

Dirty Wars Literature Search

Jack McDonald

16 November 2019

This is the results of a literature search performed by students enrolled on my Dirty Wars course.

The PDF format version of this document is available [here](#)

This document is available as a Word Document for ease of copy/pasting [here](#)

The bibtex file for the full search can be downloaded and imported into a reference manager. It is available [here](#)

The bibtex file for the course handbook can be downloaded and imported into a reference manager. It is available [here](#)

Human Dignity and Political Community in War and National Security

Introduction

The idea of Political community in war encapsulates many different debates. Various questions have arisen as to the legitimate use of force by the state over different parties. One of the major debates within this field is how citizenship factors into in war– for example, whether it is right for a nation to treat its own citizens as combatants and deny them a judicial process. The debate also revolves around humanitarian causes, namely legal concepts such as the Responsibility to Protect, which claims that any state has the right to protect other citizens from the actions of their own government. This also leads to the central questions regarding the role of human dignity–what do we owe to each other simply for being human? Is this basic human dignity mitigated by war, or is it non-derogable? Are a nation’s citizens owed more or different rights than non-citizens? These different case studies and sources discuss various aspects of the issue of citizenship and human dignity in war.

Introductory Readings

- Kelman, Herbert C. “The Conditions, Criteria, and Dialectics of Human Dignity: A Transnational Perspective.” *International Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (September 1977): 529–52. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600236>.
- Mani, Rama. “Rebuilding an Inclusive Political Community After War.” *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 4 (2005): 511–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605060452>.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - Sheinin, David M. K. *Consent of the Damned: Ordinary Argentines in the Dirty War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.
 - Smith, Lindsay Adams. “Identifying Democracy: Citizenship, DNA, and Identity in Postdictatorship Argentina” *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 41, no. 6 (February 2016): 1037–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243916658708>.
- Northern Ireland
 - White, Timothy J. “Human Rights as War by Other Means: Peace Politics in Northern Ireland.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (May 2015): 561–64, 577. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1684204732?accountid=11862>.

- Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. “Human Rights and Conflict Resolution in Context.” *Peace & Change* 37, no. 3 (2012): 473–77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2012.00761.x>.
- Benest, David. “Atrocities in Britains Counter-Insurgencies.” *The RUSI Journal* 156, no. 3 (2011): 80–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2011.591099>.
- Asmal, Kader. *If Law is the Enemy: Human Rights in Northern Ireland - Britain's Responsibilities*. Britain; Ireland Human Rights Project, 1990.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Thi Liên, Tran. “The Challenge for Peace Within South Vietnam’s Catholic Community: A History of Peace Activism.” *Peace & Change* 38, no. 4 (2013): 446–73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12040>.
 - Grinter, Laurence E. “How They Lost: Doctrines, Strategies and Outcomes of the Vietnam War.” *Asian Survey* 15, no. 12 (1975): 1114–32. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643587>.
 - Donnell, John C. “Pacification Reassessed.” *Asian Survey* 7, no. 8 (1967): 567–76. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2642597>.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Lauritzen, Paul. “Counterterrorism, Dignity, and the Rule of Law.” *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 95, no. 4 (2012): 452–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/soundings.95.4.0452>.
 - Luban, David. “Human Dignity, Humiliation, and Torture.” *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009): 211–30. Available from: <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/361940>
- The Second Congo War
 - Meger, Sara. “Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 119–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001003736728>.
 - Murithi, Tim. “A Local Response to the Global Human Rights Standard: The *ubuntu* perspective on Human Dignity.” *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 5, no. 3 (2007): 277–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720701661966>.
 - Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. “Making Sense of Violence: Voices of Soldiers in the Congo (DRC).” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46, no. 1 (2008): 57–86. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022278x07003072>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Roberts, Adam. “Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War.” *Survival* 44, no. 1 (2002): 7–32. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396330212331343212>.
 - Otterbein, Keith F. “Internal War: A Cross-Cultural Study.” *American Anthropologist* 70, no. 2 (1968): 277–89. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1968.70.2.02a00040>.
- Political Repression
 - Carey, Sabine C, Mark Gibney, and Steven C Poe. *The Politics of Human Rights: The Quest for Dignity*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
 - Hafner-Burton, Emilie M, and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. “Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises.” *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 5 (2005): 1373–1411.
- Strategic Studies
 - Barkawi, Tarak. “Strategy as a Vocation: Weber, Morgenthau and Modern Strategic Studies.” *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 2 (1998): 159–84. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210598001594>.
 - Klein, Bradley S. “After Strategy: The Search for a Post-Modern Politics of Peace.” *Alternatives* 13, no. 3 (1988): 293–318. <https://doi.org/10.1177/030437548801300301>.
 - Acharya, Amitav. “Human Security: East Versus West.” *International Journal* 56, no. 3 (2001): 442–60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40203577>.
 - Caballero-Anthony, Mely. “Revisioning Human Security in Southeast Asia.” *Asian Perspective* 28, no. 3 (2004): 155–89. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704471>.
 - Newman, Edward. “Critical Human Security Studies.” *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 1 (2010): 77–94. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210509990519>.
- Security Studies

- Gilbert, Paul. *Terrorism, Security and Nationality: An Introductory Study in Applied Political Philosophy*. Routledge, 2008.
- Hammerstad, Anne. “Whose Security? UNHCR, Refugee Protection and State Security After the Cold War.” *Security Dialogue* 31, no. 4 (2000): 391–403. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26296710>.
- Normative Theory
 - Donnelly, Jack. “Normative Versus Taxonomic Humanity: Varieties of Human Dignity in the Western Tradition.” *Journal of Human Rights* 14, no. 1 (2015): 1–22.
 - Schachter, Oscar. “Human Dignity as a Normative Concept.” *American Journal of International Law* 77, no. 4 (1983): 848–54. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2202536>.

Further Reading

- Riley, Stephen. “Human Dignity and the Rule of Law.” *Utrecht Law Review* 11, no. 2 (February 2015): 91. <https://doi.org/10.18352/ulr.320>.
- Nutt, Cullen G. “The CIA’s Mole in the Viet Cong: Learning from a Rare Success.” *Intelligence and National Security* 34, no. 7 (January 2019): 962–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2019.1646959>.

Regulating War and Warfare

Introduction

The challenges of regulating war and warfare are reflected in the evolution of international law. Traditional legal approaches sought to frame concepts such as state sovereignty and the distinction between combatants and non-combatants. In light of new developments, however, scholars have increasingly challenged the applicability of existing regulations. Some highlight changes to the character of war, including the impact of globalisation and the rise of non-interstate conflict. Others note shifts in the participants and parties to war, highlighting the salience of non-state actors and a blurring of the distinction between combatants and non-combatants.

At the tactical level, technological advances have created further difficulties for the regulation of warfare or highlighted gaps in existing legal structures. Weapons targeted at the environment or the use of rape in conflict have outpaced legal frameworks designed to address traditional interstate conflict.

Moreover, the fields of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency have provided fertile ground for examining the regulation of war, with states facing a range of non-state adversaries and confronting the contested applicability of IHL and IHRL. For example, whilst the criminalisation policy adopted in Northern Ireland might contrast with new legal mechanisms created during the War on Terror, others see a clearer lineage born out of a state’s continued ability to define its own conflicts.

Introductory Readings

- Wallace, Geoffrey. “Regulating Conflict: Historical Legacies and State Commitment to the Laws of War1.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 2 (2011): 151–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2011.00151.x>.
- Ehrhart, Hans-Georg. “Postmodern Warfare and the Blurred Boundaries Between War and Peace” 33, no. 3 (2017): 263–75. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14751798.2017.1351156>.
- Frei, Daniel. “The Regulation of Warfare.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 18, no. 4 (1974): 620–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200277401800404>.
- Draper, G. I. A. D. “The Ethical and Juridical Status of Constraints in War.” *Military Law Review* 55 (1972): 169–86. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/milrv55&i=173>.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina

- Grandin, Greg. “The Instruction of Great Catastrophe: Truth Commissions, National History, and State Formation in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala.” *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 1 (2005): 46–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/531121>.
- Schwartz, Daniel W. “Rectifying Twenty-Five Years of Material Breach: Argentina and the Legacy of the Dirty War in International Law Comment.” *Emory International Law Review* 18 (2004): 317.
- Northern Ireland
 - Campbell, Colm. “‘Wars on Terror’ and Vicarious Hegemons: THE UK, International Law, and the Northern Ireland Conflict.” *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2005): 321–56.
 - Neumann, Peter R. “The Myth of Ulsterization in British Security Policy in Northern Ireland.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26, no. 5 (2003): 365–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100390227971>.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Martin, Susan B. “Norms, Military Utility, and the Use/Non-Use of Weapons: The Case of Anti-Plant and Irritant Agents in the Vietnam War.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 3 (2016): 321–64. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2016.1181058>.
 - Sorley, Lewis. “To Change a War: General Harold K. Johnson and the PROVN Study.” *Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (April 1998): 93. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/61234314?accountid=11862>.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Corn, Geoffrey. “Filling the Void: Providing a Framework for the Legal Regulation of the Military Component of the War on Terror Through Application of Basic Principles of the Law of Armed Conflict.” *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law* 12, no. 2 (2006): 481–90. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/ilsaic12&i=491>.
 - Jackson, Dick. “Application of the Law of War to the Global War on Terror.” *St. John’s Journal of Legal Commentary* 23, no. 4 (2009): 979–86. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/sjjlc23&i=987>.
- The Second Congo War
 - Lake, Milli. “Ending Impunity for Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes: The International Criminal Court and Complementarity in the Democratic Republic of Congo.” *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 4, no. 1 (2014): 1–32. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.4.1.1>.
 - Grey, Rosemary. “Sexual Violence Against Child Soldiers.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16, no. 4 (February 2014): 601–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2014.955964>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Bianchi, Andrea, and Delphine Hayim. “Unmanned Warfare Devices and the Laws of War: The Challenge of Regulation.” *Sicherheit Und Frieden (S+F) / Security and Peace* 31, no. 2 (2013): 93–98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24234146>.
 - Bring, Ove. “Regulating Conventional Weapons in the Future. Humanitarian Law or Arms Control?” *Journal of Peace Research* 24, no. 3 (1987): 275–86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/424367>.
- Political Repression
 - Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. “Justice Lost! The Failure of International Human Rights Law to Matter Where Needed Most.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 4 (2007): 407–25. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27640538>.
 - Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Kiyoteru Tsutsui, and John W. Meyer. “International Human Rights Law and the Politics of Legitimation: Repressive States and Human Rights Treaties.” *International Sociology* 23, no. 1 (2008): 115–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580907084388>.
- Strategic Studies
 - Hansen, Thomas Obel. “In Pursuit of Accountability During and After War.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 7 (2019): 946–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2019.1588120>.
 - Krause, Joachim. “How Do Wars End? A Strategic Perspective.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42,

- no. 7 (2019): 920–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2019.1615460>.
- Security Studies
 - Brooks, Rosa Ehrenreich. “War Everywhere: Rights, National Security Law, and the Law of Armed Conflict in the Age of Terror.” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 153 (2004): 675–2215.
 - Roberts, Adam. “Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War.” *Survival* 44, no. 1 (2002): 7–32. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396330212331343212>.
- Normative Theory
 - McMahan, Jeff. “The Morality of War and the Law of War.” In *Just and Unjust Warriors: The Moral and Legal Status of Soldiers*, edited by David Rodin and Henry Shue, 19–43. Oxford University Press, 2008.
 - Mégret, Frédéric. “A Cautionary Tale from the Crusades? War and Prisoners in Conditions of Normative Incommensurability.” *SSRN*, September 2008. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1263823.

Further Reading

- Doswald-Beck, Louise. “Implementation of International Humanitarian Law in Future Wars.” *Naval War College Review* 52, no. 1 (1999). <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol52/iss1/3/>.
- Rosas, Allan, and Pär Stenbäck. “The Frontiers of International Humanitarian Law.” *Journal of Peace Research* 24, no. 3 (September 1987): 219–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234338702400303>.
- Vorobej, Mark. “Just War Theory and the Invasion of Afghanistan.” *Peace Research* 41, no. 2 (2009): 29–58. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23608089>.
- Butler, Michael J. “U.S. Military Intervention in Crisis, 1945-1994: An Empirical Inquiry of Just War Theory.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47, no. 2 (2003): 226–48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3176168>.
- Franck, Thomas. “When Nations Collide, Must Law Be Silent?” *Peace Review* 19, no. 2 (2007): 227–35.
- Jinks, Derek. “Protective Parity and the Laws of War.” *Notre Dame Law Review* 79, no. 4 (2004): 1493–1528. <https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/ndlr/vol79/iss4/8/>.
- Jochnick, Chris, and Roger Normand. “The Legitimation of Violence: A Critical History of the Laws of War.” *Harvard International Law Journal* 35, no. 1 (1994): 49. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1296046865/>.
- Nurick, Lester. “The Distinction Between Combatant and Non-Combatant in the Law of War.” *American Journal of International Law* 39 (1945): 680–97. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/58628694/>.
- Smith, M.L.R. “Guerrillas in the Mist: Reassessing Strategy and Low Intensity Warfare.” *Review of International Studies* 29, no. 1 (2003): 19–37.
- Erakat, Noura S. “New Imminence in the Time of Obama: The Impact of Targeted Killings on the Law of Self-Defense.” *Arizona Law Review* 56 (2014): 195–1257.
- Sterio, Milena. “The United States’ Use of Drones in the War on Terror: The (Il)legality of Targeted Killings Under International Law.(Symposium: Presidential Power and Foreign Affairs).” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 45, nos. 1-2 (2012): 197.
- Dijk, Boyd van. “Human Rights in War: On the Entangled Foundations of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.” *American Journal of International Law* 112, no. 4 (2018): 553.
- Delahunty, Robert J., and John C. Yoo. “What Is the Role of International Human Rights Law in the War on Terror?” *DePaul Law Review* 59, no. 3 (2010): 803–49.
- Marra, William, and Sonia Mcneil. “Understanding the Loop: Regulating the Next Generation of War Machines.” *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 2013, 1139–86. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2043131>.

Reasons for Restraint

Introduction

The two bodies of law that apply restraining principles in war are international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL). While these two sets of law share similarities in their spirit of

upholding a basic humanity and may sometimes be complementary (Qureshi 2017), the problems arise when IHL and IHRL conflict. Such occurrences are becoming increasingly common (Draper 2011), especially with regard to the war on terror, where an ‘armed conflict’ necessary for IHL is uncertain. This uncertainty allows states to pick and choose the legal principles which suit them best, rather than keep to a stringent set of restraints which normative theorists argue is crucial in war. Restraint is crucial not just to keep operations legal, but also for a more fundamental purpose of viewing the enemy as human (Evangelidi 2018). Law – especially in war – is much more often followed when it is linked to morals that the actors value (Stephens 2019). This trend must be emphasized because it is difficult to apply restraint at the tactical level even when officers know its value on the strategic level.

