to the United States, its allies, and, indeed, the entire world. The conference theme for year 2004 was 'Winning the War by Winning the Peace: Strategy for Conflict and Post-Conflict in the 21st Century'. Informed by the Korean, Vietnam, and Gulf wars fought by the United States and its allies during the last half of the 20th century wars in which, despite the qualitative superiority of our forces, the outcomes proved to be less than satisfactory, the conference theme for 2004 entailed a deep probe into the question of how can the West, in this new century of omnipresent terrorism, capitalize on its superior military and economic might to achieve a satisfying and enduring modus vivendi. The search for answers to this central question was lent added relevance and urgency by the fact that the allied anti-insurgency wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were transpiring even as the conference proceeded.'

ID number: 80019902

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00835

NATO and the European Union : New World, New Europe, New Threats -

Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

xvii, 324 p.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0754638014

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--NATO

3. NATO--USA

4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--EU COUNTRIES

5. EU--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Gardner, Hall, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The perspectives of academics and practitioners are brought together in this insightful work, which examines the war on terrorism, the Iraq war and the roles of NATO and the EU. The book analyzes the new threats posed by terrorist strikes and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction despite the total failure of Cold War conceptions of deterrence. It also delineates the key issues and problems that have arisen from the NATO and EU double enlargement and from the new NATO-Russian relationship. Casting light on the global and regional ramifications of the crisis, as well as the tensions in the transatlantic relationship caused by the war with Iraq, this book addresses the key policy questions that concern the maintenance of global peace and security.'

ID number: 80019334

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00867

A War on Terror : Afghanistan and After - London : Pluto Press.

vi, 210 p.; 20 cm.

ISBN: 0745320864

Author(s):

1. Rogers, Paul

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

Notes:

Includes index.

'This is a radical assessment of Bush's new policy, the way it has affected world security and the grave implications it holds for future peace, not only in the Middle East but throughout the world. Moving from the war in Afghanistan and its aftermath to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, the continuing development of al-Qaida and its associates, through to the war on Iraq, the author presents a uniquely cogent week-by-week analysis of these rapid and traumatic events. In a world in which the US and other states of the Atlantic community are increasingly speaking a different language to that of the rest of the world, the author offers a vital critical assessment of the language of dominance and control as 'the New American Century' unfolds. For the US in particular, the post-9/11 world is one in which it is essential to maintain firm control of international security, extending to pre-emptive military action. In this book, the author demonstrates how futile, mistaken and deeply counterproductive that belief is, and points to the need for more effective routes to a just and secure world.'

ID number: 80019708

Year: 2004

Type: M

341.7 /00106

The Battle of Ideas in the War on Terror : Essays on US Public Diplomacy in the Middle East - Washington : Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

xvi, 106 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0944029922

Author(s):

1. Satloff, Robert B.

Subject(s):

1. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST

3. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. Washington Institute for Near East Policy (US)

Notes:

'This collection of seventeen essays takes aim at the poll-driven, self-defeating approach to public diplomacy that has often defined US outreach to Arabs and Muslims since September 11. It offers instead a bold, hopeful, and unapologetic vision of how the United States can fight - and ultimately win - the long-term battle of ideas in the Middle East.'

ID number: 80020314

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00879

Rumsfeld's War : The Untold Story of America's Anti-Terrorist Commander -  
Washington : Regnery Publishing.

vii, 253 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0895260697

Author(s):

1. Scarborough, Rowan

Subject(s):

1. RUMSFELD, DONALD

2. CABINET OFFICERS--USA

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. USA--MILITARY POLICY--DECISION MAKING

Notes:

Includes index.

'When terrorists crashed a plane into the Pentagon, he was there - helping carry the wounded to safety. And he's been there - leading the war on terror, directing its operations around the world in both open and covert missions, and bluntly focusing on one primary goal : killing terrorists. He is Donald Rumsfeld. His great fear was a second Pearl Harbor. When it happened on September 11, 2001, he led the charge to make sure it never happens again. This book takes you inside Rumsfeld's Pentagon, detailing the far-sighted, courageous decisions he has made to enable the US military to fight this most unconventional of war. The author has had access to Rumsfeld himself as well as to numerous never-before-released documents that show not only how Rumsfeld is fighting the war, but how he is fighting the bureaucracy and remaking the American military, shifting the focus from the ingrained 'can't-do' bureaucracy to the special operations Green Berets, SEALs, and others who live by 'can-do'. The author concludes that history will surely judge Rumsfeld as 'one of America's most important defense leaders'. The book reveals why - and how much of the bold new military strategy and vision that the Americans are implementing now in the war on terror they owe to one brilliant, brave, and tenacious man : Donald Rumsfeld.'

ID number: 80019880

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00865

Counter-terrorism : Containment and Beyond - Oxford, UK : Oxford  
University Press.

128 p. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X; 367)

ISBN: 0198567596

Author(s):

1. Stevenson, Jonathan

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'The 9/11 attacks revealed that the transnational terrorist threat facing the US and its partners was far more dangerous than most had previously discerned. It was now clear that al-Qaeda intended to, and could threaten the West's - particularly the US' - political and military leverage, with the aim of shifting the balance of power from the West to Islam after a violent global confrontation. In that sense, the new terrorist threat is strategic, and it has led to a worldwide mobilisation comparable to that required by a world war. This paper argues that prevailing in the 'war' on terror, much like victory in the Cold War, entails containment, deterrence, outperformance and engagement. Military power is secondary to intelligence,



law enforcement, enlightened social policy and diplomacy. Diplomatic engagement with the larger Muslim world is paramount as a means of denying al-Qaeda not merely recruits but the 'clash of civilisations' it seeks. The US-led intervention in Iraq, though intended to introduce democratic reform in the wider Middle East, has so far antagonised Islam and strengthened Islamist terrorism. This suggests that coercive or aggressively ideological diplomacy is unlikely to win over an Islamic population biased by anti-Western propaganda. Successful Western diplomacy will have to be discreet, nuanced and incremental.'

ID number: 80019695

Year: 2004

Type: M

323 /00845

Al Qaeda's Great Escape : The Military and the Media on Terror's Trail - Washington : Brassey's.

xxv, 229 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1574886282

Author(s):

1. Smucker, Philip

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001---PRESS COVERAGE--AFGHANISTAN

2. BIN LADEN, OSAMA, 1957-

3. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

4. WAR CORRESPONDENTS--AFGHANISTAN

5. MASS MEDIA AND WAR

6. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001---PERSONAL NARRATIVES

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 223-224. Includes index.

'When President Bush announced in a televised speech the week after September 11 that he wanted Osama bin Laden 'dead or alive', a grieving nation seeking justice and revenge roared in approval. Two years later, as al Qaeda's associates mounted almost weekly attacks against US interests and bin Laden still roamed the earth as a free man, Americans wondered why. With both the military and the media declaring the war in Afghanistan over and a resounding success, the author examines what kind of victory we can rightfully claim. Primarily focusing on the major battles of Tora Bora and Operation Anaconda, the author details how bin Laden and scores of highly trained al Qaeda fighters managed to slip unnoticed out of eastern Afghanistan, despite the presence of the overwhelming US military power that had already decimated the Taliban. To balance his reproach, he turns a critical eye on post-9/11 developments in his own profession. He charges that the Western media outlets, eager to satisfy their audience's thirst for revenge, began losing their grasp on journalistic objectivity while covering the military's pursuit of bin Laden. Blinding patriotism and an unhealthy reliance on the Pentagon's press releases led the media to portray events that did not reflect the reality on the ground in Afghanistan. Further, the author contends that to satisfy the press and the public's need for vengeance, the Bush administration aggressively pushed to achieve some early, highly visible successes, leading to a shortchanging of long-term strategy. Impatience at the top forced a rush into a war aimed primarily at 'regime change', but it left the US military largely empty-handed when it came to capturing its al Qaeda prey. Likely the most grievous error of the ongoing campaign in Afghanistan, allowing members of al Qaeda to escape, has given them the option to regroup, thereby posing a dangerous resurgent threat to US national security.'

ID number: 80019443

Year: 2004

Type: M

## 2003

355.4 /01386

Winning Modern Wars : Iraq, Terrorism, and the American Empire - New York

: PublicAffairs.

xvi, 218 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 1586482181

Author(s):

1. Clark, Wesley K.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003-

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

4. USA--MILITARY POLICY

Notes:

Includes index.

'The war in Iraq was the model of a modern war. Wesley Clark, a four-star general and former commander of the US forces overseeing the no-fly zone in Iraq, the man who defined modern war, reveals how the battlefield war in Iraq was a triumph of American technology and the fighting ability of the men and women in the armed forces. They out-thought and out-fought their adversaries to achieve a stunning military victory. But modern wars are won not only on the battlefield but in the television studio, in the diplomatic lobbies of international organizations, and, perhaps most of all, in the hearts and minds of civilian populations. Such was the power of the battlefield success that vital mistakes in the pre- and post-war planning, mistakes that would cost billions of dollars and have unforeseeable repercussions, went almost unnoticed in America. Until hard evidence proved that there was a problem : more American troops died after the war was declared over than during the fighting. Most flawed of all was the logic that claimed an attack on Iraq should become the key to American security. Clark shows that it was not. Moreover, by pursuing Iraq, the real war against terror was subordinated and much of the enemy allowed to regroup, re-energized by an unnecessary campaign in one of the world's most sensitive regions. A new approach to winning this war is in order, and urgently needed. This book is a celebration of American military strength and a thoughtful critique of American geo-strategy. It is a vital contribution to the ongoing debate about the best way to secure the future for America and a gripping narrative of events in the world's most modern theater of war.'

ID number: 80018942

Year: 2003

Type: M

323 /00818

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

284 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1400061946

Author(s):

1. Frum, David

2. Perle, Richard Norman, 1941-

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

'This world is an unsafe place for Americans - and the US government remains unready to defend its people. In this book the authors sound the alert about the dangers around us : the continuing threat from terrorism, the crisis with North Korea, the aggressive ambitions of China. The authors provide a

detailed, candid account of America's vulnerabilities : a military whose leaders resist change, intelligence agencies mired in bureaucracy, diplomats who put friendly relations with their foreign colleagues ahead of the nation's interests. They lay out a bold program to defend America - and to win the war on terror. This book will define the conservative point of view on foreign policy for a new generation - and shape the agenda for the 2004 presidential election year and beyond.'

ID number: 80019150

Year: 2003

Type: M

323 /00774

Bad Moon Rising : A Chronicle of the Middle East Today - London : Saqi Books.

139 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 0863563031

Author(s):

1. Kepel, Gilles

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. MIDDLE EAST--CIVILIZATION

5. NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS, ARAB

Notes:

Includes index.

'One of the world's foremost experts on Islam and Islamism, Kepel returned to the Middle East even as New York was still struggling with shock and dust. This book is a dispatch from history's most contentious region during a period of breaking news. While sensing the omens of a new war, Kepel's account reveals that the realities are more complex than commonly understood. Bin Laden is popular and religious fervour is on the rise, but many people have also found the path to moderation without blunting their critical instincts. Throughout, Kepel asks the critical question : Why is there so much resentment towards, but fascination for, the West ?'

ID number: 80018485

Year: 2003

Type: M

323 /00815

Bounding the Global War on Terrorism - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 56 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871466

Author(s):

1. Record, Jeffrey

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The author examines three features of the war on terrorism as currently defined and conducted: (1) the administration's postulation of the terrorist threat, (2) the scope and feasibility of U.S. war aims, and (3) the war's political, fiscal, and military sustainability. He believes that the war on terrorism--as opposed to the campaign against al-Qaeda--lacks strategic clarity, embraces unrealistic objectives, and may not be sustainable over the long haul. He calls for downsizing the scope of the war on terrorism to reflect concrete U.S. security interests and the limits of American military power.'

ID number: 80019082  
Year: 2003  
Type: M

323 /00863

Bush at War - London : Pocket Books.

xix, 382 p. : ill. ; 20 cm.

ISBN: 074346107X

Author(s):

1. Woodward, Bob

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

Notes:

Includes index.

'The author takes us inside the White House to explore the president's instincts and document the secret deliberations of the National Security Council, which inform them. Presented in fascinating detail and based on interviews with more than a hundred sources, including first-hand revelations of the private thoughts and fears of the president and his war cabinet, this is a vivid portrait of history in the making.'

ID number: 80019622

Year: 2003

Type: M

355.4 /01361

Waging Ancient War : Limits on Preemptive Force - Carlisle Barracks, PA :

US Army War College.

xii, 48 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871113

Author(s):

1. Worley, Duane Robert, 1949-

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. GUERRILLA WARFARE

3. USA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

5. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, stimulated the most far reaching and deep reassessment of American national security strategy since the late 1940s. All of America's objectives, preferences, and methods were open to evaluation. The outcome of this process will shape US strategy for years to come. In this study, Dr. Worley addresses the ways that the age of terrorism is affecting American grand strategy. He contends that terrorism has made many of the basic concepts of international relations and national security obsolete. Declaring war on a tactic - terrorism - erodes the clarity necessary for coherent strategy. Dr. Worley then develops what he calls a 'guerra strategy' more appropriate for dealing with terrorism and other nonstate threats.'

ID number: 80018506

Year: 2003

Type: M

## 2002

323 /00750

After 9/11 : Preventing Mass-Destruction Terrorism and Weapons  
Proliferation - Monterey, CA : Monterey Institute of International  
Studies.

ii, 74 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 8)

Subject(s):

1. WMD TERRORISM
2. WMD NONPROLIFERATION
3. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. Barletta, Michael, ed.
2. Monterey Institute of International Studies. Center for  
Nonproliferation Studies (US)

Notes:

'Since its inception in July 1999, the Monterey Nonproliferation  
Strategy Group (MNSG) has been preoccupied by the spread and  
potential use of mass-destruction weapons, whether by such  
states as Iraq or transnational terrorist organizations like  
al-Qa'ida. In December 2001, the MNSG met in Monterey,  
California, to reflect upon the impact of the September 11  
terrorist attacks in the United States and their US and  
international repercussions, and to strategize about how the  
United States and international community can avert terrorism  
and reduce NBC threats to US and international security. This  
publication includes papers prepared for the meeting and a  
thematic review of the group's deliberations.'

ID number: 80018179

Year: 2002

Type: WEB

323 /00807

The Lessons of Afghanistan : War Fighting, Intelligence, and Force  
Transformation - Washington : Center for Strategic and International  
Studies.

viii, 168 p.; 23 cm.

(Significant Issues Series ; vol. 24, no. 4)

ISBN: 089206417X

Author(s):

1. Cordesman, Anthony H.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'This study seeks to provide an initial assessment of the war in  
Afghanistan and the lessons to be drawn in terms of war  
fighting, intelligence, and force transformation. The Afghan  
conflict is anything but a conventional war : it is asymmetric  
warfare fought by different sides with different goals and  
perceptions using radically different methods - and fought as a  
theater battle in a broader global struggle against terrorism.  
Asymmetric wars tend to be highly adaptive, and this war is  
both regional and global in scope. It is also a struggle fought  
in a context where it may come to interact with other conflicts  
such as the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian struggle and a possible  
US effort to drive Saddam Hussein from power. So, while it is  
easier to draw lessons than to validate them, this study begins  
that process.'

ID number: 80018938

Year: 2002

Type: M

355.2 /00247

Facing the Hydra : Maintaining Strategic Balance while Pursuing a Global War against Terrorism - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College. vi, 23 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870915

Author(s):

1. Crane, Conrad C.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. USA--MILITARY POLICY

3. USA--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'As the global war on terrorism continues, members of Congress and media pundits are starting to say that American military forces are being stretched to thin by far-flung commitments. While Bush administration officials dispute this, they have expressed desires to reduce peacekeeping commitments and reexamine the number of overseas stations and deployments. The author analyzes the impact of the war on terrorism and the requirements of the 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review on the many essential missions conducted by the US Armed Forces. Focusing primarily on the Army, he highlights the requirements associated with combat operations against terrorists, accelerating transformation and the new emphasis on homeland security and force protection. At the same time, he points out that the Army and the other Services must remain involved worldwide in day-to-day assurance, dissuasion, and deterrence activities; execution of peace operations and other smaller-scale contingencies; and remaining ready for other major combat operations. Dr. Crane asserts that these obligations require the Army to reshape and expand its force structure. Failure to do so places critical missions at risk around the world, and could lead to replacement of operational 'victory' in the war on terrorism with strategic failure as regional instability increases.'

