

FINAL REVISED READING LIST

November 15, 2004

SEMINAR ON THE IRAQ WAR AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Fall 2004, Rutgers Law School, Newark

Professor John Burroughs (johnburroughs@lcnj.org, 212 818 1861, cell 917 439 4585)

Professor Merav Datan (datan@igc.org)

Mondays, 3:55 – 5:50 p.m., Room 394

This reading list will be revised and expanded throughout the semester. Dates of discussion in class are approximate and subject to change. Required readings are identified with an asterisk and are provided. Other readings are recommended for further study or for research papers. When possible, books are on reserve for this seminar in the library, as noted.

August 23 - introduction to seminar, no readings assigned

INITIATION OF THE WAR

August 30 - The Use of Force in International Law

The following two short pieces outline many of the issues to be considered in this section of the seminar:

*James C. Ho, "International Law and the Liberation of Iraq," 8 Tex. Rev. L. & Pol. 79 (Fall 2003)

*Hilary Charlesworth, "Is International Law Relevant to the War in Iraq and its Aftermath," Telstra Address, National Press Club, Canberra, Australia, October 29, 2003

The following items concern the status of threat and use of force in international law generally.

*United Nations Charter, Preamble, Chapter I, Chapter IV, Articles 10-15, Chapter V, Chapter VI, Chapter VII

*Oscar Schachter, "The Right of States to Use Armed Force" (1984) 82 Mich. L. Rev. 1620

* The Stanley Foundation, *Issues Before the UN's High-Level Panel—The Use of Force* (March 2004) <http://reports.stanleyfoundation.org/UNHLP04a.pdf?e=080504>

Ian Brownlie, *International Law and the Use of Force by States* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963) (**on reserve**)

Yoram Dinstein, *War, Aggression and Self-Defence* (3 ed Cambridge University Press, 2001) (**on reserve**)

Thomas M. Franck, "Who Killed Article 2(4)?" (1970) 64 Am. J. Int'l L. 809

Christine Gray, *International Law and the Use of Force* (Oxford Univ Press, 2000) (**on reserve**)

Louis Henkin, "The Reports of the Death of Article 2(4) Are Greatly Exaggerated" (1971) 65 Am. J. Int'l L. 544

The Responsibility to Protect: Report of The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada, December 2001)
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/report2-en.asp>

Oscar Schachter, "Self-Defense and the Rule of Law" (1991) 88 Am. J. Int'l L. 259

Oscar Schachter, "The Role of Power in International Law (1999) 93 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 200

September 13 - Self-Defense, Preemptive War, Norms on Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons

*National Security Strategy of the United States of America (September 2002), preface, pp. 5-7, 13-16, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>

*National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction (December 2002),
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/WMDStrategy.pdf>

*Barton Gellman, "Iraq's Arsenal Was Only on Paper: Since Gulf War, Nonconventional Weapons Never Got Past the Planning State," Washington Post, January 7, 2004

*Thomas Graham, Jr., "Is International Law Relevant to Arms Control? National Self-Defense, International Law, and Weapons of Mass Destruction" 4 Chi. J. Int'l L. 1 (Spring 2003)

*Michael Byers, "Preemptive Self-defense: Hegemony, Equality and Strategies of Legal Change" (2003) 11 J Political Philosophy 2

*Hilary Charlesworth, "The Hidden Gender of International Law," 16 Temp. Int'l & Comp. L. J 93 (Spring 2002)

Hans Blix, *Disarming Iraq* (Pantheon Books, 2004) (**on reserve**)

Nicole Deller, Arjun Makhijani, and John Burroughs, eds., *Rule of Power or Rule of Law? An Assessment of U.S. Policies and Actions Regarding Security-Related Treaties* (Apex Press, 2003) (**on reserve**)

Nicole Deller and John Burroughs, "*Jus ad Bellum*: Law Regulating Resort to Force," Human Rights (Winter 2003), <http://www.abanet.org/irr/hr/winter03/lawregulatingresorttoforce.html>

Mary Ellen O'Connell "The Myth of Preemptive Self-Defense" ASIL Task Force on Terrorism (August 2002) <http://www.asil.org/taskforce/oconnell.pdf>

