Bibliography of the Iraq War

Bruce Gilley, Associate Professor, Division of Political Science, Portland State University

//Overviews

- DeFronzo, J. (2010) The Iraq war: origins and consequences, Bolder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Kinsella, D. T. (2007) Regime change: origins, execution, and aftermath of the Iraq war, Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Fawn, R. and Hinnebusch, R. A. (2006) *The Iraq war: causes and consequences*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Mohamed El-Shibiny, Iraq: A Lost War (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

//Research and Teaching

• Burgos, Russell (2008), "Teaching the Iraq War", PS: Political Science & Politics, 41:1, 173-178. (PDF Available)

//Descriptive Aspects

- Kaldor, Mary (1999). New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press.
- Angstrom, Jan (2005). Puzzles and Propositions of the Iraq War. The Iraq War: European Perspectives on Politics, Strategy, and Operations. J. Hallenberg and H. Karlsson. New York, Routledge: 1-18.
- Kennedy, Liam (2009), "Soldier photography: visualising the war in Iraq", Review of International Studies, Volume 35, Issue 04, October, pp 817-833.

//Causes: Overviews

- Frank P. Harvey, Explaining the Iraq War: Counterfactual Theory, Logic and Evidence (2011) (New York: Cambridge University Press.)
- Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall (2011) Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge.)

//Causes: Saddam's Iraq

- Sassoon, Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party (Cambridge, 2012)
- Mlfrid Braut-Hegghammer (2006), "Rebel Without a Cause? Explaining Iraq's Response to Resolution 1441", *Nonproliferation Review*, Volume 13, Issue 1, pages 17 34
- Brands, Hal. "Inside the Iraqi State Records: Saddam Hussein, 'Irangate', and the United States." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 34 (2011): 1, 95-118.
- Brands, Hal. "Making the Conspiracy Theorist a Prophet: Covert Action and the Contours of U.S.-Iraq Relations," *International History Review*, 33, 3 (Sept 2011): 341-408.
- Brands, Hal and David Palkki. "Saddam, Israel, and the Bomb: Nuclear Alarmism Justified?" *International Security*, 36, (6 July 2011): 1, 133-166.
- Brands, Hal and David Palkki. "Why Did Saddam Want the Bomb? The Israel Factor and the Iraqi Nuclear Program." *Foreign Policy Research Institute* (Aug 2011).

- Nathan, Elizabeth A. "Saddam and the Tribes: How Captured Documents Explain Regime Adaptation to Internal Challenges (1979–2003)." *Joint Center for Operational* Analysis Journal, Vol. XII, Issue 1, Spring 2010 p. 12-30.
- Palkki, David D. and Shane Smith. "Contrasting causal mechanisms: Iraq and Libya" in Sanctions, Statecraft, and Nuclear Proliferation: Sanctions, Inducements, and Collective Action, ed by Etel Solingen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Rubin, Lawrence P. "Research Note: Documenting Saddam Hussein's Iraq." *Contemporary Security Policy*, 32, 2 (Summer, 2011): 458-466.
- Sassoon, Joseph. Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Woods, Kevin. and Mark E. Stout. "New Sources for the Study of Iraqi Intelligence during the Saddam Era." Intelligence and National Security, 25, 4 (Dec 2010): 547-587.
- Woods, Kevin M. The Mother of All Battles: Saddam Hussein's Strategic Plan for the Persian Gulf War. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2008.
- Woods, Kevin M., and James Lacey. "Iraqi Perspectives Project: Saddam and Terrorism: Emerging Insights from Captured Iraqi Documents." Institute for Defense Analyses, November 2007.
- Woods, Kevin M., and Mark E. Stout. "Saddam's Perceptions and Misperceptions: The Case of 'Desert Storm." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 33 (2010): 1, 5-41.
- Woods, Kevin M., Michael Pease, Mark E. Stout, Williamson Murray, and James G. Lacey. The Iraqi Perspectives Report-Saddam's Senior Leadership on Operation Iraqi Freedom from the Official U.S. Joint Forces Command Report. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006.
- David Wurmser, Tyranny's Ally: America's Failure to Defeat Saddam Hussein (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1999)
- Achim Rohde, State-Society Relations in Ba'thist Iraq: Facing Dictatorship (2010) London; New York: Routledge.
- Kevin M. Woods, David D. Palkki and Mark Stout, The Saddam Tapes (2011) The Inner Workings of a Tyrant's Regime, 1978-2001 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.)
- Joy Gordon (2010), *Invisible War: The United States & the Iraq Sanctions* (2010) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Mazaheri, Nimah., "Iraq and the Domestic Political Effects of Economic Sanctions." Middle East Journal, Spring2010, Vol. 64 Issue 2, p254-268,
- Marr, Phebe (2004). The Saddam Husain Regime, 1979-1989. The Modern History of Iraq. Boulder, Westview Press: 177-215
- Woods, Kevin, James Lacey, et al. (2006). "Saddam's Delusions: The View from the Inside." *Foreign Affairs* 85(3): 1-13.
- B.W. Jentleson (1994), With Friends Like These: Reagan, Bush, and Saddam, 1982-1990, New York: W.W. Norton and Co.
- King, John (2006). Iraq Then and Now. Chicago, Ill., Raintree
- Litwak, Robert (2000). Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy: Containment after the Cold War. Washington, DC, Woodrow Wilson Center Press
- Eppel, Michael (2004). *Iraq from Monarchy to Tyranny: From the Hashemites to the Rise of Saddam*. Gainesville, University Press of Florida

- Record, Jeffrey (2004). The Unfinished Business of 1991. Dark Victory: America's Second War against Iraq. Annapolis, Md., Naval Institute Press: 1-16.
- Gallagher, Jim (2005). Causes of the Iraq War. Stockton NJ, OTTN Publishing
- Keegan, John (2004). Saddam's Wars. The Iraq War. New York, Alfred A. Knopf: 56-87.
- Sponeck, H. C. (2006). A Different Kind of War: The UN Sanctions Regime in Iraq. New York, Berghahn Books;
- Makiya, K. (1989) Republic of fear: the inside story of Saddam's Iraq, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Stansfield, G. R. V. (2007) *Iraq: people, history, politics*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Steavenson, W. (2009) The weight of a mustard seed: the intimate story of an Iraqi general and his family during thirty years of tyranny, New York: Collins Pub. Group.
- Hamadani, R. d. M. i., Woods, K. M., Murray, W., Holaday, T. and National Intelligence Council (U.S.) (2009) *Saddam's war: an Iraqi military perspective on the Iran-Iraq War*, Washington, D.C.: Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.
- Baram, A. and Rubin, B. M. (1993) Iraq's road to war, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Bulloch, J. and Morris, H. (1991) Saddam's war: the origins of the Kuwait conflict and the international response, London; Boston: Faber and Faber.
- Dawisha, A. (2009) A political history from independence to occupation, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hiro, D. (1989) The longest war: the Iran-Iraq military conflict, London: Grafton Books.
- Hiro, D. (2002) *Iraq: in the eye of the storm*, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books.
- Karsh, E. (1989) The Iran-Iraq war: impact and implications, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Knights, M. (2005) *Cradle of conflict: Iraq and the birth of modern U.S. military power*, Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press.
- Long, J. M. (2004) Saddam's war of words: politics, religion, and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Willett, E. (2004) The Iran-Iraq War, New York, NY: Rosen Pub. Group.
- Tompkins, Anne and Gregory Paw (2007), "Gathering Evidence against the Regime of Saddam Hussein", *Litigation*, 34.
- Bacevich, A. J., Inbar, E. and Merkaz Besa. (2003) *The Gulf War of 1991 reconsidered*, London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass.
- Cashman, G. and Robinson, L. C. (2007) An introduction to the causes of war: patterns of interstate conflict from World War I to Iraq, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, Ch. 6.
- Hsieh, Chang-Tai; Moretti, Enrico (2006), "Did Iraq Cheat the United Nations? Underpricing, Bribes, and the Oil for Food Program", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 121, no. 4, November, pp. 1211-48.

