

# PO380: Britain and the war on terror

[View Online](#)

---

1.

Hudson, V.M.: Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations. Foreign policy analysis (Online) Foreign policy analysis [electronic resource]. Foreign policy analysis (Online). 1, 1-30 (2005).

2.

Kettell, S.: The curious incident of the dog that didn't bark in the night-time: Structure and agency in Britain's war with Iraq. In: Politics and Policy. (2009).

3.

Harvey, D.: The new imperialism. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2005).

4.

Iraq invasion was about oil | Nafeez Ahmed | Environment | The Guardian,  
<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/20/iraq-war-oil-resources-energy-peak-scarcity-economy>.

5.

Blair, T.: A journey. Hutchinson, London (2010).

6.

Kettell, S.: Dirty politics?: New Labour, British democracy and the invasion of Iraq. Zed, London (2006).

7.

Harvey, D.: The new imperialism. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2005).

8.

Klein, N.: The shock doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism. Penguin, London (2008).

9.

Muttitt, G.: Fuel on the fire: oil and politics in occupied Iraq. The Bodley Head, London (2011).

10.

Kettell, S.: New Labour and the new world order: Britain's role in the war on terror. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2011).

11.

Dyson, S.: Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions. Foreign policy analysis (Online) Foreign policy analysis [electronic resource]. Foreign policy analysis (Online). 2, 289-306 (2006).

12.

Gamble, A.: Political memoirs. British journal of politics and international relations (Online) British journal of politics and international relations [electronic resource]. Br. j. polit. int. relat. (Online) British journal of politics and international relations (Online) BJPIR. 4, 141-151 (2002).

13.

Hay, C.: Political analysis. Palgrave, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire (2002).

14.

Marsh, D., Stoker, G.: Theory and methods in political science. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke [England] (2010).

15.

Mearsheimer, J.J.: The tragedy of great power politics. W.W. Norton, New York (2014).

16.

Naughtie, J.: The accidental American: Tony Blair and the presidency. Pan Books, London (2013).

17.

Walt, S.M.: The origins of alliances. Cornell University Press, Ithaca (1987).

18.

Kettell, S.: New Labour and the New World Order: Britain's Role in the War on Terror. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2011).

19.

Magdoff, H., Foster, J.: U.S. Imperial Ambitions and Iraq.

20.

PORTER, P.: Last charge of the knights? Iraq, Afghanistan and the special relationship. International Affairs. 86, 355–375 (2010).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2010.00886.x>.

21.

Barkawi, T, Laffey, M: Retrieving the imperial: Empire and international relations. MILLENNIUM-JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES; 2002, 31 1, p109-p127, 19p. (2002).

22.

Berger, M.T.: From Pax Romana to Pax Americana? The history and future of the new American Empire. *International politics*. 46, 140–156 (2009).

23.

Callinicos, A.: *Imperialism and global political economy*. Polity, Cambridge, UK (2009).

24.

Cox, M.: Empire by Denial? Debating US Power. *Security dialogue*. 35, 228–236 (2004).

25.

Harvey, D.: In What Ways Is 'The New Imperialism' Really New? *Historical materialism*. 15, 57–70 (2008).

26.

Hardt, M., Negri, A.: *Empire*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass (2000).

27.

Greeks and Romans: Anglo-American Relations after 9/11,.

28.

Dumbrell, J.: *A special relationship: Anglo-American relations from the Cold War to Iraq*. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire (2006).

29.

Ignatieff, M.: *Empire lite: nation building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan*. Vintage, London (2003).

30.

Ayers, A.J.: Imperial Liberties: Democratisation and Governance in the 'New' Imperial Order. Political studies. 57, (2008).

31.

Wood, E.M.: Empire of capital. Verso, London (2005).

32.

Riddell, P.: Hug them close: Blair, Clinton, Bush and the 'special relationship'. Politico's, London (2004).

33.

Steinmetz, G.: Return to Empire: The New U.S. Imperialism in Comparative Historical Perspective. Sociological theory. 23, 339–367 (2005).

34.

Mearsheimer, J.J.: The tragedy of great power politics. W.W. Norton, New York (2014).

35.

Naomi Klein: The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism.

36.

Harvey, D.: The new imperialism. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2005).

37.

Walt, S.M.: The origins of alliances. Cornell University Press, Ithaca (1987).

38.

Kettell, S.: *Dirty politics?: New Labour, British democracy and the invasion of Iraq*. Zed, London (2006).

39.

Daddow, O.: 'Tony's War'? Blair, Kosovo and the Interventionist Impulse in British Foreign Policy. *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*. 85, 547–560 (2009).

40.

Parmar, I., Miller, L.B., Ledwidge, M.: *Obama and the world: new directions in US foreign policy*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London (2014).

41.