UNMOVIC 17th Quarterly Report, May 28, 2004, S/2004/435, <http://www.un.org/Docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=S/2004/435> (then select language)

VERTIC – Iraq Weapons Inspections Database
http://www.vertic.org/onlinedatabase/unmovic/dsp_unmovicBackground.cfm

Center for Nonproliferation Studies – Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East: Iraq
<http://cns.miis.edu/research/wmdme/iraq.htm>

Congressional Research Service Reports: Nuclear, Chemical and Missile Weapons and Proliferation – Iraq <http://www.fas.org/spp/starwars/crs/#iraq>

Iraq Special Weapons Guide <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/iraq/index.html>

Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (10 April 1972) 1015 UNTS 163 <http://www.armscontrol.org/ASSORTED/bwc.asp>

Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and Their Destruction (13 January 1993) UN Doc CD/CW/WP.400/Rev.1
http://www.armscontrol.org/act/1997_04/cwctext.asp

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1 July 1968) 729 UNTS 169
<http://www.armscontrol.org/documents/npt.asp>

Background on nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons treaties:
<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/legal/treatyindex.html>
<http://disarmament2.un.org/wmd/>

Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, Advisory Opinion, July 8, 1996, International Court of Justice <http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/icasess/iunan/iunanframe.htm>

September 20 and 27 - Security Council and Iraq War; Lawfulness of Initiation of Iraq War Generally

*Security Council Resolutions 660, 661, 662, 678, 687, 1154, 1205, 1325, 1441

*U.S. letter to President of Security Council, March 20, 2003, S/2003/351

*Joint Resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq, October 16, 2002, Public Law 102-243, 116 Stat. 1498, 107th Congress

*"Agora: Future Implications of the Iraq Conflict," 97 Am. J. Int'l L. 553 (July 2003):

*Damrosch & Oxman, pp. 553-556

*Taft & Buchwald, pp. 557-562

*Yoo, pp. 563-575

*Wedgewood, pp. 576-585

*Falk, pp. 590-598

*Sapiro, pp. 590-607

*Franck, 607-620

contributions by Gardner, Farer, and Stromseth also are worth reading but are not required

*Jules Lobel and Michael Ratner, "Bypassing the Security Council: Ambiguous Authorizations to Use Force, Cease-Fires and the Iraqi Inspection Regime," 93 Am. J. Int'l L. 124, 125-31 (1999)

Karima Bennoune, "The War Was Illegal," 60 Guild Practitioner (Fall 2003, No. 4) 226; other articles in the same issue are also worth reading (**on reserve**)

Rabinder Singh, QC, and Alison Macdonald, Matrix Chambers, London, "Legality of use of force against Iraq," September 10, 2002, www.lcnp.org/global/IraqOpinion10.9.02.pdf

Rabinder Singh, QC, and Charlotte Kilroy, "In the Matter of the Potential Use of Armed Force by the UK Against Iraq and in the Matter of Reliance for That Use of Force on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441," November 15, 2002, www.lcnp.org/global/CNDLegalOpinion.pdf

Uchenna Umeagwali and Jeannie Gonzalez, "UN Security Council Deliberations Regarding Iraq," July 2003, www.lcnp.org/global/reportSCIraq.pdf [summarizes positions of states in open session of Security Council in months before the attack]

C.G. Weeramantry, *Armageddon or Brave New World? Reflections on the Hostilities in Iraq* (Colombo, Sri Lanka: Weeramantry International Centre for Peace Education and Research, 2003) (**on reserve**)

Peter Weiss, "Presentation on the Illegality of the War," World Tribunal on Iraq, New York session, May 8, 2004, www.worldtribunal-nyc.org/Document/index.htm

CONDUCT OF THE WAR

October 4 - Introduction to international humanitarian law (IHL); relationship of IHL and human rights

