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# **PART I : BOOKS**

## **PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\***

321 /00649

Democratic Mirage in the Middle East - Washington : Carnegie Endowment  
for International Peace.

7 p. ; 30 cm.

(Policy Brief ; 20)

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRACY--IRAQ
2. DEMOCRACY--MIDDLE EAST
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief20.pdf>> accessed  
21/10/02.

'The increasingly popular idea in Washington that the United States, by toppling Saddam Hussein, can rapidly democratize Iraq and unleash a democratic tsunami in the Middle East is a dangerous fantasy. The US record of building democracy after invading other countries is mixed at best and the Bush administration's commitment to a massive reconstruction effort in Iraq is doubtful. The repercussions of an intervention in Iraq will be as likely to complicate the spread of democracy in the Middle East as promote it. The United States has an important role to play in fostering democracy in the region, but the task will be slow and difficult given the unpromising terrain and lack of US leverage over key governments.'

ID number: 80018240

Year: 2002

327 /01123

Iraq at the Crossroads : State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change  
- Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

178 p. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 354)

ISBN: 019852837X

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ--SOCIAL CONDITIONS
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003
6. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Dodge, Toby, ed.
2. Simon, Steven, ed.
3. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'A US-led assault on Iraq will have unpredictable and possibly profound effects on Iraqi society. Moreover, those effects will vary with the objectives and strategy adopted by the US and its allies as well as by the pace and scope of the collapse of Iraqi resistance. Further, the reach of Washington's post-war objectives has not yet been settled. Given these multiple

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\* This list contains material received as of May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 9 mai 2003.

sources of uncertainty, understanding the relationship between Iraqi society and the Iraqi state after three decades of Ba'ath rule is all the more crucial to the success of post-war efforts to reconstruct the country and reconstitute its political system. Yet that relationship is poorly understood in the West. The Iraq of today cannot easily be mapped on to a neat diagram of sect, tribe, or party. The rentier structure of the state economy, the regime's manipulation of group identity to control the population, the emergence of a shadow state that distributes public goods to advance regime interests, and pervasive violence have transformed Iraq's socio-political landscape into dangerous and unfamiliar ground for intervention. These essays delineate the options now being debated in Washington and provide up-to-date assessments of how Iraqi state and society will respond to the impact of war and the removal of a deeply-rooted authoritarian regime.'

ID number: 80018444

Year: 2003

323 /00777

War in Iraq : What's Next for the Kurds ? - Brussels : International Crisis Group.

iv, 34 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(ICG Middle East Report ; 10)

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. KURDS
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--TURKEY

Added entry(s):

1. International Crisis Group (BE)

Notes:

<[http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/middleeast/iraq\\_iran\\_gulf/reports/A400923\\_19032003.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/middleeast/iraq_iran_gulf/reports/A400923_19032003.pdf)>

accessed 16/04/03.

'Assuming the US-led military operation to topple Saddam Hussein proceeds, the threat is very great of large-scale violence, centred on Kirkuk, erupting in Northern Iraq between Kurds and Turks. If that is to be averted, the United States must urgently take three important steps : get its own forces to Kirkuk first, ensure that Turkey exercises restraint, and simultaneously persuade the Iraqi Kurds to take no action that will risk provoking Turkey.'

ID number: 80018536

Year: 2003

327 /01117

War with Iraq : Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives - Cambridge, MA : American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

vii, 87 p. ; 30 cm.

ISBN: 0877240361

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. WAR--ECONOMIC ASPECTS
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. American Academy of Arts and Sciences (US)

Notes:

<[http://www.amacad.org/publications/monographs/War\\_with\\_Iraq.pdf](http://www.amacad.org/publications/monographs/War_with_Iraq.pdf)>

accessed 11/12/02.

'The papers in this collection are an attempt to provide insight into the potential costs and consequences, over the long term, of going to war with Iraq.'

ID number: 80018366

Year: 2002

341.2 /00296

Would an Invasion of Iraq Be a 'Just War' ? - Washington : US Institute of Peace.

16 p.; 30 cm.

(Special Report)

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. JUST WAR DOCTRINE
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. US Institute of Peace

Notes:

<<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr98.html>> accessed 07/02/03.

'To contribute to the public discussion of whether the United States and its allies should invade Iraq, the US Institute of Peace organized a symposium on December 17, 2002 to address the question 'Would and invasion of Iraq be a 'Just War' ?

ID number: 80018457

Year: 2003

341.2 /00303

Establishing the Rule of Law in Iraq - Washington : United States Institute of Peace Press.

15 p.; 30 cm.

(Special Report ; 104)

Subject(s):

1. RULE OF LAW--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Institute of Peace (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/srl104.pdf>> accessed 28/04/03.

'The United States and its allies have taken military action to restore democracy and the rule of law in Iraq. Prior to the intervention, the United States Institute of Peace held a workshop on February 19, 2003 on 'Establishing the Rule of Law in Iraq' to examine this challenge.

ID number: 80018563

Year: 2003

341.2 /00302

Guiding Principles for U.S. Post-Conflict Policy in Iraq - New York : Council on Foreign Relations.

v, 29 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Council on Foreign Relations (US)

Notes:

<[http://www.rice.edu/projects/baker/Pubs/workingpapers/iraq/Iraq\\_final.pdf](http://www.rice.edu/projects/baker/Pubs/workingpapers/iraq/Iraq_final.pdf)> accessed 16/04/03.

Report of an Independent Working Group Cosponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University.

'This memorandum recommends that the administration adopt a three-phased approach that distinguishes between short-term necessities and long-term goals and objectives. In the medium-term, the key challenge will be to devise a transitional strategy that takes Iraq from the current situation to a more secure and prosperous future. There should be no illusions that the reconstruction of Iraq will be anything but difficult, confusing, and dangerous for everyone involved. However,

segmenting the strategy into distinct phases and ensuring that Iraqis play a major role in determining the fate of their country will reduce the chance that one brutal strongman will be substituted for another - reproducing historical patterns and necessitating future interventions - and will also help increase the likelihood that the United States is seen internationally, in the region, and in Iraq to be working to promote Iraqi interests as opposed to assumed US ones. Finding the right Iraqi allies will be key to restoring Iraqi sovereignty and making possible an early American exit.'

ID number: 80018535

Year: 2003

341.2 /00300

Iraq : The Day After - New York : Council on Foreign Relations.