Gaskarth, J.: Interpreting Ethical Foreign Policy: Traditions and Dilemmas for Policymakers. *British journal of politics and international relations*. 15, 192–209 (2013).

42.

Chandler, D.: Rhetoric without responsibility: the attraction of 'ethical' foreign policy.

43.

Roberts, A.: NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo. *Survival*. 41, 102–123 (1999).

44.

Little, R., Wickham-Jones, M.: *New Labour's foreign policy: a new moral crusade?* Manchester University Press, Manchester (2000).

45.

Monthly review: an independent socialist magazine. (1949).

46.

Blair's wars

/ John Kampfner.

47.

Blair, T.: A journey. Hutchinson, London (2010).

48.

Jackson, R.: Writing the war on terrorism: language, politics, and counter-terrorism. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2005).

49.

Campbell, D.: Writing security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity. Manchester University Press, Manchester (1998).

50.

Dillon, M., Reid, J.: The liberal way of war: killing to make life live. Routledge, London (2009).

51.

Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: The evolution of international security studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2009).

52.

Kettell, S.: New Labour and the New World Order: Britain's Role in the War on Terror. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2011).

53.

Jackson, R.: Writing the war on terrorism: language, politics, and counter-terrorism. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2005).

54.

Holland, J., Jarvis, L.: "Night fell on a different world": experiencing, constructing and remembering 9/11. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 7, 187–204 (2014).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2014.886396>.

55.

Holland, J.: *Selling the war on terror: foreign policy discourses after 9/11*. Routledge, New York (2012).

56.

Kean, T.H., Hamilton, L., National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: *The 9/11 Commission report: final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. W.W. Norton, New York (2004).

57.

Croft, S.: *Culture, crisis and America's War on Terror*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2006).

58.

Burke, J.: *Al-Qaeda: the true story of radical Islam*. Penguin, London (2007).

59.

Kean, T.H., Hamilton, L., National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: *The 9/11 Commission report: final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. W.W. Norton, New York (2004).

60.

Gerges, F.A.: *The far enemy: why Jihad went global*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2009).

61.

Parmar, I., Miller, L.B., Ledwidge, M.: Obama and the world: new directions in US foreign policy. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London (2014).

62.

Booth, K., Dunne, T.: Terror in our time. Routledge, London (2012).

63.

Jarvis, L.: Times of terror: discourse, temporality and the War on Terror. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke [England] (2009).

64.

Blair, T.: A journey. Hutchinson, London (2010).

65.

Zehfuss, Maja: Forget September 11. Third World Quarterly, 6/1/2003, Vol. 24, (2003).

66.

Origins of Regime Change in Iraq - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2003/03/19/origins-of-regime-change-in-iraq>.

67.

Feith, D.J.: War and decision: inside the Pentagon at the dawn of the War on Terrorism. HarperCollins, New York (2009).

68.

Doig, A: 45 minutes of infamy? Hutton, Blair and the invasion of Iraq. PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS; JAN, 2005, 58 1, p109-p , 17p. (2005).

69.

Bar-Joseph, U., Kruglanski, A.: Intelligence Failure and Need for Cognitive Closure: On the Psychology of the Yom Kippur Surprise.

70.

Bluth, C.: The British road to war: Blair, Bush and the decision to invade Iraq. *International affairs*. 80, 871–892 (2004).

71.

Jones, B.: *Failing intelligence: the true story of how we were fooled into going to war in Iraq*. Biteback, London (2010).

72.

Doig, A., Pythian, M.: The National Interest and the Politics of Threat Exaggeration: The Blair Government's Case for War against Iraq. *The political quarterly*. 76, 368–376 (2005).

73.

Mueller, J.: Simplicity and Spook: Terrorism and the Dynamics of Threat Exaggeration. *International Studies Perspectives*. 6, 208–234 (2005).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1528-3577.2005.00203.x>.

74.

Humphreys, J.: The Iraq Dossier and the Meaning of Spin. *Parliamentary affairs*. 58, 156–170 (2005).

75.

Kettell, S.: *Dirty politics?: New Labour, British democracy and the invasion of Iraq*. Zed, London (2006).

76.

Gill, P.: *Policing politics: security intelligence and the liberal democratic state*. Frank Cass,

Abingdon, Oxon (1994).

77.

Freedman, L.: War in Iraq: Selling the Threat. *Survival*. 46, 7–49 (2004).

78.

Mark Phythian: Understanding the Intelligence Cycle.

79.

Curveball: How US was duped by Iraqi fantasist looking to topple Saddam | World news | The Guardian,  
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/15/curveball-iraqi-fantasist-cia-saddam>.

80.

Alex J. Bellamy: Is the War on Terror Just? *International Relations*; Sep2005, Vol. 19, 275–296 (2005).

81.

Phythian, M.: Hutton and Scott: a tale of two inquiries'. *Parliamentary affairs*. 58, 124–137 (2005).

82.