- *International Committee of the Red Cross, "What is International Humanitarian Law," July 2004; "International humanitarian law: the essential rules," April 2004; "Iraq: ICRC calls for respect for international humanitarian law," press release, March 20, 2003
 - *Charlotte Lindsey, International Committee of the Red Cross, *Women facing war: ICRC study on the impact of armed conflict on women*, October 2001, "Introduction to the Law," pp. 17-22
 - *1907 Hague Convention IV respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annexed Regulations, especially articles 22-28 of the regulations
 - *Human Rights in Armed Conflicts, Resolution XXIII adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights, Teheran, May 12, 1968
 - *1977 Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions, relating to Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, especially articles 35, 36, 40, 41, 48-59, 85-87
 - *1980 Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons and its Protocol III on Incendiary Weapons, especially preamble to the convention and the protocol in its entirety
 - *1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, preamble and articles 5-10 concerning genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes
 - *Avril McDonald, "The International Legality of Depleted Uranium Weapons," June 14, 2003, excerpts, pp. 3-13 summarizing IHL (remainder of selection is assigned below when DU munitions are considered) (full paper, not assigned, can be accessed at http://www.nuclearpolicy.org/documents/mcdonald_jun_14_03.pdf)
 - *Louise Doswald-Beck, "International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law," *International Review of the Red Cross* (1994, No. 293)
- U.S. military manuals on IHL, listed with internet links when available at www.nuclearweaponslaw.org/Syllabus_Fordham_Law_2004.html#Selective_Reference_Sources (course on nuclear weapons by Professor Charles J. Moxley, Jr.)
- David Rivkin, "Leashing the Dogs of War," *National Interest* (Fall 2003), http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2751/is_73/ai_109220701
- Geoffrey Best, *Humanity in Warfare: The Modern History of the International Law of Armed Conflicts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980) (**on reserve**)
- Geoffrey Best, *Law and War Since 1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) (**on reserve**)

Kenneth Watkin, "Controlling the Use of Force: A Role for Human Rights Norms in Contemporary Armed Conflict," 98 Am. J. Int'l L. 1 (January 2004, No. 1) (*Available on Lexis*)

Peter Weiss and John Burroughs, "Weapons of mass destruction and human rights," Disarmament Forum (2004, No. 3), pp. 24-36, especially pp. 28-31 on WMD and the right to life, accessible at http://www.unidir.org/bdd/fiche-article.php?ref_article=2139

October 11, 18, 25 - Practices including attacks on regime leaders, use of civilians and religious sites to shield combatants; use of weapons including cluster munitions, incendiary bombs, and depleted uranium munitions and tank armor

*Human Rights Watch, *Off Target: The Conduct of the War and Civilian Casualties in Iraq*, 2003

*James W. Crawley, "Officials Confirm Dropping Firebombs on Iraqi Troops," San Diego Union-Tribune, August 5, 2003

*Avril McDonald, "The International Legality of Depleted Uranium Weapons," June 14, 2003, pp. 2, 13-17, 35-36

Presentations by Sarah Leah Whitson, Jennifer Ridha, Asli Bali, and John Burroughs, World Tribunal on Iraq, New York session, May 8, 2004, <http://worldtribunal-nyc.org/Document/index.htm>

Scott Peterson, "Remains of toxic bullets litter Iraq," The Christian Science Monitor, May 15, 2003, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0515/p01s02-woiq.html>

Paper by Daniel Fahey (overview regarding DU use in Iraq) and others presented at symposium on health effects of depleted uranium, June 19, 2003, Nuclear Policy Research Institute, access at <http://www.nuclearpolicy.org/NewsArticle.cfm?NewsID=79>

International Humanitarian Law Research Initiative (Professor Adam Roberts): Monitoring IHL in Iraq, <http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/portalhome.php> (has analyses of many topics)

Michael W. Lewis, "The Law of Aerial Bombardment in the 1991 Gulf War," 97 Am. J. Int'l L. 481 (July 2003, No. 3) (*Available on Lexis*)

Other information and analysis concerning issues relating to the conduct of the war, as well as the occupation and the initiation of the war, can be found at the below websites. For these websites, and for any other website or source listed in this reading list, inclusion does not imply endorsement of political views they contain or the information and analysis they provide.

