
CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>Table of Cases</i>	xiii
<i>Table of Legislation</i>	xv
<i>Table of Treaties</i>	xvii
1. Introduction	1
Overview	1
The Cases	5
Plan of the Book	8
2. Torture and Liberal Democracies	10
Introduction	10
The Prohibition on Torture	10
Liberalism	12
Justifying Modern Torture	14
Conclusion	19
3. Enabling and Constraining Activism	20
Introduction	20
Explaining State Behaviour on International Human Rights	20
Human Rights as Power Mediators	21
The Role of Domestic Actors in Human Rights	
Treaty Compliance	22
The Civil Society–State Relationship	26
The Enabling and Constraining Framework	30
Political Culture	31
Political and Legal Institutions	34
Political Opportunities	37
Conclusion	39
4. America's Use of Torture After 9/11	41
Introduction	41
The Executive	42
Before 11 September 2001	42
After 11 September 2001	44
Abu Ghraib	53

Congress	57
The Courts.....	61
<i>Rasul v Bush</i>	62
<i>Hamdan v Rumsfeld</i>	63
<i>Boumediene v Bush</i>	64
Civil Society.....	65
Conclusion	69
5. Australia.....	71
Introduction.....	71
Australia and the War on Terror	72
The Australia–US Relationship	72
Australia’s Detained Citizens.....	73
David Hicks.....	73
Mamdouh Habib	74
The Executive	76
The Howard Government	76
The Rudd and Gillard Governments	82
Parliament	83
The Courts.....	86
Civil Society.....	89
The Actors	89
A Delayed Start	90
The Influence of Victim Likeability	93
A Focus on Legal Process.....	98
Enabling and Constraining Activism.....	99
Political Culture	100
Political and Legal Institutions.....	104
Political Opportunities	107
Conclusion	110
6. The United Kingdom.....	112
Introduction.....	112
The UK and the War on Terror	113
The UK–US Relationship	113
The UK’s Detained Citizens and Residents	114
UK Citizens	114
UK Residents.....	116
The Executive	118
The Blair and Brown Governments	119
The Cameron Government	123
Parliament	125
The Courts.....	128
Civil Society.....	131
The Actors	131

Early Activism	132
Collaboration for an Inquiry.....	135
A Focus on Impunity.....	141
Enabling and Constraining Activism.....	143
Political Culture	144
Political and Legal Institutions.....	149
Political Opportunities	152
Conclusion	155
7. Canada.....	157
Introduction.....	157
Canada and the War on Terror.....	158
The Canada–US Relationship	158
Canada’s Detained Citizens	160
Maher Arar.....	160
Omar Khadr.....	162
The Executive	164
The Chrétien and Martin Governments.....	164
The Harper Government.....	168
Parliament	171
The Courts.....	174
Civil Society.....	176
The Actors	176
Inconsistency.....	178
The Influence of Victims’ Families.....	182
The Role of International Actors	186
Enabling and Constraining Activism.....	188
Political Culture	189
Political and Legal Institutions.....	193
Political Opportunities	196
Conclusion	198
8. Conclusion	200
Introduction.....	200
Political Accountability on Torture.....	201
Civil Society’s Interactions with Government.....	201
Civil Society as Agents of Accountability	203
Accountability Successes	204
A Willingness to Stand Up to the US.....	204
Holding Public Commissions of Inquiry	206
Using National Elections.....	207
Accountability Failures.....	208
Failing to Stand Up for the Rights of Citizens	208
Failing to Investigate Torture Allegations.....	209

Civil Society Engagement on Torture	210
Environments for Activism	211
Elements of Activism	212
Political Culture	212
Political and Legal Institutions	214
Political Opportunities	216
The Limits of Civil Society	217
Conclusion	219
<i>Bibliography</i>	223
<i>Index</i>	239