ID number: 80017994

Year: 2002

Type: M

323 /00769

Deterrence and Influence in Counterterrorism : A Component in the War on al Qaeda - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xix, 86 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(Rand Publications ; MR-1619-DARPA)

ISBN: 0833032860

Author(s):

1. Davis, Paul K., 1943-

2. Jenkins, Brian Michael

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

'It may not be possible to deter fanatical terrorists, but members of terrorist systems may be amenable to influence. The US counterterrorism strategy should therefore include political warfare, placing at risk things the terrorists hold dear, a

credible threat of force against states or groups that support acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, and maintaining cooperation with other nations engaged in the war on terror, while also preserving core American values.'

ID number: 80018418

Year: 2002

Type: WEB

323 /00851

War Without End : The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response -

London : Routledge.

xxxiv, 513 p. : ill. ; 20 cm.

ISBN: 0415288029

Author(s):

1. Hiro, Dilip

Subject(s):

1. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

2. ISLAM--HISTORY

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 486-490. Includes index.

'The first war of the twenty-first century'. That is how President George W. Bush described the start of a war against terror signaled by the catastrophic terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., on September 11. In reality, though, this conflict began during the presidency of Bill Clinton in August 1998 when the US responded to the Islamist terrorists' bombings of American embassies in Nairobi and Dar as Salaam. This book provides the historical and political context to explain these acts of terror and the West's response. After providing a brief history of Islam as a religion and as a socio-political ideology, the author outlines the Islamist movements that have thrived in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan, and their changing relationship with America. It is within this framework that he describes the rising menace of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network. The author examines the Pentagon's amazingly swift victory over the Taliban in Afghanistan. He then discusses the implications of the Bush Doctrine, encapsulated in his declaration, 'So long as anybody is terrorizing established governments, there needs to be a war' - a recipe for war without end.'

ID number: 80019549

Year: 2002

Type: M

323 /00747

Countering al Qaeda : An Appreciation of the Situation and Suggestions for Strategy - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xi, 30 p. ; 30 cm.

(Rand Publications ; MR-1620-RC)

ISBN: 083303264X

Author(s):

1. Jenkins, Brian Michael

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

3. TERRORISM--AFGHANISTAN

4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

'This monograph reviews events since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and discusses the current state of al Qaeda and the kinds of actions that can be expected of it in the future. Al Qaeda constitutes the most serious immediate threat

to the security of the United States, so the campaign against terrorism must remain focused. The monograph describes the central elements that must be emphasized in the next, more complex phase of that campaign.'

ID number: 80018172

Year: 2002

Type: WEB

496.3 /00342

All for One: Terrorism, NATO and the United States - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

vii, 214 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0754630455

Author(s):

1. Lansford, Tom

Subject(s):

1. NATO--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. NATO--MILITARY POLICY

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 188-209. Includes index.

'This detailed examination of the role of the Transatlantic Alliance in support of the America-led military and intelligence operations against the Taliban and the Al-Qaida network since the terrorist attacks on the United States provides the first in-depth analysis of NATO's historic first invocation of Article V of the Washington Treaty. Including a substantial overview of NATO's place in the broad security framework of the Western Atlantic powers and both the shared history and ideals that form its common basis, the book specifically analyzes the political machinations behind the decision to invoke Article V and the impact of political differences among the Alliance partners. The book also looks at efforts to prevent future incidents by expanding the security framework of the Alliance. An essential reference source for military and foreign policy academics, courses and practitioners, this text offers the reader an unprecedented insight into NATO's response to this most significant event.'

ID number: 80018410

Year: 2002

Type: M

327 /01113

Dragon on Terrorism : Assessing China's Tactical Gains and Strategic Losses Post-September 11 - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 63 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871032

Author(s):

1. Malik, Mohan

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

3. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The US relationship with China and the global war on terrorism are the two most significant strategic challenges faced by the Bush administration. Both are vital and complex; the way the administration manages them will shape American security for many years. While there is a growing literature on both key strategic issues, little analysis has been done on the



intersection of the two. The author fills this gap as he assesses how the war on terrorism has affected China. He concludes that the war on terrorism radically altered the Asian strategic environment in ways that negated China's foreign policy gains of the last decade and undermined its image as Asia's only great power. Dr. Malik then offers a range of recommendations for a more stable relationship with China.'

ID number: 80018293

Year: 2002

Type: M

355.3 /00108

Coalitions Building and Maintenance : The Gulf War, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and the War on Terrorism - Washington : Georgetown University.

xi, 100 p.; 26 cm.

ISBN: 0934742960

Author(s):

1. Pierre, Andrew J.

Subject(s):

1. COMBINED OPERATIONS (MILITARY SCIENCE)

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. Georgetown University. Institute for the Study of Diplomacy (US)

2. American Academy of Diplomacy (US)

Notes:

'This book meets a pressing need to examine how the United States has worked with others in its latest military engagements and provides clear recommendations for winning the next stages in the War on Terrorism. It is all too clear that today we cannot continue to make progress against international terrorism with bombs and bullets alone. Strong coalitions and allies are essential, because so many of the actions we must take in areas like intelligence, finance, and domestic law enforcement must also be taken by others. US unilateralism isn't really an option, as the author's insightful analysis explains. The study skillfully and convincingly demonstrates that American success is enhanced by working with its partners, and prescribes how to 'get it right' in the next phases of the fight.'

ID number: 80018588

Year: 2002

Type: M

323 /00770

Counter-Terrorism and the Use of Force in International Law - Garmisch-Partenkirchen : George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies.

iv, 98 p.; 23 cm.

(Marshall Center Papers ; 5)

ISBN: 1930831080

Author(s):

1. Schmitt, Michael N.

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Added entry(s):

1. George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (DE)

Notes:

'On September 11, 2001, Al Qaeda terrorists flew two commercial airplanes into the World Trade Center and one into the Pentagon. A fourth crashed into the Pennsylvania countryside. Nearly 3,000 innocents died in the attacks. This paper explores the legality of the US response to 9/11 against Al Qaeda and

the Taliban. Although States have conducted military counter-terrorist operations in the past, the scale and scope of Operation Enduring Freedom may well signal a sea change in strategies to defend against terrorism. This paper explores the normative limit on counter-terrorist operations. Under what circumstances can a victim State react forcibly to an act of terrorism ? Against whom ? When ? And with what degree of severity ?'

ID number: 80018468

Year: 2002

Type: M

327 /01114

Military Intervention in Afghanistan : Implications for British Foreign and Defence Policy - [s.l.] : British American Security Information Council.

18 p. ; 30 cm.

(BASIC Paper ; 40)

Author(s):

1. Warren, Jenny

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. GREAT BRITAIN--MILITARY POLICY

3. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. British American Security Information Council (GB)

Notes:

'The British Government's decision to join the United States in its 'war on terrorism' raises a number of key issues regarding the formulation of its foreign and defence policy which need to be publicly debated, including the decision to wage war, the rationale for military intervention, the role and conduct of troops deployed abroad, the place of coercion and conflict prevention in asserting British national interests, and the nature of the 'special relationship' with the United States.'

ID number: 80018305

Year: 2002

Type: WEB

323 /00782

Worlds in Collision : Terror and the Future of Global Order - Houndmills, UK : Palgrave MacMillan.

x, 376 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333998049

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Booth, Ken, ed.

2. Dunne, Timothy, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'For years to come, if not decades, the 'war on terrorism' will be the defining paradigm in the struggle for global order. When the victim of such horrific terror attacks happens to be the world's only superpower, the agenda is set for the future global order. This book, offering a comprehensive and provocative collection of viewpoints from leading intellectuals will help readers understand the ways in which worlds collided on September 11, 2001.'

ID number: 80018592

Year: 2002

Type: M

## 2001

323 /00727

Robust Response to 9/11 Is Needed but Poking the Hornets' Nest Is  
Ill-Advised - Washington : Cato Institute.

6 p.; 30 cm.

(Cato Foreign Policy Briefing ; 69)

Author(s):

1. Eland, Ivan

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Cato Institute (US)

Notes:

'To date, the Bush administration has responded well to the terrorist attacks of September 11. However, the recent imposition of stringent financial sanctions against terrorist groups not affiliated with bin Laden's network and most likely not involved in the September 11 attacks should raise a warning flag. It is vital to show that the heinous attack on US soil will not go unanswered and to eliminate the threat from al Qaeda and affiliated groups, but it is foolhardy to draw a bigger bull's-eye on the United States by taking up the fight against numerous other terrorist groups on behalf of other nations.'

ID number: 80017800

Year: 2001

Type: WEB

323 /00739

How Did This Happen ? : Terrorism and the New War - New York :  
PublicAffairs.

xiv, 324 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 1586481304

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. TERRORISM--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Hoge, James F., ed.

2. Rose, Gideon, ed.

Notes:

'In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11, one question has been on everyone's mind : 'How this did happen ?' This book seeks to answer this question in all its critical aspects - the motives and actions of the terrorists, the status of the US military, the context of the Middle East, bioterrorism, airport security, diplomatic pressures - and to provide readers with perspective, information, and sound interpretation. The editors of 'Foreign Affairs' have brought together noted experts whose insights make the events of that terrible day more understandable, even as we steel ourselves for the conflicts ahead.'

ID number: 80018002

Edition: 1st ed.

Year: 2001

Type: M

The Anti-Terrorism Coalition : Don't Pay an Excessive Price - Washington

: Cato Institute.

7 p.; 30 cm.

(Cato Foreign Policy Briefing ; 68)

Author(s):

1. Pena, Charles V.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Cato Institute (US)

Notes:

'To prosecute the war on terrorism, President Bush has assembled a diverse coalition of countries for political, diplomatic, and military support. Some of those countries are long-standing friends and allies of the United States. Others have new or changing relationships with the United States. Although there may be a price for their support, America should not pay an excessive price - one that could be detrimental to longer-term US national security interests. And though it may be necessary to provide a certain amount of immediate aid (directly or indirectly) as a quid pro quo for the support of other nations in the US war on terrorism, the United States needs to avoid longer-term entanglements, open-ended commitments, and the potential for an extreme anti-American backlash. If the United States has the same kind of tunnel vision about terrorism that it had about the fight against communism during the Cold War, it could be blindsided by disastrous unintended consequences. In its zeal to go after the terrorists responsible for the attacks of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the US government must understand that alliances of convenience (especially with countries of which it was legitimately critical before September 11) may be necessary, but they come with the potential for great risk. Ultimately - and paradoxically - the United States could end up doing more to breed terrorism than to prevent it.'

ID number: 80017798

Year: 2001

Type: WEB

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

2006

Extraordinary Rendition : een omstreden wapen in terrorismebestrijding.  
(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 60, nr. 1, januari 2006, p. 14-19.)

Author(s):

1. Bader, Max
2. Jong, Ben De

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. TORTURE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The authors discuss the controversial practice of 'extraordinary rendition' as it has been carried out, apparently since the mid-1990s, by agencies of the United States government, in particular the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Extraordinary rendition is a practice whereby terrorism suspects are detained by the CIA, in most cases outside the United States, and 'rendered' to other governments, usually of the suspect's country of origin. The practice is shrouded in secrecy and many questions about it remain unanswered. Countries of destination for rendered prisoners reportedly are or have been Jordan, Uzbekistan, Egypt and Syria, among others. Washington claims that the questioning of these prisoners in their home countries yields good results in the struggle against international terrorism. It is alleged by opponents of the practice, however, that victims run a very high risk of being tortured and that extraordinary rendition violates several provisions in international human rights conventions and treaties that have been signed and ratified by the United States. CIA activities in Europe related to rendition operations recently contributed to sharp differences of opinion between the United States and several Western European countries about the legitimacy of this type of operation and of the whole concept. The authors conclude that the practice of extraordinary rendition by the United States is unlikely to come to an end during the present Bush administration.

ID Number: JA022089

Year: 2006

Language: Dutch

Type: ART

No Pain, No Gain ? Torture and Ethics in the War on Terror.  
(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January 2006, p. 121-148.)

Author(s):

1. Bellamy, Alex J.

Subject(s):

1. TORTURE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. PRISONERS OF WAR

Notes:

Is the use of torture ever justified ? This article argues that torture cannot be justified, even in so called ticking bomb cases, but that in such extreme situations it may be necessary. In those situations, judgements about whether the use of torture is legitimate must balance the imminence and gravity of the threat with the need to prevent future occurrences of

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\*\* This list contains material received as of September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2006 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 27 septembre 2006.

torture and maintain a normative environment that is hostile to its use. The article begins by observing that the use of torture and/or cruel and degrading treatment has become a core component of the global war on terror. It tests the claim that the use of coercive interrogation techniques does not constitute torture, showing that similar arguments were levelled by both the British and French governments in relation to Northern Ireland and Algeria respectively and found wanting. It then evaluates and rejects Dershowitz's claim for the legalization of torture and the more limited claim that torture may be permissible in ticking bomb scenarios. In the final section, the article questions how we might maintain the prohibition on torture while acknowledging that it may be necessary in some hypothetical cases.

ID Number: JA022197

Year: 2006

Language: English

Type: ART

The Imperial Lure : Nation Building as a US Response to Terrorism.  
(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 17, no. 1, Winter 2006, p. 34-47.)

Author(s):

1. Carpenter, Ted Galen

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--USA

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

Notes:

Given the growing appeal of nation building as a strategy during the 1990s, it is not surprising that it quickly became - and remains - a major feature of Washington's war on terror in the twenty-first century.

ID Number: JA022388

Year: 2006

Language: Englilsh

Type: ART

Military Persuasion, Intelligence and the War on Terror.  
(DEFENSE & SECURITY ANALYSIS, vol. 22, no. 1, March 2006, p. 61-72.)

Author(s):

1. Cimbala, Stephen J.

Subject(s):

1. STRATEGY

2. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

3. MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

In waging modern war or making peace, the mastery of military persuasion will be indispensable. Military persuasion is based on intelligence and the shrewd application of intelligence to the problem of formulating strategy. Intelligence supports military persuasion in a number of ways. Intelligence lets us see and know the battlespace and communicate what we know to shooters and commanders in a timely manner. But beyond this vital and immediate visual and electronic mapping of war in good time, intelligence provides anticipatory political and military information that may make possible the avoidance of war by means of successful diplomatic coercion or other means of non-belligerent conflict resolution. Intelligence is as valuable in this regard as it is vulnerable to the inevitable distortions of technical glitches and human nature. Intelligence evolves, along with military persuasion, in a world that refuses to stand still involving new technologies, more actors, adaptive threats and undoubtedly unforeseen systemic disturbances.

ID Number: JA022276  
Year: 2006  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Russia's Relationship with the United States/NATO in the US-Led Global War on Terrorism.

(JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 19, no. 2, June 2006, p. 175-192.)

Author(s):

1. Cross, Sharyl

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM PREVENTION--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. TERRORISM PREVENTION--USA

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

This article examines Russia's relationship with the United States/NATO in the US-led Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). The nature of Russia's terrorist challenge and the official reaction are set forth. Russia's National Security Concept, released in 2000, provides clear indication of the priority placed on the terrorist threat and the necessity for international cooperation in addressing the problem. US and Russian approaches to counter terrorism are assessed suggesting areas of compatibility as well as ongoing differences. The significance of recent advances in the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in counter terrorism are explained. The article defines the variables likely to influence whether Russia progresses in the 21st century as an integrated member of the Euro-Atlantic community and security partner with the United States and NATO or, alternatively, as a competitor or spoiler for the United States and its allies in advancing the GWOT security agenda. Policy recommendations point to the urgency for continuing to strengthen Russia-US/NATO cooperation in counter-terrorism.

ID Number: JA022679

Year: 2006

Language: English

Type: ART

Human Rights in Conflict.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 48, no. 3, Autumn 2006, p. 109-125.)

