ENGLAND'S ANSWER: IDENTITY AND LEGITIMATION IN BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

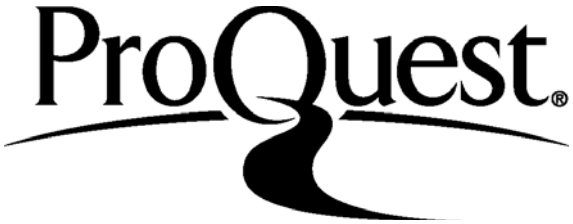
By

STUART STROME

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2014



To my grandfather

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my mom, dad, grandparents, and entire family for supporting me through this taxing process. Thank you for being voices of encouragement through can sometimes be a discouraging undertaking. Thank you to the rest of my family for being there when I needed you most. I truly love you all! I would like to thank my professors and colleagues, who provided guidance, direction and invaluable advice during the writing process. They say you don't get to choose your family yourself, although whoever up there chose it did a wonderful job. I'd like to thank all my colleagues and mentors who provided intellectual inspiration and encouragement. Most specifically, I'd like to thank my dissertation committee, Dan O'Neill, Ido Oren, Aida Hozic, Matthew Jacobs, and above all, my committee chair, Leann Brown. Dr. Brown was incredibly supportive throughout the process, kept me grounded and on track, and provided a shoulder to cry on when needed (which was often!) I've never heard of a committee chair that would regularly answer phone calls to field questions, or sometimes just to act as a sounding post with whom to flesh out ideas. You are an inspiration, and I am lucky to have you as a mentor and friend. I would like to thank my beautiful and wonderfully supportive girlfriend, without whom I would lack the inspiration to follow through on my goals. Finally, I would like to thank my close friends for all the help and support: Manu Samnotra, Jessica Peet, Koreen Alvarado, and everyone else without whom I would have caved under the pressure.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DPT	Democratic Peace Theory
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
MP	Member of Parliament
UK	United Kingdom
UNMOVIC	United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
US	United States
SCUA	Suez Canal Users' Association
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ENGLAND'S ANSWER: IDENTITY AND LEGITIMATION IN BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

By

Stuart Strome

August 2014

Chair: M. Leann Brown
Major: Political Science

How do elites legitimate foreign policy crises? I suggest that any answer to this question is incomplete absent a turn to identity and narrative. Legitimation of policy choice during crisis depends heavily upon construction of identity. While identity has been conventionally understood in categorical terms, I suggest this leaves us with an incomplete picture. Narratives provide meaningful context within which identities are understood, construct meaning for the crisis in question, and relate policy options to constructions of identity. In this study, I examine identity construction and foreign policy legitimation during three security crises post-World War II Britain. My findings suggest foreign policy elites indeed rely on identity in order to legitimate policy choice during crises. Yet, the identities upon which legitimates are provided with meaning through the articulation of a legitimating narrative. I conclude that, to better understand legitimation in IR, studies must incorporate a more complex conceptualization of identity as well as that includes a conceptual and analytical space for narrative.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The Research Question

How do elites legitimate military action during foreign policy crises? While security and economic imperatives commonly figure prominently in policy elites' justification, what role does identity play? To be sure, foreign policy-makers in any political context are bound by the constraints of satisfying the wishes of sectors of their constituencies, but how do they go about doing this? I argue that constructions of identity, deployed through narratives, render certain policy options legitimate or illegitimate. Constructions of identity create bounds for acceptable action on the part of the state, as well as bounds of probable action on the part of other actors (Jackson 2006). Identities constitute the actors themselves, imbuing them with behavioral, ethical and psychological qualities; they are invoked in order to make sense of different actors and their behavior in various situations. Identities are used to convey meaning, interpret political landscapes, and most importantly, justifying policy. Throughout this analysis, constructions of a democratic, law-abiding, strong United kingdom in opposition to a criminal, irrational, morally corrupt radical Other, and a victimized partial Other served to legitimate military action during three different British foreign policy crises. Despite differences in temporal and political contexts, British policy-makers legitimated military action during these three foreign policy crises via identity narratives based upon remarkably similar categories and constructions.

In order to understand how identities are used to legitimate foreign policy, we must first understand the constitutive nature of state and actor identity. First, identities are not essential features of political beings, but rather are created socially, as the

product of discourse and language. Second, identity is not created in a vacuum, but rather, it is bound and shaped by historical circumstances. It is formed by actors who rely upon a repertoire of historical elements, including former identity constructions, stereotypes, and intersubjective meanings. Therefore, identity is produced and reproduced throughout history, as policy-makers reflect back upon the past in order to excavate and appropriate historic identities in order to understand and legitimate action in contemporary crises. For this reason, it is imperative that we conceive of identity diachronically. Third, constructions of identity must not be understood as categorical markers. Instead, policy-makers construct identities through narratives, which imbue actors with meaning vis-à-vis one another, as well as meaning vis-à-vis the crisis in question. Indeed, if identities create boundaries of acceptable action, then these boundaries are meaningless absent a construction of the crisis itself. Constructions of crises and constructions of identity exist as a holistic unity, weaved together through narrative. Policy-makers articulate narratives, but do so only within boundaries created by history and language. Policy-makers are constrained by their own narratives, as these narratives, once made, render certain actions legitimate and others illegitimate. Fourth, the identities within these narratives are constructed relationally as opposed to individually. In accordance with poststructuralist theory, the identity of the Self is irrevocably bound to a construction of the Other. Identity of the Self is only known through a relationship of differentiation with the Other.

Identity construction is an infinitely complex phenomenon, especially when understood in the context of foreign policy crises. As a result, I narrow my focus to three types of constructions in particular: the Self, the radical Other and the partial Other. I

focus on these three categories simply because constructions of Self, radical Other, and partial Other are present throughout my case studies, despite the immense diversity in Britain's geopolitical and economic position during each crisis. As I demonstrate in later in the analysis, the process of legitimation on the part of foreign policy-makers could not proceed absent constructions of these three types of identity, and constructions of these identities remained surprisingly constant given the variation amongst the crises.

In order to understand how identity was constructed to legitimate foreign policy choice across a variety of contexts, I employ a diachronic three case study approach. The three cases I choose, the Suez Crisis (1956), the Falklands War (1982), and the Iraq War (2003) represent three phases of history in the British state and Empire as well as three different types of security crises. I find that, despite the disparate contexts of these three crises, government policy-makers constructed British identity in a remarkably similar fashion. Policy-makers constructed Britain as a vital, "strong" and "exceptional" power, morally upright and the fount and protector of international law and international order, as well as an advocate for and supporter of universal interests. Alternatively, throughout these three crises, the radical Other was constructed as morally corrupt, behaviorally reprehensible, corrosive of international law and order, an international outlaw or criminal, and to blame for the crisis *tout court*. While the construction of the partial Other differed across the three cases, more often than not government policy-makers constructed its identity as helpless, lacking agency, and as victims of the radical Other. The identity narratives and narratives of crises legitimated military intervention, and delegitimated non-violent options such as negotiation and mediation.

Why examine the UK and these three crises? First, the political structure of the United Kingdom necessitates a fair amount of legitimation of foreign policy. Indeed, prime ministers can be removed through votes of no confidence and, as *de facto* heads of their parties, are responsible for how well they do in parliamentary elections. Moreover, the United Kingdom has a long history of free press, a platform that both allows, and in some cases forces, the government in power to legitimate its policy publicly. Second, there is a prodigious amount of primary and secondary source material available for the United Kingdom during this period, including complete records of parliamentary debates, governmental speeches, Foreign Office records, newspaper articles, memoirs, and commentary.

Finally, the UK presents an excellent case, uniquely suited to a diachronic study of identity formation and policy legitimation. Examining the UK allows a considerable amount of variation amongst the cases, providing the opportunity to analyze identity construction and foreign policy legitimation during three "snapshots" in British history, representing different geopolitical, economic, and ideational contexts. The Suez Crisis (1956), the first case, provides a glimpse of Britain at the beginning of its geopolitical decline. At this time, it still retained a fair portion of its pre-World War II Empire, and, as I'll address in Chapter 3, still partly identified with its pre-war prestige and dominance. The second crisis, the Falklands War (1982), provides a glimpse of Britain at the twilight of empire. By this time, the British had undergone significant economic and political decline, having relinquished their entire Empire, with the exception of a few outposts such as Hong Kong, Gibraltar, and the Falkland Islands. During this period, a fair share of policy elites within Britain spoke with great trepidation of the day when Britain would

become a “second-rate power”. Finally, by the onset of the 2003 Iraq War Britain had recovered a measure of its lost prestige (partly as a result of the Falklands War and the subsequent economic rebound during the 1980s). The British had long since relinquished most of their empire, and had undergone a significant decline in their relative power vis-à-vis other European states. By the early 2000s, the British began to further extend what were already significant relationships with other parts of the world, including most importantly, their relationship with Europe.

Despite this variation, Britain remained a significant player in its former imperial domains, embarking upon military interventions during all three of these periods, and in some of these periods, on more than one occasion. This research examines how this military action was legitimated across these varied cases. Through examination of one country at a number of different points in time, we provide a natural control (it is, after all, still the same country, so many things remain the same) for variations in culture or political system that otherwise may confound our attempts to understand legitimation, while still preserving a considerable amount of variation. Diachronic analysis of a single country “generally offers a better solution to the control problem than comparison of two or more different but similar units” and can thus provide insight into the dynamic process of foreign policy legitimation (Lijphart 1971, 689). Thus, by examining three cases across one country, we can see how similar identity narratives were employed in legitimating foreign policy crises, despite the different contexts of the crises themselves.

Apart from case selection, what methods should be used to decipher the relationship between identity and foreign policy legitimation? Which data sources are most useful in detangling this relationship, and how should this data be approached and

interpreted? I employ House of Commons debates from the periods in question as my primary source. I chose this as my primary source for a number of reasons. First, the House of Commons is a forum that is specifically designed for legitimation of policy choice on the part of the government to other foreign policy elites. Indeed, while policy creation is the responsibility of the Prime Minister's Cabinet, it is the express responsibility of the House of Commons to hold the executive (i.e. the Prime Minister and his Cabinet) to account (Garnett and Lynch 2012, 190). The House of Commons' institutional purview is to question the Prime Minister and his policies. Second, the House of Commons not only acts as a forum within which to legitimate policy decisions on the part of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, but it also gives a forum for backbenchers to legitimate their positions vis-à-vis their own constituencies. While the narratives forwarded in order to legitimate military interventions in these three cases were proffered mainly by the party in power, the House of Commons offers a forum for alternative identity narratives to legitimate competing policies. In addition to the House of Commons debates, I also employ auxiliary sources where possible, including Cabinet meetings and memoirs. While these are not as ideally suited to examining the process of legitimation, they add important supporting references to my case studies, and act, as a check against bias that may exist within the House of Commons.

Methodologically, I adopt a form of grounded theory, which seeks to identify categories of analysis through an inductive immersion in the source material (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Through careful analysis of House of Commons records, I identified identity categories (Self, radical Other and partial Other) that were common across all three cases, although they differed in many respects as to their content. Moreover,

reference to these identity categories, both within the narratives that privileged military intervention as well as those privileging non-military options, was key to the process of legitimation across all three cases. In analyzing each identity narrative, I adopt a variant of discourse analysis known as predicate analysis in order to identify how the Self *qua* the British state, as well as the concomitant radical Others and partial Others are constructed (Milliken 1999, 232). Predicate analysis examines the adjectives and verbs that modify the subject in order to understand how that subject is constructed in discourse. I will discuss this in more depth in the Chapter 2. What follows is a brief discussion of the importance of this research question to the field, and more broadly, the importance of the interrelationship between identity, legitimation, and narrative in IR.

The Importance of this Inquiry

IR scholars over the past twenty years have come to recognize the importance of a number of heretofore unaddressed factors in the formation of foreign policy, including identity, narrative, and legitimations. Despite this, only recently have IR scholars attempted to reconcile these three factors, so integral to the foreign policy process. Identity figures prominently amongst these factors (Doty 1996; Epstein 2008; Finnemore 1996; Hansen 2006; Kaztenstein 1996; Neumann 1999). Yet, while identity scholarship has gained a significant following, some scholars have critiqued how identity has traditionally been conceptualized in the study of social entities, prompting a turn towards employing the concept of narrative in order to more fully grasp this phenomenon (Neumann 2004; Ringmar 1996; Somers 1994; Wibben 2012). Narratives are devices by which individuals make sense of the world around them. It is through narrative that events, identities, and even time are related to one another and imbued with meaning. Indeed, many forms of IR scholarship have made the mistake of imputing a fixed

essential nature, or a primordial "self" to states and actors. This is an unfortunate misstep. Like the individual Self, the Self of a political entity "does not predate or survive its narrative "(Thiele 2006, 203). Rather, narrative and identity exist in a co-constitutive relationship: identities are only understood through narratives, yet these very narratives would be incomplete absent articulations of actors' identities.

Finally, the process of legitimation has reemerged as a subject of interest in IR only during the past 15 or so years (Crawford 2002; Jackson 2006; Risse 2000; Schimmelfennig 2001). It is quite puzzling that such an oversight should have remained uncorrected for so long, as legitimation is the *sine qua non* of political processes. Legitimation is a process which all policy elites must undertake, regardless of the political system in question (Crawford 2002, 33). Although this process is worthy of attention in and of itself, legitimation presupposes reference to identity, which in turn constitutes the interests, ideals, and values upon which societies are based (Crawford 2002, 25). It is only recently that sustained explorations of identity and legitimation have come together (Crawford 2002; Jackson 2006). This project is an attempt to expand upon this literature, and better understand the relationship between identity and legitimation of foreign policy through examination of three foreign policy crises: the Suez Crisis (1956), the Falklands War (1982), and the Iraq War (2003).

This question of how identities are used to legitimate military intervention during foreign policy crises is important because it allows us to address a number of shortcomings in the IR literature: first, the study of foreign policy has conventionally focused on processes of decision-making, either through a rationalist perspective or a psychological standpoint. Scholars of FPA focus on the individual policy-elite and

conceptualize foreign policy issues as a “series of problem-solving tasks” (Houghton 2007, 25; Hudson 2005, 1). Much FPA research challenges the individualist rational actor paradigm, focusing on limitations and processing of information and decision-making by policy actors within different organizational contexts (Houghton 2007, 25; Allison 1971; Jervis 1976). Despite the challenge to the rational actor paradigm, replacing it with a modified methodologically individualist approach retains many of the same problems. Politics is a social process. It is, by necessity, a realm of explaining, arguing, negotiating and justifying policies and beliefs to others. In conceptualizing policy-makers as individual, instrumentally rational, information-processing units, FPA scholars are committing a categorical error. Recent scholarly focus on the compatibility between social constructivism and FPA has recognized and addressed this shortcoming (Benes 2011; Flanik 2011; Houghton 2007). Since legitimation is an indispensable part of the political process, engagement with this heretofore ignored element of the foreign policy process may provide a richer and more nuanced understanding of the process. Understanding the relationship between legitimation and identity helps us to shed the restraining assumptions of an individualist model of foreign policy, and provides us a more comprehensive, nuanced, and clearer image of the foreign policy process as a social process.

Second, this project elucidates processes in foreign policy theories that remain obscured or simply assumed. The case of DPT is instructive in this regard. DPT argues that democratic states do not engage in military conflict with one another, in part because of the normative perceptions of political culture these countries share (Russett 1993, 35). Moreover, DPT scholars suggest certain structural or institutional elements

inhibit democracies from going to war with one another, including constraints upon democratic leaders of “checks and balances, division of power, and need for public debate to enlist widespread support” for “large-scale violence.” Furthermore, democratic states are more likely to engage in war with non-democratic states, since democratic leaders neither perceive a similar political culture of compromise nor the institutional checks and balances they would if the competing state was democratic (Russett 1993, 35, 40). In cases in which democracies do go to war, mostly against non-democracies, these institutional checks and balances must be overcome by convincing sectors of society that war is necessary. While the necessity of “enlist[ing] widespread support” is mentioned, DPT scholarship has not addressed this as a social process.

Audience costs, i.e. the “domestic price a leader would pay for making foreign threats and then backing down,” is another means employed by DPT scholars to explain why democratic states refrain from war with one another (Fearon 1994; Schultz 2001; Smith 1998; Tomz 2007). Democratic states refrain from war with one another because, in democracies, audience costs are high as state leaders may be held accountable by their electorate for reneging on a threat or a promise. Audience cost arguments presuppose a continuous process of legitimation on the part of democratically-elected leaders. Despite this, this scholarship doesn’t explore how this legitimation is achieved, which categories and arguments are used, or how enemies and friends are represented to audiences.

Indeed, legitimation is perhaps the most important political process in democracies, especially pluralistic democracies where a number of interest groups must be satisfied. DPT effectively “black boxes” this process. It analytically separates the

normative model, which relies on identities and perception for its explanatory heft, from the institutional model, which relies, implicitly, on processes of legitimation in cases in which a military option is chosen. A close examination of how identity is employed in this process of legitimation may uncover this heretofore unexcavated link uniting the two models. These first two points will be explained in greater depth in Chapter 2.

Finally, approaching identity from a narrative perspective helps us to better understand the relationship between identity and legitimation. As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, the ways in which identities are constructed must ultimately square with a particular narration of a crisis in order for military action to be legitimate. Invocation of certain identities must be commensurate with constructions of the crises at hand. For example, the construction of Britain as a protector of international law only has meaning if policy-makers construct the crisis as a criminal act. Thus, examining identity from a narrative perspective will allow us to give a more nuanced account of the process of identity formation and its relationship to legitimation in relation to foreign policy crises.

The Context - British Decline in Perspective

In order to understand how identity was employed in legitimating military intervention during the three crises I examine, we first must understand the context in which these identities were deployed. The story of Britain in the years directly following World War II is a story of relative decline in influence. During the post-World War II era, the United Kingdom underwent a profound geopolitical, social and economic transition. From 1945 to 1967, the United Kingdom undertook what Churchill termed the "liquidation of the British Empire" (Churchill and Eade 1943, 265). In rapid succession, first in the Middle East and South Asia, and then in Africa and Southeast Asia, British colonies were granted independence. By 1967, the British had resolved to move their

military assets east of the Suez Canal, thus abandoning any pretense of global Empire. Thus, over a period of less than twenty-five years, the United Kingdom went from maintaining political control over a quarter of the world's surface area, to being relegated simply to its home territory.

Despite the evident decline of British capabilities on the world stage, the United Kingdom became entangled in a variety of international conflicts throughout this period. Many of these interventions took place in former colonies, such as the 1946-1947 Greek Civil War, Palestine in 1947, Kenya and the Mau-Mau Rebellion in 1954, Cyprus in the late 1950s, and combat against a communist insurgency in the Malayan Emergency, spanning the entire decade of the1950s. This pattern of military involvement continued well after the retreat from East of Suez in 1967. Post-1970 military inventions include: the Falklands War, the first and second Gulf War, military intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000, the 2001 NATO invasion of Afghanistan, and most recently, the 2011 intervention in Libya, spearheaded by the British and French forces with the United States military playing a supporting role.

In a speech given at West Point on December 5th, 1962, United States Secretary of State Dean Acheson claimed, "Great Britain has lost an empire, but has not yet found a role" (Judt 2005, 278). Implicit in this claim is the notion that the once formidable geopolitical and economic power of Great Britain had been eclipsed by the new superpowers on the world stage, the United States and the Soviet Union. Yet, there is an additional claim implied here: the loss of geopolitical and economic power was not commensurate with the self-perceived prestige of the UK. The implication follows that the British political anomie at the conclusion of World War II involved a search for a

global “place” for the United Kingdom, and a corollary quest to identify what British self-identity was. A number of scholars have analyzed similar phenomena, internal projects of self-identity formation, over the past twenty years (Campbell 1998; Epstein 2008; Hansen 2006; Katzenstein 1996; Prizel 1998; Steele 2008). The question is not only how identity is formed, but how that identity is employed within the context of crises in order to legitimate some policies, and delegitimate others.

This decline had significant implications for British identity over this period. While the British had exited the war supreme amongst European powers, it soon devolved in to a *primus inter parus*, and eventually, at least economically if not politically, a middle power. “It was inevitable,” states Judd, “that one day subject nations and their manipulated and controlled economies would be sufficiently free and confident to attempt to catch up with the developed, industrialized world” (1996, 413). The British state after World War II was facing a set of circumstances which overstretched both its military and economic capacities, and challenged its formerly hegemonic position in global affairs. First, its economic position had been severely undermined by the immediate needs of the war effort. The British government had sold off many of its public assets, and was suffering under an immense debt of 3.5 billion British Pounds owed to India and its dominions (Sanders 1990, 47). In addition to this, the British were dependent upon American loans in order to buttress their flailing currency (Sanders 1990, 52). Most British leaders understood that their place in the economic order could only be assured through collaboration with the Americans, though this collaboration was

reluctant at times, to say the least (Curtis 1995, 30-31).[1] Second, in addition to economic problems, the British military was suffering from tremendous overreach. The British military was stationed in no less than forty different locations overseas in 1945 (Sanders 1990, 50).

Despite the bevy of obstacles facing British leaders throughout the 1940s and early 1950s, as well as the new-found economic and political influence of the United States, there was still a sense amongst many political elites that British foreign policy should still be allowed to operate on an autonomous footing as it had prior to the war. British leaders in the immediate postwar atmosphere were specifically concerned with the maintenance of Great Power status, as well as an insulation of its Empire from forces that would seek to dissolve it, including the United Nations and the United States (Curtis 1995, 10-11). During the late 1940s, there was still ambivalence concerning the British relationship with the United States as well as Europe. Moreover, the British possessed an immense political inheritance in the form of the Commonwealth, influence in which many in the Labour party favored cultivating as an alternative to a strong US or European alliance (Ovendale 1985, 21; Curtis 1995, 56; Reynolds 2000). It was hoped that this may serve as a "'third force' between the United States and the USSR," though in practice this never came to fruition (Curtis 1995, 13). Despite the troubling lack of resources, British leaders still thought themselves the undisputed hegemonic power in many of their spheres of influence, including the Middle East, as evidenced by the 1956 decision to act in Suez without US approval.

[1] This was especially true after the demise of the British Empire in South Asia and Africa throughout the 1940s and 1950s, given that much postwar British economic planning focused on preserving the Empire and the material resources and access to markets that came along with it.

This is not to suggest that the British leaders' perceptions of their own capabilities were not shared by others throughout the world. Despite this lack of material resources, and the limitations this posed upon action, "Britain's status, role and influence were far from negligible" in world affairs, though this influence ebbed and flowed. Throughout the period of decolonization and beyond, "Britain continued to act like a great power and to be treated as such. Through consultation and negotiation and through political, economic and military measures, Britain remained an active participant in international affairs" (Turner 2010, 221). Britain, along with the other members of the western alliance during the Cold War, exerted political pressure upon the United States out of proportion to the level of actual economic and military power they commanded (Risse-Kappen 1997). This is partly due to the overwhelming cultural influence that went along with decades of colonial rule, in addition to being home to the London metropole, which remained the center of imperial life even long after the demise of the Empire itself (Mackenzie 2001).

It is well remarked that "the passing of Empire . . . left a vacuum at the heart of Britain's national and international identity" (Judd 1996, 427). With the decline of its imperial role, Britain has sought to clarify its identity in the world, vis-à-vis Europe, vis-à-vis its former Empire, and vis-à-vis the United States, or even as a willing participant in a globally interdependent society (Freedman 2010; Mackenzie 2001; May 2001; Millful 1999; Turner 2010; Ward 2001). The question of British identity was left without a clear definition subsequent to the decline of its imperial role (Kumar 2000; Kumar 2003). Constructing this definition is an ever-continuing project, as Britain is even today "engaged in a difficult phase of 'transference, redefining itself, externally and internally,

in terms of a rapidly changing global situation" These "relics of the ideology of Empire . . . [correspond] neither to present geopolitical nor social realities" and have indeed taken on a life of their own distinct from their former material underpinnings (Millful 1999, 3). Despite this anomie, my analysis will demonstrate that a certain core of British identity has remained both constant, and influential in legitimating foreign policy decisions (Tate 2012; Wallace 1991). What follows is a brief overview of Chapters 2 through 6.

Summary of Chapters

This project assesses how identity narratives are employed to legitimate and/or delegitimate foreign policy alternatives in three British security crises. Chapter 2 explores three different concepts, legitimation, identity and narrative, and analyzes their interaction with one another. First, I address the process of legitimation. While most scholars would argue that foreign policy elites strive to make their policies "legitimate" in the eyes of both the public (at least in a democracy) as well as in the eyes of foreign policy elites, this tends to be an assumption rather than a focus of analysis. Previous attempts at understanding the process of legitimation in IR have tended to conceptualize legitimation as an argumentation process aimed towards a pre-defined normative end, the aim of which is to modify actors' belief systems. I instead adopt an approach pioneered by Jackson (2006) who argues that legitimation is a process that should be studied empirically as patterns of public justifications for which evidence of changing belief systems cannot be adduced. If legitimation is a process of public justification, on what elements do these justifications rely to resonate with the target audience/s?

To answer this, I explore the concept of identity constructed through narrative. Narrative is a fundamental part of human existence, and is essential in construction of

the Self (Barthes 1977; Macintyre 1981; Ricouer 1984; Somers 1994; Thiele 2006; White 1987). The structure of narrative is common across cultures and some have argued it is an essential feature of the human cognitive process (Barthes 1977; Dennett 1991; Thiele 2006). Individuality is not instrumental in creating narratives, but instead, the idea of "individual" is constituted through a narrative story (MacIntyre 1981; Thiele 2006). Man does not create the story, but the story creates "man". Not only does narrative constitute the Self, but it also constitutes the identity of multiple Others against which the Self is directed. We as individuals do not exist in a vacuum, but rather, a number of characters and events populate our worlds, and in doing so, the relationships erected between ourselves *qua* elements of narrative and the events that occur in our lives our important in understanding behavior. Moreover, interpretations of these characters and events are heavily influenced by prior constructions of identity, many of which are constituted through the use of western categories of thought (Said 1979; Todorov 1984).

The ontology of identity remains a contentious issue in IR to this day. Many IR scholars contend that state identity is not a positive category, but instead is constituted relationally, by a fundamental “lack” whereby the Self knows how it is constituted through a set of oppositional traits, such as rationality versus irrationality, morality versus heathenism, etc. (Connolly 1991; Doty 1996; Neumann 1999; Todorov 1984; Weldes 1999). While I agree that the constitution of the Self is irrevocably bound by the Other, this need not be a radical opposition, and the Self may be constituted through a set of partial Others in addition to radical Others, entities constituted in a somewhat similar fashion to the Self (Hansen 2006). I examine how the British Self is constituted

through a set of oppositions, not only vis-à-vis its enemies, but also its potential allies, as well as the populations of the enemy state.

Narratives not only construct identities, but they construct the crisis itself, as well as the menu of policy options legitimately available to state leaders (Epstein 2008; Hansen 2006; Miller 2012; Neumann 2004; Ringmar 1996; Steele 2008; Wibben 2012;). While a number of narratives that exist at a given time, policy-makers, including the government-in-power, adhere to a dominant narrative, which legitimates its policy to other elites within and outside of the ruling party. In short, narratives propounded during foreign policy crises contain within them constructions of identities as well as constructions of the crises themselves. Particular constellations of identities legitimate certain policy options and delegitimate others. In short, legitimation is the process by which identities and crises are constructed in such a way that creates boundaries of acceptable action, making possible some policy options while rendering others impossible.

Chapter 3 examines how British and Egyptian identities were constructed in order to legitimate military intervention during the 1956 Suez Crisis. I demonstrate that the drive to war was not inevitable, and rather, military intervention had to be legitimated to a skeptical opposition. The Eden administration's narrative was grounded on a tripartite relationship of identities. First, the British were constituted as rational, democratic, the paragon and protector of international law, and the protector of universally valid principles. In opposition to this, Eden administration and its allies constructed Nasser, the radical Other, as a child-like, irrational, criminal, interested not in the protection of the current international order (which is characterized as just) or

even his own peoples' interest, but rather power-hungry and engaged in a process of territorial aggrandizement through the vehicle of “Arab nationalism”.

Finally, the Eden administration and its allies constructed the Egyptian people as the partial Other, harboring neither the insidious intentions nor the moral turpitude that characterized Nasser, yet, robbed of agency or rationality and in need of rescue from their own government. The Egyptian people were constructed as a polity that was not yet fully formed, susceptible to demagoguery, thus necessitating a skeptical gaze on the part of the British. In constructing these identities, the Eden administration and its allies, either consciously or unconsciously, relied upon “Orientalist” stereotypes extending back many years. The need on the part of the British to minimize the impact of Arab nationalism, and the interpretation of Nasser’s intentions as filtered through this identity limited the menu of policy options. The dominant narrative emanating from the Eden administration and its allies constructed non-military options as dangerous appeasement of a power-hungry criminal, or useless delaying tactics that would end up benefiting Nasser, alternatively legitimating the military option as the only acceptable route forward.

Chapter 4 explores how narratives propounded by the Thatcher administration and its allies constructed British, Argentine, and Falkland identities and employed them to legitimate the military option during the 1982 Falklands War. Despite the different context of the war, British identity was constituted in a similar fashion, as rational, democratic, and the protector of international law and order. In addition to this, the Thatcher administration and its allies forwarded a dominant narrative that constructed British identity in opposition to an identity of decline that had emerged throughout the

1970s. The Thatcher administration and its allies constructed the radical Other, the Argentine regime, in a fashion similar to Nasser, despite the different geopolitical, geographic, and cultural contexts. While constructions of Nasser relied upon Orientalist stereotypes, constructions of the radical Argentine Other relied upon stereotypes of Latinos. Finally, the Thatcher administration and its allies constructed the partial Other, the Falkland Islanders, as romantic exemplars of a long-past British way of life, and victims of the deplorable Argentine regime. Thatcher's narrative constructed the military option as the only way to "save face" and protect the Falklanders, to which Britain was united by history and blood. Thatcher's narrative cast down non-military options as wasteful delay, and appeasement, thus delegitimating attempts at further negotiation or mediation.