Global Policy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/irqindx.htm>

Project on Defense Alternatives, <http://www.comw.org/pda>

Iraq crisis, Jurist website, <http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/world/iraq.htm>

Electronic Iraq, <http://electroniciraq.net/news/internationallaw.shtml>

Iraq Body Count, <http://www.iraqbodycount.net/>

Iraqi Civilian War Casualties, Baghdad and south of Iraq, March 21 - July 31, 2003,
<http://civilians.info/iraq/>
Occupation Watch, <http://www.occupationwatch.org>

OCCUPATION

November 1 – Introduction to the law of occupation; provision of public order and safety; occupation of Iraq

* 1907 Hague Regulations, Articles 42-56, pp. 293-295, 2d set of readings
<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/52d68d14de6160e0c12563da005fdb1b/1d1726425f6955aec125641e0038bfd6?OpenDocument>

* 1949 Geneva Convention (IV) Articles 2, 3, 6, 27-34, 47-78, 146-147
<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/52d68d14de6160e0c12563da005fdb1b/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5?OpenDocument>

* International Committee of the Red Cross, “Occupation and international humanitarian law: questions and answers” <http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/634KFC>

* Security Council Resolution 1483
<http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/368/53/PDF/N0336853.pdf?OpenElement>
or access at http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions03.html

* Security Council Resolution 1500
<http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/467/78/PDF/N0346778.pdf?OpenElement>
or access at http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions03.html

* Joe Stork and Fred Abrahams, “Sideline: Human Rights in Postwar Iraq” (Human Rights Watch World Report 2004) http://hrw.org/wr2k4/6.htm#_Toc58744955

* David Scheffer, “Beyond Occupation Law,” 97 Am. J. Int’l L. 842 (October 2003, No. 4)
(Available on Lexis)

Center for Economic and Social Rights, Beyond Torture: U.S. Violations of Occupation Law in Iraq, June 10, 2004, <http://cesr.org/node/view/227?PHPSESSID=bd9dc67f74b9f4cd2b7c408f5709f280>

Asli Bali, "Extrajudicial Killings at Checkpoints," World Tribunal on Iraq, New York session, May 8, 2004, access at <http://worldtribunal-nyc.org/Document/index.htm>

International Humanitarian Law Research Initiative, “Military Occupation of Iraq: I. Application of IHL and the Maintenance of Law and Order” (14 April 2003)
<http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/feature.php?a=20>
for pdf: <http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/pdfs/briefing3423.pdf>
(Website requires registration but is free.)

International Humanitarian Law Research Initiative, "Military Occupation of Iraq: II. International Assistance in Occupied Iraq" (22 April 2003)

<http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/feature.php?a=22> (html version)

<http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/pdfs/briefing3424.pdf>

(Website requires registration but is free and has many other useful sources.)

Amnesty International, "Iraq: Responsibilities of the Occupying Powers"

<http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engmde140892003>

International Court of Justice, *Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*, Advisory Opinion, July 9, 2004, <http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/idocket/imwp/imwpframe.htm>

Kenneth Watkin, "Controlling the Use of Force: A Role for Human Rights Norms in Contemporary Armed Conflict," 98 Am. J. Int'l L. 1 (January 2004, No. 1) (Available on Lexis)

UN News Centre – Iraq

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=50&Body=Iraq&Body1=>

Eyal Benvenisti, *The International Law of Occupation* (Princeton University Press 1992)

Adam Roberts, *What Is a Military Occupation?* 66 Brit. Y. B. Int'l L. 249 (1984)

November 8 – provision of public order and safety (continued); protection of infrastructure and cultural property; humane treatment of detainees, the prohibition on torture

Provision of public order and safety, protection of infrastructure and cultural property

*Hague Regulations, Article 43, p. 293, second set of readings,

<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/52d68d14de6160e0c12563da005fdb1b/1d1726425f6955aec125641e0038bfd6?OpenDocument>

*1949 Geneva Convention (IV - civilians), Article 56,

<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/52d68d14de6160e0c12563da005fdb1b/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5?OpenDocument>

*1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, Articles 1-4, 18-19

<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/385ec082b509e76c41256739003e636d/ea805b1d46112374c125641e004ac0a3?OpenDocument>

*Asli Bali, "Failure to Prevent Looting, Part 1" (covers public order & safety generally as well), World Tribunal on Iraq, New York session, May 8, 2004, http://worldtribunal-nyc.org/Document/Case_2_J1_Bali.pdf

*John Burroughs, "Failure to Prevent Looting, Part 2" (nuclear complex), World Tribunal on Iraq, New York session, May 8, 2004, http://worldtribunal-nyc.org/Document/Case_2_J2_Burroughs.pdf