Introductory Readings

- Draper, G. I. A. D. “The Relationship Between the Human Rights Regime and the Law of Armed Conflict,” 213–29. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Nijhoff, 2011. <https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789004219120/B9789004219120-s012.xml>.
- Johnson, James Turner. *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Inquiry*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Beck, Louise, and Sylvain Vité. “International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law.” *International Review of the Red Cross* 293 (1993): 94–119. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/839298206/>.
- Hathaway, Oona A., Rebecca Crootof, Philip Levitz, Haley Nix, William Perdue, Chelsea Purvis, and Julia Spiegel. “Which Law Governs During Armed Conflict? The Relationship Between International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law.” *Minnesota Law Review* 96, no. 6 (2012): 1883–1943.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - Scharpf, Adam. “Ideology and State Terror: How Officer Beliefs Shaped Repression During Argentina’s ‘Dirty War.’” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 2 (2018): 206–21.
 - Brysk, Alison. “From Above and Below: Social Movements, the International System, and Human Rights in Argentina.” *Comparative Political Studies* 26, no. 3 (1993): 259–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414093026003001>.
- Northern Ireland
 - Morgan, B. W., and M. L. R. Smith. “Northern Ireland and Minimum Force: The Refutation of a Concept?” 27, no. 1 (2016): 81. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1770385145?accountid=11862>.
 - McInnes, Colin, and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe. “‘The Dog That Did Not Bark’: The British Army in Northern Ireland, 1990–94.” *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 8 (1997): 137–53. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30002048>.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Falk, Richard. “War Crimes and Individual Responsibility.” *Trans-Action* 7, no. 3 (1970): 33–40.
 - Stur, Heather Marie. “‘Hiding Behind the Humanitarian Label’: Refugees, Repatriates, and the Rebuilding of America’s Benevolent Image After the Vietnam War *.” *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 2 (2015): 223–44.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Tan, Andrew T. H. *U.S. Strategy Against Global Terrorism: How It Evolved, Why It Failed, and Where It Is Headed*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
 - Renshon, Stanley A., and Peter Suedfeld, eds. *Understanding the Bush Doctrine: Psychology and Strategy in an Age of Terrorism*. CRC Press, 2007.
- The Second Congo War
 - Tsabora, James. “Prosecuting Congolese War Crimes.” *Peace Review* 23, no. 2 (2011): 161–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2011.571599>.
 - Okosun, T.Y., and N. Kibiswa. “Human Rights Violations and Genocide in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” *Contemporary Justice Review* 16, no. 4 (2013): 482–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2013.857074>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Qureshi, Waseem Ahmad. “Untangling the Complicated Relationship Between International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law in Armed Conflict”. *Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs*, 6, no. 1 (2017): 241.
 - Stephens, Dale. “Roots of Restraint in War: The Capacities and Limits of Law and the Critical Role of Social Agency in Ameliorating Violence in Armed Conflict.” *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 10, no. 1 (2019): 58–75.
- Political Repression
 - Buckles, Grant T. “Internal Opposition Dynamics and Restraints on Authoritarian Control.” *British Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (July 2019): 883–900. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/2241331429?accountid=11862>.
 - Straus, Scott. “Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint.” *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 343–62. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41479555>.
- Strategic Studies
 - Wylie, J.C. *Military strategy: A General Theory of Power Control*. New York: Naval Institute Press, 2014.
 - Stone, John. *Military Strategy: The Politics and Technique of War*. London: Continuum, 2011.
- Security Studies
 - Adler, Emanuel. “The Spread of Security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self-Restraint, and Nato’s Post-Cold War Transformation.” *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 2 (2008): 195–230. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066108089241>.
 - Burke-White, William W. “Human Rights and National Security: The Strategic Correlation.” *Harv. Hum. Rts. J.* 17 (2004): 249.
- Normative Theory
 - Shapcott, R. *International Ethics: A Critical Introduction*. Wiley, 2010. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GhBEsRunj54C>. Chapter 6.
 - Evangelidi, Anna. “Restraint in Bello: Some Thoughts on Reciprocity and Humanity.” In *International Humanitarian Law and Justice: Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, edited by Mark Klamburg Deland Mats and Pål Wrangé. Taylor & Francis, 2018. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=0axvDwAAQBAJ>.

Further Reading

- Appel, Benjamin J, and Alyssa K Prorok. “Third-Party Actors and the Intentional Targeting of Civilians in War.” *British Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 4 (2019): 1453–74.
- Moltz, James Clay. *The Politics of Space Security Strategic Restraint and the Pursuit of National Interests*. 2nd ed. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Alach, Zhivan J. *The New Aztecs: Ritual and Restraint in Contemporary Western Military Operations*. Advancing Strategic Thought Series. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2011.
- Humphrey, Michael, and Estela Valverde. “Human Rights Politics and Injustice: Transitional Justice in Argentina and South Africa.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 2, no. 1 (March 2008): 83–105. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijn002>.
- Terry, Fiona, and Brian McQuinn. *The Roots of Restraint in War*. ICRC, 2018. <https://www.icrc.org/en/publication/roots-restraint-war>.
- Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M. “The Treatment of Children in the ‘Dirty War’: Ideology, State Terrorism and the Abuse of Children in Argentina.” In *Child Survival: Anthropological Perspectives on the Treatment and Maltreatment of Children*, edited by Nancy Scheper-Hughes, 227–46. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1987. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-3393-4_12.
- Oakes, Amy. “Diversionary War and Argentina’s Invasion of the Falkland Islands.” *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (2006): 431–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410601028354>.

- Klingebiel, Stephan, Mark Duffield, Necla Tschirgi, Clive Robinson, Jakkie Cilliers, and Ann Fitzgerald. “New Interfaces Between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches.” *Ann, New Interfaces Between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches (January 15, 2006)*. *New Interfaces Between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches/Stephan Klingebiel (Ed.)*, Bonn: Dt. Inst. Für Entwicklungspolitik, 2006.
- Farrell, Theo. “Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program.” *International Studies Review* 4, no. 1 (2002): 49–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3186274>.
- Jentleson, Bruce W. “The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force.” *International Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1992): 49–73.
- Murphy, Cornelius. “Vietnam: A Study of Law and Politics.” *Fordham Law Review* 36, no. 3 (1968): 453–60. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/60602273/>.
- Bailey, Sydney D. *Prohibitions and Restraints in War*. London: Oxford University Press; Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1972.
- Walker, S.G. “Lawful Murder: Unnecessary Killing in the Law of War.” *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence* 25, no. 2 (2012): 417–46.

Is Any War Clean?

Introduction

The risk of sexual violence is a constant in armed conflict, though like warfare itself, its effects, motives, strategic logic, and perpetration is quite varied. Sexual violence “occurs to varying extent and takes distinct forms” in warfare, depending on particular social context (Wood, 2006 p. 307). In line with this variation and contextual nature, this literature search collects examples of sexual violence from a range of historical experiences, from its use as an instrument of state terror in internal conflicts, to same sex violence, to its use as a political tactic.

Corresponding to this historical breadth, a variety of disciplines have analyzed sexual violence in conflict. The predominant question is one of motivation: what engenders sexual violence and explains its occurrence in war? Sexual violence has been linked to the strategic aims of genocide, as in the former Yugoslavia. Feminist scholars have linked rape to gendered forms of political repression. Security scholars have analyzed sexual violence among internal government forces. Normative scholars have conducted meta-analyses of the study of sexual violence as too focused on quantitative analysis and not enough on interrogating its normative motivations.

Introductory Readings

- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. “Variation in Sexual Violence During War.” *Politics & Society* 34, no. 3 (2006): 307–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329206290426>.
- Skjelsbæk, Inger. “Sexual Violence and War: Mapping Out a Complex Relationship.” *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 2 (2001): 211–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066101007002003>.
- McLeod, Laura. “Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict.” *Civil Wars*. Taylor & Francis, 2012.
- Seifert, Ruth. “The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 19, no. 1 (1996): 35–43. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395\(95\)00078-X](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(95)00078-X).

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - Zavala Guillén, Ana Laura. “Argentinian Transitional Justice Process: Women Behind.” *Journal of Peace, Conflict & Development* 20 (2013).
 - Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M. “The Treatment of Children in the ‘Dirty War’: Ideology, State Terrorism and the Abuse of Children in Argentina.” In *Child Survival*, 227–46. Springer, 1987.
- Northern Ireland
 - Kronsell, Annica, and Erika Svedberg. *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*. Routledge, 2011.

- The Vietnam Wars
 - Lang, Daniel. *Casualties of War*. Open Road Media, 2014.
 - Weaver, Gina Marie. *Ideologies of Forgetting: Rape in the Vietnam War*. SUNY Press, 2012.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Koenig, K. Alexa, Ryan S. Lincoln, and Lauren E. Groth. “Contextualizing Sexual Violence Committed During the War on Terror: A Historical Overview of International Accountability.” *University of San Francisco Law Review* 45, no. 4 (2011): 911–57.
 - Tétreault, Mary Ann. “The Sexual Politics of Abu Ghraib: Hegemony, Spectacle, and the Global War on Terror.” *NWSA Journal* 18, no. 3 (2006): 33–50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40071180>.
- The Second Congo War
 - Meger, Sara. “Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 119–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001003736728>.
 - Trenholm, J.E., P. Olsson, and B.M. Ahlberg. “Battles on Women’s Bodies: War, Rape and Traumatization in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Global Public Health* 6, no. 2 (2011): 139–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441690903212065>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Solangon, Sarah, and Preeti Patel. “Sexual Violence Against Men in Countries Affected by Armed Conflict.” *Conflict, Security & Development* 12, no. 4 (2012): 417–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2012.724794>.
 - Vikman, Elisabeth. “Modern Combat: Sexual Violence in Warfare, Part II.” *Anthropology & Medicine* 12, no. 1 (2005): 33–46.
- Political Repression
 - Henderson, Conway W. “The Political Repression of Women.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (2004): 1028–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20069771>.
 - Green, Jennifer L. “Uncovering Collective Rape: A Comparative Study of Political Sexual Violence.” *International Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2004): 97–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207659.2004.11043123>.
- Strategic Studies
 - Stark, Lindsay, and Mike Wessells. “Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War.” *JAMA* 308, no. 7 (August 2012): 677–78. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2012.9733>.
 - Buss, Doris E. “Rethinking ‘rape as a weapon of war’.” *Feminist Legal Studies*, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10691-009-9118-5>.
- Security Studies
 - Butler, Christopher K, Tali Gluch, and Neil J Mitchell. “Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-National Analysis of a Principal—Agent Argument.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 6 (2007): 669–87.
 - Koo, Katrina Lee. “Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, War and Rape in the International Politics of Security.” *Australian Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 3 (2002): 525–36.
- Normative Theory
 - Boesten, Jelke. “Of Exceptions and Continuities: Theory and Methodology in Research on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19, no. 4 (October 2017): 506–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2017.1367950>.
 - Kirby, Paul. “Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict: The Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative and Its Critics.” *International Affairs* 91, no. 3 (May 2015): 457–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12283>.

Further Reading

- Cerretti, Josh. “Rape as a Weapon of War(riors): The Militarisation of Sexual Violence in the United States, 1990–2000.” *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 794–812. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424>.

12250.

- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. “Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?” *Politics & Society* 37, no. 1 (2009): 131–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329208329755>.
- Skjelsbæk, Inger. “Sexual Violence in Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations?” *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 2 (2001): 69–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310108413896>.
- Henry, Nicola. “Witness to Rape: The Limits and Potential of International War Crimes Trials for Victims of Wartime Sexual Violence.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3, no. 1 (January 2009): 114–34. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijn036>.
- Boesten, Jelke. *Sexual Violence During War and Peace: Gender, Power, and Post-Conflict Justice in Peru*. Springer, 2014.
- Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordås. “Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts.” Edited by Corinna Jentzsch, Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Livia Isabella Schubiger. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 5 (August 2015): 877–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715576748>.
- Meger, Sara. *Rape Loot Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict*. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Palermo, Tia, and Amber Peterman. “Undercounting, Overcounting and the Longevity of Flawed Estimates: Statistics on Sexual Violence in Conflict.” *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 89 (2011): 924–25.
- Sivakumaran, Sandesh. “Lost in Translation: UN Responses to Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys in Situations of Armed Conflict.” *International Review of the Red Cross* 92, no. 877 (2010): 259–77.
- Touquet, Heleen, and Ellen Gorris. “Out of the Shadows? The Inclusion of Men and Boys in Conceptualisations of Wartime Sexual Violence.” *Reproductive Health Matters* 24, no. 47 (2016): 36–46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rhm.2016.04.007>.
- Kreutz, Joakim, and Magda Cardenas. “Women, Peace and Intervention: How the International Community Responds to Sexual Violence in Civil Conflict.” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 23, no. 3 (September 2017): 260–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2017.1343197>.
- Sitkin, Rachel A., Bandy X. Lee, and Grace Lee. “To Destroy a People: Sexual Violence as a Form of Genocide in the Conflicts of Bosnia, Rwanda, and Chile.” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 46 (May 2019): 219–24. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2019.01.013>.
- Durbach, Andrea, and Lucy Geddes. “‘To Shape Our Own Lives and Our Own World’: Exploring Women’s Hearings as Reparative Mechanisms for Victims of Sexual Violence Post-Conflict.” *The International Journal of Human Rights* 21, no. 9 (November 2017): 1261–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2017.1360019>.
- Houge, Anette Bringedal. “Sexualized War Violence. Knowledge Construction and Knowledge Gaps.” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 25 (November 2015): 79–87. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.07.009>.
- Ba, I., and R. S. Bhopal. “Physical, Mental and Social Consequences in Civilians Who Have Experienced War-Related Sexual Violence: A Systematic Review (1981–2014).” *Public Health* 142 (January 2017): 121–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2016.07.019>.
- Scheff, Thomas, G. Reginald Daniel, and Joseph Sterphone. “Shame and a Theory of War and Violence.” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (March 2018): 109–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.02.006>.
- St. Germain, Tonia, and Susan Dewey. “Justice on Whose Terms? A Critique of International Criminal Justice Responses to Conflict-Related Sexual Violence.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 37 (March 2013): 36–45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2013.01.006>.
- Mackenzie, Megan. “Securitizing Sex? Towards a Theory of the Utility of Wartime Sexual Violence.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no. 2 (2010): 202–21.
- Kirby, Paul. “How Is Rape a Weapon of War? Feminist International Relations, Modes of Critical Explanation and the Study of Wartime Sexual Violence.” *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 4 (2013): 797–821. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066111427614>.
- Pinet, Carolyn, and Carol Pinet. *Hispanic Journal* 18, no. 1 (1997): 89–108. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44284507>.
- Gullace, Nicoletta F. “Sexual Violence and Family Honor: British Propaganda and International Law During the First World War.” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997): 714–47.
- Weitsman, Patricia A. “The Politics of Identity and Sexual Violence: A Review of Bosnia and Rwanda.”

Human Rights Quarterly, 2008, 561–78.

- Murphy, Maureen, Lindsay Stark, Michael Wessells, Neil Boothby, and Alistair Ager. “Fortifying Barriers: Sexual Violence as an Obstacle to Girls’ School Participation in Northern Uganda.” *Education, Conflict and Development*, 2011, 167–84.
- Annan, Jeannie, and Moriah Brier. “The Risk of Return: Intimate Partner Violence in Northern Uganda’s Armed Conflict.” *Social Science & Medicine* 70, no. 1 (2010): 152–59.
- Carlson, Eric Stener. “The Hidden Prevalence of Male Sexual Assault During War: Observations on Blunt Trauma to the Male Genitals.” *British Journal of Criminology* 46, no. 1 (2005): 16–25.
- Leiby, Michele L. “Wartime Sexual Violence in Guatemala and Peru.” *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 445–68.
- Koos, Carlo. “Sexual Violence in Armed Conflicts: Research Progress and Remaining Gaps.” *Third World Quarterly* 38, no. 9 (2017): 1935–51.
- Morris, Madeline. “By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture.” *Duke Law Journal* 45, no. 4 (1996): 651–781.
- Lilly, J. Robert. “COUNTERBLAST: Soldiers and Rape: The Other Band of Brothers” *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 46, no. 1 (2007), pp.72–75.
- Denov, Myriam. “Children Born of Wartime Rape: The Intergenerational Realities of Sexual Violence and Abuse.” *Ethics, Medicine and Public Health* 1, no. 1 (2015): 61–68.

Treason, Political Community, and National Security

Introduction

The modern literature on this vast topic predominantly revolves around the definitional work of Carl Schmitt’s on his Theory of the Partisan. It is a very Western European-based work on the nature of political community and the relationship between enmity and politics, in the specific context of the rise of nation-states. Research and analysis on more recent dirty wars offer more varied and comparative literature on the topic, moving away from Schmitt’s strict frame. However, many will also find the basis of the concepts of treason, enmity and political community in work dating back to the 17th century, in particular in Hobbes’ political philosophy, and in literature analyzing power and warfare in ancient regimes.

The modern nation-state defines what is in the ‘national interest’, directly impacting the internal politics that sets the parameters for citizenship, patriotism and treason. Partisanship, rebellions and insurgencies for example are often considered as a by-product of the build-up and institutionalization of a political order that aims to eliminate differences, structurally but also rhetorically - as the idea of nation (the Anderson’s “imagined communities”) and sovereignty are a construct, not a given, in which unity, enmity and multi-faceted divisions, domestic or foreign, interact in a complex way.

Introductory Readings

- Hurst, Willard. “Treason in the United States? I. Treason down to the Constitution.” *Harvard Law Review* 58, no. 2 (1944): 226–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1335359>.
- Mani, Rama. “Rebuilding an Inclusive Political Community After War.” *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 4 (2005): 511–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605060452>.
- Lee, Youngjae. “Punishing Disloyalty? Treason, Espionage, and the Transgression of Political Boundaries.” *Law and Philosophy* 31, no. 3 (2012): 299–342. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41487014>.
- Hazelton, Jacqueline L. “The ‘Hearts and Minds’ Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare.” *International Security* 42, no. 1 (2017): 80–113. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00283.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - Goebel, M. *Argentina’s Partisan Past: Nationalism and the Politics of History*. Liverpool University Press, 2011.

