

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Archive Sources*

India Office Library, British Library, London (IOL).

Files of the Military Department:

Mesopotamian Campaign and Commission of Enquiry

L/MIL/5

Military Department Library:

L/MIL/17

Files of the Political and Secret Departments:

L/P&S/10

L/P&S/15

L/P&S/18

Official Publications Library, British Library, London.

Public Records Office, Kew, London (PRO).

Colonial Office:

Iraq Administrative Reports

CO 696

Original Correspondence Iraq

CO 730

Air Ministry:

Overseas Commands

AIR 23

Foreign Office:

Political

FO 371

National Archive of India, New Delhi: India.

Baghdad High Commission Files (BHCF)

Newcastle Library:

Private Papers of Gertrude Bell.

The Sudan Archive Durham University Library

Private Papers of:

F. C. C. Balfour.

Sir G. F. Clayton.

Sir R. E. Windgate.

Sir H. Young.

The Middle East Center Library, St Antony's College, Oxford University:

Private Papers of:

H. E. Bowan.

H. R. P. Dickson.

C. J. Edmonds.

Sir J. B. Glubb.

H. St. John B. Philby.

A. L. F. Smith.

Sir H. Young.

### *Book, Theses, Articles, and Unpublished Papers*

Abrahamian, Ervand. "Oriental Despotism: the Case of Qajar Iran." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* no. 5. 1974.

Adas, Michael. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Ahmad, Aijaz. *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. London: Verso, 1992.

Ajami, Fouad. "Iraq and the Thief of Bagdad," *New York Times*, 19 May 2002.

Al Hasso, Nazar Tawfik. "Administrative Politics in the Middle East: The Case of Monarchical Iraq, 1920–1958," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1976.

Al Khafaji, Isam. "A Few Days After: State and Society in a post-Saddam Iraq," in *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change*, ed. Toby Dodge and Steven Simon. London and Oxford: International Institute for Strategic Studies and Oxford University Press, 2003.

———. "The Myth of Iraqi Exceptionalism." *Middle East Policy*, no. 4 (October 2000).

Al Sayyid, Afaf Lutfi. *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations*. London: John Murray, 1968.

Althusser, Louis. "Contradiction and Over-Determinations: Notes for an Investigation." In *For Marx*, by Louis Althusser, translated by Ben Brewster. London: Verso, 1990.

———. *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso, 1984.

———. *Montesquieu, Rousseau, Marx*. London: New Left Books, 1977.

Amadouny, Vartan. "Infrastructural Development Under the British Mandate." In *Village, Steppe, and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Tariq Tell. London: British Academic Press, 1994.

Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas G. Brinklet. *The Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1997.

American Enterprise Institute. "The Day After: Planning for a Post-Saddam Iraq." Unedited conference transcript. Washington D.C. 3 October 2002.

Anderson, Perry. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: Verso, 1987.

- The Arab Bulletin: Bulletin of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, 1916–1919*. Introduction by Dr. Robin Bidwell. Slough: Archive Editions, 1986.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. "The Three Hegemonies of Historical Capitalism." In *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, ed. Steven Gill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Asad, Talal. "Two European Images of Non-European Rule." *Economy and Society* 2, no. 3 (1973).
- Baloch, I. *The Problems of "Greater Baluchistan": A Study of Baluch Nationalism*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1987.
- Baram, Amatzia. "Building Towards Crisis: Saddam Husayn's Strategy for Survival." Policy Paper no. 47. The Washington Institute for Near East policy, 1998.
- . "Neo-Tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Tribal Policies, 1991–96." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* no. 29 (1997).
- Baram, Philip J. *The Department of State in the Middle East, 1919–1945*. State College, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.
- Barracrough, Geoffrey. *An Introduction to Contemporary History*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990.
- Barret, Michele. "Ideology, Politics, Hegemony: From Gramsci to Laclau and Mouffe." In *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Zizek. London: Verso, 1994.
- Barton, Frederick D., and Bathsheba Crocker. "Winning the Peace in Iraq." *The Washington Quarterly* 26, no 2 (spring 2003).
- Batatu, Hanna. *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba'athists, and Free Officers*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Bearse, George D. *British Attitudes to India, 1784–1858*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1961.
- Beck, Peter J. "'A Tedious and Perilous Controversy': Britain and the Settlement of the Mosul Dispute, 1918–1926." *Middle East Studies* 17 (April 1981).
- Beer, G. L. "The Future of Mesopotamia." In *African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference, with papers on Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Colonial Settlement*, by G. L. Beer. Edited with introduction, annexes, and additional notes by Louis Herbert Gray. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968.
- Beer, G. L., and F. M. Graves. "The Territorial Settlement in Africa." In *The Settlement with Germany*. Vol. 2 of *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, ed. H. W. V. Temperley. London: Oxford University Press, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1969.
- Bell, Gertrude. *The Arab of Mesopotamia*. Basrah: Superintendent Government Press, 1917.
- . *From Her Personal Papers, 1914–1926*. Vol. 2. Ed. Elizabeth Burgoyne. London: Ernest Benn, 1961.