59 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Council on Foreign Relations (US)

Notes:

<[http://cfr.org/pdf/Iraq\\_DayAfter\\_TF.pdf](http://cfr.org/pdf/Iraq_DayAfter_TF.pdf)> accessed 09/04/03.

Report of an Independent Task Force on Post-Conflict Iraq sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations.

'The Task Force made the following major points, backed with specific recommendations : first, to urge President Bush to publicly explain America's and the world's vital interest in making Iraq a better and safer place. Further, the president must explain to the American people why the United States must be prepared to stay the course to get that job done. Without the public commitment, Iraqis would certainly believe the United States and others would disappear on them before their lives were made better and safer; and American planners would never know where they stood and their effectiveness would be dissipated. Second, to stress that first priority on the ground in Iraq must go to prevent lawlessness and humanitarian suffering. Without public safety and a strong humanitarian aid program, nothing else will work. Third, to work very hard to involve the international community in the post-conflict transition and reconstruction effort, meaning shared responsibility and decision-making, without undercutting the unity of effort. Fourth, making sure that plans and efforts to ensure continuing administration of public affairs and Iraqi responsibilities.'

ID number: 80018529

Year: 2003

341.2 /00301

Post-War Iraq : Are We Ready ? - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies.

20 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.csis.org/isp/scorecard.pdf>> accessed 16/04/03.

'The Bush Administration has done considerable planning for the postwar phase in Iraq, and comprehensive preparations on many fronts have been made in advance. Nonetheless, significant gaps remain. This document sets forth a 'scorecard' of the Administration's preparations for the post-conflict reconstruction phase thus far, drawing on all available information the Administration has chosen to make public. Overall, this scorecard gives the Administration a mixed grade on its planning and preparations, which have been significant in certain areas but are still seriously lagging in others.'

ID number: 80018534

Year: 2003

623 /00947

Disarming Iraq by Force : WMD Stakes and Scenarios - Monterey, CA : Monterey Institute of International Studies.

15 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Barletta, Michael

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. WMD--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Monterey Institute of International Studies. Center for Nonproliferation Studies (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.cns.miis.edu/pubs/week/pdf/iraqwar.pdf>> accessed 16/04/03.

'This paper outlines considerations on forcibly disarming Iraq of its capabilities to develop and wield WMD, divided into four sections. First, it outlines key empirical assumptions to ground the analysis that follows. Second, it offers schematic outlines of positive and negative consequences that may ensue in the event of war, organizing these diverse possible developments in terms of their relative likelihood and benefits/costs. Third, it surveys actual and possible outcomes that have been or could be realized in disarming Iraq of WMD, and reviews measures that have been or could be undertaken to minimize WMD threats posed by Saddam Hussein's regime. Fourth, on the basis of this analysis, it concludes that while all policy options entail significant risks, the likely negative outcomes of war outweigh likely positive benefits. On balance, quashing Iraq's WMD ambitions by force is an unnecessary gamble whose probable benefits do not warrant taking the inherent risks.'

ID number: 80018537

Year: 2003

341.2 /00299

Reconstructing Iraq : Insights, Challenges, and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 78 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871121

Author(s):

1. Crane, Conrad C.
2. Terrill, W. Andrew

Subject(s):

1. USA--ARMED FORCES--OPERATIONS OTHER THAN WAR
2. DEMOCRACY--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'In October 2002, the US Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute, in coordination with the Office of the Army Deputy Chief of Staff/G-3, initiated a study to analyze how American and coalition forces can best address the requirements that will necessarily follow operational victory in a war with Iraq. The final report of the project consists of three parts : a discussion of historical insights from 20th century postwar occupations and post-conflict operations; an analysis of the unique challenges Iraq will present for an occupying power; and a mission matrix that lists 135 specific tasks that must be performed to build and sustain a state. The matrix arrays those tasks across four phases of occupation and designates whether coalition military forces or civilian agencies should perform them. The study has much to offer planners and executors of operations to occupy and reconstruct Iraq, but also has many insights that will apply to achieving strategic objectives in any conflict after hostilities are concluded.'

ID number: 80018504

Year: 2003

327 /01116

Iraq : The Transatlantic Debate - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

22 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 39)

Author(s):

1. Gordon, Philip H., 1962-

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. WMD--IRAQ
4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
6. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
7. IRAQ WAR, 2003
8. IRAQ WAR, 2003--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'Most Americans see the regime of Saddam Hussein as a major threat to regional and international security that must be thwarted, even if that means threatening or even using military force. Europeans do not deny that the Iraqi regime is a threat, but they question whether that threat is so pressing that the international community should run the risk of invading an Arab country in the heart of the Middle East. It will not be easy to overcome these differences in perspective - which result from a range of deeply rooted historical, cultural, strategic and domestic political factors. But it should not be impossible either. This paper proposes a common US-European strategy :

joining together to demand, under the threat of an invasion that would change the Baghdad regime, Iraq's full compliance with UN Security Council resolutions calling for an end to its weapons of mass destruction programmes. If Iraq failed to comply with a new UNSC resolution reiterating these demands and setting forth a new verification regime, the United States and Europe would together overthrow Saddam Hussein and undertake a major reconstruction and peacekeeping effort in Iraq. If, on the other hand, Saddam did give up his weapons of mass destruction under the credible threat of military force, the United States would forgo plans for invading Iraq so long as Baghdad complied with existing and new UNSC resolutions.'

ID number: 80018365

Year: 2002

623 /00949

US Chemical 'Non-Lethal' Weapons in Iraq : A Violation of the Chemical Weapons Convention ? - [s.l.] : British American Security Information Council.

5 p.; 30 cm.

(BASIC Paper ; 42)

Author(s):

1. Isenberg, David

Subject(s):

1. NONLETHAL WEAPONS

2. IRAQ WAR, 2003

3. CWC

Added entry(s):

1. British American Security Information Council (GB)

Notes:

<<http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Papers/BP44.htm>> accessed 29/04/03.

ID number: 80018569

Year: 2003

327 /01079

Iraq : Compliance, Sanctions, and U.S. Policy - [s.l.] : Congressional Research Service.

15 p.; 30 cm.

(CRS Issue Brief for Congress)

Author(s):

1. Katzman, Kenneth

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS--IRAQ

4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ

5. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. Congressional Research Service (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.uspolicybe/Issues/Foreignpolicy/IB92117.pdf>> accessed 11/03/02.