- Itzigsohn, José, and Matthias vom Hau. “Unfinished Imagined Communities: States, Social Movements, and Nationalism in Latin America.” *Theory and Society* 35, no. 2 (2006): 193–212. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4501750>.
- Northern Ireland
 - Walker, Brian M. “‘Ancient Enmities’ and Modern Conflict: History and Politics in Northern Ireland.” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13, no. 1 (2007): 103–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537110601155825>.
 - Brewer, John D., and Bernadette C. Hayes. “Victims as Moral Beacons: Victims and Perpetrators in Northern Ireland.” *Contemporary Social Science* 6, no. 1 (2011): 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450144.2010.534494>.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Chapman, Jessica M. *Cauldron of Resistance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and 1950s Southern Vietnam*. Cornell University Press, 2013.
 - Shichor, David, and Donald R. Ranish. “President Carter’s Vietnam Amnesty: An Analysis of a Public Policy Decision.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1980): 443–50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27547599>.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Lewis, Benjamin A. “An Old Means to a Different End: The War on Terror, American Citizens... and the Treason Clause.” *Hofstra Law Review* 34 (2005–2006): 1215.
 - Kellner, Douglas. “Bushspeak and the Politics of Lying: Presidential Rhetoric in the ‘War on Terror’.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007): 622–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5705.2007.02617.x>.
- The Second Congo War
 - König, Michael D., Dominic Rohner, Mathias Thoenig, and Fabrizio Zilibotti. “Networks in Conflict: Theory and Evidence from the Great War of Africa.” *Econometrica* 85, no. 4 (2017): 1093–1132. <https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA13117>.
 - Koko, Sadiki. “From Rebels to Politicians: Explaining the Transformation of the Rcd-Goma and the Mlc in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” *South African Journal of International Affairs* 23, no. 4 (2016): 521–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2017.1298054>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Holzer, Henry Mark. “Southern University Law Review.” *Southern University Law Review* 29 (2001–2002): 181.
 - Kash, Douglas A. “Capital University Law Review.” *Capital University Law Review* 37 (2008–2009): 1.
- Political Repression
 - Jones, Seth G., Olga Oliker, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Rollie Lal, and James Dobbins. *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? U.S. Internal Security Assistance to Repressive and Transitioning Regimes*. 1st ed. RAND Corporation, 2006. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg550osi>.
 - Rørbæk, Lasse Lykke, and Allan Toft Knudsen. “Maintaining Ethnic Dominance: Diversity, Power, and Violent Repression.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34, no. 6 (2017): 640–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894215612996>.
- Strategic Studies
 - Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. “A Dictator’s Toolkit: Understanding How Co-Optation Affects Repression in Autocracies.” *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3 (2014): 332–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313519808>.
 - Bueno, Natália S. “Bypassing the Enemy: Distributive Politics, Credit Claiming, and Nonstate Organizations in Brazil.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51, no. 3 (2018): 304–40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414017710255>.
- Security Studies
 - Butt, Ahsan I. “An External Security Theory of Secessionist Conflict.” In *Secession and Security: Explaining State Strategy Against Separatists*, 17–41. Cornell University Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4501750>.

- <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1w0d9w9.6>.
- Newswander, Chad B. “The Emergence of Partisans and Terrorists: How Enemies of the State Mold Public Action” 33, no. 2 (2011): 192–212. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29783182>.
 - Normative Theory
 - Mahmud, Tayyab. “Jurisprudence of Successful Treason: Coup d’Etat & Common Law.” *Cornell International Law Journal* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1994). <https://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1314&context=cilj>.
 - Thiranagama, Sharika, and Tobias Kelly, eds. *Traitors: Suspicion, Intimacy, and the Ethics of State-Building*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Further Reading

- Ruiter, Adrienne de. “The Political Character of Absolute Enmity: On Carl Schmitt’s the Concept of the Political and Theory of the Partisan.” *ARSP: Archiv Für Rechts- Und Sozialphilosophie / Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy* 98, no. 1 (2012): 52–66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24769100>.
- Lemon, Rebecca. *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare’s England*. 1st ed. Cornell University Press, 2006. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7zgxv>.
- Gready, Paul. *Political Transition: Politics and Cultures*. Pluto Press, 2003.
- Vlassenroot, Koen. *South Kivu: Identity, Territory, and Power in the Eastern Congo*. Rift Valley Institute, 2013.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Politics of Friendship*. Verso, 2005.
- Martinez Machain, Carla, and Leo Rosenberg. “Domestic Diversion and Strategic Behavior by Minority Groups.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35, no. 5 (2018): 427–50.
- Klein, Graig R., and Efe Tokdemir. “Domestic Diversion: Selective Targeting of Minority Out-Groups.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 36, no. 1 (2019): 20–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894216658675>.
- Ritter, Emily Hencken. “Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State Repression.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 1 (2014): 143–68.
- Horn, Eva. *The Secret War: Treason, Espionage, and Modern Fiction*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2013.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Hatfield, Joseph M. “An Ethical Defense of Treason by Means of Espionage.” *Intelligence and National Security* 32, no. 2 (2017): 195–207. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2016.1248571>.

Strategy and Population Control

Introduction

The theme of Strategy and Population Control is addressed by scholars with various backgrounds and academic focuses. However, despite the abundance of the material, a few major themes were identified during the literature search and review. First, most researchers tend to describe specific means of population control, such as rape, torture, propaganda and information control. This suggests that population control is not monolithic, but varies widely depending on context. Thus, as identified by the readings, population control usually occurs as part of a cost/benefit analysis, with the unethical nature of the acts being weighed against their political advantages. Secondly, as seen in the case studies, many examples of population control occur with ethnic or cultural motivations. Therefore, the analyses of causes and behaviors of population control are generally specific, to the individual level; which provides relatively subjective insight for a reader. Thirdly, there is no consensus on the definition of the topic, as understandings change based on the frame one uses to analyse it, such as politics, law and psychology. Overall, the literature search established new boundaries for the potential future research in the topic.

Introductory Readings

- Jabri, Vivienne. “War, Security and the Liberal State.” *Security Dialogue* 37 (March 2006): 47–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010606064136>.
- Kocher, Matthew Adam, Thomas B Pepinsky, and Stathis N Kalyvas. “Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (2011): 201–18.
- Pion-Berlin, David, and George A. Lopez. “Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror, 1975–1979.” *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (March 1991): 63–86. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600389>.
- Hennessey, Thomas. *The Northern Ireland Peace Process: Ending the Troubles?* Gill; Macmillan, 2000.
- Tonge, Jonathan. *Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change*. Routledge, 2013.
- Baker, Bruce. “Going to War Democratically: The Case of the Second Congo War (1998–2000).” *Contemporary Politics* 6, no. 3 (2000): 263–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713658368>.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - Sheinin, David M.K. *Consent of the Damned: Ordinary Argentines in the Dirty War*. University Press of Florida, 2012.
 - Osiel, Mark. *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina’s Dirty War*. Yale University Press, 2001.
- Northern Ireland
 - O’Leary, Brendan, and John McGarry. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016.
 - McKittrick, David, and David McVea. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. New Amsterdam Books, 2002.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Sorley, Lewis. *A Better War: The Unexamined Victories and Final Tragedy of America’s Last Years in Vietnam*. Harcourt, 1999.
 - Busch, P. “Killing the ‘Vietcong’: The British Advisory Mission and the Strategic Hamlet Programme.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 25, no. 1 (2002): 135–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390412331302895a>.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Bright, Jonathan. “Securitisation, Terror, and Control: Towards a Theory of the Breaking Point.” *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 4 (2012): 861–79. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210511000726>.
 - O’Cinneide, Colm. “Strapped to the Mast: The Siren Song of Dreadful Necessity, the United Kingdom Human Rights Act and the Terrorist Threat.” In *Fresh Perspectives on the ‘War on Terror’*. ANU Press, 2008.
- The Second Congo War
 - Henk, Dan. “The African Stakes of the Congo War.” *Parameters* 33, no. 4 (March 2004): 156–58. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/198020338?accountid=11862>.
 - Verweijen, Judith, and Esther Marijnen. “The Counterinsurgency/Conservation Nexus: Guerrilla Livelihoods and the Dynamics of Conflict and Violence in the Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo.” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 45, no. 2 (2018): 300–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2016.1203307>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Cowen, Deborah, and Emily Gilbert, eds. *War, Citizenship, Territory*. Routledge, 2008.
 - Taylor, Diana. *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina’s “Dirty War”*. Duke University Press, 1997.
- Political Repression
 - Davenport, Christian. “State Repression and the Tyrannical Peace.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 4 (2007): 485–504. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343307078940>.

- Poe, Steven C., and C. Neal Tate. “Repression of Human Rights to Personal Integrity in the 1980s: A Global Analysis.” *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 4 (1994): 853–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2082712>.
- Strategic Studies
 - Berdal, Mats. *Building Peace After War*. Routledge, 2017.
 - Wakin, Malham M. *War, Morality, and the Military Profession*. Second. Westview Press, 1986.
- Security Studies
 - Williams, Paul D. *Security Studies: An Introduction* 2nd ed. Hoboken: Taylor; Francis, 2012.
 - Vennesson, Pascal. “Is Strategic Studies Narrow? Critical Security and the Misunderstood Scope of Strategy.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, no. 3 (2017): 358–91. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2017.1288108>.
- Normative Theory
 - Nathanson, Stephen. *Terrorism and the Ethics of War*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
 - Clark, Ian. *Waging War: A Philosophical Introduction*. Clarendon Press, 1988.

Further Reading

- Wachsmann, Nikolaus. *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps*. Farrar, Straus; Giroux, 2016.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception*. University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Downes, Alexander B. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Mason, T. David, and Dale A. Krane. “The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror.” *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1989): 175–98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2600536>.
- Tonge, Jonathan. *Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change*. Routledge, 2013.
- Whyte, John. *Interpreting Northern Ireland*. Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Weiss, Herbert. “Civil War in the Congo.” *Society* 38 (March 2001): 67–71. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/60144463?accountid=11862>.
- Martin, Guy. “Conflict in the Congo: Historical and Regional Perspectives.” *African Studies Review* 48, no. 1 (2005): 127–37. <https://doi.org/10.1353/arw.2005.0025>.
- Laudati, Ann. “Beyond Minerals: Broadening ‘Economies of Violence’ in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Review of African Political Economy* 40, no. 135 (2013): 32–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2012.760446>.
- Woodcock, Jeremy. “Threads from the Labyrinth: Therapy with Survivors of War and Political Oppression.” *Journal of Family Therapy* 23, no. 2 (2001): 136–54. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6427.00174>.
- Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin. *Imperial Endgame Britain’s Dirty Wars and the End of Empire*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011.
- Hunt, David. “Dirty Wars: Counterinsurgency in Vietnam and Today.” *Politics & Society* 38, no. 1 (2010): 35–66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329209357883>.
- Crandall, Russell. *America’s Dirty Wars: Irregular Warfare from 1776 to the War on Terror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139051606>.
- Gregory Jr., Robert H. *Clean Bombs and Dirty Wars Air Power in Kosovo and Libya*. University of Nebraska Press, 2015.
- Smith, M.L.R., and Sophie Roberts. “War in the Gray: Exploring the Concept of Dirty War.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31, no. 5 (April 11, 2008): 377–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100801980492>.
- Sherman, John W. “Political Violence in Colombia: Dirty Wars Since 1977.” *History Compass* 13, no. 9 (2015): 454–65. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12258>.
- Cullather, Nick. *Secret History: The CIA’s Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Galam, Serge. “Global Physics: From Percolation to Terrorism, Guerilla Warfare and Clandestine Activities.” *Physica A Statistical Mechanics and Its Applications* 330, nos. 1-2 (2003): 139–49. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.physa.2003.08.035>.
- Verwey, Wil D. “Chemical Warfare in Vietnam: Legal or Illegal?” *Netherlands International Law Review* 18, no. 2 (1971): 217–44. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165070X00027510>.

- Keen, M.H. *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*. Routledge, 2015.
- Howard, Michael, George J. Andreopoulos, and Mark R. Shulman, eds. *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World*. Yale University Press, 1997.
- Morrow, James D. “The Laws of War, Common Conjectures, and Legal Systems in International Politics.” *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2002): 41–60. <https://ideas.repec.org/a/ucp/jlstud/v31y2002i1ps41-60.html>.
- Roberts, Adam. “Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War.” *Survival* 44, no. 1 (2002): 7–32. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396330212331343212>.
- Aldrich, George H. “The Laws of War on Land.” *American Journal of International Law* 94, no. 1 (2000): 42–63. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2555230>.
- Kunz, Josef L. “The Chaotic Status of the Laws of War and the Urgent Necessity for Their Revision.” In *The Development and Principles of International Humanitarian Law*, edited by Michael N. Schmitt and Wolff Heintschel von Heinegg, 153–77. Routledge, 2017.
- Bannister, Frank. “The Panoptic State: Privacy, Surveillance and the Balance of Risk.” *Info. Pol.* 10, nos. 1, 2 (April 2005): 65–78. <http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1412537.1412544>.
- Sassoli, Marco. “Use and Abuse of the Laws of War in the War on Terrorism.” *Law & Inequality*, 22 (2004): 195.
- Morrow, James D. “The Laws of War, Common Conjectures, and Legal Systems in International Politics.” *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2002): 41–60. <https://ideas.repec.org/a/ucp/jlstud/v31y2002i1ps41-60.html>.

Political Warfare and Political Emergencies

Introduction

Political emergencies are often rooted in state collapse and therefore, understanding the underpinnings of statehood is essential to understanding PEs. With the recent nature of conflicts being characterized by these emergencies, these ‘small wars’ need to be studied under different lenses in order to extract their causes and consequences. Additionally, political emergencies are often characterized by the interaction of multiple non-state and state actors, as in the case study of The Second Congo War. Motivated by mining interests the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was also heightened by disease and humanitarian crises which are often hallmarks of political emergencies.

Political Warfare, also known as psychological warfare, is a state tool dedicated to output propaganda to the needs of a war. This is done so through overt and covert means to influence the morale of the enemy or/and of an ally. Northern Ireland provides an example of political warfare, in part in the form of Britain engaging in a propaganda war with the IRA. The British government installed propaganda agencies and even forged letters to incriminate some of the IRA senior individuals, all in attempts to gain the upper hand in this dirty war.

Introductory Readings

- Goodhand, Jonathan, and David Hulme. “From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflict and Peace-Building in the New World Disorder.” *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1999): 13–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993180>.
- Reno, William. “Explaining Patterns of Violence in Collapsed States.” *Contemporary Security Policy* 30, no. 2 (2009): 356–74. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13523260903060250>.
- Lockhart, Robert H. Bruce. “Political Warfare.” *Royal United Services Institution. Journal* 95, no. 578 (1950): 193–206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071845009434040>.
- Chau, Donovan C. “Political Warfare—an Essential Instrument of U.s. Grand Strategy Today.” *Comparative Strategy* 25, no. 2 (2006): 109–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495930600754483>.
- Cliffe, Lionel. “Complex Political Emergencies and the State: Failure and the Fate of the State.” *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1999): 27–50.