//Causes: Iragi Exiles

- Richard Bonin, Arrows of the Night: Ahmad Chalabi's Long Journey to Triumph in Iraq (New York: Doubleday, 2011)
- United States Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence (2006), The Use by the Intelligence Community of Information Provided by the Iraqi National Congress, S. Rpt. 109-330, Available at: http:intelligence.senate.gov/phaseiiinc.pdf

- Vanderbush, Walt (2009), "Exiles and the Marketing of U.S. Policy toward Cuba and Iraq", Foreign Policy Analysis, July, 5:3, p287-306.
- Roston, A. (2008) The man who pushed America to war: the extraordinary life, adventures, and obsessions of Ahmed Chalabi, New York: Nation Books.

//Causes: Oil

- Michael Klare, "Blood for oil, in Iraq and elsewhere", in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)
- John S. Duffield, "Oil and the decision to invade Iraq", in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)
- Hussein, S. (1973) On oil nationalisation [in Iraq], Baghdad: Ath-Thawra House.
- Pelletiere, S. C. (2001) *Iraq and the international oil system: why America went to war in the Gulf*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Klare, Michael T. (2007), "Oil, Iraq, and American Foreign Policy: The Continuing Salience of the Carter Doctrine", *International Journal*, 62, 31 to 42.
- Kubursi, Atif (2006), "Oil and the global economy", in Fawn, R. and Hinnebusch, R. A. *The Iraq war: causes and consequences*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Leech, G. M. (2006) Crude interventions: the US, oil and the new world (dis)order, New York Palgrave Macmillan.

//Causes: The Role of Neo-Conservatism

- Binoy Kampmark, "The first neo-conservative: James Burnham and the origins of a movement", *Review of International Studies*, October 2011, 37: 4, pp.1885-1902.
- Andrew Flibbert, "The Road to Baghdad: Ideas and Intellectuals in Explanations of the Iraq War," *Security Studies*, 15, no. 2 (April-June 2006): 310–52,
- Brian C. Schmidt & Michael C. Williams (2008): "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives Versus Realists", Security Studies, 17:2, 191-220
- Hobbs, Mitchell., "Neo-conned: The Murdoch press and the Iraq War", *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, 2010, p187-207
- Stephen J. Sniegoski (2010), The Transparent Cabal, AET Books
- Heilbrunn, J. (2008) They knew they were right: the rise of the neocons, New York: Doubleday.
- Project for the New American Century (1998). An Open Letter to President Clinton.
- Kesler, Charles (2007). "Iraq and the Neoconservatives." *Claremont Review of Books* 7(3): 8-13.
- Record, Jeffrey (2004). The Neoconservative Vision and 9/11. *Dark Victory: America's Second War against Iraq.* Annapolis, Md., Naval Institute Press: 17-29.
- Murray, Douglas (2006). Neoconservatism: Why We Need It. New York, Encounter Books.
- Plesch, Dan (2005). The Neo-Cons: Neo-Conservative Thinking since the Onset of the Iraq War. The Iraq War and Democratic Politics. A. Danchev and J. MacMillan. London; New York, Routledge: 47-58
- Harper, John (2005). "Anatomy of a Habit: America's Unnecessary Wars." *Survival* 47(2): 57-86.

- Fukuyama, Francis (2006). The Neoconservative Legacy. *America at the Crossroads:* Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy. New Haven, Yale University Press: 12-65.
- Rosen, G. (2005) *The right war? : the conservative debate on Iraq*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, John (2006), "The ideology of war: the neoconservatives and the hijacking of US policy in Iraq" in Davis, J. (ed) *Presidential policies and the road to the second Iraq war: from Forty One to Forty Three*, Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub.
- Halabi, Y. (2009) US foreign policy in the Middle East: from crises to change, Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate.
- Muravchik, Joshua (2007), "The Past, Present, and Future of Neoconservatism", Commentary, October
- Halper, S. A. and Clarke, J. (2004) *America alone: the neo-conservatives and the global order*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, esp. pp.201-232.
- Michael Lind, "Neoconservatism and American hegemony" in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)
- Frank Harvey (2008), "President Al Gore and the 2003 Iraq War: A Counterfactual Critique of Conventional "W"isdom", Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute

//Causes: U.S. Domestic Politics After 9/11

- Thomas Goodnight, "The Metapolitics Of The 2002 Iraq Debate: Public Policy And The Network Imaginary." Rhetoric & Public Affairs, Spring2010, Vol. 13 Issue 1, p65-94
- Gary Jacobson, "A Tale of Two Wars: Public Opinion on the U.S. Military Interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq", *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Dec2010, Vol. 40 Issue 4, p585-610,
- Stroud, Natalie Jomini and Sparrow, Bartholomew "Assessing Public Opinion After 9/11 and Before the Iraq War" *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*; Summer2011, Vol. 23 Issue 2, p148-168.
- Bonn, *Mass deception : moral panic and the U.S. war on Iraq*, ed.^eds. Editor (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Tunç, Hakan (2005). "What Was It All About after All? The Causes of the Iraq War." *Contemporary Security Policy* 26(2): 335-355.
- Ritchie, N. and Rogers, P. (2006) The political road to war with Iraq: Bush, 9/11, and the drive to overthrow Saddam, London; New York: Routledge.
- Gordon, Michael R. and Bernard E. Trainor (2006). Snowflakes from the Secretary. Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq. New York, Pantheon Books: 3-23
- Gershkoff, Amy and Shana Kushner (2005). "Shaping Public Opinion: The 9/11-Iraq Connection in the Bush Administration's Rhetoric." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(3): 525-537.
- Western, Jon (2005). The War over Iraq. *Selling Intervention and War*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press: 175-219.
- Litwak, Robert (2000). Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy: Containment after the Cold War. Washington, DC, Woodrow Wilson Center Press
- Pauly, Robert and Tom Lansford (2005). U.S. Iraq Policy and September 11th. *Strategic Preemption: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Second Iraq War.* Burlington, VT, Ashgate: 15-38.

- Smith, Philip (2005). The War in Iraq of 2003. Why War?: The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War, and Suez. Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 154-181.
- Davis, J. (2006) Presidential policies and the road to the second Iraq war: from Forty One to Forty Three, Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub.
- Dobbins, James (2007), "Who Lost Iraq?", Foreign Affairs, Sept/Oct.
- Hoyle, R. (2008) Going to War: How Misinformation, Disinformation, and Arrogance Led America into Iraq (New York: Thomas Dunne Books)
- Hess, G. R. (2009) Presidential decisions for war: Korea, Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, and Iraq, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Brewer, S. A. (2009) Why America fights: patriotism and war propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Isikoff, M. and Corn, D. (2006) *Hubris: the inside story of spin, scandal, and the selling of the Iraq War*, New York: Crown Publishers.
- Althaus, Scott and Devon Largio (2004), "When Osama Became Saddam: Origins and Consequences of the Change in America's Public Enemy #1", PS: Political Science & Politics, Volume 37, Issue 04, Oct 2004, pp 795-799.
- Packer, G. (2005) *The assassins' gate : America in Iraq*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Chs. 1-4.
- The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (The 9-11 Commission), 9-11 Commission Report, http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/911Report_Ch10.pdf, pp. 334-336
- Explaining the war in Iraq / Robert Jervis in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)
- Matthew A. Baum, Tim Groeling, "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality", *International Organization*, Volume 64, Issue 03, 2010, 443 479
- Dan P. McAdams, George W. Bush and the Redemptive Dream: A Psychological Portrait (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press., 2011)

//Causes: Ideas and Bureaucratic Politics

- Badie, Dina. "Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift toward Iraq". Foreign Policy Analysis. Oct2010, Vol. 6 Issue 4, p277-296
- Dobel, Patrick (2010), "Prudence and Presidential Ethics: The Decisions on Iraq of the Two Presidents Bush", *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, March, Vol. 40 Issue 1, p57-75
- Stephen Benedict Dyson (2009), "Stuff happens': Donald Rumsfeld and the Iraq War", Foreign Policy Analysis, 5, 327-347.
- Mazarr, Michael (2007). "The Iraq War and Agenda Setting." Foreign Policy Analysis 3: 1-23.
- McClellan, S. (2008) What Happened: Inside the Bush White House and Washington's culture of deception, Ch. 8, New York: Public Affairs.
- Mitchell, David and Tansa George Massoud (2009), "Anatomy of failure: Bush's decision-making process and the Iraq war" Foreign Policy Analysis, 5:3, 265-286.
- Collins, Joseph J. (2008) Choosing War: The Decision to Invade Iraq and Its Aftermath (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press: Institute for National Strategic Studies)