*Committee on Economic and Social Rights, "Violation VI: Failure to Ensure Vital Essential Services," <http://cesr.org/node/view/236>, in Beyond Torture: U.S. Violations of Occupation Law in Iraq, June 10, 2004, <http://cesr.org/node/view/227?PHPSESSID=bd9dc67f74b9f4cd2b7c408f5709f280>

*Committee on Economic and Social Rights, "Violation X: Fundamentally Changing the Economic Structure," <http://cesr.org/node/view/240>, in Beyond Torture: U.S. Violations of Occupation Law in Iraq, June 10, 2004, <http://cesr.org/node/view/227?PHPSESSID=bd9dc67f74b9f4cd2b7c408f5709f280>

Human Rights Watch, "Climate of Fear: Sexual Violence and Abduction of Women and Girls in Baghdad" (July 2003)

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/iraq0703/index.htm>
<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/iraq0703/iraq0703.pdf>

Humane treatment of civilian detainees & POWs, the prohibition on torture

*1949 Geneva Convention (III - POWs), Article 5, 13, 14, 129-130
<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/7c4d08d9b287a42141256739003e636b/6fef854a3517b75ac125641e004a9e68?OpenDocument>

*1949 Geneva Convention (IV - civilians), Articles 27, 31, 32, 33, 147
<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/52d68d14de6160e0c12563da005fdb1b/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5?OpenDocument>

* Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Articles 1-16,
http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/h_cat39.htm

*International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 7: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation."

*Asli Bali, "Mistreatment of POWs and Arbitrary Detention of Civilians," World Tribunal on Iraq, New York session, May 8, 2004, http://worldtribunal-nyc.org/Document/Case_2_I_Bali.pdf

*Mark Danner, "Abu Ghraib: The Hidden Story," New York Review of Books, October 7, 2004, pp. 44-50, http://www.markdanner.com/nyreview/100704_abu.htm

*Antonio Cassese, "Are International Human Rights Treaties and Customary Rules on Torture Binding upon US troops in Iraq?" 2 J. Int'l Crim. Just. (September 2004) 872 (*Available on Lexis*)

The National Security Archive, "The Interrogation Documents: Debating U.S. Policy and Methods," w/links to many of the legal memorandums; see especially the second August 1, 2002 memo re definition of torture from the DOJ office of legal counsel, and the April 4, 2003 Defense Department Working Group report, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB127>

Sean Murphy, "U.S. Abuse of Prisoners at Abu Ghraib Prison," 98 Am. J. Int'l L. 591-596 (July 2004, No. 3) (*Available on Lexis*) [lists relevant reports and positions taken regarding Geneva Conventions and Convention against Torture]

National Security page, American Civil Liberties Union, statements on torture memos, <Http://www.aclu.org/NationalSecurity/NationalSecurity.cfm?ID=16236&c=111>

International Humanitarian Law Research Initiative, "On the Status and Treatment of POWs" (25 March 2003)

<http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/feature.php?a=8> (html version)

<http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/pdfs/briefing3427.pdf>

(Website requires registration but is free.)

Mark Danner, "Torture and Truth," New York Review of Books, June 10, 2004,

http://www.markdanner.com/nyreview/061004_Torture_Truth.htm

Mark Danner, "The Logic of Torture," New York Review of Books, June 24, 2004,

http://www.markdanner.com/nyreview/062404_Road_to_Torture.htm

November 15 – "reconstruction," "transition," "insurgency"

*Security Council Resolution 1511

access at http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions03.html

*Security Council Resolutions 1546 and 1557

access at http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions04.html

*Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions, on Non-International Armed Conflicts, Part I, "Scope of this Protocol," Articles 1, 2, 3

<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/7c4d08d9b287a42141256739003e636b/d67c3971bcff1c10c125641e0052b545>

*Human Rights Watch, "Legal Aspects of the Ongoing Fighting in Iraq," April 29, 2004,

<http://www.hrw.org/campaigns/iraq/ihlfaq042904.htm#What%20is%20the%20legal%20status%20of%20insurgent%20forces%20in%20Iraq?>

*UNIFEM Country Profile: Iraq (includes a variety of reports and fact sheets)

Introduction and Part I (pages 1-17 of PDF version)