- Henderson, Conway W. “Conditions Affecting the Use of Political Repression.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35, no. 1 (1991): 120–42.
- Duffield, Mark. “The Symphony of the Damned: Racial Discourse, Complex Political Emergencies and Humanitarian Aid.” *Disasters* 20, no. 3 (1996): 173–93. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7717.1996.tb01032.x>.
- Slim, Hugo. “Doing the Right Thing: Relief Agencies, Moral Dilemmas and Moral Responsibility in Political Emergencies and War.” *Disasters* 21, no. 3 (1997): 244–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7717.00059>.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - Buchanan, Paul G. “The Varied Faces of Domination: State Terror, Economic Policy, and Social Rupture During the Argentine ‘Proceso,’ 1976–81.” *American Journal of Political Science* 31, no. 2 (1987): 336–82. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111080>.
 - Aguila, Gabriela. “Dictatorship, Society, and Genocide in Argentina: Repression in Rosario, 1976–1983.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 2 (2006): 169–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520600703040>.
- Northern Ireland
 - Punch, Maurice. *State Violence, Collusion and the Troubles*. Pluto Press, 2012.
 - Hayes, Bernadette C, and Ian McAllister. “Public Support for Political Violence and Paramilitarism in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17, no. 4 (2005): 599–617.
 - Woodhouse, Tom. “The Gentle Hand of Peace? British Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution in Complex Political Emergencies.” *International Peacekeeping* 6, no. 2 (1999): 24–37.
 - Geraghty, Tony. *The Irish War: The Hidden Conflict Between the IRA and British Intelligence*. JHU Press, 2000.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Gibson, James L. “The Policy Consequences of Political Intolerance: Political Repression During the Vietnam War Era.” *The Journal of Politics* 51, no. 1 (1989): 13–35.
 - Kocher, Matthew Adam, Thomas B Pepinsky, and Stathis N Kalyvas. “Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (2011): 201–18.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Hajjar, L. “The Counterterrorism War Paradigm Versus International Humanitarian Law: The Legal Contradictions and Global Consequences of the Us War on Terror.” *Law and Social Inquiry* 44, no. 4 (2019): 922–56. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lsi.2018.26>.
 - Dinstein, Yoram. *War, Aggression and Self-Defence*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139164726>.
- The Second Congo War
 - Rosenblum, Peter. “Kabila’s Congo.” *Current History* 97, no. 619 (May 1998): 193–99. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/200705711?accountid=11862>.
 - Rackley, Edward B. “Democratic Republic of the Congo: Undoing Government by Predation.” *Disasters* 30, no. 4 (2006): 418–32.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Lord, Carnes. *Political Warfare and Psychological Operations: Rethinking the Us Approach*. DIANE Publishing, 1989.
 - Fassin, Didier, and Mariella Pandolfi. *Contemporary States of Emergency. The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. Zone Books, 2010.
- Political Repression
 - Bohara, Alok K., Neil J. Mitchell, Mani Nepal, and Nejem Raheem. “Human Rights Violations,

- Corruption, and the Policy of Repression.” *Policy Studies Journal* 36, no. 1 (February 2008): 1–18. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/210572921?accountid=11862>.
- Danneman, Nathan, and Emily Hencken Ritter. “Contagious Rebellion and Preemptive Repression.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 2 (2014): 254–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24545638>.
 - Strategic Studies
 - Gourlay, Catriona. *Partners Apart: Managing Civil-Military Cooperation in Humanitarian Interventions*. UNIDIR, 1999.
 - Rietjens, Sebastiaan Joost Henrikus, and Myriame TIB Bollen. *Managing Civil-Military Cooperation: A 24/7 Joint Effort for Stability*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008.
 - Bellamy, Alex J. “The Great Beyond: Rethinking Military Responses to New Wars and Complex Emergencies.” *Defence Studies* 2, no. 1 (2002): 25–50.
 - Security Studies
 - Olsen, Gorm Rye. “Changing European Concerns: Security and Complex Political Emergencies Instead of Development.” In *EU Development Cooperation*. Manchester University Press, 2018.
 - Needell, Allan A. “‘Truth Is Our Weapon’: Project Troy, Political Warfare, and Government-Academic Relations in the National Security State.” *Diplomatic History* 17, no. 3 (1993): 399–420.
 - Normative Theory
 - Fiala, Andrew. *Public War, Private Conscience: The Ethics of Political Violence*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010.
 - Gasper, Des. “‘Drawing a Line’-Ethical and Political Strategies in Complex Emergency Assistance.” *The European Journal of Development Research* 11, no. 2 (1999): 87–114.
 - Regan, Richard J. “The Moral Dimensions of Politics,” 1986.
 - Fischer, Frank, and John Forester. *Confronting Values in Policy Analysis: The Politics of Criteria*. Sage, 1987.

Identity, Identification, and Intelligence Institutions

Introduction

Secrecy and intelligence services have long been means for states to protect themselves their national security interests. The role identity and identification play in these institutions, as many authors have argued, can be crucial to how these conflicts play out. Intelligence agencies use the cloak of secrecy since the information gathered would not be available to the public. Yet nowadays the role of secrecy is increasingly being challenged by public demands for accountability, especially after leaks which revealed the extensiveness of surveillance in Western states. This may create a problem for states regarding the safeguarding of national security without a reliance on excessive secrecy. States now have to find a new balance between national security and secrecy within the context of identity and identification.

Introductory Readings

- Handel, Michael I. “Intelligence and Deception.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 5, no. 1 (1982): 122–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402398208437104>.
- Gries, David D. “Openness and Secrecy.” *CIA Studies in Intelligence* 37, no. 5 (1994). <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol37no1/pdf/v37i1a01p.pdf>.
- Gibbs, David N. “Secrecy and International Relations.” *Journal of Peace Research* 32, no. 2 (1995): 213–28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343395032002007>.
- Rathmell, Andrew. “Towards Postmodern Intelligence.” *Intelligence and National Security* 17, no. 3 (June 2010): 87–104. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/02684520412331306560?needAccess=true>.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina

- Chevigny, Paul. *Edge of the Knife: Police Violence in the Americas*. New Press, 1995.
- Scharpf, Adam. “Ideology and State Terror: How Officer Beliefs Shaped Repression During Argentina’s ‘Dirty War.’” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 2 (2018): 206–21.
- Northern Ireland
 - Sanders, Andrew. “Northern Ireland: The Intelligence War 1969–75.” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 13 (2011): 230–48. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00416.x>.
 - Bamford, Bradley W.C. “The Role and Effectiveness of Intelligence in Northern Ireland.” *Intelligence and National Security* 20, no. 4 (2005): 581–607. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684520500425273>.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Wirtz, James J. “Intelligence to Please? The Order of Battle Controversy During the Vietnam War.” *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 2 (1991): 239–63. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2152228>.
 - Turner, Michael A. “A Distinctive U.S. Intelligence Identity.” *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 17, no. 1 (2004): 42–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08850600490252650>.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Pitchford, Jenna. “The ‘Global War on Terror,’ Identity, and Changing Perceptions: Iraqi Responses to America’s War in Iraq.” *Journal of American Studies* 45, no. 4 (2011): 695–716. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875811000910>.
 - Amooore, Louise. “Algorithmic War: Everyday Geographies of the War on Terror.” *Antipode* 41, no. 1 (2009): 49–69. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00655.x>.
- The Second Congo War
 - Wright, Alexander. “Ethnic Identity in the Democratic Republic of Congo.” In *The State of Africa: Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development*, edited by Dirk Kotzé and Hussein Solomon, 81–105. Africa Institute of South Africa, 2008.
 - Mamdani, Mahmood. “African States, Citizenship and War: A Case-Study.” *International Affairs* 78, no. 3 (December 2002): 493–506. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.00263>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - utchinson, John. “Warfare, Remembrance and National Identity.” In *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, edited by Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby. Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
 - Leed, E.J. *No Man’s Land: Combat and Identity in World War 1*. Cambridge University Press, 1979. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Z3M5AAAAIAAJ>.
- Political Repression
 - Liotta, P. H. “Boomerang Effect: The Convergence of National and Human Security.” *Security Dialogue* 33, no. 4 (December 2002). <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0967010602033004007>.
 - Hannah, Greg, Kevin A O’Brien, and Rathmell Andrew. *Intelligence and Security Legislation for Security Sector Reform*, RAND, 2005. pp. 21-24
- Strategic Studies
 - Rovner, Joshua. *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*. Cornell University Press, 2011.
 - Stolberg, Alan G. “How Nation-States Craft National Security Strategy Documents.” *Strategic Studies Institute*, October 2012. <https://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/2201.pdf>.
- Security Studies
 - Berkowitz, Bruce. “Secrecy and National Security.” *Hoover Digest*, no. 3 (2004): 72–80. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/58851745/>.
 - Colaresi, Michael P. *Democracy Declassified: The Secrecy Dilemma in National Security*, Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Normative Theory
 - Maret, Susan. *Government Secrecy*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2011.

- Goodman, Ryan. “Norms and National Security: The WTO as a Catalyst for Inquiry.” *Chicago Journal of International Law* 2 (2001): 101.
- Secrecy in War
 - Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*. Edited by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton University Press, 1976.
 - Sunzi, and Thomas F. Cleary. *The Art of War*. Shambhala, 2019.

Further Reading

- Aftergood, Steven. “Reducing Government Secrecy: Finding What Works” 27, no. 2 (2009): 399–416. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40239716>.
- Aftergood, Steven. “National Security Secrecy: How the Limits Change.” *Social Research* 77, no. 3 (2010): 839–52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40972293>.
- Aldrich, Richard J., Christopher Andrew, and Wesley K. Wark, eds. *Secret Intelligence: A Reader*. Routledge, 2019. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UWrMngEACAAJ>.
- Colliver, S.J. (1999), *Secrecy and Liberty: National Security, Freedom of Expression and Access to Information* (New York NY: Springer).
- Fiorini, A. (ed.) (2007), *The Right to Know: Transparency for an Open World* (New York NY: Colombia University Press).
- Edgar, Timothy H. *Beyond Snowden: Privacy, Mass Surveillance, and the Struggle to Reform the Nsa*. Brookings Institution Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctt1hfr0zp>.
- Friedman, Lawrence M., and Victor M. Hansen. “Secrecy, Transparency, and National Security.” *William Mitchell Law Review* 38, no. 5 (2012): 1610–28.
- Masco, Joseph. *The Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror*, Duke University Press, 2014.
- Potolsky, Matthew. *The National Security Sublime: On the Aesthetics of Government Secrecy*. Routledge, 2019.
- Sagar, Rahul. *Secrets and Leaks: The Dilemma of State Secrecy*. Princeton University Press, 2016. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nC_FCgAAQBAJ.
- Sifry, Micah L. *WikiLeaks and the Age of Transparency*. OR Books, 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt20bbwsp>.
- Silver, Derigan Almond. *National Security in the Courts the Need for Secrecy Vs. The Requirement of Transparency*. LFB Scholarly Pub., 2010.
- Theoharis, Athan G. *Abuse of Power: How Cold War Surveillance and Secrecy Policy Shaped the Response to 9/11*. Temple University Press, 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14bt7ht>.

Torture

Introduction

The boundaries of legitimacy, morality, and legal permissibility relating to the employment of torture and enhanced interrogation techniques can become blurred by states in times of crisis. Those regimes that have openly engaged in such methods in order to extract information, or in many cases exact punishment, often seek legal loopholes (such as the denial of protected status to belligerents), or justification which places the security of the state and safety of the population above the rights of the individual. One oft-used justification is the ticking time-bomb theory, which would allow torture in extreme cases. Another common device employed by state actors is the attempt to restrict the definition of torture to exclude specific methods. The risk of hiding behind such legal ambiguity is the normalization of inhumane practices, and the possibility of impunity for inhumane acts not defined as torture specifically. The literature provides numerous case studies and theoretical models to inform definitions of torture and illuminate the practices, justifications, and both moral and legal paradoxes, which serve to highlight the disconnect between liberal democracies and the value they attach to human rights, and their resort to torture in dealing with terrorism or dissenters.

Introductory Readings

- Lukes, Steven. "Liberal Democratic Torture." *British Journal of Political Science* 36, no. 1 (2006): 1–16.
- Lewis, Michael W. "A Dark Descent into Reality: Making the Case for an Objective Definition of Torture." *Wash. & Lee L. Rev.* 67 (2010): 77.
- Morgan, Rod. "The Utilitarian Justification of Torture: Denial, Desert and Disinformation." *Punishment & Society* 2, no. 2 (2000): 181–96.
- Sussman, David. "What's Wrong with Torture?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33, no. 1 (2005): 1–33.
- Klayman, Barry M. "Definition of Torture in International Law, the." *Temple Law Quarterly* 51 (1978): 449.
- Rouillard, Louis-Philippe F. "Misinterpreting the Prohibition of Torture Under International Law: The Office of Legal Counsel Memorandum." *American University International Law Review* 21 (2005): 9.
- Rejali, Darius., 2009, *Torture and democracy*. Princeton University Press, pp.33-44.
- Conrad, Courtenay Ryals, and Will H. Moore. "What Stops the Torture?" *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 2 (2010): 459–76.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - Gregory, Steven, and Daniel Timerman. "Rituals of the Modern State: The Case of Torture in Argentina." *Dialectical Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (1986): 63–72.
 - Feitlowitz, Marguerite. *A Lexicon of Terror : Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*. Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Northern Ireland
 - O'Boyle, Michael. "Torture and Emergency Powers Under the European Convention on Human Rights: Ireland V. The United Kingdom." *American Journal of International Law* 71, no. 4 (1977): 674–706.
 - Cohn, Ellen B. "Torture in the International Community—Problems of Definition and Limitation—the Case of Northern Ireland." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 11 (1979): 159.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Rejali, Darius. *Torture and Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
 - Beigbeder, Yves. *Judging War Crimes and Torture: French Justice and International Criminal Tribunals and Commissions (1940-2005)*. Brill Nijhoff, 2006.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Rodley, Nigel. "Torture, Violence, and the Global War on Terror." *American Society of International Law Proceedings* 99 (2005): 402.
 - Chwastiak, Michele. "Torture as Normal Work: The Bush Administration, the Central Intelligence Agency and 'Enhanced Interrogation Techniques'" *Organization* 22, no. 4 (2015): 493–511. The Second Congo War
 - Watch, Human Rights. "The War Within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo," 2002. <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/2002/drc/Congo0602.pdf>.
 - Kabemba, Claude. "The Democratic Republic of Congo: From Independence to Africa's First World War." *UNHCR Centre for Documentation and Research*, 2001.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Sullivan, Christopher Michael. "The (in) Effectiveness of Torture for Combating Insurgency." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3 (2014): 388–404.
 - Lazreg, Marnia. "Algeria as Template: Torture and Counter-Insurgency War." *Global Dialogue (Online)* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 1–10. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/866741329?accountid=11862>.
- Political Repression

- Rejali, Darius. *Torture and Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2009. pp. 45-60.
- Vreeland, James Raymond. “Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture.” *International Organization* 62, no. 1 (2008): 65–101.
- Strategic Studies
 - Johnson, Douglas A, Alberto Mora, and Averell Schmidt. “The Strategic Costs of Torture: How Enhanced Interrogation Hurt America.” *Foreign Aff.* 95 (2016): 121.
 - Blakeley, Ruth. “Why Torture?” *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (2007): 373–94.
- Security Studies
 - Lang Jr, Anthony F, and Amanda Russell Beattie. *War, Torture and Terrorism: Rethinking the Rules of International Security*. Routledge, 2008.
 - Kutz, Christopher. “How Norms Die: Torture and Assassination in American Security Policy.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 28, no. 4 (2014): 425–49.
- Normative Theory
 - McKeown, Ryder. “Norm Regress: US Revisionism and the Slow Death of the Torture Norm.” *International Relations* 23, no. 1 (2009): 5–25.
 - Liese, Andrea. “Exceptional Necessity-How Liberal Democracies Contest the Prohibition of Torture and Ill-Treatment When Countering Terrorism.” *J. Int’l L & Int’l Rel.* 5 (2009): 17.

Further Reading

- Vorhees, Robert E. “Compensating Terrorists for Torture: An Anomalous Outcome Under International Humanitarian Law?” *Air Force Law Review* 75 (2016): 1.
- Khalili, Laleh. “On Torture.” *Middle East Report*, no. 249 (2008): 32–37. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25164878>.
- Santucci, Joe. “A Question of Identity: The Use of Torture in Asymmetric War.” *Journal of Military Ethics* 7, no. 1 (2008): 23–40.
- Peters, Edward. *Torture*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.
- Bellamy, Alex J. “No Pain, No Gain? Torture and Ethics in the War on Terror.” *International Affairs* 82, no. 1 (2006): 121–48.
- De Wet, Erika. “The Prohibition of Torture as an International Norm of Jus Cogens and Its Implications for National and Customary Law.” *European Journal of International Law* 15, no. 1 (2004): 97–121.
- Hersh, Seymour M. “Torture at Abu Ghraib.” *The New Yorker* 10, no. 5 (2004).
- Guiora, Amos N., and Erin M. Page. “The Unholy Trinity: Intelligence, Interrogation and Torture.” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 37 (2006): 427–47. <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol37/iss2/15>.

Targeted Killing and One-Sided Violence

Introduction

Violence in war is often perpetrated and experienced asymmetrically. The increased use of targeted killing as a strategy in contemporary warfare further highlights and exacerbates war’s disparity as violence can be enacted with little to no risk for one side. Technological developments, particularly in the field of drone warfare, have demonstrated targeted killing to be an effective means of achieving national security objectives in contemporary conflicts. In particular, Targeted Killing has been adopted as a central tactic by the US in the global war on terror.

However, with increased use has come extensive criticism primarily surrounding the legality and morality of targeted killing as a method of warfare. Despite these criticisms, the use of targeted killing appears only to have increased and shows no sign of discontinuation. The literature addresses questions associated with the morality and ethics of identifying and classifying targets. In other words ‘Who is a legitimate target?’ and ‘What constitutes legitimate violence?’

There are limitations that are presented in the literature. For example, the strategic effectiveness and benefits

of targeted killing are not questioned, rather the morality of such tactics. The absence of legal infrastructure explains to a certain extent the lack of clear regulation surrounding such issues. In addition, there remain key debates surrounding the distinction between targeting killing and assassination.