- Kaufmann, Chaim (2004), "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War", *International Security*, Summer, 29: 1, 5-48
- Kaufmann, Chaim and Ronald Krebs (2005), "Selling the Market Short? The Marketplace of Ideas and the Iraq War", *International Security*, 29: 4, 196-207.
- Andrew Flibbert, "Ideas and entrepreneurs: a constructivist explanation of the Iraq War" in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)

//Causes: WMD, Intelligence, and Threat Perceptions

- Brian Jones, Failing Intelligence: The True Story of How We Were Fooled into Going to War in Iraq (2010) London: Dialogue.
- James P. Pfiffner, and Mark Phythian, *Intelligence and National Security Policymaking on Iraq : British and American Perspectives*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008)
- Robert Jervis, Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 238 p.
- Brian Jones, Failing Intelligence: The True Story of How We Were Fooled into Going to War in Iraq (London: Dialogue, xxix, 302 p.
- Tenet, G. & Harlow, B. (2007). At the center of the storm: My years at the cia, 1st ed. New York: HarperCollins.
- Pillar, Paul R (2006), "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq", Foreign Affairs, vol. 85, no. 2, March-April, pp. 15-27
- Lowenberg, Anton D; Mathews, Timothy (2008), "Why Iraq?", Defence and Peace Economics, vol. 19, no. 1, February 2008, pp. 1-20
- U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (2004), Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq. Available at: www.gpoaccess.gov/serialset/creports/Iraq.html
- Feith, D. J. (2008) War and decision: inside the Pentagon at the dawn of the War on terrorism, New York, NY: Harper.
- Butler, R. (2001) The greatest threat: Iraq, weapons of mass destruction, and the crisis of global security, New York: PublicAffairs.
- Haglund, David (2005). "Lies, Damned Lies, and Threat Perceptions: Kriegsgrunde (1941) Revisited, in Light of Iraq." *Comparative Strategy* 24(1): 1-20.
- Jervis, Robert (2006). "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29(1): 3-52
- Goldstein, Lyle (2006). Preventive Attack and Weapons of Mass Destruction. New Haven, Yale University Press
- Renshon, Jonathan (2006). Why Leaders Choose War: The Psychology of Prevention. Westport, Conn., Praeger Security International.
- Powers, Thomas (2007). What Tenet Knew. New York Review of Books: 70-74.
- Duelfer, Charles (2009). *Hide and Seek: The Search for Truth in Iraq.* New York: PublicAffairs.
- Blix, H. (2004) *Disarming Iraq*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Bodansky, Y. (2004) The secret history of the Iraq war, New York: Regan Books.
- Pfiffner, J. P. and Phythian, M. (2008) *Intelligence and national security policymaking on Iraq:* British and American perspectives, College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

- Jervis, Robert (2010). Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Cordesman, A. H. (1999) *Iraq and the war of sanctions : conventional threats and weapons of mass destruction*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Haselkorn, A. (1999) *The continuing storm : Iraq, poisonous weapons and deterrence*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hooker, G. (2005) Shaping the plan for Operation Iraqi Freedom: the role of military intelligence assessments, Washington, D.C.: Washington Institute for Near East Policy.
- Bamford, J. (2004) A pretext for war: 9/11, Iraq, and the abuse of America's intelligence agencies, New York: Doubleday.
- Schoenfeld, Gabriel (2007), "The CIA Follies", Commentary, 124:1, pp.27-34.
- Pauly, R. J. and Lansford, T. (2005) Strategic preemption: U.S. foreign policy and the second Iraq war, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub.
- Cashman, G. and Robinson, L. C. (2007) An introduction to the causes of war: patterns of interstate conflict from World War I to Iraq, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, Ch. 7
- Hayes, Stephen (2006), "How Bad Is the Senate Intelligence Report? Very bad", *The Weekly Standard*, 09/25/2006, Volume 012, Issue 02
- United States Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence (2006), *Postwar Findings about Iraq's WMD Programs and Links to Terrorism and How they Compare with Prewar Assessments*, S. Rpt. 109-331, Available at: http:intelligence.senate.gov/phaseiiaccuracy.pdf
- United States Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction (2005), Report to the President, Available at: www.wmd.gov/report/index.html
- Lebovic, James (2009), "Perception and Politics in Intelligence Assessments", *International Studies Perspectives*, 10, 394-412.

//Causes: Allies, the International System, and Diplomacy

- Suzanne Xiao Yang, China in the Un Security Council Decision-Making on Iraq: Conflicting Understandings, Competing Preferences, 1990-2002 (New York: Routledge, 2012).
- Miller, Benjamin. "Explaining Changes in U.S. Grand Strategy: 9/11, the Rise of Offensive Liberalism, and the War in Iraq" Security Studies, Jan2010, Vol. 19 Issue 1, p26-65
- Davies, Graeme A M (2008), "Strategic Cooperation, the Invasion of Iraq and the Behaviour of the 'Axis of Evil', 1990-2004", Journal of Peace Research, vol. 45, no. 3, May, pp. 385-99
- Lavina Rajendram Lee, US Hegemony and International Legitimacy: Norms, Power and Followership in the Wars on Iraq (2010) London; New York: Routledge.
- Chiozza, Giacomo. "A Crisis Like No Other? Anti-Americanism at the Time of the Iraq War" European Journal of International Relations 15. 2 (Jun 2009): 257-289
- Kesgin, Baris; Kaarbo, Juliet. "When and How Parliaments Influence Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision" *International Studies Perspectives*, Feb2010, Vol. 11 Issue 1, p19-36,
- Jonathan Cook, Israel & the Clash of Civilizations: Iraq, Iran & the Plan to Remake the Middle East

- Kelly McHugh, "Bush, Blair, and the War in Iraq: Alliance Politics and the Limits of Influence." *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall2010, Vol. 125 Issue 3, p465-491
- O'Connor, Brendon; Vucetic, Srdjan. "Another Mars-Venus divide? Why Australia said 'yes' and Canada said 'non' to involvement in the 2003 Iraq War". Australian Journal of International Affairs, Nov2010, Vol. 64 Issue 5, p526-548,
- Kakizaki, Masaki. "Anti-Iraq War Protests in Turkey: Global Networks, Coalitions, and Context" Middle Eastern Studies, Jan 2011, Vol. 47 Issue 1, p81-99,
- Ralph, Jason, "After Chilcot: The 'Doctrine of International Community' and the UK Decision to Invade Iraq". *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, Aug2011, Vol. 13 Issue 3, p304-325
- Daniel Baltrusaitis (2010), Coalition Politics and the Iraq War: Determinants of Choice (Boulder: First Forum Press)
- Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge).
- Heraldo Muñoz, A Solitary War: A Diplomat's Chronicle of the Iraq War and Its Lessons (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum, 2008)
- Yew, Lee Kuan (2007), "The United States, Iraq, and the War on Terror: A Singaporean Perspective", Foreign Affairs, vol. 86, no. 1, January-February 2007, pp. 2-7
- Danchev, Alex, "Tony Blair's Vietnam: The Iraq War and the 'Special Relationship' in Historical Perspective", Review of International Studies, vol. 33, no. 2, April 2007, pp. 189-203
- Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline; Vickers, Rhiannon (2007), "Blowback' for Britain?: Blair, Bush, and the War in Iraq", Review of International Studies, vol. 33, no. 2, April 2007, pp. 205-21
- Goldthau, Andreas (2008), "Divided over Iraq, United over Iran: A Rational Choice Explanation to European Irrationalities", European Political Economy Review, no. 8, Spring, pp. 40-67
- Chandra Thakur, Ramesh and Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu (2006). *The Iraq crisis and world order: structural, institutional and normative challenges.* New York: United Nations University Press.
- Lebow, Richard Ned (2007). Classical Realist Analysis of Iraq. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. T. Dunne, M. Kurki and S. Smith. Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press: 65-68.
- Mowle, Thomas S. and David H. Sacko (2007). Offensive Advantage in a Unipolar World. The Unipolar World: An Unbalanced Future. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 131-142.
- Press-Barnathan, Galia (2004). "The War against Iraq and International Order: From Bull to Bush." *International Studies Review* 6(2): 195-212.
- Wiseman, Geoffrey (2005). "Pax Americana: Bumping into Diplomatic Culture." International Studies Perspectives 6(4): 409-430.
- Clarke, Michael (2004). The Diplomacy That Led to War in Iraq. *The Conflict in Iraq 2003*. P. Cornish. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 27-54.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2006). Hegemonic Stability Theory Reconsidered: Implications
 of the Iraq War. The Iraq War: Causes and Consequences. R. Hinnebusch and R. Fawn.
 London, Lynn Reinner: 283-322.