Author(s):

1. Foot, Rosemary

Subject(s):

1. HUMAN RIGHTS--USA

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. COLD WAR

Notes:

The language of war has a recognised and intimate relationship with the abuse of a core set of civil and political rights. Detention without trial, arbitrary arrest, disappearance, torture and the like soon result once a political authority decides to describe a conflict in which it is involved as 'war'. National or regime security takes centre stage, security ideologies play a stronger role, and the means employed push at the boundaries of the acceptable. This close association between conflict and human rights abuse, if no other reason, should make us pause before we too readily resort to the language of war. The Cold War and the current 'global war on terror' - to use the US term - are no exceptions to this general finding. Disappearance, torture and extra-judicial killings have been features of both. The struggle against terrorism has generated a sense of impunity for actions that threaten many different groups.

ID Number: JA022696  
Year: 2006  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Extraordinary Rendition and the Wages of Hypocrisy.

(WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 23, no. 1, Spring 2006, p. 25-35.)

Author(s):

1. Huq, Aziz Z.

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. TORTURE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA022511

Year: 2006

Language: English

Type: ART

Analogies at War.

(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 11, no. 1, Spring 2006, p. 1-40.)

Author(s):

1. Meierhenrich, Jens

Subject(s):

1. WAR
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

What is war, as we now use the term ? What are the consequences thereof for the meaning of law ? Under what conditions is the language of war necessary for capturing the demands on law in times of transition ? By examining the evolution of 'war talk' and 'law talk', and the implications thereof for 'rights talk', this article examines the promise - and limits - of transformative law, with particular reference to recent developments in the United States. From the 'war on poverty' to the 'war on crime' and from the 'war on drugs' to the 'war on terrorism', the practice of law in the United States has taken its cue from the language of war. To ascertain the meaning of language, this article provides a discourse analysis of law - and war - in times of transition. The article introduces modes of analogical reasoning and demonstrates the importance of analysing language for understanding law and public policy. The analysis shows that decision-makers use analogies not simply to justify law and public policy (rhetoric) but also to perform specific cognitive and information-processing tasks essential to decision-making (reason). Applying this framework for analysis to the case at hand, the article traces the emergence of the 'war on terrorism' and explains, first, how the language of war informed US responses to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and delineates, second, the consequences thereof for political rights and civil liberties.

ID Number: JA022368

Year: 2006

Language: English

Type: ART



A Smaller Military to Fight the War on Terror.

(ORBIS, vol. 50, no. 2, Spring 2006, p. 289-306.)

Author(s):

1. Pena, Charles V.

Subject(s):

1. USA--ARMED FORCES
2. USA--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The defense budget can be reduced and the US military downsized because (1) the nation-state threat environment is markedly different than it was during the Cold War, and (2) a large military is not necessary to combat the terrorist threat. In fact, the Islamist terrorist threat is relatively undeterred by the US military presence abroad, and US forces abroad, particularly those deployed in Muslim countries, may do more to exacerbate than to diminish the threat. The arduous task of dismantling and degrading the terrorist network will largely be the task of unprecedented international intelligence and law enforcement cooperation, not the application of large-scale military force. To the extent the military is involved in the war on terror, it will be special forces in discrete operations against specific targets rather than large-scale military operations.

ID Number: JA022263

Year: 2006

Language: English

Type: ART

Demilitarising the 'War on Terror'.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 48, no. 2, Summer 2006, p. 37-54.)

Author(s):

1. Stevenson, Jonathan

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. TERRORISM PREVENTION--USA
3. SPECIAL FORCES (MILITARY SCIENCE)--USA

Notes:

The elimination of Afghanistan as al-Qaeda's physical base in 2001 hastened the dispersal of global jihadists into cities. In turn, the advent of Iraq as a field of jihad has prompted jihadists to refine and spread urban warfare techniques. If they choose to apply these techniques robustly to infiltrated cities elsewhere, the extraordinary need for special operations forces - superseding the Western taboo on using a nation's military forces against its own citizens within its own territory - could arise. The US Department of Defense appears inclined to believe that the application of military power - albeit unconventional military power - will ultimately dictate victory. Such an attitude could lead to the downplaying of paramount non-military aspects of counter-terrorism, to the detriment of national and international security. If the US State Department were armed with a mandate to coordinate national counter-terrorism efforts, diplomatic, political, law-enforcement and intelligence efforts against terrorism would gain momentum and coherence.

ID Number: JA022539

Year: 2006

Language: English

Type: ART

2005

Outsourcing Torture.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 61, no. 11, November 2005, p. 17-18.)

Author(s):

1. Arimatsu, Louise

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. TORTURE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Fugitives from justice have always been spirited across borders to face their day in court. But should those suspected of acts of terrorism be transferred to other countries when it is known they may be tortured ? And does the fight against terrorism justify changing accepted international standards ?

ID Number: JA021987

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

'Six Floors' of Detainee Operations in the Post-9/11 World.

(PARAMETERS, vol.35, no. 3, Autumn 2005, p. 33-53.)

Author(s):

1. Ayres, Thomas E.

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The author defines six specific categories of detainee operations. He distinguishes between categories (floors) of detainees in an effort to define specific and unequivocal guidance for forces at the operational and tactical levels related to the treatment and protection of detainees. He concludes that even though 'the gloves came off' after 9/11, the international community needs stringent and understandable measures related to the treatment of terrorists and unlawful combatants so as not to legitimize inhumane measures that debase our own humanity.

ID Number: JA021947

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

A Dubious Template for US Foreign Policy.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 47, no. 1, Spring 2005, p. 51-69.)

Author(s):

1. Crocker, Chester A.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. USA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
4. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY

Notes:

The global war on terror is a dubious template for the security challenges faced by the United States because it distorts the focus of policy and exaggerates the effectiveness of military power. A grand strategy cannot rest solely on the idea of 'taking out' specific sets of bad guys and fighting the spread of weapons of mass destruction. It is essential, as the Iran case demonstrates, to get at intractable political tensions and frozen geopolitical divisions that foster dangerous security conditions in much of the globe. Strategic debate should focus less on unilateral versus multilateral approaches or hard power versus soft power, and recognise the real missing ingredient in

recent policy - smart statecraft using leverage in all its forms for engaging the world's zones of turbulence.  
ID Number: JA021328  
Year: 2005  
Language: English  
Type: ART

La guerre americaine en Irak et en Afghanistan : entre vision messianique et ajustements tactiques.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 70e annee, no. 4, 2005, p. 857-866.)

Author(s):

1. Dorronsoro, Gilles
2. Harling, Peter

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003-
2. AFGHAN WAR, 2001-
3. USA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Un meme modele surdetermine l'action americaine en Afghanistan et en Irak : celui de la conversion democratique. Largement manicheen, ce modele distord les representations que les Etats-Unis se font de ces deux pays, de l'ennemi qu'ils y combattent et des forces locales susceptibles de les reconstruire. L'echec de la strategie poursuivie oblige a une gestion de court terme, a des revisions permanentes, qui finissent par s'opposer aux buts politiques initiaux.

ID Number: JA022050

Year: 2005

Language: French

Type: ART

Guantanamo Bay : Undermining the Global War on Terror.

(JOINT FORCE QUARTERLY, no. 39, 2005, p. 59-67.)

Author(s):

1. Fogarty, Gerard P.

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. PRISONERS OF WAR--CUBA--GUANTANAMO BAY NAVAL BASE
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Prosecution of the war on terror has resulted in the detention of some 650 citizens from over 40 countries at military facilities on the US naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. This essay assesses the competing positions on the legal status of the detainees. First, it outlines why Guantanamo was chosen as a location for detainee operations. It then outlines the position of the prisoner of war (POW) status of the detainees and competing views on the due process protections that should be provided those charged with war crimes. It then discusses the wider effects the administration's policies in Guantanamo are having on the war on terror and concludes with recommendations for an alternative approach that would regain the initiative for the administration. It seeks to recapture much-needed international legitimacy, creating greater diplomatic space within which opportunities to harness broader international support and involvement in the war on terror can be pursued.

ID Number: JA021857

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

Is Guantanamo Bay Undermining the Global War on Terror ?.

(PARAMETERS, vol.35, no. 3, Autumn 2005, p. 54-71.)

Author(s):

1. Fogarty, Gerard P.

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA

2. PRISONERS OF WAR--CUBA--GUANTANAMO BAY NAVAL BASE

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The author provides insight into the turmoil surrounding the operation of the military detention facility at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. He examines the questions of lawful or unlawful combatants and due process (tribunals) to conclude that America is losing the battle for world opinion. He suggest that if the United States is to regain the moral high ground, it should move detainee trials into the international arena by means of UN-authorized tribunals, established under specific statute, agreed to by the United States and the UN.

ID Number: JA021948

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

The US-European Torture Dispute : An Autopsy.

(WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 22, no. 4, Winter 2005 - 2006, p. 7-14.)

Author(s):

1. Hodgson, Godfrey

Subject(s):

1. TORTURE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA

ID Number: JA022273

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

A Hard Day's Night ? The United States and the Global War on Terrorism.

(COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 24, no. 2, April - June 2005, p. 127-151.)

Author(s):

1. Johnson, Thomas H.

2. Russell, James A.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

3. JIHAD

Notes:

This paper examines the jihadist threat and its implications for the global war on terrorism (GWOT) - a threat noted for its commitment, determination, innovation, and lethality. The United States is struggling to configure its instruments of national power to address a threat that has thus far proven unresponsive to these national instruments. The paper argues that the jihadist threat needs to be framed in the context of fundamental changes in the dynamics of the international system. These dynamics have left the United States struggling to conceptually bound and define the jihadist threat in the new security environment. This paper offers explanations for this struggle and concludes that if not successful in bounding and understanding the threat that the United States may win battles in the GWOT, but it can never win the wider war.

ID Number: JA021661

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

Countering Global Insurgency.

(JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 28, no. 4, August 2005, p. 597-617.)

Author(s):

1. Kilcullen, David J.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. INSURGENCY
3. TERRORISM
4. COUNTERINSURGENCY--USA

Notes:

This article suggests that the War on Terrorism is actually a campaign against a globalized Islamist insurgency. Therefore, counterinsurgency approaches are more relevant to the present conflict than traditional terrorism theory. Indeed, a counterinsurgency approach would generate subtly, but substantially different, policy choices in prosecuting the war against Al Qaeda. Based on this analysis, the article proposes a strategy of 'disaggregation' that seeks to dismantle, or break, the links in the global jihad. Like containment in the Cold War, disaggregation would provide a unifying strategic conception for the war - a conception that has been somewhat lacking to date.

ID Number: JA022059

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

US Middle East Economic Policy : The Use of Free Trade Areas in the War on Terrorism.

(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 16, no. 3, Summer 2005, p. 102-117.)

Author(s):

1. Looney, Robert

Subject(s):

1. USA--COMMERCE--MIDDLE EAST
2. MIDDLE EAST--COMMERCE--USA
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The author focuses on the US economic strategy of using trade as a weapon in the war on terrorism. From a theoretical perspective, expanded trade would appear to be capable of sufficiently improving the lives of potential terrorist recruits as to significantly lessen the attraction of al Qaeda and like-minded groups. At issue then is whether specific trade programs can be made sufficiently flexible, adaptable, and controllable so that they are capable of quickly bringing tangible benefits to targeted groups. If not, trade initiatives could actually undermine the war on terrorism. In a final section the author outlines several suggestions for making trade policy a more potent weapon in the war on terrorism.

ID Number: JA021899

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

The 'War on Terror' in Historical Perspective.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 47, no. 2, Summer 2005, p. 101-130.)

Author(s):

1. Roberts, Adam

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

Notes:

Despite its strengths and electoral appeal, the US doctrine on the

'war on terror' takes too little account of the history of the subject. The struggle should be presented, not just as a fight against evil or as a defence of freedom, but also as a fight against tragically erroneous ideas. It should be seen as a means of ensuring that the societies from whence terrorism comes do not succumb to endemic violence. It needs to encompass close attention to aftercare in societies that have been torn apart by terrorism. An important aim must be the relegation of terrorists to a status of near-irrelevance as long-standing grievances are addressed and peoples can see that a grim terrorist war of attrition is achieving little and damaging their own societies.

ID Number: JA021597

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

#### International Law and the War on Terrorism.

(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 16, no. 1, Winter 2005, p. 79-93.)

Author(s):

1. Shepard, William S.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. INTERNATIONAL LAW

ID Number: JA021512

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

#### What Was It All About After All ? The Causes of the Iraq War.

(CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 26, no. 2, August 2005, p. 335-355.)

Author(s):

1. Tunc, Hakan

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003-
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The least understood aspect of the ongoing war in Iraq is what caused America to invade the country in the first place. The Bush administration's reasons for going to war are still subject to intense controversy. Popular explanations for the war, stressing America's need for dominance or its desire for Iraq's oil, are erroneous or secondary. This article argues that a careful reading of accounts of White House decision-making point to one overriding rationale : the war on terrorism. The single most important factor in the decision to go to war was the change in President Bush's position towards Iraq after September 11. This convinced the administration that toppling Saddam Hussein was essential for three basic reasons : a military rationale of eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, based on the assumption that Saddam Hussein could pass his presumed WMD to terrorists; a psychological rationale of demonstrating American resolve and discrediting perceptions of American weakness; and most importantly an ideological rationale of transforming the political culture of the Middle East, beginning with a democratic regime in Baghdad to serve as a model for other Arab countries and Iran. The specific nature of these factors reinforces the uniqueness of the Iraq war. It is highly unlikely that the US will undertake similar action against other foes such as Iran, North Korea or Syria in the foreseeable future.

ID Number: JA021862

Year: 2005

Language: English  
Type: ART

Juridische slachtoffers van de oorlog tegen het terrorisme : de  
Conventies van Geneve.

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 34, nr. 1, 2005, p. 38-57.)

Author(s):

1. Verhoeven, Sten

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. PRISONERS OF WAR--CUBA--GUANTANAMO BAY NAVAL BASE
3. GENEVA CONVENTIONS (1949)
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

De aanslagen van al Qaeda op 11 september 2001 leidden tot operatie Enduring Freedom waarbij honderden vermeende leden van de Taliban en al Qaeda gevangen werden genomen en overgebracht naar een militaire basis te Guantanamo Bay. Daar kwamen ze in een juridische schemerzone terecht door de beslissing van de Verenigde Staten om hen de bescherming van de Conventies van Geneve te ontfangen. Deze bijdrage argumenteert dat die beslissing onterecht is : aangezien de aanslagen van 11 september 2001 kunnen worden toegerekend aan Afghanistan, is er vanaf die datum sprake van een internationaal gewapend conflict en zijn de Conventies van Geneve van toepassing. Verder kunnen de leden van de Taliban en al Qaeda wel degelijk worden beschouwd als kriegsgevangenen en hebben ze recht op de behandeling die voor deze status is voorzien. In uitzonderlijke gevallen zullen gedetineerden geen aanspraak kunnen maken op deze status, maar dan hebben ze de status van burgers in een gewapend conflict met de bijhorende bescherming. Zelfs als welbepaalde gedetineerden niet onder een van deze statussen vallen, dan voorziet het humanitair recht nog altijd in een minimale behandeling. De behandeling van de gedetineerden op Guantanamo Bay is zelfs niet in overeenstemming met deze minimale behandeling, en dus a fortiori niet met de bescherming van krijgsgevangenen en burgers.

ID Number: JA021461

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

Destination Unknown.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 61, no. 11, November 2005, p. 15-16.)

Author(s):

1. Williams, Kristan

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. TORTURE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Last month, the US Senate voted overwhelmingly to limit the military's interrogation tactics and to prohibit the mistreatment of prisoners. Unfortunately, the US has long been engaged in practices that violate existing national and international laws against torture and has done so in ways designed to minimise its accountability. While the Abu Ghraib prison scandal focused public attention on the military's faults, the same sort of abuses have gone on with far less scrutiny, at the hands of US intelligence agencies, often with the acquiescence or collaboration of other national governments.

ID Number: JA021986

Year: 2005

Language: English

Type: ART

2004

Cumulative Deterrence and the War on Terrorism.

(PARAMETERS, vol. 34, no. 4, Winter 2004 - 2005, p. 4-19.)