- . *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol. 2. Selected and edited by Lady Bell. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1939.
- . Preface to *The Desert and the Sown*. 1907. Reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1985.
- Bhabha, Homi. "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi: May 1817." *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (1985).
- Bhaskar, Roy. "Marxist Philosophers from Marx to Althusser." In *Philosophy and the Idea of Freedom*, by Roy Bhaskar. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.
- . *Reclaiming Reality: A Critical Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy*. London: Verso, 1993.
- Bhattacharya, Neeladri. "Colonial State and Agrarian Society." In *Situating Indian History: For Sarvepalli Gopal*, ed. S. Bhattacharya and R. Thapar. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- . "Pastoralists in a Colonial World." In *Studies in Social Ecology and Environmental History, Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*, ed. David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Blunt, Lady Anne. *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*. 2 vols. London: Frank Cass, 1968.
- Bocco, Riccardo, and Tariq Tell. "Pax Britannica in the Steppe: British Policy and the Transjordanian Bedouin, 1923–39." In *Village, Steppe, and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Tariq Tell. London: British Academic Press, 1994.
- Bowles, John. *The Imperial Achievement: The Rise and Transformation of the British Empire*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- Brahimi, Lakhdar. "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations." UN document A/55/305 S/2000/809.
- Brewer, Anthony. *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Brown, Judith M. *The Oxford History of the British Empire*. Vol. 4, *The Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Bruce, Colonel C. E. "The Sandeman Policy as Applied to Tribal Problems of Today." *The Journal of Royal Central Asian Society* 19 (1932).
- Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society: A Study in World Politics*. London: MacMillan, 1995.
- . "The Revolt against the West." In *The Expansion of International Society*. Eds. Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Burke, Edmund. "Reflections on the Revolution in France." In *The Portable Edmund Burke*, ed. Isacc Kramnick. New York: Penguin, 1999.
- Busch, Briton Cooper. *Britain, India, and the Arabs, 1914–1921*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- . *Mudros to Lausanne: Britain's Frontier in West Asia, 1918–1923*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976.

- Bush, George W. "The President's State of the Union Address." Washington, D.C., 29 January 2002.
- . "President at 2002 Graduation Exercise of the United States Military Academy." West Point, New York, 1 June 2002.
- . "The President's 2003 State of the Union Address. Washington, D.C., January 2003.
- . "President Discusses the Future of Iraq at the American Enterprise Institute." Washington, D.C., 26 February 2003.
- Cain, P. J., and A. G. Hopkins. *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914–1990*. London: Longman, 1993.
- . *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688–1914*. London: Longman, 1993.
- Callinicos, Alex. *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Cannadine, David. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*. London: Macmillan, 1996.
- Carr, E. H. *International Relations Between the Two World Wars, 1919–1939*. New York: Harper Torch Books, 1947.
- . *Nationalism and After*. London: Macmillan, 1945.
- . *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1978.
- Cetinsaya, Gokhan. "Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890–1908." Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1994.
- Cheney, Richard. "A Speech at the Veterans of Foreign Wars 103rd Convention," 26 August 2002.
- Cirakman, Asli. "The Prejudice of Montesquieu: Intellectual Roots of Modern Eurocentrism." Paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association, 32nd Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 3–6 December, 1998.
- Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. "The Organization of 'Consent' in British West Africa, 1820s to 1960s." In *Contesting Colonial Hegemony, State and Society in Africa and India*, ed. Dagmar Engles and Shula Marxs. London: British Academic Press, 1994.
- Clifford, James. "On Orientalism." In *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, by James Clifford. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Cocker, Mark. *Rivers of Blood, Rivers of Gold: Europe's Conflict with Tribal Peoples*. London: Pimlico, 1999.
- Cohn, Bernard S. *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- . *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

- . "Representing Authority in Victorian India." In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Canto, Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Colonial Office. *Iraq: Report on Iraq Administration, October 1920–March 1921*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922.
- . *Iraq: Report on Iraq Administration, April 1922–March 1923*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1924.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Administration of Iraq for the Period April 1923–December 1924*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1925*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1926*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1927*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1928.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1928*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1929*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1930*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931.
- . *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1931*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1932.
- . *Special Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Progress of Iraq during the period 1920–1931*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931.
- Cox, Jafana L. "A Splendid Training Ground: The Importance to the Royal Air Force of its Role in Iraq, 1919–1932." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 13, no. 2 (January 1985).
- Cox, Sir Percy, "Historical Summaries." In Gertrude Bell, *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, vol. 2, selected and edited by Lady Bell. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1939.

- Cox, Robert. *Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- . "Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory." In *NeoRealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert O. Keohane. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Cranston, Maurice. *The Romantic Movement*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Cromer, Earl of. *Modern Egypt*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1908.
- . *Political and Literary Essays, 1908–1913*. London: Macmillan, 1913.
- Dann, Uriel, ed. *The Great Powers in the Middle East, 1919–1939*. New York: Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Holmes & Meier, 1988.
- Darwin, John. "Imperialism in Decline? Tendencies in British Imperial Policy Between the Wars." *The Historical Journal* 23, no. 3 (1980).
- . *Britain, Egypt, and the Middle East: Imperial Policy in the Aftermath of War, 1918–1922*. London: Macmillan, 1981.
- . "Decolonisation and the End of Empire." In *Historiography*, Vol. 5 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. Robin W. Winks. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Dawson, Graham. "The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity." In *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Degroot, Gerard J. *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War*. London: Longman, 1996.
- DeNovo, John A. "On the Sidelines: The United States and the Middle East Between the Wars, 1919–1939." In *The Great Powers in the Middle East, 1919–1939*, ed. Uriel Dann. New York: Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Holmes & Meier, 1988.
- Deringil, Selim. *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and Legitimation in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1998.
- Dewey, Clive. *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*. London: Hambledon Press, 1993.
- Dews, Peter. *Logics of Disintegration: Post-Structuralist Thought and the Claims of Critical Theory*. London: Verso, 1987.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture." In *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. "From Little King to Landlord: Colonial Discourse and Colonial Rule." In *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- Dodge, Toby. *An Arabian Prince: English Gentlemen and the Tribes East of the River Jordan. Abdullah and the Creation and Consolidation of the Transjordanian State*. Lon-