'In recent years, the United States has been unable to maintain an international consensus for strict enforcement of all applicable UN Security Council resolutions on Iraq, but it has largely succeeded in preventing Iraq from reemerging as an immediate strategic threat to the region. There is US concern about the long-term threat posed by Iraq, and, in the wake of the September 11 attacks, the Bush Administration has said it will prevent Iraq from re-emerging as a significant threat to US security. The exact form of that Administration stance has not yet been announced, whether it be through international sanctions and diplomacy, military action, or covert action.'

ID number: 80017857

Year: 2002

323 /00757

Iraq : 'The Day After' - Moscow : Carnegie Moscow Center.

5 p.; 30 cm

(Briefing Papers ; vol. 4, issue 9, September 2002)

Author(s):

1. Malashenko, Alexei

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Moscow Center (SU)

Notes:

<<http://pubs.carnegie.ru/english/briefings/2002/issue02-09.asp>>  
accessed 29/10/02.

'The Saddam Hussein regime is hanging by a thread. True, it has been in such a state for almost a year. This fall, President Bush told the world how he was going to cut the thread. Predictions about when and how Saddam will fall are the favorite subject of both political analysts and politicians. They give little thought, however, to what might happen to Iraq itself and how 'Desert Storm II' might affect Iraq's neighbors as well as some other nations that are not exactly its neighbors. Meanwhile, considering such possibilities could be quite exciting ...'.

ID number: 80018264

Year: 2002

327 /01121

Iraq : A European Point of View - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

30 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 40)

Author(s):

1. Ortega, Martin

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST
6. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
7. IRAQ WAR, 2003
8. IRAQ WAR, 2003--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'In the last few months, European governments have responded in different ways to the American desire to exercise 'pre-emptive action' against the Iraqi threat and to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime. However, the Europeans share a sceptical attitude towards the initiative, since they perceive that a military solution might have unexpected negative consequences. Therefore, most Europeans believe that coercive action should not be taken hastily and that diplomatic means, especially through UNSC-sponsored inspections and destruction of Iraqi WMD, should be exhausted first. This paper suggests that Europeans are sceptical because they think that the United States underestimates the difficulties of post-Saddam state-building in what is a delicate regional environment. Also, Europeans fear that occupation of Iraq might lead to an escalation of terrorist activities in the West. Some voices in the US have indicated that creating a democratic Iraq would be the first step in the establishment of a new regional order in the Middle East, while Europeans are unconvinced about the

possibility of 'importing' democracy into the region overnight by the use of force. Any stable 'new' regional order, the Europeans contend, should include a lasting and equitable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Finally, most Europeans believe that the international administration of postwar Iraq would have to deal not only with state-building but also with resources management. It remains to be seen whether this aspect of foreign administration would be accepted by the Iraqi population. In addition, lower oil prices would foster increased global oil consumption in the long term and, consequently, a worsening of the global environment, which is against the declared European policy of determined action against global warming.'

ID number: 80018420

Year: 2002

327 /01135

The Threatening Storm : The Case for Invading Iraq - New York : Random House.

xxx, 494 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0375509283

Author(s):

1. Pollack, Kenneth M.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. WMD--IRAQ
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

Includes index.

'The author examines the state of Iraq today - its economy, its armed forces, its political system, the status of its weapons of mass destruction as best we understand them, and Saddam's terrifying security apparatus. Pollack also analyzes the last twenty years of relations between the United States and Iraq to explain how the two countries reached the present crisis. He then assesses the full range of US policy options toward Iraq. Finally, he explores the promise and hazard of rebuilding Iraq after Saddam.'

ID number: 80018552

Year: 2002

327 /01118

Iraq : Consequences of a War - Oxford, UK : Oxford Research Group.

19 p. ; 30 cm.

(Briefing Paper)

Author(s):

1. Rogers, Paul

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Oxford Research Group (GB)

Notes:

<<http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/Iraqbriefing.pdf>> accessed 11/12/02.

'The commitment of the Bush administration to regime termination in Iraq is so strong that a war with Iraq early in 2003 is now highly likely. Regime termination is thought necessary, in part, because of Iraq's likely development of weapons of mass destruction, but the control of the region's oil resources is also a major factor. Although the regime is weaker than eleven years ago, it is probable that most of its elite forces will resist attack. The regime will seek to draw foreign forces into

a war in the greater Baghdad region, US war plans are expected to focus on destroying Iraq's military and administrative infrastructures, denying the regime access to its energy supplies and drawing out the elite forces so that they can be subject to intensive air attack. Evidence from the 1991 war indicates that it is highly likely that the regime will use all available military means, including chemical and biological weapons, if its very survival is threatened. In such circumstances, and especially if high casualties result, there is a possibility of a nuclear response. The British Government, in particular, has been candid in conceding this as a potential response to CBW use by Iraq. The United States has sufficient forces to ensure regime destruction but the regime's replacement by occupying forces or by a client regime, even if the war is not greatly destructive, should be expected to increase regional opposition to the US presence. It is likely, in particular, to increase support for organisations such as al-Qaida and to prove counter-productive to peace and stability in the region. Given these major consequences of a war - high civilian casualties, risk of the use of weapons of mass destruction and post-war regional instability - alternatives to war should be sought as a matter of urgency.'

ID number: 80018367

Year: 2002

327 /01137

Axis of Anarchy : Britain, America and The New World Order after Iraq -  
London : Foreign Policy Centre.

20 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Tyrie, Andrew

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Foreign Policy Centre (GB)
2. Bow Group (GB)

Notes:

<<http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/80.pdf>> accessed 28/04/03.

'Will a war in Iraq lead to a new world order, or provoke anarchy ? This question has dominated political discourse and fractured traditional alliances. The author's thoughtful, searching and powerful essay on the tone of western foreign policy and the post-11 September re-ordering of the world makes an important contribution to these debates. The conservative position he stakes out - arguing that both the Blair and Bush doctrines of foreign policy are potentially destabilising in the longer term whatever the outcome of a possible conflict in Iraq - is a powerful one.'

ID number: 80018564

Year: 2003

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

- 'Iraqi Freedom' : The First Ten Days.  
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 27, no. 4, 2003, p. 12-23.
  
- Ajami, Fouad  
Iraq and the Arabs' Future.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 2-18.  
The driving motivation behind a new US endeavor in Iraq should be modernizing the Arab world. Most Arabs will see such an expedition as an imperial reach into their world. But in this case a reforming foreign power's guidelines offer a better way than the region's age-old prohibitions, defects, and phobias. No apologies ought to be made for America's 'unilateralism'.
  