- Jervis, Robert (2005). The Confrontation between Iraq and the United States: Implications for the Theory and Practice of Deterrence. *American Foreign Policy in the New Era*. New York, Routledge: 59-78.
- Vucetic, Srdjan (2006). "Why Did Canada Sit out of the Iraq War? One Constructivist Analysis." *Canadian Foreign Policy* 13(1): 133-156.
- Malone, David (2006). The International Struggle over Iraq: Politics in the Un Security Council 1980-2005. Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press.
- Goldstein, Lyle (2006). Preventive Attack and Weapons of Mass Destruction. New Haven, Yale University Press
- Vaughn, Shannon and Jonathan Keller (2007). "Leadership Style and International Norm Violation: The Case of the Iraq War." Foreign Policy Analysis (3): 79-104.
- Carapico, Sheila and Chris Toensing (2006). "The Strategic Logic of the Iraq Blunder."
 Middle East Report 36(1): 6-11.
- Luck, Edward (2004). Bush, Iraq, and the U.N.: Whose Idea Was This Anyway? *Wars on Terrorism and Iraq: Human Rights, Unilateralism, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. T. Weiss, M. Crahan and J. Goering. New York, Routledge: 135-154.
- Lansford, Tom (2006), "Coalition diplomacy and Iraq" in Davis, J., Presidential policies and the road to the second Iraq war: from Forty One to Forty Three, Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub.
- Waxman, Dov (2009), "From Jerusalem to Baghdad? Israel and the War in Iraq", International Studies Perspectives, 10, pp.1-17
- Gordon, P. H. and Shapiro, J. (2004) Allies at war: America, Europe, and the crisis over Iraq, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Walt, Stephen (2009), "Alliances in a Unipolar World", World Politics, 61:1, pp.86-120.
- Becker, Per (2009), "Vulnerability and nationalism: the support for the war against Iraq in five established states", *Nations & Nationalism*, Apr, Vol. 15 Issue 2, p340-360.
- Kettell, Steve (2009), "The Curious Incident of the Dog that Didn't Bark in the Night-Time: Structure and Agency in Britain's War with Iraq," *Politics & Policy*, Apr, Vol. 37 Issue 2, p415-439.
- Kemp, Matthew (2009), "French Intellectuals and the Iraq War", *Modern & Contemporary France*, May, Vol. 17 Issue 2, p199-210.
- Chiozza, Giacomo (2009), "A Crisis Like No Other? Anti-Americanism at the Time of the Iraq War", European Journal of International Relations, June, Vol. 15 Issue 2, p257-289.
- Antonopolous, Constantine (2004), "Some Thoughts on the NATO Position in Relation to the Iraqi Crisis", Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 17, Issue 01, Mar 2004, pp 171-183
- Explaining the Iraq War: the Israel lobby theory / Jerome Slater in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)
- Tony Blair nurtures the special relationship / Jane M.O. Sharp in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)
- In pursuit of primacy: why the United States invaded Iraq / Jane K. Cramer and Edward C. Duggan. in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)

• Ideas, American grand strategy, and the war in Iraq / Colin Dueck in Jane K. Cramer, and A. Trevor Thrall, Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge., 2011)

//Legal Arguments For and Against the War

- Raul A. Pete Pedrozo, *The War in Iraq: A Legal Analysis* (2010) Newport, R.I.: Naval War College.
- M. Weller, *Iraq and the Use of Force in International Law* (2010)Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Report of the Dutch Committee of Inquiry on the War in Iraq (2010)
- Ackerman, Bruce; Hathaway, Oona. "Limited War and the Constitution: Iraq and the Crisis of Presidential Legality" *Michigan Law Review*, Jan2011, Vol. 109 Issue 4, p447-517,
- Amara, Jomana; McNab, Robert M.. "Is Iraq Different?: An Examination of Whether Civilian Fatalities Adhere to the "Law of War" in the 2003-2008 Iraq Conflict". *Defense & Security Analysis*, Mar2010, Vol. 26 Issue 1, p65-80,
- Nicholas Kerton-Johnson (2011), Justifying America's Wars: The Conduct and Practice of US Military Intervention (New York: Routledge)
- U.S. Department of Justice (2002), "Effect of a Recent United Nations Security Council Resolution on the Authority of the President Under International Law to Use Military Force Against Iraq", 8 November 2002, Available at: www.justice.gov/olc/2002/iraq-unscr-final.pdf
- John B. Bellinger, III (2003), "Authority for Use of Force by the United States Against Iraq under International Law", Council on Foreign Relations CFR/ASIL Roundtable.
- Verdirame, Guglielmo (2004). International Law and the Use of Force against Iraq. *The Conflict in Iraq 2003*. P. Cornish. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 92-104.
- Paulus, Andreas (2004). "The War against Iraq and the Future of International Law: Hegemony or Pluralism?" *Michigan Journal of International Law* 25(3): 691-733.
- Scott, Shirley V. and Olivia Ambler (2007). "Does Legality Really Matter? Accounting for the Decline in Us Foreign Policy Legitimacy Following the 2003 Invasion of Iraq." *European Journal of International Relations* 3(1): 67-87.
- Thornberry, Patrick (2005). 'It Seemed the Best Thing to Be up and Go': On the Legal Case for Invading Iraq. *The Iraq War and Democratic Politics*. A. Danchev and J. MacMillan. New York, Routledge: 114-133.
- Sissons, Miranda (2006). "And Now from the Green Zone ... Reflections on the Iraq Tribunal's Dujail Trial." *Ethics and International Affairs* 20(4): 505-515.
- Alvarez, Jose (2004). Legal Unilateralism. Wars on Terrorism and Iraq: Human Rights, Unilateralism, and U.S. Foreign Policy. T. Weiss, M. Crahan and J. Goering. New York, Routledge: 188-208.
- Bring, Ove and Per Brostrom (2005). The Iraq War and International Law: From Hugo Grotius to George W. Bush. *The Iraq War: European Perspectives on Politics, Strategy, and Operations.* J. Hallenberg and H. Karlsson. New York, Routledge: 118-140.
- Glennon, Michael (2008), "A Conveniently Unlawful War: Congress Didn't Authorize the Fight We Are Now In", *Hoover Institution Policy Review*, September 2008
- Shiner, Phil and Andrew Williams (2008) *The Iraq War and International Law* (Oxford; Portland, Or.: Hart Pub.)

- Yordan, Carlos (2007), "Why Did the U.N. Security Council Support the Anglo-American Project to Transform Postwar Iraq? The Evolution of International Law in the Shadow of the American Hegemon", Journal of International Law and International Relations, 3, pp.61ff.
- Spectar, J.M. (2007), "Beyond the Rubicon: Presidential Leadership, International Law and the Use of Force in the Long Hard Slog", *Connecticut Journal of International Law*, 22, pp.47ff.
- Franck, Thomas M. (2006), "Iraq and the Law of Armed Conflict", *International Legal Studies Series*, U.S. Naval War College, 80, pp.15ff
- Schmitt, Michael (2006), "The Legality of Operation Iraqi Freedom Under International Law", *International Legal Studies Series*, U.S. Naval War College, 81, pp. 367-394.
- Moghalu, Kingsley Chiedu (2006). "Saddam Hussein's Trial Meets the "Fairness" Test." *Ethics and International Affairs* 20(4): 517-525.
- Al Hassani, Zouhair (2008), "International humanitarian law and its implementation in Iraq", International Review of the Red Cross, Volume 90, Issue 869, Mar 2008, pp 51-70 (PDF Available)
- Cox, Noel (2007), "International Law After Iraq: An Ethical or Historical Approach to Justification of Self-Defence", *Tillburg Foreign Law Review*, 13, pp.228-256.