- don: Center of Near and Middle Eastern Studies Occasional Paper 13, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993.
- . "Cake Walk, Coup, or Urban Warfare: The Battle for Iraq." In *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change*. Ed. Tody Dodge and Steven Simon. London and Oxford: International Institute for Strategic Studies and Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Dodge, Toby, and Steven Simon. Introduction to *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change*. London and Oxford: International Institute for Strategic Studies and Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Dowson, Sir Ernest. *Government of el Iraq: An Inquiry Into Land Tenure and Related Questions with Proposals for the Initiation of Reform*. Letchworth, England: printed for the Iraqi Government by the Garden City Press, 1931.
- Drew, Elizabeth. "The Neocons in Power." *New York Review of Books* 50, no. 10 (12 June 2003).
- Dreyfus, Hubert L., and Paul Rabinow. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Durkheim, Émile. *On Morality and Society: Selected Writings*. Ed. Robert N. Bellah. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology: An Introduction*. London: Verso, 1994.
- Edney, Matthew H. *Mapping Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Embree, Anislie T. "Landholding in India and British Institutions." In *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed. Eric Frykenberg. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Engles, Dagmar, and Shula Marx, eds. *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in Africa and India*. London: British Academic Press, 1994.
- Fairclough, Norman. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.
- Farouk-Sluglett, Marion. "The Formation of the Iraqi State: Politics and Political Alliances Under the Mandate, 1920–1932." Paper presented at the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Conference, Manchester, July 1994.
- Farouk-Sluglett, Marion, and Peter Sluglett. "The Historiography of Modern Iraq." *American History Review* 96, no. 5 (December 1991): 1408–21.
- . *Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1990.
- Feierman, Steven. *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Fields, Karen E. *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Femia, Joseph. "Hegemony and Consciousness in the thought of Antonio Gramsci." *Political Studies* 23, no. 1 (March 1975).



- Ferne, Robert A., and Wm. Roger Louis, eds. *The Iraqi Revolution of 1958: The Old Social Classes Revisited*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1991.
- The Financial Times*.
- Fischbach, Michael Richard. "State, Society, And Land in 'Ajlun (Northern Transjordan), 1850–1950." 2 Vols. Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1992.
- Foreign Office. *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq for the Period January to October 1932*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Barnes and Nobles Books, 1993.
- . *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. Transl. Alan Sheridan. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.
- . *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1 of *The Will to Knowledge*. Trans. Robert Hurley. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990.
- . *The Order of Things; An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- . "Truth and Power." In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- . "Two Lectures at the College De France 1976: Lecture One, 7 January." In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon. Pantheon Books, New York: 1980.
- Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991.
- Frum, David. *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush*. New York: Random House, 2003.
- Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Gallagher, John. "The Decline, Revival, and Fall of the British Empire." In *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire, The Ford Lectures, and Other Essays*, by John Gallagher, ed. Anil Seal. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Gann, Rose. "Blind Alleys: The Limits of Textbook Ideology." *Politics* (May 1995).
- Gerber, Haim. *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987.
- Germain, Randall D., and Michael Kenny. "Engaging Gramsci: International Relations Theory and the New Gramscians." *Review of International Studies* no. 24 (1998).
- Giddens, Antony. *The Nation-State and Violence*. Vol. 2 of *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985.
- Gill, Steven, ed. *Gramsci, Historical Materialism, and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Gilmour, David. *Curzon*. London: Papermac, 1994.

- Girouard, Mark. *The Return of Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Glubb, John. *Arabian Adventures: Ten Years of Joyful Service*. London: Cassell, 1978.
- . *The Changing Scenes of Life: An Autobiography*. London: Quartet Books, 1983.
- . *The Story of the Arab Legion*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948.
- Gong, Gerrit W. *The Standard of Civilization in International Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.
- . *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916–1935*. Ed. David Forgacs. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988.
- Graves, Philip. *The Life and Times of Sir Percy Cox*. London: Hutchinson, 1941.
- Greenleaf, W. H. *The Ideological Heritage*. Vol. 2 of *The British Political Tradition*. London: Methuen, 1983.
- The Guardian*.
- Guha, Ranajit. *A Rule of Property for Bengal: An Essay on the Idea of the Permanent Settlement*. Paris: Mouton, 1963.
- , ed. *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Haas, Richard N. "The 2002 Arthur Ross Lecture: Remarks to Foreign Policy Association." New York, 22 April 2002.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*. Trans. Fredrick Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987.
- Haj, Samira. *The Making of Iraq, 1900–1963: Capital, Power, and Ideology*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Hall, H. Duncan. "The British Commonwealth and the Founding of the League Mandate System." In *Studies in International History: Essays Presented to W. Norton Medlicott, Stevenson Professor of International History in the University of London*, ed. K. Bourne and D. C. Watt. London: Longman, 1967.
- . *Mandates, Dependencies, and Trusteeship*. New York: Klaus Reprint Company, 1972.
- Hall, Stuart, Bob Lumley, and Gregor McLennan. "Politics and Ideology: Gramsci." In *On Ideology*, ed. Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies. London: Hutchinson and Company, 1977.
- Halliday, Fred. *Rethinking International Relations*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994.
- Headrick, Daniel R. *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- . *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Heder, Steve. "Cambodia, 1990–98: The Regime Didn't Change." In *Regime Change, It's Been Done Before*. Ed. Roger Gough. London: policyexchange, 2003.