- Aristegui, Gustavo de  
Tercera guerra del Golfo ?  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 99-111.  
La amenaza iraquí requiere una firme respuesta de la comunidad internacional. La violación reiterada de las resoluciones de las Naciones Unidas no puede tolerarse por más tiempo.
  
- Bahgat, Gawdat  
The Iraqi Quagmire : What is Next ?  
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 23, no. 2, August 2002, p. 135-148.  
Since the 11 September terrorist attacks President Bush has repeatedly and strongly confirmed his determination to 'deal with' the Iraqi threat. Specifically, any US military action to topple Saddam Hussein will have to address two significant challenges - the threats of Baghdad's weapons of mass destruction and the potential for regime change. This study examines these two issues. It argues that more than a decade after the Gulf War, the United States has yet to articulate a cohesive strategy to neutralise the Iraqi threat.
  
- Bahgat, Gawdat  
The United States, Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction.  
DEFENSE & SECURITY ANALYSIS, vol. 19, no. 1, March 2003, p. 5-14.  
<http://www.ingentaselect.com>  
This study examines the international efforts, led by the United States, to rid Iraq of WMD since the end of the Gulf War in 1991. The following section discusses Washington's assessment of Baghdad's chemical, biological and nuclear capabilities in the early 2000s. Finally, the article analyzes the impediments that should be taken into consideration in deciding any US military action against Iraq. The main argument is that despite continuing and mounting distrust in Hussein's regime, the United States has not developed a clear strategy to oust the Iraqi leader and replace him with a friendlier regime. More than a decade after the Gulf War, the Iraqi quagmire seems as messy as it has always been.

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\*\* This list contains material received as of May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 9 mai 2003.

- Barton, Fredericj D.  
Crocker, Bathsheba  
Winning the Peace in Iraq.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 7-22.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Recent experience in Haiti, the Balkans, East Timor, Afghanistan, and elsewhere has demonstrated that winning the peace is often harder than fighting the war. The United States and the United Nations should take 10 steps now to prepare for any postconflict challenges in Iraq.
  
- Benchenane, Mustapha  
Etats Unis et Irak.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59eme annee, no. 3, mars 2003, p. 15-23.  
Après avoir démontré les 'preuves' américaines et britanniques, rien ne saurait justifier une intervention militaire contre l'Irak. Rappelant que l'abstention d'un seul des cinq membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité, et non un veto, suffit à empêcher l'adoption d'une résolution du recours à la force, la légitimation de l'ONU apparaît difficile. C'est donc bien au mépris du droit international que se met en place la politique de puissance américaine, en fonction de ses propres intérêts.
  
- Betts, Richard K.  
Suicide from Fear of Death ?  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 34-43.  
President Bush's case for war on Iraq overlooks a very real danger : if pushed to the wall, Saddam Hussein may resort to using weapons of mass destruction against the United States. Such a strike may not be likely, or may not succeed, but attacking Saddam is the best way to guarantee that it will happen. And Washington has done far too little to prepare for it.
  
- Bleier, Ronald  
Invading Iraq : The Road to Perpetual War.  
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 35-42.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Bozarslan, Hamit  
La Turquie : puissance régionale et forteresse assiégée ?  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 68e annee, no. 1, printemps 2003, p. 93-102.  
La crise irakienne place la Turquie devant un dilemme. Il lui faut montrer son soutien aux Etats-Unis, dont elle est l'un des principaux alliés, et à l'Occident, dont elle espère se rapprocher encore en rejoignant l'Union européenne. Mais elle redoute fortement que la guerre menée contre Saddam Hussein et son régime ne remette en cause les structures étatiques et les frontières nées de la Première Guerre mondiale, en particulier en donnant aux Kurdes la possibilité de créer leur propre Etat souverain. Le nouveau gouvernement turc, issu de la mouvance nationale islamiste, doit donc naviguer entre plusieurs écueils, d'autant que tout laisse à penser que la tendance nationaliste en Turquie, qui s'exprime par un discours de plus en plus anti-occidental, voire 'eurasiste' militant, dispose de positions solides dans l'armée et l'establishment civil.
  
- Bremer, L. Paul  
Por que Irak ? Por que ahora ?  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 67-75.  
La amenaza terrorista y el nuevo entorno geopolítico demandan una estrategia que se anticipe a los posibles riesgos. Esa es la razón por la que hay que reaccionar al peligro que representa Irak. Un cambio de régimen facilitará la estabilidad política de la región.

- Brotons, Antonio Remiro  
 Bush y los Estados hampones.  
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 91-98.  
 La estrategia de seguridad nacional de Bush amplia la noción de legitima defensa, reconocida por la Carta de las Naciones Unidas, hasta los limites de un ataque preventivo. EE UU no puede estar por encima de la ley internacional, mientras esta exista.
  
- Cable, Vincent  
 Sting in the Tail.  
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 2, February 2003, p. 12-14.  
 President Saddam Hussein of Iraq may have another weapon of mass destruction in his armoury - the economic effects of war. Changes in oil prices and the cost of conflict might just produce regime change in Saudi Arabia and recession for us all.
  
- Chaigneau, Pascal  
 Irak : le syndrome du delenda carthago.  
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 4, avril 2003, p. 89-98.  
 L'Irak constitue l'epicentre du nouvel USCentCom americain, commandement strategique qui s'etend du Kazakhstan au Soudan et qui n'a d'autre facteur de coherence que le petrole. L'Irak forme la tete de pont a partir de laquelle Washington planifie une recomposition geopolitique regionale. Dans cette perspective, la guerre programmee doit permettre l'implantation durable des Etats-Unis et la reconfiguration du prepositionnement de leurs forces. Les Americains vont y jouer leur credibilite tandis que l'etat de l'Afghanistan nous autorise a leur rappeler qu'apres la guerre, il s'agit de savoir gagner la paix.
  
- Cirincione, Joseph  
 How Will the Iraq War Change Global Nonproliferation Strategies ?  
 ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 33, no. 3, April 2003, p. 3-6.  
<http://www.armscontrol.org>  
 The focus has shifted from eliminating weapons to eliminating certain regimes that have those weapons. It is a strategy of picking and choosing good guys and bad guys.
  