//Normative Arguments For and Against the War

- Jordy Rocheleau, "From Aggression to Just Occupation? The Temporal Application of Jus Ad Bellum Principles and the Case of Iraq", Journal of Military Ethics, Jun 2010, Vol. 9 Issue 2, p123-138.
- Nigel Biggar, "The invasion of Iraq: what are the morals of the story?" *International Affairs*, Jan2011, Vol. 87 Issue 1, p29-37,
- David Fisher and Nigel Biggar, "Was Iraq an unjust war? A debate on the Iraq war and reflections on Libya" *International Affairs*, May2011, Vol. 87 Issue 3, p687-707
- White, Craig M (2010). *Iraq: the moral reckoning: applying just war theory to the 2003 war decision.* Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.
- Walzer, Michael (2004), Arguing About War, New Haven: Yale University Press, Ch.
- Owens, Patricia (2007), "Beyond Strauss, Lies, and the War in Iraq: Hannah Arendt's Critique of Neoconservatism", Review of International Studies, vol. 33, no. 2, April 2007, pp. 265-83
- Kaplan, L. and Kristol, W. (2003) *The war over Iraq: Saddam's tyranny and America's mission*, San Francisco, CA: Encounter Books.
- Kagan, R. and Kristol, W. (2004), "The Right War for the Right Reasons", Weekly Standard, 23 Feb 2004.
- Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt (2003), "An Unnecessary War", Foreign Policy, Jan/Feb, 134, pp. 51-59
- Savoy, Paul (2004), "The Moral Case Against the Iraq War", The Nation, 31 May 2004.
- Project for the New American Century (2005), *Iraq: Setting the Record Straight*, April 2005. Available at: www.newamericancentury.org/iraq-042005.pdf
- Enemark, Christian and Christopher Michaelsen (2005). "Just War Doctrine and the Invasion of Iraq." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51(4): 545-563.

- Tesón, Fernando (2005). "Ending Tyranny in Iraq." Ethics and International Affairs 19(2): 1-20. Response: Nardin, Terry (2005). "Humanitarian Imperialism." Ethics and International Affairs 19(2): 21-26. Reply: Tesón, Fernando R. (2005). "Of Tyrants and Empires." Ethics and International Affairs 19(2): 27-30.
- Roth, Kenneth (2006). "Was the Iraq War a Humanitarian Intervention?" *Journal of Military Ethics* 5(2): 84-92.
- Mellow, David (2006). "Iraq: A Morally Justified Resort to War." Journal of Applied Philosophy 23(3): 293-310.
- Cushman, Thomas (2005). A Matter of Principle; Humanitarian Arguments for War in Iraq. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press
- Weigel, George (2007). "Just War and Iraq Wars." First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion & Public Life(172): 14-20.
- Steinberg, James (2006). "Preventive Force in U.S. National Security Strategy." *Survival* 47(4): 55-72.
- Pollack, Kenneth M. (2002). *The Threatening Storm : The Case for Invading Iraq.* New York, Random House
- Struhl, Karsten (2005). "Is War a Morally Legitimate Response to Terrorism?" *The Philosophical Forum* 36(1): 129-137.
- Fiala, Andrew (2006). "Citizenship and Preemptive War: The Lesson from Iraq." *Human Rights Review* 7(4): 19-37.
- Walzer, Michael (2005). Arguing About War. New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
- Walzer, Michael (2004). "Just and Unjust Occupations." Dissent Winter: 61-63.
- Freedman, Lawrence (2006). "Iraq, Liberal Wars and Illiberal Containment." *Survival* 48(4): 51-66.
- Steorts, Jason (2007). "The Ethical Case Against Withdrawal from Iraq." *National Review* 59(12): 43-44.
- Berman, P. (2003) Terror and Liberalism, New York: Norton.
- Kaufman, Robert Gordon (2008) In Defense of the Bush Doctrine (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky)
- Borden, Arthur (2008) A Better Country: Why America Was Right to Confront Iraq (Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books)
- Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Robin L. Riley, and Minnie Bruce Pratt (2008), Feminism and War: Confronting US Imperialism (London; New York: Zed Books)
- Ismael, T. Y. and Haddad, W. W. (2004) *Iraq: the human cost of history*, London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press.
- Brenkman, J. (2007) The cultural contradictions of democracy: political thought since September 11, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ryder, Richard (2004), "The ethics of the Iraq war", *Think*, Volume 3, Issue 08, 17-26.
- Haass, R. (2009) War of necessity: war of choice, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Berube, Michael. The Left at War
- C. D. Meyers (2006), "Why (Most) Rational People Must Disapprove of the Invasion of Iraq", *Social Theory and Practice*, 32: 2, pp. 249-268

- Borer, Douglas A; Twing, Stephen W. "Blundering into Baghdad: an analysis of strategy, structure, principals and agents" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. Sep2011, Vol. 24 Issue 3, p493-512.
- Kagan, Frederick (2006). "Iraq Is Not Vietnam." Policy Review 134: 3-14.
- Kober, Avi (2005). "Does the Iraq War Represent a Phase Change in Warfare?" *Defense and Security Analysis* 21(2): 121-142.
- Brigham, Robert K. (2006). Is Iraq Another Vietnam? New York, PublicAffairs;
- Heather Gregg, H.Y.S. Rothstein and John Arquilla, Three Circles of War: Understanding the Dynamics of Conflict in Iraq
- Andrew Smith and Army War College (U.S.). Strategic Studies Institute (2011) Improvised
 Explosive Devices in Iraq, 2003-09: A Case of Operational Surprise and Institutional Response
 (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.)
- David, Charles-Philippe. "How Not to do Post-invasion: Lessons Learned from US Decision-making in Iraq (2002-2008)" *Defense & Security Analysis*, Mar2010, Vol. 26 Issue 1, p31-63,
- Hughes, Geraint. "The Insurgencies in Iraq, 2003-2009: Origins, Developments and Prospects", *Defence Studies*, Mar-Jun2010, Vol. 10 Issue 1/2, p152-176
- Avant, Deborah; Sigelman, Lee., "Private Security and Democracy: Lessons from the US in Iraq", *Security Studies*, Apr-Jun2010, Vol. 19 Issue 2, p230-265,
- Berck, Peter; Lipow, Jonathan. "Did Monetary Forces Help Turn the Tide in Iraq?" Defense & Security Analysis, Jun2010, Vol. 26 Issue 2, p181-188,
- Wilbanks, Mark; Karsh, Efraim., "How the "Sons of Iraq" Stabilized Iraq", *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall2010, Vol. 17 Issue 4, p57-70
- Sky, Emma., "Iraq, From Surge to Sovereignty". Foreign Affairs, Mar/Apr2011, Vol. 90 Issue 2, p117-127,
- Chin, Warren., "British Defense Policy and the War in Iraq 2003-2009". Defense & Security Analysis, Mar2011, Vol. 27 Issue 1, p65-76
- Chad C. Serena, A Revolution in Military Adaptation: The Us Army in the Iraq War (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 2011)
- Woods, Kevin; Michael R Pease; et al (2006). The Iraqi perspectives report: Saddam's senior leadership on operation Iraqi freedom from the official U.S. Joint Forces Command, Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press.
- Hashim, Ahmed S. (2006). *Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gardner, L.C. & Young, M.B. (2007). *Iraq and the lessons of vietnam, or, how not to learn from the past* New York: New Press.
- Murray, Williamson and Robert H Scales (2003). *The Iraq war: a military history*; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Robinson, L., 2008. Tell me how this ends: General david petraeus and the search for a way out of iraq, 1st ed. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.
- Kjellman, Kjell Erling (2009) "Shadow Force: Private Security Contractors in Iraq.", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol.46, no.4, pp.601
- Blank, Larry; Enomoto, Carl E; Gegax, Douglas; McGuckin, Thomas; Simmons, Cade (2008), "A Dynamic Model of Insurgency: The Case of the War in Iraq", Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy, vol. 14, no. 2, July