- Heller, Mark. "Politics and the Military in Iraq and Jordan, 1920–1958: The British Influence." *Armed Forces and Society* 4, no. 1 (November 1977).
- Hirsh, Michael. "Bush and the World." *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2002).
- Hoare, Sir Samuel. *A Flying Visit to the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925.
- Hostettler, Nick. "Asiatic Mode of Production." Unpublished paper. Department of Political Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies. April 1993.
- Hourani, Albert. Foreword to *The Role of the Military in Politics: A Case Study of Iraq to 1941*, by Mohammad A. Tarbush. London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Hoverd, Margaret Jane. "Kurdish Ethno-nationalism in a Changing International Order: 'Power' and the Mosul Question." Master's thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997.
- Howard, Michael. "The Military Factor in the European Expansion." In *The Expansion of International Society*, ed. Hedley Bull and Adam Watson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Hughes, Matthew. *Allenby and British Strategy in the Middle East, 1917–1919*. London: Frank Cass, 1999.
- Hurd, Douglas. Foreword to *Regime Change, It's Been Done Before*. London: Policy-exchange, 2003.
- Ikenberry, G. John. "America's Imperial Ambition." *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2002).
- The Independent*.
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect*. IDRC, 2001.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies. "Iraq After Saddam: The Quagmire of Political Reconstruction." *IISS Strategic Comment* 8, no. 4 (May 2002).
- Ireland, Philip Willard. *Iraq: A Study in Political Development*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1937.
- Islamoglu-Inan, Huri. "Introduction: Oriental Despotism in World-System Perspective." In *The Ottoman Empire in the World-Economy*, ed. Huri Islamoglu-Inan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century*. London: E. J. Brill, 1994.
- Issawi, Charles. *The Fertile Crescent, 1800–1914: A Documentary Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- , ed. *The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800–1914: A Book of Readings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Jabar, Faleh A. "Sheikhs and Ideologues: Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Tribes Under Patrimonial Totalitarianism in Iraq, 1968–1998." In *Tribes and Power*:

- Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East*, ed. Faleh A. Jabar and Hosham Dawod. London: Saqi, 2003.
- Jackson, Robert H. *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . "The Weight of Ideas in Decolonization: Normative Change in International Relations." In *Ideas and Foreign Policy*, ed. Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Jeffery, Keith. *The British Army and the Crisis of Empire, 1918–1922*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- Jentleson, Bruce W. *Coercive Prevention: Normative, Political, and Policy Dilemmas*. US Institute of Peace Peaceworks series, 2000.
- Jwaideh, Albertine. "Aspects of Land Tenure and Social Change in Lower Iraq During Late Ottoman Times." In *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984.
- . "Midhat Pasha and the Land System of Lower Iraq." *St Antony's Papers*, vol. 16. Oxford, 1963.
- . "The *Sanniya* Lands of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Iraq." In *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. George Makdisi. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- . "Tribalism and Modern Society: Iraq, a Case Study." In *Introduction to Islamic Civilization*, ed. R. M. Savory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Jwaideh, Wadie. "The Kurdish Nationalist Movement: Its Origins and Development." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1960.
- Kabbani, Rana. *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*. London: MacMillan, 1986.
- Kant, Immanuel. "What Is Enlightenment?" In *Kant Selections*, ed. Lewis White Beck. New York: Macmillan, 1988.
- Kasaba, Resat. "A Time and a Place for the Non-State: Social Change in the Ottoman Empire During the 'Long Nineteenth Century.'" In *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*, ed. Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Kaviraj, Sudipta. "On the Construction of Colonial Power: Structure Discourse, Hegemony." In *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in Africa and India*, ed. Dagmar Engles and Shula Marxs. London: British Academic Press, 1994.
- Kedourie, Elie. *The Chatham House Version and Other Middle Eastern Studies*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1984.
- Keene, Edward. "The Colonising Ethic and Modern International Society: A Reconstruction of the Grotian Tradition in International Theory." Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics, 1998.
- Kennedy, David. "The Move to Institutions." *The Cardozo Law Review* 8, no. 5 (April 1987).
- Kennedy, Paul. *The Realities Behind Diplomacy: Background Influences on British External Policy, 1865–1980*. London: Fontana Press, 1985.