- Clarke, Michael  
 D-Day or Delay ?  
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 2, February 2003, p. 4-7.  
 There are two main strategies for how to run a war against Iraq. But political problems may make it difficult to give either an early go ahead. There is a third way, and a decision not to decide for now could achieve everyone's objectives. February 15 is much talked about as the day for military action to begin. If so, some fancy political footwork will be necessary.
  
- Clement, Rolf  
 Amerikas Ziele im Nahen Osten.  
 EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 4, April 2003, S. 50-51.
  
- Codner, Michael  
 High Noon for British Grand Strategy.  
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 5, October 2002, p. 10-14.  
 The author provides a compelling round-up of UK military options and the implications of Britain's likely military contribution in what might be a lonely coalition with the United States in a war on Iraq.

- Cooper, Mary H.  
 Future of NATO : Is the Alliance Still Viable ?  
 CQ RESEARCHER, vol. 13, no. 8, 28 February 2003, p. 177-200.  
 President Bush's Iraq policy has exacerbated longstanding tensions between the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), established after World War II to counter the Soviet Union. The administration's go-it-alone stance in foreign policy has prompted France and Germany to lead efforts to thwart Bush's plans to attack Iraq. Some experts say the rift is proof that the alliance has outlived its mandate, while NATO supporters say it remains a vital bulwark against terrorism and other threats to democracy. Meanwhile, some critics are asking whether America's allies should speed up weapons modernization to better collaborate with the Pentagon's technologically sophisticated equipment. Others say NATO is fast evolving into little more than a political forum.
  
- Dalgaard-Nielsen, Anja  
 Gulf War : The German Resistance.  
 SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 99-116.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 As it became a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in January 2003, Germany stepped up its opposition to war with Iraq. The stage was set for a repeat of Germany's uncomfortable position during the 1991 Gulf War. At that time, as most of Germany's allies rallied behind Washington, Germany made only financial contributions, and hundreds of thousands of Germans took to the streets to protest against the war. Yet, since 1991, Germany had come a long way in its attitudes towards military force. From a policy of complete abstention from military deployments beyond NATO's area (so-called 'out-of-area' missions), Berlin had moved to participation in a range of operations in the Balkans, East Timor and Afghanistan. The new crisis over Iraq threatened to undo this progress. Thus, it is worth examining the limits to, and possibilities of, reunified Germany's willingness to use military force abroad.
  
- Dawisha, Adeed  
 Dawisha, Karen  
 How to Build a Democratic Iraq.  
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 3, May - June 2003, p. 36-50.  
 What follows the war in Iraq will be at least as important as the war itself. Nurturing democracy there after Saddam won't be easy. But it may not be impossible either. Iraq has several assets going for it, including an educated middle class and a history of political pluralism under an earlier monarchy.
  
- Day, Graham  
 Freeman, Christopher  
 Policekeeping is the Key : Rebuilding the Internal Security Architecture of Postwar Iraq.  
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 2, March 2003, p. 299-313.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 The main problem following a US-led international intervention in Iraq will be re-establishing widespread and sustainable governance. It is probable that with the removal of repressive political authority, state control will falter and crime rates boom. This can be countered through an international civil administration with law and order as a guiding mandating principle. Order could be ensured by 'policekeeping', via a large 'blue force' of primarily Muslim gendarmerie from surrounding nations. Reliance on military peacekeeping is precarious because of the political sensitivities in the case of Iraq. The blue force would form the foundation of the new internal security architecture in Iraq, and would act to prevent fragmentation and civil war. The role of policekeeping is to preempt and combat ethnic, religious, and political violence, economic crime and the establishment of shadow networks, as well as policing regular crime including those of property and public

order. A further vital task would be the development of domestic judicial and policing capacity, which provide an exit strategy for the international mission and the beginnings of a representative and regionally devolved governance structure. These tasks could be financed through a modification of the current oil for food programme, finally transferring this wealth back into Iraqi society. The goal would be to construct a self-sustaining democratic and economically functional state governed by the rule of law, one that can serve as a political beacon for the region.

- Dodge, Toby

Iraq and the 'Bush Doctrine' : Storming the Desert.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 4, April 2002, p. 4-6.

Despite the increase in United States casualties in the renewed campaign against Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Washington appears determined to tackle the problem of Iraq and its possession of weapons of mass destruction. It is now not a question of whether military action is to be taken against Baghdad in the next stage of its 'war' against terrorism, but when and how.

- Doran, Michael Scott

Palestine, Iraq, and American Strategy.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 19-33.

Many critics argue that the Bush administration should put off a showdown with Saddam Hussein and focus instead on achieving a breakthrough in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But they fail to understand that although Palestine is central to the symbolism of Arab politics, it is actually marginal to its substance. Now, as in 1991, if a road to a calmer situation in Palestine does in fact exist, it runs through Baghdad.

- Dunn, David Hastings

Myths, Motivations and 'Misunderestimations' : The Bush Administration and Iraq.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 2, March 2003, p. 279-297.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

This article explores the myths and motivations behind US foreign policy towards Iraq in America's 'war on terrorism'. It argues that the foreign policy of the Bush administration is widely misunderstood and that much of the debate about Iraq policy that has taken place has been conducted at an unhelpful level of analysis. It addresses arguments that the Bush administration is motivated by oil, revenge or hubris as well as the more mainstream arguments that an attack on Iraq would provoke instability through the entire Middle East, as well as encouraging further acts of and support for murderous terrorism; that there is no urgency to act against Iraq as containment and deterrence remain adequate means to manage this threat; and that Iraq should be a lower priority than dealing with North Korea. It does this by analysing the development of American foreign policy thinking on the war on terrorism, what motivates it, and why it rejects the arguments of its critics. The article explains the intellectual process by which the US decided upon this course of action and how Europe's failure to understand this process added to its incomprehension of American policy. It does not argue that European's opposition would have been swept aside had they better understood the Bush administration, the central disagreement about the necessity and prudence of military action versus containment remains, but that such an understanding would have allowed for a better and more focused level of debate than the one which has got us to this point. Nor does it argue that the Bush administration approach is necessarily persuasive or justified, merely that its case is reasoned and explicable in terms of America's foreign policy traditions.