Chapter 5 is devoted to a more recent conflict, the 2003 Iraq War, and how the British government's narrative of that crisis, and the identities contained therein, legitimated military action. Similar to the previous two crises, the Blair administration and its allies constructed the British Self as an exemplar of and protector of world order and universal values, including democracy and international law, while it constructed the Iraqi government as untrustworthy and unable to be negotiated with. Similarly, the narrative forwarded by the Blair administration and its allies constructed the Iraqi people as victims, acted upon rather than acting, and subject to the brutality of the radical Other. Despite the fact that the Iraqi state posed little if any immediate danger to the British or their allies, the narrative and the identities propounded therein limited the menu of legitimate policy options. Negotiation and diplomacy was constructed as appeasement, and was not commensurate with the identity of the radical Other. On the

other hand, military action was constructed as commensurate with a British identity that underscored belief in protection of universal values and international law (of which Saddam Hussein was in breach) as well as protection of the Iraqi people.

Chapter 6 offers a brief comparison of the three cases and what we may learn from them in regards to foreign policy theories. I suggest that, despite shifts in geopolitical and economic context among the three cases, many elements of British identity have remained remarkably constant, including a focus on political rights and international law. Similarly, constructions of the radical Other and partial Other exhibited stark similarities, despite their obvious differences. The partial Others were constructed as "victims" of the radical Others' aggression. Similarly, I demonstrate that constructions of identity in prior crises informed and molded the repertoire of elements of identity construction for later crises. Additionally, I suggest that the exploration of the process of legitimation, and identity construction as an ineluctable part of legitimation, can inform both the FPA literature and IR literature in general. Finally, I suggest some routes for further research into how identity is used to legitimate foreign policy choices during security crises. This analysis suggests that narratives of identity are indeed instrumental in explaining how government elites legitimate foreign policy during security crises.

CHAPTER 2
THEORY AND METHODS

The Shortcomings of Foreign Policy Analysis

Why has the question of how policies are legitimated remained so thoroughly ignored in the contemporary IR literature until quite recently? To begin with, structural and state-centered theories reserve no place for the study of legitimation in IR. For neorealists, legitimate foreign policy options secure the state from encroachments by other states, or worse, elimination from the system. To be fair, neorealists acknowledge that theirs is not a theory of foreign policy, but rather a theory of international relations (Waltz 1979). Legitimation plays little if any role in the decision-making process, as the process itself is a response to structural material conditions (Mearsheimer 2001). Neoliberal institutionalists add little the ontological or epistemological understanding of foreign policy (Keohane 1984). This lack of focus on domestic or social processes is due to desire on the part of structural IR to "black box" the state. The field of FPA rose in response to the limitations placed on the understanding of foreign policy by structural theories which tended to abstract the state and the processes entailed within (George 1993).

The guiding focus of the subfield of FPA is the notion that, "All that occurs between nations and across nations is grounded in human decision-makers acting singly or in groups" (Hudson 2014, 3). FPA theorists make a distinction between actor-general and actor-specific theory, the latter of which is "unwilling to 'black-box' the human decision-makers under study" (Hudson 2014, 7). The theoretical core of FPA, unlike structural theories of IR, argues that individuals make policies under certain restrictions, but still retain a kernel of agency that allows us to conceive of them as

willful actors. In an effort to understand this decision-making process, FPA borrows liberally from a number of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, organizational behavior, anthropology and economics (Hudson 2014, 7). FPA asks “the investigator to collect detailed information about such diverse matters as the social system, the economy, the foreign situation, the actors, the perceptions, the motivations” and the values of the actors involved in the policy-making process (McClosky 1962, 201).

For FPA, while the center of the analytical process is the human decision-maker, and the goal is to understand why he or she sets out on any specific policy course; the means by which this is done is to understand the psychological, sociological, and economic milieu within which this individual operates. Further, to fully understand the process, FPA scholars argue it is best to conceive of this in a temporal manner. Hudson states, “The stages of decision-making may also be the focus of inquiry, from problem recognition, framing, and perception to more advanced stages of goal prioritization, contingency planning, and operational assessment.” This is done through an empirical engagement with the matter at hand, using “artifacts of decision” or “the traces that decisions to act leave in newspapers or chronologies” in order to trace the process by which the individual policy-makers came to their decisions (Hudson 2014,4-5).

Because FPA has grown organically in opposition to a certain methodological stance in IR, variants of this scholarship are taxonomized according to the level of analysis they employ. Individual and group levels of analysis focus on characteristics of the individual personality type, the psychological attributes of the individual in question, or the psychological traits of individuals in group settings, in order to identify how policy-

makers come to decisions.[1] Jervis (1976) argues that foreign policy decisions may be the result of psychological limitations of the individual in what has traditionally been conceived of as a rational process. George (1969) argued that operational codes, or the underlying core beliefs of an individual, indelibly affect the foreign policy decision-making of the individual. For this vein of research, factors such as "the core political beliefs of the leader about the inevitability of conflict in the world, the leader's estimation of his or her own power to change events" play an important part in whether or not a decision-maker will engage in conflict (Hudson 2014, 24; George 1969; Goldstein and Holsti 1977; Johnson 1977; Keohane 1993; Larson 1994; Reifler et al. 2011). Other research has examined factors such as cognitive maps and schemas (Axelrod 1976; Carbonell 1978), stereotypical imaging of the enemy (Herrmann 1993) and individual life experience of policy-makers (Stewart 1977) as influences upon foreign policy decision-making. Janis (1982) moves the level of analysis up to the group, arguing that a psychological property of individuals to be in agreement with one another in small groups results in a stifling of dissent ("groupthink"), resulting in questionable policies policy-makers collectively agreeing on policies they have doubts about individually.

While these theories lend their understanding of how foreign policy is made, their focus is overly narrow in two ways. First, by examining the individual in a psychological sense, they neglect the fact that policy-making is inherently a social process. Aside from Janis (1982), these scholars examine the effects that ideas have upon the individual, yet, they do not engage the notion that the individual is engrossed in a process of social interaction that is part-and-parcel to the policy-making process. As a demonstration of

[1] See also Medlicott (1968) and Young (1984), as well as historical studies sympathetic to a political science perspective, such as Steiner (1969), Watt (1965), Thorne (1978) and Kennedy (1981).

this principle, we could imagine two different individuals, with the same ideational background, psychological biases, coming to completely different decisions based upon the societal and cultural milieu within which they are steeped. Furthermore, they make basic assumptions about the essential nature of individuals as psychological beings. Indeed, ideational background, or psychological limitations may limit policy choice, but one must dig further in order to understand this process in its totality. Individuals are social beings, and thus, the process of foreign policy-making is not fully encompassed by a singular decision-maker and the coterie of influences that surround him or her. Rather, foreign policy is a social process, and the policy-makers should be analyzed as a social beings rather than individual psychological beings.

Second, a narrow focus on the point of decision blinds us to other important parts of the foreign policy process. The individual policy-maker is not an empty vessel to be filled by ideational backgrounds, cultural and psychological biases, resulting in a decision. Further, the policy-makers role is not complete at the point of the decision. Rather, the individual foreign policy-maker is active, and must justify his or her positions to a wider audience. In short, focusing on the individual level of decision-making makes assumptions about the individual that are overly restrictive, as well as places focus narrowly on the decision-making process at the expense of other important political processes.

National level factors have also garnered significant attention in FPA, especially the roles of cultural and national beliefs and values. Traditionally, national attributes such as wealth, size, and political accountability, which have been treated as independent variables in determining foreign policy outcomes (East 1978; East and

Hermann 1974). For example, Buzan (2010) argues that economic interdependence has played an important role in the construction of British foreign policy in the post-imperial era. Yet, constructivist scholarship has moved beyond material factors, identifying ideational factors as important considerations in analyzing foreign policy outcomes. This scholarship regards the individual policy-maker as inserted in a milieu of intersubjective values and ideas, which constrain policy options, both at the individual and the societal level. Katzenstein (1996) argues that domestic culture invariably influences foreign policy outcomes, limiting decision-makers' ability to undertake war. While Katzenstein examines the national level, Sylvan et al. examines how policy was constructed during the Vietnam War, with reference to "how, within a particular foreign policy community, certain statements are fitted together into a comprehensible recommendation" (1991, 127). This vein of scholarship examines how underlying societal opinions helped to shape patterns of argumentation within bureaucratic culture.

Another variant of FPA scholarship focuses on ideas regarding the role that states play vis-à-vis the global political system. Role specifications such as "bridge", "mediator", "bastion of the revolution" and "defender of the faith" color leaders' perceptions of the actions their states should undertake (Hudson 2014, 130; Breuning 1997; Holsti 1970). Wilkening (1999) suggests that deeply-held cultural meanings regarding the role of individuals vis-à-vis nature in Japanese society helped to foster an environmental activism in the 1990s. Recent scholarship has also attempted to explain contemporary British foreign policy through the lens of role theory (McCourt 2011).

While this focus on ideational factors and culture as an explanans of foreign policy outcome represents a significant advance over theories that understand the

individual policy-maker as an amalgam of psychological biases or ideas, it still suffers defects present in the individualist explanations. Katzenstein (1996) assess how cultural norms have remained constant over the past half-decade in an area such as Germany, and how this has constricted the ambit of potential policy choices for policy-makers. Yet, as stated prior, this is only half the story. The other half must address how these ideational factors are deployed by policy-makers in order to justify to their constituencies why they undertook the policies they did. Thus, this project represents a work along constructivist lines, with a slightly different focus. Whereas constructivist scholarship along the lines of Katzenstein's work seeks to identify why foreign policy choices are undertaken, this project will not tackle that question. Instead, this project will focus on how these choices are legitimated to fellow policy elites.

The final vein of scholarship in FPA examines how domestic political processes affect the outcome of decisions. Most of these are taken from the perspective of liberal states, and examine how legislative or democratic processes alter foreign policy outcomes. The liberal state is defined in part by inclusive institutions in which interest groups can give voice to their preferences and concerns. These institutions allow for both participation and contestation of these different interests, as well as modes of transmission from interest groups to policy-makers (Dahl 1971, 15). Political outcomes (in this case, foreign policy choices) are a reflection of the competing interests in these societies. Domestic FPA claims that exogenous national imperatives, or psychological or group processes, do not fully dictate foreign policy choice. Rather, foreign policy choice is a function of the policy-maker's need to balance domestic and international political imperatives (Putnam 1988). This insight has been adopted in the study of British foreign

policy, as a number of scholars address the nexus of domestic and international imperatives as an explanation of British foreign policy over the past 60 years (Frankel 1975; Smith 2010, 43; Wallace 1975; Wallace 1984).

FPA scholars in this tradition examine how a wide array of institutions, including political parties, interest groups, legislators, public opinion and elections, affect foreign policy in democratic states (Coker 1986; Frieden 1988; Holsti 1992; Lewis 2004; Lindsay 1994; Shapiro and Page 1983; Shlaim et al. 1977; Sobel 2001). Some studies analyze economic interest groups, examining the conflict between domestically-oriented economic groups and internationally-oriented economic groups in dictating foreign policy choice (Frieden 1988). Others examine the legislative process and how it constrains the executive in creating foreign policy (Linsday 1994). Still others look at the role of public opinion, including the variables that dictate whether or not it is effective in constraining foreign policy choices (Holsti 1992; Page and Shapiro 1994). As addressed earlier in this study, Democratic Peace Theory is related to this vein of research. DPT suggests that democratic states are peaceful both due to ideational factors, the perception on the part of democratic states that other democratic states share a compatible political culture, and structural factors, limitations placed upon policy-makers by the need to get other sectors of society to agree (Russett 1993).

All of these variants of scholarship share a similar defect---they all presuppose some type of legitimation yet do not fully explore this phenomenon. Holsti (1992) suggests that public opinion is an important factor in the formation of foreign policy, yet public opinion is not a static entity. Not only are publics notoriously uninformed, their opinions are subject to influence through the arguments and action of policy elites

(Bullock 2011; Eagly and Chaiken 1993; Page et al. 1987). This broaches the question of how this occurs. What devices or ideas do policy-makers rely on to persuade individuals, publics and other policy-elites, as to the validity of their opinion? Lindsay (1994) focuses on how congress limits executive foreign policy choice through procedural legislation and opinion framing. Yet, while legislatures have many ways of influencing foreign policy, the opposite is also true. The executive is regularly understood to be the more powerful actor regarding foreign policy in the UK. In many cases, foreign policy choices are made behind closed doors, often prior to consultation with the wider legislature. How does policy justification flow from top (the executive) to bottom (the legislature)? Furthermore, what are the categories and arguments used in order to justify policy choices? Indeed, if as DPT posits, democracy involves a political culture of compromise, surely arguments must be forwarded as to the acceptability of any policy in question. What are the contours of these arguments? On what ideas and devices do they rely? To examine this, we must arrive at a fuller understanding of the process of legitimation itself.

Legitimation

As previously established, a sustained engagement with the phenomenon of legitimation is necessary in order to enhance the existing FPA literature. I define legitimation as "patterns of claims made in public" by policy-making elite to justify a certain policy to other elites (Jackson 2006, 23). In doing so, I place legitimation within the realm of tangible social and empirical processes. This is opposed to contending conceptualizations of legitimation, either a process of argumentation whereby either beliefs or motives are shifted, or the process by which the normative superiority of a proposition is demonstrated (Finnemore 1996; Klotz 1995; Price 1998). Analyzing

legitimation as an empirical and social phenomenon has garnered a significant following over the past fifteen years, and overcomes some of the shortcomings of previous attempts to grapple with this phenomenon (Jackson 2006; Krebs and Jackson 2007; Krebs and Lobasz 2007; Schimmelfennig 2001). Viewing the phenomenon in this way resolves many of the issues associated with legitimation scholarship.

First, legitimation scholarship has traditionally defined this phenomenon as patterns of argumentation whereby the transcendent normative validity of a position is revealed by the fact that it "won out" over other competing arguments (Crawford 2002; Muller 2004; Risse 2000). Risse states, for example, that the persuasive power of an argument results in participants in this process "[changing] their views of the world or even their interests in light of the better argument" (Risse 2000, 7). Imagining legitimation in this fashion presupposes the normative validity of the policy or idea in question, and thereby elides the process of legitimation altogether. The legitimacy of a proposition or policy is assumed at the outset. Instead, what is interesting is "how these notions became 'legitimate' in the first place," a question "left aside" in these analyses (Jackson 2006, 20). By assuming the transcendent normative validity of a position (for example, going to war over the Falklands because of a violation of state sovereignty or individual rights), we leave aside the messy analytical work of demonstrating how this came to be valid. We should instead concentrate on "the empirical and historical processes whereby various notions were made available for concrete deployment" (Jackson 2006, 21; Crawford 2002, 122-23; Doty 1993, 314-16). What categories were employed to make intervention seem not only preferable, but a natural outcome of the crisis itself? This requires a careful examination of the structures of these ideas, and

how particular constellations of identities were formed in order to construct boundaries of actions for states and other actors, and how these boundaries of action legitimated or delegitimated foreign policies. Indeed, many would suggest the interventions were not legitimate, but this is not so important. The question is by which process, adopting which categories, using which analogies, were they "sold" to other policy-makers?

Second, competing explorations of legitimation focus on the process by which the motives and believes of individuals are changed through persuasion. Hurd claims that legitimation is defining "what motivates [actors] to follow international norms, rules, and commitments" (Hurd 1999, 379). Checkel asserts that social actors come to "acquire new values and interests from norms" through a process of social learning (1999, 89-90). These arguments rest on the presumption that operant motives and beliefs of actors may be discerned through empirical evidence (Jackson 2006, 22; Crawford 2002, 49-52). Yet, this is a difficult task to achieve in a social landscape where actors may have numerous reasons for complying with norms or rules. Do political actors support a policy because they deem it legitimate, or have they something tangible to gain in exchange for their support? More apropos to our topic, MPs or members of a cabinet support a policy because they deem it legitimate or might they have other motives? If we conceptualize legitimation in this way, can we depend on what actors say given the immense incentives for political actors to lie about their motives? The problem with conceptualizing legitimation in this fashion is we must always impute, or find revealed, or assume at the outset, that motives or beliefs are changed without actually empirically demonstrating this fact.

A focus on legitimation as a socially relative, empirically identifiable process focusing on patterns of claims made in public is the best way to approach this phenomenon. Adopting this approach sidesteps the thorny issues attendant to other conceptions of legitimation. By focusing on legitimation as "claims made in public" this analysis is shorn of the "implication . . . that anyone necessarily 'believes' the kind of legitimating rhetoric that they are deploying" and more importantly, that those that are "convinced" are supporting the policy because they actually deem it legitimate (Jackson 2006, 22-23). Furthermore, this conceptualization of legitimation neatly elides questions of whether or not any legitimate was "successful" or not. The legitimation that "succeeds" is the one that allows the government to undertake the policy that it initially set out to undertake. Therefore, legitimation in all three cases was successful in this very narrow sense. Indeed, due to the structure of the British political system, the government's threshold for convincing backbencher MPs is relatively low, as to outwardly challenge government policy by voting against it may result a vote of no-confidence. This could result in the loss of power, a risky proposition for potential rebel backbenchers. Yet, what is at stake here is something altogether different. The theoretically and empirically interesting part of this analysis is how identities were constructed in order to legitimate foreign policy choice, not whether those choices themselves were legitimate in the eyes of erstwhile challengers.

Therefore, it is best to think of legitimation as a set of productive linguistic "moves" that imbue actors with particular boundaries within which they operate. Legitimation creates "boundaries of action" for actors. Legitimation "constructs spheres within which certain actions can be performed, and it cordons off others as falling

beyond the pale" (Jackson 2006, 24-25). By "limiting action, [these boundaries] produce an actor, demarcating a sphere in which that actor can legitimately act" (Jackson 2006, 25). To be clear, these boundaries of action are malleable, and the product of linguistic acts on the part of those doing the legitimating. These constructions are challenged by competing legitimations offered by contending policy-elites. Indeed, they often adopt similar categories in the process of legitimation, but construct their meanings in radically opposed ways. These constructions are not extant features of the political landscape, but rather are produced and reproduced in speech. Yet, by creating boundaries of action for social actors, this process produces certain policies as legitimate for certain actors, while rendering others unjustifiable.

This view of legitimation makes sense in the context of the state. Indeed, the state is not naturally imbued with any powers or privileges. Instead, the boundaries of the state as a social actor are constructed by policy-makers seeking to accomplish actions (in our case, military intervention) using the state as a vehicle. Therefore, if a state is to take any action, the action in question must be deemed legitimate for the state. The crisis must be constructed as within the ambit of the state, or the state must be constructed in a manner such that action is within the acceptable purview of the state.

Of course, we must not solely focus on how British actors construct Britain. Legitimation as a process of boundary creation involves not only to the state doing the acting, but other actors that must be constituted through this process in order to justify policy. In justifying military action, boundaries of possible action must not only be drawn for the state in question, but for rivals, international organizations, and even the

populations of rival states. Indeed, the legitimation process may involve boundary creation for a number of actors in order for the policy choice to be rendered acceptable.

The question remains: if we identify legitimation as patterns of public claims whereby policy-makers draw boundaries of action for social entities, what is the form these boundaries take? Policy-makers may legitimate political action based on a number of factors, including an appeal to ethics, an appeal to philosophical or instrumental motives, or appeals to survival (Crawford 2002, 42). Yet, in the context of military action, what unites all of these is dependence upon a certain identity of the state undertaking these actions. While Crawford imagines appeals to identity as apart from these other categories of appeal, in fact, these different forms of appeal are often *included* in the identity itself or presuppose a certain identity. For example, if military intervention in any given context is ethically justified, does not that presuppose that the state is an ethical actor? If military action is undertaken by the state in order to save groups of people, or save the state itself, does not that presuppose an identity of the state as a "protector" or survivalist entity? As I will focus on later, these identities are not created *in vacuo* but are contingent upon a constellation of prior invocations of identity on the part of prior policy-makers or actors. Policy-makers draw upon this ideational milieu in order to craft identities for their home states and other actors in order to draw boundaries of acceptable action.

If legitimation involves boundary creation, I argue this process of boundary creation should be conceived of as identity. Articulation of boundary between Self and Other, the characteristics that define them in opposition, operates in exactly the same fashion as Jackson (2006) describes. It sets boundaries for acceptable action on the

part of an actor, it imparts an identity, and distinguishes it from its Other through invocation of opposing characteristics. Thus, we should imagine the relationship between identity, policy, and legitimation as follows: legitimation is the process by which identity is reconciled with policy. It is the patterns of justification that argue why the Self must act in a certain way. Identity, culture, or ideas in general do not exist and construct the actor, but are employed by actors "as a discursive resource" (Steele 2008, 29; Bukovansky 2002, 17). If policy-makers operate in this fashion, deploying identity in order to construct boundaries of acceptable action, we must examine the form which identity takes and the role it plays in this social process.

This reconceptualization of legitimation prompts a number of questions. First, when discussing legitimation, how can one tell if a legitimation was successfully undertaken? In the realm of public debate focusing on mass audience this is often easy to discern. If one is seeking to legitimate in reference to public opinion, public opinion polling may suffice to answer the question. Yet, it is quite a different task when reserving inquiry to policy elites. After all, policy elites have entrenched interests and are not so easily swayed. Additionally, metrics such as vote counts cannot be used because norms of party discipline and linkages to other issues would certainly provide incentives for MPs to vote for policies they deemed illegitimate. After all, an MP may be convinced to vote on military intervention against personal preference because the entire party agenda depends upon allowing the party to remain in office. Moreover, since we cannot assume that reasons given during the legitimating process are beliefs actually held by individuals (after all, even if a policy elite supports the proposal, this may be done for cynical reasons such as vote trading), this presents a significant obstacle.

Perhaps a turn to the text may solve this problem. One way to discern whether legitimation was successful or not is to see how many MPs changed their position during the debate. This doesn't necessarily mean supporting a policy, but instead a small shift. Did an MP downplay a formerly significant element of identity to which he or she was committed? Or did that MP change the way in which he or she interpreted that identity or the crisis itself? Furthermore, was this done in response to an event? This doesn't necessarily suggest that beliefs of these individuals were changed, and thus it still accords with the definition of legitimation set forward earlier. Yet, because we are examining aggregate patterns of justification as opposed to individual justifications, the contours of the general debate itself are what are important. Indeed, even though it was rare that individual MPs changed their position in the midst of the crisis, even if they did, this is important only insofar as it affected these overall patterns.

Thus, to think of legitimation as "successful" or "unsuccessful" is misleading. It is impossible to tell if peoples' minds were changed, and using vote counts as a metric of legitimation would similarly be misleading. Rather, there are more illuminating questions. How did the contours of the debate develop? How were identities constructed in relation to one another and how did these identities shift over time? Ultimately, success legitimates any policy in the long run. It is questionable whether narratives of identity suggesting Britain's exceptionalist nature would have legitimated military action in the Falklands Crisis had the military invasion not been successful. Moreover, while the Iraq War and military action in the Suez Crisis was undertaken with questionable support from within the government (especially in the case of the latter), what is interesting is the shape that these narratives took and the choices the

government made in relying upon these constructions of identity. Given the status of legitimation in this analysis (consisting of patterns of public argumentation, combined with the empirical focus of this analysis) there are no “successful” or “unsuccessful” legitimations. Rather, there are multiple narratives legitimating multiple policy choices. However, this analysis will focus on the ones that the government offers to justify its preferred policy. While I do focus on the contestations that took place between these competing narratives, defining which narrative was more legitimate is not possible.

This brings us to our second concern: who is legitimating what to whom? In the subsequent analysis, we will focus on how the respective governments in power offer arguments in order to legitimate policies to other policy-elites. As stated prior, because this analysis focuses on patterns of public justification rather than single narratives offered by actors, the government here is defined rather broadly. To be sure, this will include the Prime Minister and his cabinet, but it will also include supporting backbenchers whose legitimations cohere with those of the government. I will refer to these actor as the government and its allies. The response to the first part of the question, “what” is being legitimated, is quite simple. In all three cases, the action that is being legitimated is military intervention.

Finally, the question of “legitimation to whom” is more complicated. As I explain later, I focus my analysis on House of Commons debates. To whom are MPs speaking during House of Commons debates? First, they are speaking to other MPs. They are addressing their critiques or defenses of policies to their political opponents. Second, MPs may be using their speaking time in order to reach constituents, defending their positions to the voters who ultimately decide their fate in subsequent elections. It is also

a possibility that they are speaking to interest groups, or even speaking to global audiences. Thus, speeches in the House of Commons, because of their public nature, must serve all of these functions. Yet, we cannot focus on all of these audiences. If we are to focus on the latter two, the question would arise: how would these actors speak back? Indeed, voters could make voice their concerns at the polls, but how would we know whether they were voting MPs out of office due to the specific policy legitimation? If we examined legitimation on the part of the governments and their allies to a global audience, this would further complicate matters. How would these global audiences speak back? Are legitimations being aimed at all global denizens equally? For this reason, I narrow my focus on the legitimation of the government and its allies to other policy elites within the House of Commons.

In short, the process of legitimation, defined as patterns of public argumentation that set boundaries of action for states and other actors. Yet, what is the content of the arguments that are used in this process? What are the categories upon which these arguments depend? I argue that, in order to grasp a fuller image of the process of legitimation we must maintain a focus on the role identity plays in this process.

Identity

The focus on identity in IR has proceeded apace since the 1990s as a reaction to the constraining rationalist assumptions of both neorealists and neoliberal institutionalists. Whereas these theories posit states' preferences as static, and deducible through a priori assumptions, the constructivist focus has been to trouble this suggestion (Finnemore 1996; Katzenstein 1996; Wendt 1992). Constructivists contend that states' interests are not essential, nor are they static, but rather they are the product of intersubjective meanings. Conventional constructivism focuses on the process by

which states come to "know" what they are through social interaction, i.e. through relations with states or other social entities, such as international organizations. Wendt's seminal account of identity formation is a good place to begin our inquiry. For Wendt, states' interests are byproducts of their identity. Identity is not formed in a vacuum, but rather through a process of path-dependent social learning borrowed from symbolic interactionism (Mead 1934; Wendt 1999). Wendt provides a stylized encounter between two actors, "alter" and "ego", and argues that a conception of one's identity is constructed through an interpretation of behavior, and an attribution of intentions. Thus, the formulation of identity is a process of reciprocal interpretation of behavior, attribution of intentions, and adjustment to those intentions (Wendt 1992, 404-5). Structures of intersubjective meanings arising from these initial interactions create an ideational environment that does not merely influences states with pre-defined interests, but constitutes both identity and interests. These formulations of "shared knowledge and intersubjective understandings . . . shape and motivate actors" (Finnemore 1996, 15).

Wendt's account of identity has attracted some criticism in recent years from a number of sources, specifically regarding his failure to account for language in his conception of identity. Critics contend Wendt's conception of identity rests upon a process of strategic bargaining rather than linguistic, social interaction (Zehfuss 2002). Strategic actors may engage in bargaining with one another in order to maximize gains, or two individuals may engage in a conversation with one another. The question, then, is what is necessary for *social* interaction to occur, especially as it relates to identity formation? For Wendt, the initial interaction between "alter" and "ego" involves imputation of certain intentions. Wendt states, "In the beginning is ego's gesture, which

may consist, for example, of an advance, a retreat, a brandishing of arms, a laying down of arms, or an attack." He continues, "For ego, this gesture represents the basis on which it is prepared to respond to alter. This basis is unknown to alter, however, and so it must make an inference or 'attribution' about ego's intentions and, in particular, given that this is anarchy, about whether ego is a threat." He concludes that, "it is only through a process of signaling and interpreting that the costs and probabilities of being wrong can be determined" (1992, 404-5).

Wendt's approach suffers from a significant shortcoming. Wendt's misappropriation of Mead's symbolic interactionism robs it of its uniquely social nature. "According to Mead," Zehfuss argues, "actors need reflective intelligence and consciousness for this process. The problem is that, in order to be able to reflect and interpret, actors have to be capable of using language." Instead of using language, "[Wendt's] description of the development of relations between actors relies on gestures [or behavior] . . . .Thus, in Wendt's approach, communication turns out to be similar to an exchange of moves in game theory" (Zehfuss 2002, 48-49). Therefore, "physical behavior [i.e. physical signaling as opposed to communicating] remains at the centre of his approach" (2002, 48).

Indeed, Wendt's account of identity explains signaling, but not communication, as the latter must offer an account of language. Due to the absence of language in his theory, Wendt cannot offer an account of how ideas ever become "intersubjective", or why states may be compelled to do anything apart from a consideration of costs and benefits. Instead, "What is important in this process of communication and reasoning [so important in forming identity] is not necessarily the coherence of the argument in

strictly logical terms" (Zehfuss 2002, 120). Instead, shifting identities through social interaction is "about persuading others of choices which are not logically compelling." This hinges upon, "the choice of a 'narrative' which contextualizes the argument" (Zehfuss 2002, 120; Kratochwil 1989, 120). Indeed, as Zehfuss points out, the interpretation of behavior, not to mention the communications of the *intentions* of that behavior cannot be conveyed absent language and narrative.

Self and Other

The variant of identity scholarship which places the most emphasis on languages emerges from the poststructuralist camp, which argues that scholars such as Wendt misinterpret the ontological nature of identity. While often appearing as essential, inevitable, and natural features of an entity, identities are instead contingent and constructed. Identities are not fixed, intrinsic parts of the agent to be positively identified, but rather, are fractured, incomplete, and must be articulated to achieve coherence (Campbell 1992; Doty 1996; Edkins 1999; Epstein 2011; Neumann 1999; Weldes 1999). For these scholars, articulation stabilizes, produces, and reproduces identities. Since identities must be constantly stabilized, moments of rupture are perhaps just as important for understanding the phenomenon of identity. According to Campbell, "states are never finished entities" and "the tension between the demands of identity and the practices that constitute it can never be fully resolved . . . This paradox inherent to their being renders states in permanent need of reproduction" (1992, 11). Yet, this very reproduction means a state's identity may not be reproduced in the same manner. Identity is fluid, constantly shifting, evolving, and developing, not only to resolve the tension inherent in adapting a particular identity to the imperatives of the "real world,"

but also simply because the nature of language itself, as an open system, means that meaning can never be ultimately finalized.

For poststructuralists, while identities are created (an ultimately undecidable, "sovereign" act), they are represented as natural features of the entity. Edkins notes, "the constitution of subjectivity and the social order are intricately bound up with each other, and sovereignty plays a pivotal role in both" (1999, 7). Subjectification is the process by which identities are inscribed upon people and political entities, the process by which they are imbued with properties and cast as a political subject in relation to other political subjects. Yet, this contingency is soon forgotten as the originary moment is folded into a causal story, identifying the necessity of how the moment came about, and how it could not have been otherwise.