Introductory Readings

- Walsh, James Igoe. “The Rise of Targeted Killing.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41, nos. 1-2 (2017): 143–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2017.1393035>.
- Shaw, Ian G. R. *Predator Empire*. University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Storey, Hugo, and Rebecca Wallace. “War and Peace in Refugee Law Jurisprudence.” *The American Journal of International Law* 95, no. 2 (2001): 349. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2661401>.
- Bachmann, Sascha-Dominik Oliver Vladimir. “Targeted Killings: Contemporary Challenges, Risks and Opportunities.” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2208541>.
- Galanos, Nicholas Christopher. “Assessing the Timing of One-Sided Violence in Civil Conflict.” PhD thesis, University of Mississippi, 2012. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a67d/26913462ded1f7344a106a869267bbf17a52.pdf>.

Case Study Readings

- Argentina
 - obben, Antonius C. G. M. *Political Violence and Trauma in Argentina*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
 - Villemarest, Pierre F. de, ed. *Strategists of Fear: Twenty Years of Revolutionary War in Argentina*. Editions Voxmundi, 1980.
- Northern Ireland
 - Frampton, Martyn. “Agents and Ambushes: Britain’s ‘Dirty War’ in Northern Ireland.” In *Democracies at War Against Terrorism: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by Samy Cohen, 77–100. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230614727_5.
 - Guelke, Adrian. “The Northern Ireland Peace Process and the War Against Terrorism: Conflicting Conceptions?” *Government and Opposition* 42, no. 3 (2007): 272–91. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00224.x>.
- The Vietnam Wars
 - Hobsbawm, E. “Vietnam and the Dynamics of Guerrilla War.” *New Left Review* 33 (1965): 53–68.
 - Shaw, Ian G. R. “Scorched Atmospheres: The Violent Geographies of the Vietnam War and the Rise of Drone Warfare.” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106, no. 3 (2016): 688–704. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2015.1115333>.
- The Global War on Terror
 - Gunaratna, Rohan. *Inside Al Qaeda*. Columbia University Press, 2002.
 - Miller, Mark J, and Boyka Stefanova. *The War on Terror in Comparative Perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- The Second Congo War
 - Clark, John F. *The African Stakes in the Congo War*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
 - Cook, Christopher R. “Diamonds and Genocide: American, British, and French Press Coverage of the Second Congo War.” *SAGE Open* 3, no. 3 (2013): 2158244013495051. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244013495051>.

Theme Readings

- War/Warfare
 - Eck, Kristine, and Lisa Hultman. “One-Sided Violence Against Civilians in War.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 2 (2007): 233–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343307075124>.
 - Schneider, Gerald, and Margit Bussmann. “Accounting for the Dynamics of One-Sided Violence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 5 (2013): 635–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313492990>.
- Political Repression

- Pion-Berlin, David. “Political Repression and Economic Doctrines: The Case of Argentina.” *Comparative Political Studies* 16, no. 1 (1983): 37–66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414083016001002>.
- Davenport, Christian. “State Repression and Political Order.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10, no. 1 (June 2007): 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.101405.143216>.
- Strategic Studies
 - Baylis, John, James J Wirtz, and Colin S. Gray, eds. *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. 6th ed. Oxford University Press, 2018.
 - Hazelton, Jacqueline L. “Drone Strikes and Grand Strategy: Toward a Political Understanding of the Uses of Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Attacks in Us Security Policy.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, nos. 1-2 (2016): 68–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2016.1196589>.
- Security Studies
 - Weill, Sharon. “Reducing the Security Gap Through National Courts: Targeted Killings as a Case Study.” *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 21, no. 1 (2015): 49–67. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/krv019>.
 - Sperotto, Federico. “Targeted Killings in Response to Security Threats: Warfare and Humanitarian Issues.” *Global Jurist* 8, no. 3 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.2202/1934-2640.1284>.
- Normative Theory
 - Cortright, David, Rachel Fairhurst, and Kristen Wall. *Drones and the Future of Armed Conflict*. The University of Chicago Press, 2017.
 - Nolte, Georg. “Thin or Thick? The Principle of Proportionality and International Humanitarian Law” 4, no. 2 (2010): 245–55. <https://doi.org/10.2202/1938-2545.1050>.

Further Reading

- Downes, C. “‘Targeted Killings’ in an Age of Terror: The Legality of the Yemen Strike.” *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 9, no. 2 (2004): 277–94. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/9.2.277>.
- Schneider, Gerald, and Margit Bussmann. “Accounting for the Dynamics of One-Sided Violence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 5 (2013): 635–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313492990>.
- Shaw, Ian G. R. “Predator Empire: The Geopolitics of Us Drone Warfare.” *Geopolitics* 18, no. 3 (2013): 536–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2012.749241>.
- Gruenewald, Jeff. “Do Targeted Killings Increase or Decrease Terrorism?” 16, no. 1 (2017): 187–90. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12275>.
- Jose, Betsy. “Bin Laden’s Targeted Killing and Emerging Norms.” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 10, no. 1 (2016): 44–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2016.1221662>.
- Maoz, Ifat, and Clark McCauley. “Threat, Dehumanization, and Support for Retaliatory Aggressive Policies in Asymmetric Conflict.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, no. 1 (2008): 93–116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002707308597>.
- Stepanova, Ekatarina. “Trends in Armed Conflicts: One-Sided Violence Against Civilians.” In *SIPRI Yearbook 2009*, edited by Bates Gill. SIPRI, 2008.

Bibliography

Acharya, Amitav. “Human Security: East Versus West.” *International Journal* 56, no. 3 (2001): 442–60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40203577>.

Adler, Emanuel. “The Spread of Security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self-Restraint, and Nato’s Post-Cold War Transformation.” *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 2 (2008): 195–230. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066108089241>.

Aftergood, Steven. “National Security Secrecy: How the Limits Change.” *Social Research* 77, no. 3 (2010): 839–52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40972293>.

———. “Reducing Government Secrecy: Finding What Works” 27, no. 2 (2009): 399–416. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40239716>.

Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception*. University of Chicago Press, 2005.

- Aguila, Gabriela. "Dictatorship, Society, and Genocide in Argentina: Repression in Rosario, 1976–1983." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 2 (2006): 169–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520600703040>.
- Alach, Zhivan J. *The New Aztecs: Ritual and Restraint in Contemporary Western Military Operations*. Advancing Strategic Thought Series. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2011.
- Aldrich, George H. "The Laws of War on Land." *American Journal of International Law* 94, no. 1 (2000): 42–63. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2555230>.
- Aldrich, Richard J., Christopher Andrew, and Wesley K. Wark, eds. *Secret Intelligence: A Reader*. Routledge, 2019. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UWrMngEACAAJ>.
- Amoore, Louise. "Algorithmic War: Everyday Geographies of the War on Terror." *Antipode* 41, no. 1 (2009): 49–69. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00655.x>.
- Annan, Jeannie, and Moriah Brier. "The Risk of Return: Intimate Partner Violence in Northern Uganda's Armed Conflict." *Social Science & Medicine* 70, no. 1 (2010): 152–59.
- Appel, Benjamin J, and Alyssa K Prorok. "Third-Party Actors and the Intentional Targeting of Civilians in War." *British Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 4 (2019): 1453–74.
- Asmal, Kader. *If Law Is the Enemy: Human Rights in Northern Ireland - Britain's Responsibilities*. Britain; Ireland Human Rights Project, 1990.
- Ba, I., and R. S. Bhopal. "Physical, Mental and Social Consequences in Civilians Who Have Experienced War-Related Sexual Violence: A Systematic Review (1981–2014)." *Public Health* 142 (January 2017): 121–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2016.07.019>.
- Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. "Making Sense of Violence: Voices of Soldiers in the Congo (Drc)." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46, no. 1 (2008): 57–86. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022278x07003072>.
- Bachmann, Sascha-Dominik Oliver Vladimir. "Targeted Killings: Contemporary Challenges, Risks and Opportunities." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2208541>.
- Baggett, Ted. "Human Rights Abuses in Yugoslavia: To Bring an End to Political Oppression, the International Community Should Assist in Establishing an Independent Kosovo." HeinOnline, 1998.
- Bailey, Sydney D. *Prohibitions and Restraints in War*. London: Oxford University Press ; Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1972.
- Baker, Bruce. "Going to War Democratically: The Case of the Second Congo War (1998–2000)." *Contemporary Politics* 6, no. 3 (2000): 263–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713658368>.
- Bamford, Bradley W.C. "The Role and Effectiveness of Intelligence in Northern Ireland." *Intelligence and National Security* 20, no. 4 (2005): 581–607. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684520500425273>.
- Bannister, Frank. "The Panoptic State: Privacy, Surveillance and the Balance of Risk." *Info. Pol.* 10, nos. 1, 2 (April 2005): 65–78. <http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1412537.1412544>.
- . "The Panoptic State: Privacy, Surveillance and the Balance of Risk." *Information Polity* 10, nos. 1, 2 (2005): 65–78. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/57651938/>.
- Barkawi, Tarak. "Strategy as a Vocation: Weber, Morgenthau and Modern Strategic Studies." *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 2 (1998): 159–84. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210598001594>.
- Baylis, John, James J Wirtz, and Colin S. Gray, eds. *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. 6th ed. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Beck, Louise, and Sylvain Vité. "International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law." *International Review of the Red Cross* 293 (1993): 94–119. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/839298206/>.
- Beigbeder, Yves. *Judging War Crimes and Torture: French Justice and International Criminal Tribunals and Commissions (1940-2005)*. Brill Nijhoff, 2006.

- Bellamy, Alex J. "No Pain, No Gain? Torture and Ethics in the War on Terror." *International Affairs* 82, no. 1 (2006): 121–48.
- . "The Great Beyond: Rethinking Military Responses to New Wars and Complex Emergencies." *Defence Studies* 2, no. 1 (2002): 25–50.
- Benest, David. "Atrocities in Britains Counter-Insurgencies." *The RUSI Journal* 156, no. 3 (2011): 80–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2011.591099>.
- Berdal, Mats. *Building Peace After War*. Routledge, 2017.
- Berkowitz, Bruce. "Secrecy and National Security." *Hoover Digest*, no. 3 (2004): 72–80. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/58851745/>.
- Bianchi, Andrea, and Delphine Hayim. "Unmanned Warfare Devices and the Laws of War: The Challenge of Regulation." *Sicherheit Und Frieden (S+F) / Security and Peace* 31, no. 2 (2013): 93–98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24234146>.
- Blakeley, Ruth. "Why Torture?" *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (2007): 373–94.
- Boesten, Jelke. "Of Exceptions and Continuities: Theory and Methodology in Research on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19, no. 4 (October 2017): 506–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2017.1367950>.
- . *Sexual Violence During War and Peace: Gender, Power, and Post-Conflict Justice in Peru*. Springer, 2014.
- Bohara, Alok K., Neil J. Mitchell, Mani Nepal, and Nejem Raheem. "Human Rights Violations, Corruption, and the Policy of Repression." *Policy Studies Journal* 36, no. 1 (February 2008): 1–18. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/210572921?accountid=11862>.
- Brewer, John D., and Bernadette C. Hayes. "Victims as Moral Beacons: Victims and Perpetrators in Northern Ireland." *Contemporary Social Science* 6, no. 1 (2011): 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450144.2010.534494>.
- Bridges, Horace J. "A Suggestion Toward a New Definition of Treason." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1931-1951)* 30, no. 4 (1939): 470–84. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1136969>.
- Bright, Jonathan. "Securitisation, Terror, and Control: Towards a Theory of the Breaking Point." *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 4 (2012): 861–79. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210511000726>.
- Bring, Ove. "Regulating Conventional Weapons in the Future. Humanitarian Law or Arms Control?" *Journal of Peace Research* 24, no. 3 (1987): 275–86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/424367>.
- Brooks, Rosa Ehrenreich. "War Everywhere: Rights, National Security Law, and the Law of Armed Conflict in the Age of Terror." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 153 (2004): 675–2215.
- Brysk, Alison. "From Above and Below: Social Movements, the International System, and Human Rights in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 26, no. 3 (1993): 259–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414093026003001>.
- . *The Americas* 70, no. 1 (2013): 123–24. <https://doi.org/10.1353/tam.2013.0069>.
- Buchanan, Paul G. "The Varied Faces of Domination: State Terror, Economic Policy, and Social Rupture During the Argentine "Proceso," 1976-81." *American Journal of Political Science* 31, no. 2 (1987): 336–82. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111080>.
- Buckles, Grant T. "Internal Opposition Dynamics and Restraints on Authoritarian Control." *British Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (July 2019): 883–900. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/2241331429?accountid=11862>.
- Bueno, Natália S. "Bypassing the Enemy: Distributive Politics, Credit Claiming, and Nonstate Organizations in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 51, no. 3 (2018): 304–40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414017710255>.

- Burke-White, William W. "Human Rights and National Security: The Strategic Correlation." *Harv. Hum. Rts. J.* 17 (2004): 249.
- Busch, P. "Killing the 'Vietcong': The British Advisory Mission and the Strategic Hamlet Programme." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 25, no. 1 (2002): 135–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390412331302895a>.
- Buss, Doris E. "Rethinking 'rape as a weapon of war'" *Feminist Legal Studies*, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10691-009-9118-5>.
- Bustin, Edouard. *Africa* 74, no. 3 (2004): 480–82. <https://doi.org/10.3366/afr.2004.74.3.480>.
- Butler, Christopher K, Tali Gluch, and Neil J Mitchell. "Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-National Analysis of a Principal—Agent Argument." *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 6 (2007): 669–87.
- Butler, Michael J. "U.S. Military Intervention in Crisis, 1945-1994: An Empirical Inquiry of Just War Theory." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47, no. 2 (2003): 226–48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3176168>.
- Butt, Ahsan I. "An External Security Theory of Secessionist Conflict." In *Secession and Security: Explaining State Strategy Against Separatists*, 17–41. Cornell University Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1w0d9w9.6>.
- . *Secession and Security: Explaining State Strategy Against Separatists*. Cornell University Press, n.d.
- Caballero-Anthony, Mely. "Revisioning Human Security in Southeast Asia." *Asian Perspective* 28, no. 3 (2004): 155–89. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704471>.
- Campbell, Colm. "'Wars on Terror' and Vicarious Hegemons: THE UK, International Law, and the Northern Ireland Conflict." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2005): 321–56.
- Carey, Sabine C, Mark Gibney, and Steven C Poe. *The Politics of Human Rights: The Quest for Dignity*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Carlson, Eric Stener. "The Hidden Prevalence of Male Sexual Assault During War: Observations on Blunt Trauma to the Male Genitals." *British Journal of Criminology* 46, no. 1 (2005): 16–25.
- Cerretti, Josh. "Rape as a Weapon of War(r)iors: The Militarisation of Sexual Violence in the United States, 1990–2000." *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 794–812. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12250>.
- Chapman, Jessica M. *Cauldron of Resistance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and 1950s Southern Vietnam*. Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Chau, Donovan C. "Political Warfare—an Essential Instrument of U.S. Grand Strategy Today." *Comparative Strategy* 25, no. 2 (2006): 109–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495930600754483>.
- Chevigny, Paul. *Edge of the Knife: Police Violence in the Americas*. New Press, 1995.
- Chwastiak, Michele. "Torture as Normal Work: The Bush Administration, the Central Intelligence Agency and 'Enhanced Interrogation Techniques'" *Organization* 22, no. 4 (2015): 493–511.
- Clark, Ian. *Waging War: A Philosophical Introduction*. Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Clark, John F. *The African Stakes in the Congo War*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*. Edited by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Cliffe, Lionel. "Complex Political Emergencies and the State: Failure and the Fate of the State." *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1999): 27–50.
- Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordås. "Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts." Edited by Corinna Jentzsch, Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Livia Isabella Schubiger. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 5 (August 2015): 877–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715576748>.