- . *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London: Fontana Press, 1989.
- Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Kiernan, V. G. *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes to the Outside World in the Imperial Age*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
- Kirkbride, Sir Alec. "Was Britain's Abdication Folly? II: Reflection on the Kedouries Version." *Round Table* (July 1970).
- Kratochwil, Friedrich V. "Politics, Norms, and Peaceful Change." *The Review of International Studies* 24 (December 1998). Special edition: "The Eighty Years Crisis, 1919–1999," ed. Tim Dunne, Michael Cox, and Ken Booth.
- Kumar, Dharma, ed., with Meghnad Desai. *The Cambridge Economic History of India*. Vol. 2, *Ca. 1757–1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Latham, Robert. "History, Theory, and International Order: Some Lessons from the Nineteenth Century." *Review of International Studies* no. 23 (1997).
- Layne, Linda L. *Home and Homeland: The Dialogics of Tribal and National Identities in Jordan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Leman, Nicholas. "The Next World Order: The Bush Administration May Have a Brand New Doctrine of Power." *The New Yorker*, 1 March 2002.
- . "After Iraq: The Plan to Remake the Middle East." *The New Yorker*, 17 February 2003.
- Lenin, Vladimir I. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism. A Popular Outline*. New York: International Publishers, 1993.
- Lepenies, Wolf. *Ideas in Context: Between Literature and Science. The Rise of Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Litwak, Robert S. "The New Calculus of Preemption." *Survival* 44, no. 4 (winter 2002–2003).
- Lockie, Liora. "Iraqi Politics 1931–1941." Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1988.
- Lloyd George, David (Lord Lloyd of Dolobran). Foreword to *Iraq from Mandate to Independence*, by Ernest Main. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935.
- Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley. *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925.
- . *Iraq, 1900 to 1950: A Political, Social, and Economic History*. Oxford: Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Oxford University Press, 1953.
- The Los Angeles Times*.
- Louis, Wm. Roger. "The Era of the Mandates System and the Non-European World." In *The Expansion of International Society*, ed. Hedley Bull and Adam Watson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- . *In the Name of God Go! Leo Amery and the British Empire in the Age of Churchill*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992.

- , ed. *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy*. New York: New Viewpoints, 1976.
- Lovejoy, Arthur O. "The Meaning of Romanticism for the History of Idea." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (June 1941).
- Lucas, John. *Modern English Poetry From Hardy to Hughes: A Critical Survey*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1986.
- Lugard, F. G. (High Commissioner Northern Nigeria). *Instructions to Political and Other Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative*. London: 1906; revised 1906.
- Lugard, F. G. (Lord). *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. London: Frank Cass, 1965.
- Lyell, Thomas. *The Ins and Outs of Mesopotamia*. Cambridge: Allborough Publishing, 1991.
- McCarthy, Thomas. Introduction to *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity, Twelve Lectures*, by Jurgen Habermas, trans. Fredrick Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987.
- McDowall, David. *A Modern History of the Kurds*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996.
- MacPherson, C. B. *Burke*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Makiya, Kanan "Kanan Makiya's War Diary." New Republic Online, 18 April 2003.
- Mangan, J. A. *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*. Harmondsworth: Viking Penguin, 1986.
- Main, Ernest. *Iraq From Mandate to Independence*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935.
- Makdisi, Saree. *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Mann, Michael. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms, and Results." In *States, War, and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology*, by Michael Mann. Oxford: Blackwell, 1988.
- . *A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760*, vol. 1 of *The Sources of Social Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Mannheim, Karl. *Conservatism: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Ed. trans. David Kettler and Volker Meja. London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1986.
- Marx, Karl. "The British Rule in India." In *Surveys From Exile: Political Writings*, vol. 2, by Karl Marx, ed. David Fernbach. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.
- . *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990.
- . "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." In *Surveys From Exile: Political Writings*, vol. 2, by Karl Marx, ed. David Fernbach. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.
- Mastanduno, Michael. "Models, Markets, and Power: Political Economy and the Asia Pacific, 1989–1999." *Review of International Studies* 16, no. 4 (October 2000).

- Mayer, Arno J. *Politics and the Diplomacy of Peacemaking: Containment and Counter-revolution at Versailles, 1918–1919*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968.
- Meadwell, Hudson. "Secession, States, and International Society." *Review of International Studies* no. 25 (1999): 371–87.
- Mejcher, Helmut. *Imperial Quest for Oil: Iraq, 1910–1928*. London: Ithaca Press, published for the Middle East Center St. Antony's College, Oxford University, 1976.
- . "Iraq's External Relations 1921–26." *Middle Eastern Studies*, no. 13, October 1977.
- Mendilow, Jonathan. *The Romantic Tradition in British Political Thought*. Kent, Croom Helm, 1986.
- Migdal, Joel S. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- . "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 1 (March 1991).
- . *Rule By Experts*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Monroe, Elizabeth. *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914–1917*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1981.
- Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron de. *The Spirit of Laws*. Trans. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Morris, James. *Farewell the Trumpets: An Imperial Retreat*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.
- Mouffe, Chantal. "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci." In *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, ed. Chantal Mouffe. London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Muhsin, Khalid Abid. "The Political Career of Muhammad Ja'far Abu al-Timman (1808–1937): A Study in Modern Iraqi History." Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, 1983.
- Musgrave, P. J. "Social Power and Social Change in the United Provinces, 1860–1920." In *Economy and Society. Essays in Indian Economic and Social History*, ed. K. N. Chaudhuri and Clive J. Dewey. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Musselwhite, David. "The Trial of Warren Hastings." In *Literature, Politics, and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, 1976–1984*, ed. Francis Barker, P. Hulme, M. Iversen, and D. Loxley. London: Methuen, 1986.
- The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. September 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>.
- The New York Times*.
- Northedge, F. S. *The League of Nations: Its Life and Times, 1920–1946*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986.
- Olson, Robert. "The Battle for Kurdistan: The Churchill-Cox Correspondence Regarding the Creation of the State of Iraq, 1921–1923." *The International Journal of Turkish Studies* 5, no. 1 (1993).