- Dunne, Michael  
 The United States, the United Nations and Iraq : 'Multilateralism of a Kind'.  
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 2, March 2003, p. 257-277.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 Much is made of the need for any second war against Iraq (following Desert Storm of 1991) to be sanctioned by a resolution of the UN Security Council, approved necessarily by all five Permanent Members. Yet only two of the five, the USA and the UK, show any enthusiasm for renewed war in the Persian Gulf; and British policy is undeniably following rather than leading American actions on the diplomatic and military fronts. What are the sources of this American policy ? Some critics say oil; the latest arguments of proponents invoke humanitarian concerns; somewhere between the two are those who desire 'regime change' to create the economic and political conditions in which so-called western political, economic and social values can flourish. To understand the present crisis and its likely evolution this article examines American relations with Iraq in particular, the Persian Gulf more generally and the Middle East as a region since the Second World War. A study of these international relations combined with a critical approach to the history of American actions and attitudes towards the United Nations shows that the United States continues to pursue a diplomacy blending, as occasion suits, the traditional binaries of multilateralism and unilateralism - yet in the new world-wide 'war on terrorism'. The question remains whether the chosen means of fighting this war will inevitably lead to a pyrrhic victory for the United States and its ad hoc allies in the looming confrontation with Iraq.
  
- Eyal, Jonathan  
 Battle of the Atlantic.  
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 6-8.  
 Regardless of how the Iraq episode ultimately concludes, one thing is certain : both Europe and the United States will try to paper over their bitter dispute. The US needs Europe, especially in its quest to maintain a new Middle East stability, while Europeans have little to gain from prolonging the spat. France has accomplished what it always wanted - raising serious questions about the very survival of NATO. And the Germans, who have achieved a similar result by accident rather than design, will do their best to restore their link with Washington.
  
- Falk, Richard  
 Why International Law Matters.  
 NATION, vol. 276, no. 9, 2003, p. 19-22.  
<http://www.uspolicy.be/aa/aamar203.htm>  
 The author discusses how pre-emptive war flagrantly contradicts the UN's legal framework. The UN General Assembly could by resolution convene an emergency session to oppose recourse to war against Iraq.
  
- Glennon, Michael J.  
 Why the Security Council Failed.  
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 3, May - June 2003, p. 16-35.  
 One thing the current Iraq crisis has made clear is that a grand experiment of the twentieth century - the attempt to impose binding international law on the use of force - has failed. As Washington showed, nations need consider not whether armed intervention abroad is legal, merely whether it is preferable to the alternatives. The structure and rules of the UN Security Council really reflected the hopes of its founders rather than the realities of the way states work. And these hopes were no match for American hyperpower.

- Gordon, Philip  
O'Hanlon, Michael  
Les défis de l' apres-Saddam.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 96, etc 2002, p. 89-100.  
Over the past few months, a possible U.S military intervention in Iraq to overthrow Saddam has taken shape. In Washington, the question is no longer whether the U.S should act, but when and how. Before committing itself, however, the United States must realize that this exercise will be anything but easy. Apart from the logistical and strategic problems, the Americans will have to prepare the diplomatic terrain very carefully. If the U.S wishes to count on the goodwill of Arab countries, it will have to ensure that the intervention will not cause a public outcry that would threaten the stability of these nations. To do this, it will have to prove its goodwill to the Arab world by bringing peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The second priority is to convince its European allies and countries neighbouring Iraq that military action is necessary. Once Saddam is out of the equation, the toughest job is still to come : ensure that Iraq is never again allowed to destabilize the Middle East.
  
- Hartley, Keith  
The Costs of War.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 5, October 2002, p. 16-19.  
Wars are costly. Yet the government has marginalized discussions about the costs of a possible war on Iraq. Such a war will invariably involve substantial 'hidden' costs and use of scarce resources which have alternative uses, especially for social welfare programmes (e.g., schools, hospitals, and care for the elderly). Professor Keith Hartley examines the possible economic costs, both during and post-conflict, of UK involvement in a war on Iraq.
  
- Hepburn, Donald F.  
Is It a War for Oil ?  
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 10, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 29-34.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Despite the claims of anti-war activists worldwide, there is no validity in the allegation that oil is the prime US motivation, or even a major factor, in a US decision to invade Iraq.
  
- Hollis, Rosemary  
Iraq : Regime Change, Regional Change.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 10, October 2002, p. 4-6.  
'Despite Iraq's sudden invitation to renew UN weapons inspections, American hardliners will keep up the pressure for war. Regime change might be achieved under cover of disarming Baghdad. But without a serious debate on the objective of force, there will be no opportunity to consider what could go wrong or how to handle the competing interests.'
  
- Hollis, Rosemary  
Opening Options.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 9-11.  
Among the various arguments for and against war on Iraq, four require reconciliation if the UN and international legitimacy are to be preserved and a better future delivered for Iraqis. These arguments are represented by the French and British governments and two schools of thought within the US administration : the traditional 'realists' including Secretary of State Colin Powell, and the ideologues, or neo-conservatives, championed by Richard Pearle, head of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board.

- Immarigeon, Jean-Philippe  
L' intuition du declin.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 4, avril 2003, p. 60-70.  
Quelle que soit l'issue de la crise irakienne, le president George W. Bush a conduit son pays dans un piege : d'une part, parce que la rhétorique guerriere des doctrinaires qui l'entourent dresse le monde contre les Etats-Unis; d'autre part, parce que l'Amerique, qui se voulait bienveillante, est considerée desormais comme une nuisance. Il n'est pas deraisnable de penser qu'elle mettra un terme a l'ere des empires, dont elle pourrait bien etre le dernier avatar moderne. L'Europe, qui a echoue par le passe a devenir un empire, peut legitiment y voir une chance a saisir et parier sur le declin des Etats-Unis, a condition de ne pas se tromper elle-meme de projet.
  
- Isherwood, Michael W.  
US Strategic Options for Iraq : Easier Said than Done.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 145-159.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
A US Air Force lieutenant colonel examines the tools and means required to fulfill the objectives of three options for US policy toward Iraq. The conclusion ? The US lacks the means to confront Iraq more forcibly and simultaneously battle terrorism worldwide.
  
- Klare, Michael T.  
For Oil and Empire ? Rethinking War with Iraq.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 662, March 2003, p. 129-135.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
The author examines the motives behind America's decision to make Iraq a central objective in the war on terrorism. If concerns about weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and the export of democracy do not explain the administration's determination to oust Saddam Hussein, what does ? The answer can be found in the pursuit of oil and the preservation of America's status as the paramount world power.
  