- Cohn, Ellen B. "Torture in the International Community—Problems of Definition and Limitation—the Case of Northern Ireland." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 11 (1979): 159.
- Colaresi, Michael P. *Democracy Declassified: The Secrecy Dilemma in National Security*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Coliver, S. *Secrecy and Liberty: National Security, Freedom of Expression and Access to Information*. International Studies in Human Rights. Springer Netherlands, 1999. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=72IynQKXt3sC>.
- Conrad, Courtenay Ryals, and Will H. Moore. "What Stops the Torture?" *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 2 (2010): 459–76.
- Cook, Christopher R. "Diamonds and Genocide: American, British, and French Press Coverage of the Second Congo War." *SAGE Open* 3, no. 3 (2013): 2158244013495051. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244013495051>.
- Corn, Geoffrey. "Filling the Void: Providing a Framework for the Legal Regulation of the Military Component of the War on Terror Through Application of Basic Principles of the Law of Armed Conflict." *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law* 12, no. 2 (2006): 481–90. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/ilsaic12&i=491>.
- Cortright, David, Rachel Fairhurst, and Kristen Wall. *Drones and the Future of Armed Conflict*. The University of Chicago Press, 2017.
- Cowen, Deborah, and Emily Gilbert, eds. *War, Citizenship, Territory*. Routledge, 2008.
- Crandall, Russell. *America's Dirty Wars: Irregular Warfare from 1776 to the War on Terror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139051606>.
- Cullather, Nick. *Secret History: The Cia's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Danneman, Nathan, and Emily Hencken Ritter. "Contagious Rebellion and Preemptive Repression." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 2 (2014): 254–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24545638>.
- Davenport, Christian. "State Repression and Political Order." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10, no. 1 (June 2007): 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.101405.143216>.
- . "State Repression and the Tyrannical Peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 4 (2007): 485–504. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343307078940>.
- De Wet, Erika. "The Prohibition of Torture as an International Norm of Jus Cogens and Its Implications for National and Customary Law." *European Journal of International Law* 15, no. 1 (2004): 97–121.
- Delahunty, Robert J., and John C. Yoo. "What Is the Role of International Human Rights Law in the War on Terror?" *DePaul Law Review* 59, no. 3 (2010): 803–49.
- Denov, Myriam. "Children Born of Wartime Rape: The Intergenerational Realities of Sexual Violence and Abuse." *Ethics, Medicine and Public Health* 1, no. 1 (2015): 61–68.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Politics of Friendship*. Radical Thinkers ; 5. London ; New York: Verso, 2005.
- Dijk, Boyd van. "Human Rights in War: On the Entangled Foundations of the 1949 Geneva Conventions." *American Journal of International Law* 112, no. 4 (2018): 553.
- Dinstein, Yoram. *War, Aggression and Self-Defence*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139164726>.
- Donnell, John C. "Pacification Reassessed." *Asian Survey* 7, no. 8 (1967): 567–76. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2642597>.
- Donnelly, Jack. "Normative Versus Taxonomic Humanity: Varieties of Human Dignity in the Western Tradition." *Journal of Human Rights* 14, no. 1 (2015): 1–22.

- Doswald-Beck, Louise. "Implementation of International Humanitarian Law in Future Wars." *Naval War College Review* 52, no. 1 (1999). <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol52/iss1/3/>.
- Downes, Alexander B. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Downes, C. "'Targeted Killings' in an Age of Terror: The Legality of the Yemen Strike." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 9, no. 2 (2004): 277–94. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/9.2.277>.
- Draper, G. I. A. D. "The Ethical and Juridical Status of Constraints in War." *Military Law Review* 55 (1972): 169–86. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/milrv55&i=173>.
- . "The Relationship Between the Human Rights Regime and the Law of Armed Conflict," 213–29. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Nijhoff, 2011. <https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789004219120/B9789004219120-s012.xml>.
- Duffield, Mark. "The Symphony of the Damned: Racial Discourse, Complex Political Emergencies and Humanitarian Aid." *Disasters* 20, no. 3 (1996): 173–93. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7717.1996.tb01032.x>.
- Durbach, Andrea, and Lucy Geddes. "'To Shape Our Own Lives and Our Own World': Exploring Women's Hearings as Reparative Mechanisms for Victims of Sexual Violence Post-Conflict." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 21, no. 9 (November 2017): 1261–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2017.1360019>.
- Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. "Human Rights and Conflict Resolution in Context." *Peace & Change* 37, no. 3 (2012): 473–77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2012.00761.x>.
- Eck, Kristine, and Lisa Hultman. "One-Sided Violence Against Civilians in War." *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 2 (2007): 233–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343307075124>.
- Edgar, Timothy H. *Beyond Snowden: Privacy, Mass Surveillance, and the Struggle to Reform the Nsa*. Brookings Institution Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctt1hfr0zp>.
- Ehrhart, Hans-Georg. "Postmodern Warfare and the Blurred Boundaries Between War and Peace" 33, no. 3 (2017): 263–75. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14751798.2017.1351156>.
- Erakat, Noura S. "New Imminence in the Time of Obama: The Impact of Targeted Killings on the Law of Self-Defense." *Arizona Law Review* 56 (2014): 195–1257.
- Evangelidi, Anna. "Restraint in Bello: Some Thoughts on Reciprocity and Humanity." In *International Humanitarian Law and Justice: Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, edited by Mark Klamberg Deland Mats and Pål Wrange. Taylor & Francis, 2018. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=0axvDwAAQBAJ>.
- Falk, Richard. "War Crimes and Individual Responsibility." *Trans-Action* 7, no. 3 (1970): 33–40.
- Farrell, Theo. "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program." *International Studies Review* 4, no. 1 (2002): 49–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3186274>.
- Fassin, Didier, and Mariella Pandolfi. *Contemporary States of Emergency. The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. Zone Books, 2010.
- Feitlowitz, Marguerite. *A Lexicon of Terror : Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*. Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Public War, Private Conscience: The Ethics of Political Violence*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010.
- Fischer, Frank, and John Forester. *Confronting Values in Policy Analysis: The Politics of Criteria*. Sage, 1987.
- Frampton, Martyn. "Agents and Ambushes: Britain's 'Dirty War' in Northern Ireland." In *Democracies at War Against Terrorism: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by Samy Cohen, 77–100. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230614727_5.
- Franck, Thomas. "When Nations Collide, Must Law Be Silent?" *Peace Review* 19, no. 2 (2007): 227–35.

- Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. "A Dictator's Toolkit: Understanding How Co-Optation Affects Repression in Autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3 (2014): 332–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313519808>.
- Frei, Daniel. "The Regulation of Warfare." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 18, no. 4 (1974): 620–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200277401800404>.
- Friedman, Lawrence M., and Victor M. Hansen. "Secrecy, Transparency, and National Security." *William Mitchell Law Review* 38, no. 5 (2012): 1610–28.
- Gaeta, Paola. "May Necessity Be Available as a Defence for Torture in the Interrogation of Suspected Terrorists?" *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 2, no. 3 (2004): 785–94.
- Galam, Serge. "Global Physics: From Percolation to Terrorism, Guerilla Warfare and Clandestine Activities." *Physica A Statistical Mechanics and Its Applications* 330, nos. 1-2 (2003): 139–49. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.physa.2003.08.035>.
- Galanos, Nicholas Christopher. "Assessing the Timing of One-Sided Violence in Civil Conflict." PhD thesis, University of Mississippi, 2012. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a67d/26913462ded1f7344a106a869267bbf17a52.pdf>.
- Gasper, Des. "'Drawing a Line'-Ethical and Political Strategies in Complex Emergency Assistance." *The European Journal of Development Research* 11, no. 2 (1999): 87–114.
- Geraghty, Tony. *The Irish War: The Hidden Conflict Between the IRA and British Intelligence*. JHU Press, 2000.
- Gibbs, David N. "Secrecy and International Relations." *Journal of Peace Research* 32, no. 2 (1995): 213–28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343395032002007>.
- Gibson, James L. "The Policy Consequences of Political Intolerance: Political Repression During the Vietnam War Era." *The Journal of Politics* 51, no. 1 (1989): 13–35.
- Gilbert, Paul. "Messy Morality: The Challenge of Politics - by c. A. J. Coady; ½ The Trouble with Terror: Liberty, Security and the Response to Terrorism - by Tamar Meisels; ½ Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: Ethics and Liberal Democracy - by Seumas Miller." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 26, no. 4 (2009): 418–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5930.2009.00463.x>.
- . *Terrorism, Security and Nationality: An Introductory Study in Applied Political Philosophy*. Routledge, 2008.
- Goebel, Michael. *Argentina's Partisan Past: Nationalism and the Politics of History*. Liverpool Latin American Studies. Liverpool University Press, 2011. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=dUqz24zeWmUC>.
- Goodhand, Jonathan, and David Hulme. "From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflict and Peace-Building in the New World Disorder." *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1999): 13–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993180>.
- Goodman, Ryan. "Norms and National Security: The Wto as a Catalyst for Inquiry." *Chicago Journal of International Law* 2 (2001): 101.
- Gourlay, Catriona. *Partners Apart: Managing Civil-Military Cooperation in Humanitarian Interventions*. UNIDIR, 1999.
- Grandin, Greg. "The Instruction of Great Catastrophe: Truth Commissions, National History, and State Formation in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala." *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 1 (2005): 46–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/531121>.
- Gready, Paul. *Political Transition: Politics and Cultures*. Pluto Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt18fs681>.
- Green, Jennifer L. "Uncovering Collective Rape: A Comparative Study of Political Sexual Violence." *International Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2004): 97–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207659.2004.11043123>.

- Gregory Jr., Robert H. *Clean Bombs and Dirty Wars Air Power in Kosovo and Libya*. University of Nebraska Press, 2015.
- Gregory, Steven, and Daniel Timerman. "Rituals of the Modern State: The Case of Torture in Argentina." *Dialectical Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (1986): 63–72.
- Grey, Rosemary. "Sexual Violence Against Child Soldiers." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16, no. 4 (February 2014): 601–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2014.955964>.
- Gries, David D. "Openness and Secrecy." *CIA Studies in Intelligence* 37, no. 5 (1994). <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol37no1/pdf/v37i1a01p.pdf>.
- Grinter, Laurence E. "How They Lost: Doctrines, Strategies and Outcomes of the Vietnam War." *Asian Survey* 15, no. 12 (1975): 1114–32. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643587>.
- Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin. *Imperial Endgame Britain's Dirty Wars and the End of Empire*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011.
- Gruenewald, Jeff. "Do Targeted Killings Increase or Decrease Terrorism?" 16, no. 1 (2017): 187–90. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12275>.
- Guelke, Adrian. "The Northern Ireland Peace Process and the War Against Terrorism: Conflicting Conceptions?" *Government and Opposition* 42, no. 3 (2007): 272–91. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00224.x>.
- Guiora, Amos N., and Erin M. Page. "The Unholy Trinity: Intelligence, Interrogation and Torture." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 37 (2006): 427–47. <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol37/iss2/15>.
- Gullace, Nicoletta F. "Sexual Violence and Family Honor: British Propaganda and International Law During the First World War." *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997): 714–47.
- Gunaratna, Rohan. *Inside Al Qaeda*. Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises." *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 5 (2005): 1373–1411.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. "Justice Lost! The Failure of International Human Rights Law to Matter Where Needed Most." *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 4 (2007): 407–25. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27640538>.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Kiyoteru Tsutsui, and John W. Meyer. "International Human Rights Law and the Politics of Legitimation: Repressive States and Human Rights Treaties." *International Sociology* 23, no. 1 (2008): 115–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580907084388>.
- Hajjar, L. "The Counterterrorism War Paradigm Versus International Humanitarian Law: The Legal Contradictions and Global Consequences of the Us War on Terror." *Law and Social Inquiry* 44, no. 4 (2019): 922–56. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lsi.2018.26>.
- Hammerstad, Anne. "Whose Security? UNHCR, Refugee Protection and State Security After the Cold War." *Security Dialogue* 31, no. 4 (2000): 391–403. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26296710>.
- Handel, Michael I. "Intelligence and Deception." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 5, no. 1 (1982): 122–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402398208437104>.
- Hannah, Greg, Kevin A O'Brien, and Rathmell Andrew. *Intelligence and Security Legislation for Security Sector Reform*. RAND, 2005.
- Hansen, Thomas Obel. "In Pursuit of Accountability During and After War." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 7 (2019): 946–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2019.1588120>.
- Hatfield, Joseph M. "An Ethical Defense of Treason by Means of Espionage." *Intelligence and National Security* 32, no. 2 (2017): 195–207. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2016.1248571>.

- Hathaway, Oona A., Rebecca Crootof, Philip Levitz, Haley Nix, William Perdue, Chelsea Purvis, and Julia Spiegel. "Which Law Governs During Armed Conflict? The Relationship Between International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law." *Minnesota Law Review* 96, no. 6 (2012): 1883–1943.
- Hayes, Bernadette C, and Ian McAllister. "Public Support for Political Violence and Paramilitarism in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17, no. 4 (2005): 599–617.
- Hazelton, Jacqueline L. "Drone Strikes and Grand Strategy: Toward a Political Understanding of the Uses of Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Attacks in Us Security Policy." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, nos. 1-2 (2016): 68–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2016.1196589>.
- . "The 'Hearts and Minds' Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare." *International Security* 42, no. 1 (2017): 80–113. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC/_a/_00283.
- Heineman, Elizabeth D. *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones: From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Henderson, Conway W. "Conditions Affecting the Use of Political Repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35, no. 1 (1991): 120–42.
- Henderson, Conway W. "The Political Repression of Women." *Human Rights Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (2004): 1028–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20069771>.
- Henk, Dan. "The African Stakes of the Congo War." *Parameters* 33, no. 4 (March 2004): 156–58. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/198020338?accountid=11862>.
- Hennessey, Thomas. *The Northern Ireland Peace Process: Ending the Troubles?* Gill; Macmillan, 2000.
- Henry, Nicola. "Witness to Rape: The Limits and Potential of International War Crimes Trials for Victims of Wartime Sexual Violence." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3, no. 1 (January 2009): 114–34. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijn036>.
- Hersh, Seymour M. "Torture at Abu Ghraib." *The New Yorker* 10, no. 5 (2004).
- Hobsbawm, E. "Vietnam and the Dynamics of Guerrilla War." *New Left Review* 33 (1965): 53–68.
- Holzer, Henry Mark. "Southern University Law Review." *Southern University Law Review* 29 (2001–2002): 181.
- Horn, Eva. *The Secret War: Treason, Espionage, and Modern Fiction*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2013.
- Houge, Anette Bringedal. "Sexualized War Violence. Knowledge Construction and Knowledge Gaps." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 25 (November 2015): 79–87. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.07.009>.
- Howard, Michael, George J. Andreopoulos, and Mark R. Shulman, eds. *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World*. Yale University Press, 1997.
- Humphrey, Michael, and Estela Valverde. "Human Rights Politics and Injustice: Transitional Justice in Argentina and South Africa." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 2, no. 1 (March 2008): 83–105. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijn002>.
- Hunt, David. "Dirty Wars: Counterinsurgency in Vietnam and Today." *Politics & Society* 38, no. 1 (2010): 35–66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329209357883>.
- Hurst, Willard. "Treason in the United States? I. Treason down to the Constitution." *Harvard Law Review* 58, no. 2 (1944): 226–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1335359>.
- Hutchinson, John. "Warfare, Remembrance and National Identity." In *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, edited by Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby. Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

- Itzigsohn, José, and Matthias vom Hau. "Unfinished Imagined Communities: States, Social Movements, and Nationalism in Latin America." *Theory and Society* 35, no. 2 (2006): 193–212. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4501750>.
- Jabri, Vivienne. "War, Security and the Liberal State." *Security Dialogue* 37 (March 2006): 47–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010606064136>.
- Jackson, Dick. "Application of the Law of War to the Global War on Terror." *St. John's Journal of Legal Commentary* 23, no. 4 (2009): 979–86. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/sjlc23&i=987>.
- Jakobsen, Tor G. *War*. Nova Science, 2011.
- Jentleson, Bruce W. "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force." *International Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1992): 49–73.
- Jinks, Derek. "Protective Parity and the Laws of War." *Notre Dame Law Review* 79, no. 4 (2004): 1493–1528. <https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/ndlr/vol79/iss4/8/>.
- . "Protective Parity and the Laws of War.(The Changing Laws of War: Do We Need a New Legal Regime After September 11?)." *Notre Dame Law Review* 79, no. 4 (2004): 1493–1528.
- Jochnick, Chris, and Roger Normand. "The Legitimation of Violence: A Critical History of the Laws of War." *Harvard International Law Journal* 35, no. 1 (1994): 49. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1296046865/>.
- Johnson, Douglas A, Alberto Mora, and Averell Schmidt. "The Strategic Costs of Torture: How Enhanced Interrogation Hurt America." *Foreign Aff.* 95 (2016): 121.
- Johnson, James Turner. *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Inquiry*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Jones, Seth G., Olga Oliker, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Rollie Lal, and James Dobbins. *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? U.S. Internal Security Assistance to Repressive and Transitioning Regimes*. 1st ed. RAND Corporation, 2006. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg550osi>.
- Jose, Betsy. "Bin Laden's Targeted Killing and Emerging Norms." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 10, no. 1 (2016): 44–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2016.1221662>.
- Kabemba, Claude. "The Democratic Republic of Congo: From Independence to Africa's First World War." *UNHCR Centre for Documentation and Research*, 2001.
- Kash, Douglas A. "Capital University Law Review." *Capital University Law Review* 37 (2008–2009): 1.
- Keen, M.H. *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*. Routledge, 2015.
- Kellner, Douglas. "Bushspeak and the Politics of Lying: Presidential Rhetoric in the 'War on Terror'." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007): 622–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5705.2007.02617.x>.
- Kelman, Herbert C. "The Conditions, Criteria, and Dialectics of Human Dignity: A Transnational Perspective." *International Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (September 1977): 529–52. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600236>.
- Khalili, Laleh. "On Torture." *Middle East Report*, no. 249 (2008): 32–37. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25164878>.
- Kirby, Paul. "Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict: The Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative and Its Critics." *International Affairs* 91, no. 3 (May 2015): 457–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12283>.
- . "How Is Rape a Weapon of War? Feminist International Relations, Modes of Critical Explanation and the Study of Wartime Sexual Violence." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 4 (2013): 797–821. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066111427614>.
- Klayman, Barry M. "Definition of Torture in International Law, the." *Temple Law Quarterly* 51 (1978): 449.
- Klein, Bradley S. "After Strategy: The Search for a Post-Modern Politics of Peace." *Alternatives* 13, no. 3 (1988): 293–318. <https://doi.org/10.1177/030437548801300301>.