- Packer, G. (2005) *The assassins' gate : America in Iraq*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Chs. 5-10.
- Mueller, John (2005). "Force, Legitimacy, Success, and Iraq." Review of International Studies 31: 109-125;
- Hendrickson, David and Robert Tucker (2005). "Revisions in Need of Revising: What Went Wrong in the Iraq War?" *Survival* 47(2): 7-32.
- Joffe, Josef (2007). "Power Failure: Why Force Doesn't Buy Order." *American Interest* July/August: 48-54.
- Sepp, Kalev I. (2007). "Counterinsurgency: From 'Shock and Awe' to 'Hearts and Minds': The Fall and Rise of US Counterinsurgency Capability in Iraq." Third World Quarterly 28(2): 217-230
- Robinson, Glenn E (2007), "The battle for Iraq: Islamic insurgencies in comparative perspective.". *Third World Quarterly*, Mar2007, Vol. 28 Issue 2, p261-273
- Lopez, Andrea M (2007), "Engaging or withdrawing, winning or losing? The
 contradictions of counterinsurgency policy in Afghanistan and Iraq.", Third World
 Quarterly, Mar2007, Vol. 28 Issue 2, p245-260
- Petraeus, David (2006). "Learning from Counterinsurgency: Observations from Soldiering in Iraq." *Military Review* 86(1): 2-12.
- Kahl, Colin H. (2006). "How We Fight." Foreign Affairs 85(6): 83-101.
- Dumbrell, John and David Ryan (2007). Vietnam in Iraq: Tactics, Lessons, Legacies and Ghosts. New York, NY, Routledge.
- Mahnken, Thomas G. and Thomas A. Keaney (2007). War in Iraq: Planning and Execution.
 New York, NY, Routledge
- Campbell, Kenneth J. (2007). A Tale of Two Quagmires: Iraq, Vietnam, and the Hard Lessons of War. Boulder, CO, Paradigm
- Ring, Stefan (2005). Brute Force or Coercion? Two Perspectives on Conflict Management. The Iraq War: European Perspectives on Politics, Strategy, and Operations. J. Hallenberg and H. Karlsson. New York, Routledge: 143-166.
- West, F.J. Bing (2006). "American Military Performance in Iraq." *Military Review* 86(5): 2-7.
- Walzer, M. and Mills, N. (2009) *Getting out: historical perspectives on leaving Iraq*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Keegan, J. (2005) The Iraq war, New York: Vintage Books.
- Ricks, T. E. (2009) The gamble: General David Petraeus and the American military adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008, New York: Penguin Press.
- Galbraith, P. (2007) The end of Iraq: how American incompetence created a war without end, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Kagan, K. (2009) The surge: a military history, New York: Encounter Books.
- Zinsmeister, K. (2004) Dawn over Baghdad: how the U.S. military is using bullets and ballots to remake Iraq, San Francisco: Encounter Books.
- Cockburn, P. (2007) The occupation: war and resistance in Iraq, London; New York: Verso.
- Walker, Lydia (2009), "Forging a Key, Turning a Lock: Counterinsurgency Theory in Iraq 2006-2008", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Oct 2009, 32: 10, 909-918.
- Mockaitis, T. R. (2008) *Iraq and the challenge of counterinsurgency*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International.

- Mockaitis, T. R. (2007) The Iraq War: learning from the past, adapting to the present, and planning for the future, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.
- Steele, J. (2008) Defeat: Why America and Britain Lost Iraq, Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint.
- Cordesman, A. H., Davies, E. R. and Center for Strategic and International Studies (Washington D.C.) (2008) *Iraq's insurgency and the road to civil conflict*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International.
- Lebovic, J. H. (2010) *The limits of military capability: lessons from Vietnam and Iraq*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dobbins, J., Coalition Provisional Authority. and International Security and Defense Policy Center. (2009) *Occupying Iraq: a history of the Coalition Provisional Authority*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp.
- Bensahel, N. (2008) After Saddam: prewar planning and the occupation of Iraq, Santa Monica, CA: Rand Arroyo Center.
- Bill Knowlton, *The Surge: General Petraeus and the Turnaround in Iraq* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, v, 37 p.
- Greg Grossman, Dreams of Hope: A Transition Team's Adventures in the Iraq War (Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 212 p. 2011)
- Caroline Croser, The New Spatiality of Security: Operational Uncertainty and the Us Military in Iraq (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, xii, 168 p. 2011)
- David C. Gompert, Terrence K. Kelly, Jessica Watkins, and National Defense Research Institute (U.S.), Security in Iraq: A Framework for Analyzing Emerging Threats as U.S. Forces Leave (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, xxiv, 71 p. 2011

// The Home Front: Public Opinion and Civil Society

- Ole R. Holsti, (2011) American Public Opinion on the Iraq War (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.)
- Gary Jacobson, "Perception, Memory, and Partisan Polarization on the Iraq War" *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring2010, Vol. 125 Issue 1, p31-56,
- Cassino, Dan; Erisen, Cengiz., "Priming Bush and Iraq in 2008: A Survey Experiment", American Politics Research, Mar2010, Vol. 38 Issue 2, p372-394
- Johnson, Thomas J.; Fahmy, Shahira. "When 'good' conflicts go bad: Testing a frame-building model on embeds' attitudes toward government news management in the Iraq War", *International Communication Gazette*, Oct2010, Vol. 72 Issue 6, p521-544,
- Baum and Groeling (2010), War stories: the causes and consequences of public views of war (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Borrelli, Stephen A; Lockerbie, Brad (2008), "Framing Effects on Public Opinion during Prewar and Major Combat Phases of the U.S. Wars with Iraq", Social Science Quarterly, vol. 89, no. 2, June, pp. 502-22
- Sommers, Paul M (2008), "The War in Iraq and the 2006 U.S. Elections", *International Advances in Economic Research*, vol. 14, no. 3, August, pp. 353-54
- Froese, Paul and Caron Mencken (2009, "A U.S. Holy War? The Effects of Religion on Iraq War Policy Attitudes", *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 90, no. 1, March 2009, pp. 103-16
- Mueller, John (2005). "The Iraq Syndrome." Foreign Affairs 84(6): 44-54. response by Christopher Gelpi (2006). "Misdiagnosis." Foreign Affairs 85(1): 139-144, including response by Mueller.

- O'Hanlon, Michael and Nina Kamp (2006). "Is the Media Being Fair in Iraq?" Washington Quarterly 29(4): 7-18.
- Chan, Steve and Willian Safran (2006). "Public Opinion as a Constraint against War: Democracies' Responses to Operation Iraqi Freedom." Foreign Policy Analysis (2): 137-156.
- Patrick, Brian A. and A. Trevor Thrall (2007). "Beyond Hegemony: Classical Propaganda Theory and Presidential Communication Strategy after the Invasion of Iraq." *Mass Communication & Society* 10(1): 95-118.
- Voeten, Erik and Paul R. Brewer (2006). "Public Opinion, the War in Iraq, and Presidential Accountability." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(6): 809-830.
- Boettcher III, William A. and Michael D. Cobb (2006). "Echoes of Vietnam? Casualty Framing and Public Perceptions of Success and Failure in Iraq." *Journal of Conflict* Resolution 50(6): 831-854.
- Boettcher, William A., III; Cobb, Michael D (2009),""Don't let them die in vain": casualty frames and public tolerance for escalating commitment in Iraq.", Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol.53, no.5, pp.677-697.
- Riegert, Kristina and Anders Johansson (2005). The Struggle for Credibility During the Iraq War. *The Iraq War: European Perspectives on Politics, Strategy, and Operations.* J. Hallenberg and H. Karlsson. New York, Routledge: 210-228.
- Harrington, Alexander (2003). "War and William Shakespeare." Dissent Fall: 89-91.
- Friese, Malte, Shira Fishman, Ruth Beatson, Kelly Sauerwein, and Blanka Rip (2009), "Whose Fault Is it Anyway? Political Orientation, Attributions of Responsibility, and Support for the War in Iraq" *Social Justice Research*, September, 22: 2/3, pp.280-297.
- Gartner, Scott Sigmund (2008), "The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An Experimental Approach", *American Political Science Review*, 102:1, 95-106.
- Gaines, Brian J., James H. Kuklinski, Paul J. Quirk, Buddy Peyton and Jay Verkuilen (2007), "Same Facts Different Interpretations: Partisan Motivation and Opinion on Iraq", Journal of Politics, Volume 69, Issue 04, Nov, pp 957-974
- Berinsky, Adam (2009) In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bérubé, M. (2009) The Left at war, New York: New York University Press.
- Dulio, David and Peter Trumbore (2009), "Running on Iraq or Running from Iraq?: Conditional Issue Ownership in the 2006 Midterm Elections", *Political Research Quarterly*, June, Vol. 62 Issue 2, p230-243.