In summary, poststructuralist IR's preoccupation with identity is twofold: it seeks to uncover the processes and techniques whereby identities as discursive structures are stabilized and perpetuated, while similarly recognizing both the contingency and inherent instability in such configurations. As such, moments of rupture, creation, and change, where identities break down, merit significant attention in the study of IR. Moreover, this process of subjectification coincides with a process of naturalization, whereby the contingency of such identities is pushed into the background, and these identities are constituted as "natural" or "essential" parts of the entity in question. The originary moment is forgotten, and becomes a product of scientific necessity, as causes are retroactively imputed to show why the course of events had to have taken place in that particular way.

As identities are products of articulation, research in this area has focused on the study of discourses and their relation to identity. While it is difficult to provide an inclusive definition of discourse, Milliken's definition of "structures of signification which construct social realities" suffices for the purpose of this analysis (1999, 229). Discourses are productive, because they give meaning to physical and social entities, and dictate the way that individuals, organizations, and other entities are classified, analyzed, and categorized as subjects of knowledge (Milliken 1999, 229). At the root of this focus in discourse is the relationship between signifier (the actual word) and signified (the concept that that word stands for). The relationship between signifier and signified is arbitrary, and furthermore, signifiers are never stably attached to signifieds. This is because signifiers can only be defined in terms of their relationship with other signifiers. Thus, identities are often expressed as the connection of one signifier to a web of other signifiers. This is known as the "play of difference" or the notion that these webs of signification are constantly in flux, and thus final meaning (connection between signifier and signified) is never fully arrived at (Derrida 1994). Thus, the focus of poststructuralism is often placed on how these relationships between signifiers are stabilized and reproduced. In Chapters 3, 4, and 5, I demonstrate that certain signifiers, such as "international law" and "democracy" are never stably provided with positive, substantive, defining characteristics. Rather, they are attached to Britain as elements of its identity, and only defined in relationship to a radical Other, who does not possess such qualities.

These insights have prompted a number of scholarly explorations that focus on this linguistic relationship of difference as the ontological structure of identity (Connelly

1991). Campbell (1992, 54-55) argues that states only come to know their identity through identification of a radical Other to which they are inextricably ontologically moored. He notes, on the subject of decrease in ecclesiastical authority and the subsequent rise of modernity in regards to the state system, “In place of the spiritual certitude . . . the state requires discourses of ‘danger’ to provide a new theology of truth about who and what ‘we’ are by highlighting who or what ‘we’ are not, and what ‘we’ have to fear.” Simply put, “securing an ordered self and an ordered world . . . involves defining elements that stand in the way of order as forms of ‘otherness.’” Doty (1996) examines how “native” subjectivities were produced and reproduced in order to justify a brutal British colonial policy during the Mau Mau rebellion. Constructions of Mau Mau rebels as less-than-human, morally corrupt, intrinsically dangerous and emotionally stunted, as opposed to the British who were characterized as civil, morally upright, etc. were used to legitimate inhumane treatment, including summary executions and internment, as necessary and unavoidable. Neumann (1999) examines how the concept of Russia was historically constituted in relation to its European Other; at times, Russia’s identity was constituted as being a part of Europe, other times, as being wholly distinct, and sometimes mixed. Weldes (1999) examines how US Identity was constructed in masculine terms vis-à-vis the Soviet Union during the Cuban Missile Crisis, resulting in the construction of a crisis and resulting hostility between the two countries.

Yet, viewing identity formation through this narrow lens needlessly oversimplifies the process. However, the Self-Other relationship need not be narrowly construed in this way, as “Both Campbell and Connolly leave open the possibility that identity need not

be constructed through radical Otherness . . . that it is a 'temptation rather than a necessity,'" (Hansen 2006, 34). In many cases, the construction of identity is more nuanced, identified by complex webs of sometimes complementary, sometimes competing identities. For example:

> 'Nordic identity,' . . . was constructed by Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian politicians during the Cold War as an identity transcending the nuclear rivalry of the antagonistically opposed superpowers and 'Nordic' policies of neutrality, disarmament, development aid, and peacekeeping (Hansen 2006, 35; Joenniemi 1990).

Policy-makers' construction of Eastern Bloc countries in opposition to a superior Western Europe, while still underscoring their own essential European-ness, provide another example (Hansen 2006, 35).

Moreover, identity construction does not necessarily hinge on opposition with only one other entity, but rather, identity may be triangulated through a web of Self-Other relationships, some more radically oppositional than others. These need not involve solely state identities, but may include cultural, religious, even personal identities. Moreover, they may include the splitting of otherwise singular subjects; for example, during the Gulf War and the later Iraq War, the US government took care to distinguish between the Iraqi people, and the Iraqi regime, the latter of which was constituted as radically other (2006, 36). Finally, there is nothing that suggests that the relationship between Self and Other necessarily occur between two different agents existing at the same time. Waever (1998) leaves open the possibility that the Self may be constructed vis-à-vis a past Self rather than a contemporary other. He notes that the peaceful Europe of today constructs itself in opposition to its past, endemically contentious Self.

In this analysis, I employ both conceptions of Self and Other, but include a third category in the form of the partial Other (Hansen 2006). In the three cases I examine, the British Self is constituted in radical opposition to another actor, yet, this underdetermines the legitimation of the chosen policy. It is an understatement to comment upon the complexity of the international system, and any given crisis is bound to involve narratives that are similarly complicated and invoke many different identities. These identities often have complex relationships to one another. It thus falls to the researcher to strike a balance between simplicity and depth of interpretive explanation. Depending on the case, the partial Other is allied with the Self, or exhibits qualities that are reminiscent of the Self, but is constituted in a relationship of inferiority. The partial Other is constructed as an entity with limited agency, lacking the requisite political power or sensibilities to affect change. In Chapters 3 and 5, the partial Others (the Egyptian and Iraqi people, respectively) are constituted as passive, irrational, and untrustworthy. This inferiority played an important role in legitimation of military intervention. Since the partial Other did not have the ability to free itself from the radical Other, it fell to the British to embark upon this mission.

While partial Others are regularly constituted as inferior to the Self, this need not always be the case. As I demonstrate in Chapter 4, much of the legitimation of military intervention in the Falklands Crisis was contingent upon both the construction of the Argentinian Other. Yet the government and its allies' legitimation of war also relied upon their construction of the Falklanders as an embodiment of more perfected British ideals. The British Self, was constituted in partial opposition to this as having "lost its way" and to allow for the conquest of the Falklands by Argentina would be endangering not only

its geopolitical interests, but more importantly, the values and identity that constitute it. Thus, recovery of the Falkland Islands constituted a recovery of British identity.

As I will elucidate in the Chapter 6, British legitimation for military conflict involved a constructed relationship between the British Self and the partial Other that necessitated intervention. Sometimes it identified more fully with this partial Other (as in the case of the Falklands, where it was symbolically retrieving lost imperial glory and by extent, its founding principles) and others it identified less fully. I argue that, in all three cases inclusion of the partial Other to the standard Self-Other rubric provides a fuller account of the crises, and a complete account of legitimation could not proceed absent this inclusion.

This account of identity raises a number of issues. First, since it is individuals construct identities upon which legitimation rests, why aren't individuals this study's fundamental unit of analysis? In response to the first charge, there is nothing in my account that suggests the priority of individuals over the ideational structures in narrative. This hinges upon the difference between the agency that individuals possess naturally, and the agency that inheres in the roles that agents occupy. It is because of this that when we speak of "the state", we are speaking of something that cannot be fully reduced to the actions of individuals. An account of the state is proffered through narrative, and the role of the state regarding boundaries of action cannot be determined by what the Prime Minister says about it, nor what the entire government says about it. Rather, ideas and institutions constrain the Prime Minister in his actions as well as the acceptable limitations of how he constructs those actions. In fact, the state identity

constructs the role of the office of the Prime Minster itself, imbuing it with powers and responsibilities in relation to the crisis.

Yet, to suggest that individual policy-makers within government are fully constrained by the narratives they create would also be incorrect? Rather, it is best to consider governments and their relationship to identities through the lens of structuration (Giddens 1984; Wendt 1987; Wendt 1999). Certain agents, via their place in political structures, are enabled to mold those structures. Yet, these agents are simultaneously limited by those structures. In my account, the governments and their allies construct the British state and its competitors as Selves, radical Others, and partial Others, and reserve some agency in this process. Yet, present and past articulations of these identities limit the ability of future agents to construct completely different identities, or at least provide obstacles to be surmounted. Since, as I made clear at the outset, I am examining patterns of public speech, the identities policy-makers offer in the process of legitimation are irreducible to the immediate utterances of individuals. Similarly, I don't examine "the state" as an extant entity that fully constrains the government and is allies in how it legitimates policies. Rather, the main focus of the analysis is the narrative, the relational identities within them, and how competing narratives provide competing boundaries of action for states and other actors. Governments are often quite imaginative in how they construct identities in order to legitimate policies. It is narrative, a device I explore later in this section, that embodies the nexus of agency and structure, and this is what I take as my main unit of analysis.

The second charge that may be leveled is that this treatment of identity entails a dilemma. Either I must treat Self, radical Other and partial Other as essentialist

identities that exist distinct from one another, or as mere analytical conveniences that allow me to gloss over other factors that are doing the true explanatory work. To be clear, I do not suggest that the identities found within these narratives are ontologically prior, or exist in any capacity other than within the narratives proffered. Indeed, I adopt the self-other rubric as an analytical tool in order to better understand how the foreign policy choices were legitimated in my three cases. The identities in my account may have been constructed alternatively, and in fact, I demonstrate that there were alternative constructions forwarded in all three cases by members of the opposition or rebel backbenchers.

Yet, just because these constructions are not essential, this does not mean they are mere analytical conveniences. In subsequent analyses, I demonstrate that these identity constructions are essential in legitimating policy. I undergo a careful process of grounded discourse analysis in which I identify the presence of these three categories of identity. These identity relationships are both constructed and relational. They are constructed through a narrative, and therefore, the meaning of one identity is only able to be construed in relation to other identities within that particular narrative. For example, the British Self as a protector of international law only has meaning if there is a law being transgressed. Furthermore, identifying the appropriate action necessitates identifying a perpetrator. While these identities are relational, for analytical convenience I examine them separately. This is because to examine them together would provide an overly complicated and unclear picture of the identities as they were constructed through these narratives. In the analysis, despite examining them separately, I will

demonstrate how they were irrevocably constructed in relation to one another within competing narratives.

Finally, one may question my decision to include the partial Other in this analysis, and ask what is the analytical value-added of this category. As I elucidate later in this section, I employed a grounded discourse analysis, constructing categories inductively through examination of the text. Thus, these three categories constitute what may be considered a "minimum spanning set" of identities (Jackson 2006, 50). An analysis of the texts employed in this work reveal that what remains constant amongst these cases is that account is given of the Self, the radical Other, and the partial Other. Furthermore, these three identity categories were indispensable in the process of legitimation. This is not to suggest they were the *only* identities proffered by policy-makers in the process of legitimation. While other identities may be offered, these three are essential in legitimating foreign policy choice across all three cases, and offer the most explanatory power with the simplest model. Conversely, including only the radical Other and Self in this project would not have been able to explain the legitimation dynamics evident in the examined text. For example, legitimation of the 2003 Iraq War cannot be explained without reference to the invocation of a morally corrupt Orientalist despot in the form of Saddam Hussein.[2] Yet, this argument rested upon a particular construction of the Iraqi people as helpless victims of Saddam. To ignore that facet of legitimation would leave this analysis deeply impoverished.

While identifying Selves, radical Others and partial Others plays an important role, this does not provide the glue that binds these categories together. For these

[2] For a discussion of what constitutes an Orientalist despotism, refer to Said 1979, the seminal work in this field.

identities to have meaning, they must be constructed in relation to a crisis. Crises, much like identities, are not do essential features of a political landscape, but rather are constructed through language. Scholarship on securitization grapples with this phenomenon, arguing that security issues are not self-evidently so, and that the process of securitization involves a speech act whereby a referent of security, as well as a threat to that security, is named (Buzan 1997; Lipschutz 1995; Waever 1997). To connect identity construction to constructions of crises and policy options, a brief discussion of narrative is required. Examining identity through the lens of narrative provides us a means to "avoid the hazards of rigidifying aspects of identity into a misleading categorical entity" and include "the categorically destabilizing dimensions of *time, space,* and *relationality*" (Somers 1994, 606).

Narrative and Identity

Narrative is the device by which humans make sense of the world. Barthes argues that narrative is an intrinsic part of the human experience, and it is "simply there like life itself . . . international, transhistorical, transcultural" (1977, 79). Narrative provides a context within which events and identities exist and relate one to the other. As White notes, events do not "speak for themselves" but rather must be interpreted within a framework that imbues them with structures of meaning and a normative framework (1987, 3). Events and social entities have no "real" existence nor true relationship to one another, and therefore, we rely upon narrative to connect them, and make them relatable, understandable, and able to be acted upon. "Social life," argues Somers, "is itself storied and . . . narrative is an ontological condition of social life" as "people construct identities by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories." Furthermore, "people make sense of what has happened and is

happening to them by attempting to assemble in some way or to integrate these happenings within one or more narratives" (Somers 1994, 613-14). Thus, in order to understand identity, we should not necessarily focus on the relationship between Self and Other as a categorical distinction, but rather, examine how different identities (oppositional, similar, or partly oppositional) are constructed in relation to one another, and in relation to the event in question, through narratives.

In order to understand the relationship between narrative and self-identity, we must explore the work of Anthony Giddens (1991) in *Modernity and Self-Identity.* Although the approach he offers is clearly not poststructuralist, it exhibits many affinities with poststructuralist work in identity in IR, and further provides us with the conceptual machinery in order to fully understand the process of how identities are formed, sustained, and linked to policy choice. Giddens (1991) suggests that there is nothing intrinsic about self-identity. Rather, self-identity is formed through a process of continual reflexive recreation of a biographical narrative that relates past, present and future. This biographical narrative represents an attempt to achieve "ontological security" on the part of the subject.

Giddens (1991) suggests that there is no logical ordering to the events, categories, forms of knowledge with which we are presented regularly with in our daily lives. Indeed, in our daily lives, we are often dependent upon complex processes of which many of us know little to nothing. Moreover, there is no guarantee as to the fixity, predictability, or the consistency of the world or these processes. Yet, this contradicts a fundamental need on the part of the subject for completeness and understanding. "On the other side," argues Giddens, "of what might appear to be quite trivial aspects of day

to day action and discourse, chaos lurks." It is not just inability to grasp, but a sense of loss as to the "very reality of things and persons," the contingency and uncertainty of the conceptual foundations upon which everything is built. To live our lives, "we normally take for granted issues which, as centuries of philosophical inquiry have found, wither away under the skeptical gaze . . . They are questions of time, space, continuity and identity" (Giddens 1991, 36-37). Yet, despite this conceptual and existential anomie, the Self must cope through the provision of some semblance of continuity.

For Giddens, this is done by projection of a self-identity as biographical narrative. This biography, "forms a trajectory of development from the past to the anticipated future. The individual appropriates his past by sifting through it in light of what is anticipated for an (organized) future" (1991, 75). The Self is constituted through the piecing together or historical points throughout time, through instantiations of "past selves" weaved through with a narrative that suggests how the past Self became the current Self, and what is to be expected for the future Self. Giddens states:

> It is made clear that self-identity, as a coherent phenomenon, presumes a narrative . . . autobiography – particularly in the broad sense of an interpretive self-history produced by the individual concerned, whether written down or not – is actually at the core of self-identity in modern social life. Like any other formalized narrative, it is something that has to be worked at (1991, 76).

He continues, "In order to have a sense of who we are, we have to have a notion of how we have become, and of where we are going" (Giddens 1991, 54; Taylor 1989). Self-identity, constituted through biographical narrative is both fragile and robust.

> Fragile, because the biography the individual reflexively holds in mind is only one 'story' among many other potential stories" and "robust, because a sense of self-identity is often securely enough held to weather major tensions or transitions in the social environment (Giddens 1991, 55).

Moreover, self-identity may change endogenously, as “anxiety about the adequacy of the narrative by means of which the individual sustains a coherent biography” may prompt a shift (Giddens 1991, 65).

Analyses relationship between the state and narrative is not new, and has been comprehensively treated in the IR literature (Campbell 1992; Epstein 2008; Neumann 1999; Ringmar 1996; Steele 2008). The state has no meaning apart from narrative, as “a narrative used by state agents ‘breathes life’ into a nation state” (Steele 2008, 72). Indeed, “biographical narratives [scale] down relevant roles a state occupies for a particular set of situations and creates the context through which action takes place” (Steele 2008, 72). States are not univocally constituted, and at any given time a number of biographical narratives may relate the role of the state to political events in any number of ways. Indeed, the biographical narrative, as argued by Giddens, is merely one out of a number of possible ways in which a state’s Self-identity is cast. Different biographical narratives construct the state, and its relevant roles, in different manners.

In short, narratives “bind temporal events together such that meaning can be ascribed to a pattern” (Bach 1999, 46; Steele 2008, 73). States and their identities only hold explanatory weight insofar as they are “created” though a process of narration by individuals. Moreover, far from asserting a singular identity of the state, or a dominant one accepted by most, I suggest that there may be numerous narratives that construct the state in different ways at any given time. Finally, the particular biographical narrative of the state need not have meaning outside of the narrative context of the crisis. As Neumann reminds us, “The making of selves is a narrative process of identification

whereby a *number* of identities . . . in specific contexts are strung together into one overarching story" (1999, 218-19).

I argue that the relationship between narrative and identity is key to understanding how states' interests are translated into legitimate policy choice. The unit of analysis I focus on here is not the state, nor the individual, but rather the narrative itself. Thus, of each case, I ask, in relation to each narrative: first, how is the event in question constituted through the narrative? In each case I must demonstrate that, at the time, the event was constructed as a crisis. Second, what are identified as the causes of that event, including how and why it came to pass, and how this relates to subsequent construction of identity? I examine how the narrative employed to legitimate military intervention found the cause to be in the individual nature of the radical Other as opposed to external circumstances, or chance. Third, what identities are proffered in this narrative, how do they relate to one another, and how do they relate to the crisis in question? This is important, as a theme that reoccurs in the dominant narrative in all three cases is the relationship between the British protector, the victimized partial Other, and the oppressive radical Other. Finally, I will examine how articulation of these identities are linked to possible policy choices. Specifically, I examine whether or not possible policy decisions are commensurate with Self and Other identities constructed through these narratives, thus rendering those choices legitimate or illegitimate.

The main portion of this analysis examines how competing narratives, containing within them constructions of Self, radical Other, and partial Other, are used to legitimate policy choices on the part of the government. In order to be legitimate, identity must correspond to policy choice. This relationship is best understood as "a simple model

centered on creating a stable link between identity and policy. One might think of this model as a system of equilibrium" whereby if there a disjuncture between identity and foreign policy must be corrected, either by shifting the identity or the foreign policy (Hansen 2006, 26).

Research Design

Method

The methodology employed in this project involves both elements of discourse analysis, as well as a standard comparative method in order to understand the dynamics of identity shift over the years examined. Within cases, I employ discourse analysis, a method that has emerged in IR over the past twenty years, and only very recently attained an accepted status within the discipline. Discourse analysis can assume multiple forms. While it may include more positivist variants of research, such as content analysis, I will focus on how it has been employed by constructivist scholars. George identifies common element in this style of discourse analysis as the attempt to "illustrate how . . . textual and social processes are intrinsically connected and to describe, in specific contexts, the implications of this connection for the way we think and act in the contemporary world" (1994, 191).

While a number of illuminating studies have come out of the recent turn to language over the past few decades, the validity of this work begs a number of questions from both critics and practitioners (Keohane 1988; Mearsheimer 1994). This is especially true in the field of security studies (Walt 1991). Many scholars that engage in this type of research reject defined methodological, indeed any focus on methodology at all, as incompatible with the epistemology and ontology they adopt (Ashley and Walker 1990; Campbell 1996). As a result, discourse methods are often unfairly pigeon-

holed as unscientific, lacking rigor, or inescapably subjective, and thus relegated to a position subordinate to “real social science”. In an effort to advance the methodological rigor of discourse analysis and dispel notions that this methodological orientation is indelibly “unscientific”, a number of scholars have provided clarification and standards by which methodological rigor can be preserved in discourse analysis. They contend that the accusations of Walt (1991) and Keohane (1988) regarding the lack of rigor of are not intrinsic to the theories themselves (Milliken 1999; Hansen 2006). The goal of these scholars is “to build a theory of identity and foreign policy which draws upon the writings of poststructuralist theorists . . . but which differs significantly from the image conjured up by rationalists and conventional constructivists” (Hansen 2006, 4).

The approach I take borrows heavily from Milliken (1999) who in turn extends the seminal work of Tzvetan Todorov (1984). Todorov argues that the subject is constituted by reference to a number of characteristics and descriptions that are fundamentally linked and related. The Self is cast in opposition to an Other that is constituted in through a similarly structured, yet inferior set of interrelated characteristics. Therefore, to understand how the subject is constituted one must look at the web of signifiers that construct it. We examine how Self and Other are alternatively constructed by examining:

> the language practices of predication – the verbs, adverbs and adjectives that attach to a noun. Predications of a noun constructs the thing(s) named as a particular sort of thing, with particular features and capacities. Among the objects so constituted may be subjects, defined through being assigned capacities for and modes of acting and interacting (Milliken 1999, 232).

Alternative predications result in alternative identity constructions of the Self and suggest wildly different approaches regarding relationship to the Other. As Todorov

demonstrates, competing identity constructions of the Indians upon first contact with the Spanish by the likes of Las Casas and Cortes respectively, suggested different reactions to their presence. Todorov claims:

> Although both discourses constructed the Indians as 'savages,' they differed radically as to the ontological and temporal identity of this Other, and, accordingly as to which policy should and could be employed: Cortes' discourse legitimized the annihilation of the Indians, whereas Las Casas' discourse of Christian egalitarianism installed a Spanish responsibility for converting the Indians into Christendom (Todorov 1992 quoted in Hansen 2006, 43).

Thus, the examination of the most common predications are used to create the elements of identity that constitute our Selves and Others. The choice of categories proceeds along through close examination of the text, and initial flexibility of the categorical constructions. Thus, "what is being proposed . . . is a process of empirical study and abstraction which goes hand in hand, in the sense that theoretical categories are drawn from and answer to the empirical data upon which a study is based" (Milliken 1999, 234). This "grounded theory" approach proceeds "by developing provisional categorizations via empirical study and abstraction, comparing on the basis of new data whether these categories fit and, if necessary, reformulating the categories so that they are empirically valid" (Milliken 1999, 234; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Data reliability is assured by identifying similar "object spaces" (or constellation of Self-Other identities with similar predications) amongst different texts, and "an analysis can be said to be complete (validated) when upon adding new texts and comparing their object spaces, the researcher finds consistently that the theoretical categories she has generated work for those texts" (Milliken 1999, 234). Moreover, I attempt to show how the differences in how each of the Self-identities was constructed mattered, as the partial Other was often times very similarly constituted save for small differences.

While I use predicate analysis to analyze the formation of individual identities, Bal's (1997) influential work on narratology lends insight into how these identities were constructed in relation to the each other, and the crisis itself. Bal's framework, while initially designed for the study of fictional narrative, “can be applied beyond the study of 'purely' narrative texts to look at narrative elements of any text” (Wibben 2012, 46). For Bal, the constitutive elements of narrative are the events, the construction of time, and the actors that are portrayed in the narrative. Events must be considered in terms of how they are “arranged in a sequence that can differ from the chronological sequence” (Bal 1997, 48). This arrangement may affect how a narrative is interpreted. Second, the “the amount of time that is allotted in the story to the various elements [in that story]” must be considered. Events and actors that are allotted a lot of time are given more weight than ones that given relatively little time. Finally, narratives depend on construction of actors, and “how the actors are provided with distinct traits. In this manner, they are individualized and transformed into characters”; and finally, “the necessary relationships among actors, events, locations, and time” (Bal 1997, 48).

Thus, for each case I will focus on the unique traits of the individual constructions of the Selves, Others and partial Others (i.e. the web of predicates that distinguish them) as well as the relationship of the Selves to Other (how those predications differed or linked to one another, and how that mattered for the narrative in question) and finally, how these identities were linked in the narratives to the description of events. In a sense, predicates (i.e. democratic, rational, etc.) modify the identity, which is understood through the narratives deployed.

The Analytical Process

How do these different elements relate to one another? First, the list of policy options identified within the discourse had to meet a number of criteria. They must have been possible, given British capabilities at the time. Second, they had to be identified as viable policy choices by at least some policy elites as described in the discourse. Third, there had to be a link between identity and policy choice. Moreover, one may argue that certain policy options were "obvious" (such as military conflict in the Falklands War). Thus, in order to make a "strong case", I demonstrate that diplomatic options in all three cases were quite attractive at the time, while simultaneously, military options posed great risks. This guards against the charge that legitimation was in fact, "unnecessary" and merely a formality. Legitimate policy choices were identified as those that 1) helped to realize a preferable British identity 2) affirmed a particular identity that was in line with the current instantiation of British identity for example, 3) or affirmed an identity that was commensurate with the current instantiation of the identity of Other or partial Other. Illegitimate policy choices were ones that 1) would result in a shift in British identity from a preferable one, 2) affirmed a particular identity that was out of line with the identity set forth in the narrative or 3) affirmed an identity that was out of line with the current instantiation of the identity.

The final question to be addressed is how these narratives interacted with one another. What was the process by which they were contested by their opponents, and defended by their supporters? In propounding the dominant narrative, the government and its allies use the identity categories within the narrative, in conjunction with a description of the crisis itself, to construct certain policies as preferable. These policies are preferable because they accord with the bounds of action suggested in the identity

for the multiple actors involved. For example, if the UK is constructed as an “upholder of international law” and their enemies as “transgressors of international law”, this conjunction of identities, in combination with a construction of the crisis as a criminal act, could be used to legitimate military intervention. Therefore, the government offered a dominant narrative that squared with the policy choice is preferred.

Naturally, these narratives were challenged by opposition from outside the party in power, and sometimes from within. These opponents’ alternative narratives suggested other policy options should be considered. Sometimes these narratives borrowed from the same identity categories as the dominant narrative, but arranged identities and interpreted them in wholly different ways. Other times, they offered contesting identities for the Self, radical Other and partial Other. As debates are themselves temporal processes, these alternative narratives were forwarded in the course of debates, and necessitated an answer on the part of the government and its allies. Yet, this does not mean that contestations of the dominant narrative on the part of the opposition and its allies were always answered. More often multiple narratives, containing within them multiple constructions of identity, were proffered by political rivals. Yet, both supporters of the dominant narrative and opponents of it exhibited similar tactics in legitimating their respective choices of policy.

First, supporters and opponents of the dominant narrative appropriated similar categories of identity, while changing the context of the crisis itself in order to push the claim for the legitimacy of one policy. For example, Britain as the “upholder of international law” could suggest multiple policy prescriptions, depending upon how the crisis is constructed. Yet, if military action is to be considered legitimate, the crisis must

be constructed as one in which international law is breached. Often, the legality of the action undertaken by Britain's rivals (or for that matter, the action taken by Britain in response) was not clear cut. Thus, challenging the construction of the crisis was one of the ways in which the process of legitimation was contested.

Second, supporters and opponents of the dominant narrative attempted to construct the constellations of identities, and the commensurate bounds of action, differently. For example, the dominant narrative may have constructed Britain as morally upright, and the protector of international order, while the radical Other (the government of a rival power) was constructed as morally corrupt, and corrosive of the international order. Consequently, the dominant narrative may construct the partial Other (the population of the rival power) as a victim of the radical Other, necessitating rescue by the British. Opponents of this dominant narrative may suggest that the radical Other is not in moral terms, but as a political actor, responding to domestic and international political incentives. Consequently, military action on the part of the British would render the partial Other victims not of the morally corrupt radical Other, but rather the British themselves, who would be embarking upon a violent intervention without just cause. In order to more easily accomplish their goals, and render their respective constructions of both the crises and identities meaningful, supporters and opponents of the dominant narratives in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 would adopt historical analogies. Interestingly, while supporters and opponents of the dominant narratives in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 would often draw upon the same historical analogies in support of their arguments, they would

interpret the lessons drawn from them differently, and thus use them to legitimate competing policy choices.[3]

In short, in the research design of this study, identities are examined according to predicate analysis, while Selves, Others, and partial Others are analyzed according to the similarity or difference of these predications. These constellations of identities and how they relate to one another are constituted vis-à-vis the event either in a relationship of legitimacy or illegitimacy.

Data

A robust research design relies upon examination of the widest possible array of texts while making allowances for time and relevance. Depending on whether one takes a relatively broad or narrow view of identity or legitimation, one could justify various different choices of texts. Hansen provides a useful analysis of which texts should be used given the ends of the study. What she terms a "Model 1" study limits the ambit of research to only these documents. The analytical focus is placed on discourses by "Heads of state, governments, senior civil servants, high ranked military officials, heads of international Institutions, or official statements by international institutions" (2006, 57). Though she limits her textual scope to this, I also include elements of what Hansen calls a Model 2 study, which includes examining the "Wider foreign policy debate" including "Political opposition" (2006, 57). This includes examining, "Political texts, parliamentary debates, speeches, [and] statements" (2006, 57). In reference to the British cases, and the particularities of the political system, debates are public affairs used to both clarify details about decisions, but also to air divergent opinions despite the impossibility of

[3] For more on the use of historical analogies in IR see Khong 1992.

their having a direct effect upon policies. Thus, I concentrate mainly on Parliamentary debates that take place during the crisis, analyzing debates from a short time before and throughout the crisis. I support these texts with White Papers, official government speeches, and other public statements designed for public consumption.[4]

I focus mainly on House of Commons debates for a number of reasons. First, as explained in the section on legitimation, the House of Commons offers a forum in which policy-elites are either required to, or impelled by political imperatives, to legitimate their policy choice to other policy-elites. Second, the House of Commons debates provide data that is consistent across all three cases. Throughout the three cases, House of Commons debates provide account of MPs providing legitimations to their policies, but beyond this, countering the legitimations of opposing members by offering alternative constructions of both identity and crisis. Third, because the House of Commons debates are designed for public consumption, this limits the possibility that policy-makers are addressing their legitimations to any one sector of policy-elites in particular. Finally, I define legitimation as public patterns of justification. There is no more public a form in British politics than the House of Commons. Although I buttress my argument by reference to other aforementioned primary and secondary sources, for these reasons, I rely mainly on British House of Commons debates in providing the data for this study.