- Klein, Graig R., and Efe Tokdemir. "Domestic Diversion: Selective Targeting of Minority Out-Groups." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 36, no. 1 (2019): 20–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894216658675>.
- Klingebiel, Stephan, Mark Duffield, Necla Tschirgi, Clive Robinson, Jakkie Cilliers, and Ann Fitz-Gerald. "New Interfaces Between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches." *Ann, New Interfaces Between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches (January 15, 2006)*. *New Interfaces Between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches/Stephan Klingebiel (Ed.)*, Bonn: Dt. Inst. Für Entwicklungspolitik, 2006.
- Kocher, Matthew Adam, Thomas B Pepinsky, and Stathis N Kalyvas. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (2011): 201–18.
- Koenig, K. Alexa, Ryan S. Lincoln, and Lauren E. Groth. "Contextualizing Sexual Violence Committed During the War on Terror: A Historical Overview of International Accountability." *University of San Francisco Law Review* 45, no. 4 (2011): 911–57.
- Koko, Sadiki. "From Rebels to Politicians: Explaining the Transformation of the Rcd-Goma and the Mlc in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 23, no. 4 (2016): 521–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2017.1298054>.
- Koo, Katrina Lee. "Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, War and Rape in the International Politics of Security." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 3 (2002): 525–36.
- Koos, Carlo. "Sexual Violence in Armed Conflicts: Research Progress and Remaining Gaps." *Third World Quarterly* 38, no. 9 (2017): 1935–51.
- Kotzé, D., H. Solomon, and Africa Institute of South Africa. *The State of Africa: Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development*. Africa Institute of South Africa, 2008. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=qcBkM08YdvsC>.
- König, Michael D., Dominic Rohner, Mathias Thoenig, and Fabrizio Zilibotti. "Networks in Conflict: Theory and Evidence from the Great War of Africa." *Econometrica* 85, no. 4 (2017): 1093–1132. <https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA13117>.
- . "Networks in Conflict: Theory and Evidence from the Great War of Africa." *Econometrica* 85, no. 4 (2AD–17AD): 1093–1132. https://www.econ.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:63b5d5c4-3e1a-463c-b5e2-a39056914cb9/paper_conflict.pdf.
- Krause, Joachim. "How Do Wars End? A Strategic Perspective." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 7 (2019): 920–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2019.1615460>.
- Kreutz, Joakim, and Magda Cardenas. "Women, Peace and Intervention: How the International Community Responds to Sexual Violence in Civil Conflict." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 23, no. 3 (September 2017): 260–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2017.1343197>.
- Kronsell, Annica, and Erika Svedberg. *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*. Vol. 6. Routledge, 2011.
- Kunz, Josef L. "The Chaotic Status of the Laws of War and the Urgent Necessity for Their Revision." In *The Development and Principles of International Humanitarian Law*, edited by Michael N. Schmitt and Wolff Heintschel von Heinegg, 153–77. Routledge, 2017.
- Kutz, Christopher. "How Norms Die: Torture and Assassination in American Security Policy." *Ethics & International Affairs* 28, no. 4 (2014): 425–49.
- Lake, Milli. "Ending Impunity for Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes: The International Criminal Court and Complementarity in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 4, no. 1 (2014): 1–32. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/africonfpeacevi.4.1.1>.
- Lang, Daniel. *Casualties of War*. Open Road Media, 2014.

- Lang Jr, Anthony F, and Amanda Russell Beattie. *War, Torture and Terrorism: Rethinking the Rules of International Security*. Routledge, 2008.
- Laudati, Ann. "Beyond Minerals: Broadening 'Economies of Violence' in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo." *Review of African Political Economy* 40, no. 135 (2013): 32–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2012.760446>.
- Lauritzen, Paul. "Counterterrorism, Dignity, and the Rule of Law." *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 95, no. 4 (2012): 452–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/soundings.95.4.0452>.
- Lazreg, Marnia. "Algeria as Template: Torture and Counter-Insurgency War." *Global Dialogue (Online)* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 1–10. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/866741329?accountid=11862>.
- Lee, Youngjae. "Punishing Disloyalty? Treason, Espionage, and the Transgression of Political Boundaries." *Law and Philosophy* 31, no. 3 (2012): 299–342. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41487014>.
- Leed, E.J. *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War 1*. Cambridge University Press, 1979. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Z3M5AAAAIAAJ>.
- Leiby, Michele L. "Wartime Sexual Violence in Guatemala and Peru." *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 445–68.
- Lemon, Rebecca. *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England*. 1st ed. Cornell University Press, 2006. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7zg xv>.
- Leoussi, A. *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*. Edinburgh University Press, 2006. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=aNuqBgAAQBAJ>.
- Lewis, Benjamin A. "An Old Means to a Different End: The War on Terror, American Citizens... And the Treason Clause." *Hofstra Law Review* 34 (2005–2006): 1215.
- Lewis, Michael W. "A Dark Descent into Reality: Making the Case for an Objective Definition of Torture." *Wash. & Lee L. Rev.* 67 (2010): 77.
- Liese, Andrea. "Exceptional Necessity-How Liberal Democracies Contest the Prohibition of Torture and Ill-Treatment When Countering Terrorism." *J. Int'l L & Int'l Rel.* 5 (2009): 17.
- Lilly, J. Robert. "COUNTERBLAST: Soldiers and Rape: The Other Band of Brothers." *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 46, no. 1 (2007): 72–75.
- Liotta, P H. "Boomerang Effect: The Convergence of National and Human Security." *Security Dialogue* 33, no. 4 (December 2002). <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0967010602033004007>.
- Lockhart, Robert H. Bruce. "Political Warfare." *Royal United Services Institution Journal* 95, no. 578 (1950): 193–206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071845009434040>.
- Lord, Carnes. *Political Warfare and Psychological Operations: Rethinking the Us Approach*. DIANE Publishing, 1989.
- Luban, David. "Human Dignity, Humiliation, and Torture." *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009): 211–30.
- Lukes, Steven. "Liberal Democratic Torture." *British Journal of Political Science* 36, no. 1 (2006): 1–16.
- Mackenzie, Megan. "Securitizing Sex? Towards a Theory of the Utility of Wartime Sexual Violence." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no. 2 (2010): 202–21.
- Mahmud, Tayyab. "Jurisprudence of Successful Treason: Coup d'Etat&(and) Common Law." *Cornell International Law Journal* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1994). <https://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1314&context=cilj>.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. "African States, Citizenship and War: A Case-Study." *International Affairs* 78, no. 3 (December 2002): 493–506. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.00263>.

- Mani, Rama. "Rebuilding an Inclusive Political Community After War." *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 4 (2005): 511–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605060452>.
- Maoz, Ifat, and Clark McCauley. "Threat, Dehumanization, and Support for Retaliatory Aggressive Policies in Asymmetric Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, no. 1 (2008): 93–116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002707308597>.
- Maret, Susan, ed. *Government Secrecy*. Bradford: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2011.
- Marra, William, and Sonia Mcneil. "Understanding the Loop: Regulating the Next Generation of War Machines." *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 2013, 1139–86. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2043131>.
- Martin, Guy. "Conflict in the Congo: Historical and Regional Perspectives." *African Studies Review* 48, no. 1 (2005): 127–37. <https://doi.org/10.1353/arw.2005.0025>.
- . "Conflict in the Congo: Historical and Regional Perspectives." *African Studies Review* 48, no. 1 (April 2005): 127–37. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/59822301?accountid=11862>.
- Martin, Susan B. "Norms, Military Utility, and the Use/Non-Use of Weapons: The Case of Anti-Plant and Irritant Agents in the Vietnam War." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 3 (2016): 321–64. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2016.1181058>.
- Martinez Machain, Carla, and Leo Rosenberg. "Domestic Diversion and Strategic Behavior by Minority Groups." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35, no. 5 (2018): 427–50.
- Masco, Joseph. *The Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Duke University Press, 2014.
- Mason, T. David, and Dale A. Krane. "The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror." *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1989): 175–98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2600536>.
- McInnes, Colin, and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe. "'The Dog That Did Not Bark': The British Army in Northern Ireland, 1990-94." *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 8 (1997): 137–53. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30002048>.
- McKeown, Ryder. "Norm Regress: US Revisionism and the Slow Death of the Torture Norm." *International Relations* 23, no. 1 (2009): 5–25.
- McKittrick, David, and David McVea. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. New Amsterdam Books, 2002.
- McLeod, Laura. "Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict." *Civil Wars*. Taylor & Francis, 2012.
- McMahan, Jeff. "The Morality of War and the Law of War." In *Just and Unjust Warriors: The Moral and Legal Status of Soldiers*, edited by David Rodin and Henry Shue, 19–43. Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Meger, Sara. *Rape Loot Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict*. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- . "Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 119–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001003736728>.
- . "Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 119–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001003736728>.
- Mégret, Frédéric. "A Cautionary Tale from the Crusades? War and Prisoners in Conditions of Normative Incommensurability." *SSRN*, September 2008. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1263823.

- Miller, Mark J, and Boyka Stefanova. *The War on Terror in Comparative Perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Moltz, James Clay. *The Politics of Space Security Strategic Restraint and the Pursuit of National Interests*. 2nd ed.. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Morgan, B. W., and M. L. R. Smith. "Northern Ireland and Minimum Force: The Refutation of a Concept?" 27, no. 1 (2016): 81. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1770385145?accountid=11862>.
- Morgan, Rod. "The Utilitarian Justification of Torture: Denial, Desert and Disinformation." *Punishment & Society* 2, no. 2 (2000): 181–96.
- Morris, Madeline. "By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture." *Duke Law Journal* 45, no. 4 (1996): 651–781.
- Morrow, James D. "The Laws of War, Common Conjectures, and Legal Systems in International Politics." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2002): 41–60. <https://ideas.repec.org/a/ucp/jlstud/v31y2002i1ps41-60.html>.
- Morrow, James D. "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 3 (2007): 559–72. https://EconPapers.repec.org/RePEc:cup:apsrev:v:101:y:2007:i:03:p:559-572_07.
- Murithi, Tim. "A Local Response to the Global Human Rights Standard: The Ubuntu Perspective on Human Dignity." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 5, no. 3 (2007): 277–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720701661966>.
- Murphy, Cornelius. "Vietnam: A Study of Law and Politics." *Fordham Law Review* 36, no. 3 (1968): 453–60. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/60602273/>.
- Murphy, Maureen, Lindsay Stark, Michael Wessells, Neil Boothby, and Alistair Ager. "Fortifying Barriers: Sexual Violence as an Obstacle to Girls' School Participation in Northern Uganda." *Education, Conflict and Development*, 2011, 167–84.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought*. New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Nathanson, Stephen. *Terrorism and the Ethics of War*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Needell, Allan A. "'Truth Is Our Weapon': Project Troy, Political Warfare, and Government-Academic Relations in the National Security State." *Diplomatic History* 17, no. 3 (1993): 399–420.
- Neumann, Peter R. "The Myth of Ulsterization in British Security Policy in Northern Ireland." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26, no. 5 (2003): 365–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100390227971>.
- Newman, Edward. "Critical Human Security Studies." *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 1 (2010): 77–94. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210509990519>.
- Newswander, Chad B. "The Emergence of Partisans and Terrorists: How Enemies of the State Mold Public Action" 33, no. 2 (2011): 192–212. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29783182>.
- Nolte, Georg. "Thin or Thick? The Principle of Proportionality and International Humanitarian Law" 4, no. 2 (2010): 245–55. <https://doi.org/10.2202/1938-2545.1050>.
- Nurick, Lester. "The Distinction Between Combatant and Non-Combatant in the Law of War." *American Journal of International Law* 39 (1945): 680–97. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/58628694/>.
- Nutt, Cullen G. "The Cia's Mole in the Viet Cong: Learning from a Rare Success." *Intelligence and National Security* 34, no. 7 (January 2019): 962–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2019.1646959>.
- Oakes, Amy. "Diversionary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands." *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (2006): 431–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410601028354>.

- Okosun, T.Y., and N. Kibiswa. "Human Rights Violations and Genocide in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Contemporary Justice Review* 16, no. 4 (2013): 482–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2013.857074>.
- Olsen, Gorm Rye. "Changing European Concerns: Security and Complex Political Emergencies Instead of Development." In *EU Development Cooperation*. Manchester University Press, 2018.
- Osiel, Mark. *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina's Dirty War*. Yale University Press, 2001.
- Otterbein, Keith F. "Internal War: A Cross-Cultural Study." *American Anthropologist* 70, no. 2 (1968): 277–89. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1968.70.2.02a00040>.
- O'Boyle, Michael. "Torture and Emergency Powers Under the European Convention on Human Rights: Ireland V. The United Kingdom." *American Journal of International Law* 71, no. 4 (1977): 674–706.
- O'Cinneide, Colm. "Strapped to the Mast: The Siren Song of Dreadful Necessity, the United Kingdom Human Rights Act and the Terrorist Threat." In *Fresh Perspectives on the 'War on Terror'*. ANU Press, 2008.
- . "Strapped to the Mast: The Siren Song of Dreadful Necessity, the United Kingdom Human Rights Act and the Terrorist Threat," 2008. <https://doi.org/10.22459/FPWT.07.2008.15>.
- O'Leary, Brendan, and John McGarry. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016.
- Palermo, Tia, and Amber Peterman. "Undercounting, Overcounting and the Longevity of Flawed Estimates: Statistics on Sexual Violence in Conflict." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 89 (2011): 924–25.
- Peters, Edward. *Torture*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.
- Pinet, Carolyn, and Carol Pinet. *Hispanic Journal* 18, no. 1 (1997): 89–108. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44284507>.
- Pion-Berlin, David. "Political Repression and Economic Doctrines: The Case of Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 16, no. 1 (1983): 37–66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414083016001002>.
- Pion-Berlin, David, and George A. Lopez. "Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror, 1975–1979." *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (March 1991): 63–86. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600389>.
- Pitchford, Jenna. "The 'Global War on Terror,' Identity, and Changing Perceptions: Iraqi Responses to America's War in Iraq." *Journal of American Studies* 45, no. 4 (2011): 695–716. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875811000910>.
- Poe, Steven C., and C. Neal Tate. "Repression of Human Rights to Personal Integrity in the 1980s: A Global Analysis." *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 4 (1994): 853–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2082712>.
- Potolsky, Matthew. *The National Security Sublime: On the Aesthetics of Government Secrecy*. Routledge, 2019.
- Punch, Maurice. *State Violence, Collusion and the Troubles*. Pluto Press, 2012.
- Qureshi, Waseem Ahmad. "Untangling the Complicated Relationship Between International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law in Armed Conflict" 6, no. 1 (2017): 241.
- Rackley, Edward B. "Democratic Republic of the Congo: Undoing Government by Predation." *Disasters* 30, no. 4 (2006): 418–32.
- Rathmell, Andrew. "Towards Postmodern Intelligence." *Intelligence and National Security* 17, no. 3 (June 2010): 87–104. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/02684520412331306560?needAccess=true>.
- Regan, Richard J. "The Moral Dimensions of Politics," 1986.