- . "The Second Time Around: British Policy Towards the Kurds (1921–1922)." *Die Welt des Islams* 37 (1987).
- Omissi, David E. *Air Power and Colonial Control: The Royal Air Force, 1919–1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Ormsby-Gore, W. G. A. (MP, late Member of the Permanent Mandates Commission). "The Mandatory System." In *The Settlement with Germany*, vol. 6 of *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, ed. H. W. V. Temperley. London: Oxford University Press, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1969.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Trans. Shelly L. Frisch. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997.
- Owen, Roger. "Class and Class Politics in Iraq Before 1958: The 'Colonial and Post-Colonial State.'" In *The Iraqi Revolution of 1958: The Old Social Classes Revisited*, ed. Robert A. Fernea and Wm. Roger Louis. London: I. B. Tauris, 1991.
- Packer, George. "Kanan Makiya, Dreaming of Democracy." *New York Times Magazine*, 2 March 2003.
- Parry, Benita. "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse." *The Oxford Literary Review* 9, nos. 1–2 (1987).
- Perham, Margery. Introduction to the fifth edition of *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, by Lord Lugard. London: Frank Cass, 1965.
- Phillips, Anne. *The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa*. London: James Curry, 1989.
- Pieterse, Jan P. Nederveen. *Empire and Emancipation: Power and Liberation on a World Scale*. London: Pluto Press, 1990.
- Plamenatz, John. *The English Utilitarians*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958.
- Poggi, Gianfranco. *Images of Society: Essays on the Sociological Theories of Tocqueville, Marx, and Durkheim*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972.
- Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.
- Porter, Dennis. "Orientalism and Its Problems." In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel, 1993.
- Public Broadcasting Service. "Front Line Special: The War Behind Closed Doors." <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/themes>.
- Rabinow, Paul. Introduction. In *The Foucault Reader. An Introduction to Foucault's Thought*, ed. Paul Rabinow. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.
- RAND, *America's Record on Nation Building*. Forthcoming, 2003.
- Ranger, Terence. "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa." In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.



- Rhodes, Edward. "The Imperial Logic of Bush's Liberal Agenda." *Survival* 45, no. 1 (spring 2003).
- Robinson, Ronald. "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration." In *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, ed. E. R. J. Owen and R. B. Sutcliffe. London: Longman, 1972.
- Robinson, Roland, and John Gallagher with Alice Denny. *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*. 2d ed. Hampshire: Macmillan Education, 1992.
- Rogan, Eugene L. *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850–1921*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Rogan, Eugene L., and Tariq Tell, eds. *Village, Steppe, and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*. London: British Academic Press, 1994.
- Rosenberg, Justin. *The Empire of Civil Society: A Critique of the Realist Theory of International Relations*. London: Verso, 1994.
- Royal, Trevor. *Glubb Pasha: The Life and Times of Sir John Bagot Glubb, Commander of the Arab Legion*. London: Abacus Books, 1993.
- Ruggie, John G. *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- . "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order." In *International Regimes*, ed. Stephen Krasner. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Rupert, Mark. "(Re-) Engaging Gramsci: A Response to Germain and Kenny." *Review of International Studies* no. 24 (1998).
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.
- Saiedi, Nader. *The Birth of Social Theory: Social Thought in the Enlightenment and Romanticism*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1993.
- Salih, Khaled. *Nation-Building and the Military: Iraq, 1941–1958*. Göttenborg Studies in Politics no. 41. Göttenborg University, 1996.
- Sasson, Sir Philip (Under-Secretary of State for Air), Anniversary Lecture, "Air Power in the Middle East." *Journal of the Royal Asian Society* 20 (1933).
- Sayer, Derek. *The Violence of Abstraction: The Analytic Foundations of Historical Materialism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Scott, David. "Colonial Governmentality." *Social Text* no. 43 (fall 1995).
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Schumpeter, Joseph. *Imperialism and Social Classes*. New York: Meridian Books, 1958.
- Shannon, Richard. *The Crisis of Imperialism, 1865–1915*. London: Paladin, 1974.
- Sherman, A. J. *Mandate Days: British Lives in Palestine, 1918–1948*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