Author(s):

1. Almog, Doron

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. DETERRENCE (STRATEGY)

Notes:

The author explores the strategy of cumulative deterrence as exercised by Israel in its war against the Palestinian intifadas and suggests that, perhaps, this is the strategy the United States should be using in the current war on terror. He argues that the classical deterrence theory that emerged following the Second World War and was practiced during the Cold War is no longer relevant in the war against terror. The author cautions that although the military superiority of the United States may never be in doubt, it is the war of ideas that will determine the final victor in the global war on terror. Only through the implementation of a strategy based on cumulative deterrence will America and its allies hope to win the hearts and minds of those supporting Islamic terrorists.

ID Number: JA021078

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

The 'War on Terror' : Good Cause; Wrong Concept.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 46, no. 4, November 2004, p. 31-50.)

Author(s):

1. Andreani, Gilles

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

War has come to be a central feature of the political reactions, as well as of the strategy and legal concepts, employed by the United States to wage the global struggle against international terrorism. Calling the fight against terrorism a 'war' entails some major drawbacks. First, the use of the word 'war' gives unwarranted status and legitimacy to the adversary. Second, it exaggerates the role of military operations in fighting global terrorism. Third, the United States bent both its internal judicial rules and international law to accommodate the concept of war on terror. Fourth, the connection drawn by the Americans between the war on terrorism and the concept of preventive war has worried the United States' partners and undermined the anti-terrorist coalition. Fifth, the linkage with the war against Iraq has aggravated the problem, while heightening anti-Western and anti-American feeling in the Middle East and the Islamic world. Finally, the 'war on terror' has detracted from the consideration of some urgent political problems that fuel Middle East terrorism.

ID Number: JA021152

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART



On the Pedagogy of 'Small Wars'.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 1, January 2004, p. 19-37.)

Author(s):

1. Barkawi, Tarak

Subject(s):

1. WAR

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

This article argues that flawed western strategies for 'small wars', those fought in the non-European world, have been informed by illusions concerning the cultural, military and political superiority of the West. With 9/11, such wars ceased to be small. The main threat to the western powers no longer emanates from other states organized along lines similar to their own, but from a transnational network enterprise that has its origins in the global South and the Islamic world. Nonetheless, old imperial and orientalist constructions continue to inform western and particularly US perceptions of the war on terror. 'Knowing thy enemy' and 'knowing thyself', Sun Tzu's formula for victory, requires abandoning flattering accounts of western identity and learning to empathize with those we call terrorists.

ID Number: JA020158

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

US-Russian Relations and the Global Counter-Terrorist Campaign.

(JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 17, no. 1, March 2004, p. 13-28.)

Author(s):

1. Belkin, Alexander A.

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

3. IRAQ WAR, 2003---RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

With the election of George W. Bush in 2000, the Kremlin had its reservations about the newly elected US president and his administration. For a time, mutual criticism between the two countries seemed to be the rule of the day. Among other things, the US pulled out of the 1972 ABM treaty unilaterally, and Russia prosecuted its war against the Chechen separatists. Then came 9/11, and the two countries found solid ground for mutually advantageous cooperation - the global war on terrorism. But with NATO/Yugoslavia still clearly in the rear-view mirror, and the war against Iraq still ahead, the course of future relations remained unclear. The author examines US-Russian relations as they evolved before and after the war in Iraq and offers conclusions and lessons learned for both sides.

ID Number: JA020513

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

Civilian Victims in an Asymmetrical Conflict : Operation Enduring Freedom, Afghanistan.  
(JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 41, no. 4, July 2004, p. 403-422.)

Author(s):

1. Benini, Aldo A.
2. Moulton, Lawrence H.

Subject(s):

1. WAR--CASUALTIES (STATISTICS, ETC.)
2. WAR VICTIMS
3. COMBATANTS AND NONCOMBATANTS (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Like other wars, recent Western military interventions have entailed loss of civilians in the affected countries. As a result of the 'Revolution in Military Affairs', Martin Shaw makes two claims likely to recur in debates on such wars. The first is that those losses were much smaller than the loss of life as a result of previous misrule and oppression. The second is that during these interventions civilians suffered only accidental 'small massacres'. Using victim figures from 600 local communities exposed to hostilities during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, the authors test Shaw's claims. They model community victim counts as a function of potential explanatory factors via zero-inflated Poisson regression. Several historic as well as concurrent factors are significant. Moreover, totals work out considerably higher than those offered by previous researchers. These findings are important to several aspects of the new way of war : as a reminder that harm comes not only from direct violence but from indirect effects of munitions; underreporting of civilian losses as a likely systemic feature; and distributions of victims as mediated by histories of war of which Western interventions may be final culminations.

ID Number: JA020656

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

'The War on Terrorism would not be Possible without NATO' : A Critique.  
(CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 25, no. 3, December 2004, p. 409-429.)

Author(s):

1. Brown, David

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--NATO
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

This article questions prevailing assumptions regarding the efficacy of NATO as a vehicle for waging the US-declared 'war on terror'. It begins by critically assessing the evolution to date of NATO's involvement in this 'war', with a particular focus on the post-11 September interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Having placed NATO's actions within this empirical framework, the article expands its focus to consider a series of proposals, both military and political, that could, it has been suggested, form the foundation of NATO's future counter-terrorist agenda. The article concludes by suggesting that, far from being essential to the war on terror, NATO risks its own vitality in the medium-to-long-term by attempting to involve itself in areas where it has nothing of real value to offer.

ID Number: JA021505

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

Al Qaeda and the War on Terrorism : An Update.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 103, no. 677, December 2004, p. 423-427.)

Author(s):

1. Hoffman, Bruce

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

Notes:

Al Qaeda has transformed itself. Iraq is a recruiters' paradise. America lacks a clear strategy. In short, the war on terror is not going well.

ID Number: JA021132

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

The Changing Face of Al Qaeda and the Global War on Terrorism.

(STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM, vol. 27, no. 6, November - December 2004, p. 549-560.)

Author(s):

1. Hoffman, Bruce

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM

2. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

This article assesses current trends and developments in terrorism within the context of the overall progress being achieved in the global war on terrorism (GWOT). It examines first the transformation that Al Qaeda has achieved in the time since the 11 September 2001 attacks and the variety of affiliated or associated groups (e.g., what are often referred to as Al Qaeda 'clones' or 'franchises') that have emerged to prosecute the jihadist struggle. It then focuses on recent developments in Saudi Arabia and especially Iraq in order to shed further light on Al Qaeda's current strategy and operations. In conclusion, this article offers some broad recommendations regarding the future conduct of the GWOT.

ID Number: JA021077

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

Afghanistan : From Here to Eternity ?.

(PARAMETERS, vol. 34, no. 1, Spring 2004, p. 4-15.)

Author(s):

1. Maloney, Sean M.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

The author analyzes America's efforts in Afghanistan and determines we cannot afford to let the situation devolve. The article recounts tow years' worth of American-led successes, including the destruction of al Qaeda's base and its Taliban shield. He cautions America to strengthen its resolve in support of the Afghan people if we are to avoid the dire predictions of pundits voicing erroneous Vietnam analogies.

ID Number: JA020136

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

Pakistan and the War on Terrorism.

(MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 28, no. 9, 2004, p. 47-53.)

Author(s):

1. Rahman, Fazal-ur

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--PAKISTAN
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. PAKISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. PAKISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Following the events of 9/11, Pakistan joined the US-led international coalition against terrorism. Pakistan's contribution allowed the coalition to achieve significant success in the war on terrorism, and has been acknowledged across the world. The US leadership described President Musharraf as a 'courageous leader', and granted Pakistan the status of a 'key ally'. In mid-June 2004, this was then upgraded to the coveted status of a 'major non-NATO ally'. Though the pressure on Pakistan to 'do more' has remained constant, in its support for anti-terrorism cooperation Pakistan has tried to remain mindful about domestic and regional repercussions.

ID Number: JA020916

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

Bounding the Global War on Terrorism.

(MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 28, no. 6, 2004, p. 17-33.)

Author(s):

1. Record, Jeffrey

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

In the wake of the al-Qaeda terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the US President declared a 'war against terrorism of global reach'. Subsequently and repeatedly, he and other administration officials used the terms 'global war on terrorism', 'war on terrorism', 'war on terror', and 'battle against international terrorism'. The 'global war on terrorism' (GWOT) soon became the most often used term. This study examines the GWOT from three vantage points : (1) threat postulation, (2) the scope and feasibility of its objectives, and (3) its political, fiscal, and military sustainability.

ID Number: JA020609

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

Threat Confusion and Its Penalties.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 46, no. 2, Summer 2004, p. 51-71.)

Author(s):

1. Record, Jeffrey

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003-
3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA
4. WMD NONPROLIFERATION--USA
5. WMD TERRORISM--USA

Notes:

In the wake of the 11 September al-Qaeda terrorist attacks on the United States, the Bush administration postulated a global threat that conflated non-state terrorist organisations and rogue states, more specifically al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. In so doing, the administration ignored key differences

between the two, including interests, agendas and vulnerability to threatened and actual US military action. The price of threat confusion has been an unnecessary preventive war against Iraq that has alienated key friends and allies, diverted US strategic attention and resources away from the war on terrorism, and exposed the United States to an open-ended and unexpectedly costly counterinsurgent war in Iraq that it may not be able to win or sustain.

ID Number: JA020580

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

Een omvangrijk echec : drie jaar mislukte interventies en operaties.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 58, nr. 10, oktober 2004, p. 475-477.)

Author(s):

1. Rossem, Maarten van

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. IRAQ WAR, 2003-

Notes:

The author focuses on president George W. Bush's 'war on terrorism', in particular the military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Given their initial objectives, both these interventions should be considered complete failures, the author argues. Although in Afghanistan the Taliban were successfully removed from power, the cooperation in this endeavour with the traditional warlords united in the Northern Alliance has enhanced their position, rendering effective control by the Kabul government extremely difficult. Furthermore, many of the terrorists managed to escape, including 'top target' Osama bin Laden. The second part of Bush's military campaign against terror, the war in Iraq, has proved an even bigger disaster. The American clarion calls following the swift military occupation were premature. The American forces have proved unable to restore law and order in the country. What should be done next ? The Americans do not have an exit strategy. But the real damage for the Americans is that by their arrogant unilateralism as shown during the Iraq intervention they have lost credibility and are now on their way towards international isolation.

ID Number: JA020918

Year: 2004

Language: Dutch

Type: ART

La 'guerre mondiale contre la terreur', 2001-2004.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 69e annee, no. 3, automne 2004, p. 533-546.)

Author(s):

1. Tertrais, Bruno

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. USA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

3. USA--MILITARY POLICY

Notes:

La periode ouverte par le 11 septembre est d'une importance strategique rarement egalee dans l'Histoire. Elle a vu les Etats-Unis se doter d'une nouvelle strategie, abandonnant le containment, puis conduire une nouvelle guerre mondiale, cette fois contre le terrorisme international. La guerre d'Irak a, de surcroit, marque le triomphe d'une conception innovante de la bataille, privilegiant le ciblage precis de points critiques et la conjonction de la puissance aerospatiale, des forces speciales et des communications a haut debit. Neanmoins, le bilan de cette guerre globale est plus que mitigé : Al-Qaeda a

certes ete affaiblie, mais l'Irak est loin d'etre pacifie et les combats continuent en Afghanistan et au Pakistan. La partie est d'autant plus difficile que Washington a perdu nombre de ses soutiens, y compris parmi de fideles allies, et le nombre d'actes de terrorisme islamiste est en nette augmentation depuis l'occupation de l'Irak. De meme, face a l'agressivite des Etats-Unis, l'Arabie Saoudite ou l'Iran pourraient envisager de se doter, dans un avenir proche, de l'arme nucleaire.

ID Number: JA020869

Year: 2004

Language: English

Type: ART

## 2003

Bridges, Bombs, or Bluster ?.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 5, September - October 2003, p. 2-19.)

Author(s):

1. Albright, Madeleine K.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration has pressured every country in the world to make a simple choice : are you with the United States or with the terrorists ? But by casting the choice so starkly - and expanding the war on terror to include its campaign in Iraq - Washington has alienated many natural and potential allies and made the fight against al Qaeda more difficult. It didn't have to be this way. The White House has acted as if it doesn't care what others think, and the country is paying the price for its mistake.

ID Number: JA019627

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Iran, the United States, and the War on Terrorism.

(STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM, vol. 26, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 93-104.)

Author(s):

1. Bahgat, Gawdat

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. IRAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAN

Notes:

For more than two decades the United States has considered Iran the world's leading country in sponsoring international terrorism. Shortly after the September 11 attacks the two nations worked together to defeat Al Qaeda and the Taliban. By late 2001, however, the old mistrust and suspicion had resurfaced. This article examines the brief period of cooperation between Washington and Tehran in the war on terrorism. The different sections analyze the failed attempt to smuggle Iranian weapons to the Palestinian Authority (the so-called Karine-A affair), the designation of Iran as part of global axis of evil, the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002. Despite strong disagreement on how to define and fight terrorism, the study argues, Iranian and American interests are not mutually exclusive. There are certain areas where the two sides can work together.

ID Number: JA019181

Year: 2003

Language: English  
Type: ART

Measuring the War on Terrorism : A First Appraisal.  
(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 668, December 2003, p. 411-416.)  
Author(s):  
1. Byman, Daniel  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA  
Notes:  
How would the US know if it were winning ? America has scored impressive gains against Al Qaeda since 9-11, but the terrorists' popular appeal and recruitment remain strong.  
ID Number: JA019890  
Year: 2003  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Scoring the War on Terrorism.  
(NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 72, Summer 2003, p. 75-84.)  
Author(s):  
1. Byman, Daniel  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
Notes:  
Measuring genuine progress in the war on terrorism is harder than it may seem. To be sure, the current 'body count' approach leaves much to be desired - not, alas, for the first time.  
ID Number: JA019469  
Year: 2003  
Language: English  
Type: ART

The Emerging Security Environment : Preemptive War and International Terrorism after Iraq.  
(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 14, no. 4, Fall 2003, p. 42-55.)  
Author(s):  
1. Cannistraro, Vincent M.  
Subject(s):  
1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA  
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003-  
ID Number: JA019909  
Year: 2003  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror.  
(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 84-97.)  
Author(s):  
1. Carothers, Thomas  
Subject(s):  
1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS  
2. DEMOCRACY--USA  
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
Notes:  
During the war on terrorism, George W. Bush has shown a split personality on the promotion of democracy abroad. 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 true solution to terror. How the administration resolves this tension will define the future of

US foreign policy.  
ID Number: JA019096  
Year: 2003  
Language: English  
Type: ART

The Recovery of Radical Islam in the Wake of the Defeat of the Taliban.  
(TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 2003, p.  
31-56.)

Author(s):

1. Cook, David

Subject(s):

1. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

2. TALIBAN

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

This article analyses the intellectual and religious processes through which radical Islam has had to confront its defeat in Afghanistan and rebuild during the period since that time, including paradigms of battle, dreams and martyrologies and apocalyptic readings of history and current events.

ID Number: JA019275

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Southeast Asia after 11 September.

(TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 2003, p.  
148-170.)

Author(s):

1. Cotton, James

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--ASIA, SOUTHEASTERN

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--ASIA, SOUTHEASTERN

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Southeast Asia has become the 'second front' in the global campaign against terrorism. Former concerns on the part of the United States about the human rights failings of regional regimes have been shelved in order to secure cooperation against supporters of Al-Qaeda, and United States troops have been directly committed to the field in the Philippines. Although there is confirmed evidence of international terrorist activity undertaken by small cells in Southeast Asia, this issue has also served to entrench illiberal regimes and trends. While the US may destroy terrorist groups its strategy may also further undermine democracy in the region, thus contributing to the political and social conditions that are conducive to the emergence of terrorism.

ID Number: JA019277

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Ein Jahr 'Krieg gegen Terror' in Afghanistan : 'alter' Krieg mit neuen Waffen ?.

(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 2, Marz -  
April 2003, S. 163-172.)

Author(s):

1. Feichtinger, Walter

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN



ID Number: JA019013  
Year: 2003  
Language: German  
Type: ART

Authoritarian Answers.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2003, p. 4-6.)