//Consequences: Iraq Political

- UNDP, Supporting Elections in Iraq (2010)
- Robert Olson, The Goat & the Butcher: Nationalism & State Formation in Kurdistan Iraq Since the Iraqi War
- Peter Munson, Iraq in Transition: The Legacy of Dictatorship & the Prospects for Democracy
- Gareth Stansfield, "The reformation of Iraq's foreign relations: new elites and enduring legacies", *International Affairs*, Nov2010, Vol. 86 Issue 6, p1395-1409
- Gareth Stansfield, "The political parameters of post-withdrawal Iraq" *International Affairs*, Nov2010, Vol. 86 Issue 6, p1261-1267

- Bridoux, Jeff, "'It's the political, stupid': national versus transnational perspectives on democratisation in Iraq", *International Journal of Human Rights*, May2011, Vol. 15 Issue 4, p552-571.
- Charles Trumbull and Julie Martin, "Elections and Government Formation in Iraq: An Analysis of the Judiciary's Role". Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, Mar2011, Vol. 44 Issue 2, p331-388,
- Amnon Cohen, and Noga Efrati, *Post-Saddam Iraq*: New Realities, Old Identities, Changing Patterns (Portland, Oregon: Sussex Academic Press. 2011)
- Ajami, F. (2006) The foreigner's gift: the Americans, the Arabs, and the Iraqis in Iraq, New York: Free Press.
- Adeed I. Dawisha and Karen Dawisha (2003), "How to Build a Democratic Iraq", Foreign Affairs, May/June.
- Enterline, Andrew and J. Michael Greig (2008), "Against All odds? The History of Imposed Democracy and the Future of Iraq and Afghanistan", Foreign Policy Analysis, 4, 321-347.
- Lo, Nigel, Barry Hashimoto and Dan Reiter (2008), "Ensuring Peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace Duration, 1914-2001", *International Organization*, 62, 717-736.
- Jeffrey, Alex (2007), "The Politics of 'Democratization': Lessons from Bosnia and Iraq", Review of International Political Economy, vol. 14, no. 3, August 2007, pp. 444-66
- Lukitz, Liora (2006), "Nationalism in Post-imperial Iraq: The Complexities of Collective Identity", *Critical Review*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2009, pp. 5-20
- Quirk, James M. (2006). "Is It Too Late to Learn Lessons for the Future of Iraq?" *Contemporary Security Policy* 27(2): 282-307.
- Herring, Eric and Glen Rangwala (2006). Iraq in Fragments: The Occupation and Its Legacy. Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press
- Phillips, David L. (2005). Losing Iraq: Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco. New York, Westview Press.
- Diamond, Larry (2005). Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq: Times Books.
- Allawi, Ali A. (2007). The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace. New Haven [Conn.], Yale University Press.
- Dawoody, Alexander (2006). "The Kurdish Quest for Autonomy and Iraq's Statehood." Journal of Asian & African Studies 41(5/6).
- Lacher, Wolfram (2007). "Iraq: Exception to, or Epitome of Contemporary Post-Conflict Reconstruction?" *International Peacekeeping* 14(2): 237-250.
- Katz, Stanley N. (2006). "Democratic Constitutionalism after Military Occupation: Reflections on the United States' Experience in Japan, Germany, Afghanistan, and Iraq." Common Knowledge 12(2): 181-196.
- Fearon, James D. (2007). "Iraq's Civil War." Foreign Affairs 86(2): 2-15.
- Tessler, Mark, Mansoor Moaddel, et al. (2006). "What Do Iraqis Want?" *Journal of Democracy* 17(1): 38-50.
- Rangwala, Glen (2005). The Democratic Transition in Iraq and the Discovery of Its Limitations. The Iraq War and Democratic Politics. A. Danchev and J. MacMillan. London; New York, Routledge: 160-180.

- Deeks, Ashley and Matthew Burton (2007), "Iraq's Constitution: A Drafting History", Cornell International Law Journal, 40, pp. 1ff.
- Sicherman, Harvey (2007). "Adventures in State-Building: Bremer's Iraq and Cromer's Egypt." *The American Interest*.
- Munson, P. J. (2009) *Iraq in transition: the legacy of dictatorship and the prospects for democracy*, Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc.
- Agresto, J. (2007) Mugged by reality: the liberation of Iraq and the failure of good intentions, New York: Encounter Books.
- Whitehead, Laurence (2009), "Losing 'The Force': The 'Dark Side' of Democratization After Iraq, *Democratization*, 16:2, 215-242.
- Beetham, David (2009), "The Contradictions of Democratization By Force: The Case of Iraq", *Democratization*, 16: 3, June, pp.443-454.
- Byman, Daniel (2003), "Constructing a Democratic Iraq: Challenges and Opportunities", *International Security*, Summer, Vol. 28, No. 1, Pages 47-78.
- Moon, Bruce (2009), "Long Time Coming: Prospects for Democracy in Iraq", *International Security*, Spring 2009, Vol. 33, No. 4, Pages 115-148.
- United States. Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR),
 Hard Lessons: The Iraq Reconstruction Experience (Washington, DC: Special Inspector
 General For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 2009)
- Barakat, S. (2008) Reconstructing post-Saddam Iraq, London; New York: Routledge.
- Anderson, Liam D. and Gareth R. V. Stansfield (2004). *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division?* New York, N.Y., Palgrave Macmillan: 83-99
- West, F. J. (2008) *The strongest tribe : war, politics, and the endgame in Iraq,* New York: Random House.
- U.S. General Accounting Office (2004), Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues
- U.S. General Accounting Office (2009) Rebuilding Iraq: Improved Management Controls and Iraqi Commitment Needed for Key State and USAID Capacity-Building Programs
- Tripp, Charles (2004), The United States and state-building in Iraq", Review of International Studies, Volume 30, Issue 04, Oct, pp 545-558.

//Consequences: Iraq Social and Economic

- Grigorian, David A. and Kock, Udo (2010), "Inflation and Conflict in Iraq: The Economics of Shortages Revisited", *International Monetary Fund*
- Nicola Pratt and Al-Ali Nadje-Sadig, What Kind of Liberation: Women & the Occupation of Iraq
- Spagat, Michael. "Ethical And Data-Integrity Problems In The Second Lancet Survey Of Mortality In Iraq" *Defence & Peace Economics*, Feb2010, Vol. 21 Issue 1, p1-41
- Raad Alkadiri, "Oil and the question of federalism in Iraq", *International Affairs*, Nov2010, Vol. 86 Issue 6, p1315-1328
- Toby Dodge, "The ideological roots of failure: the application of kinetic neo-liberalism to Iraq", *International Affairs*, Nov2010, Vol. 86 Issue 6, p1269-1286
- Muller, Benjamin J.; Measor, John H. W., "Theatres of War': Visual Technologies and Identities in the Iraq Wars". *Geopolitics*, 2011, Vol. 16 Issue 2, p389-409,