Additionally, as one of the aims of this study is to examine change in how the British Self was constituted throughout the past fifty years, it is necessary to examine multiple cases, and justify the applicability of those cases to analyzing the phenomenon

[4] Many of these documents for the Falklands War and the Iraq War were not yet available during the data gathering phase. Thus, I employ more of these types of documents in Chapter 3 than in Chapters 4 and 5. I discuss this further in Chapter 6.

at hand. Hansen notes that the possibility of comparison inheres in the adoption of multiple cases that exhibit a contiguous theme (2006, 71). She states, “events might be located at different times but related by issue, one might for instance compare the British responses to the wars in Bosnia in 1992-5 and Kosovo in 1998-9” and “the analytical advantage of multiple events studies is that a comparison across time allows for an identification of patterns of transformations and reproduction” (2006, 71). For the purposes of this study, I employ three case studies, each separated by about 30 years. I contend that each represented a perceived “security threat” to the British state emanating from a former part of the empire (defined as either formal or informal). Indeed, some of these threats are constructed as more dire than others, yet, they are all similarly situated insofar as they were constructed as a threat to the British Self.

Case Selection

The three cases I examine are the Suez Crisis (1956), the Falkland Islands War (1982) and the Iraq War (2003). I chose these cases because while they exhibit a number of similarities, they also exhibit important differences that make for illuminating comparison. First, they all constitute instances of British security crises. Crises are not extant features of the political landscape, but rather are the product of “securitization”, speech acts that place responses to these events beyond the purview of normal political debate (Waever 1995). These three cases are remarkably similar in their constitution as crises, not necessarily due to the perceived dire political and economic consequences of leaving these encroachments unaddressed, but because their constructions as affronts to British political identity. Second, while these were constructed as crises, they did not represent a serious existential threat to the British state. Perhaps one could make a case for the possible closing of the Suez Canal exacting dire economic

consequences, but as I demonstrate in Chapter 3, there were alternatives to using the Suez Canal for transport of essential materials such as food and oil. As for the Falklands War and the 2003 Iraq War, neither constituted a truly grave threat to the existence of the British state.

Third, they all involved a decision to employ force without the direct sanction of the UNSC or other international legitimating body. Governments attempting to legitimate military interventions across these three crises at least recognized the legitimacy of a UNSC mandate. Security Council mandates, apart from affording the blessing of the most powerful states in the international system, have the force of international law. The Security Council mandate for the application of force was not fully present in all three cases, and in the cases of the Suez Crisis and the Iraq War, key allies in the Security Council opposed the use of military force on the part of the British.[5] This implied lack of legitimacy placed the onus on the government to justify its policies, as evidenced by the lively debate in the House of Commons prior to these interventions.

Fourth, these three cases represent important junctures for the British state. In all three cases, the conclusion of the conflict represented a turning point in the domestic politics of Britain. In the case of the Suez Crisis, Eden was pushed from power as a direct result of the failure of the military intervention. Blair was replaced by Gordon Brown due to his handling of Iraq, and his insistence on maintaining troops in Iraq despite an approval rating in the 30% range (Koch and Sullivan 2010, 626). Conversely, a flagging Thatcher administration was boosted by success in the Falklands Campaign,

[5] This is less clear in the case of the Falkland Islands' War, as Security Council Resolution 502 provided for the invocation of Article 51 if the British government so chose, but still called for an immediate ceasefire between the two warring parties.

allowing her to undertake a shift in policy that would otherwise have been unthinkable (Gibran 1998). Finally, I chose these because of the clear references to previous crises in debates regarding contemporary crises. The Falklands War and Suez Crisis are both invoked in debates concerning the Iraq War as competing analogies in order to understand the crisis itself. Moreover, the Suez Crisis was invoked during the Falklands War by the opposition in arguing that Britain should be careful not to overstep its capabilities.

Finally, I chose these three cases because the differences among them offer a unique opportunity to examine how legitimation differed with reference to three distinct phases of British history. The Suez Crisis represents a point in which the Empire, while bloodied and bruised, was not beaten. In the run-up to 1956, there was still a belief amongst certain elements in the British political elite in the viability of empire and the independence of Britain on the world stage (Kyle 1991, 43). They believed that Britain would not survive as a great power absent reliance on the imperial resources at its disposal. This view still held sway amongst a relatively large portion of the Conservative party. Indeed, at this time, Britain still ruled over a considerable amount of territory, and the British pound was still the currency-in-use for a majority of the empire and Commonwealth, including the economic powerhouses of Canada and Australia (Louis 2006, 473).

By the approach of the Falklands War, the British Empire had been liquidated, apart from a few minor outposts, including mostly small territories for whom self-government and economic independence was not feasible. Whereas the British retained significant political and economic influence even in 1956, by 1982 this had all but

disappeared. British military presence was pulled back to east of the Suez Canal by 1967, and the political influence the British once exercised in the Middle East was replaced by the presence of the Americans or the Soviets. Whereas in the 1950s, the British Pound could lay claim to its status a significant global currency, by 1976, though still significant, the government was forced to approach the IMF for a loan in order to bolster its value. Whereas the imperial "old guard" had been a major presence in the 1950s, the position of these Conservatives had diminished considerably in the subsequent years. Indeed, members of the old guard such as Julian Amery (Conservative, Preston North) still remained, but they were anachronisms, products of an earlier time. This, however, did not mean that the memory of Empire had faded. Indeed, the grandiosity of the British Empire was still in living memory, as most MPs during this time came of age during World War II and the 1950s. Thus, while the power of the British state had indeed hit a nadir, Empire still remained in recent memory. Thus, this event represents the twilight of the Empire.

Finally, by 2003, the British state had effectively repurposed itself. Not only was the Empire long dead, but the imperial trappings had all but faded from memory. Whereas earlier British governments considered the Commonwealth and Empire indispensable in preserving the UK's geopolitical and economic standing in the world, by the 1990s, the British turned towards other more promising avenues for preserving global and regional influence. These included continuing and sometimes modifying prior relationships with the United States and Europe, but also cultivating new roles in international institutions and international law (Tate 2012). While, by 2003, the British had recovered economically from the doldrums of the late 1970s and early 1980s, it by

no means considered itself an autonomous economic power on the world stage. Its military power, while significant, was a shadow of what it had been in the 1950s, prior to the Suez Crisis. While a victory in the Falklands War preserved the image of a vital and potent British state, by the early 2000s, Britain had firmly relegated itself to the status of secondary power. Insofar as it embarked on independent military operations, they were in relation to small or weak states, and usually involved humanitarian missions, such as the 2000 intervention in the African state of Sierra Leone.

Despite this geopolitical and economic shift, the British still embarked upon military interventions in all three of these cases. To be clear, only the Falklands War was an independent military mission. Yet, even though the Suez and Iraq interventions were in conjunction with other powers, the government in power still undertook significant risks in committing to these operations. Moreover, as I will show in subsequent analysis, the risks were understood by those embarking on these operations. As previously shown, these military undertakings were not *faits accompli*, and involved a significant effort on the part of the government to legitimate them to other political elites within the House of Commons. This project will examine how military intervention during three "snapshots" or British history, representing three distinct phases of post-imperial Britain, was legitimated by reference to narratives of British Self-identity and Other identity. What follows is a brief description of Chapters 2 through 6.

Overview of the Following Chapters

Chapters 3 through 5 are each devoted to an empirical case, while Chapter 6 offers an overview of the project and outlines the significant findings. At the beginning of each empirical case I offer a brief introduction and overview of each chapter, and a discussion of the main findings. Second, as this analysis adopts a longitudinal

approach, I offer a brief examination of the position of Britain in the historical period in the lead up to the crisis, as well as British constructions of the identities of the actors in question. While I argue that identities are constituted through narrative, these narratives are not created out of whole cloth, and do not operate independent of the historical context in which they are formed. They often responded to crises particular to that time period, or relied upon earlier instantiations of identity of both Self and Other. This is designed to give a brief account of British Self-identity prior to the crisis, as often, many identities proffered in these accounts are responses to these earlier accounts of identity. Finally, this historical account fills in the time between the three "snapshots" of in 1956, 1982, and 2003, linking them together in order to form a coherent project.

Third, I offer a brief introduction to the crisis as well as the policy options proffered. Beyond showing that both the crisis and policy options satisfy the criteria set forth (i.e. they events were constructed as crises, and policy options set I identify were perceived as possible at the time) I attempt to show that policy options were needed legitimation. Contemporary interpretations from competing perspectives would suggest that policy choice must align with either security interests, economic interests, or the desires of interest groups. I demonstrate that, while security interests, or economic interests did play some role, they did not fully determine policy choice. Given that these were not obvious (i.e. fully commensurate with security or economic interests as set forth in competing theories) foreign policy choices, this argues for the necessity of legitimation with reference to identities.

Fourth, I identify the "dominant narrative" and the identity categories that are described within. The dominant narrative was not necessarily the one believed by most

people, or the one that offered the strongest argument, but rather the one that accorded with the chosen policy. Fifth, I demonstrate how these identities were employed along with a construction of the crisis within the narrative to either legitimate or delegitimate a particular policy choice. Finally, I examine possible “alternative narratives” that were proffered to legitimate alternative policy choices. In these cases, while identities in these narratives were often similar, how the identities were constructed, cast in relation to one another, or cast in relation to other elements of the narrative, legitimated alternative policies. This suggests that theories of identity that adopt a narrative approach can provide richer insights into the process of legitimation, prompting us to consider how these new approaches may be adopted and expanded in order to understand foreign policy. I address these concerns in the conclusion.

CHAPTER 3
SUEZ CRISIS, 1956

Overview

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the British underwent a rapid shift in their status as a great power. The inability of Britain to maintain economic and political hegemony over its empire, combined with an over-stretched military apparatus, left the empire facing a number of new challenges. Many of these emanated from the Middle East. During the 1950s, the British were rapidly drawing down their forces in the Middle East in response to the new pressures attendant to the postwar era, including increasingly vocal calls for decolonization. In response to the breakdown of negotiations for an Anglo-American development loan, the revolutionary government of Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the British-controlled Suez Canal, prompting a political crisis. Despite staunch opposition from the US and other allies, the British and French responded to the crisis with military action, ordering an invasion of the Canal Zone in October, 1956. How was this policy legitimated?

In this case study, I explore how the Anthony Eden government relied on a dominant narrative employing a constellation of oppositional and partially oppositional identities to legitimate foreign intervention. Through the dominant narrative, the government and its allies constructed British identity as rational and reasonable, defenders of democratic principles, international law and order. This identity was cast in opposition to the Egyptian government under Nasser, constructed as irrational, erratic, corrosive of international law and order, and fundamentally opposed to democratic principles. The nationalization of the canal was constructed not as a political act, but as an immoral criminal act, for which Nasser must be held accountable by a morally

upright, lawful, and order-oriented Britain. Adopting these constructions, the dominant narrative delegitimated non-action, continued negotiations and reference to the UN Security Council as viable options. First, constructing Nasser as irrational, overly-emotional, and erratic, in relation to British rationality and steadfastness, the government and its allies suggested that non-action would contradict Britain's identity as a power duty-bound to uphold international law and order. Further, to leave the canal in the hands of the unpredictable Nasser was, in effect, to flout Britain's responsibility as an upholder of international law and order, inviting further encroachments.

The dominant narrative constructed diplomatic options, including continued negotiations and reference to the UN Security Council as similarly illegitimate. The government and its allies suggested that international institutions (and their pronouncements) were illegitimate when they diverged from the principles underlying their construction. Under these conditions, international institutions and negotiations acted as means for untrustworthy dictators such as Nasser to further their agendas. It was therefore incumbent upon the British as protectors of international law and order to act in violation of the UN in order to forego the principles (e.g. maintenance of international law and order) underlying it.

Yet, these constructions alone underdetermine legitimation of the military option. In order to fully legitimate the military option, the dominant narrative relied on a number of additional constructions, including Nasser's aims and conflictual, dictatorial nature, which existed in a zero-sum relationship with the British. Moreover, legitimation of the military option depended heavily upon a particular construction of Egyptian and Arab

identity which complemented Nasser's aims, and thus made the military option legitimate, despite Britain's putative identity as a peaceful follower of international law.

Background to the Crisis

On July 26th 1956, in a speech to the Egyptian people, Nasser announced the occupation and nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egyptian troops. While the immediate cause of the crisis was the withdrawal of an Anglo-American loan financing the construction of the Aswan High Dam, the roots of the conflict extend further back. Construction of the Suez Canal was concluded in November 1869 by a French consortium. Though the UK had a vested interest in the region, it did not acquire a stake in ownership until 1875, when 44% of the shares, initially owned by Egypt, were purchased by the British government (Bowie 1974, 3). In 1882, in response to an Egyptian revolt, the UK stationed troops in the Suez region. Despite eighty-six declarations of their intentions to withdraw, the British retained a military presence in the Suez until their negotiated removal in 1956 (Moore 1958, 13).

The international legal status of the Suez Canal was governed by a succession of treaties, the first concluded prior to the construction of the Canal in 1856 (Bowie 1974, 3). Article I of the Constantinople Convention (1888) affirmed the principle of free passage of all vessels, in times of peace and war (Foreign Office 1888). Similarly, Article IV binds the signatories of the treaty to avoid action that disrupts traffic through the canal. The legal position of the canal was revisited in 1936, when the British signed a treaty with the Egyptian government to maintain a military presence until Egypt was in a position to defend the canal by itself. Due to repeated declarations on the part of the British and rising Egyptian nationalism, discontent with the arrangement grew in the period leading up to World War II.

Throughout the war, Egyptian nationalist aspirations were suppressed, and though officially neutral, elements within Egypt periodically expressed sympathy towards the Axis powers (Moore 1958, 15). After World War II, there were increasingly vocal calls for a renegotiation of the 1936 settlement. This renegotiation began in 1950 and continued throughout 1951. The Egyptians were concerned to regain a measure of prestige lost during the humiliating defeat at the hands of Israel in 1948, while the British desired to maintain troop presence in the Suez region (Fullick and Powell 1979, 2). Negotiations for a continued British presence failed, and the newly-minted revolutionary government of General Muhammed Naguib's government unilaterally exited the treaty, requesting a withdrawal of British troops from the Canal Zone. An agreement was reached in October 1954 and troop withdrawal was completed by mid-July of 1956.

As part of the withdrawal agreement reached in 1954, the Egyptian government committed to uphold the stipulations of the Constantinople Convention, including those regarding free passage for all shipping regardless of nationality. Despite this agreement, Israeli shipping was regularly discriminated against following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, subject to search and seizure, in clear violation of Egyptian treaty obligations (Bowie 1974, 5; Azar 1972; El-Baredai 1982; Khadduri 1968). Furthermore, the treaty provided for maintenance of the canal by a body of civilian technicians for the next seven years. The Canal, officially operated by the Suez Canal Company since its inception, required skilled technicians for its operation, and the British position was that, absent these workers, Egypt would not be able to field the skilled labor required to operate the Canal.

The immediate catalyst for the Suez Crisis was the failure of the British, the Americans, and the Egyptians to come to agreement on the provisions of a loan to build

the Aswan High Dam. Nasser, having acceded to power on a wave of popular support, sought to make good on promises of improving the living standards of the impoverished Egyptian population. The Aswan High Dam was to be the hallmark of this promise, providing electricity to significant portion of Egypt's population (Kyle 1991, 82). While the World Bank provided half (US $200 million) of the funds for this undertaking, the other half would have to come from donor governments, specifically the United States and Britain. At this point, both the British and Americans felt that negotiating a loan for this project would secure the loyalty of Nasser, placing him solidly in the Western camp. This was essential, partly because of British designs for the Middle East, especially in regards to the recently concluded Baghdad Pact (1955), an attempt at an alliance of frontline states aimed at limiting Soviet influence in the region. If Egypt were to fall under Soviet control, this would provide the Soviets with an entry point in order to expand their influence in the region. The loan ultimately fell through when US president Dwight Eisenhower, frustrated both at the recent recognition of the People's Republic of China by the Egyptians, as well as a perceived inability of the Egyptians to finance their portion, unilaterally withdrew the offer on July 19th, 1956 (Kissinger 1994, 528). Eight days later, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, announcing it in a radio address.

This crisis prompted a swift response on the part of the British. While decisions as to how to respond to the crisis were being discussed, a narrative of the crisis, and the corresponding identities, were constructed by the government of Anthony Eden. Identities are historical products, and therefore, it is the task of the researcher to trace the development of these identities throughout time. Therefore, my discussion of the three identities (the British Self, the Egyptian radical Other, and the Arab partial Other)

follows these identities back to their initial roots. What follows is a discussion of the elements of identity that were employed in this narrative construction.

Policy Options

Why was the military option debated in the first place? One may argue that, from a geopolitical standpoint, the Suez had clear overwhelming military value for the UK and therefore violent intervention was an obvious choice. This is incorrect for a number of reasons. First, though it had been stated policy on the part of the British to prevent the Canal from falling into hands of any one power, during the Commons debates, justifications for military action centered on traits specific to Nasser as reasons for not allowing the Suez Canal to remain in Egyptian hands. This opposition was contingent upon a certain construction of Nasser that will be explored in more depth later in the analysis. Second, if security interests were paramount, why did Britain choose a route that would ultimately risk immense damage to the relationship with its closest ally, the United States? There is strong evidence to suggest that Anthony Eden was well aware of American opposition to military intervention prior to undertaking it.[1]

Thus, given that military intervention was not a self-evidently legitimate policy choice from the start, what other policy choices were there? The other policy choices included non-action, further diplomacy, and reference to the UNSC. Non-action did not represent the implausible option one might assume upon first glance. The British were clearly overstretched militarily and economically. Moreover, their closest ally, the United States, was not supportive of military action, and furthermore, was generally suspicious

1 Eisenhower argued that “we have friends in the Middle East who tell us they would like to see Nasser’s deflation brought about.” Yet he cautioned that “they seem unanimous in feeling that Suez is not the issue on which to attempt to do this by force,” a sentiment with which he agreed (Boyle 2005, 163). He further argued that it was “undesirable” and “impractical” to keep British forces stationed in Suez, and made this clear to Eden at the time (Bowie 1974, 62; Eisenhower 1965, 23).

of the perceived colonial aims of the British. Given that Nasser made overtures towards the British in the form of compensation and maintaining unfettered traffic, a quiet recognition of the new status quo may was not altogether ruled out.

The second option was referral to the UNSC. The question was not should the matter itself be referred to the Security Council, but rather if the conclusions of the Security Council should act as the final say in the matter. Indeed, Eden revealed in a speech to the House of Commons on September 12th that, by that time, he had taken unofficial action regarding referral to the Security Council, though the matter was not officially referred to the Council until early October. Referral to the UNSC did not bear fruit for the Eden administration. Due to the Soviet veto (and even a possible US veto) a resolution could not be passed (Parliamentary Debates 1956a, 11; hereafter Hansard).

Due in part to a respect for international law, in addition to the institutional power Britain maintained in the UNSC, many within the House of Commons demonstrated a level of respect for the UN. Many MPs in the Labour Party would not consider military action absent official sanction by the UN. Thus, The Eden administration was placed in a position where it had to legitimate military intervention absent not only support from its most powerful ally, the United States, but also absent sanction by this important international body. Given both the clear respect for the chamber amongst portions of the British policy elite abiding by the decisions of this chamber, and foregoing military action, presented a possible policy option.

The third possible option was continued diplomacy in order to reach a mutually agreeable outcome. For their part, the British putatively pursued this option from the onset of the crisis in late July through mid-October. First, the UK organized a

conference of Canal users to take place on August 16th to discuss the future of the canal. This was unsuccessful as the twenty-two countries involved could not come to an agreement.[2] This was followed by an attempt to broker an unofficial settlement using Australian Prime Minister Menzies as mediator. Yet, in both instances, the gulf between the British position, which insisted on internationalization of the canal and the Egyptian position, which wanted, at the most, international consultation but Egyptian control over the Canal, was unbridgeable. Finally, the US mediated a last-ditch attempt called the Suez User's Canal Association, but this faltered as well.[3] Despite these failures, a successful diplomatic solution was a hope for many policy-elites, especially amongst the British Left, and there is some evidence to suggest that the Eden administration willingly forewent a diplomatic settlement instead deciding upon the military option (Kyle 1991).

The Eden administration eventually decided upon a military option. Rather than a traditional deployment of British troops, military action was the product of secret collusion involving the French and the Israelis. The French, hoping to stem the rising tide of nationalist sentiment amongst Arabs in its colonies wanted to deliver Nasser, foremost amongst supporters of France's nationalist Algerian opponents, a clear defeat. The Israelis were tasked with prompting a military exchange between their army and Egypt's, necessitating Anglo-French intervention in order to separate the warring

2 In the end, of the twenty-two powers attending, all but Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and the Soviet Union accepted a proposal to return the waterway to international control. The Soviet Union and India suggested an alternative plan that would leave the canal under Egyptian auspices, instead leaving a weakened form of international consultation (Kyle 1991, 180-88; Bowie 1974, 42).

3 This possible agreement suggested the creation of a club of Suez Canal users, formed among the members of the August 16th conference. This club would be represented by an association that could hire personnel, collect dues, and pay Egypt its compensation for the use of the canal as well as negotiate on behalf of the eighteen powers – as well as form the basis for a more equitable solution down the road (Bowie 1974; Eisenhower 1965, 672-5).

parties. Once in physical possession of the Canal would give the British a clear advantage in any future settlement, if one was indeed needed in the first place.

Identity Narratives

In response to the building crisis, beginning in late July and continuing through the unsuccessful (in the eyes of the British) conclusion of the crisis, the Eden administration and its allies forwarded a dominant narrative designed to preserve the right to military intervention in Egypt. Whether or not this was planned from the emergence of the crisis or developed in response to unfolding circumstances is irrelevant to the argument. The intervention that Eden's government eventually undertook satisfied the conditions set forth by Hansen, and provided the “stable link between identity and policy” necessary to discursively legitimate it (Hansen 2006, 26). The constellation of identities set forth in this dominant narrative constructed a range of acceptable actions on the part of the British, and conversely constructing Nasser and the Egyptian people each in a particular light that made military action the only legitimate possibility for the British government. To be clear, invocation of an oppositional identity need not be indicated directly in the discourse. Construction of the Other implies an oppositional identity on the part of the Self, and many times, that oppositional identity is not explicitly stated (Doty 1996; Neumann 1999).

First, the government and its allies constructed Nasser as overly-emotional, unpredictable, and irrational, in opposition to the rational and predictable British identity. Upon assumption of power, Nasser was an unknown commodity, and initially welcomed amongst certain members of the British government. Immediately after the Free Officers Revolt in 1952, official British discourse constructed Nasser as a potentially cooperative partner. The British Foreign Office viewed Nasser as “intelligent” and someone who

"thinks with his head rather than his heart and can be approached without publicity." Though not ideal, he was "willing to learn" and members of the Foreign Office claimed "[Nasser] and his friends have the character and brain-power to maintain the lead" (Foreign Office 1953; Foreign Office 1953a; Prime Minister's Office 1953). Despite this, views of Nasser soon began to sour due in no small part to a guerrilla war continuously pursued against British troops stationed at the Suez Canal until 1954 (Braun 2003). From 1955 onward, the "virulent nationalism" Nasser came to embodied resulted in "a state of unbalance amounting in the worst case to hysteria" (Colonial Office 1952).

During the crisis itself, the government and its allies constructed Nasser as an unpredictable, irrational, and overly-emotional politician. The dominant narrative constructed Nasser as a man whose "policies are too barren, his temper too impetuous, and his patience too short" to deal with in an effective manner (Hansard 1956, 1686). His actions during the negotiations were held up as evidence of this impetuous character, as Eden argued that British negotiating positions were rejected out of hand, without Nasser "weighing their merits or listening to reason" (Hansard 1956a, 9). While, on the one hand, Nasser was constructed as overly-emotional, any attempts at reconciliation during the crisis on his part were interpreted as untrustworthy and manipulative. The Eden administration and its allies argued that Nasser's initial nationalization of the canal entailed a breach of trust, and that prior to Nasser's move, the British had afforded every possible concession to Nasser, and in repayment had been "kicked in the teeth all the time" (Hansard 1956, 1631).[4]

4 R.T. Paget, Labour, Northampton.

The contrasting nature of Nasser as impetuous, erratic, and ultimately untrustworthy vis-à-vis the British is evidenced by a comparison of the means of nationalization of property such as the Canal Zone. Herbert Morrisson (Labour, Lewisham South) argues that the British proceeded with nationalization in the 1940s in a deliberative manner, seeking widespread support of British constituents and acting in a procedurally legitimate manner (i.e. through parliamentary procedure). He continues

> One night Colonel Nasser decides to go out and enjoy himself, and make a speech on the hustings. He makes a speech. Towards the end of the speech he whips out a decree which he has just signed . . . that from that point the Suez Canal is to be nationalized (Hansard 1956, 1657).

In contrast to the irrational and impetuous Nasser, the dominant narrative constructed British identity as rational and deliberate. The narrative constructed by the government and its allies stressed England's stolid and dependable character. The English had “built up the reputation that an Englishman's word is his bond” (Hansard 1956a, 275).[5] This sterling reputation was built upon consistency of the British, and indeed predictability and civic-mindedness of policy. Cooper (Conservative, Ilford south) underscores the goodwill amongst nations that has accrued to the British throughout this time, underscoring that the British should always follow policies that are consistent with this reputation, comparing the British to a stalwart lion (Hansard 1956a, 275). Compare this with Herbert Morrison's (Labour, Lewisham South) comparison of Nasser to a rabid canine, asking “Who will chain the mad dog in Cairo” (Hansard 1956, 1716)?

The dominant narrative constructed the British as patient and considerate administrators. Throughout negotiations, John Harvey (Conservative, Walthamstow East) argued that “Many of us have tried to give [Nasser] the benefit of what doubts

[5] A.E. Cooper, Conservative, Ilford South.

appeared to exist" while Julian Amery (Conservative, Preston North) similarly argued, "The policies which my right hon. Friends [in the Eden government] have pursued have at least proved their undoubted good will and desire to give Nasser every possible benefit of the doubt. They have gone to the last limit of concession" (Hansard 1956, 1686; Hansard 1956, 1701). The dominant narrative constructed British action prior to the invasion as responsible and patient. Whereas Nasser's policies during the crisis revealed his irresponsibility and impetuous nature, the dominant narrative constructed the British as exhibiting restraint. Eden was the foremost advocate of British imperial responsibility during his tenure as both Foreign Secretary in the second Churchill administration and Prime Minister. He is quoted in a Cabinet memorandum claiming, "The United Kingdom has world responsibilities inherited from several hundred years as a great power" including administration of its territories that assured a government that was responsive to the needs of the people in those governed territories (Cabinet Office 1952).

Similarly, the dominant narrative constructs Egyptian and Arabness in a complementary way to Nasser's identity. Through the dominant narrative, the government and its allies constructed the Egyptian people, indeed all Arabs, as erratic, emotionally undeveloped, and as a result, untrustworthy. This contrasted with earlier constructions of Arabness. During World War I, the British constructed Arabs in a positive, if patronizing light, as brave, loyal, and "stout-hearted" due in part to their cooperation against the Central Powers. Many within the British political elite harkened back the First World War, and the romanticized accounts of the successful Arab uprising, led by T.E. Lawrence, against the Ottoman Empire. As many in the British

government during the 1950s had come of age during the First World War, these romanticized constructions had deep emotional resonance. One example of this was how Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri El-Said was characterized during the Suez Crisis, as an "Arab leader of the old school – that of men who had seen service under the Ottoman Empire – companion in arms of Lawrence of Arabia in the Arab Revolt" (Kyle 1991, 58).

Despite this, there was a strong undercurrent of distrust of Egyptians within the British government. Whereas the Arabs of World War I were characterized as dependable and loyal "partners in arms", British experience during World War II suggested a competing interpretation of the Egyptian character. Sir Orme Sargent, Strang's predecessor in the Foreign Office, referred to the "unpopularity of Egypt among ministers in Parliament, and among the general public" due to "Egyptian sabotage" and "scurrilous abuse" of British soldiers during World War II. He continues:

> If opinion in higher circles towards Egypt is bad, it is just the same, if not worse, among the general public whose views have been largely influenced by hundreds of thousands of soldiers who passed through Egypt at some stage or other during the war . . . The recollection of the average soldier is of a corrupt ruling class with a King who was credibly believed to be plotting with the Axis powers. His recollection of the Egyptian people is that they profiteered, swindled him, and if they could, robbed him . . . He also sharply differentiates the Arab from the Egyptian whom he does not regard as Arab at all. All this may be incorrect, unjust or sloppily romantic, but the fact is that myths are much more powerful than realities, and the myth of the despicable Egyptian and the stout-hearted Arab is one which is propagated throughout the country by these hundreds of thousands of returning soldiers, and is a fundamental element in British public opinion on the Middle East (Foreign Office 1949).

The Egyptians, as opposed to the Arabs proper, were a people who could not be trusted. Despite this differentiation, the dominant narrative constructs Egyptians and Arabs in a similar light. In opposition to the British, rational, deliberate calculators, Lord Cromer suggests that "logic is something 'the existence of which the Oriental is

disposed altogether to ignore" (Said 1979, 36). This necessitated guidance on the part of the British in order to raise the character of the Egyptian (indeed all Arab peoples) to a level necessary for full self-government. A report to Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary under Atlee, states, "The Egyptians are essentially a docile and friendly people but they are like children in many respects. They need a strong but essentially fair and helpful hand to guide them" (Foreign Office 1946). Indeed, during the debates, the dominant narrative constructed all Arabs in a similar fashion, as child-like, unreliable, and easily swayed.