Author(s):

1. Gearty, Conor

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

Notes:

As we move towards the second anniversary of September 11, it may seem eccentric to emphasize how weak the Al Qaeda organisation headed by Osama Bin Laden is - indeed, how weak it has always been. Clearly, the attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon were unprecedentedly savage, both in terms of impact and the number of fatalities. It is also perfectly true that there has never been a terrorist act to match it, before or since. But consider the various things that have not happened since that terrible event. And consider too the nature of the response : it is threatening our fundamental freedoms ?

ID Number: JA019485

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Bridging the Atlantic Divide.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 70-83.)

Author(s):

1. Gordon, Philip H.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. DEMOCRACY--USA
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

During the war on terrorism, George W. Bush has shown a split personality on the promotion of democracy abroad. 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 true solution to terror. How the administration resolves this tension will define the future of US foreign policy.

ID Number: JA019097

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

France and the War on Terrorism.

(TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 124-147.)

Author(s):

1. Gregory, Shaum

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--FRANCE
2. TERRORISM--FRANCE
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

France has had a long history of struggle with various forms of terrorism and over the past decade has achieved particular success against Algerian Islamic terrorist groups - the GIA and GSPC - with close links to Al-Qaeda. This article reviews France's experience of terrorism since the end of the Second

World War and details the evolving state responses to these challenges and the sophisticated anti-terrorist apparatus that now serves the French state. It then considers the role of France in the post-11 September 'war on terrorism' and argues that France remains in the front-line of the struggle against Al-Qaeda and that the French experience has much to contribute to the international war against Islamic terrorism.

ID Number: JA019276

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

War, Lies, and Videotape : Public Diplomacy and the USA's War on Terrorism.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 34, no. 4, December 2003, p. 427-444.)

Author(s):

1. Ham, Peter van

Subject(s):

1. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY--USA

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST

Notes:

This article argues that the United States is not only fighting a war against international terrorism by classical military means, but is also engaged in a battle over the 'hearts and minds' of the Muslim world. It examines the USA's public diplomacy efforts to manage the aftershocks of 9/11, and identifies the key concepts that underlie public diplomacy. The article presents a brief overview of the main points of criticism that these policies have provoked. It concludes that although the USA's public diplomacy is an essential (and still underdeveloped and undervalued) component of its overall policy towards the Middle East, it will take more than better communications to address the USA's credibility and image problems in that region.

ID Number: JA020001

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Publieksdiplomatie en Amerika's oorlog tegen het internationale terrorisme.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 4, april 2003, p. 167-172.)

Author(s):

1. Ham, Peter van

Subject(s):

1. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY--USA

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The author argues that the United States are not only fighting a war on international terrorism by classical, military means, but are also engaged in a battle over the 'hearts and minds' of the Muslim world. The author examines how America's public diplomacy tries to manage the aftershocks of 9/11 by reaching out to what is often referred to as the 'Arab street'. Public diplomacy's task is to appeal to the core values of foreign audiences by using new techniques which are frequently directly derived from commercial practice. The paper offers a brief overview of the critique which has been expressed towards US public diplomacy, and finally argues that public diplomacy may be considered an 'asymmetrical response' to the 'asymmetrical warfare' conducted by Al-Qaeda.

ID Number: JA019068

Year: 2003

Language: Dutch  
Type: ART

Safeguards Missing.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2003, p. 15-17.)

Author(s):

1. Kane, M. C.

Subject(s):

1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

There is is perhaps no class more vulnerable than the alleged Taliban fighters interned at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. This is not based on size or might, though they are certainly in the minority and lack any power over their situation. Rather, they are more vulnerable because of the lack of procedural safeguards throughout their detention and in the proposed military trials. The opportunity to express their perspective is extremely limited, as are any remaining freedoms. For a country that espouses God-given inalienable rights, the United States appears comfortable withholding such principles when convenient.

ID Number: JA019488

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Same War - Different Views : Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism.

(INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, vol. 57, no. 4, Fall 2003, p. 731-760.)

Author(s):

1. Katzenstein, Peter J.

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--GERMANY
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--JAPAN
3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

German and Japanese counterterrorism policies differ from those adopted by the United States as well as from one another. Defeated in war, occupied, and partially remade during the Cold War, Germany and Japan became clients of the United States first, then close allies. Both countries offer easy tests to explore the extent to which the United States can hope to fight the war against terrorism, as it did the Cold War, supported by a broad coalition of like-minded states. On this central point the article's conclusion is not reassuring. In contrast to the Cold War, the relative importance of different self-conceptions and institutional practices appears to be larger and the systemic effects constraining national divergences smaller. Even among the closest allies of the United States, the very early stages of the war against terrorism point to substantial strains. Over a prolonged period such strains are likely to affect profoundly long-standing patterns of alliance.

ID Number: JA019953

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

China's Dubious Role in the War on Terror.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 668, December 2003, p. 432-438.)

Author(s):

1. Kurlantzick, Joshua

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--CHINA

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Although China has made some attempts to help the United States combat terrorist groups, its contributions have been limited and overpraised, and it has manipulated the war on terror for its own means.

ID Number: JA019894

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Southeast Asia : Archipelago of Afghanistans ?.

(ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 479-493.)

Author(s):

1. Rosenthal, Justine A.

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--ASIA, SOUTHEASTERN

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The war on terror goes beyond the Middle East. The author presents a case-by-case analysis of the US current and potential allies in the war on terror in Southeast Asia, and also those countries that pose particular terrorism breeding-ground potential. And the potential is high : the author outlines why Southeast Asia could in the end prove as vexing as it did thirty years ago for the United States.

ID Number: JA019355

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

Elf September en de uitdagingen aan het volkenrecht.

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 32, nr. 1, 2003, p. 27-46.)

Author(s):

1. Schrijver, Nico

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. INTERNATIONAL LAW

4. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

Dit artikel bespreekt de grote uitdagingen die de terroristische aanslagen van 11 september 2001 aan het volkenrecht stellen. Eert biedt het uiteenzettingen over de mogelijke en de daadwerkelijke reacties van de internationale gemeenschap op de aanslagen op de Verenigde Staten. Vervolgens gaat het artikel, aan de hand van zeven uitdagingen en dilemma's, in op de toereikendheid van het hedendaagse volkenrecht om internationaal terrorisme te voorkomen en te bestrijden. Een veelzijdige, geïntegreerde en langetermijnstrategie wordt bepleit, die ook gevoelige vredes- en veiligheidskwesties in het Midden-Oosten en diepgewortelde ongelijkheden aanpakt. De conclusie is dat het volkenrecht daarbij van dienst kan zijn, als een stelsel van waarden en normen en als een raamwerk voor concrete regelgeving. Voorwaarde is wel dat het volkenrecht nader wordt ontwikkeld om aan de nieuwe uitdagingen van na 11 september het hoofd te bieden en het daadwerkelijk wordt nageleefd.

ID Number: JA019192

Year: 2003  
Language: Dutch  
Type: ART

It's War ! Fighting Post-11 September Global Terrorism through a Doctrine of Prevention.

(TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 1-30.)

Author(s):

1. Shultz, Richard H.
2. Vogt, Andreas

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. PREEMPTIVE ATTACK (MILITARY SCIENCE)
3. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)
4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA
5. INTELLIGENCE SERVICE--USA
6. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Following the 11 September terrorist attack a number of media revelations asserted that it could have been prevented if only the intelligence community (IC) had acted on information in its possession regarding the impending attack. This article explains why and how the intelligence agencies failed on 11 September, and assesses the need for and viability of preemptive military options for striking first to combat terrorism. First, it describes how the IC doggedly refused to regard terrorism as war through the 1990s. Second, the authors explain that an alternative perspective challenged this orthodoxy in the early 1990s, arguing that war was changing and entering its fourth generation. Third, based on new information about Al-Qaeda, the article addresses how Al-Qaeda organized for war and how it carried it out by delineating Al-Qaeda's organizational structure, ideology, linkages with other terrorist groups and supporting states, use of sanctuary, and financial base, and then detailing its targeting, weapons and war-fighting strategy. This assessment reveals how intimately the Al-Qaeda network bears an unmistakable resemblance to fourth-generation asymmetrical warfare and not to the 1990s profile of the IC. Finally, the authors demonstrate that President Bush has grasped fourth generation warfare by advocating preemptive first strikes against terrorists in his new national security strategy.

ID Number: JA019274  
Year: 2003  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Terrorism and the Use of Force.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 34, no. 2, June 2003, p. 153-167.)

Author(s):

1. Ulfstein, Geir

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--LAW AND LEGISLATION
2. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

There exist today a number of conventions aimed at combating terrorism. These treat acts of terrorism as criminal acts. However, the events of 11 September 2001 introduced a new dimension into the debate on the use of force in addressing the problem of terrorism. This article discusses whether the UN Security Council has given its approval for the USA's use of force in the wake of 11 September 2001 and whether this use of

force can be justified under the right of self-defence. The article's conclusion is that the Security Council has not given its approval. Nevertheless, the USA may invoke the right of self-defence on the basis of the Taliban's support for the terrorists. However, it is important to remember that acts of terrorism ought as far as possible to be addressed through criminal prosecution. Furthermore, any use of force ought to take place under the control of the UN. And we must be on our guard against any erosion of the prohibition against the use of force in international law.

ID Number: JA019284  
Year: 2003  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Die Nordatlantikorganisation und der 'War on Terrorism'.  
(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 2003, S. 617-621.)

Author(s):  
1. Varwick, Johannes  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003-  
3. NATO

ID Number: JA019604  
Year: 2003  
Language: German  
Type: ART

Kontinuität und Wandel in der internationalen Sicherheitspolitik: der 11. September als Epochenwende.

(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 1, Jannar - Februar 2003, S. 23-30.)

Author(s):  
1. Wenger, Andreas  
Subject(s):  
1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS  
2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:  
11 September 2001 marks the end of a transition period after the end of the Cold War, but does by no means represent a decisive caesura in the development of the international system, as many observers thought to believe right after the attacks. International policy in the 21st century presents itself as multi-layered and complex, and the USA will have a lasting impact on shaping its agenda only if it cooperates with other big and small international players, in order to meet the challenges arising from the globalization of international economic structures on the one hand, and the regionalization of order structures on the other.

ID Number: JA018733  
Year: 2003  
Language: German  
Type: ART

At War for Freedom.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2003, p. 6-9.)

Author(s):

1. Woolsey, R. James

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST

Notes:

America and the western world are at war with 'fascist' Middle East governments and totalitarian Islamists. The freedoms we stand for are loathed and our vulnerable systems under attack. Liberty and security will be in conflict as we line up behind the new march of democracy.

ID Number: JA019486

Year: 2003

Language: English

Type: ART

## 2002

La politica exterior de EE UU despues del 11-S.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 86, marzo - abril 2002, p. 73-84.)

Author(s):

1. Armacost, Michael H.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

La necesidad de combatir el terrorismo ha producido un giro en la diplomacia norte-americana. Sus intereses geopoliticos han cambiado una vez concluida la guerra en Afganistan.

ID Number: JA017810

Year: 2002

Language: Spanish

Type: ART

La defense europeenne au lendemain des attentats du 11 septembre 2001.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58eme annee, no. 12, decembre 2002, p. 86-92.)

Author(s):

1. Benoit, Loick

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--EU COUNTRIES

3. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Après les attentats américains, cette étude propose de mesurer l'ampleur des réactions européennes. Si le terrorisme est ainsi devenu un nouveau volet des relations extérieures (dans le dialogue politique ou la Pesc) et un leitmotiv du développement de l'espace de liberté, de sécurité et de justice (mandat d'arrêt, harmonisation des législations pénales, renforcement de la coopération policière et judiciaire), la défense européenne stricto sensu ne semble pas avoir procédé à l'adaptation imposée par le séisme géopolitique du 11 septembre. Cet article décrit l'impuissance militaire de l'Union dans la gestion du conflit afghan puis les tergiversations des Quinze quant à l'élargissement des compétences de la PESD au terrorisme.

ID Number: JA018641

Year: 2002

Language: French

Type: ART

Just War, Unjust Means ?.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2002, p. 26-28.)

Author(s):

1. Bouchet-Saulnier, Francoise

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

3. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

Israeli actions against the Palestinians, US bombing in Afghanistan and the intervention of Russia's armed forces in Chechnya all have something in common : the fight against terrorism. They also share something else : a refusal to recognise the relevance of humanitarian law to this type of conflict.

ID Number: JA018085

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

La relation transatlantique et la 'longue' guerre contre le terrorisme.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2002, p.

337-351.)

Author(s):

1. Bozo, Frederic

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--NATO

3. NATO--USA

Notes:

Au-dela de leur impact immediat, les attentats du 11 septembre ont agi comme un reveleateur et comme un catalyseur des tendances longues de l'histoire de l'Alliance. Avant eux en effet, la situation etait paradoxale. D'un cote, pres de dix ans apres la chute de l'URSS, l'OTAN semblait durablement refondee : son role de garant de la securite europeenne etait reaffirme, son premier elargissement etait un succes, et le leadership americain etait renforce; de l'autre, la crise du Kosovo remettait a l'ordre du jour un possible 'decouplage' euro-americain, qu'il s'agisse des valeurs ou des interets des differents allies. Du coup, un nouveau grand debat transatlantique etait engage, avant meme les attentats, sur la redefinition des menaces, sur la gestion de certains conflits, en particulier au Proche-Orient, et sur les equilibres internes de l'Alliance - la relance de la PESD venant equilibrer, apres Saint-Malo et l'election de Bush, le regain d'unilateralisme americain. Mais, avec le 11 septembre, ces interrogations se sont trouvees multipliees, et des lors, trois nouveaux scenarios ont du etre examines : celui d'une refondation de l'OTAN dans la lutte antiterroriste, celui d'un divorce transatlantique face a ce meme enjeu, et celui d'un nouveau partenariat strategique euro-americain dans une Alliance renovee.

ID Number: JA018050

Year: 2002

Language: French

Type: ART



Estados Unidos no se pregunta en que se equivoca.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 85, enero - febrero 2002, p. 111-124.)

Author(s):

1. Brotons, Antonio Remiro

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
3. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

La solidaridad con EE UU tras los atentados les da una oportunidad para ejercer el liderazgo del sistema multilateral centrado en la ONU. Sin embargo, su politica no parece moverse.

ID Number: JA017558

Year: 2002

Language: Spanish

Type: ART

The Wrong War.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 4, July - August 2002, p. 34-43.)

Author(s):

1. Byford, Grenville

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Defining who is a terrorist is more complicated than it might seem - and even if it were not, choosing one's enemies on the basis of their tactics alone has little to recommend it. This is why the Bush administration now finds itself caught between the policies it needs to adopt and the language it is using to describe them.

ID Number: JA018035

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

El 11-S : juicio a EE UU.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 89, septiembre - octubre 2002, p. 85-98.)

Author(s):

1. Campins, Miguel

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Notes:

Que futuro se perfila para las relaciones EE UU-Europa despues de la 'guerra al terrorismo' ? Los europeos no pueden permanecer a la espera de las decisiones de Washington. No se trata de ahondar en las diferencias transatlanticas, sino considerar los propios intereses y defenderlos.

ID Number: JA018479

Year: 2002

Language: Spanish

Type: ART

Iraq, Terrorism and the New Pax Americana.

(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 1-8.)

Author(s):

1. Cannistraro, Vincent M.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

ID Number: JA017934

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The Global War on Terrorism : A Regional Approach to Coordination.

(JOINT FORCE QUARTERLY, no. 32, Autumn 2002, p. 49-53.)

Author(s):

1. Cardinal, Charles N.

2. Pangonas, Timber P.

3. Marks, Edward

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The war on terrorism has galvanized the move toward organizational innovation and reform to improve interagency coordination.

ID Number: JA019369

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Operatie Allied Force versus Operatie Enduring Freedom : een vergelijkende bellum justum-analyse.

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 31, nr. 1, 2002, p. 9-32.)