- Showstack Sassoon, Anne. "Passive Revolution and the Politics of Reform." In *Approaches to Gramsci*, ed. Anne Showstack Sassoon. London: Writers and Readers, 1982.
- Sluglett, Peter. *Britain in Iraq, 1914–1932*. London: Ithaca Press, published for the Middle East Center, St Antony's College, Oxford University, 1976.
- . "Formal and Informal Empire in the Middle East." In *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 5, *Historiography*, ed. Robin W. Winks. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . "Profit and Loss from the British Mandate: British Influence and Administration in Iraq, 1914–1932." Ph.D. diss., St Antony's College, University of Oxford, 1972.
- Smith, Bruce James. "Edmund Burke: Political Order and the Past." In *Politics and Remembrance: Republican Themes in Machiavelli, Burke, and Tocquville*, by Bruce James Smith. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. "The End of Empire and the Extension of the Westphalian System: The Normative Basis of the Modern State Order." In *Continuity and Change in the Westphalian Order*, ed. James A. Caporaso. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- Stedman Jones, Gareth. "The History of U.S. Imperialism." In *Ideology in Social Science: Readings in Critical Social Theory*, ed. Robin Blackburn. London: Fontana/Collins, 1979.
- Stevenson, John. *History of Britain: British Society, 1914–1945*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.
- Stivers, William. *Supremacy and Oil: Iraq, Turkey, and the Anglo-American World Order, 1918–1930*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Stokes, Eric. *The English Utilitarians and India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- . *The Political Ideas of English Imperialism*. Inaugural Lecture given in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Oxford University Press, London: 1960.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Storrs, Ronald. *Orientations*. Definitive edition. London: Nicholson and Watson, 1949.
- Stoyanovsky, J. *The Mandate for Palestine: A Contribution to the Theory and Practice of International Mandates*. London: Longman, 1928.
- Sullivan, Shanon. "State and Society in Iraq During the British Mandate, 1920–1932." Master's thesis, School of African and Asian Studies, London, 1992.
- Tabachinick, Stephen E., ed. *The T. E. Lawrence Puzzle*. Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1984.
- Tarbush, Mohammad. *The Role of the Military in Politics: A Case Study of Iraq to 1941*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Taylor, A. J. P. *English History, 1914–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Taylor, Charles. *Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophical Papers 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- . *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Temperley, H. W. V., ed. *The Settlement with Germany*. Vol. 2 of *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*. London: Oxford University Press, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1969.
- The Times*.
- Thomas, Bertram. *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1931.
- Thomas, William. *The Philosophic Radicals: Nine Studies in Theory and Practise, 1817–1841*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Thompson, John B. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Thornton, A. P. *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies: A Study in British Power*. London: Macmillan, 1959.
- Thornton, Thomas Henry, C.S.I., D.C.L. *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and Work on Our Indian Frontier. A Memoir, with Selections from His Correspondence and Official Writings*. London: John Murray, 1895.
- Tidrick, Kathryn. *Heart Beguiling Araby: The English Romance with Arabia*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1981.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Vol. 2. New York: Vantage Books, 1990.
- Toulmin, Stephen. *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Townsend, Charles. "Civilization and Frightfulness in Air Control in the Middle East Between the Wars." In *Warfare Diplomacy and Politics: Essays in Honor of A. J. P. Taylor*, ed. Chris Wrigley. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986.
- Towle, Philip Antony. *Pilots and Rebels: The Uses of Aircraft in Unconventional Warfare, 1918–1988*. London: Brassey's, 1989.
- Toynbee, Arnold. "Was Britain's Abdication a Folly?" *The Round Table* (April 1970).
- Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . "What Lurks in the Shadows?" *The Times Higher*, 18 October 2002.
- . "After Saddam." *Survival* 44, no. 4 (winter 2002–2003).
- Turner, Bryan S. *Marx and the End of Orientalism*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978.
- . *Weber and Islam: A Critical Study*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Van Alstyne, Richard W. "Woodrow Wilson and the Idea of the Nation State." *International Affairs* 37, no. 3.
- Wagner, Peter. *A Sociology of Modernity: Liberty and Discipline*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Waldron, Jeremy, ed. *Nonsense Upon Stilts: Bentham, Burke, and Marx on the Rights of Man*. London: Methuen, 1987.
- Warriner, Doreen. *Land and Poverty in the Middle East*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press, 1948.

*The Washington Post*.

Weliwita-Gunaratne, C. "The Role of Gertrude Bell in the Formation of Modern Iraq, 1918–1921." Master's thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1983.

Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (spring 1992).

———. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Westrate, Bruce. *The Arab Bureau: British Policy in the Middle East, 1916–1920*. State College, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.

White, Freda. *Mandates*. London: Jonathan Cape, published under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, 1926.

Wiener, Martin J. *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992.

Williams David. "Aid and Sovereignty: Quasi-States and the International Financial Institutions." *Review of International Studies* 26, no. 4 (October 2000).

Williams, Raymond. "The Organic Society and Human Perfection." In *Edmund Burke: Appraisals and Applications*, ed. Daniel Ritchie. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1990.

Williams, Wilbur Laurent. *The State Of Iraq: A Mandate Attains Independence*. Foreign Policy Reports, Foreign Policy Association, vol. 8, no. 16 (12 October 1932).

Wilson, A. T. *Loyalties, Mesopotamia*. Vol. 1, 1914–1917: *A Personal and Historical Record*. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

———. *Loyalties, Mesopotamia*. Vol. 2, 1917–1920: *A Personal and Historical Record*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.

Wilson, Mary. *King Abdullah: Britain and the Making of Jordan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Wilson, Woodrow. "Address Delivered to the Senate, January 22nd, 1917." In *Readings in World Politics*, vol. 2. Chicago: American Foundation for Political Education, 1957.

———. "A Speech Before a Joint Session of Congress, January 8th, 1918." In *Readings in World Politics*, vol. 2. Chicago: American Foundation for Political Education, 1957.

Winks, Robin W. "On Decolonisation and Informal Empire." *American History Review* 81, no. 3 (1976): 540–56.

Winstone, H. V. F. *Gertrude Bell*. London: Constable, 1993.

Wolfowitz, Paul. Deputy Secretary of Defence's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. 22 May 2003.

Woodruff, Philip. *The Men Who Ruled India*. Vol. 2, *The Guardians*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1954.

Woodward, Bob. *Bush at War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.

- Yapp, M. E. *The Near East Since the First World War: A History to 1995*. 2d edition. London: Longman, 1996.
- Young, Crawford. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Young, Major Sir Hubert. *The Independent Arab*. London: John Murray, 1933.
- Young, Robert. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Young, Tom. " 'A Project to be Realized': Liberalism and Contemporary Africa." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 24, no. 3 (1995).
- Youngs, Tim. *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1900*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Zinni, Anthony. Speech at the Middle East Institute. Washington D.C. 10 October 2002.
- Zizek, Slavoj. "Introduction: The Spectre of Ideology." In *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Zizek. London: Verso, 1994.
- Zubaida, Sami. "Review Article: Exhibitions of Power." *Economy and Society* 19, no. 3 (August 1990).