- Rejali, Darius. *Torture and Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Reno, William. "Explaining Patterns of Violence in Collapsed States." *Contemporary Security Policy* 30, no. 2 (2009): 356–74. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13523260903060250>.
- Renshon, Stanley A., and Peter Suedfeld, eds. *Understanding the Bush Doctrine: Psychology and Strategy in an Age of Terrorism*. CRC Press, 2007.
- Rietjens, Sebastiaan Joost Henrikus, and Myriame TIB Bollen. *Managing Civil-Military Cooperation: A 24/7 Joint Effort for Stability*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008.
- Riley, Stephen. "Human Dignity and the Rule of Law." *Utrecht Law Review* 11, no. 2 (February 2015): 91. <https://doi.org/10.18352/ulr.320>.
- Ritter, Emily Hencken. "Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State Repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 1 (2014): 143–68.
- Robben, Antonius C. G. M. *Political Violence and Trauma in Argentina*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Roberts, Adam. "Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War." *Survival* 44, no. 1 (2002): 7–32. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396330212331343212>.
- . "Humanitarian War: Military Intervention and Human Rights." *International Affairs* 69, no. 3 (1993): 429–49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2622308>.
- . "Transformative Military Occupation: Applying the Laws of War and Human Rights." In *International Law and Armed Conflict: Exploring the Faultlines*, edited by Michael Schmitt and Jelena Pejic, 439–95. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007.
- Rodley, Nigel. "Torture, Violence, and the Global War on Terror." *American Society of International Law Proceedings* 99 (2005): 402.
- Rosas, Allan, and Pär Stenbäck. "The Frontiers of International Humanitarian Law." *Journal of Peace Research* 24, no. 3 (September 1987): 219–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234338702400303>.
- Rosenblum, Peter. "Kabila's Congo." *Current History* 97, no. 619 (May 1998): 193–99. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/200705711?accountid=11862>.
- Rouillard, Louis-Philippe F. "Misinterpreting the Prohibition of Torture Under International Law: The Office of Legal Counsel Memorandum." *American University International Law Review* 21 (2005): 9.
- Rovner, Joshua. *Fixing the Facts : National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*. Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Ruiter, Adrienne de. "The Political Character of Absolute Enmity: On Carl Schmitt's the Concept of the Political and Theory of the Partisan." *ARSP: Archiv Für Rechts- Und Sozialphilosophie / Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy* 98, no. 1 (2012): 52–66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24769100>.
- Rørbæk, Lasse Lykke, and Allan Toft Knudsen. "Maintaining Ethnic Dominance: Diversity, Power, and Violent Repression." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34, no. 6 (2017): 640–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894215612996>.
- Sagar, Rahul. *Secrets and Leaks: The Dilemma of State Secrecy*. Princeton University Press, 2016. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nC/_FCgAAQBAJ.
- Sanders, Andrew. "Northern Ireland: The Intelligence War 1969–75." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 13 (2011): 230–48. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00416.x>.
- Santucci, Joe. "A Question of Identity: The Use of Torture in Asymmetric War." *Journal of Military Ethics* 7, no. 1 (2008): 23–40.

- Sassoli, Marco. "Use and Abuse of the Laws of War in the War on Terrorism." *Law & Inequality* 22 (2004): 195.
- Schachter, Oscar. "Human Dignity as a Normative Concept." *American Journal of International Law* 77, no. 4 (1983): 848–54. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2202536>.
- Scharpf, Adam. "Ideology and State Terror: How Officer Beliefs Shaped Repression During Argentina's 'Dirty War'." *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 2 (2018): 206–21.
- . "Ideology and State Terror: How Officer Beliefs Shaped Repression During Argentina's 'Dirty War'." *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 2 (2018): 206–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317748346>.
- Scheff, Thomas, G. Reginald Daniel, and Joseph Sterphone. "Shame and a Theory of War and Violence." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (March 2018): 109–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.02.006>.
- Schneider, Gerald, and Margit Bussmann. "Accounting for the Dynamics of One-Sided Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 5 (2013): 635–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313492990>.
- Schwartz, Daniel W. "Rectifying Twenty-Five Years of Material Breach: Argentina and the Legacy of the Dirty War in International Law Comment." *Emory International Law Review* 18 (2004): 317.
- Seifert, Ruth. "The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars." *Women's Studies International Forum* 19, no. 1 (1996): 35–43. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395\(95\)00078-X](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(95)00078-X).
- . "The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars." *Women's Studies International Forum, Links Across Differences: Gender, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*, 19, no. 1 (January 1996): 35–43. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395\(95\)00078-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(95)00078-X).
- Setty, S. *National Security Secrecy: Comparative Effects on Democracy and the Rule of Law*. ASCL Studies in Comparative Law. Cambridge University Press, 2017. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=vM8oDwAAQBAJ>.
- Shapcott, R. *International Ethics: A Critical Introduction*. Wiley, 2010. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GhBEsRunj54C>.
- Shaw, Ian G. R. *Predator Empire*. University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Shaw, Ian G. R. "Predator Empire: The Geopolitics of Us Drone Warfare." *Geopolitics* 18, no. 3 (2013): 536–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2012.749241>.
- . "Scorched Atmospheres: The Violent Geographies of the Vietnam War and the Rise of Drone Warfare." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106, no. 3 (2016): 688–704. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2015.1115333>.
- Sheinin, David M.K. *Consent of the Damned: Ordinary Argentines in the Dirty War*. University Press of Florida, 2012.
- Sherman, John W. "Political Violence in Colombia: Dirty Wars Since 1977." *History Compass* 13, no. 9 (2015): 454–65. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12258>.
- Shichor, David, and Donald R. Ranish. "President Carter's Vietnam Amnesty: An Analysis of a Public Policy Decision." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1980): 443–50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27547599>.
- Sifry, Micah L. *WikiLeaks and the Age of Transparency*. OR Books, 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt20bbwsp>.
- Silver, Derigan Almond. *National Security in the Courts the Need for Secrecy Vs. The Requirement of Transparency*. El Paso: LFB Scholarly Pub., 2010.
- Sitkin, Rachel A., Bandy X. Lee, and Grace Lee. "To Destroy a People: Sexual Violence as a Form of Genocide in the Conflicts of Bosnia, Rwanda, and Chile." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 46 (May 2019): 219–24. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2019.01.013>.

- Sivakumaran, Sandesh. "Lost in Translation: UN Responses to Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys in Situations of Armed Conflict." *International Review of the Red Cross* 92, no. 877 (2010): 259–77.
- Skjelsbæk, Inger. "Sexual Violence and War: Mapping Out a Complex Relationship." *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 2 (2001): 211–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066101007002003>.
- . "Sexual Violence in Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations?" *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 2 (2001): 69–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310108413896>.
- Slim, Hugo. "Doing the Right Thing: Relief Agencies, Moral Dilemmas and Moral Responsibility in Political Emergencies and War." *Disasters* 21, no. 3 (1997): 244–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7717.00059>.
- Smith, Lindsay Adams. "Identifying Democracy" 41, no. 6 (February 2016): 1037–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243916658708>.
- Smith, M. L. R., and Sophie Roberts. "War in the Gray: Exploring the Concept of Dirty War." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31, no. 5 (April 11, 2008): 377–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100801980492>.
- Smith, M.L.R. "Guerrillas in the Mist: Reassessing Strategy and Low Intensity Warfare." *Review of International Studies* 29, no. 1 (2003): 19–37.
- Solangon, Sarah, and Preeti Patel. "Sexual Violence Against Men in Countries Affected by Armed Conflict." *Conflict, Security & Development* 12, no. 4 (2012): 417–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2012.724794>.
- Sorley, Lewis. *A Better War: The Unexamined Victories and Final Tragedy of America's Last Years in Vietnam*. Harcourt, 1999.
- . "To Change a War: General Harold K. Johnson and the Provn Study." *Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (April 1998): 93. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/61234314?accountid=11862>.
- Sperotto, Federico. "Targeted Killings in Response to Security Threats: Warfare and Humanitarian Issues." *Global Jurist* 8, no. 3 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.2202/1934-2640.1284>.
- St. Germain, Tonia, and Susan Dewey. "Justice on Whose Terms? A Critique of International Criminal Justice Responses to Conflict-Related Sexual Violence." *Women's Studies International Forum* 37 (March 2013): 36–45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2013.01.006>.
- Stark, Lindsay, and Mike Wessells. "Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War." *JAMA* 308, no. 7 (August 2012): 677–78. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2012.9733>.
- Stepanova, Ekatarina. "Trends in Armed Conflicts: One-Sided Violence Against Civilians." In *SIPRI Yearbook 2009*, edited by Bates Gill. SIPRI, 2008.
- Stephens, Dale. "Roots of Restraint in War: The Capacities and Limits of Law and the Critical Role of Social Agency in Ameliorating Violence in Armed Conflict." *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 10, no. 1 (2019): 58–75.
- Sterio, Milena. "The United States' Use of Drones in the War on Terror: The (Il)legality of Targeted Killings Under International Law.(Symposium: Presidential Power and Foreign Affairs)." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 45, nos. 1-2 (2012): 197.
- Stolberg, Alan G. "How Nation-States Craft National Security Strategy Documents." *Strategic Studies Institute*, October 2012. <https://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/2201.pdf>.
- Stone, John. *Military Strategy: The Politics and Technique of War*. London: Continuum, 2011.
- Storey, Hugo, and Rebecca Wallace. "War and Peace in Refugee Law Jurisprudence." *The American Journal of International Law* 95, no. 2 (2001): 349. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2661401>.
- Straus, Scott. "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 343–62. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41479555>.

- Stur, Heather Marie. “‘Hiding Behind the Humanitarian Label’: Refugees, Repatriates, and the Rebuilding of America’s Benevolent Image After the Vietnam War *.” *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 2 (2015): 223–44.
- Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M. “The Treatment of Children in the ‘Dirty War’: Ideology, State Terrorism and the Abuse of Children in Argentina.” In *Child Survival*, 227–46. Springer, 1987.
- Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M. “The Treatment of Children in the ‘Dirty War’: Ideology, State Terrorism and the Abuse of Children in Argentina.” In *Child Survival: Anthropological Perspectives on the Treatment and Maltreatment of Children*, edited by Nancy Scheper-Hughes, 227–46. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1987. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-3393-4_12.
- Sullivan, Christopher Michael. “The (in) Effectiveness of Torture for Combating Insurgency.” *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3 (2014): 388–404.
- Sunzi, and Thomas F. Cleary. *The Art of War*. Shambhala, 2019.
- Sussman, David. “What’s Wrong with Torture?” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33, no. 1 (2005): 1–33.
- Tan, Andrew T. H. *U.S. Strategy Against Global Terrorism: How It Evolved, Why It Failed, and Where It Is Headed*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Taylor, Diana. *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina’s “Dirty War”*. Duke University Press, 1997.
- Terry, Fiona, and Brian McQuinn. *The Roots of Restraint in War*. ICRC, 2018. <https://www.icrc.org/en/publication/roots-restraint-war>.
- Tétreault, Mary Ann. “The Sexual Politics of Abu Ghraib: Hegemony, Spectacle, and the Global War on Terror.” *NWSA Journal* 18, no. 3 (2006): 33–50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40071180>.
- The Right to Know: Transparency for an Open World*. Columbia University Press, 2007. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/flor14158>.
- Theoharis, Athan G. *Abuse of Power: How Cold War Surveillance and Secrecy Policy Shaped the Response to 9/11*. Temple University Press, 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14bt7ht>.
- Thi Liên, Tran. “The Challenge for Peace Within South Vietnam’s Catholic Community: A History of Peace Activism.” *Peace & Change* 38, no. 4 (2013): 446–73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12040>.
- Thiranagama, Sharika, and Tobias Kelly, eds. *Traitors: Suspicion, Intimacy, and the Ethics of State-Building*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Tonge, Jonathan. *Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change*. Routledge, 2013.
- Touquet, Heleen, and Ellen Gorris. “Out of the Shadows? The Inclusion of Men and Boys in Conceptualisations of Wartime Sexual Violence.” *Reproductive Health Matters* 24, no. 47 (2016): 36–46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rhm.2016.04.007>.
- Traitors: Suspicion, Intimacy, and the Ethics of State-Building*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fj4qf>.
- Trenholm, J.E., P. Olsson, and B.M. Ahlberg. “Battles on Women’s Bodies: War, Rape and Traumatization in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Global Public Health* 6, no. 2 (2011): 139–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441690903212065>.
- Tsabora, James. “Prosecuting Congolese War Crimes.” *Peace Review* 23, no. 2 (2011): 161–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2011.571599>.
- Turner, Michael A. “A Distinctive U.S. Intelligence Identity.” *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 17, no. 1 (2004): 42–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08850600490252650>.
- Understanding the Bush Doctrine : Psychology and Strategy in an Age of Terrorism*. New York, N.Y. ; London: Routledge, 2007.

- Vennesson, Pascal. "Is Strategic Studies Narrow? Critical Security and the Misunderstood Scope of Strategy." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, no. 3 (2017): 358–91. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2017.1288108>.
- Verweijen, Judith, and Esther Marijnen. "The Counterinsurgency/Conservation Nexus: Guerrilla Livelihoods and the Dynamics of Conflict and Violence in the Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 45, no. 2 (2018): 300–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2016.1203307>.
- Verwey, Wil D. "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam: Legal or Illegal?" *Netherlands International Law Review* 18, no. 2 (1971): 217–44. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165070X00027510>.
- Vikman, Elisabeth. "Modern Combat: Sexual Violence in Warfare, Part II." *Anthropology & Medicine* 12, no. 1 (2005): 33–46.
- Villemarest, Pierre F. de, ed. *Strategists of Fear: Twenty Years of Revolutionary War in Argentina*. Editions Voxmundi, 1980.
- Vlassenroot, Koen. *South Kivu: Identity, Territory, and Power in the Eastern Congo*. Rift Valley Institute, 2013.
- Vorhees, Robert E. "Compensating Terrorists for Torture: An Anomalous Outcome Under International Humanitarian Law?" *Air Force Law Review* 75 (2016): 1.
- Vorobej, Mark. "Just War Theory and the Invasion of Afghanistan." *Peace Research* 41, no. 2 (2009): 29–58. www.jstor.org/stable/23608089.
- Vreeland, James Raymond. "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture." *International Organization* 62, no. 1 (2008): 65–101.
- Wachsmann, Nikolaus. *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps*. Farrar, Straus; Giroux, 2016.
- Wakin, Malham M. *War, Morality, and the Military Profession*. Second. Westview Press, 1986.
- Walker, Brian M. "'Ancient Enmities' and Modern Conflict: History and Politics in Northern Ireland." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13, no. 1 (2007): 103–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537110601155825>.
- Walker, S.G. "Lawful Murder: Unnecessary Killing in the Law of War." *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence* 25, no. 2 (2012): 417–46.
- Wallace, Geoffrey. "Regulating Conflict: Historical Legacies and State Commitment to the Laws of War¹." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 2 (2011): 151–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2011.00151.x>.
- Walsh, James Igoe. "The Rise of Targeted Killing." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41, nos. 1-2 (2017): 143–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2017.1393035>.
- Watch, Human Rights. "The War Within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo," 2002. <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/2002/drc/Congo0602.pdf>.
- Weaver, Gina Marie. *Ideologies of Forgetting: Rape in the Vietnam War*. SUNY Press, 2012.
- Weill, Sharon. "Reducing the Security Gap Through National Courts: Targeted Killings as a Case Study." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 21, no. 1 (2015): 49–67. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/krv019>.
- Weiss, Herbert. "Civil War in the Congo." *Society* 38 (March 2001): 67–71. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/60144463?accountid=11862>.
- . "Civil War in the Congo." *Society* 38, no. 3 (March 01, 2001): 67–71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02686223>.
- Weitsman, Patricia A. "The Politics of Identity and Sexual Violence: A Review of Bosnia and Rwanda." *Human Rights Quarterly*, 2008, 561–78.

White, Timothy J. "Human Rights as War by Other Means: Peace Politics in Northern Ireland." *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (May 2015): 561–64, 577. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1684204732?accountid=11862>.

Whyte, John. *Interpreting Northern Ireland*. Clarendon Press, 1991.

Williams, Paul D. D. *Security Studies: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Hoboken: Taylor; Francis, 2012.

Wirtz, James J. "Intelligence to Please? The Order of Battle Controversy During the Vietnam War." *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 2 (1991): 239–63. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2152228>.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics & Society* 37, no. 1 (2009): 131–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329208329755>.

———. "Variation in Sexual Violence During War." *Politics & Society* 34, no. 3 (2006): 307–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329206290426>.

Woodcock, Jeremy. "Threads from the Labyrinth: Therapy with Survivors of War and Political Oppression." *Journal of Family Therapy* 23, no. 2 (2001): 136–54. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6427.00174>.

Woodhouse, Tom. "The Gentle Hand of Peace? British Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution in Complex Political Emergencies." *International Peacekeeping* 6, no. 2 (1999): 24–37.

Wright, Alexander. "Ethnic Identity in the Democratic Republic of Congo." In *The State of Africa: Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development*, edited by Dirk Kotzé and Hussein Solomon, 81–105. Africa Institute of South Africa, 2008.

Wylie, J.C. *Military Strategy : A General Theory of Power Control*. Naval Institute Press, 2014.

Zavala Guillén, Ana Laura. "Argentinian Transitional Justice Process: Women Behind." *Journal of Peace, Conflict & Development* 20 (2013).