Kettell, S.: *Dirty politics?: New Labour, British democracy and the invasion of Iraq*. Zed, London (2006).

83.

Aldrich, R.J.: Whitehall and the Iraq War: The UK's Four Intelligence Enquiries. *Irish studies in international affairs*. 16, 73–88 (2005).

84.

Owen Thomas: 'The Iraq Inquiries: publicity, secrecy and liberal war' in *Liberal Wars: Anglo-American Strategy, Ideology and Practice*. Presented at the .

85.

Ken Booth: *The Kosovo Tragedy: The Human Rights Dimensions*.

86.

Doig, A., Pythian, M.: The Hutton inquiry: origins and issues. *Parliamentary affairs*. 58, 104–108 (2005).

87.

Boucher, D.: The just war tradition and its modern legacy: Jus ad bellum and jus in bello. *European Journal of Political Theory*. 11, 92–111 (2012).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885111425115>.

88.

Mary Ellen O'Connell: Pre-Emption and Exception: The US Moves Beyond Unilaterism. *Sicherheit und Frieden (S F) / Security and Peace*. 20, 136–141 (2002).

89.

Walzer, M.: *Just and unjust wars: a moral argument with historical illustrations*. BasicBooks, New York (2006).

90.

Blix, H.: *Disarming Iraq: [the search for weapons of mass destruction]*. Bloomsbury, London (2005).

91.

Hennessy, P.: *Informality and Circumscription: The BlairStyle of Government in War and*

Peace. The political quarterly. 76, 3–11 (2005).

92.

Elstain, J.B.: Just war against terror: the burden of American power in a violent world. Basic Books, New York (2003).

93.

Sjoberg, L.: Gender, justice, and the wars in Iraq : a feminist reformulation of just war theory. , Lexington Books 2006.

94.

Zehfuss, M.: The tragedy of violent justice: The danger of Elstain's Just War Against Terror. In: International Relations. (2007).

95.

Coates, D., Krieger, J., Vickers, R.: Blair's war. Polity, Cambridge (2004).

96.

Short, C.: An honourable deception?: New Labour, Iraq, and the misuse of power. Free, London (2005).

97.

Blair's wars / John Kampfner.

98.

Williams, A.T.: A very British killing: the death of Baha Mousa. Jonathan Cape, London (2012).

99.

Gregory, Derek: The Black Flag: Guantánamo Bay and the Space of Exception. *Geografiska Annaler*. 88, (2006).

100.

Bennett, H.: The Baha Mousa Tragedy: British Army Detention and Interrogation from Iraq to Afghanistan. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 16, 211–229 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2012.00539.x>.

101.

Gage, W., Baha Mousa Public Inquiry (Great Britain): The Baha Mousa Public Inquiry report. The Stationery Office, London (2011).

102.

Danchev, A.: Accomplicity: Britain, Torture and Terror. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 8, 587–601 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2006.00256.x>.

103.

Boucher, D.: The just war tradition and its modern legacy: Jus ad bellum and jus in bello. *European Journal of Political Theory*. 11, 92–111 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885111425115>.

104.

Burke, Anthony: Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence after 9/11. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), 3/1/2004, Vol. 80, (1944).

105.

Geneva Conventions | Wex Legal Dictionary / Encyclopedia | LII / Legal Information Institute, [https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/geneva\\_conventions](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/geneva_conventions).

106.

The Rendition Project, <http://www.therenditionproject.org.uk/flights/flight-database.html>.

107.

Dershowitz, A.: Torture Warrant: A Response to Professor Strauss, The. New York Law School Law Review. 275–294 (2004).

108.

Agamben, G.: Homo Sacer: sovereign power and bare life. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif (1998).

109.

Murphy, Sean D.: Evolving Geneva Convention Paradigms in the War on Terrorism: Applying the Core Rules to the Release of Persons Deemed Unprivileged Combatants. Law Journal Library. 75, (2006).

110.

Sadat, Leila Nadya: Extraordinary Rendition, Torture, and Other Nightmares from the War on Terror. Law Journal Library. 75, (2006).

111.

David Luban: Torture, Power, and Law.

112.

Masters, C.: Femina Sacra: The 'War on/of Terror', Women and the Feminine. Security Dialogue. 40, 29–49 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010608100846>.

113.

Scarry, E.: The body in pain: the making and unmaking of the world. Oxford University Press, New York (1985).

114.

SAURETTE, P.: You dissin me? Humiliation and post 9/11 global politics. *Review of International Studies*. 32, (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210506007133>.

115.

Scheuerman, W.E.: Carl Schmitt and the Road to Abu Ghraib. *Constellations*. 13, 108–124 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1351-0487.2006.00443.x>.

116.

Halit Mustafa Tagma: Homo Sacer vs. Homo Soccer Mom: Reading Agamben and Foucault in the War on Terror. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. 34, 407–435 (2009).