The government and its allies also construct the British in relation to Nasser along moral dimensions. Much of the debate in the run-up to military action questioned the morality of Nasser's action, and the morality of possible British responses. During the crisis, the dominant narrative constructs the British as a moral power, bound by a duty to enlighten and develop the benighted populations of the globe. Eden espoused these ideals from the beginning of his career under the guise of "responsible colonialism," whereby the British engaged in a policy of providing responsive and efficient administration for the colonies they still held. This was reflective of a strain of British thought extending back to the early 20th century, where it was "[British] business to govern, with or without gratitude, with or without the genuine memory of all the loss of which we have relieved the population . . ." (Said 1979, 33). The dominant narrative constructed the British as altruistic benefactors of colonial peoples. Despite this former colonial status, "in the years since 1945 [the British] have established ourselves [as] an anti-imperialist nation in many parts of the world. We have done more than any single

country to eradicate the old scars of imperialism" (Hansard 1956, 1707).[6] According to this narrative, the British are beyond reproach, having done "a tremendous amount for the underdeveloped countries of the world" in addition to "defending liberty" in two world wars (Hansard 1956, 1692-3).[7]

According to the dominant narrative, Britain is a country that acts altruistically, and according to principle. The government and its allies constructed the British as doing everything in their power to act ethically and make friendly relations, not only with Egypt, but with all parts of the world (Hansard 1956, 1661).[8] Selwyn Lloyd implied that it is Britain's duty to uphold these morals against those that would violate them. The very fact that the British had acted so altruistically vis-à-vis Nasser was "clear evidence of [The British state's] unchallengeable moral position" (Hansard 1956, 1701).[9] The British should not "be too nervous" in response to Nasser's action, because this would create a "situation in which countries can set themselves up against . . . international morals" (Hansard 1956, 1660).[10]

Nasser was constructed in opposition to British morality and altruism. Whereas the British had altruistically provided for the people of their colonial sphere, Nasser's action during the crisis was characterized as proof that he cared little for his own people, and instead was focused on aggrandizing his personal power. This was aimed towards ends that were radically opposed to British interests (and by extension, all

[6] Desmond Donnelly, Labour, Pembrokeshire.

[7] William Proctor, Labour, Eccles.

[8] Selwyn Lloyd, Secretary of State.

[9] Julian Amery, Conservative, Preston North.

[10] Herbert Morrison, Conservative, Lewisham South.

democratic states). The nationalization was characterized as “morally wrong” one MP arguing that “no words of justification should be uttered [in the Houses of Parliament]” (Hansard 1956, 1657).[11] Whereas the British uplifted entire people, Nasser, according to Hugh Gaitskell (Labour, Leeds South) “pledged the cotton exports of his country to pay for arms” during “great financial difficulties” and despite the “appallingly low standard of living” (Hansard 1956, 1614). According to this narrative, not only is Nasser uncaring of his peoples’ economic needs, he willfully ignores their political needs and desires as well. Nasser has “established in Egypt a police state” and that General Naguib, the former head of the Egyptian state, is still the “idol of the mass of the Egyptian people” (Hansard 1956a, 53).[12] Nasser’s actions in the run-up to the Suez Canal was further indication of his character, and the failure to secure the Anglo-American loan for the Aswan Dam, due to intransigence, is a perfect “example of how a man threw away a great chance of permanently benefiting his people” (Hansard 1956a, 9).[13]

Morally, the Egyptian people are constructed in opposition to Nasser. Walter Elliot (Scottish Union, Lanark) remarked that Nasser’s actions, though represented by Nasser as a victory for the underprivileged, is in fact, “a betrayal of the hungry populations of the world” as the uncertainty engendered in this act makes it tougher for developing countries to acquire loans (Hansard 1956, 1668). The Egyptian people are the victims of Nasser rather than his greatest ally. Clement Davies (Liberal, Montgomeryshire) argues that, because Nasser nationalized the canal to do damage to the west rather than improve the lot of his people, the Egyptian people are the main victims in this crisis, and

[11] Herbert Morrison, Conservative, Lewisham South.

[12] Major Patrick Wall, Conservative, Haltemprice East Yorkshire.

[13] Anthony Eden, Conservative, Prime Minister.

Nasser is to blame (Hansard 1956, 1622). Thus, the British, as morally upright actors, are constructed, in opposition to Nasser, as holding the better interests of the Egyptian people at heart.

Politically, the British were constructed as democratic, constitutional, the protector of international order arrayed against the forces of dictatorship and international anarchy. Britain's political identity is constructed as universalist, and uniquely aligned with the wishes and aims of the entire world. When Anthony Eden first addresses the Parliament, on the 2nd of August, he invokes anger on the part of not only the British, but "the Governments and peoples of the democratic world" (Hansard 1956, 1602).[14] The government and its allies suggested "we are right on this occasion to defend our position with all the means in our power . . . to let Nasser know that we intend to continue as a free people living our way of life . . ." (Hansard 1956, 1685).[15] Nasser was not only a threat geopolitically, but a threat to the "constitutional, democratic way of life of [Britain]" (Hansard 1956, 1715).[16]

This is constructed in opposition to Nasser's political identity, which can be understood along two dimensions. First, his political identity is aligned with those of other dictators. This aligns with constructions of Nasser as impetuous and overly-emotional, yet similarly calculating and untrustworthy. Second, the dominant narrative constructs the untrustworthy Nasser as having aims on an Arab empire in the region that, if realized, would be antithetical to British principles.

[14] Anthony Eden, Conservative, Prime Minister.

[15] Frank Tomney, Labour, Hammersmith North.

[16] John Jones, Conservative, Rotherham.

First, Nasser is constructed along similar lines as Fascist dictators of the interwar period, such as Hitler and Mussolini. While Anthony Eden states in private that "I have never thought Nasser a Hitler" he claims, "But the parallel with Mussolini is close" (Boyle 2005, 159). Despite this assertion, the debate records are rife with comparisons to both Hitler and Mussolini during World War II. In a later letter to Eisenhower, Eden compares Nasser's intentions to those of "1930s Hitler" which "established his position by a series of carefully planned moves" (Boyle 2005, 65-66). Walter Elliott (Conservative, Glasgow, Kelvingrove) suggests that this is no more than a seizure of land by a dictator "in order to apply it solely to his own advantage" (Hansard 1956, 1668). Herbert Morrison (Labour, Lewisham South) claims that the nationalization of the canal "indicates the likeness between the customs of the former dictators of Italy and Germany and those of the modern dictator of Egypt" (Hansard 1956, 1654). Finally, Gaitskell (Labour, Leeds South) argues that speeches of Nasser are reminiscent of Hitler's in the 1930s (Hansard 1956, 1609).

Second, the dominant narrative constructed Nasser as secretly aspiring to dominant the Middle East through the construction of an Arab Empire. Hugh Gaitskell (Labour, Leeds South) makes this claim as early as August 2nd, five days after the nationalization of the Suez Canal, claiming that "Colonel Nasser has repeatedly boasted of his intention to create an Arab Empire from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf" (Hansard 1956, 1612). This explains the seizure of the Suez Canal, as "the real purpose" of this action was "no doubt, [to] lead an Arab empire" (Hansard 1956a, 77).[17] The dominant narrative invokes historic constructions of Orientalist despots in order to bolster this

[17] James Hutchinson, Conservative, Glasgow Scotstoun.

claim (Said 1979). “Eden’s filter”, claims Braun, “converted Egyptian security interests into the egotism of one man, Gamal Abdel Nasser, who sought to play the role of Oriental despot across the entire Arab world” (Braun 2003, 551). Eden’s estimation of the work was that it indicated that Nasser wanted to assume the role of “Pharaoh of a vast Arab empire stretching from ocean to ocean,” despite assertions to the contrary by Nasser (Kyle 1991, 55).

This construction worked in conjunction with the political construction of Arabs as a singular monolithic entity, susceptible to being led astray by a demagogue. This religious or communal feeling extends from Morocco, Egypt and Lebanon as far as Pakistan and Indonesia” (Foreign Office 1948). Anthony Eden concluded, “many Arab thinkers desire for the Arab peoples a greater degree of unity than they now enjoy. In reaching out towards this unity they hope for our support. No such appeal from our friends should go unanswered” (Louis 1984, 123). Through these constructions, the complexity and history of the region is reduced to a singular “Arab and Moslem World” which, in the presence of a charismatic despot, would align against the West as a result of their essential nature. The Arabs as well as Arab polities are represented as backwards, hotbeds of discontent, and altogether unprepared for self-rule (Kyle 1991, 41).

This fear was articulated early in the 1950s by Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin:

> Moslems are a fanatical people when roused . . . it may well be that, in spite of the present apparent state of disorganization, the Moslems will under provocation produce a leader or a general, or someone who will bring them together, in which case we may find ourselves faced with a tremendous anti-European movement embracing the whole Arab and Moslem world (Foreign Office 1948).

According to the dominant narrative, Nasser fit this description of a dictatorial Oriental despot, and the move to nationalize the Suez Canal was "the only way in which Colonel Nasser can maintain the popularity he is so anxious to build up as the leader of a great Arab empire" (Hansard 1956a, 106).[18] This nationalization was done with "the deliberate intention of inflaming the Arab world" (Hansard 1956a, 37).[19] This of courses presupposes an essentialized identity of "the Arab World" as subject to this type of action and demagoguery. The dominant narrative constructed Nasser and the Arab World as fortuitously aligned in their identities: Nasser as an Oriental despot, and the Arab world as a group subject to Nasser's inflammatory speech and action. Thus, the constructions of Arabs as having monolithic intentions and interests, as well as being inflammable, work in conjunction with constructions of Nasser as a demagogue and dictator with designs on constructing an empire in the Middle East.

Finally, the dominant narrative constructed the British in opposition to Nasser in terms of their designs upon international law. While Britain was constructed as the fount and upholder of international law, Nasser was constructed as a criminal, as evidenced by his repeated breach of his international treaty obligations and his criminal seizure of the Canal. Britain was a country that had "steadfastly avoided any international action which would be in breach of international law" (Hansard 1956, 1616).[20] Not only were the British exemplary followers of international law, they held an almost sacred duty to uphold it. According to the dominant narrative "We of all countries owe [the international community] a duty, because of our position, because we are the centre of a great

[18] Frederick Burden, Conservative, Gillingham.

[19] Victor Raikes, Conservative, Liverpool Garston.

[20] Hugh Gaitskell, Labour, Leeds South.

Commonwealth, and because of the fact that at all times we have been regarded as the main supporters of the rule of law" (Hansard 1956a, 35).[21] It was argued that this duty should have been acted upon "long ago" towards "prevention of breaches of international law" (Hansard 1956, 1720).[22]

Nasser was constructed in opposition to the British. If Britain was the foremost protector of international law, Nasser's actions represented a grave breach of international law, revealing his true criminal nature. The nationalization of the canal was referred to by the government and its allies as "a wholly inappropriate word to apply to Colonel Nasser's action" in lieu of the word "'seizure' [which] would be more accurate" (Hansard 1956a, 5)**.**[23] The government and its allies argued that "what Nasser has done is an act of international lawlessness and of international wrong" (Jocelyn Simon, Conservative, Middlesbrough West) (Hansard 558, 115). The nationalization was constructed as a "gross, flagrant breach of international law" due to its supposedly arbitrary nature (Clement Davies, Liberal, Montgomery) (Hansard 558, 32). "We [Britain]", argued Eden, "take such strong exception to this action [because] it is an arbitrary act" (Hansard 1956, 1606). The outrage was compounded due to "the manner in which it was carried out. It was done suddenly, without negotiation, without discussion, by force" (Hansard 1956, 1611).[24] Promises by Nasser to pay just compensation were summarily dismissed as improbable (Hansard 1956, 1611). The oppositional constructions of Nasser as an international criminal, in conjunction with

[21] Clement Davies, Liberal, Montgomery.

[22] Barnett Janner, Liberal, Leicester Northwest.

[23] Anthony Eden, Conservative, Prime Minister.

[24] Hugh Gaitskell, Labour, Leeds South.

Britain as a fount and protector of international law, would bear heavily on legitimation for military action.

In short, within the dominant narrative, Britain, the Egyptian government under Nasser, and the Arab/Egyptian peoples are constructed along four dimensions. Psychologically, while Britain is constructed as rational and deliberate, Nasser is constructed as overemotional and erratic, a character trait shared with the Arab populations. Morally, Britain is constructed as altruistic, exhibiting a record of helping the people of Egypt (and the wider Arab world) over the past fifty years. Conversely, Nasser was constructed as ignorant of his peoples' wishes, and in fact, betraying them through his actions. Interestingly, the Arab peoples are constructed as victims of Nasser, while similarly, exhibiting characteristics that make them susceptible to the entreaties of Nasser *qua* Oriental despot and demagogue. While the government and its allies construct Britain as democratic and protective of international order, Nasser is constructed as a dictator with aims toward an Arab Empire in the region, a task made possible by the gullibility of the monolithic Egyptian and Arab peoples. This would represent a threat to the British political way of life, and indeed, the world at large. Whereas Britain is the fount of international law, the dominant narrative finds Nasser repeatedly in breach of his responsibilities. According to the dominant narrative, the British have a duty to uphold not only this way of life, but international law *in toto*. Next, we will examine how these structures of identities were employed in order to delegitimate non-violent policy options, while legitimating military action.

Analysis

The Non-action Option

While the non-action option had some proponents within the British House of Commons, the dominant narrative forwarded by the Eden administration and its allies constructed it as an illegitimate option. This argument proceeded along a number of dimensions that all depended upon relational constructions of British identity, Nasser's identity, and identities of Egyptian and Arab peoples. The identities elucidated above provided acceptable boundaries of action for the British, as well as perceived boundaries of action for both Nasser and the Egyptian and Arab peoples.

First, the government and its allies argued that Britain, as a moral power that allied itself with international law, was duty-bound to challenge such a transgression. Since this was a breach of international law, this would result in the unravelling of the international order. In arguing this point, Eden, in a speech to the House of Commons on October 31st, linked British interest in values to those of the free world, claiming that, to have not taken action "would have been to betray not our interests alone, but those of the free world and, above all, of the Middle East itself" (Hansard 1956a, 1448). Thus, there was constant equation of a lack of resolve on the part of the British with "relapse into international anarchy" (Hansard 1956a, 31-32).[25] A lack of action on the part of the British would allow "all that we . . . believe in . . . to slip away as the result of the instigation of one speech by one person in the world" (Hansard 1956, 1685).[26]

The dominant narrative constructed the British as rational, upholders of international law. Similarly, the dominant narrative constructed the British as capable,

[25] Hugh Gaitskell, Labour, Leeds South.

[26] Herbert Morrison, Conservative, Lewisham South.

caring administrators. Implied in any discussion for a policy option is a perceived future world with which the state must deal. In the case of Britain, the dominant narrative asserted that certain policy options would result in the imposition of a future, either amenable or hostile to British intentions and British power in the Middle East.

If identity constructs boundaries of acceptable action, then the dominant narrative constructed British as a power with a duty to at least act on this matter. Thus, inaction would pose a threat, not only to the British identity as an upholder of international law and order, but also the very British way of life. Yet, to examine British identity alone would underdetermine the process of legitimation. To be sure, Britain identified as a "peaceful country" who naturally demurred from militarized conflicts. Thus, the dominant narrative had to make a case that Nasser represented a threat significant enough to legitimate action in some regard.

Therefore, dominant constructions of Britain as duty-bound to uphold international law and order when threatened necessitated a supplementary construction of Nasser as a threat to that order. The government and its allies identified the Suez Canal as incomparably important to the life of the UK as a trading state. Whereas the British were responsible purveyors of the canal, Nasser could not be trusted to use and operate the canal in a manner compatible with British interests. Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd argued "this great international waterway must not be left at the mercy of the caprices or the spleen or the hatreds of one power or of one man" (Hansard 1956a, 1663). Julian Amery (Conservative, Preston North) stated that if the Canal were under the control of a country as stable as Switzerland, at a time of international peace, "the prospect would be daunting enough" but "as it is, I think most of us regard [the prospect

of exclusive Egyptian control of the Canal] as one which cannot be endured" (Hansard 1956, 1663). The dominant narrative argued that, since Nasser's actions had been rash and unpredictable, he personally was the problem. As I will argue later, this coincided with the dual constructions of Nasser as a threat to the stability of international order and international law. Similarly, and also to be discussed later, Nasser's motives for the nationalization of the canal were questionable, and coincided with a construction of Arab and Egyptian peoples as easily swayed. Yet, these are arguments relating to Nasser's motives. Suffice it to say, even absent those constructions, the dominant narrative asserted that inaction was intolerable given the new status quo.

The dominant narrative also argued that inaction would send the wrong message to a dictator. Recall that dictators were constructed in a similar fashion to Mussolini and Hitler. Not only did they not have the interests of their people at heart, they were naturally and unequivocally power and resource-hungry. Nasser was constructed in accordance with this identity as untrustworthy, erratic, and unwilling to take to heart the interests of his people. The dominant narrative argued that inaction vis-à-vis a dictator was a risky endeavor. It was important to reduce the stature of such dictators early on, for not doing so would risk a repeat of the mistakes of the interwar period (Eden 1960, 481). According to the dominant narrative, inaction precipitated World War II, as "only when our position . . . was placed in a state of jeopardy" did the British act (Hansard 1956, 1623).[27] Those invoking this narrative claimed if "Britain and France had acted, the whole position of 1939 would have been transformed" (Hansard 1956a, 36).[28] Recall

[27] Viscount Hitchingbrooke, Conservative, Dorset South.

[28] Sir Victor Raikes, Conservative, Liverpool Garston.

the British are constructed in opposition to Nasser as reasonable, considerate, and having a duty to exhibit a particular deliberateness and consideration regarding their policies. The dominant narrative constructed inaction as illegitimate because a reasonable power would learn from its past mistakes, and inaction in this instance would be indicative of a power that was not reflective in this way.

Thus, whenever the government and its allies referenced Nazism or Fascism, this was constructed as a “lesson” for the British. The dominant narrative constructed non-action as naïve, abjuring the lessons that should have been learned from World War II. This was further established by the often acrimonious debate over whose position does and whose position does not truly embody the so-called “lessons of 1938” (Hansard 1956a, 279-284). What this reveals is a deep concern with the character of Nasser and how this would affect his choices. In the end, the government and its allies argued that his character was untrustworthy to a point to suggest that, much like Hitler, inaction would only whet Nasser's appetite for further concession. This also reveals that the government and those purveying the dominant narrative thought it contrary, a failure to learn from the past, to suggest that inaction was a means to stop the forward motion of the Nasser regime in the region. Thus, inaction was constructed as contrary to a British state which was tasks with upholding the international order.

Yet, one may argue that Britain, which the dominant narrative constructed as an exemplar and protector of international law, was in fact flouting the very international law it sought to protect. Absent UN sanction for military intervention, was not military action illegal unless in the clear case of self-defense? Given their identity within the dominant

narrative, and the lack of support within the UN, how could the government and its allies render diplomatic options illegitimate?

The Diplomatic Options

During the crisis, the British pursued a number of non-military options in order to bring a swift conclusion to the crisis. The first of these efforts was attempts at mediation brokered by the Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies (Bowie 1974, 42; Kyle 1991, 180-88). The mediation between the Australian Prime Minister, the British, and other regular users of the canal continued from mid-August to early September, but ultimately failed to bear fruit. The United States attempted a second round of mediation in early September proposing the creation of the Suez Canal User's Association. This similarly failed due to the fact that the British were unwavering in their insistence upon very strict conditions regarding the canal (Bowie 1974, 43).

Beyond this, referral to the UN Security Council was, from the onset of the crisis, lauded as an acceptable and preferable option amongst many Labourites and Conservatives. In fact, that the matter would ultimately be referred to the Security Council was not a point of contention. Rather, the question was whether the Security Council's pronouncements were to be the final say in the matter, and to be followed by Britain regardless of outcome. Herein there was a significant difference of opinion. On the one hand, the government and its allies argued in favor of referral to the Security Council. Eden remarked, “from the point of view of world peace and development, it is far better that [action should be taken] under the United Nations [rather than] some independent way” (Hansard 1956, 1615). Yet, if the UN failed, the government and its allies included the caveat that the British should retain any and all means of unilaterally resolving the situation, including the use of military force. Furthermore, any resolution to

the matter was, according to the dominant narrative, within the bounds of international law given the Egyptian breach of the 1888 Constantinople Convention, as well as earlier UN resolutions (Hansard 1956, 1611).[29] As I demonstrate later, the British constructed their response as a form of self-defense, well within the bounds of international law and the UN charter.

On the other hand, the Labourites, led by Hugh Gaitskell (Labour, South Leeds) argued that the UN Security Council should have the final say on the matter, and that any military action absent clear and unequivocal sanction by this body would constitute a breach of international law. Gaitskell argued, "we are members of the United Nations . . . signatories to the United Nations Charter, and that for many years in British policy we have steadfastly avoided any international action that would be in breach of international law." For this reason, "we must not . . . allow ourselves to get into a position where we might be denounced in the Security Council as aggressors" (Hansard 1956, 1617). As examined later in the analysis, for opponents of the dominant narrative, British identity as exemplars of international law meant that British action must be restricted in a meaningful way by organizations to which Britain was a member, even if this did not always accord with immediate British interests. According to this alternative, British interests and international law should be conceived as one and the same. While Eden officially referred the matter to the Security Council in early October, the threat of a Soviet veto effectively prevented a resolution aimed against the Egyptians (Hansard 1958a, 11). How did the dominant narrative construct British

[29] Anthony Eden, Prime Minister.

identity and oppositional identities in order delegitimate the UN Security Council, thereby clearing the way for legitimation of the military option?

Towards the beginning of the crisis there was agreement on the part of both the proponents and opponents of the dominant narrative that, though "the United Nations is imperfect and not yet the world authority which we . . . would like to see it become" that it was, nonetheless, an instrument of international law and should be respected as such (Hansard 1956a, 31-2). "Even if the United Nations as a concept is difficult," asserted Emmanuel Shinwell (Labour, Linlithgowshire), "and if it means shilly-shallying and dilly-dallying and all the rest . . . there is no reason why we should not take an international issue to an international organization" (Hansard 1956a, 195-96). Yet, while opponents of the dominant narrative asserted that to challenge the bounds set forth by the Security Council would result in a "relapse into international anarchy," the government and its allies argued otherwise (Hansard 1956a, 31-2).[30]

As relayed in the last section, the government and its allies relied upon the construction of the British as both exemplars and protectors of international law. Yet, they linked the construction of British adherence to international law with a particular construction of the British as moral actors. The dominant narrative asserted that there was a distinction between international legal machinery, such as the UN, and the spirit of international law, underwritten by a particular moral stance.

Since referral to the Security Council did not yield fruit, the government and its allies argued that the Security Council was, at best, based on a naïve view of how international relations operates, and at worst, an illegitimate institution. William Proctor

[30] Hugh Gaitskell, Labour, Leeds South.

(Labour, Eccles) argued that “all of my life I have considered what the legal position was and if the law was wrong, then I wanted to alter the legal position” continuing “I am concerned with what is morally right” (Hansard 1956, 1690). I.J. Pitman (Conservative, Bath) agreed stating “the legalities of this question are entirely irrelevant” and that, instead, MPs should have an instinctive grasp of right and wrong, and the “right” policy should be followed regardless of the consequences. Pitman continues, “I would submit that the United Nations is at fault and to be distrusted” and that “the organization with which the United Nations is forced to work is making it at fault” (Hansard 1956, 1710). Tufton Beamish (Conservative, Lewes) concurs, claiming that, though the UN institutions are not effective, he hopes to see “the machinery improved” (Hansard 1956a, 66). According to this narrative, the UN was argued to be illegitimate because it was either a tool for obstructionism, as Julian Amery (Conservative, Preston North) contended, or was not “expeditious and effective” and in fact “[dodged] vital international issues” (Hansard 1956, 1699). Supporters of the dominant narrative asserted that the United Nations is built upon a certain vision of international morality, and if the institutions do not achieve that desired outcome, it is the duty of the British as a moral power to uphold the moral despite the institutions.

This inability on the part of the United Nations to offer a resolution took on a level of increased severity due to the government’s construction of Nasser as untrustworthy. The construction of Nasser in alignment with other dictators suggested that adherence to a version of international law that diverged from its foundational principles was dangerous. Offering a comparison with the League of Nation’s prior to World War II, Victor Raikes (Conservative, Liverpool Garston) insisted, “nothing was done, and from

that time onwards the clouds of war – world war – grew darker every day" (Hansard 1956a, 36-7). The dominant narrative argued it was the duty of the British to uphold the spirit of the UN, despite immediate Security Council opposition to British policy, in order to prevent it from "falling into the moribund state of the League of Nations in 1939" (Hansard 1956a, 41).[31]To ignore this reality represented a "flight from responsibility", similar to the inability to act vis-à-vis Germany prior to World War II (Hansard 1956a, 264).[32]

Furthermore, the dominant narrative asserted that attempts at negotiations had failed, not because of British unwillingness to compromise, but rather that Nasser's untrustworthy nature made accommodation impossible. Richard Crossman (Labour, Coventry East) led the charge of many Labourites, having argued that attempts at negotiations failed due to the rigidness of British demands, and British unwillingness to provide acceptable terms to Nasser (Hansard 1956a, 90-8). Responding to this, Frederick Burden (Conservative, Gillingham) relied upon the dominant narrative's construction of Nasser as untrustworthy, questioning if Colonel Nasser will abide by his words and any undertaking he may give" (Hansard 1956a, 98). The government and its allies argued "a mere assurance signed by a man whose word cannot be trusted" was not enough to end the crisis. To them, Nasser was a man who "has broken enough treaties" and "another simple one . . . is not much good to us" (Hansard 1956a, 284).[33] Further negotiations would simply allow "an opportunity of taking further aggressive

[31] Arthur Henderson, Labour, Rowley Regis and Tipton.

[32] Gilbert Longden, Conservative, Hertfordshire South West.

[33] Ronald Bell, Conservative, Buckinghamshire South.

steps" and that "that is the general pattern of the life of a dictator" (Hansard 1956a, 99).[34]

In short, while constructions of British as a reasonable, measured power in opposition to Nasser as overly-emotional and unpredictable militated against the non-action option, these same constructions militated against further negotiation and referral to the UN as legitimate options for ending the crisis. Non-action in the face of arbitrary flouting of international order would result in collapse of the international system to which British identity was indelibly moored. The dominant narrative suggested the "lessons" of 1938 were that inaction in these circumstances was, in effect, a betrayal of British international responsibility. While the dominant narrative constructed the British as exemplars and protectors of international law, they identified international legal mechanisms that diverged from their underlying principles as dangerous. Under these conditions, they suggested that the British could legitimate action contrary to the pronouncements of the Security Council by reference to international principles. The dominant narrative constructed Britain as acting in accordance with international morality, indeed rescuing the UN when it diverged from these principles. This acted in conjunction with Nasser's construction as an untrustworthy dictator to render both negotiations and the UN illegitimate options. Those supporting the dominant narrative argued that, under present conditions, these acted to benefit and forestall a suitable solution to the crisis, thus delivering Nasser the upper hand.

[34] Frederick Burden, Conservative, Gillingham.

The Military Option

Though preparations for military action began in July, by September of 1956, the government claimed that feasible options for ending the crisis were running out. By mid-October, Eden's administration decided upon a military course of action, albeit indirectly. The British government, in collusion with French forces, would intervene in a staged military conflict between Egypt and Israel. In conjunction with the western powers, Israel agreed to begin a border skirmish with Egyptian forces, providing British and French forces due reason to invade the Suez Canal Zone in order to restore order. The British and French believed that, once in control of the area, it would be easier to wrest a favorable agreement from the Egyptian government" (Cabinet Office 1956a, 6).

There is little official public documentation of what compelled the British to collude with the French and the Israelis. Collusion was not a public act, and neither House of Commons debate nor cabinet meetings records referred to the actual collusion. Discussion within Eden's cabinet evasively indicates only that "the issue might be brought more rapidly to a head as a result of military action by Israel against Egypt" (Cabinet Office 1956, 7). Despite this, there are hints within the documents as to why this occurred. It was noted that the British and the French "favored early military action" yet "they were unable to find any sufficient grounds for undertaking it at the present time (Cabinet Office 1956a, 6). On October 25th, Eden's cabinet agreed that an Israeli attack was imminent, and that the British, in giving an ultimatum to both sides to withdraw and using the failure of compliance with that ultimatum as grounds for intervention, "should be purporting to undertake an international function without the specific authority of the United Nations" (Cabinet Office 1956c, 6). Despite the private nature of this decision, the fact that the military option was maintained and considered necessitated legitimation

to a wider audience of policy elites. How was the British undertaking military action absent sanction by the United Nations to be deemed legitimate?

Like delegitimation of the non-action option and diplomatic options, legitimation of the military option in the dominant narrative hinged upon a particular construction of Nasser's identity. First, the government and its allies argued that relations between Nasser and the British were a zero-sum game. This construction of Nasser as a dictator legitimated a forceful response, and those purveying the dominant narrative argued that, because of this, a military option should never be taken off the table. This implies an oppositional identity of the British as the ones that should enforce against breach of international order. As demonstrated earlier, the dominant narrative constructed British identity as the protector of international law and order, and conversely, Nasser as in violation of this order. Second, the government and its allies adopted a particular construction of Nasser's aims that complemented the prior construction of Egyptian peoples, and in fact, Arab people in general. The dominant narrative argued that, absent a forceful intervention, Nasser would be in a position to carry out his aims to create an Arab Empire in his region. This was due to construction of Arabs as overly-emotional, and easily swayed. The dominant narrative argued that Nasser knew he must garner enough prestige amongst Egyptian and Arab people in order to move forward with his plans. The Arab peoples are constructed as invariably siding with whoever seems to be stronger. Therefore, it was incumbent upon the British to demonstrate, both to their friends and enemies, that they would not allow Nasser's infraction to go unpunished.

First, the government and its allies argued that dictators only understand power. According to this narrative, the British and the Egyptians existed in a zero-sum

relationship. Any increase in the prestige or power of Nasser and the Egyptians would, in effect, be a loss of prestige and power for the British. This construction of Nasser often extended across the aisle to both Labourites and Conservatives. Eden, in agreement with Hugh Gaitskell (Labour, Leeds South) argued "The Leader of the Opposition warned us the other day of what would happen if [Nasser] had his way. He said: 'If Colonel Nasser's prestige is put up sufficiently and ours is put down sufficiently, the effects of that in that part of the world will be that our friends desert us because they think we are lost, and go over to Egypt'" (Hansard 1956a, 15). Nasser's construction as someone who was unable to be negotiated with, untrustworthy, and power aggrandizer legitimated a military option. The government and its allies suggested that Nasser, as the embodiment of lawlessness, if left unchecked, would result in a loss of friends embolden Britain's enemies. "Once again we are faced with what is, in fact, an act of force which, if it is not resisted, if it is not checked, will lead to others" and that a string of consequences would follow from not checking Nasser's aggression with force if necessary, if "a stimulus is given to fresh acts of lawlessness," then "capacity to resist becomes steadily less, friends drop away and the will to live becomes enfeebled" (Hansard 1956a, 14-15).[35]

Construction of the nationalization of the Canal as an act of "force", and an act of "lawlessness" corresponds with Nasser's identity as a criminal, and nationalization of the Suez Canal as a criminal act. Corresponding with the dominant narrative's construction of the British as democratic, the protector of international law and order, the government and its allies asserted that the British were in a unique position to respond

[35] Anthony Eden, Prime Minister.

to this putative aggression with military force. To ignore this responsibility was to invite disaster in the future. Jack Jones (Labour, Rotherham) argued, “I do not say that the drums will roll tomorrow, but I have said repeatedly to my constituents that, in the last resort, rather than allow the constitutional, democratic way of life of our country . . . to slip away as the result of the instigation of one speech by one person in the world” would be a mistake, and there is “only one alternative” (Hansard 1956, 1715). Thus, the dominant narrative constructed Nasser’s actions, not as simple nationalization, but as a criminal act, a dire threat to international order, international law, and the democratic, constitutional way of life of the British.

