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INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND ITS IMPACT ON CIVIL FREEDOMS IN IRAQ AFTER 2003: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RIGHT TO LIFE AND PERSONAL SECURITY

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A Thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government in fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Universiti Utara Malaysia

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ABSTRAK

Keganasan merupakan salah satu ancaman terhadap masyarakat antarabangsa, justeru, semua pihak adalah bertanggungjawab melindungi warga mereka. Masyarakat antarabangsa bukan sahaja mempunyai hak, malah kewajipan untuk berbuat demikian. Mereka perlu mengambil langkah yang terbaik untuk memastikan bahawa setiap usaha mengekang keganasan tidak menjadi satu konsep menyeluruh yang boleh digunakan untuk menghalalkan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia. Kebanyakan dokumen perundangan mentakrifkan keganasan sebagai satu system ugutan dan tingkah laku terancang yang ganas yang direka dengan tujuan untuk mewujudkan ketakutan dalam sesebuah masyarakat, demi kepentingan seseorang individu atau kumpulan tertentu, sama ada di pihak penyokong atau penentang demi mencapai cita-cita mereka. Takrifan kepada istilah keganasan adalah tidak jelas, terutamanya sekiranya merujuk Resolusi Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu 1373 yang mengutarakan dua maksud keganasan yang berbeza; pengganas mengikut konteks sebuah negara mungkin merupakan pejuang kebebasan untuk sebuah negara yang lain dan juga sebaliknya. Kajian ini adalah berkait rapat dengan masalah kurangnya takrifan yang jelas untuk istilah "keganasan antarabangsa" dan "perbuatan keganasan" di dalam Akta Anti-Keganasan Iraq No. 13 tahun 2005, serta kelemahan konvensyen antarabangsa mengenai keganasan, yang telah menimbulkan kesukaran untuk mengguna pakai satu standard yang seragam di peringkat antarabangsa dalam menentang keganasan. Tujuan utama tesis ini juga adalah untuk menganalisa kesan keganasan terhadap kebebasan awam di Iraq selepas tahun 2003 dengan memfokuskan kepada hak untuk hidup serta keselamatan peribadi. Di dalam menganalisa objektif utama tesis ini, salah satu persoalan kajian yang ditimbulkan adalah berkaitan kesan keganasan antarabangsa ke atas kebebasan awam, iaitu, hak untuk hidup dan keselamatan peribadi di Iraq selepas tahun 2003. Kajian ini mengaplikasikan pendekatan kaedah penyelidikan doktrin perundangan dan impirikal. Dapatan tesis telah membawa kepada satu kesimpulan yang menyatakan bahawa keganasan sememangnya memberi kesan terhadap kebebasan awam di Iraq selepas tahun 2003 terutamanya berkaitan hak untuk hidup dan keselamatan peribadi. Sehubungan itu, antara cadangan yang dikemukakan adalah untuk meminda atau memansuhkan Akta Anti-Keganasan Iraq No. 13 tahun 2005 berhubung takrifan istilah "keganasan" dan "perbuatan keganasan".

Kata kunci: Keganasan, Keganasan Antarabangsa, Kebebasan Awam, Hak Asasi Manusia, Akta Anti-Keganasan Iraq No. 13 tahun 2005.

ABSTRACT

Terrorism is one of the threats against which the international community, above all states, must protect their citizens. They have not only the right but also a duty to do so. States must take the greatest care to ensure that counter-terrorism does not become an all-embracing concept that could be used to justify violations of human rights. Many legal documents define terrorism as an organised system of intimidation with violence behaviour designed to generate fear in a community to accomplish the interests of certain individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition. The definition of terrorism is unclear, especially as the UN's 1373 Resolution indicates a dual meaning of terrorism because one country's terrorist can be another country's freedom fighter and vice versa. This thesis revolves around the problems of lack of having a clear definition of the terms "international terrorism" and "terrorist acts" under the Iraqi Anti-Terrorism Act No. 13 of 2005 as well as the weaknesses of the international conventions on terrorism, which has made it difficult internationally to adopt a uniform standard in fighting terrorism. The main objective of this thesis is to analyse the impact of international terrorism on civil freedoms in Iraq after 2003 focusing mainly on the right to life and personal security by examining the Iraqi Anti-Terrorism Act No. 13 of 2005. In analysing the main objective of this thesis, one of the research questions posed is on the impact of international terrorism on civil freedoms that is, the right to life and personal security in Iraq after 2003. The methodologies adopted in this thesis are doctrinal legal research and empirical research approach. Based on the findings, the thesis concludes that the impact of international terrorism on civil freedoms in Iraq after 2003 has indeed affected the right to life and personal security. One of the recommendations put forward based on the findings is that, there is a need to amend/repeal the Iraqi Anti-Terrorism Act No. 13 of 2005 as far as the definitions of "international terrorism" and "terrorist acts" are concerned.

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Keywords: Terrorism, International Terrorism, Civil Freedom, Human Rights, Iraqi Anti-Terrorism Act No. 13 of 2005.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/NOTATIONS/GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ATA	Anti-Terrorism Act
ATCSA	Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001
BIA	Baghdad's International Airport
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CTED	Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force
EPL UTA	Egyptian Penal Law
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECST	European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism
FSIA	Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act Malaysia
FCL	French Criminal Law
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GOs	Government Organisations
HRC	Human Rights Chamber
HRC	Human Rights Committee
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Administration
IAAE	International Agency for Atomic Energy

ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICC	International Criminal Court
IOs	International Organisations
IROs	International Regional Organisations
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IMO	International Maritime Organisation
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
LCA	Lebanese Criminal Act
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
OAS	Organisation of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Unit
OIC	Organisation of the Islamic Conference
HOUNCHR	High Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Human
	Rights
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
SRUNSG	Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary
	General
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
ТА	Terrorism Act
UN	United Nation
UUM	Universiti Utara Malaysia
UK	United Kingdom

US	United States
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WE	Western Europe
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WCO	World Customs Organisation
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction





CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The word "terrorism" is derived from the word 'terrore' in Latin language.¹ This word originated from Latin language and has evolved into European languages. Today, it has become a common term that refers to terrorism or international terrorism.² It is important to note that, with the recent growth of violence that has been witnessed from various international events, the aftermaths of terrorist attack do not only affect a particular country but they exceed to other countries as well. Terrorism is a cancer and it is not in the interest of the nations, because it takes away their rights to live freely with security. With the escalation of these acts, various names and definitions have been used to refer to terrorism in many cases as it is characterised by violence, cruelty and oppression of people. Also, terrorism has become a type of crime that poses real threats to the lives of innocent people in the contemporary world.³ This international terrorism has its risk towards a person, institution, global community and civil freedoms.

The history of terrorism has started since the establishment of men's relationship with

¹ Von Foerster, et al., "Doomsday: Friday, 13 November, Ad 2026," *Journal Science* 132, No. 3436. (1960):1291-1295. From: <u>http://www.asc-cybernetics.org/2011/wpcontent/uploads/2011</u>/08/HvF_Doomsday.pdf. (Accessed March 12, 2013).

² Ibid. 1294.

³ Carlton, et al., International Terrorism and World Security (London: Croom Helm press, 1975): 13.

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