117.

Boehmer, E.: *Terror and the postcolonial : a concise companion.* , Wiley-Blackwell 2015.

118.

Wilkinson, P.: *Terrorism versus democracy: the liberal state response.* Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon (2011).

119.

O’Branski, M.A.: “The savage reduction of the flesh”: violence, gender and bodily weaponisation in the 1981 Irish Republican hunger strike protest. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 7, 97–111 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2014.881201>.

120.

Dixon, P.: “Hearts and Minds”? British Counter-Insurgency from Malaya to Iraq. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 32, 353–381 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390902928172>.

121.

Elkins, C.: Britain's gulag: the brutal end of empire in Kenya. Pimlico, London (2005).

122.

Bennett, H.: The Baha Mousa Tragedy: British Army Detention and Interrogation from Iraq to Afghanistan. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 16, 211–229 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2012.00539.x>.

123.

Bennett, Huw [hbennett.jscsc@da.mod.uk](mailto:hbennett.jscsc@da.mod.uk): Soldiers in the Court Room: The British Army's Part in the Kenya Emergency under the Legal Spotlight. *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*. 39, 717–730 (2011).

124.

Bennett, H.: The Mau Mau emergency as part of the British army's post-war counter-insurgency experience. In: *Defense and Security Analysis*. (2007).

125.

Bennett, H.: "A very salutary effect": The Counter-Terror Strategy in the Early Malayan Emergency, June 1948 to December 1949. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 32, 415–444 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390902928248>.

126.

Craig, Tony<sup>1</sup>: From countersubversion to counter-insurgency – comparing MI5's role in British Guiana, Aden and the Northern Ireland civil rights crisis. *Journal of Intelligence History*. 14, 38–53 (2015).

127.

Danchev, A.: Accomplicity: Britain, Torture and Terror. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 8, 587–601 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2006.00256.x>.

128.

Elkins, C.: Alchemy of Evidence: Mau Mau, the British Empire, and the High Court of Justice. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 39, 731–748 (2011).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2011.629084>.

129.

Dixon, P.: 'Hearts and minds'? British counter-insurgency strategy in Northern Ireland. In: *Journal of Strategic Studies*. (2009).

130.

Paul Dixon: Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace.

131.

Cleary, J.: *Literature, partition and the nation-state*. , Cambridge University Press, 2002.

132.

Heath-Kelly, C.: Reinventing prevention or exposing the gap? False positives in UK terrorism governance and the quest for pre-emption. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 5, 69–87 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2012.659910>.

133.

Spjut, R.J.: Internment and Detention Without Trial in Northern Ireland 1971-1975: Ministerial Policy and Practice. *The Modern Law Review*. 49, 712–739 (1986).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2230.1986.tb01713.x>.

134.

Klein, N.: *The shock doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism*. Penguin, London (2008).

135.

Kettell, S.: *New Labour and the New World Order: Britain's Role in the War on Terror*. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2011).

136.

Dow Jones Reuters Business Interactive LLC.: The New York times [electronic resource].

137.

Ayers, A.J.: Imperial Liberties: Democratisation and Governance in the 'New' Imperial Order. *Political Studies*. 57, 1–27 (2009).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2008.00723.x>.

138.

Galbraith, P.: The end of Iraq: how American incompetence created a war without end. Simon & Schuster, New York (2007).

139.

Feith, D.J.: War and decision: inside the Pentagon at the dawn of the War on Terrorism. HarperCollins, New York (2009).

140.

Cooper, C., Catchpole, L.: US imperialism in action. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*. 20, 716–734 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2008.12.003>.

141.

Callinicos, A.: Imperialism and global political economy. Polity, Cambridge, UK (2009).

142.

Ahmed, N.M.: Behind the war on terror: Western secret strategy and the struggle for Iraq. Clairview, East Sussex (2003).

143.

Harvey, D.: The new imperialism. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2005).

144.

Bremer, L.P., McConnell, M.: My year in Iraq: the struggle to build a future of hope. Threshold Editions, New York (2006).

145.

Diamond, L.: What Went Wrong in Iraq. Foreign affairs. 83, 34-56 (2004).

146.

Chandrasekaran, R.: Green zone: imperial life in the Emerald City. Bloomsbury, London (2010).

147.

Blair, T.: A journey. Hutchinson, London (2010).

148.

O'Hanlon, M.: Iraq Without a Plan. Policy review. 33-45 (2004).

149.

Steele, J.: Defeat: why they lost Iraq. I. B. Tauris, London (2008).

150.

Steele, J.: Defeat: why they lost Iraq. I. B. Tauris, London (2009).

151.

James Stephenson: Losing the Golden Hour: An Insider's View of Iraq's Reconstruction.

152.

Hard Lessons: The Iraq Reconstruction Experience.

153.

Synnott, H.: Bad days in Basra: my turbulent time as Britain's man in southern Iraq. I. B. Tauris, London (2008).