Concurrent with oppositional constructions of the British as democratic and constitutional, and Nasser as dictatorial, Eden and his administration argued by historical analogy that dictators only understood force. Eden remarks, “there are those who say that we should not be justified and are not justified in reacting vigorously unless Colonel Nasser commits some further act of aggression.” He continues, “That was the argument used in the 1930s to justify every concession that was made to the dictators. It has not been my experience that dictators are deflected from their purpose because others affect to ignore it” (Hansard 1956a, 15). Listing the prior transgressions of Nasser, Victor Raikes (Conservative, Liverpool Garston) asserts that dictator do not “[care] for pious resolutions unbacked by force” (Hansard 1956a, 37). We see here in operation the dualistic constructions of Nasser as an untrustworthy dictator, who only understands power, and the British as the protector of international order, with the unique duty to curb dictatorial aggression whenever it arises. The dominant narrative asserted that, to not act in correspondence with this identity would be to invite disaster,

to invite encroachment upon the British way of life. Yet, these constructions underdetermine legitimation in this case. It is only with reference to the complementary constructions of Nasser as having designs on an Arab Empire and the Egyptian and Arab peoples as overly-emotional and easily swayed, that military force is justified in this instance.

First, it is well-documented that Eden believed Nasser was set on the overthrow of British allies within the region, and subsequent creation of an Arab Empire, even prior to the seizure of the Canal (Kyle 1991, 90-102). A number of MPs concurred with this view. Charles Waterhouse (Conservative, Leicester South) claimed that Nasser's calls for Arab empowerment through nationalism were a smokescreen, and "he is in fact building an empire for himself, or at any rate, endeavoring to do so" (Hansard 1956, 1629). Gaitskell concurred, claiming, "we cannot forget that Colonel Nasser has repeatedly boasted of his intention to create an Arab Empire from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf" (Hansard 1956, 1612). Tufton Beamish (Conservative, Lewes) remarks that Nasser "has undisguised ambitions to dominate the Arab countries for his own aggrandizement" (Hansard 1956a, 71).

Building upon constructions of Nasser as untrustworthy, erratic, and contrary to international law, to allow this would endanger not only the British, but the interests of the world. Given these constructions of Nasser, in addition to his aims to acquire an Arab Empire, the only reasonable means of countering this threat was military action. An October cabinet report indicates:

> The Prime Minister said that [these were serious risks]; but against it must be set the greater risk that, unless early action could be taken to damage Colonel Nasser's prestige, his influence would be extended throughout the

> Middle East to a degree which would make it much more difficult to overthrow him (Cabinet Office 1956b).

Thus, despite the questionable legality of military intervention and "great risks" which included, amongst other things, lack of support amongst the Americans and other allies, the military option was deemed legitimate.

Indeed, the Eden cabinet "saw no prospect of reaching a settlement as would diminish Colonel Nasser's influence throughout the Middle East" (Cabinet Office 1956a, 23). Unofficially, it was settled that the British would act in collusion with the French and the Israelis. Israeli military action was taken October 30th and advanced towards Port Said. The British and French provided both sides with an ultimatum advising them to retreat to 10 miles from the canal within 12 hours, after which British and French paratroopers would take military action, landing to physically secure the canal. This action was warranted because, in Eden's words, "unless prompt action was taken to check Colonel Nasser's ambitions, our position would be undermined in the Middle East" (Colonial Office 1956c, 3). Yet, one may still question why there existed a danger? What would allow Nasser to realize his aims of creating an Arab Empire? In order to answer this, we must reference how these arguments coincided with constructions of Egyptian and Arab identity in the dominant narrative.

The dominant narrative constructed Egyptian and Arab peoples as partial Others, not fundamentally opposed to British identity (for example, possessing the potential to eventually be fully developed political actors) but still differentiated. Indeed, there is some variability amongst how Egyptian peoples are portrayed vis-à-vis Arab peoples, yet, for the purposes of legitimating the military option the government and its allies constructed them as monolithic. The dominant narrative constructs the Egyptian and

Arab peoples as the victim of Nasser, but conversely, as unreliable, easily swayed and hot-tempered. Indeed, in legitimating the military option, some MPs argued that the Egyptian people had suffered at his hands, due to his establishment of a police state, although for the most part, Nasser's police state was usually referenced only in terms of how it affected British nationals remaining in Egypt (Hansard 1956a, 37; Hansard 1956a, 144).[36]

Yet, this partially oppositional Egyptian and Arab identity was an important piece of the argument legitimating military action. The government and its allies argued that popular support for Nasser was an important necessity for Nasser to realize his political aims. Patrick Wall (Conservative, Hull Haltemprice) argued, "like any dictator, he must have success to continue in power with the support of his country. He must have success in his own country and he must have success in leading the rest of the Arab nations" (Hansard 1956a, 48). This success was based, in part, upon constructions of Arabs as resentful and jealous of British power, and thus susceptible to "conversion" to Nasser's side. Clement Davies (Liberal, Montgomeryshire) argued, "[Nasser's] object [in seizing the canal] was to do as much damage, particularly to ourselves and indeed to other western nations, as he possibly could." He continues, "It was his aim to flout us in the view of the Arab countries. If he is allowed to get away with it, his position will be all the greater and strengthened among them" (Hansard 1956, 1621). The reason that "[Nasser] acted in the way that he did, aggressively, brusquely, suddenly, was precisely because he wanted to raise his prestige in the rest of the Middle East. He wanted to show the rest of the Arab world [he could] challenge the west and . . . win" (Hansard

[36] Victor Raikes, Conservative, Liverpool Garston; Robert Boothby, Conservative, Aberdeenshire.

1956, 1613).37 According to this reading, the military option was necessary to arrest Nasser's challenge, which would in turn lead to more popular support amongst the Arab peoples.

This argument relies upon the notion that Arab peoples are similarly untrustworthy, and harbor intense resentment against the west. Constructions of Egyptian and Arab identity commensurate with legitimation of the military option implicitly rob Egyptian and Arab peoples of political agency. Arab peoples are to be "won over" to the side that is most successful at any given time, regardless of moral standing. Moreover, any solution had to be completed in a timely fashion, as the dominant narrative constructs Egyptian and Arab peoples are quick-tempered and vacillating. Thus, according to the dominant narrative, Nasser's aims to build an Arab Empire were indeed exacerbated by Egyptian and Arab identities, which would allow a "quick victory" on the part of Nasser to rally the support of the masses. Recall that earlier expositions of Arab identity underlined their overly-emotional and unreliable nature. Legitimations of the military option focused on this identity, constructing British identity in opposition. If the world was a "zero-sum" game, the only reliable way to assure that Nasser did not realize his aims of building an Arab Empire was to stop him by force, the currency in which dictators such as he most readily understood. Exploiting this support Nasser would enact his aims: to push the British out of the Middle East and erect in its place an empire stretching across the Middle East and North Africa.

Thus, the government and its allies argued that, to allow Nasser to realize this "great plan" would be an immense mistake. Rather than an unwarranted military

[37] Hugh Gaitskell, Labour, Leeds South.

intervention, the invasion of the Suez Canal Zone was constructed as a defensive policy. Frank Tomney (Labour, Hammersmith North), explicitly arguing in favor of military intervention, claimed, “we are right on this occasion to defend our position with all the means in our power . . . to let Nasser know that we intend to continue as a free people living our way of life” (Hansard 1956, 1685). Dennis Healy (Labour, Leeds East) argued “if we give up the idea of imposing a solution by force, a purely British solution, what alternative is there” (Healy 1956, 1626). According to the dominant narrative, the British reluctantly embarked upon military action, not because it was in their best interest, or it was geopolitically warranted, but rather because Nasser represented an insidious threat. The nature of this threat was not the military or economic power he possessed, but rather the ideas he represented. The dominant narrative constructed military intervention as a defensive act, which prompts the question of how this could be considered defensive given Nasser nationalized a part of his sovereign territory? The government and its allies were not defending territory, but rather ideals; Nasser’s threat was the possibility that by being perceived as beating the British, the weight of public opinion in the Arab lands would shift to his side. The public support garnered here would be used by Nasser to create an Arab Empire which would in turn be anathema, not only to British interests, but international law, international order, and would in fact constitute an affront to morality.

To conclude, the dominant narrative rendered the non-action option illegitimate with reference to British identity as the reasonable protector of international law and order in opposition to Nasser as erratic, unreasonable, and a transgressor of international law and order. To leave the Suez Canal in the hands of such an erratic and

criminal leader was unthinkable. Furthermore, to flout the responsibility to take some action would be contrary to this British identity, and would in effect be a reenactment of pre-World War II appeasement policy. According to the dominant narrative, continued negotiations and the UN Security Council were similarly illegitimate options. The dominant narrative constructed Nasser as untrustworthy, with whom successful negotiations would never be possible. The government and its allies suggested that, though the British were indeed the protectors of international law, that in this instance, the dysfunction of the UN rendered international law ineffectual. Thus, commensurate with their identity as a moral power, the British should undertake to protect the principles that underlie such institutions. Finally, negotiation was rendered illegitimate because it was constructed as a fruitless endeavor. Nasser's record had proven that he was untrustworthy, and the British, in negotiation, would only act to weaken their position.

With these competing options rendered illegitimate, the push to war was further legitimated by reference to Nasser's political aims, construction of an Arab Empire, and Egyptian and Arab identity, which acted in support of these aims. The government and its allies argued that to forego military action would, in effect, deliver the Middle East to Nasser. Not only were British interests in danger, but more importantly, the constitutional and democratic nature of the British state itself would be undermined if Nasser was allowed to succeed.

Alternative Narratives

The dominant narrative met with spirited opposition from members of both parties. These MPs offered alternative narratives, countering the constructions of identity offered in the dominant narrative. A full exposition of these is not possible within the framework of my project, thus I will only briefly address them. First, the dominant

narrative's construction of Nasser as irrational and arbitrary was challenged by an alternative construction of Nasser as a political leader that was responding to different pressures, both domestic and international. Supporting this construction of Nasser as a rational (if not reasonable) politician acting in his state's (and his own political) interests was the argument that nationalization broke no particular international law. Cyril Banks (Conservative, Pudsey) argued the U.S. and the U.K., having put Nasser in a tough position, were to blame for the crisis, claiming, "if . . . a man in charge of a country is put on the spot because we tell him that we will give him something then withdraw the offer ten days later, then I think we must expect some trouble" (Hansard 1956, 1631). In response to this, R. T. Paget (Labour, Northampton) asked him if he thought that Nasser was level-headed and a Labour politician responded by claiming that the British have given much to Egypt, but have "got kicked in the teeth all the time" (Hansard 1956, 1631). William Warbey (Labour, Ashfield) agreed with this assessment, claiming that, rather than being an arbitrary action, "No one has been able to show any reason in international law why the Egyptian government should not nationalize the canal." He further noted that "a fair offer of compensation has been made" and the government has not yet responded to it (Hansard 1956, 1647). Moreover, any sort of punitive response, such as economic sanctions, represented a form of warfare, designed to "seek a revocation of the nationalization decree by force and outside pressure" which he finds to be an illegal according to international law (Hansard 1956, 1647). In response to this, John Hall (Conservative, Wycombe) argued that Warbey's comments would be heard with great delight in Moscow (Hansard 1956, 1649). These narratives imply two things: Nasser is constructed as reasonable, having been placed in a tough spot by removal of

the loan offer, it is implied that he is reasonable, merely dealing with difficult circumstances, and could have been negotiated with; second, if Nasser was within his rights in nationalizing the canal, then military intervention is, of course, illegitimate.

Second, in relation to the UN, alternative narratives of the crisis argued that Britain was in fact the actor transgressing international law through military intervention, and to stay true to Britain's identity was to abide by the provisions of the UN Charter, regardless of whether or not they were in Britain's immediate interest. This was forwarded most forcefully by the leader of the opposition, Hugh Gaitskell (Labour, Leeds South). In the August 2nd debate in the House of Commons he argued that, if force was to be used, it must only be done so with explicit sanction from the UN, as "while force cannot be excluded, we must be sure that circumstances justify it and that is, if used, consistent with our belief in, and pledges to, the Charter of the United Nations" (Hansard 1956, 1615). Though initially taking a hard stance against Nasser, Gaitskell moderated later on. By September, he argued that military intervention absent sanction from the UN would be tantamount to "ignoring the Charter of the United Nations and taking the law into our own hands which . . . involves abandoning the whole basis [of international law set out in the Charter]" and would involve "reverting to international anarchy" (Hansard 1956a, 22). He argued that though the "United Nations is imperfect and not yet a world the world authority which we . . . would like to see it become . . . the real issue . . . is whether we wish, as a country, to create that world authority [through abiding by its sanctions]" (Hansard 1956, 1624). He finally argued, in response to assertions of British responsibility in the face of widespread opposition, "It is not our business to decide on our own that we should take independent action . . . There is

nothing in the United Nations Charter which justifies any action appointing itself world policeman" (Hansard 1956, 1347). Morrison (Conservative, Lewisham South) concurred, claiming, "It is just as much a crime against international faith . . . for one country to do what Egypt has done as it would be for other countries to retaliate by the immediate use of force" (Hansard 1956, 1654). This alternative narrative characterized *any* military intervention absent explicit Security Council sanction as illegitimate, and thus, contrary to the argument that the British are acting in accordance with international morality, that they are, in fact, undermining the entire structure of international law they have helped to create.

Third, alternative constructions of Arab and Egyptian people argued against competing monolithic constructions. Patrick Wall (Conservative, Haltemprice East Yorkshire), a conservative politician, though by no means dovish in regards to Nasser's actions, argued that "we must remember that Egyptians are not Arab people. Many of the Arab nations dislike and are jealous of the Egyptians" (Hansard 1956a, 48-9). Though this view was not forwarded by a large number of MPs, it does echo earlier constructions earlier constructions of Egyptians and Arabs as opposed, and in doing so, suggests that the dominant narrative's assertion of inevitable Arab support for Nasser is questionable.

Finally, some argued that rather than a legitimate action, military intervention is a neocolonial act. While some argued that Nasser was embarking upon a colonial policy, many in the opposition argued otherwise. The worry for some was that a military policy would risk reversion back an "Old Britain". Desmond Donnelly (Labour, Pembrokeshire) argued that since 1945 "we have established ourselves in a particular position as a

former imperialist nation which has now become an anti-imperialist nation in many parts of the world" and "we have done more to eradicate the old scars of imperialism." He continues that military action would "prejudice the position that has been built up at so much cost and with so much hope" (Hansard 1956, 1707).

Warbey (Labour, Ashfield), sympathetic to Donnelly, argued against military intervention, claiming:

> any single nation or group [cannot] arrogate to itself the right to exercise supra-national powers over any other country. That is no longer possible. That is imperialism by whatever country or group of countries it is practiced . . . whether it is done by Russia, Britain or the United States (Hansard 1956, 1649).

Finally, while Nasser was constructed as imperialist, his actions are partially justified insofar as the Egyptians under Colonel Nasser merely want to be like us . . . They want to be able, as they have seen that we have been able in the past to push nations around. They have been pushed around by us in the past, and now they want to do a bit of the pushing around (Hansard 1956, 1673)."[38] This alternative narrative drew a distinction between "old Britain", imperialistic and self-serving, and a potential "new Britain" which respects international institutions and international law (including UN pronouncements) and does not attempt to impose its will unilaterally upon former colonies, arguing that this perpetuates the cycle of violence and power politics. Though this distinction did not have much purchase during the Suez Crisis, differentiation between Britain and other powers as colonial powers, versus former colonial powers, would garner increased importance in subsequent debates. It is clear to see that this

[38] Henry Usborne, Labour, Birmingham Yardley.

characterization of Britain as a *potential* "new Britain" militated against military action, characterizing it as imperialistic.

While these competing narratives attempted to delegitimate military intervention by reference to competing sets of identities, much of the support for these competing arguments came from the opposition. While legitimations of the Eden government's policies had to indeed *react* to arguments made by the opposition, as they held the majority in office and thus made the decisions, gaining support of the opposition for military intervention was not institutionally essential. Yet, while the alternative narratives did not change the policy, they forced the government and its allies to offer further legitimations for his policies. These legitimations at once constrict later policy choices and, perhaps more importantly, are often fodder for later constructions of identity by producing and reproducing certain ideas that can be deployed at a later date. Indeed, identity is not a monolithic thing. There were competing, overlapping, and oftentimes conflicting narratives forwarded in relation to the crisis. Often, these alternative narratives were prescient in how they constructed Britain as well as the radical and partial Others. Constructing Britain as a colonial power in 1956, alternative narratives would act as a foil to constructions of Britain during 1982 as a post-colonial power that was, in effect, positioned against a neocolonial power in the guise of Argentina. Thus, while alternative narratives did not affect the outcome of the policy choice, they must be addressed not because they needed to be addressed in the course of the contemporary debate, but also because they often times offered new constructions of identity that could be utilized in legitimations in subsequent crises.

Epilogue

Despites subsequent political and scholarly consensus regarding the Suez Crisis as a failure of British foreign policy, the negative fallout from the crisis was not readily apparent. Though the Suez Crisis made more apparent the intensifying nationalist movements in areas such as sub-Saharan Africa, Britain had been forced to deal with such movements as far back as the 1920s in both the Middle East and South Asia. Moreover, though the Suez Crisis brought about the "severest rupture" in the Anglo-American alliance since its inception after World War II, the so-called "Special Relationship" was quickly reaffirmed in the following years, and emerged from the 1950s quite strong, if not on less equal terms than before (Bially-Mattern 2005; Darwin 1988, 223). Additionally, one may garner the mistaken impression that the Suez Crisis dealt a blow to the popularity of Empire amongst the British electorate, though in truth the British populace had always been ambivalent about Empire. Indeed, the political blow dealt to the Conservatives as the result of Suez did not remain in the public conscience for long, and the actions of October and November 1956 that precipitated the fall of Anthony Eden were quickly forgotten (Darwin 1988, 231). In order to construct a fuller picture of British identity post-Suez, one must briefly examine these long-term trends, and the shift in self-identity that was allied with this decline.

First, the Suez Crisis marked the emergence of a clear ideational break in British foreign political thought, a cipher for:

> drastic changes [that] took place which marked the onset of Britain's final transformation from a global power with an overseas empire and considerable capacity for independent action, into a regional power whose remaining overseas possessions were more of an embarrassment than a source of strength, trade or influence (Darwin 1988, 222).

The Suez Crisis represented the last time that the British would embark on a major unilateral military campaign absent U.S. support. Failure of British policy in this crisis made it abundantly clear "that the core of Britain's claim to great power status . . . existed only by American grace and favor." Moreover, throughout this period Britain had depended on the U.S. defense industry to supply its military might. Even its prized nuclear deterrent was contingent upon U.S. supplies of missile technology (Darwin 1988, 225). While this was apparent prior to Suez, the result of the crisis disabused even the most ardent supporters of British Empire of the notion that the UK was on equal footing with the U.S. Furthermore, it became apparent to the British that the U.S. would capitalize on this inequality when it found it to be in its interest.[39]

Second, the British position, more broadly, was challenged internationally by the failure in Suez. No longer able to count on the support of its erstwhile colonies (After all, India had been one of the leading opponents of British action in Suez.), and many within the British conservative political establishment having challenged the legitimacy of the United Nations throughout the crisis, left Britain isolated. This ran counter to a history of British foreign policy that balanced engagement on the continent and concern with its overseas Empire with a marked antipathy towards isolationist policy (Darwin 1988, 231). Third, the decline in economic importance of the British Empire became more apparent after Suez. Indeed, even prior to Suez, the British required intervention on the part of the U.S. in order to bolster their currency, and faced intense competition from the revival of Western Europe in the early 1950s on into the 1960s. The Suez Crisis, having revealed an inability on the part of the British to maintain their influence, also diminished

[39] This is evidenced, again, by the swift entrance of the U.S. into the Middle East, a sphere of influence in which the British were, if not dominant (given the influence of the French), at least *primus inter pares*.

the possibility of and economic revival employing the resources of their far-flung empire (Cain and Hopkins 2001). The shifts in identity commensurate with these trends were instrumental in the run-up to the Falklands War, and the construction of Self-identity during that conflict, and thus better left to be discussed in the Chapter 4.

Thus, a few points must be addressed before proceeding along to Chapters 4 and 5 regarding British identity and legitimation of policy choice in the Suez Crisis. First, compared to subsequent legitimations, the nature of British morality and the duty inherent in the British position will shift. As demonstrated earlier in the Chapter 3, Nasser is constructed as uncaring and unresponsive to the demands and wishes of the Egyptian people. The dominant narrative constructs Nasser's as a "police state", yet, for the most part, legitimation of the military option hinges upon a particular construction of Nasser's aims in conjunction with Arab identity. This contrasts with constructions of radical Otherness in Chapters 4 and 5. In those instances, the dominant narrative represents not only the criminal nature of the radical Other's act (i.e. in this case, seizing the canal) but the criminal nature of the regime itself and how it treats its people. This is not to say that constructions of Argentine identity in Chapter 4 or Iraqi identity in Chapter 5 do not exhibit characteristics negatively differentiating it from British identity. In Chapter 4, for instance, the government and its allies construct the Argentine people as wild, ungovernable, and ungrateful. In the subsequent analysis, however, the dominant narrative concentrates more explicitly on the crimes that the two regimes commit vis-à-vis their populaces in addition to the criminal nature of the political act that precipitates the crisis. This is partly due to a reconfiguration of British identity that occurs somewhere between the Suez Crisis and the Falklands War. In 1982, Britain,

rather than identifying as a responsible colonial power, instead constructs the Argentines as the colonizer, and the British as liberator. Second, by 1982 Britain is no longer a significant colonial power, having relinquished the majority of its colonies. Attendant to this is a newly emergent identity of Britain in decline, or Britain as a second-rate power. As I will explore in Chapter 4, the shadow of the failure in Suez loomed large and, if not "causing" this identity, marked a significant watershed in British politics.

CHAPTER 4
THE FALKLANDS WAR, 1982

Overview

Whereas a relatively self-confident Britain faced what the dominant narrative constructed as a devious opponent in the Suez Crisis, by the onset of the Falklands War, much had changed in Britain. First, the post-World War II relative decline continued in earnest. Militarily, British prestige had dissipated, having by 1982, disposed of all of all colonial possessions, save for a few island outposts. Second, and as explored later in this case study, this loss had a noticeable effect on the previously dominant identity narrative of Empire. Many within the British political elite espoused fears of becoming a second-rate power and feared a future in which a once "great" Britain was relegated to becoming unexceptional. This was no doubt compounded by political and economic difficulties that beleaguered the British throughout the 1970s. Thus, directly preceding the crisis, the British faced critical juncture in their political existence, stuck unenviably between memories of a grand, yet rapidly fading, past and a supposedly dim future. The government's construction of the dominant narrative in favor of military conflict in the Falklands both reflected and opposed these emerging identity narratives.

The immediate catalyst for the Falklands War was an Argentine invasion of the British-occupied islands in April of 1982. Though the British occupied these islands continuously for more than 150 years prior to the crisis, territorial proximity, as well as prior Spanish occupation, provided foundations for Argentine claims to the islands. Whereas for the British, these islands represented little more than a colonial outpost (an economically unviable one at that), for the Argentines the occupied *Malvinas* represented ongoing national humiliation as an ex-colonized power. Following a series

of failed negotiations, the Argentine military government decided to act unilaterally to take the islands by force.

Many similarities exist between the government's legitimation of the Suez Crisis and the Falklands War. First, the dominant narrative constructed the British in oppositional terms, as rational, democratic, the purveyor and supporter of international order law, as opposed to a radical Other, who was erratic, undemocratic, immoral, criminal, and corrosive of international order. Non-action and diplomatic options were similarly constructed as illegitimate due to the untrustworthy and power-hungry nature of dictatorial regimes. Moreover, the military option was privileged due to these very same reasons: since military dictatorships only could be persuaded by power, the only viable means of action was a military solution.

Yet, there are a number of important differences between the two cases that reflect the changes in how the dominant narrative constructed British identity during this time. First, whereas the government and its allies constructed British identity in alignment with "responsible colonialism" during the Suez Crisis, prior to the Falklands War, mentions of colonialism were reserved for the purported Argentine aggressors. Second, whereas constructions of Arab identity figured prominently in legitimation of the military option during the Suez Crisis, mentions of any essential "nature" of the Argentine people (at least in Commons debates) were relatively sparse. Instead, the Argentine people were, for the most part, constructed as victims of the rapacious Argentine regime, though this was not mentioned to legitimate war.

Finally, and most important, are the dual constructions of the British themselves within the dominant narrative. First, the government and its allies constructed the

Falklanders as romanticized purveyors of British values, and relatedly, the current state of Britain itself as weak and declining. The military option was legitimated on the grounds that, through demonstrating its military power and vitality, Britain could reclaim its rightful place amongst the great powers. In doing so, Britain recast its identity not as an imperial power, but a post-imperial power, exceptional not because of its colonial sway, but in spite of it, espousing principles of democracy, freedom, and civil rights and liberties. Indeed, these principles were always extant, but in subsequent years, they would become the central focus of a post-colonial British foreign policy.

In short, the government and its allies forwarded a dominant narrative that delegitimated non-action by constructing it as a betrayal of both the Falklanders as well as its identity as a protector of international law and order, as well as democratic principles represented by the Falklanders. Given Argentina's position as radical Other, criminal, corrosive of international law and order, inaction would contradict this important facet of British identity. Diplomacy was discounted due to the dual constructions of the Argentine government as an immoral, dictatorial regime that could not be trusted. Attempts at negotiation on the part of the Argentines were constructed as stalling for time. Thus, to continue negotiations would, in effect, contradict Britain's identity as an upholder of international morality and international order. Finally, the dominant narrative constructed the military option as necessary both to defend the Falklanders, and by extension, principles of international order, democracy, and political rights. The British government and its allies also argued that any challenge to international order would result in a quick unravelling of the international system. Furthermore, the government

and its allies argued international law was on Britain's side, and that military action would help to reinforce a flagging identity of exceptionalism within Britain.

Background to the Crisis

Although the roots of the Falklands War lay in a dispute that dates back to the 19th century, the origins of the contemporary conflict are found in the trend towards decolonization beginning in the 1940s. The United Kingdom pledged to work with the UN to decolonize the Falkland Islands in some form in 1964 (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 7; Moro 1989, 3).The UN sought to capitalize on this commitment in 1965, when the General Assembly voted 45 to 0 (with 14 abstentions) to Resolution 2065, "inviting the two governments to 'proceed without delay' with negotiations to find 'a peaceful solution to the problem, bearing in mind . . . the interests of the population of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)'" (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 8). Negotiations began in 1966 and proceeded in three distinct stages during the sixteen years between Resolution 2065 and the onset of the dispute in 1982. During the first round, from 1966-1968, the British first proposed a "sovereignty freeze" for thirty years, "allowing for an improvement of relations between the Islands and Argentina" after which, "the Islanders would be free to choose British or Argentine rule" (Dillon 1989, 2). The swift rejection of this proposal by Argentina resulted in a British *volte face* and in 1967, for the first time, the British stated formally that they would consider a transfer of sovereignty (Dillon 1989, 2). This first round was cut short due to the emerging power of the so-called "Falklands Lobby" within the House of Commons, which effectively stonewalled efforts to negotiate on the issue of sovereignty (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 8).

Following the failure of the first round of negotiations in 1968, the British pursued a policy of fostering conciliation between the Falkland Islanders and the Argentines, and the issue of sovereignty (sensitive for the Falkland Islanders) was shelved for the near future. During this time, the British Foreign Office was well aware of the limitations posed by the geographic location of the islands, and similarly, that the economic and political future of the Falklands lay in South America, and not the British Isles. Thus, "it was hoped to change the islanders' view of their position by making concessions designed to integrate the Islands with the continent" (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 8). This was reinforced by the stance within British elite political circles in the 1960s, that in order for the British to sustain a lasting claim to the island, it required a "strong defence capability" and "For Britain to behave in that way, in the 1960s and 1970s was impossible" (Lord Greenhill quoted in Charlton 1989, 14). The Shackleton Report, painted a grim economic portrait of the islands, suggesting the remedy was to forge closer ties between the Argentine mainland and the Falklanders themselves.[1] Perhaps the most visible result of this attempt at "functional integration" was the 1971 communications agreement between the British and the Argentines, which effectively rendered the Falkland Islands dependent on the mainland of Argentina for its communications.

[1] The Shackleton Report stated that the Falklands' economy was depressed by "Monopolistic exploitation of its mono-crop economy by the Falkland Islands Company" which was accompanied by a "patrician but [Spartan] form of colonial administration" resulting in a "dependent and 'feudalistic' community, riven with internal jealousies, which was beset by economic disinvestment and depopulation." The recommended remedy was to forge closer ties between the Argentine population and the Falklanders themselves, through economic cooperation and forced dependence, which would eventually allow for warmer sentiments between the two sides to arise, at which point, the British could divest themselves of what many thought to be a troublesome set of islands. See Dillon 1989, 5.

This second round of efforts collapsed in 1974 due to three concurrent circumstances: first, the increasingly nationalistic tone of Argentine politics in the early 1970s resulted in the emergence of the view that these attempts at functional integration absent a serious diplomatic effort to resolve the sovereignty dispute were a form of delay; second, the British "expended too little money and political effort in the attempt to make them work" and third, "closer ties eventually increased rather than diminished the Islanders' loyalist hostility to the Argentine" (Dillon 1989, 4). The Shackleton Report, military drawback in the mid-1970s, allied, increasingly belligerent actions by the Argentines, and the failure of a 1974 proposal for condominium between the British and the Argentines resulted in yet another policy shift (Dillon 1989, 4; Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 8-9).[2] The British floated a leaseback arrangement, whereby Argentina would retain titular sovereignty but allow British administration to continue in the near future. This failed due to opposition from the influential "Falklands Lobby", a vocal faction within the House of Commons that attempted to stymie any action on the part of the British it deemed contrary to the interest of the Falklanders. By 1980s, serious negotiations were at an end, and the British government was left simply stalling for time, not wanting to relinquish the islands altogether, but without a tenable plan to resolve the dispute (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 8).