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At the end of May 2003, in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion, I found myself walking through the central government district of Baghdad. I had just left the old Republican Palace on the banks of the Tigris and was walking towards the center of the city to catch a ride. It was from the grand quarters of the Republican Palace that Saddam Hussein had ruled over Iraq. I had just spent the afternoon at the palace interviewing staff from the newly formed Coalition Provisional Authority; the hub of U.S. attempts to rebuild the Iraqi state after the invasion. In the late afternoon sunshine I struggled to understand how these American administrators were intending to reform the institutions of state they had so recently seized from the Baathist ruling elite.

As I walked passed the burnt-out hulks of government ministries, I came across small groups of American soldiers manning checkpoints in the security compound surrounding the palace. They had fought their way up from Kuwait in the expectation that they would be welcomed into Baghdad as liberators. They now found themselves the focus of increasing societal resentment, losing comrades every day to an enemy they were supposed to have defeated several weeks earlier.

The themes that dominated my impressions of that afternoon, the interviews in the opulent marble halls of the palace and the conversations with disorientated young GIs many miles from home, are those that have come to form the hub of my own research agenda as an academic: how society is understood, how people set about trying to create states, and how the states they build interact with society. I have sought answers to these questions by focusing on the birth and evolution of the postcolonial state in the international system, using Iraq as a prime example. All these questions appeared, on that afternoon, to be personified in the bewilderment, fear, and alienation of a group of young men, trying to impose order on a society they had little or no understanding of.

This book is an attempt to understand why the first attempt at regime change and state building in Iraq failed. It uses the tools of social theory and political sociology to interrogate the colonial archive, seeking to understand the perceptions and hence the agency of those British officials

who spent eighteen years trying to build a stable state in Iraq. Ultimately, it was their failures that brought war and foreign intervention back to Iraq in the first few years of the new millennium. If the United States can possibly avoid the misperceptions and mistakes of the state builders who went before them, the Iraqi people just might have a chance at getting the better life they so richly deserve.

Researching, writing, and then publishing should ultimately, by its very nature, be a collective endeavor. In finishing this book I have incurred a great many debts to people who have taken the time to engage in extended discussions with me. This book was conceived, researched, and largely written while I was studying and teaching at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. It was finished while I was an associate fellow of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and brought to publication while I was a research fellow at the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, the University of Warwick. I would like to thank the Politics Department at SOAS and Rosy Hollis of the Middle East Programme at RIIA. Richard Higgott, the Head of CSGR at Warwick, has provided me with wise academic counsel throughout.

Several groups of people have been influential in shaping the ideas and research that went into this book. First, I would like to thank Kathryn Dean, Sudipta Kaviraj, John Sidel, and Tom Young for taking the time to discuss comparative politics and social theory with me. I gained a great deal from taking part in the Foucault and Colonialism discussion group and workshop at SOAS and would like to thank Shruti Kapila and David Arnold for organizing them. I would also like to thank Fred Halliday, Yosi Kostiner, Roger Owen, Tariq Tell, Mai Yamani, and Sami Zubaida for enlightening me on many and varied aspects of politics in the Middle East.

Charles Tripp, my Ph.D. supervisor and mentor, has continued to provide me with the wise and patient counsel that has guided me through research and writing.

Whilst looking at the Baghdad High Commission archives in New Delhi, Ian Brown was kind enough to extend to me the paternal hand of SOAS many miles away from home.

In helping me with my continuing struggle to work on and understand Iraq, I would like to thank Khaireddin Haseeb, Faleh Jabar, Raad



Al Kadiri, Zuhair Al Kadiri, Isam Al Khafaji, Tim Niblock, and especially Peter Sluglett.

Most advice and inspiration has been given to me by, and the greatest influence upon my thinking has come from, fellow researchers that I have been lucky enough to work along side over the previous decade. At SOAS these have included Ali Ansari, Grace Carswell, Bill Dorman, Nick Hostettler, and David Williams, and in India I would like to thank Ian Barrow and Kriti Kapila.

I would like to thank Karin Barry for proofreading the original text. It was Michael Dwyer who took that text from my office in Warwick and convinced me not only that it should be published but also that it should be published now and it was Peter Dimock at Columbia University Press whose wise and sympathetic editing made the text more readable.

I would like to thank the Economic and Social Research Council and the School of Oriental and African Studies for funding the research for this book. I greatly benefited from presenting drafts of different chapters at the British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective conference, organized by IFEAD (Damascus), the University of Utah, and Mémoires méditerranéens/IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence, Workshop on Late Colonialism in the Middle East, the Middle East Center, the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, the University of Washington, The Middle East Mandates in Comparative Perspective workshop, the University of Utah, *Past and Present* fiftieth-anniversary conference, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, the Middle East Study Group, Birkbeck College, and the Centre of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham. I would like to thank these institutions and the participants in the meetings for their comments.

Such extended periods of travel, research, and writing places unfair burdens on one's family. I would very much like to thank my mother, Pat Dodge, and brother and sister, Jane Dodge and Matthew Dodge, and the Day family for their unceasing faith and support over the years.

My greatest thanks and the largest debt of gratitude is due to Clare. It is she who chased me back into graduate study, made sure I stayed there, and provided endless support and enthusiasm and it is to her I would like to dedicate this book.