Author(s):

1. Ceulemans, Carl

Subject(s):

1. WAR--MORAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS

2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--KOSOVO (SERBIA)

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. JUST WAR DOCTRINE

5. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

6. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

Dit artikel beoogt het ethisch gehalte van operatie 'Allied Force' (Kosovo) en operatie 'Enduring Freedom' (Afghanistan) te vergelijken aan de hand van de 'rechtvaardige oorlog' - of 'bellum justum' - theorie. Deze laatste vormt een ethisch-normatieve traditie die stelt wanneer en op welke wijze militair geweld mag worden aangewend. De principes die aangeven wanneer geweld is toegestaan, vormen het zogenoemde 'jus ad bellum' (rechtvaardige zaak, juiste intenties, redelijke kans op succes, proportionaliteit, laatste redmiddel, en legitiem gezag). De criteria die bepalen op welke wijze dit dient te gebeuren, is het 'jus in bello' (discriminatie en proportionaliteit). Uit de vergelijkende analyse blijkt dat beide operaties zowel enkele overeenkomsten als verschilpunten vertonen. Zo ging het bij beide operaties in essentie om de bescherming van onschuldige burgers (rechtvaardige zaak). Ook hadden beide operaties te kampen met een duidelijk 'legitiem gezag'-probleem. Verschillen waren er bijvoorbeeld op het vlak van de redelijke kans op succes. Hoewel er bij beide operaties sprake was van een duidelijk militair overwicht, moesten de slaagkansen van 'Allied Force' iets lager worden ingeschat dan die van 'Enduring Freedom'. Vanuit het proportionaliteitsperspectief ('in bello') was er eveneens een licht voordeel voor 'Enduring Freedom'. Dit laatste had vooral

te maken met het relatief groter aantal duale doelwitten waarop tijdens de NAVO-interventie werd gericht.

ID Number: JA017756  
Year: 2002  
Language: Dutch  
Type: ART

The Use and Limits of U.S. Intelligence.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 61-74.)

Author(s):

1. Cilluffo, Frank J.
2. Marks, Ronald A.
3. Salmoiraghi, George C.

Subject(s):

1. INTELLIGENCE SERVICE--USA
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA017523  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Die 'Idee' eines Generalsekretars.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 51. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 2002, S. 20-21.)

Author(s):

1. Clement, Rolf

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. NATO
3. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

ID Number: JA017380  
Year: 2002  
Language: German  
Type: ART

Russia, Islam, and the War on Terrorism : An Uneasy Future.

(DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 10, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 544-555.)

Author(s):

1. Cohen, Ariel

Subject(s):

1. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA018627  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

The US Military and the Evolving Challenges in the Middle East.

(NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 72-112.)

Author(s):

1. Cordesman, Anthony H.

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The 11 September 2001 attacks and the Afghan war that followed did not change fundamental American interests in the Middle East or the basic strategic rationale behind the American military presence in the region. They did, however, add new dimensions, underscore the depth of the stakes involved, and reveal vulnerabilities and shortcomings that the US military must address as it comes to grips with the security problems of the

Middle East.  
ID Number: JA018528  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

American Power Before and After 11 September : Dizzy with Success ?.  
(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 2, April 2002, p. 261-276.)

Author(s):

1. Cox, Michael

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

One of the most interesting consequences of the war against international terrorism is the discovery by many analysts of American power. However, if the experts had been more attentive they might have noticed that a power shift in favour of the United States is not just some recent phenomenon arising from US victory over the Taliban or the new Bush military build-up. Rather, it can, and should be, traced back to important trends of the early 1990s. What the war has done is to reveal the extent of America's renaissance in the postwar decade while its position as true hegemon was being consolidated. However, victory in war may not bring order in peace if the United States does not draw the correct lessons.

ID Number: JA017748  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

The Fine Art of Friendship : Jus in Bello in Afghanistan.  
(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 7, no. 1, April 2002, p. 37-83.)

Author(s):

1. Cryer, Robert

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

The armed conflicts in Afghanistan have been surrounded by an almost unprecedented level of public debate relating to the law of armed conflict. This article seeks to provide an assessment of both the ground and air campaigns by the Coalition and their Afghan allies, primarily the Northern Alliance. Taking as its point of departure the idea that how someone (the Coalition) treats their friends (Afghan civilians) and how that person's friends (currently the Northern Alliance) treat others reflects back upon them, this article evaluates the Coalition and Northern Alliance campaigns in Afghanistan. The nature of the various conflicts is investigated, as is, for the air campaign, the targeting process and weapon choice of the Coalition. In relation to the ground war, the actions of the Northern Alliance/United Front and the Coalition are subjected to scrutiny, in particular from the point of the rules relating to surrender and the treatment of detainees. The article identifies some areas of concern, although nothing attributable to the Coalition rising remotely close to the level of the shocking attacks on the United States on September 11.

ID Number: JA017998  
Year: 2002  
Language: English

Type: ART

After Afghanistan : The Role of Air Power.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 6, December 2002, p. 38-43.)

Author(s):

1. Day, John

Subject(s):

1. AIR POWER

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

ID Number: JA018986

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The Roles of Law in the Fight Against Terrorism.

(ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 301-319.)

Author(s):

1. deLisle, Jacques

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM

3. INTERNATIONAL LAW

ID Number: JA017782

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

L'etat de l' Union 2002, discours de guerre pour les Etats-Unis.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 4, avril 2002, p. 64-78.)

Author(s):

1. Desportes, Vincent

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. USA--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING

Notes:

Plus qu'un discours sur l'etat de l'Union, l'intervention présidentielle du 29 janvier est un discours de guerre et de mobilisation. Si le ton peut surprendre, il reste dans la veine de la rhétorique traditionnelle américaine, en amorçant cependant une évolution majeure : l'exécutif américain se donne désormais la possibilité de frapper militairement de manière préventive. Le discours de G. W. Bush annonce un effort financier important pour les forces armées, ce que reflète le projet présidentiel de budget proposé au Congrès : sans être véritablement un budget de changement, il marque la première étape importante d'un accroissement considérable des dépenses américaines de défense, planifié sur plusieurs années.

ID Number: JA017792

Year: 2002

Language: French

Type: ART

The Future of International Coalitions : How Useful ? How Manageable ?.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 131-144.)

Author(s):

1. Dibb, Paul

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Can the global coalition against terrorism be sustained ? Members may share a common fear of terrorism, but only the United States has suffered a severe terrorist attack. This, and the risk that the war may widen, will put intense pressure on the coalition's future.

ID Number: JA017696

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Un an apres le 11 septembre.

(COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1027, aout 2002, p. 4-13.)

Author(s):

1. Djalili, Mohammad-Reza

2. Kellner, Thierry

Subject(s):

1. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--ASIA, CENTRAL

Notes:

Les evenements du 11 septembre ont soudain ouvert une nouvelle phase historique pour l'Asie centrale, projetee sur l'avant-scene internationale. Depuis lors, tout en continuant a essayer de resoudre les difficultes socio-economiques liees a une independance precipitee, ces pays doivent aussi gerer, au mieux de leurs interets, une situation tout aussi nouvelle qu'inattendue s'articulant autour de plusieurs parametres. D'abord et avant tout, une presence militaire americaine plus ou moins forte selon les pays. Cette nouvelle influence militaire, mais aussi economique, des Etats-Unis parait destinee a se prolonger a la faveur d'un deuxieme parametre, autre consequence majeure de l'apres-11 septembre : la cohabitation russo-americaine qui, laissant les mains libres a Poutine pour poursuivre sa repression contre les separatistes tchetchenes, ne prejuge pas pour autant d'un manque de volonte de Moscou de demeurer actif dans la region notamment en ce qui concerne les voies d'acheminement du petrole kazakh ou les problemes lies a l'exploitation des hydrocarbures de la mer Caspienne. Le net affaiblissement des mouvements islamistes a la suite de la chute des talibans est une troisieme donnee a l'impact particulierement delicat a evaluer, tant est vif le mecontentement des populations de cette region. Enfin, les relations en ressortent profondement modifiees : alors que la Russie s'emploie a limiter les consequences de son declin, la Chine s'inquiete de la presence des Etats-Unis et de leur unilateralisme. Et si l'eventualite d'un rapprochement americano-iranien est desormais exclue, l'avenir des rapports entre le Pakistan et l'Inde demeure une inconnue majeure. Face au tout securitaire prone par les Etats-Unis, les considerations economiques dans cette region riche en hydrocarbures, mais sous-developpee, ou l'enjeu petrolier a redouble d'acuite, l'emportent de loin sur les questions de democratie.

ID Number: JA018701

Year: 2002

Language: French

Type: ART

Does a Superpower Need an Alliance ?.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, p. 9-12.)

Author(s):

1. Dockrill, Saki

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. NATO--USA

Notes:

At first the answer seems to be yes, as the Bush administration accepted NATO's instant invocation of Article 5, solicited UN backing, and refused to conduct an anti-jihad against the whole Muslim world. But the the US largely shut NATO out of the action and selected its own colorful bedfellows. In the end the answer is probably no.

ID Number: JA018422

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The Antiterrorist Campaign and New Geopolitical and Security Trends in the Regional Systems of Central Asia and the Caucasus.

(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 4, 2002, p. 19-38.)

Author(s):

1. Eivazov, Jannatkhan

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. GEOPOLITICS--ASIA, CENTRAL

ID Number: JA018270

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Les enseignements de la guerre Etats-Unis-Al Quaida (2eme partie).

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 4, avril 2002, p. 102-113.)

Author(s):

1. Encel, Frederic

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
4. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

Les attentats du 11 septembre 2001 ont donne lieu a une vaste offensive americaine contre le terrorisme islamiste a travers le monde. La premiere phase de cette lutte fut victorieusement menee en Afghanistan, dont le regime barbare taliban abritait Al Quaida. Tandis que le reseau d'Oussama ben Laden entretient des objectifs de nature apocalyptique lies a la soumission de l'Occident judeo-chretien par l'islam, les Etats-Unis d'Amerique entendent conserver leur suprematie d'hyperpuissance. Au service de ces objectifs diametralement opposes, les deux camps menent ainsi, respectivement, une strategie de destabilisation des Etats musulmans allies de Washington, et le maintien au pouvoir de ces memes regimes (Pakistan, Arabie saoudite ...). Comme apres la guerre du Golfe de 1991, on assiste a une redistribution des donnees geostrategiques du Proche a l'Extreme-Orient. Au-dela de l'analyse objective de cette nouvelle guerre, les democraties occidentales - la France en particulier - doivent s'impliquer directement; a travers New York, c'est en effet l'ensemble du monde libre dont les fondements philosophiques ont ete frappees par une nouvelle forme de totalitarisme belliqueux. Le

terrorisme islamique, comme tous les autres, doit etre  
impitoyablement combattu.

ID Number: JA017795

Year: 2002

Language: French

Type: ART

Les enseignements de la guerre Etats-Unis-Al Quaida (1ere partie).  
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 3, mars 2002, p. 39-48.)

Author(s):

1. Encel, Frederic

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
4. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

Les attentats du 11 septembre 2001 ont donne lieu a une vaste offensive americaine contre le terrorisme islamiste a travers le monde. La premiere phase de cette lutte fut victorieusement menee en Afghanistan, dont le regime barbare taliban abritait Al Quaida. Tandis que le reseau d'Oussama ben Laden entretient des objectifs de nature apocalyptique lies a la soumission de l'Occident judeo-chretien par l'islam, les Etats-Unis d'Amerique entendent conserver leur suprematie d'hyperpuissance. Au service de ces objectifs diametralement opposes, les deux camps menent ainsi, respectivement, une strategie de destabilisation des Etats musulmans allies de Washington, et le maintien au pouvoir de ces memes regimes (Pakistan, Arabie saoudite ...). Comme apres la guerre du Golfe de 1991, on assiste a une redistribution des donnees geostrategiques du Proche a l'Extreme-Orient. Au-dela de l'analyse objective de cette nouvelle guerre, les democraties occidentales - la France en particulier - doivent s'impliquer directement; a travers New York, c'est en effet l'ensemble du monde libre dont les fondements philosophiques ont ete frappees par une nouvelle forme de totalitarisme belliqueux. Le terrorisme islamique, comme tous les autres, doit etre impitoyablement combattu.

ID Number: JA017679

Year: 2002

Language: French

Type: ART

Washington's 'Annihilation Strategy' in the Afghan Operation.  
(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 5, 2002, p. 7-19.)

Author(s):

1. Fenenko, Alexei

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. USA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
3. REGIONAL CONFLICTS
4. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

The 'annihilation strategy' that the United States used in Afghanistan came as a result of a dramatic technological breakthrough in the arms sphere. Success in Afghanistan, achieved as a result of a breakthrough in space-based weapons guidance technology, marked a transition from the previous 'revolution' into a new quality, when the weakening of the enemy's military capacity is replaced by the complete destruction of its armed forces. These trends suggest that the first quarter of the new century will be marked by the



evolution of a new local conflict strategy wherein priority will be given to space based guidance and adjustment of air strikes while the nuclear deterrence threshold will be progressively lowered through the use of tactical charges and possibly even anti-missile technology. At the same time, this trend changes the political conflict management system per se. Sure, expanding weapons capabilities and transition to unilateral 'annihilation' action elevates the existing superpower to the rank of an incontestable political leader. These trends could eventually lead to a search for a more adequate response to its breakthrough in the military sphere. So the events in Afghanistan can be seen to be raising the key question of the modern security system : will the 'annihilation' model remain but a means of fighting international terrorism or is it going to become standard practice of state interaction in regional conflicts ?

ID Number: JA018882

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

#### No Military Solution.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2002, p. 19-21.)

Author(s):

1. Goulding, Marrack

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

President George Bush called for a 'war' against terror after September 11. But is war the right way to deal with the likes of Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda ? Here a self-confessed 'bleeding hart' answers no to that. It's an assessment based on years in charge of the UN's peacekeeping operations.

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

#### International Law and the 'War Against Terrorism'.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 2, April 2002, p. 301-317.)

Author(s):

1. Greenwood, Christopher

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

This article analyses some of the international legal issues arising out of the events of 11 September 2001. Those who perpetrated the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were guilty of serious offences under United States law and possibly also under international law. The fact that their conduct was a crime does not, however, preclude it also being a threat to international peace and an armed attack. The author argues that the United States and its allies were entitled to respond to that attack and the threat of future attacks by using force against Al-Qa'ida and that, in the circumstances, it was also legitimate to take military action against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan which had sheltered Al-Qa'ida and permitted it to conduct operations from Afghan territory. The article also examines the application of the laws of armed conflict to the ensuing fighting and the status and treatment of those captured and held at Guantanamo Bay.

ID Number: JA017750

Year: 2002

Language: English  
Type: ART

In Retrospect.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2002, p. 22-23.)

Author(s):

1. Halliday, Fred

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

We are close to a year on from September 11. The main consequence is clear : the attacks on mainland America have provoked the United States into a new strategic campaign, likely to dominate US foreign policy for a long time to come. The impact will be protracted not only because of the broad ramifications of this policy, but because the very goal - the elimination of an enemy, unseen and drawing on considerable support - will remain elusive.

ID Number: JA018084

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Unravelling the 'War' on Terrorism : A Risk-Management Exercise in War Clothing ?.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 33, no. 2, June 2002, p. 227-242.)

Author(s):

1. Heng, Yee-Kuang

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Since the 11 September terrorist outrages, policymakers have waxed lyrical about a 'war' on terrorism as the greatest challenge to international security. The word 'war' implies easily identifiable (normally state) adversaries, and dramatic military action producing decisive, highly visible results at the end. However, this 'war' is in fact more rhetorical than about interstate warfare. Like other rhetorical wars on drugs or crime, it has no visible end, and outcomes will be neither easily apparent nor decisive. This article addresses the conceptual difficulties of a rhetorical 'war' on terrorism from a perspective of risk management. Drawing on military issues in Afghanistan so far, it seeks to provide a more appropriate analytic prism for understanding such a 'war' where enemies are elusive networks, the aim is simply avoiding harm with no prospect of closure, and success is defined more by non-events than by what can be seen.

ID Number: JA018056

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Hitting Home : What We've Learned Since 9/11 and What We Should Do About It.

(RAND REVIEW, vol. 26, no. 2, Summer 2002, Whole Issue.)

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

ID Number: JA018233

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Beyond Public Diplomacy.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 83-95.)

