Contents

Acknowledgments   Page xiii
Table of cases     xv
Table of treaties  xxi
Table of legislation xxiv
Table of international materials xxviii

Introduction   1

Part I   15

1 Models of accommodation   17
Classical models of accommodation   17
   The Roman dictatorship   17
   The French "state of siege": origins   26
   Martial law in the United Kingdom: origins   30
Constitutional accommodation   35
   Emergency provisions in constitutional documents   35
   Constitutional necessity   46
   The authority to declare an emergency   54
   Legal results of a declaration of a state of emergency   58
   Checks and balances   62
Legislative accommodation   66
   Modifying ordinary laws   66
   Special emergency legislation   67
Interpretive accommodation   72
   "Each crisis brings its word and deed"   79
CONTENTS

2 Law for all seasons
Ex parte Milligan
Holding the line
A strategy of resistance
Myths, symbolism, and ideals
Slippery slopes
Perceptions and misperceptions

3 Models of extra-legality
Ethic of political responsibility
Emergency jurisdiction and temporary measures in Jewish law
Locke's theory of the prerogative power
"Casting behind metaphysical subtleties"
Dicey's "spirit of legality"
Searching for "moral politicians"
Disobedience and ratification
Official disobedience
Ex post ratification
No security without law
The case for rule departures
Prospective and uncertain relief
Courts and legislatures
Giving reasons
Ratifying egregious actions?
Precedents
Carl Schmitt's dark shadow
Carl Schmitt's theory of the exception
Decisionism and the Extra-Legal Measures model

4 Five degrees of separation
Normalcy and emergency: rule and exception
Sequencing and temporal distinctions: separating the best and the worst of times
It's a bad world out there (I): spatial distinctions
Colonies and empire: the origins of DORA
The curtailment of the right to silence in the United Kingdom
Interrogation in depth in Finchley?
From l'Algérie française to la France algérienne
CONTENTS

The war on terror: Guantanamo and beyond 202
It's a bad world out there (II): domestic and foreign affairs 205
The distinct sphere of "national security" 214
Communal divisions: us vs. them 220
The normalization of the exception 228

Part II 245

5 International human rights and emergencies 247
Definitions of emergency 249
Application of the models: Business as Usual 252
Application of the models: accommodation 255
   International accommodation: constitutional and legislative 256
   Models of accommodation: interpretive accommodation 263
The gap between the theory and practice of emergency powers 304
   The Questiaux Report 306
   Paris Minimum Standards 310
   The Siracusa Principles: an attempt at concrete rules to limit abuse of emergencies 313
   Weakness of the "aberration" hypothesis 315
   Artificiality of formal emergencies 318
   The hidden emergency 320
   Concluding assessment 322

6 Emergencies and humanitarian law 326
Self-preservation, necessity, and self-defense in international law 328
Internal armed conflicts and emergencies 339
   High-intensity emergencies 341
   Low-intensity conflict 350
Overlapping regimes: high meets low 359
Conclusion 363

7 Terrorism, emergencies, and international responses to contemporary threats 365
General issues of definition and applicable legal regimes 366
   Defining terrorism 366
Models of emergency powers as applied to terrorism 371
The "terrorism and law" interface 384
   The regulation of terrorism by international 385
      humanitarian law
International legal responses post-September 11 394
   Suppression conventions 394
   The UN response to September 11 400
   Implementing Resolution 1373 402
   Human rights and other lacunae in operating 405
      Resolution 1373
Contextualizing the UN response 407
The European Framework Decision on Terrorism 409
Definitional issues arising from the Framework 414
   Decision
State responses to Resolution 1373 and the European 417
   Framework Decision
Conclusion 420

Bibliography 422
Index 469