- Knights, Michael  
Sparing Civilians.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 4, April 2003, p. 4-6.  
Hundreds of western volunteers have entered Iraq intending to serve as human shields to prevent the targeting of power stations, water purification facilities, hospitals and other non-military facilities. One group camped in the conference room of the South Baghdad Power Plant, some fifty yards from the main generator hall - a prime target for air attack if ever there was one, some might think. This says a lot about this group of people. Firstly, it underlines their commitment to displaying the courage of their convictions. But it also shows how out of touch they are with the realities of modern western military thinking. The power station, like the vast majority of such Iraqi infrastructure, will not be bombed, because American military planners - following an evolving decade-long policy - struck it off the target list long ago.
  
- Krech, Hans  
Die irakische Opposition im Kampf gegen Saddam Hussein.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 4, April 2003, S. 53-55.
  
- Larres, Klaus  
Mutual Incomprehension : US-German Value Gaps beyond Iraq.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 23-42.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Differences over Iraq policy have revealed deep US-German value gaps over multilateralism, nationalism, and the role of force in international relations. Cooperation in four areas of mutual importance can help compensate for them.

- Laurenti, Jeffrey  
Iraqi Threats : What Common Cause Across the Atlantic ?  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 57-67.  
The case of Iraq is analysed against the background of European criticism of the US doctrine of preventive war. The author notes that there is a fundamental divergence in this regard since conflict prevention is still thought of in Europe in terms of preventive diplomacy rather than preventive military action. The author also examines the three major schools of thought in Washington concerning the action to be taken towards Baghdad and the policy options that the Europeans should consider in responding to US insistence on the need for military action. He underlines that the military option against Iraq emerged in the US as a result of the international community's waning determination to compel Iraq to disarm and the prospect that fraying UN sanctions would soon collapse altogether. This implies that if Europe insists on multilateralism it must then ensure that this approach is effective rather than just lamenting US unilateralism. European cohesiveness and unity of purpose is essential, according to Laurenti, for achieving a commonly shared Western approach towards an issue that is of central strategic importance.
  
- Leibstone, Marvin  
America Takes on Iraq.  
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 26, no. 9, 2002, p. 8-14.  
The US President and Secretary of State have, in the months since 9/11 2001 until late August 2002, used up nearly all of their diplomatic coinage hoping to prevent the need of US 'unilateral' military power being applied to unseat Iraq's tyrannical, unstable and nuclear weapon-seeking boss.
  
- Mack, David L.  
Avoiding Grave Harm.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 1, January 2002, p. 13-15.  
At issue now is the likely development of US policy toward Iraq. Will we take reckless measures? Or by failure to act forcefully as well as prudently, will we be reckless by omission? The Middle East can greatly benefit from the re-entry of Iraq into the international community under a new leadership. The United States should take the lead in making this happen.
  
- Marr, Phebe  
Iraq 'the Day After' : Internal Dynamics in Post-Saddam Iraq.  
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 56, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 13-29.  
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>  
The major problem with exile groups lies in the fact that they would have to be put in power by the United States and probably maintained there by American forces if they are to survive until a new constitutional regime can be established. With the exception of the Kurds, who cannot take over Baghdad on their own, the opposition's leadership and organization is outside Iraq.
  
- Mearsheimer, John J.  
Walt, Stephen M.  
An Unnecessary War.  
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 134, January - February 2003, p. 50-59.  
In the full-court press for war with Iraq, the Bush administration deems Saddam Hussein reckless, ruthless, and not fully rational. Such a man, when mixed with nuclear weapons, is too unpredictable to be prevented from threatening the United States, the hawks say. But scrutiny of his past dealings with the world shows that Saddam, though cruel and calculating, is eminently deterrable.

- Moreau Defarges, Philippe  
 La UE frente a la crisis iraquí.  
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 77-84.  
 La debilidad de la UE como actor político internacional se manifiesta cada vez que se produce una nueva crisis. Iraq es el último ejemplo. Sabrán reaccionar los líderes del continente ?
  
- Neep, Daniel  
 The Impact of War in Iraq : Democratization or Destabilization of the Middle East ?  
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 148, no. 2, April 2003, p. 10-15.
  
- Nordhaus, William D.  
 Consecuencias económicas de la guerra contra Irak.  
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 91, enero - febrero 2003, p. 67-81.  
 EE UU centra su política exterior en Irak. La obsesión de Bush distrae a la opinión pública de otros asuntos como Oriente Próximo o Corea del Norte. La ralentización del crecimiento, la crisis de las empresas y los crecientes problemas de la sanidad ponen en peligro la economía del país.
  
- O'Hanlon, Michael  
 Estimating Casualties in a War to Overthrow Saddam.  
 ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 21-40.  
 The author contributes a significant piece on estimating, with existing methodologies, the casualty rates to expect in the kind of conflict likely to ensue in Iraq and elsewhere. The casualty costs are invariably going to be weighed against the benefits when entertaining the idea of a 'regime change'. Questions about casualties have become a permanent factor in strategy making. While precision is not possible, even defining a range of possible outcomes highlights the tactical and strategic choices Americans face. Among the important implications of O'Hanlon's conclusions is the question what will happen if US forces meet a severe tactical reversal. Will the draft be reinstated ?
  
- Ojeda, Jaime  
 La doctrina Bush : guerra preventiva, dominación mundial.  
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 7-16.  
 A mediados de septiembre, Estados Unidos adopta su nueva estrategia de seguridad nacional, que rompe con los principios de contención y disuasión establecidos hace más de cincuenta años.
  
- Park, Bill  
 Turkey and Iraq : Bridgehead or Bridge ?  
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 10, October 2002, p. 7-9.  
 'The prospect of a US led attack on Iraq comes at a bad time for Turkey, which is reeling from an economic crisis and facing imminent elections. The future of Cyprus and its own European Union membership prospects are also on the line. Turkey's geostrategic location makes it central to Washington's deliberations, but it fears that an unravelling of the Kurdish issue, regional isolation and severe economic consequences might follow. Its response could be to seek greater control through active participation. But Ankara must once again be ruling the country's prime strategic location, which it has so often tried to turn to its advantage.'