Author(s):

1. Hoffman, David

Subject(s):

1. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY--USA
2. PROPAGANDA
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
4. MASS MEDIA--MIDDLE EAST
5. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
6. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST

Notes:

The United States has put legions of spokespersons on the airwaves at home and abroad in a campaign to 'win the hearts and minds' of the Muslim world. So far, however, the world's superpower is losing the propaganda war to a terrorist in hiding. This is not surprising, given the virulent anti-Western messages that repressive Middle Eastern regimes spread through state-run media. Washington should focus instead on bringing freedom of the press to those countries where oppression breeds terrorism.

ID Number: JA020542

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

'9/11' and After.

(NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 4, Autumn 2002, p. 11-21.)

Author(s):

1. Howard, Michael

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

To call the struggle against terrorism 'America's War', perhaps even a war at all, is to miss its full significance, argues the author. It is a global confrontation between those who believe in the values of the Enlightenment and those who detest and fear them. In this confrontation armed force must inevitably play a part, but it can never be won by militaries alone - not even those of the United States.

ID Number: JA018820

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

What's in a Name ?.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 1, January - February 2002, p. 8-13.)

Author(s):

1. Howard, Michael

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

By declaring 'war' on terrorism, the United States has committed itself to decisive victory against an intractable enemy and to a long march through 'rogue' states.

ID Number: JA018663

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

La guerre introuvable.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 4, avril 2002, p. 94-101.)

Author(s):

1. Immarigeon, Jean-Philippe

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. WARFARE

Notes:

Dans la guerre ouverte le 11 septembre 2001, si l'on mesure une victoire a l'objectif initialement fixe, celui-ci n'a de toute evidence pas ete atteint. Reconnaissons que nous sommes entres dans une pure representation de la crise pour ne pas en voir les fondements, que les Etats-Unis recherchent la guerre pour la guerre et non la victoire, et que leur pouvoir reside fort logiquement non dans le fait de vaincre le plus rapidement possible, mais dans celui de faire etalage de leur puissance le plus longtemps possible. Derriere la maladresse tres calculee des discours du president Bush apparait la mise en gerbe de plusieurs projets convergents : la croyance messianique de l'Amerique en son destin, la foi dans un progres continu et bienfaisant, une philosophie deterministe de l'Histoire et la soumission a des lois supposees naturelles. Tout cela vient de loin, de la fondation de la Republique americaine, et se trouve resume dans la conception de la guerre que les Etats-Unis tentent d'imposer au monde.

ID Number: JA017794

Year: 2002

Language: French

Type: ART

All Dressed Up and No Place to Go : Why NATO Should Be on the Front Lines in the War on Terror.

(PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 48-63.)

Author(s):

1. Johnson, Rebecca

2. Zenko, Micah

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. NATO

3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--NATO

Notes:

The authors contend the Bush Administration has purposely resisted NATO's attempts to play a more active role in the war against terror. They adroitly examine the rationale behind the Administration's opposition to a muscular NATO presence and the advantages of coordinating such a war through NATO channels. Their examination concludes with a proposed structure for a NATO-led effort.

ID Number: JA018550

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Same War, Different Views : Germany, Japan, and the War on Terrorism.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 659, December 2002, p. 427-435.)

Author(s):

1. Katzenstein, Peter J.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--GERMANY

4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--JAPAN

Notes:

The tendency of the Bush administration to frame terrorism as a threat posed equally by evil states and non-state groups is

distinctive. It is easy to lose sight of how atypical, even among liberal democracies, are the American view of international life in Manichaeian terms and the American emphasis on the military dimension of society. Germany's and Japan's very different approaches to counterterrorism are useful reminders of American exceptionalism.

ID Number: JA018712

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

#### Afghanistan on the Threshold of Peace.

(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2002, p. 7-13.)

Author(s):

1. Korgun, Viktor

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

ID Number: JA017704

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

#### The War and the West.

(ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 321-332.)

Author(s):

1. Kurth, James

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM

2. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

How can the nations of the West, and especially their leader, the United States, meet and master the new challenge coming out of the East ? The United States must wage its war against Islamic terrorists on two different fronts and in two different ways. These are (1) the war on the foreign front, which began with the campaign against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, and (2) the war on the domestic front, which began with the security measures directed against potential terrorist cells within the United States itself.

ID Number: JA017783

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

#### De strijd tegen het internationale terrorisme en het recht op zelfverdediging.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 1, januari 2002, p. 12-14.)

Author(s):

1. Leurdijk, Dick A.

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

The author argues that the furnishing of proof in invoking the right of self-defence by the United States has left an uneasy feeling. The author argues that the bases for the justification of the use of force are somewhat ambivalent. Immediately after the terrorist attacks, the discussion was focused on three

levels. At the Security Council level, two resolutions were adopted by the United States and proponents, as legitimising the use of force in the war against terrorism. Nevertheless, on analysing the resolutions, the author cannot find a formal foundation for such a legitimised military response. Next, the author discusses NATO and the adoption of its Article 5. On October 2nd, the North Atlantic Council formally determined that there had been an attack from outside the United States and invoked Article 5. Yet, when it comes to the evidence, the Article shows that doubt must remain. Finally, the author focuses on the discussion in the United States. Within days of the attacks, the Congress gave President Bush a virtually free hand in responding to the attacks with the use of force. However, according to the author, the American justification for the use of force lies rather with the right of self-defence, which under Article 51, is a cornerstone of the UN charter.

ID Number: JA017352  
Year: 2002  
Language: Dutch  
Type: ART

The War on Terror : A Retrospective.

(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 21-37.)

Author(s):

1. Lewis, William H.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA018545

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The Secret Policemen's Ball : the United States, Russia and the International Order after 11 September.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 2, April 2002, p. 245-259.)

Author(s):

1. Lieven, Anatol

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

In this article, the author argues that the collapse of the Soviet and communist threats and the triumph of capitalism and bourgeois values gave the United States an unprecedented chance to act as a status quo hegemon, dominating the world with the consent of other major powers. The United States threw up this chance by acting instead as a 'dissatisfied' and even revolutionary power, creating a sense of menace and resentment across much of the world. After the 11 September attacks, the near-global threat of Sunni Islamist terrorism and revolution gives the United States another opportunity to rally much of the world behind it, in a kind of new 'Holy Alliance' of states against threats from below. But by mixing up the struggle against terrorism with a very different effort at preventing nuclear proliferation, and by refusing to take the interests of other states into account, the US risks missing this opportunity for a second time, and endangering itself and its closest allies such as Britain.

ID Number: JA017747

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

New Friends, New Fears in Central Asia.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 61-70.)

Author(s):

1. Luong, Pauline Jones
2. Weinthal, Erika

Subject(s):

1. UZBEKISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--UZBEKISTAN
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
4. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--ASIA, CENTRAL

Notes:

To wage its war in Afghanistan, the Bush administration needed Uzbekistan's help - and promised a lot to get it. But Washington must not let this short-term marriage of convenience give Uzbekistan long-term regional hegemony. The Uzbek regime's authoritarianism fosters Islamic extremism, which in turn exacerbates tensions among Central Asia's unstable governments. Only a multilateral approach can handle the region's many problems.

ID Number: JA017913

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Yemen and the 'War' Against Terror : Strike First.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 12, December 2002, p. 7-9.)

Author(s):

1. MacGregor, Andrew

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA
3. YEMEN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--YEMEN
5. TERRORISM--YEMEN

Notes:

The missile strike on an Al Qaeda suspect in Yemen marks the beginning of a new phase in American counter-terrorism. Using Hellfire missiles delivered from a CIA-controlled unmanned Predator drone aircraft, the attack is an example of a new direction, using technology and covert action to demonstrate America's determination to strike terrorists wherever they may be. It appears that Yemen will be the testing ground for this new approach. While the country is usually regarded as withdrawn and xenophobic, the truth is that the success of militant Islamist recruiters and operatives has made the poorest nation in the Arab world an international security concern.

ID Number: JA018569

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Reflexions sur un attentat.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 1, janvier 2002, p. 41-51.)

Author(s):

1. Marchat, Philippe

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Les attentats hyper-médiatisés du 11 septembre 2001 incitent à certaines réflexions sur les protagonistes, sur les principes causés de ce drame et sur ses effets les plus notables.

ID Number: JA017404

Year: 2002  
Language: French  
Type: ART

The End of Unilateralism or Unilateralism Redux ?.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 15-23.)

Author(s):

1. Miller, Steven E.

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Many have claimed that September 11 and its aftermath must spell the end of U.S. unilateralism. They may be mistaken. The very real pressure for change in U.S. policy may not be as powerful or as inevitable as many seem to believe.

ID Number: JA017521

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Harbinger or Aberration ? A 9/11 Provocation.

(NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 69, Fall 2002, p. 45-50.)

Author(s):

1. Mueller, John

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The attacks on Washington and New York were the first of their kind. They may also be the last. A case against rushing to conclusions.

ID Number: JA018368

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Six Months After : The Imperatives of Operation Enduring Freedom.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 2, April 2002, p. 10-14.)

Author(s):

1. Myers, Richard B.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA017700

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The Twin Towers Attack : An Unlimited Right to Self-Defence ?.

(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 7, no. 1, April 2002, p. 5-17.)

Author(s):

1. Myjer, Eric P. J.
2. White, Nigel D.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

This article considers the limited role of international organizations (the UN and NATO) in Operation Enduring Freedom against Afghanistan. Both organizations have played a



peripheral role, legitimating but not regulating the use of force by the United States. This seems to be part of a continuing process of attempting to widen customary rights while eroding the effective powers of organizations. The consequences for collective security and the international legal order are immense.

ID Number: JA017996

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The New Era in World Politics after September 11.

(WORLD POLITICS, vol. 55, no. 1, October 2002, Whole Issue.)

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
4. WORLD POLITICS

ID Number: JA018828

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Evidence of Terror.

(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 7, no. 1, April 2002, p. 19-36.)

Author(s):

1. O'Connell, Mary Ellen

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

In the hours after the 11 September attacks on the United States, some called for counter-attacks on America's enemies, regardless of any evidence of wrong-doing. Those calls were rejected and some evidence was produced linking Osama bin Laden, his organization, al-Qaeda, and the Taliban regime of Afghanistan to the attacks. The United States and United Kingdom began a bombing campaign of Afghanistan on the strength of that evidence on 7 October 2001. This article explores the law of evidence in international law. It seeks to identify what evidence is sufficient for supporting a case of self-defence to clandestine terror attacks.

ID Number: JA017997

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

A Flawed Masterpiece.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 3, May - June 2002, p. 47-63.)

Author(s):

1. O'Hanlon, Michael E.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

The military campaign in Afghanistan has been, for the most part, a masterpiece of creativity and finesse. It may wind up being one of the most notable U.S. military successes since World War II. But the American strategy has also had flaws. Most important, by contracting out much of the work to undependable

local proxies, it may have allowed Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders to escape - and menace the world down the road.  
ID Number: JA017786  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Axis of Evil : Threat or Chimera ?.  
(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 40-57.)  
Author(s):  
1. Pena, Charles V.  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA  
ID Number: JA018260  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Al-Qaeda- en Talibanstrijders : krijgsgevangenen of niet ?.  
(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 5, mei 2002, p. 258-260.)  
Author(s):  
1. Post, Harry  
Subject(s):  
1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA  
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
3. GENEVA CONVENTIONS (1949)  
Notes:  
The author addresses the problem of the status of the Al Qaida and Taliban fighters who were captured by the Americans during the recent Afghan War and are now kept in prison at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. The Americans argue that the 1949 Geneva Conventions are not applicable in respect to these prisoners, and that as 'unlawful combatants' they have no right to be accorded prisoner-of-war status. This position has been criticized, in particular by the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The author shares this criticism and presents a legal argumentation on the basis of a thorough study of the relevant provisions of the Geneva Conventions and Protocols.  
ID Number: JA017851  
Year: 2002  
Language: Dutch  
Type: ART

After Guantanamo : The War Over the Geneva Convention.  
(NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 68, Summer 2002, p. 15-26.)  
Author(s):  
1. Rabkin, Jeremy  
Subject(s):  
1. PRISONERS OF WAR--USA  
2. PRISONERS OF WAR--CUBA--GUANTANAMO BAY NAVAL BASE  
3. GENEVA CONVENTIONS (1949)  
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
Notes:  
Those who would recast the laws of war as international human rights norms are distorting sound precedent, and making big trouble.  
ID Number: JA018009  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 7-32.)

Author(s):

1. Roberts, Adam

Subject(s):

1. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

2. TERRORISM

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

4. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

In military operations involving action against terrorists, the relevance of the laws of war, often now called international humanitarian law, is problematic. The US-led 'war on terror', especially the use of armed force in Afghanistan, raises three questions. Is the law applicable to such operations ? Should it be applied in situations different from what was envisaged in treaties ? And are detainees 'prisoners of war' ? A difficulty in applying law is that governments usually view terrorists, like rebels in civil wars, as simply criminal. In the bombing in Afghanistan, the US has sought to observe the legal requirement of discrimination, but difficult issues are raised by the use of cluster bombs and the continued bombing after the Taliban regime's fall. As regards prisoners, US policy was ill-thought-out; and the perfectly justifiable classification of certain prisoners as 'unlawful combatants' should not mean that they are in a legal limbo. Treating the law cavalierly causes problems, especially for coalitions. The law, however imperfect, is irreplaceable.

ID Number: JA017636

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The War on Terror - One Year On.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 5, October 2002, p. 28-33.)

Author(s):

1. Rogers, Paul

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

In this concise overview of the War on Terror thus far, Paul Rogers argues that understanding US action since 11 September requires an appreciation of two factors in the US military and political environment that were present before the attacks in New York and Washington. If these are examined, it becomes clear that the world did not change so substantially on 11 September. Change, including preparations for a war on Saddam, was already under way.

ID Number: JA018450

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Right for America, Right for the World.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 2, February 2002, p. 13-15.)

Author(s):

1. Rogers, Paul

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

There was much talk of coalitions after the traumatic events of last September. Critics of Washington's politics hoped that their agenda of international cooperation would find new favour. They have been disappointed. What is right for America is regarded by the White House as right for the world.

ID Number: JA017546

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

China and the War on Terrorism.

(ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 511-521.)

Author(s):

1. Roy, Denny

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

This study explains the policy that has evolved from China's initial reactions to the US-led war on terrorism and analyzes the dangers and opportunities involved in Beijing's decision, examining the several potential threats to Chinese interests created by the antiterrorism campaign. It considers the consequences of China's decision to support the initial actions of the war, identifying which Chinese interests are furthered and which are sacrificed by Beijing's policy. Beijing's initial policy required it to subordinate several important Chinese values, demonstrating the high priority it placed on good relations with Washington and on nurturing a favorable Chinese image among the non-Muslim countries.

ID Number: JA018214

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

NATO and Terrorism.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 2, April 2002, p. 32-40.)

Author(s):

1. Shea, Jamie

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--NATO

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA017701

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

The New Protracted Conflict : Finding a Foreign Policy.

(ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 215-227.)

Author(s):

1. Sicherman, Harvey

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The events of September 11, 2001, transformed George W. Bush's presidency and with it American foreign policy. It will now use the war on terrorism as the fulcrum upon which to refashion its most important relationships. Priorities include a new deal with Russia, a deepening role in reconciling India and Pakistan, a quick revival of the Arab-Israeli negotiations and a possible fresh start with Iran. All of this will be measured against progress in the war itself. Experience thus far reinforces the view that success in the protracted conflict, even as victory in the Cold War, will not guarantee the peace. That will have to be won anew, region by region, relationship by relationship. This mission will soon make the Bush pragmatists new visionaries and not only to see the world safe from terrorism. The opportunity to win a new, more secure peace has risen from the ashes of September 11.

ID Number: JA017776

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

What Is in Store for the World ?.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 1, 2002, p. 9-16.)

Author(s):

1. Simoniia, N.

2. Baranovskii, V.

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Notes:

The academic community in Russia is actively discussing possible political repercussions of the terrorist acts of 11 September 2001. The present authors offer their vision of the much-discussed issue and its three dimensions : possible consequences for the US policies, the system of international relations as a whole, and for Russia in particular.

ID Number: JA017720

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Afghanistan : gagner la guerre, perdre la paix ?.

(POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 97, automne 2002, p. 189-196.)