<http://www.womenwarpeace.org/iraq/iraq.htm>

http://www.womenwarpeace.org/iraq/docs/iraq_pfv.pdf

Adam Roberts, "The End of Occupation in Iraq (2004)"

<http://www.ihlresearch.org/iraq/feature.php?a=51>

(Website requires registration but is free.)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003) and paragraph 12 of resolution 1511 (2003) (UN Doc S/2004/265, 5 August 2004)

access at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep04.html>

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council Resolution 1483 (2003) (UN Doc S/2003/715, 17 July 2003)

access at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep03.html>

International Advisory and Monitoring Board for Iraq, oversight body for the Development Fund for Iraq, <http://www.iamb.info/>

Humanitarian Information Center (HIC)

(The HIC is a common service to the humanitarian community working in Iraq and the surrounding countries and was set up by the United Nations.)

<http://www.hiciraq.org/main.asp>

UN Iraq: Web portal for UN agencies and NGOs working in Iraq

(Administered by UNAMI - United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. See especially the library and resources sections.)

<http://www.uniraq.org/>

Initiatives to Address Women's Active Participation in Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Iraq

<http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Initiativeslist.html>

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars & Women Waging Peace, "Building a New Iraq: Women's Role in Reconstruction" (2003)

<http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/BuildingNewIraq.pdf>

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars & Women Waging Peace, "Winning the Peace: Women's Role in Post-Conflict Iraq" (2003)

<http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/Winning%20the%20Peace%20Report.pdf>

Naomi Klein, "Baghdad Year Zero" Harper's Magazine (Sept. 2004)

<http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0924-13.htm>

Anthony H. Cordesman, "US Policy in Iraq: A 'Realist' Approach to its Challenges and Opportunities," Center for Strategic and International Studies, rev. August 6, 2004,

http://www.csis.org/features/040806_USPolicyInIraq.pdf

Stanley Hoffman, "Out of Iraq," New York Review of Books, October 21, 2004,

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/17470>

PERSPECTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

November 22 – Remedies, Future Role of UN & Security Council, Gender & Race

*Security Council Resolution 1373

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2001/sc7158.doc.htm>

*Security Council Resolution 1540

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sc8076.doc.htm> (read text of resolution, news story optional)

*Security Council Resolution 1325, first set of readings, pp. 158-160

<http://www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/1325.html>

*United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, *Gender Mainstreaming Action Plan*, April 2003, Annex 1: Gender and Disarmament Themes, pp. 20-24

<http://disarmament2.un.org/gender/gmap.pdf>

*William D. Hartung, *How Much Are You Making on the War, Daddy? A Quick and Dirty Guide to War Profiteering in the Bush Administration* (Nation Books, New York, 2003), Preface (not available on internet, will be supplied)

*Adrien Katherine Wing, "A Critical Race Feminist Conceptualization of Violence: South African and Palestinian Women," 60 Alb. L. Rev. 943 (1997)

*Hilary Charlesworth, "The Hidden Gender of International Law," 16 Temp. Int'l & Comp. L. J 93 (Spring 2002), first set of readings at pp. 138-144 [previously assigned]

UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee

<http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/committees/1373/>

UN Conventions on Terrorism

<http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>

Sosa v. Alvarez-Machain, U.S. Supreme Court, June 29, 2004, Lexis/Westlaw or

<http://a257.g.akamaitech.net/7/257/2422/29june20041115/www.supremecourtus.gov/opinions/03pdf/03-339.pdf>

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, access at

<http://www.iccnw.org/romearchive/documentsrome.html>

Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin, "Sex, Gender, and September 11" (2002) 96 Am J Int'l L 600

Henry J. Richardson III, "The Gulf Crisis and African-American Interests Under International Law," 87 Am J Int'l L 42 (January 1993)

Richard Delgado, ed., *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge* (Temple University Press, 1995)

Kimberle Crenshaw et al. eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement* (New Press, 1996)

Future of Iraq Portal

<http://www.justinalexander.net/iraq/>

Iraq weblogs:

Healing Iraq <http://healingiraq.blogspot.com/>

Baghdad Burning <http://riverbendblog.blogspot.com/>

Emma Ross, "Household Survey Sees 100,000 Iraqi Deaths," AP, October 29, 2004

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, *Continuing Collateral Damage: The health and environmental costs of war on Iraq*

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