- Perthes, Volker  
 Postwar Scenarios in Iraq and Regional Re-ordering.  
 INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 4, October - December 2002, p. 21-26.  
 The author examines the war scenarios in Iraq and their possible short- and long-term implications for the regional context. He argues that, while the US-led military action will probably meet with weak Iraqi resistance, it is likely to become an additional factor of regional instability and, in particular, cause a further intensification of the already intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The author notes that following the occupation of Iraqi territory, the US will face formidable challenges such as humanitarian assistance, management of refugees flows and internal policing, for which it seems ill-prepared. Recalling the past record of conflict in the Middle East, he underlines that the US's ability to influence the main regional actors and enforce a postwar regional order has serious limits. Hence, the Bush administration's expectation that an Iraqi defeat will generate a positive 'domino effect' in the region seems to be overly optimistic.
  
- Pollack, Kenneth M.  
 Next Stop Baghdad ?  
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 32-47.  
 What should the United States do about Iraq ? Hawks are wrong to think the problem is desperately urgent or connected to terrorism, but right to see the prospect of a nuclear-armed Saddam Hussein as so worrisome that it requires drastic action. Doves are right about Iraq's not being a good candidate for an Afghan-style war, but wrong to think that inspections and deterrence alone can contain Saddam. The United States has no choice left but to invade Iraq itself and eliminate the current regime.
  
- Pond, Elizabeth  
 The Greek Tragedy of NATO.  
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 1-10.  
 The present NATO crisis has loomed ever since the first act, when the Bush administration shocked its partners by saying it will now pick and choose ad hoc coalitions and not be swayed by permanent allies. But the present transatlantic row over an Iraq war has accelerated the denouement. So has the tragic flaw of hubris - the arrogance of power and the arrogance of impotence. In the end, only the hegemon that created NATO can kill the alliance - if it decides it is strong enough to manage a globalized world on its own.
  
- Rifkind, Malcolm  
 Where is the Axis of Freedom ?  
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 15-19.
  
- Russell, Richard L.  
 War and the Iraq Dilemma : Facing Harsh Realities.  
 PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 3, Autumn 2002, p. 46-61.  
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>  
 The author warns that the events of 11 September 2001 should serve as a wake-up call for America with regard to others who would follow al Qaeda's lead. His investigation into those who could (or would) harm America with weapons of mass destruction leads to President Bush's 'axis of evil', and specifically to Iraq. Russell advocates waging a war against Iraq 'on its own merits', however, not simply as part of a war against terror. He sees such a war as a continuation of business unfinished in the Gulf War. The author presents the reader with a campaign plan to destroy Saddam's regime while still maintaining a balance of power in the region. Russell concludes by asserting Machiavelli's dictum - a nation is safer if it is more feared than loved - in determining that now is the time for war against Iraq, regardless of world opinion.

- Schell, Jonathan  
The Case Against the War.  
NATION, vol. 276, no. 9, 2003, p. 11-23.  
<http://www.uspolicy.be/aa/aamar203.htm>  
The days of the double standard are over. We cannot preserve it and we should not want to. The struggle to maintain it by force, anachronistically represented by Bush's proposed war on Iraq, in which the United States threatens pre-emptive use of nuclear weapons to stop another country merely from getting them, can only worsen the global problem it seeks to solve. One way or another, the world is on its way to a single standard. Only two in the long run are available : universal permission to possess weapons of mass destruction or their universal prohibition.
  
- Schmitt, Michael N.  
International Law and the Use of Force : Attacking Iraq.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 148, no. 1, February 2003, p. 12-15.  
As the sabre rattling quickens following allegations of Iraqi deception in its December 2002 report to the United Nations on the status of its WMD capabilities, there has been strikingly little discourse outside the narrow international law community on the precise legal basis for military action against Iraq. Instead, discussion has centred on whether force should be used against Iraq, rather than whether it may be used. Professor Michael Schmitt warns of serious and far-reaching consequences for international stability should international law be ignored in decisions over Iraq.
  
- Stansfield, Gareth  
Farce or Future ?  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 4, April 2003, p. 7-9.  
Washington's ultimate prize of changing the leadership of Iraq may be tantalisingly close. But the only policies which are coordinated and focused are those of its present President Saddam Hussein. The international community is fragmented and the Iraqi opposition in disarray. Indeed, the tensions between those ranged against Saddam are mounting in a manner perhaps more appropriate to a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta than a conflict which will arguably influence the political future of the Middle East. So what forces will be unleashed on the 'day after' ?
  
- Touchard, Georges-Eric  
L' intervention en Irak : un faux debat pour de vraies questions ?  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 4, avril 2003, p. 71-88.  
Au-dela de ses aspects conjoncturels et largement commentes, la crise actuelle autour de l'intervention en Irak exprime des donnees profondes qui sont rarement evoquees et que le present article recense et analyse avec un grand souci d'objectivite. Quelle qu'en soit l'issue, il est probable que cette crise fasse apparaitre un certain nombre de facteurs, nouveaux et importants, qui peseront desormais sur la gestion des crises et l'organisation future des relations internationales. L'auteur s'efforce de recenser et d'analyser ces donnees nouvelles.
  
- Tripp, Charles  
After Saddam.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 23-37.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
If Saddam Hussein is overthrown by an internal coup, his regime could be succeeded by something similar, albeit with softer edges. A US-led invasion, however, could cause the United States to embark on an ambitious plan for 'state reconstruction'. In doing so, the stamina of the United States will be severely tested by the resistance of the 'shadow state', the lure of communal politics, the indispensability of the security forces and the temptations of massive oil revenues. Faced by

regional states determined to play a 'spoiler' role, the United States may reduce its exposure and accept much of the status quo in Iraq. Saddam would have gone, but the Iraqis would be left a government little more representative than they have at present.

- Yaphe, Judith

Reinventing Iraq : The Regional Impact of US Military Action.

MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 25-34.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

As the United States prepares for a military confrontation with Iraq, several key questions emerge regarding how we build support for that effort and sustain it through the difficult period after Saddam and his regime are 'changed'.

- Zaldivar, Carlos Alonso

Invasion de Irak, escenarios negros.

POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 41-60.

La incertidumbre que rodea un ataque armado contra Irak obliga a elaborar el mayor numero de escenarios posibles a fin de estimar las consecuencias de unas y otras variables.

- Zaldivar, Carlos Alonso

Irak, cronica de una guerra anunciada.

POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p.

77-88.

No todo lo que hoy sucede en el mundo comenzo el-11-S. Cuando Bush llego a la Casa Blanca ya estaba convencido de que la influencia de su pais se habia debilitado. Su discurso en la ONU mostro las verdaderas intenciones del posible ataque a Irak.

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