In 1976, a coup brought a military regime to power in Argentina, which, during an economic downturn in the early 1980s, began to view the repossession of the Falkland

[2] *HMS Shackleton*, a research ship, was intercepted in 1976 by an Argentine destroyer and order to halt as it was entering Argentine waters. It refused to do this, despite several warning shots. When the dispute was brought to the Interamerican Juridical Committee it ruled in favor of Argentina.

Islands as a means to divert attention away from the flailing economy and underscore its nationalist credentials. Due in part to vacillation on the part of the British in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Buenos Aires "had received mixed signals. On the one hand, three years of work on the possibility of leaseback had been abruptly abandoned . . . On the other hand, the British showed no interest in buildup of their economic and military position" on the islands (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 10). Lord Chalfont, Foreign Minister in 1982 under the Thatcher Administration, argues "there was certainly no sense of crisis. This was regarded as a long-term problem, I might say. Both sides realized this was not going to be solved overnight" (quoted in Charlton 1989, 21). Early reports in the 1960s and 1970s concluded that official military action was "unlikely," and with the resumption of talks in the 1970s and the signing of the Communications Agreement in 1971, "the danger of official military action by Buenos Aires was discounted altogether" (Dillon 1989, 9). The 1976 crisis over the *HMS Shackleton* was the first sign of escalation of the conflict, which precipitated the British to send a minor military contingent (the *HMS Endurance*, armed with two helicopters and air-to-sea missiles) to the South Atlantic (Dillon 1989, 11).

Throughout the late 1970s, the Argentine government engaged in minor operations designed to apply pressure to the British to settle the crisis. In 1976, the Argentine military established a small presence on the British dependency of South Thule. When the British discovered this a year later and requested an explanation, the Argentine government claimed that it was a scientific mission. Argentine naval presence in the region increased, and in September/October of 1977, the Argentine Navy arrested seven Soviet and two Bulgarian fishing vessels in waters off the Falkland Islands (Dillon

1989, 13-15). Although these forays disposed the British toward believing the Argentines may use force to settle the dispute, a full invasion of the Falkland Islands was never countenanced. The British concluded instead that a military invasion might involve one of the uninhabited South George or South Thule islands (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 18).

Even if a full military invasion was envisaged, the British, both privately and publicly, were inured to their helplessness. One government analysis in 1981 concluded that the necessary measures to deter invasion would be "very expensive and would engage a significant portion of the country's naval resources . . . its dispatch could precipitate the very action it was intended to deter" (Falkland Islands Review 1983, 108). By 1982, the situation looked grim. While there was little movement on the diplomatic front due to absence of will on the part of the British government as well as the power of the Falklands supporters within the House of Commons, there was an increasingly beleaguered feeling on the part of the Falkland Islanders themselves. The military position of the British became even more precarious due to the withdrawal of the *HMS Endurance* at the end of her 1981-1982 deployment (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 19).

The immediate crisis was precipitated in March with the British discovery of an Argentine landing party on the British protectorate of South Georgia (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 48). The British demanded evacuation, an impossibility for the Argentine government as "publicly backing down to British demands would have further harmed the Junta's already shaky popular standing" (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 62). Furthermore, the Junta believed that Britain's insistence on the

removal of the Argentine presence on South Georgia island was posturing, the result of the influence of the hardline Falklands Lobby, and that, through increasing pressure on the British, it would be able to exact concessions, as the British, it seemed, lacked the will to defend the islands from a military invasion. April 2nd, 1982, Argentine forces invaded the Falkland Islands, and the small contingent of British troops stationed there surrendered within a couple of days. The British reinvaded the Falkland Islands on May 26th of the same year, and by June 14th, the Argentines surrendered.

British Decline and the Ramifications for Identity

Legitimations of British foreign policy during the Suez Crisis cannot be understood absent a brief reference to the state of British identity following the Suez Crisis. Following the Suez Crisis, the specter of becoming a second-rate power increasingly haunted the British political elite. This was due in no small part to the process of rapid decolonization that proceeded from 1956 into the middle of the 1970s, along with the diminution in British political power, economic power, and prestige that this presaged. Although felt more acutely in the Conservative Party (both because the political Left in Britain escaped culpability for the Suez Crisis in addition to laying claim to a history of anti-colonialism stretching back to the early 20th century), this sentiment permeated much of the political elite on both sides of the aisle. Louis remarks, “Though the British might take some comfort in sharing the brunt of anti-colonialism with the United States as well as the European colonial powers, there could be no doubt that they felt increasingly embattled” (Louis 1999, 331). This resulted in a perpetual anxiety on the part of the British as to what would become of them after Empire. Sir Charles Johnston, Governor of Aden, broached the possibility that the UK would become “a sort of poor man’s Sweden” (quoted in Louis 1999, 343). Eden himself worried that “[the

British] have lost confidence in our ability to deal with situations" and "the loss of confidence is a very odd thing – it is something which has happened inside ourselves, and nears no particular relation to the facts as observed in the field" (Prime Minister's Office 1956).

Many in the government constructed this decline not only in political terms, but in moral terms as well. British "ability to pose as a champion of international morality" was "significantly diminished" (Sanders 1990, 102). The idea of British exceptionalism, not only its ability to project power, but the confidence to project that power autonomously was significantly diminished by a lack of moral certitude. Indeed, as sentiments concerning the morality of colonialism changed, Britain was deemed deeply implicated in this outmoded institution. This was not simply a reaction to British colonial power, but a revolution in thought, a rejection of the unequal relationships (culturally, economically, and socially) that emerged from colonialism. Sir Robert Scott described this anti-colonial sentiment in 1959: "It is a frame of mind, resentment at patronage, resentment at fancied Western assumptions of superiority, whether in social status or culture, reaction to the Western impact . . . in the past centuries" (Foreign Office 1959).

This loss of moral standing was implicated in the denouement of British colonial power, as Sir Hilton Poynton of the Colonial Office reflected, in 1960, that this shift in world opinion meant that, "We have entered a period in which the international climate . . . has changed and has become a more decisive factor in [colonial] problems" (Colonial Office 1960). In short, between 1956 and 1982, changing norms regarding the role of colonizing powers vis-à-vis their colonies, in addition to the actual process of decolonization, resulted in a perception of British decline. This is important because the

identities constructed in the dominant narrative will cast themselves partially in opposition to this perception. What follows is a brief outline of the policy options and how, within the dominant narrative, identities were deployed to legitimate military intervention while delegitimating non-violent resolutions.

Policy Options

On March 31st, a report from London was delivered to the Governor of the Falkland Islands, Rex Hunt, concerning the presence of an Argentine submarine off the coast. It was expected that this was little more than a provocation on the part of the Argentines (Eddy 1982, 81). Instead, Argentine forces invaded the islands early the next morning, and by April 2nd the British governor was evicted from the islands, and the Argentines declared the Falklands/Malvinas its sovereign territory. Aware of the imminent conquest of the islands by Argentine forces, the Thatcher Cabinet's Defense Committee met on April 1st to discuss possible options. Initially, a diplomatic solution was proffered, but with the continuing deterioration of the British position, it was decided late in the evening of April 2nd that a taskforce would set sail for the islands (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 124). This did not necessarily mean that war was imminent, as many in the British Government felt the presence of the taskforce would be enough to force a suitable settlement. As a result, preparations for a military option were made concurrent with a decision to pursue a diplomatic end to the crisis through mediation. The first natural forum for this matter was the UNSC, within which the British actively lobbied for a resolution condemning the Argentine invasion, which was passed on April 2nd. UNSC Resolution 502/1982 called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and immediate withdrawal of Argentine forces from the Falkland/Malvinas (Eddy 1982, 110-11). The British used this resolution as well as the right of self-defense preserved in

Article 51 of the UN Charter as the legal justification for the use of force. The matter was discussed in an emergency session in the House of Commons on April 2nd, and April 3rd, during which Margaret Thatcher informed the House of Commons of the decision of the Cabinet.

Why was legitimation of the military option necessary? How was it not the obvious course of action? In terms of military importance, the Falkland Islands had little appeal other than as a remote naval outpost or refueling station. Yet, given that the British had never possessed much in the way of military influence in the region (nor did they aspire to) forceful action in defense of this outpost seems a difficult decision to legitimate. Some argue that there were clear military interests, and therefore, the British decision to go to war over these islands was obvious. Beck (1985) argues that these islands did indeed have a limited strategic importance to the British navy. Moreover, Gibran argues that "the Falklands geographic propinquity to Antarctica [served] to bolster British claims to part of that vast continent. They are seen as providing an essential base for Britain's Antarctic role" (Gibran 1997, 101).

Yet, the importance of these islands to the British should not be overstated. First, the British were in retreat in this region, as evidenced by the withdrawal of the *HMS Endurance* from the area. By the 1970s, the British recognized the inevitability of relinquishment of sovereignty over the Falklands, as evidenced by attempts to closely moor the Falkland Islanders to the Argentine mainland through the Communications Agreement of 1971. Second, the British had few, if any, national strategic interests in the area. Insofar as they did, they involved economic and legal rights that would be won, not through military force, but through diplomatic and legal posturing. Thus, the

necessity for an “unsinkable aircraft carrier” was negligible. Finally, while there is some indication that rights to Antarctic exploration played a part, the overwhelming majority of statements made in the House of Commons regarding the conflict made little mention of either this, or the geopolitical-strategic importance of the Falkland Islands.[3]

Moreover, there seems to be little if any indication that the British thought it was in their interest to maintain these islands for economic reasons. After all, as argued in the 1976 Shackleton Report, the islands were in severe economic decline, and in fact, more of a liability to the British than an asset. In many circles, the retention of these islands was considered “dangerous and embarrassing to us” and the territories “were of no national advantage” (House of Commons: The Falklands Campaign 1982, 54-55; hereafter Hansard).[4] There were little, if any resources, on the island, save for grazing land.

Finally, domestic explanations may point to the decisive role played by the so-called Falklands Lobby in stonewalling action in the run-up to the Falklands War. This may in fact precipitated the British policy of diplomatic stalling that pushed the Argentine military regime to invade. Indeed, it is also true that the Falklands Lobby was insistent upon the rights of the Falkland Islanders’ “wishes” to be taken into account during any negotiations. Thus, one may argue that the “principles” for which the Thatcher regime went to war were simply the narrow interests of a few well-positioned politicians. There are two shortcomings to this argument. While a relatively small Falklands Lobby was

[3] Robin Edmonds, head of the Latin American desk in the Foreign Office, discusses the Antarctic claim in Charlton 1989, 10-12; there only seems to be one mention of the strategic importance of the islands from what may be considered a realist perspective by MP W.R. Rees-Davies, Conservative, Thanet West (House of Commons: The Falklands Campaign 1982, 261; hereafter Hansard).

[4] Frank Hooley, Labour, Sheffield Heely.

certainly powerful enough to stonewall minor agreements which received little public attention, it is questionable whether or not the power of the Falklands Lobby was such that it would have been able to drag an entire country to war in defense of 1,800 individuals absent some kind of ideational attachment to them. If one chooses to argue that this ideational attachment was instrumental, then one must question exactly what that ideational attachment was. As I have attempted to show, the ideational attachment was ineluctably moored to a conception of Falkland Islanders identity *qua* British citizens. Moreover, towards the end of the conflict, it seems that the causal arrow shifts, and rather than the Falkland Lobby using political pressure in order to sway the government, in fact what is happening is the Government using the issue of Falklanders' Identity to justify the war, as Gibran argues, it may not be true that the British went to war for principles, but "these principles gave legitimacy to the British diplomatic and military efforts" (Gibran 1997, 116).

The possible policy options that were considered fall into three categories: first, non-action, or essentially allowing the shift from the status-quo ante; second, diplomatic solutions, a number of which were floated, and third, the military option, meaning an all-out invasion of the island.

Identities

Prior to and during the Falklands Crisis, the dominant narrative constructed the British and the Falklanders in radical opposition to the Argentine government. Similar to the Suez Crisis, constructions of identity focused on a number of characteristics. Yet, in contrast to the Suez Crisis, the government and its allies proffered a number of additional identities in order to legitimate military intervention during the run-up to the reinvasion of the islands. In addition to the partial Other in the form of the Argentine

people (which played a relatively minor role in this crisis), the dominant narrative constructed the Falkland Islanders themselves as a former, purer form of British identity. To be clear, in this case, the term partial Other mischaracterizes the relationship between the British and the Falklanders. The government and its allies constructed the Falklanders as paragons of seminal British values argued to be in decline subsequent to British political failures subsequent to the 1956 Suez Crisis. In order to rectify this, the government and its allies purveyed the military option as both a means to rescue the Falkland Islanders, as constructions of purer, romanticized British subjects, rescue Britain's flagging honor and arrest its decline towards becoming a second-rate power. What follows is a brief description of the parameters along which British, Argentine, and Falkland identities were constructed. In accordance with the grounded theory method, the categories I adopt may not be symmetrical or indeed as parsimonious as one may like. Yet, throughout the course of analysis, and in accordance with grounded method, I err on the side of empirical accuracy at the cost of parsimony.

To begin, the dominant narrative constructed the British, as well as British action during the crisis, as reasonable and measured. This was reflected in how the dominant narrative constructed British diplomatic action preceding the crisis. The government and its allies argued "[we are exerting] ourselves in every way that we can think of to achieve a peaceful settlement" (Parliamentary Debates 1982b, 1053; hereafter Hansard). The government and its allies continued, claiming "We have worked, and will continue to work, positively and constructively for a peaceful solution" (Hansard 1982c, 395). Secretary of State, Francis Pym, implied the British actions have made this clearly obvious to the Argentines (Hansard 1982b, 1053). The dominant narrative characterized

continuing British negotiations regarding the status of the Falklands as proceeding in good faith, with the possibility of reconciliation between the Falkland Islands and the Argentines, providing this accorded with the wishes of the Falkland Islanders themselves. The dominant narrative constructed Britain as continuing to desire peace through a reasonable settlement, and argued the British have exhibited "reasonable flexibility" on their part in seeking this goal.

Argentina, on the other hand, was constructed in radical opposition to this. Whereas Britain's efforts were "reasonable" and "flexible", the government and its allies argued that "Argentine intransigence" is the main obstacle to the achievement of a peaceful solution. While the British are open to "reasonable suggestions and ideas" the "Argentine junta [is not] working in a similar spirit" (Hansard 1982b, 1058; Hansard 1982c, 395).[5] Contrary to the British, the Argentines are "howling" and "hysterical" and that the Argentine government's "Latin temperament," overly-emotional and unreasonable, was to blame for the conflict (Hansard 1982, 257). This so-called Latino nature was the reason their armed forces would not patiently wait for negotiations, and instead chose to invade (Charlton 1989, 36). Those supporting the dominant narrative argued that radical (and thus unpredictable) politics was inherent to the Argentine political system, the function of a legacy of Peronism in that region (Hansard 1982, 174, 243). Most immediately, directly preceding the conflict there was a "good deal of bellicose comment in the Argentine press" which was "not . . . an uncommon situation in Argentina in the years" (Hansard 1982a, 634).[6] Thus, according to Prime Minister

[5] Both quotes by Francis Pym, Secretary of State.

[6] Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister.

Margaret Thatcher, the inability to reach a suitable agreement falls at the feet of the Argentines rather than the British (Hansard 1982b, 611).

Similarly, the government and its allies constructed the British as trustworthy in opposition to the Argentine government as untrustworthy. The dominant narrative constructs Britain as having a moral responsibility towards the Falklanders. David Ennals (Labour, Norwich North) argued this "the trust that the islanders placed in us was never betrayed" and should not be so now (Hansard 1982a, 1026). Eric Ogden (Labour, Liverpool West Derby) continues that not protecting them from invasion in the first place constituted a betrayal, and "If we do any less [than guarantee their protection now] we shall have betrayed them a second time" (Hansard 1982a, 1023). Thatcher underlined this sentiment, asserting the "Government must now prove by deeds . . . that they are not responsible for the betrayal [of the Falklanders] and cannot be faced with that charge" (Hansard 1982a, 641).[7] The dominant narrative constructed the British government as responsible and trustworthy, in international affairs writ large, but to its constituents in the Falklands in particular.

This is contrasted with the duplicitous Argentines, about whom Thatcher and her allies commented in her initial speech to the House of Commons. In regards to a prior, smaller scale invasion of an uninhabited island in the Falklands, "the Argentine Government . . . claimed to have no prior knowledge of the landing and assured us that there were no Argentine military personnel in the party" (Hansard 1982a, 635).[8] Anthony Kershaw (Conservative, Stroud) commented that any peaceful resolution of the crisis

[7] Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister.

[8] Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister.

involves the Argentines “behaving in a civilized way” but it would be a mistake “trusting the Nazi ruffians who have recently come to power in the Argentine . . . the present-day Government of Argentina cannot be trusted to behave in a civilized way” (Hansard 1982a, 989). John Eden (Conservative, Bournemouth East) concurred, stating:

> In all the discussions that have taken place so far, and in the Argentines' actions over the past weeks, it seems clear that it is not possible to trust the word of the junta. In those circumstances, I should be very cautious about accepting any verbal commitment to withdraw its forces in certain circumstances (Hansard 1982b, 1028).

This untrustworthiness was revealed by the Argentine government’s treatment of its own citizens. Bernard Braine (Conservative, Essex Southeast) commented that he spent “the past few years in fruitless negotiations with the Argentine ambassador about women and mothers of young children who have been picked up by the secret police and who have been spirited away.” He continues, “They are now among the disappeared ones . . . they have never been brought to trial . . . They were seized simply because they were related to people who stood in the way of Argentina’s Fascist governors” (Hansard 1982a, 659). Through this, it’s clear that the dominant narrative constructed the British as reasonable negotiators, acting in good faith, constructed vis-à-vis the untrustworthy Argentines who, due to the nature of their government (both internally and externally), could not be trusted to administer the Falklands nor comply with any future agreement.

Relatedly, the dominant narrative constructed British aims in the region as altruistic and universalist. The government and its allies constructed the British not as a strategic player, but rather, acting in accordance with a form of international order and universal morality. The dominant narrative constructed the Argentines as radical Others, adopting an immoral position corrosive to international order and international law.

According to the dominant narrative, any British action would remain "on the soundest moral ground" in which important allies, as well as influential international organizations, would concur (Hansard 1982a, 1165).[9] The potential responses to the Argentine invasion were constructed not in political terms, but rather in terms of moral duty, both to the Falklanders and to the cause of international morality, order and democracy. Michael Foot (Labour, Plymouth Devonport) argued, "We have a moral duty, a political duty, and every other kind of duty to ensure that [freedom for the Falklanders] is sustained" (Hansard 1982, 8).

According to the dominant narrative, the Argentine occupation of the islands, was not a political move or a failure of negotiations, but rather a clearly "immoral act" (Hansard 1982a, 1028).[10] Francis Pym (Conservative, Secretary of State) constructed the invasion as the product of "unprincipled opportunism of a morally bankrupt regime" rather than a legitimate political grievance (Hansard 1982a, 959). David Ennals (Labour, Norwich North) further accused the Argentines of holding the Falkland Islanders ransom to their demands, stating "I would not put it past the Argentine junta to use the islanders in any way that suits their own immoral interests" (Hansard 1982a, 1027). Thus, while the British are constructed as moral, the Argentines are constructed as immoral, and untrustworthy, thus making it a political imperative to remove the islands from their control.

Politically, the dominant narrative constructed Britain in opposition to the Argentine government, but also, in relation to the Falkland Islanders themselves.

[9] A.E.P. Duffy, Labour, Sheffield Attercliffe.

[10] David Ennals, Labour, Norwich North.

Whereas the Argentine government embodied negative characteristics (it was undemocratic, lacking civil liberties, mistreating its people) the Falklanders were constructed not only as British, but as a romanticized form of British, embodying the purest form of democracy, self-reliance, and liberal principles. While the British were constructed as the defenders and upholders of international order, the Argentines were constructed in opposition to this. Purveyors of the dominant narrative relied on analogies to past dictators and imbued the Argentine government with the characteristics these linkages implied. The invasion of the Falklands represented territorial aggrandizement of the worst kind, and deeply threatened the prevailing international order.

The government and its allies constructed British identity during the crisis through its deep attachment to foundational liberal principles, such as the international rule of law, freedoms inherent to the British political system (and by extension, the British way of life) and finally, a perceived duty to uphold these. The British identity is constructed in opposition to a radical Other, lacking the fundamental domestic political structures commensurate with "civilized" government. The government and its allies constructed Britain as a "democratic group of people" who prize due process, political freedom, and other liberal qualities.[11] The British system allows for an "interplay of opinions and ideas" Indeed, the possibility of legitimate political action on the part of Argentina is denied, as they lack an "elected legislature" and denial of basic political rights to their citizens, and were in fact ruled by "rebel generals" (Hansard 1982a, 1022).[12]

[11] S.C. Silkin, Labour, Dulwich.

[12] Michael English, Conservative, Nottingham West

Yet, importantly, the dominant narrative does not concentrate fully on construction of the British, but rather Falkland Islanders. The dominant narrative constructs the Falklanders as paragons of uniquely British principles. Not only were they deemed to be part of the British Self, they embodied the essential virtues that made Britain great. Margaret Thatcher, on the occasion of her first speech to the House of Commons after the Argentine invasion explained:

> The people of the Falkland Islands, like the people of the United Kingdom, are an island race. Their way of life is British; their allegiance is to the crown. They are few in number but they have the right to live in peace, to choose their own way of life (Thatcher 1997, 157).

Edward Rollins (Labour, Merthyr Tydfil) echoes this sentiment, arguing the Prime Minister "fell far short of her support for the Falklanders on this the occasion." He continues, "If the right hon. Lady meets the islanders, which I hope she will do—and I hope that we shall succeed in freeing them—she will find that they are passionate believers in parliamentary democracy" (Hansard 1982a, 649). The dominant narrative constructed the Falkland Islands as "British land, occupied by British people who speak only our language" having "been annexed by force by a ruthless dictator [exhibiting] naked aggression" who was "aggressive "and "unpredictable" (Hansard 1982, 118).[13]

Moreover, historically, the dominant narrative assured that the British have always taken the interests of the Falklanders into consideration, and have been "governing, administering, and having a British presence on the islands for the people there" having always "taken full account of their views" (Hansard 1982, 191). The Falklanders were constructed as the exemplar of British values, a "remarkable, independent people" (Hansard 1982, 40). Alan Clark (Conservative, Plymouth Sutton)

[13] Frederick Burden, Conservative, Gillingham. See also Hansard 1982, 168.

claimed the Falklanders are “Our own family. They are our own family with an absolute right to their homesteads and their land . . . These people inhabit an area of tremendous riches and potential for future generations of our own people” (Hansard 1982, 63). Thus, it fell to the British to “support, respect, sympathize with, comfort and do everything else that we can for our fellow British citizens of the Falkland Islands” (Hansard 1982a, 1041).[14]

Finally, the dominant narrative constructed defense of the principles embodied by the Falklanders as in the interest of universal law and order. Sam Silkin (Labour, Dulwich) argues, “as a nation that subscribes to international law, we are the representative of the international community” (Hansard 1982a, 1014). Francis Pym similarly claims, “What we in Britain must now do, with the support and backing of all freedom-loving countries right across the world, is to see to it that Argentina's illegal and intolerable defiance of the international community and of the rule of law is not allowed to stand” (Hansard 1982a, 963). Similar to their role as defender of international morality, Britain constructed itself as an exceptional power, much like the United States. Francis Pym argued that the “shared ideals of freedom and democracy . . . link [the U.S.] to ours” and it is this position he takes in later debates, that Britain is the exemplary defender of international liberal principles, that will bear considerably on legitimation for the military option in this conflict. The dominant narrative constructed the interests of the entire world (or at least the “freedom loving” portion of it) as siding with the British, as Stanley Newens (Labour, Harlow) averred, “the right of the people in the

[14] John Silkin, Labour, Deptford.

Falklands to self-determination was a basic international principle of importance not only for them but for many other people" (Hansard 1982, 167).

While the Falklanders are constructed in a similar fashion to the British, they represent far more than just territory and people to the British. Given those that argued Britain was in decline, the Falklanders represented a break with this supposedly ineluctable downward spiral. They represented a return to the principles that allowed the British to achieve its former glory. Their independent spirit, inhabiting an "area of tremendous riches" with "absolute right to their homesteads and their land" stands in stark contrast to the belief amongst many within the government of the time that so-called "collectivism" was ruining Britain. Thus, the rescue of the Falklanders from the Argentine regime was construed as more than a political act. It was an act of honor, an act of salvation from the hopeless trajectory that would otherwise continue. Moreover, according to the dominant narrative, this incident allowed the British to reinforce their rightful place as the exemplars of international law and order robbed from them due in part to the Suez Crisis, the embarrassment of the loss of its colonies, and finally its relative decline vis-à-vis other European powers. In order to fully justify this position, the dominant narrative constructed the Argentines in a position of radical Otherness, a lack of response to which would simply confirm these fears.

Whereas politically, the British and the Falklanders are constructed as exemplars of democratic and liberal principles, aligned with the interests of the world, Argentine aims are described in terms of *realpolitik*, implying an outmoded 19th century geopolitical system. First, the government and its allies constructed Argentina as the paradigmatic anti-democratic military junta or dictatorship. Whereas in the British

system, there could be debate as to the legitimate course of action due to their democratic system, in the Argentine system, there was “no debate of this character” because “there is no elected legislature” as they are “under a military dictatorship” (Hansard 1982, 56-57). Second, whereas the dominant narrative constructed British interests as universal, the Argentines are constructed in terms of selfish geopolitical interest absent consideration of domestic government. One MP described Argentina as a “Fascist military junta in the region that . . . has regarded [the Falklands] as its own sphere of influence” (Hansard 1982, 178).[15] The dominant narrative constructs the Argentines as a “Fascist, corrupt and cruel regime” arguing the Falklands have fallen under a “dreadful shadow” (Hansard 1982, 16). Whereas the British prized their civil liberties, the Argentine government is characterized as lacking these basic civil liberties, and engaging in human rights abuses (Hansard 1982a, 659).[16] John Silkin (Labour, Deptford) claimed that General Galtieri, the head of the “Fascist Junta” is “probably the worst of the bunch of its leaders – a man who wears upon his chest the medals that he won in repressing his own people” (Hansard 1982a, 661). He underscored the untrustworthiness of dictators, arguing that it is questionable whether or not the Falklanders will be treated with the rights and liberties to which they are accustomed.

Finally, as in the Suez Crisis, the dominant narrative relied upon comparisons with past dictators in order to place the actions of the Argentines within a meaningful frame of reference. The government and its allies suggested that all dictatorships are predisposed towards territorial aggrandizement. One MP argued that “In December last

[15] Stanley Newens, Labour, Harlow. Newens claims that the British must stand up for the (universal) principle of self-determination.

[16] Bernard Braine, Conservative, Essex Southeast.

year, when this present bargain basement Mussolini, Galtieri, seized power in the Argentine, he never made any pretense about what he intended to do" (Hansard 1982a, 663).[17] John Gilbert (Conservative, Dudley East) charges "Like Adolf Hitler before him, he made it clear from the day that he arrived in office that his principal preoccupation was to regain sovereignty of the Falkland Islands for his country" (Hansard 1982a, 1005). In short, comparisons with former dictators allowed the British to impute a set of characteristics onto the Argentine government.

Finally, the government and its allies constructed the invasion itself as a violation of international law. While the government and its allies claimed that legally "the Falklands is a possession of [the British]," what was at stake was not the legality of the islands themselves, but rather the means by which they were taken. The dominant narrative constructed the move as "an act of aggression in international law" and confirmed "no one has defended the junta or the Government of the Argentine, or has argued anything other than we are faced with an aggressive *fait accompli*" (Hansard 1982a, 991).[18] Thatcher charged that the means by which the islands were invaded had "not a shred of justification and not a scrap of legality" (Hansard 1982a, 633). Soon after the invasion, the UN Security Council condemned the action of the Argentines (as discussed later in the analysis) and argued that hostilities should cease on the part of both parties. Francis Pym (Conservative, Secretary of State) argued that this resolution "represents the expression of world opinion. It is binding in international law" and that

[17] John Silkin, Labour, Deptfort.

[18] Tony Benn, Labour, Bristol Southeast.

"Argentina displayed her contempt for world opinion [and by extent international law]" by refusing to comply" (Hansard 1982a, 961).

According to the dominant narrative, Britain was "representative of the international community in upholding the international rule of law" (Hansard 1982a, 1014).[19] They act in this capacity "in the interests of the whole free world" and "it would be irresponsible for us" not to protect the rule of law in this case. The absence of an international standing force, it fell to the British as exemplars of international law and order to protect it. Keith Best (Conservative, Anglesey) argued that "the lack of enforceability of world law is perhaps the great lacuna in international order" (Hansard 1982c, 1012). Though the government and its allies argued it is regrettable when the British must act unilaterally, it is in fact necessary to do so, lest international order be left to wither on the vine. Thus, while the British were constructed as exemplars and enforcers of international law, the Argentines, by virtue of their invasion, were international criminals who should be treated as such.

In short, the dominant narrative constructed the identities of the British, the Argentine government, and the Falklanders relationally along four axes. First, the government and its allies constructed the British as reasonable political actors, who had negotiated in good faith, while the Argentines were erratic, overly-emotional, and prone to unpredictability. Second, the British were constructed as a moral power, protecting a particular conception of international morality which the "immoral" Argentines were seeking to undermine. Third, the British were constructed as liberal, and democratic, though the Falkland Islanders themselves embodied the highest and purest form of

[19] S.C. Silkin, Labour, Dulwich.

these ideals. The Argentine state was, naturally, opposed to these values, violating human rights, as well the rights of its own people, and thus unable to be trusted. Finally, the British were constructed as upholders of international law and order, and the invasion of the Falklands as a criminal act. This complex of identities would be instrumental in delegitimating non-conflictual options and privileging the military option. We now turn our attention to how these identities legitimating or delegitimated the following options.