154.

Hard Lessons: The Iraq Reconstruction Experience.

155.

Synnott, H.: Bad days in Basra: my turbulent time as Britain's man in southern Iraq. I.B. Tauris, London (2008).

156.

Kundnani, A.: Radicalisation: the journey of a concept. *Race & Class*. 54, 3-25 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396812454984>.

157.

Pantazis, C., Pemberton, S.: From the 'Old' to the 'New' Suspect Community: Examining the Impacts of Recent UK Counter-Terrorist Legislation. *British Journal of Criminology*. 49, 646-666 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azp031>.

158.

Heath-Kelly, C: Counter-Terrorism and the Counterfactual: Producing the 'Radicalisation' Discourse and the UK PREVENT Strategy. *BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*; AUG, 2013, 15 3, p394-p415, 22p. (2013).

159.

Baker-Beall, C., Heath-Kelly, C., Jarvis, L. eds: Counter-radicalisation: critical perspectives.

Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London (2015).

160.

BRIGHTON, S.: British Muslims, multiculturalism and UK foreign policy: 'integration' and 'cohesion' in and beyond the state. *International Affairs*. 83, 1-17 (2007).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2007.00600.x>.

161.

Cole, D.D.: The New McCarthyism: Repeating History in the War on Terrorism. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. (2003). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.383660>.

162.

Martha Crenshaw: The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics*. 13, 379-399 (1981).

163.

Della Porta, D.: *Social movements, political violence, and the state*. , Cambridge University Press, 2006.

164.

CONTEST: THE UK'S STRATEGY FOR COUNTERING TERRORISM,  
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/97995/strategy-contest.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97995/strategy-contest.pdf).

165.

Jackson, R.: Constructing Enemies: ?Islamic Terrorism? in Political and Academic Discourse. *Government and Opposition*. 42, 394-426 (2007).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00229.x>.

166.

Suspect Communities'? Counter-terrorism policy, the press, and the impact on Irish and Muslim communities in Britain,

[http://www.city.ac.uk/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0005/96287/suspect-communities-report-july2011.pdf](http://www.city.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/96287/suspect-communities-report-july2011.pdf).

167.

Githens-Mazer, J., Lambert, R.: Why Conventional Wisdom on Radicalization Fails: The Persistence of a Failed Discourse.

168.

Hillyard, P.: Suspect community: people's experience of the prevention of terrorism acts in Britain. Pluto Press in association with Liberty, London (1993).

169.

Kirby, A.: The London Bombers as "Self-Starters": A Case Study in Indigenous Radicalization and the Emergence of Autonomous Cliques. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 30, 415–428 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100701258619>.

170.

Kundnani, Arun: The death of multiculturalism. *Race & Class*. 43, (2002).

171.

Heath-Kelly, C.: Reinventing prevention or exposing the gap? False positives in UK terrorism governance and the quest for pre-emption. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 5, 69–87 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2012.659910>.

172.

Spooked: How Not to Prevent Violent Extremism.

173.

Aislinn, O.: Securitisation, Counterterrorism and the Silencing of Dissent: The Educational Implications of Prevent.

174.

O'Duffy, Brendan: Radical Atmosphere: Explaining Jihadist Radicalization in the UK. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 41, 37–42 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096508080050>.

175.

Pape, Robert A.: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *The American Political Science Review*, 8/1/2003, Vol. 97, (2003).

176.

Mamdani, M.: Good Muslim, bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the roots of terror. Three Leaves Press/Doubleday, New York (2004).

177.

Pape, R.A.: Dying to win: the strategic logic of suicide terrorism. Random House Trade Paperbacks, New York (2006).

178.

Poynting, Scott; Mason, Victoria: "Tolerance, Freedom, Justice and Peace"?: Britain, Australia and Anti-Muslim Racism since 11 September 2001. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. 27, 365–391 (2006).

179.

Greer, S.: Anti-Terrorist Laws and the United Kingdom's 'Suspect Muslim Community': A Reply to Pantazis and Pemberton. *British Journal of Criminology*. 50, 1171–1190 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azq047>.

180.

Pantazis, C., Pemberton, S.: Restating the case for the 'suspect community': A Reply to Greer. *British Journal of Criminology*. 51, 1054–1062 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azr071>.

181.

Martin, T.: Governing an unknowable future: the politics of Britain's Prevent policy. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 7, 62–78 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2014.881200>.

182.

Qureshi, A.: PREVENT: creating "radicals" to strengthen anti-Muslim narratives. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 8, 181–191 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2015.1005938>.

183.

Ragazzi, F.: Suspect community or suspect category? The impact of counter-terrorism as 'policed multiculturalism'.

184.

Spalek, B., McDonald, L.Z.: Terror Crime Prevention: Constructing Muslim Practices and Beliefs as 'Anti-Social' and 'Extreme' through CONTEST 2. *Social Policy and Society*. 9, (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S147474640999025X>.