Author(s):

1. Taheri, Amir

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

The United States won the war in Afghanistan, but are they now losing the peace ? The US military intervention was initially supposed to be short. But troops are still in the field, and their continued presence is raising concerns among other powers. Washington is suspected of seeking to make Afghanistan into a cornerstone of its diplomacy in Central Asia. The

Americans are also thought to be intending to use the country to deliver oil from Kazakhstan and other neighboring states. This strategy is risky since it would require the emergence of conditions that will prove very difficult - and perhaps impossible - to achieve. It supposes a strong central power in Kabul, whereas this power is traditionally weak in a bitterly divided country. Only a federal solution combined with the withdrawal of US troops will avoid yet another bloody civil war.

ID Number: JA018558  
Year: 2002  
Language: French  
Type: ART

Understanding the Challenge.

(MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 56, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 9-18.)

Author(s):

1. Telhami, Shibley

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

This article considers the extent to which faith explains the terror the US faced on September 11th, including the use of suicide bombers as an instrument, the extent to which the prevalent anger with the US in the Middle East over policy issues is related to the attacks, why Arab moderate voices have not been louder after the attacks, and what the US can do to reduce both the anger in the region and the chance of anti-US terrorism.

ID Number: JA017564  
Year: 2002  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Der Terrorangriff auf die USA und seine Folgen.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 51. Jg., Nr. 11, November 2002, S. 7-11.)

Author(s):

1. Werner, Enrico
2. Hofmann, Hans-Peter

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--NATO
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

When NATO in the light of September 11, 2001 invoked Article 5 of the Washington Treaty for the first time in its history, a noticeable shock associated with a clearly perceptible uneasiness was felt in the international community. What kind of conflict would be in store for NATO here ? Despite all the determination for solidarity this was the central question in the alliance which nobody really wanted to ask. The risk emanating from terrorism as a diffuse militant phenomenon was and is known, but a concrete military conflict had hitherto not been put on the agenda of potential operations yet.

ID Number: JA018503  
Year: 2002  
Language: German  
Type: ART

The Limits of Military Power.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 75-92.)

Author(s):

1. Wijk, Rob de

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. USA--MILITARY POLICY

3. MILITARY PLANNING--USA

Notes:

Defense planning had only fleetingly dealt with the threat of apocalyptic terrorism previously. Significant practical and conceptual challenges confront the United States and its allies, requiring a new approach as well as new assets to make the military useful.

ID Number: JA017524

Year: 2002

Language: English

Type: ART

Poder, orden y percepciones tras el 11 de septiembre.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 87, mayo - junio 2002, p. 59-70.)

Author(s):

1. Zaldivar, Carlos Alonso

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Notes:

La capacidad de una red transnacional para atacar a la primera potencia; la legitimacion de la lucha mundial contra el terrorismo; y la nueva percepcion de vulnerabilidad de EE UU han transformado la estructura de las relaciones internacionales.

ID Number: JA018083

Year: 2002

Language: Spanish

Type: ART

Toeschouwers of deelnemers : de publieke opinie over problemen van het internationaal terrorisme buiten de Verenigde Staten sinds september 2001.

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 31, nr. 2, 2002, p. 154-180.)

Author(s):

1. Everts, Philip

2. Isernia, Pierangelo

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001---PUBLIC OPINION

2. WAR VICTIMS

Notes:

Dit artikel is een van de resultaten van doorlopend onderzoek naar aard, inhoud en invloed van de publieke opinie over het internationaal gebruik van militair geweld. Dit onderzoek richt zich vooral op de factoren die de bereidheid tot geweldgebruik bepalen. De terroristische aanslagen in de Verenigde Staten van 11 september 2001 - hoe afschuwelijk op zich ook - bieden een unieke mogelijkheid internationale opvattingen te bestuderen onder omstandigheden die geheel afwijken van eerdere gevallen van internationaal geweldgebruik. Het artikel bevat de resultaten van een eerste vergelijkende analyse van beschikbare onderzoeksgegevens uit een groot aantal landen buiten de Verenigde Staten. De gegevens betreffen in hoofdzaak de periode september to december 2001. De resultaten van het beschikbare opinieonderzoek worden vooral beoordeeld met betrekking tot de volgende aspecten : bekendheid en betrokkenheid bij de problemen; steun voor de militaire acties van de Verenigde

Staten en voor deelname daaraan (de 'geografie van de politieke steun'); en de factoren die steun aan geweldgebruik bepalen. Het materiaal biedt de mogelijkheid tot een beperkte toets van het in dit verband eerder ontwikkelde model.

ID Number: JA018059  
Year: 2002  
Language: Dutch  
Type: ART

## 2001

11 de septiembre y despues : enemigo difuso : no es el islam; ni Afganistan.  
(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 84, noviembre - diciembre 2001, Whole Issue.)

Subject(s):  
1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001  
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
3. TERRORISM  
4. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

ID Number: JA017308  
Year: 2001  
Language: Spanish  
Type: ART

A Global Civil War.  
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 6, December 2001, p. 12-15.)

Author(s):  
1. Alexander, Michael  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
2. CIVIL WAR

ID Number: JA017250  
Year: 2001  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Apres l'evenement.  
(COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 96, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 775-783.)

Author(s):  
1. Andreani, Gilles  
Subject(s):  
1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001  
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA017393  
Year: 2001  
Language: French  
Type: ART

Putin's Gamble.  
(SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 49-59.)

Author(s):  
1. Antonenko, Oksana  
Subject(s):  
1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:  
For the first time since the Second World War, Russia, the United States and Europe are working together to address what all of them view as vital security interests. Russia is important not only for the war against Taliban and al-Qaeda, but also for longer-term goals such as targeting terrorist money flows,



identifying and eliminating al-Qaeda cells throughout the world, addressing the proliferation of weapons-of-mass destruction (WMD) materials and technologies and finding effective responses to bio-terrorist threats. Russia President Vladimir Putin took a major gamble after 11 September, setting aside outstanding disagreements and offering full Russian support to the US-led coalition against terror. It is now up to the NATO allies to respond with similar imagination to accommodate Russia's legitimate strategic concerns and bring Moscow into the global economy. If this chance is missed, the next ten years are likely to resemble the 1990s as a decade of lost opportunities in Russian-Western relations.

ID Number: JA017386

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

#### The International Implications of the Terrorist Attacks.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 4, October - December 2001, p. 21-28.)

Author(s):

1. Baranovsky, Vladimir

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Notes:

'Vladimir Baranovsky summarises and discusses the contrasting arguments on the international implications of September 11. In his considerations on the effects on Russia he notes that, although the common interest in defeating terrorism is resulting in enhanced relations with the West, Moscow remains fearful of being relegated to the status of minor partner and suspicious of the US increasing influence in various areas - including Central Asia - which may complicate future cooperation unless new, stable, and mutually satisfying forms of partnership are established.'

ID Number: JA018330

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

#### Afghanistan, Graveyard of Empires.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 6, November - December 2001, p. 17-30.)

Author(s):

1. Bearden, Milton

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989
2. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR
3. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN
5. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

The first engagement in the new war on terrorism - with Osama bin Ladin in Afghanistan - poses severe challenges for the United States. Rooting out bin Ladin's network will require military success in a country that the Soviet Union could not conquer in ten years of trying, as well as support from unstable surrounding nations. Washington may be tempted to try to oust the Taliban regime, but doing so could rekindle Afghanistan's brutal civil war. The United States must proceed with caution - or end up on the ash heap of Afghan history.

ID Number: JA017448

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

Aiding America.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 49, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 6-7.)

Author(s):

1. Bennett, Christopher

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. NATO

Notes:

The author examines how the Alliance has assisted the United States since 11 September and its contribution to the campaign against terrorism.

ID Number: JA017291

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

The Lessons of September 11.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 4, October - December 2001, p. 13-19.)

Author(s):

1. Boniface, Pascal

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Notes:

'Pascal Boniface's central thesis is that, while no major changes in global force proportions among the great powers are in sight, the shocking revelation of America's vulnerability-one of the distinctive elements of what was considered its exepotionalism-is likely to have a long-term impact on its foreign policy attitudes, making it more sensitive to the dynamics of the outside world and more careful about the ways in which it exercised its power.'

ID Number: JA018329

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

Unleashing Force.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 12, December 2001, p. 20-22.)

Author(s):

1. Byers, Michael

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

The war against terrorism has already significantly eased the legal limits on the use of force. Despite a Security Council mandate for action, Washington has chosen instead to rely on its right of self-defence. It is this area that has seen the most dramatic change in the current conflict - states that support terror groups may now themselves be legally attacked.

ID Number: JA017215

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

Nasty, Brutish, and Long : America's War on Terrorism.  
(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 650, December 2001, p. 403-409.)  
Author(s):  
1. Daalder, Ivo H.  
2. Lindsay, James M.  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
ID Number: JA017243  
Year: 2001  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Un tournant de l'histoire ?.  
(COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 96, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 759-768.)  
Author(s):  
1. Francois-Poncet, Jean  
Subject(s):  
1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001  
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
3. TERRORISM  
ID Number: JA017391  
Year: 2001  
Language: French  
Type: ART

The Third World War ?.  
(SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 61-87.)  
Author(s):  
1. Freedman, Lawrence  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
2. WAR  
Notes:  
Osama bin Laden does not speak for Islam. However, it is his objective to do so, so this is a war about the future of Islam, and therefore about the governance of all states with Muslim populations, and all conflicts in which Muslim groups are directly involved. These conflicts occupy much of the current international agenda, taking in the Middle East, the Gulf, the Balkans, Central and East Asia, and parts of Africa. While the individual conflicts still have their critical distinctive features, a global struggle of sorts is emerging that cannot but shake up local and global structures, often in quite surprising and unintended ways. Whether or not international politics will be so transformed at the end of this process that it can be described as the 'third world war' remains to be seen. A key test will be how the United States emerges from this as an international actor.  
ID Number: JA017387  
Year: 2001  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Apres le 11 septembre : la riposte et sa cible.  
(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 4, octobre - decembre 2001, p. 801-809.)  
Author(s):  
1. Godement, Francois  
Subject(s):  
1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-  
2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA  
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN  
Notes:  
En decidant une action militaire en Afghanistan en replique aux

attentats du 11 septembre, les Etats-Unis ont place l'Asie centrale au coeur du conflit ouvert par les attaques terroristes sur New York et Washington. Cette action minimale comporte evidemment des risques: risque d'enfermement dans le piege afghan; risque de destabilisation du Pakistan, qui sert a la fois de point d'appui discret a l'intervention americaine et de base arriere taliban; risque d'echec, enfin, a neutraliser Ben Laden, son organisation et ses affides. Or les Etats-Unis ne peuvent se permettre d'echouer, car c'est leur propre capacite de dissuader une agression qui est aujourd'hui mise a l'epreuve. Washington va donc se trouver devant des choix importants, auxquels les Europeens devront s'associer, et dont dependra dans une large mesure les equilibres regionaux au Moyen-Orient, en Asie centrale et en Asie du Sud.

ID Number: JA017317

Year: 2001

Language: French

Type: ART

Mistake to Declare this a 'War'.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 6, December 2001, p. 1-4.)

Author(s):

1. Howard, Michael

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

ID Number: JA017249

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

Le droit en etat de guerre.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 12, decembre 2001, p. 136-143.)

Author(s):

1. Immarigeon, Jean-Philippe

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM

2. WAR

3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

Les attentats de New York ont fait ressurgir dans les discours des dirigeants americains des appels a la guerre totale, inquietants parce que d'un autre age et miroir du delire des fondamentalistes islamiques. La guerre sainte est proclamee des confins de l'Indus aux rives du Potomac. Graves errements, dont s'inquietent a juste titre les Europeens, opinions et gouvernements confondus. La perspective d'un nouveau cycle de guerres, que les Americains semblent tout a la fois craindre et appeler de leurs voeux, est rejetee par tous ceux qui cherchent au contraire a en sortir. Et l'on decouvre que s'affrontent, de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique, deux visions radicalement differentes du droit, donc du monde. Et si le choc des civilisations tant redoute s'averait ne pas etre, au terme de ce qui apparait encore malgre tous les discours millenaristes comme une guerre du XXe siecle, celui que l'on croit?

ID Number: JA017349

Year: 2001

Language: French

Type: ART

The Struggle Against Terrorism : Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics.

(INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 26, no. 3, Winter 2001 - 2002, p.

39-55.)

Author(s):

1. Posen, Barry R.

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

Notes:

In this article, the author asks four questions related to the September 11th attacks : First, what is the nature of the threat posed by al-Qaeda? Second, what is an appropriate strategy for dealing with it? Third, how might the U.S. defense establishment have to change to fight this adversary ? And fourth, what does the struggle against al-Qaeda mean for overall U.S. foreign policy ?

ID Number: JA017503

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

The Wars of 9 11.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 4, October - December 2001, p.

3-11.)

Author(s):

1. Serfaty, Simon

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

The Wars of 9 11 will be a decisive test of America's credibility as a durable power. That test extends beyond its ability to win the war, which is something America rarely fails to do. Its has to do with America's ability to improve relations with other parts of the world where its message has been irrelevant or even destructive. As the battle against a new anarchy is waged, and as the search for a new global order is launched, the transatlantic community of values built during the Cold War will endure and even be completed if it is sustained by a community of action defined by a shared interest in the unconditional defeat on both sides of the Atlantic. Failure is not an option.

ID Number: JA018326

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

Global Security after 11 September.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 3, July - September 2001, p.

5-9.)

Author(s):

1. Silvestri, Stefano

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

4. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY

Notes:

The author of this article offers some preliminary considerations on the impact that the new terrorist threat is likely to have on the foreign and security policies of the US, on its relations with European allies and other major powers and, more generally, on the evolution of security concepts and

principles.  
ID Number: JA017235  
Year: 2001  
Language: English  
Type: ART

Are We Really at War ?.

(PROCEEDINGS, vol. 127, no. 12, December 2001, p. 34-40.)

Author(s):

1. Solis, Gary D.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. WAR

Notes:

President George Bush declared that the United States is at war in his 20 September address to Congress. This 'war on terrorism' in response to the 11 September attacks raises questions about the meaning of the term war.

ID Number: JA017290

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

Pragmatic Counter-terrorism.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 35-48.)

Author(s):

1. Stevenson, Jonathan

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA
2. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
3. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

Notes:

Within ten days of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, President George W. Bush proclaimed: 'our war on terror begins with al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated'. Despite the sweeping cast of the 'Bush doctrine', however, the qualification 'with global reach' gave him the leeway to circumscribe the operative definition of terrorism. Practical considerations require a policy that does so. The counter-terrorism effort against al-Qaeda alone will require diverse and sustained military, law-enforcement and intelligence resources that will stretch the capacities of the United States and its allies. The US and its allies enjoy greater leverage over some terrorist groups, and less over others. The upshot is that different policies will fit different terrorist groups and sponsors.

ID Number: JA017385

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

Diplomatie americaine : un nouveau leadership ?.

(POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 93, automne 2001, p. 177-189.)

Author(s):

1. Vaisse, Justin

Subject(s):

1. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Notes:

It is generally agreed that the terrible attacks of September 11 will change the United States and its relations with the rest of the world. The real question is to what extent and in what

way. What we do know is that American opinion has been profoundly traumatised by these massive terrorist attacks. Americans have become aware of their vulnerability, now that the very symbols of their leadership - the World Trade Center and the Pentagon - have been hit. Once emotions subside, there are those who will feel even more justified in their belief that this leadership is too costly on all levels. But those in favor of American isolationism - especially with regards to the Middle East - will probably end up disappointed. The most likely scenario is that America's engagement in global politics will be stepped up. And yet contradictions within the Bush administration's foreign policy may well emerge. The September 11 attacks have strengthened the belief that America needs to act and defend itself alone, but at the same time have proven the necessity for expanded international cooperation in order to effectively fight against terrorism.

ID Number: JA017219

Year: 2001

Language: French

Type: ART

The Fight Against Terrorism : Where's NATO ?.

(WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 18, no. 4, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 19-25.)

Author(s):

1. Valasek, Tomas

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--NATO

ID Number: JA017492

Year: 2001

Language: English

Type: ART

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