- Michael Spagat, "Mainstreaming an Outlier: The Quest to Corroborate the Second Lancet Survey of Mortality in Iraq" *Defence & Peace Economics*, Jun2011, Vol. 22 Issue 3, p299-316,
- al-Sheikh, Safa Rasul; Sky, Emma., "Iraq since 2003: Perspectives on a Divided Society". *Survival*, Sep/Oct2011, Vol. 53 Issue 4, p119-142,
- Eugene Richards, War Is Personal: A Chronicle of the Human Cost of the Iraq War, 1st ed ([Long Island City, N.Y.] (2011)
- Robert E. Ebel, *Geopolitics and Energy in Iraq: Where Politics Rules* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies, viii, 55 p.
- Oliker, Olga, Audra K. Grant, and Dalia Dassa Kaye (2010). The impact of U.S. military drawdown in Iraq on displaced and other vulnerable populations: analysis and recommendations. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Wiley, Joyce N. (2009), "What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq.", *The Middle East Journal*, vol.63, no.3, pp.505
- Green, Penny and Ward, Tone (2009), "The transformation of violence in Iraq.", *British Journal of Criminology*, vol.49, no.5, pp.609
- Looney, Robert (2006), "Economic Consequences of Conflict: The Rise of Iraq's Informal Economy", Journal of Economic Issues, vol. 40, no. 4, December 2006, pp. 991-1007
- Nason, Guy P and Daniel Bailey (2008), "Estimating the Intensity of Conflict in Iraq", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (Statistics in Society), 171: 4, Oct, pp. 899-914
- Wolfers, Justin and Eric Zitzewitz (2009), "Using Markets to Inform Policy: The Case of the Iraq War", *Economica*, vol. 76, no. 302, April 2009, pp. 225-50
- UNDP (2008), *Iraq Review of Human Development*, Available at: www.iauiraq.org/reports/NRSHD-English.pdf
- Yousif, Bassam (2007). "Economic Restructuring in Iraq: Intended and Unintended Consequences." *Journal of Economic Issues* 41(1): 43-60.
- Yousif, Bassam (2006). "Coalition Economic Policies in Iraq: Motivations and Outcomes." *Third World Quarterly* 27(3): 491-505.
- Sirkeci, Ibrahim (2005). "War in Iraq: Environment of Insecurity and International Migration." *International Migration* 43(4): 197-212.
- Shadid, A. (2005) Night draws near: Iraq's people in the shadow of America's war, New York: Henry Holt.
- Gompert, Kelly and Watkins (2010), Security in Iraq: a framework for analyzing emerging threats as U.S. forces leave, Editor (Santa Monica, CA: RAND).
- Goldfarb, M. (2005) Ahmad's war, Ahmad's peace: surviving under Saddam, dying in the new Iraq, New York: Carroll & Graf
- World Bank (2009), Interim Strategy Note For the Republic of Iraq For the Period Mid-2009 to Mid-2011, 19 Feb 2009
- United Nations Environment Programme (2007), Post-Conflict Assessment, Clean-up and Reconstruction, (PDF Available)
- Stone, Peter G; Joanne Farchakh Bajjaly; and Robert Fisk (2008). *The destruction of cultural heritage in Iraq*: Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press.

//Consequences: The U.S.

- Tim Dunne and Mulaj Klejda, "America after Iraq", *International Affairs*, Nov2010, Vol. 86 Issue 6, p1287-1298
- Olsen, Florian. "Those About to Die Salute You': Sacrifice, the War in Iraq and the Crisis of the American Imperial Society" *Geopolitics*, 2011, Vol. 16 Issue 2, p410-437
- Mayhew, David (2005). "Wars and American Politics." Perspectives on Politics 3(3): 473-493.
- Starr, Paul (2007). War and Liberalism: Is War Fatal to Liberalism? History Suggests a Different Story. *The New Republic*. 236: 21-24.
- Conetta, Carl (2006). Pyrrhus on the Potomac: How America's Post-9/11 Wars Have Undermined U.S. National Security. *Are We Safer?: Five Years After the September 11th Attacks*. Washington, The Security Policy Working Group: 9-15.
- Miller, Steven E. (2006). "The Iraq Experiment and US National Security." *Survival* 48(4): 17-50.
- Bilmes, Linda and Joseph Stiglitz (2006). "Encore: Iraq Hemorrhage." *The Milken Institute Review*(4): 76-83.
- Stiglitz, J. E. and Bilmes, L. (2008) *The three trillion dollar war: the true cost of the Iraq conflict*, New York: W.W. Norton.
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2007). U.S. Power and Strategy after Iraq. *The American Empire*. J. Davenport. New York, Chelsea House.
- Kimmel, Paul R. and Chris E. Stout (2006). *Collateral Damage: The Psychological Consequences of America's War on Terrorism.* Westport, Conn., Praeger
- Soros, George (2004). The Bubble of American Supremacy: Correcting the Misuse of American Power. New York, Public Affairs
- Davenport, John (ed.) (2007). The American Empire. New York, Chelsea House
- Kegley, Charles W. and Gregory A. Raymond (2007). *After Iraq: The Imperiled American Imperium*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Modell, John and Timothy Haggerty (1991). "The Social Impact of War." *Annual Review of Sociology* 17: 205-224.
- Snow, D. M. (2009) What after Iraq?, New York: Pearson/Longman.
- Pemberton, M. and Hartung, W. D. (2008) Lessons from Iraq: avoiding the next war, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Carlson, Allan (1997), "The Military as an Engine of Social Change" in John Denson (ed), The Costs of War: America's pyrrhic victories (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers)
- Duffield, J. S. and Dombrowski, P. J. (2009) *Balance sheet: the Iraq War and U.S. national security*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Security Studies.
- Krebs, Ronald (2009), "In the Shadow of War: The Effects of Conflict on Liberal Democracy", *International Organization*, Volume 63, Issue 01, January 2009, pp 177-210
- Bacevich, A. J. (2008) The limits of power: the end of American exceptionalism, New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Galbraith, Peter (2008), Unintended Consequences: How War in Iraq Strengthened America's Enemies (New York: Simon & Schuster).
- Gray, Colin S. (2009) After Iraq: The Search for a Sustainable National Security Strategy (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2009).
- Kenneth J. Hagan and Ian J. Bickerton (2007). *Unintended Consequences: The United States at War,* Reaktion Books, Ch 10.

• Kashmeri, Sarwar A. (2007). *America and Europe after 9/11 and Iraq : The Great Divide*. Westport, Conn., Praeger Security International.

//Consequences: Other Countries

- Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline and Rhiannon Vickers (2007) "Blowback' for Britain?: Blair Bush and the War in Iraq", Review of International Studies, Volume 33, Issue 02, Apr 2007, pp 205-221
- Frederic M. Wehrey, The Iraq Effect: The Middle East after the Iraq War (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, (2011)
- Wright, Robin B. (2008) *Dreams and Shadows : The Future of the Middle East* (New York: Penguin Press).
- Al i Paya and John Esposito (2011), *Iraq, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World* (London; New York: Routledge).

//Consequences: Terrorism

- Harrow, Martin, "The effect of the Iraq war on Islamist terrorism in the West", *Cooperation & Conflict*, Sep2010, Vol. 45 Issue 3, p274-293
- Byman, Daniel L; Pollack, Kenneth M (2008), "Iraq's Long-Term Impact on Jihadist Terrorism", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 618, July, pp. 55-68
- Hegghammer, Thomas (2006). "Global Jihadism after the Iraq War." *Middle East Journal* 60(1): 11-32.

//Consequences: The International System

- Taubman, Jarrett (2004), "Towards a Theory of Democratic Compliance: Security Council Legitimacy and Effectiveness after Iraq", New York University Journal of International Law and Politics, vol. 37, no. 1, Fall 2004, pp. 161-224
- Russett, Bruce (2005). "Bushwhacking the Democratic Peace." *International Studies Perspectives* 6(4): 395-408.
- Buzan, Barry and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez (2005). ""International Community" after Iraq."
 International Affairs 81(1): 31-52.
- Kugler, Jacek, Ronald Tammen, et al. (2004). "Integrating Theory and Policy: Global Implications of the War in Iraq." *International Studies Review* 6(2): 163-179.
- Falk, Richard (2007). The Costs of War: International Law, the UN, and World Order after Iraq. New York, NY, Routledge. Approx 20 Pages TBA.
- Kurth, James (2006). "Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq: Legal Ideals Vs. Military Realities." *Orbis* 50(1): 87-101.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2006). "The Iraq War and International Relations: Implications for Small States." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 19(3): 451-463.
- Cox, Michael (2005). "The Transatlantic Crisis: The Wolf Is at the Door." *European Political Science* 5(1): 34-40.
- White, Nigel (2004), "The Will and Authority of the Security Council after Iraq", *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 17, Issue 04, Dec 2004, pp 645-672.

- Falk, Richard (2004) "The United Nations after the Iraq War" in *The Declining World Order*, New York: Routledge.
- Bakircioglu, Onder (2009), "The future of preventive wars: the case of Iraq.", *Third World Quarterly*, vol.30, no.7, pp.1297-1316