185.

Thomas, P.: Failed and Friendless: The UK's 'Preventing Violent Extremism' Programme. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 12, 442–458 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00422.x>.

186.

Thomas, P.: Responding to the threat of violent extremism: failing to prevent. Bloomsbury Academic, London (2012).

187.

Worley, C.: 'It's not about race. It's about the community': New Labour and 'community cohesion'. *Critical Social Policy*. 25, 483–496 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018305057026>.

188.

Stephens, A.C., Vaughan-Williams, N.: Terrorism and the politics of response. Routledge, London (2010).

189.

O'Driscoll, C.: Fear and Trust: The Shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes and the War on Terror. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*. 36, 339–360 (2008).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298080360020901>.

190.

Neal, A.W.: Normalization and Legislative Exceptionalism: Counterterrorist Lawmaking and the Changing Times of Security Emergencies. *International Political Sociology*. 6, 260–276 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-5687.2012.00163.x>.

191.

by Louise Amoore, Marieke de Goede: Risk and the War on Terror.

192.

Aradau, C., van Munster, R.: Exceptionalism and the 'War on Terror': Criminology Meets International Relations. *British Journal of Criminology*. 49, 686–701 (2009).  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azp036>.

193.

Heath-Kelly, C.: Reinventing prevention or exposing the gap? False positives in UK terrorism governance and the quest for pre-emption. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 5, 69–87 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2012.659910>.

194.

Donohue, L.K.: Counter-terrorist law and emergency powers in the United Kingdom, 1922-2000. Irish Academic Press, Dublin (2000).

195.

Fisher, K.M.: Exploring the temporality in/of British counterterrorism law and law making. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 6, 50–72 (2013).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2013.765700>.

196.

Neal, A.W.: *Exceptionalism and the politics of counter-terrorism: liberty, security, and the War on Terror*. Routledge, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon (2010).

197.

Gross, O., Ní Aoláin, F.: *Law in times of crisis: emergency powers in theory and practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2006).

198.

Huysmans, J.: *Minding Exceptions. Politics of Insecurity and Liberal Democracy*.

199.

Huysmans, J.: The Jargon of Exception—On Schmitt, Agamben and the Absence of Political Society. *International Political Sociology*. 2, 165–183 (2008).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-5687.2008.00042.x>.

200.

Cole, D.D.: The New McCarthyism: Repeating History in the War on Terrorism. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. (2003). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.383660>.

201.

Pugliese, J.: Asymmetries of Terror: Visual Regimes of Racial Profiling and the Shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes in the Context of the War in Iraq. *Borderlands e- Journal*. 5, (2006).

202.

Joe Sim and Philip A. Thomas: The Prevention of Terrorism Act: Normalising the Politics of Repression. *Journal of Law and Society*. 10, 71–84 (1983).

203.

Neocleous, M.: The Problem with Normality: Taking Exception to 'Permanent Emergency'. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. 31, 191–213 (2006).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/030437540603100204>.

204.

Nicholas J. Wheeler: THE BUSH DOCTRINE: THE DANGERS OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM IN A REVOLUTIONARY AGE. *Asian Perspective*. 27, 183–216 (2003).

205.

Hewitt, S.: The British war on terror: terrorism and counter-terrorism on the home front since 9/11. Continuum, London (2008).

206.

The Life and Death of Objective Peckham,  
<https://theintercept.com/drone-papers/the-life-and-death-of-objective-peckham/>.

207.

Heller, K.J.: 'One Hell of a Killing Machine': Signature Strikes and International Law. *Journal of International Criminal Justice*. 11, 89–119 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jicj/mqs093>.

208.

O'Driscoll, C.: A 'fighting chance' or fighting dirty? Irregular warfare, Michael Gross and the Spartans. *European Journal of Political Theory*. 11, 112–130 (2012).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885111425117>.

209.

Queen's tailor Hardy Amies was a wartime hitman - This Britain - UK - The Independent, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/queens-tailor-hardy-amies-was-a-wartime-hitman-710804.html>.

210.

Benjamin, M.: Drone warfare: killing by remote control. Verso, London (2013).

211.

BOYLE, M.J.: The costs and consequences of drone warfare. *International Affairs*. 89, 1-29 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12002>.

212.

Clausewitz, C. von, Heuser, B., Howard, M., Paret, P.: *On war*. Oxford University Press, New York (2008).

213.

Enemark, C.: *Armed drones and the ethics of war: military virtue in a post-heroic age*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, New York (2014).

214.

M R D Foot: *S.O.E.: An outline history of the special operations executive 1940 - 46*.

215.

UK forces kill British Isis fighters in targeted drone strike on Syrian city | World news | The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/sep/07/uk-forces-airstrike-killed-isis-briton-reya-ad-khan-syria>.

216.

O'Connell, Mary Ellen: Unlawful Killing with Combat Drones: A Case Study of Pakistan, 2004-2009.

217.

Grayson, K.: The ambivalence of assassination: Biopolitics, culture and political violence. *Security Dialogue*. 43, 25–41 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010611431078>.

218.

Gregory, T.: Drones, Targeted Killings, and the Limitations of International Law. *International Political Sociology*. 9, 197–212 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/ips.12093>.

219.

Gregory, D.: From a View to a Kill: Drones and Late Modern War. *Theory, Culture & Society*. 28, 188–215 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276411423027>.

220.

Gross, M.L.: Moral dilemmas of modern war: torture, assassination, and blackmail in an age of asymmetric conflict. Cambridge University Press, New York (2010).

221.

Ignatieff, M.: Virtual war: Kosovo and beyond. Picador USA, New York (2001).

222.

Mandel, R.: Security, strategy, and the quest for bloodless war. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colo (2004).

223.

Neocleous, M.: Air power as police power. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 31, 578–593 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1068/d19212>.

224.

Strawser, B.J.: Killing by remote control: the ethics of an unmanned military. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2013).

225.

Sullivan, J.: Revolution or evolution? The rise of the UAVs.

226.

Williams, J.: Distant Intimacy: Space, Drones, and Just War.

227.

Zulaika, J.: Drones, witches and other flying objects: the force of fantasy in US counterterrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 5, 51–68 (2012).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2012.659909>.

228.

Heath-Kelly, C.: Can We Laugh Yet? Reading Post-9/11 Counterterrorism Policy as Magical Realism and Opening a Third-Space of Resistance. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*. 18, 343–360 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-012-9180-4>.

229.

How 7/7 changed the way Britain mourns victims of terrorism,  
<https://theconversation.com/how-7-7-changed-the-way-britain-mourns-victims-of-terrorism-43975>.

230.

Collective Memory: the Two Cultures.

231.

Zehfuss, M.: Forget September 11. *Third World Quarterly*. 24, 513–528 (2003).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/0143659032000084447>.

232.

THE RUSH TO MEMORY AND THE RHETORIC OF WAR1 - ProQuest,  
<http://search.proquest.com/openview/e8e619d47df5c8305da58ec2d4dbd148/1?pq-origsite=gscholar>, (2003).

233.

Edkins, J.: Trauma and the memory of politics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK (2003).

234.

Pierre Nora: Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. Representations. 7-24 (1989).

235.

Linenthal, E.T.: Unfinished bombing: Oklahoma City in American memory. , Oxford University Press 2001.

236.

Hodgkin, K., Radstone, S.: Memory, history, nation: contested pasts. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, N.J. (2006).

237.

Thomson, A.: Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia.

238.

Halbwachs, M., Coser, L.A.: On collective memory. University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1992).

239.

Heath-Kelly, C.: Politics of violence: militancy, international politics, killing in the name. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London (2013).

240.

Young, J.E.: Texture of memory. , Yale University Press, 1994.

241.

Kettell, S.: New Labour and the New World Order: Britain's Role in the War on Terror. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2011).

242.

Kettell, S., Kerr, P.: One Year On: The Decline and Fall of Gordon Brown. British Politics. 3, 490–510 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2008.26>.

243.

Whitman, R.G.: The Calm After the Storm? Foreign and Security Policy from Blair to Brown. Parliamentary Affairs. 63, 834–848 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsq028>.

244.

Baker, A.: Divided sovereignty: Empire and nation in the making of modern Britain. International Politics. 46, 691–711 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1057/ip.2009.19>.

245.

Brown, G.: Securing our future. The RUSI Journal. 151, 12–20 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071840608523145>.

246.

Daddow, O.: The Use of Force in British Foreign Policy: From New Labour to the Coalition. *The Political Quarterly*. 84, 110–118 (2013).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2013.02428.x>.

247.

HASSAN, G.: Don't Mess with the Missionary Man: Brown, Moral Compasses and the Road to Britishness. *Political Quarterly*. 78, 86–100 (2007).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2007.02022.x>.

248.

Dumbrell, J.: The US-UK Special Relationship: Taking the 21st-Century Temperature. *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 11, 64–78 (2009).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2008.00352.x>.

249.

Monthly review (New York, N.Y. : 1949) Monthly review : an independent socialist magazine. Mon. rev. (New York, 1949) Monthly review (New York. 1949) Sivanandan Collection of the Institute of Race Relations.

250.

PORTER, P.: Last charge of the knights? Iraq, Afghanistan and the special relationship. *International Affairs*. 86, 355–375 (2010).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2010.00886.x>.

251.

WALLACE, W., PHILLIPS, C.: Reassessing the special relationship. *International Affairs*. 85, 263–284 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2009.00793.x>.

252.

Ralph, J.: After Chilcot: The 'Doctrine of International Community' and the UK Decision to Invade Iraq. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 13, 304–325 (2011).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00444.x>.

253.

Dodds, K., Elden, S.: Thinking Ahead: David Cameron, the Henry Jackson Society and British Neo-conservatism. *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 10, 347–363 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2008.00327.x>.

254.

Honeyman, V.: From liberal interventionism to liberal conservatism: The short road in foreign policy from Blair to Cameron. *British Politics*. (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2015.46>.

255.

Defence and security analysis.

256.

Beech, M.: British Conservatism and Foreign Policy: Traditions and Ideas Shaping Cameron's Global View. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 13, 348–363 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00445.x>.

257.

Palgrave Macmillan (Firm): International politics.

258.

Chalmers, M.: Keeping our powder dry? *The RUSI Journal*. 156, 20–28 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2011.559973>.

259.

Clements, B.: Examining Public Attitudes towards Recent Foreign Policy Issues: Britain's Involvement in the Iraq and Afghanistan Conflicts. *Politics*. 31, 63–71 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9256.2011.01404.x>.

260.

Daddow, O.: The Use of Force in British Foreign Policy: From New Labour to the Coalition. *The Political Quarterly*. 84, 110–118 (2013).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2013.02428.x>.

261.

Daddow, O., Schnapper, P.: Liberal intervention in the foreign policy thinking of Tony Blair and David Cameron. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 26, 330–349 (2013).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2012.737763>.

262.

Davidson, J.: France, Britain and the Intervention in Libya: an Integrated Analysis.

263.

Leech, P., Gaskarth, J.: British Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*. 26, 139–160 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2015.999631>.

264.

McCourt, D.M.: Rethinking Britain's Role in the World for a New Decade: The Limits of Discursive Therapy and the Promise of Field Theory. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 13, 145–164 (2011).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00429.x>.

265.

McCRISKEN, T.: Ten years on: Obama's war on terrorism in rhetoric and practice. *International Affairs*. 87, 781–801 (2011).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2011.01004.x>.

266.

Leffler, Melvyn P: 9/11 in Retrospect: George W. Bush's Grand Strategy, Reconsidered. *Foreign Affairs*. 90, 33–44.

267.

Kettell, S.: *New Labour and the New World Order: Britain's Role in the War on Terror*. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2011).

268.

Mendelsohn, B.: Al-Qaeda's Franchising Strategy. *Survival*. 53, 29–50 (2011).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2011.586187>.

269.

Morris, J.: How Great is Britain? Power, Responsibility and Britain's Future Global Role. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 13, 326–347 (2011).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2011.00450.x>.

270.

PORTER, P.: Last charge of the knights? Iraq, Afghanistan and the special relationship. *International Affairs*. 86, 355–375 (2010).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2010.00886.x>.

271.

WALLACE, W., PHILLIPS, C.: Reassessing the special relationship. *International Affairs*. 85, 263–284 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2009.00793.x>.

272.

Stevens, D.: Reasons to be Fearful, One, Two, Three: The 'Preventing Violent Extremism' Agenda. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 13, 165–188 (2011).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00433.x>.

273.

Thomas, P.: Failed and Friendless: The UK's 'Preventing Violent Extremism' Programme. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 12, 442–458 (2010).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00422.x>.

274.

UBEROI, V., McLEAN, I.: Britishness: a Role for the State? *Political Quarterly*. 78, 41–53 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2007.02018.x>.

275.

Challen, D.: *Primary English: audit and test, assessing your knowledge and understanding*. Learning Matters Ltd, Exeter (2007).

276.

Challen, D.: *Primary English: audit and test, assessing your knowledge and understanding*. Learning Matters Ltd, Exeter (2007).

277.

Auerswald, D.P., Campbell, C.C. eds: *Congress and the politics of national security*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England (2012).

278.

Auerswald, D.P., Campbell, C.C. eds: *Congress and the politics of national security*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England (2012).

279.

Bacevich, A.J.: *The new American militarism: how Americans are seduced by war*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2013).

280.

Fritz, B., Keefer, B., Nyhan, B.: *All the president's spin: George W. Bush, the media, and the truth*. Simon & Schuster, New York (2004).

281.

Gaddis, J.L.: *Surprise, security, and the American experience*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA (2004).

282.

Rashid, A.: Taliban: Islam, oil and the new great game in central Asia. I. B. Tauris, London (2008).

283.

Renshon, S.A., Suedfeld, P.: Understanding the Bush doctrine: psychology and strategy in an age of terrorism. Routledge, New York (2007).

284.

Renshon, S.A., Suedfeld, P.: Understanding the Bush doctrine: psychology and strategy in an age of terrorism. Routledge, New York (2007).

285.

Anderson, E.: The Ethical Limitations of the Market. Economics and Philosophy. 6, 179–205 (1990). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266267100001218>.