Analysis

The Non-action Option

As in the Suez case, seemed a plausible policy option. After all, as previously remarked, many within the British elite viewed Britain as a declining power, and even many British Conservatives argued that Britain must resign itself to a much diminished role in world affairs than it had been accustomed.[20] Additionally, the British made several overtures, and though they had expressed ambivalence, indicated on multiple occasions that they would be willing to cede sovereignty of the Falkland Islands to Argentina contrary to the wishes of the Falklanders themselves.[21] Moreover, the slated withdrawal of the *HMS Endurance* coincided with a more comprehensive military drawdown concluded in June of 1981 (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 10). Many within the British establishment felt the retention of these islands to be troublesome, an embarrassing attachment to its imperial past (Charlton 1989, 7; Hansard 1982, 61). Their defense was quite costly, and given the endemic economic and demographic decline of the islands, it seemed reasonable to shed Britain of this

[20] See Lord Stewart's quotes in Charlton 1989, 15.

[21] See Henry Hankey's comments in Charlton 1989, 32.

responsibility. Finally, the lopsided victory that would eventually be achieved was anything but a foregone conclusion. In fact, most experts deemed Argentine forces to be quite modern, equipped with advanced weapons, including French Super-Etendard aircraft, and surface ships armed with Exocet anti-ship missiles (Freedman and Gamba-Stonehouse 1990, 132-33). Further, it was no easy task to first assemble a naval force, and effectively deploy it at a distance of more than 8,000 miles to confront a modern, well-equipped opponent with support structures only four hundred miles away (Hansard 1982, 14).[22] Given the powerful arguments in favor of simply letting the islands go, how did the dominant narrative render the non-action option illegitimate?

First, the government and its allies argued that, despite the diminished military and economic value of the islands, something more important was at stake---the Falklanders themselves. Recall that the dominant narrative argued that the Falklanders were of British culture and descent. Therefore, they embodied British principles of liberty and democracy. The dominant narrative argued that, given the ways in which dictatorial regimes regularly flout the human rights of their own subjects, they could not be trusted to treat the Falklanders any differently. John Silkin (Labour, Deptfort) argued, “When [General Galtieri] says to us that he will respect the rights and property and, above all, the lives and freedom of our people, we have a right to wonder whether that is true in view of what he does to his own people” (Hansard 1982a, 661). Indeed, the government and its allies used the fact that the character of the regime bore heavily upon the minds of those in the Commons to great effect. As one MP put it, in response to the claim at a British invasion would cost lives, “The lives of the Falkland Islanders

[22] Raymond Whitney, Conservative, Wycombe.

are already at stake because they are under the rule of a military dictatorship. It is as simple as that" (Hansard 1982, 56-7).[23]

As discussed earlier, the Falklanders represented a perfected version of British identity, which not only embodied the principles the British were said to be fighting for, but in fact represented a romanticized version of what British Identity was *supposed* to be. Inaction in the face of this reality represented a shirking of British responsibility, and a denial of and betrayal of their "true" identity. Michael Foot (Labour, Ebbw Vale) argued that, merely by allowing the invasion, the Falklanders had been betrayed (Hansard 1982a, 641). Eric Ogden (Labour, Liverpool West Derby) made clear that the conflict was not about geopolitical interests, and therefore, inaction was inappropriate. Arguing against a proposal to pay the Falklanders to leave, he argued, "The souls and the sovereignty of the Falkland Islanders are not for sale" (Hansard 1982a, 1011).

Interestingly, those espousing the dominant narrative employed the Falklanders identity as a means to unite all the nationalities within the British Empire, as Bernard Braine (Conservative, South East Essex) argued, "the very thought that our people, 1,800 people of British blood and bone, could be left in the hands of such criminals is enough to make any normal Englishman's blood – and the blood of Scotsmen and Welshmen – boil, too." He continued that, to abandon them would act as an affront to the sensibilities of all British subjects, remarking, "I expect action from the Government; and I hope we shall get it" (Hansard 1982, 16). The Falklanders were "part of our [British] family" and therefore, non-action would represent a betrayal, not only of the Falklanders, but of British identity itself. Michael Ancram (Conservative, Edinburgh

[23] Michael English, Labour, Nottingham West.

south) asked, “if that was my family, would I stand back from using whatever means were necessary to try to protect them? I came to the conclusion that I would not. Those people are our family. We should take that view” (Hansard 1982a, 1026).

Thus, the argument against non-action was not legitimated not with reference geopolitical realities, nor economic consideration, but rather, by reference to a construction of British and Falklands identity. The dominant narrative argued that the identity of the free Falklanders, combined with the identity of the repressive Argentines (as evidenced by how they treat their own people) would contradict the British identity as a moral power responsible to their own “flesh and blood’. Non-action represented betrayal (an immoral act), not only of the Falklanders, but the British themselves. The Falklanders were constructed not as political subjects, but as family, fellow countrymen, and therefore, political considerations were eschewed in favor of an appeal to identity. The government and its allies, through the dominant narrative, took full advantage of this rhetorical appeal, and delegitimated inaction as a betrayal of Britain itself.

Second, inaction was delegitimated due to its incommensurability with Britain’s identity as the upholder of international order and international values. As in the Suez Crisis, British “civilized” values were universalized, as British interests were constructed as altruistic, reflecting the interests of the entire world. As Francis Pym, the British Secretary of State, declared that the crisis was not just of interest to Britain, but is “of the utmost importance to all freedom-loving countries all round the world” (Hansard 1982, 106). Inaction would represent an affront, not only to the principles of international order, but the institutions that purvey these principles. S.C. Silkin (Labour, Dulwich” argued “in upholding the international rule of law as declared by the Security Council

[we should expect] the material support of peaceful nations throughout the world" (Hansard 1982a, 1014). The dominant narrative assured that, if swift action would meet with the support of the free world, inaction would be to skirt its responsibilities in upholding international law and international order.

In contrast to the Suez Crisis, the British constructed themselves not as responsible colonizers, but rather, argued the Argentines were colonizers. This juxtaposition is elucidated by Winston Churchill Jr. (Conservative, Stretford) who argued that the British themselves, as the post-Colonial power, were seeking to rescue the Falklanders from the barbarism which the Argentines were intent on imposing as a form of neo-colonialism on the islands. According to Churchill, The Argentines sought to "ride roughshod over the wishes and liberties of the Falkland Islanders" (Hansard 1982, 120). In a reversal from 1956, the British now constructed themselves as a post-colonial power. Whereas in 1956, they embodied "responsible colonialism" vis-à-vis nationalistic powers that would rob subject peoples of their rights and liberties, they now argued that it was these very dictatorial, nationalistic regimes that represented the new colonial powers.

The dominant narrative, though adopting the rhetoric of responsibility towards the Falklanders, as well as maintaining international order, linked the two. The government and its supporters argued the interests of the Falklanders (though culturally linked to the British) were inseparable from the free peoples of the world. Francis Pym charged British had a duty, not only to the Falklanders, but "to uphold the freedom of peoples, to defend the liberty of peoples" that are oppressed (Hansard 1982, 121). Thus, to do nothing would be, as one MP claimed, a sellout: not just of British values and ideas, but

of the Falkland Islanders themselves. Inaction would be tantamount to a repetition of the so-called “mistakes of 1938” and act to appease an aggressive enemy (Hansard 1982, 61).[24] The dominant narrative charged that, to do this would in effect open violate a norm which would allow other would-be aggressors to act, thus multiplying Britain’s misfortune. As in 1956, the dominant narrative constructed a crude dichotomy---either democracy or despotism would win the day. Michael English (Labour, Nottingham West) put it most succinctly:

> As honest representatives of that world . . . Can we not stand up and defend democracy? May we not say that we are defending democracy and law? We are defending civilization against barbarians as our ancestors did centuries ago elsewhere (Hansard 1982, 56-7).

In short, the inaction option was rendered illegitimate due to anchoring of a number of identities within the dominant narrative. Indeed, the government and its allies constructed British identity as embodying a moral duty to uphold international law and order. What made this concern more pervasive was the construction of the Falklanders’ identity as the embodiment of a pure form of romanticized British political ideals. Yet, this alone was not enough to render inaction illegitimate. The particular character of the Argentine government militated against the British allowing the Falklanders to remain under the control of a regime that denied human rights, a fact evidenced by the Argentine government’s treatment of its own people. Additionally, inaction would give the impression, both to the Argentines, British allies, and other would-be aggressors that Britain was too weak to respond to geopolitical challenges. Thus, inaction contradicted the identity of the British as a strong moral power, and upholder of international order. Yet, if action was indeed necessary, did these constructions legitimate a diplomatic

[24] Eric Ogden, Social Democrat, Liverpool West Derby.

solution? The following section focuses on the dominant narrative's delegitimation of continued negotiation or any diplomatic options.

The Diplomatic Options

I refer to the next set of possibilities broadly as the diplomatic options. Throughout the crisis, there were a number of attempts at a diplomatic solution, mostly through third party mediation. I will focus on the three most notable ones.[25] There are, unfortunately, are a number of issues that complicate this analysis as it relates to legitimation of these options. First, diplomatic efforts were ongoing subsequent to British military actions, the first of which commenced April 25th. These efforts are best understood as placing pressure on the Argentines prior to the reinvasion of the main Falkland Islands, which does not take place until the British fully removed any purely diplomatic option from consideration and invade the mainland of the Falklands. Second, as mediation was taking place, proposals were continuously updated, and though it is difficult to identify a single essence in each of them, they not only shared a number of elements, but more importantly, the reason for their rejection on the part of the British stayed relatively consistent throughout. Thus, I will not focus so much on the details of any one proposal as, what is more important, are the arguments as related how identity narratives delegitimated policy options of this type.

First, US Secretary of State Alexander Haig attempted mediation from mid to late April, 1982. The basic points included a demilitarization of the islands, followed by some form of interim third-party administration, an agreement to submit the outcome of the

[25] I do not include reference to international courts as a policy option in my analysis for two reasons. First, this option was not widely considered due to the relative exigency of the situation and second, to address this option would necessitate addressing the multiple legal arguments given by both the Argentines and the British, a task well beyond the scope of this project.

sovereignty of the islands to negotiation, and finally, a commitment to take the "wishes and will of the islanders" into consideration.[26] This option failed as the two sides could not reach agreement over the terms. The British insisted upon an Argentine withdrawal from the islands prior to negotiations, inclusion of the "wishes" of the islanders regarding the question of sovereignty, an open-ended period for negotiations, as well as language that would not prejudice the outcome of negotiations towards the Argentine side. The Argentines, for their part, desired quick negotiations, a recognition on the part of the British that the Falklands was to eventually become Argentine sovereign territory, and refused to withdraw their troops prior to an agreement being reached. Haig's attempts at mediation were the longest lasting, and served as the model for subsequent attempts.

The second attempt, spearheaded by Peruvian president Fernando Belaunde, took place in early May, was more-or-less a refined version of the Haig mediations. Though the proposals themselves had not changed, the strategic field had, as sinking of the Argentine warship *Belgrano* by British forces was interpreted as a disproportionately hostile attack (Freedman 1988, 54). As a result of this compromised diplomatic position, the British accepted a version of the Peruvian proposals "which reaffirmed the importance of the wishes of the islanders" but conceded to the Argentines "an interim administration made up of a small group of countries excluding Britain." The Argentines, on the other hand, did not accept this proposal, and the proposal was summarily taken off the table by the British. Finally, UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar put forth a proposal that "envisaged a temporary UN Administration for the islands and negotiations

[26] In order for the outcome of sovereignty to be decided by negotiation, the words "interests" and "rights" were put in place of the "wishes" of the islanders, the latter of which would provide them with some legal standing, such that they would have a stake in the sovereignty or autonomy of the islands, either by plebiscite or legislative process. Inclusion of the term "wishes" would have effectively given the islanders veto power over sovereignty negotiations, and thus, inclusion of the lesser terms was warranted.

for a final settlement to be carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General." However, the two powers were unable to reach a deal, as Britain was unwilling to concede to the Argentine demands that negotiations adhere to a time limit (Freedman 1988, 56).

In the end, an agreement suitable to both parties was not reached. Though each of the proposals was a variation on a theme, there were two fundamental impediments as far as the Thatcher Government was concerned. First, there was the inability of any of these proposals to "deal with certain critical points: in particular the arrangements for Argentine withdrawal," which the British required as a prelude to any agreement. Second, the British would not agree in advance to a set "framework for negotiations on the long-term solution to the dispute," which in effect was the Argentine insistence on a time-limit for negotiations (Hansard 1982, 115).[27] To be clear, the British would not accept any timeframe placed on negotiations, nor, would it consider seriously an agreement prior to a full Argentine withdrawal.

The question is not why this is so, but instead how constructions of British identity legitimated a decision to opt out of these agreements. There were many circumstances that militated against a military option and legitimated a diplomatic one. First, it was clear that casualties were a concern for both the British public as well as those inside the government; and as previously mentioned, whether or not the British could even achieve such a massive undertaking as an amphibious landing 8,000 miles away from their homeland was still an open question.[28] This reticence was compounded

[27] Francis Pym, Secretary of State.

[28] In public opinion polling done in the U.K. in the beginning of the conflict, a majority of British citizens were against the loss of servicemen's lives in order to recapture the islands, though this changed towards

by the sinking of the *HMS Sheffield* on May 4th, costing the lives of a significant amount of British servicemen. Second, after the sinking of the *Belgrano,* although "international support did not crumble . . . it certainly began to erode" amongst Britain's closest allies.[29] Moreover, questions abounded within the British government as to the true motive behind the sinking of the *Belgrano,* some MPs suggesting that it was designed specifically to expunge any hope of a negotiated settlement and drive Britain to war (Hansard 1982, 197).[30]

Indeed, Britain's identity was inextricably bound to a view of itself as the exemplar of a state that complies with international law. Similarly, the British constructed their efforts vis-à-vis the Falklands as not defense of strategic interests, but rather in defense of principles constitutive to a certain idea of international politics that defined "the West," such as international law, and political and civil rights. Thus, it seems that, subsequent to the sinking of the *Belgrano*, as well as the sinking of the *Sheffield*, that the time may have been propitious for a diplomatic solution. What militated against legitimating such a solution?

First, the dominant narrative asserted deals with non-democratic countries were morally corrupt. Those supporting the dominant narrative asserted that, in dealing with dictatorial regimes, no concessions could be made. This is contingent upon the construction of Argentina as a non-democratic country. Bernard Braine (Conservative,

---

the end. There was always a clear majority of those polled against recapturing the islands if it meant sacrificing Falkland Islanders lives. See Freedman 1988, 98-9; Hansard 1982, 17; Hansard 1982, 32; Hansard 1982, 54.

[29] The Irish government condemned the British for their actions and there were "clear expressions of concern from Germany and Denmark" as well as Italy, which had strong cultural ties with Argentina. Freedman 1988, 55.

[30] John Gilbert, Labour, Dudley East. See also Hansard 1982, 192.

Essex Southeast) argued against a diplomatic solution, contending “We are dealing here not with a democratic country that has some claim to the Falkland Islands—with which the matter could be thrashed out in a civilised way—but with a Fascist, corrupt and cruel regime” (Hansard 1982a, 660). Thus, diplomatic solutions were the province of “civilized” countries who espoused “civilized” and “democratic” ideals. Non-democratic countries could not be dealt with in a fashion similar to democratic countries. Why was this so?

First, Argentine identity, in conjunction with a British identity duty-bound to uphold international law, morality and order disallowed any negotiated settlement. The British Arthur Palmer (Labour, Bristol Northeast) contended, “The regime in Argentina is also an evil regime. We all want peace and hope that we are going to obtain it but a diplomatic settlement which bound a free people to a squalid military dictatorship would not have the support of this house” (Hansard 1982c, 988). John Gilbert (Labour, Dudley East) contrasted negotiations with the despised Argentines with that of the newly-democratic Spain, claiming “With regard to Gibraltar, we are dealing with a civilized Government who are about to enter the Common Market and NATO, not with a bunch of Fascist gangsters” (Hansard 1982a, 1007). Thus, while disagreements with “civilized” states could be decided diplomatically, there could be no successful negotiations with fascist or morally corrupt states such as Argentina.

Similarly, the government and its allies argued that the Argentine regime, as all dictatorial regimes, was untrustworthy and prone to negotiating in bad faith. Thus, even if there were to be a diplomatic initiative on terms palatable to the British, many inside the House of Commons questioned whether it should be considered. Michael Foot

(Labour, Plymouth Devonport) questioned whether or not commitments from the Argentines could be trusted, comparing the Argentine government's relationship with the British with that of its own people, claiming "any guarantee from this invading force is utterly worthless . . . as any of the guarantees that are given by this same Argentine junta to its own people" (Hansard 1982, 8). Any ground given to the Argentines in negotiations was suspect from the start, as one MP asked Foreign Secretary Pym, "how there can be any interim arrangement with the Argentine junta," given their prior record (Hansard 1982, 117)?[31]

The Argentine government's unwillingness to relinquish its advantage in negotiation (i.e. its military presence on the islands) was constructed not as an astute bargaining tactic, but as continuing evidence of its bad faith. John Eden (Conservative, Bournemouth West) stated, "British people are still under alien military occupation and the occupying forces have not been withdrawn in accordance with the Security Council resolution [502]" which indicates that "it is not possible to trust the word of the junta" (Hansard 1982, 167). Finally, Bill Aitken, a Scottish Conservative MP, argued "the junta [had] dishonoured his international agreement to uphold the authority of the Pope as mediator [in a dispute with Chile over the Beagle Islands]" questioning, "Against that backdrop what possible confidence can Her Majesty's government have that any agreement that is signed by the Argentine junta is worth the paper that it is written on" (Hansard 1982, 123)? Thus, the dominant narrative's construction of British as upholders of international law and order, in conjunction with the Argentine dictatorship's untrustworthiness resulted in the argument that diplomacy or negotiations were

[31] Nicholas Winterton, Conservative, Macclesfield.

illegitimate. The British could not conclude an agreement on moral or pragmatic grounds given the untrustworthiness of the regime. Thus, the diplomatic options conflicted with the dual constructions of Britain as an upholder of international order and morality, and Argentina as a corrupt, immoral, and untrustworthy regime.

Third, the dominant narrative employed the Munich Analogy in order to argue that any form of negotiation allowed the aggressor to stall for time. Diplomatic solutions, if pursued, were tantamount to inaction, as "surely, as the whole history of this century has shown, if one gives way to this sort of desperate, illegal action, things will not get better, but will get worse" (Hansard 1982a, 659).[32] As in the Suez Crisis, many within the British government argued that Argentina was an inherently quick-tempered, vacillating, and aggressive state. The dominant narrative argued that it was characteristic of "undemocratic regimes" to "take illegal action contrary to international law and use violence with which they sustain their internal dictatorships against others" (Hansard 1982, 48-9).[33] The government and its allies redeployed these arguments, only this time they were afforded greater import due to the fact that, as one MP put it, to appease in this case would be to effectively abandon fellow British subjects (Hansard 1982, 61).[34] Denis Healy (Labour, Leeds East), in arguing for the initial dispatch of the taskforce, claimed "we all know from bitter experience that it is impossible to negotiate with a military dictatorship [unless] against a background of strength. A dictator will not concede in negotiation what he can keep by force" and compared the situation to that of 1938, involving a far off country of which little is known (Hansard 1982, 30-1).

[32] Douglas jay, Labour, Battersea North.

[33] John Gilbert, Labour, Dudley East.

[34] Eric Ogden, Social Democrat, Liverpool West Derby.

Moreover, those who suggested a negotiated settlement, especially towards the run-up to the invasion in early May were accused of short-sightedness.[35] Preceding the invasion of the South Georgia islands in late April, one MP went so far as to claim that the "continuing plea for a restriction on the use of force, or some other kind of compromise, can serve only to bring comfort and strength to the junta" (Hansard 1982, 124).[36] These arguments were employed in reaction to calls for a more conciliatory posture on the part of the British.[37] Such calls were discounted as naïve mistakes, playing into the hands of an aggressive, cunning regime, or worse, as betrayal of the British cause.

Such disagreement exemplified in an exchange between Michael Foot and Margaret Thatcher. In a rebuttal to Michael Foot, who suggested that the fleets should be stopped as a show of good faith to allow the Peruvian plan time to succeed, Margaret Thatcher argued "that would be too easy a ploy on the part of the Argentines" (Hansard 1982, 236). Peter Bottomley (Conservative, Woolwich West) asserted, "Negotiations [that] take place while the Argentines are in occupation will . . . be accepting aggression, which will be regretted not only by the Labour Party but by many other countries" (Hansard 1982, 193).

---

[35] Victor Goodhew (Conservative, St. Albans) asked a fellow Conservative MP to "remind the leader of the opposition and those [who argue against a military option when it is absolutely necessary] of the 30 million lives that were lost . . . because the democracies refused to . . . resist the aggressive intentions of one dictatorship" (Hansard 1982, 237).

[36] Stephen Hastings, Conservative, Mid-Bedfordshire.

[37] These included calls to halt the fleet during the month of April in order to leave space for negotiations to succeed, and (especially after the failure of the Peruvian Plan and the Perez de Cuellar mediation) pleas on the part of the opposition to renew British proposals taken off the table in early May back on the table, and finally, calls for a cease-fire prior to the completion of the British invasion in order to allow negotiations to continue.

In short, any compromise that would have made an agreement possible was delegitimated by the dominant narrative's construction of the Argentines. The British, moral exemplars of international law and order, could not be expected to successfully negotiate with an undemocratic, criminal and untrustworthy regime and garner successful results. Any efforts at negotiations were compared to Nazi ploys to delay military action until a time which it would be propitious to them, and thus, diplomacy was tantamount to stalling on the part of the Argentines. In the end, an agreement was not reached, and by May 20th, the Thatcher government had even removed diplomatic options to which the British had previously agreed from the table. Delegitimation of this option accorded with the government's constructions of both British and Argentine identity. Absent these two options (non-action and diplomacy), the military option was the only one remaining. Yet, the government and its allies still had to overcome a number of hurdles in order to justify military intervention in this case.

The Military Option

I must begin this section with the caveat that it is difficult to distinguish between delegitimation of diplomatic options and legitimation of military options. Since the government decided early on that inaction was not a valid option, the question remained whether or not to continue diplomatic negotiations or to engage in military action. Arguments employed against the military option implied a preference for a diplomatic option, and visa-versa. Thus, it is difficult to disentangle the two.

While the British Task Force set sail from the home islands April 5th, military action did not commence until April 25th, when South Georgia, an uninhabited British dependency to the west of the Falkland Islands was recaptured (Falklands War Timeline 2012). Given the relatively bloodless nature of this event, it did not preclude a diplomatic

conclusion to the affair. In fact, the real danger, as perceived by many in the British Government, was the action necessary to take the Falkland Islands themselves. The British landed troops on the Falklands May 21st, and advanced quickly. The main battle of the war took place at Goose Green on May 27th and 28th, and by June 14th, the Argentine forces surrendered. Given the perception that there was a strong possibility of defeat, how was this decision legitimated?

First, those in favor of military action argued that, what was truly being defended was not British sovereignty or national interests, but something more important: principles of western civilization, such as the international rule of law and human rights. According to the government and its allies, Britain had acted in a reasonable fashion, pursuing all options short of war in order to assure a peaceful settlement. These principles were not incidental to the decision, but were central, as they in fact constituted British identity. Thatcher claimed that "there is only one thing that is more important than peace, and that is liberty and justice" (Hansard 1982, 143). Pym, echoing Thatcher, argued that, through negotiations, Britain was "doing everything [it could] to try to achieve a peaceful settlement" but implored his fellow MPs to be "realistic, because in an endeavor to uphold the freedom of peoples, to defend the liberty of peoples, it has at times, sadly, in history been necessary to resort to military means" (Hansard 1982, 120). This was, in and of itself, a sufficient reason for going to war, but it must be included that, in going to war to "uphold the rule of law in international affairs" the British were upholding "an interest which all members of the United Nations must share" (Hansard 1982, 186). The government's reasoning for going to war in defense of principles was commensurate with the British identity as an upholder of international

and morality. The dominant narrative made clear the criminal nature of the Argentine invasion of the Falklands. This not only gave Britain the right, but indeed, the duty to pursue military action.

Moreover, those purveying the dominant narrative argued that to eschew military action would result in the decay of the very international order Britain was duty-bound to uphold. Given this, Pym argued that, in fact "it would be irresponsible for [Britain] not to exercise [a right to self-defense] and thus give a proper response to aggression . . . it is an international interest." He continued, "If we do not stand *par excellence* – which we do – for international law and order, and if other countries with the same interest in parliamentary democracy do not join us . . . the outlook for the world is bleak" (Hansard 1982, 177). Thus, the military option is constructed both as a test for British commitment to its values, and standing up for these values is itself constructed as a part of British identity. Thatcher argued that if Britain is unwilling to stand up to "Argentine aggression" that "many other small countries and territories will go in fear that they may suffer the same fate" (Hansard 1982, 185). David Stoddart (Labour, Swindon) argued:

> If we were to [withdraw our forces] we should be giving encouragement to every potty little dictator throughout the world. If we allow the Argentines to get away with their ill-gotten gains many people will be in danger, as will democracy itself. Democracy and democracies will be regarded as weak-kneed arrangements (Hansard 1982c, 994).

This accords with Britain's identity as a purveyor of universal interests and values, as well as an upholder of international order vis-à-vis Argentina's role as an international criminal.

As a corollary, for British action to be legitimated in accordance with its identity as a defender of international law and order, the government and its allies had to demonstrate that they were, first, well within their rights to self-defense vis-à-vis the UN

Charter, and second, that blame for the entire war lay with Argentina as opposed to Britain. Beyond this, the British legitimated their case for military conflict in moral terms, constructing this decision as maintaining compliance with an ethical principle prior to and apart from its enshrinement in any organization or institution. Indeed, Thatcher repeatedly asserted throughout the Commons proceedings that the British reserved the right, according to Article 51 of the UN Charter, to self-defense of their sovereign territory. Yet, fellow Conservative MP Enoch Powell went further, arguing the right to self-defense is "inherent" and "one which existed before the United Nations was dreamt of" and that further "it is not under that authority that we exercise it: we exercise it as a right which in us" (Hansard 1982, 158).[38]

Moreover, the government repeated a number of times that the fault for British military action, and any casualties, British or Argentine, lay with the Argentine government. In arguing this, the British downplayed years of stalled negotiations, legal claims that favored the Argentine case, the questionable circumstances under which the *Belgrano* was sunk, and insisted that the invasion itself is the only relevant fact. When asked whether the fatalities from the sinking of the *Belgrano* were the Argentine's fault, Thatcher replied, "it was the Argentines who broke the peace with unprovoked aggression . . . we sent the task force to rectify the situation" (Hansard 1982, 182). One must remember that British identity was constructed as law abiding, and given the strong norms against aggression in the international system, it was key that the British maintain that it was an act on the part of the Argentines, as opposed to British stalling on negotiations prior to 1982, that precipitated the conflict. As affirmed by Pym, "any

[38] Enoch Powell, Ulster Unionist, South Down.

suggestion that Britain and Argentina are on the same footing – the victim and the aggressor . . . cannot be right" (Hansard 1982, 178). Most important, blame for Argentine deaths must not be pinned to the British, as "the truth is . . . that the Argentines started this trouble. They invaded the islands, which they had no right to do so. That was the cause of the whole trouble and that is where the blame lies . . . Any casualty suffered in the meantime, on whichever side, is a tragedy" (Hansard 1982, 191).

The government placed blame squarely on Argentina's shoulders. Militarily recapturing the islands was, it was argued, a moral choice, not only in the eyes of Britain, but in the eyes of the world. According to the government and its allies, it was important that the world noticed Britain "occupying the high ground of opinion, judgment, morale and will" (Hansard 1982, 298).[39] Thus, the dominant narrative legitimated the military option according to a British identity that was constituted as moral, just, and in accordance by international law. In order for the military decision to be commensurable with such an identity, the government and its allies argued that Britain and the Falkland Islanders were the victims, that retaking the islands by force was not the logical conclusion to the inability on the part of Britain and Argentina to reach an agreement, but rather, a criminal act the victim of which was Britain and the Falkland Islanders. Indeed, the criminal nature of the regime is repeated a number of times within the debate records (Hansard 1982a, 659; Hansard 1982b, 1014).

Next, the dominant narrative argued that dictators only understand power, and therefore, the military option was the most efficacious in dealing with the Argentine

[39] Ian Lloyd, Conservative, Portsmouth Langstone.

invasion. Maurice MacMillan (Conservative, Farnham) argued, “not only that appeasement does not work, but that in negotiating with despots reasonableness can easily be mistaken for weakness, and even the smallest hint of weakness is dangerous” (Hansard 1982a, 1010). Sir Patrick Wall (Conservative, Haltemprice) lamented that, because dictators only take power differentials into consideration, “we must face up to the fact . . . that force may have to be used” (Hansard 1982a, 975). This indeed accorded with Britain’s identity as a purveyor of international order.

Despite the aforementioned reasons, there is yet a missing element. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, many British elites suffered from a malaise, many believing that Britain was resigned to the status of a second-rate power due to its declining position in the world. Military action helped to arrest this decline, exorcising the spirit of Suez, and, in effect, constructing an identity partly in opposition to this one of decline, yet embodying the same liberal principles upon which it had always relied.

“They sadly misjudged the reaction of a democratic government,” stated Michael McNair-Wilson (Conservative, Newbury), “who have responsibilities that they intend to carry out for the sovereign parts of their territory” (Hansard 1982a, 1169). As argued at the end of Chapter 3 and the beginning of Chapter 4, partly as a result of the Suez Crisis, but also due to the inevitable relative decline in economic and political power vis-à-vis other Western European countries, a broad swath of the British political elite firmly believed the British were soon to be relegated to the status of a “second-rate power.” A British identity was constructed in opposition to this perception during the Falklands Crisis, in which military action was deemed necessary to revive a sense of British purpose and dynamism, a realignment of British values with British action and power. A

military response represented redress to humiliation, suffered not only at the hands of the Argentines, but a variety of former British imperial possessions. This series of humiliations began with the “scuttle” from Palestine in 1947 and the loss of India, worsening with the Suez Crisis in 1956, and culminated in 1967 with the decision to militarily retreat East of Suez.

The very fact that the British put a taskforce to sea was identified as a point of pride, evidence of British exceptionalism, as John Nott, Secretary of Defense, remarked, “No other nation in the world – and in that I include the two super powers – could have put to sea a task force of this size in three days,” (Hansard 1982, 137). This point of pride is used rhetorically to unite both sides of the aisle, as Richard Luce (Conservative, Arundel and Shoreham) remarked, “Whatever their political views, they are delighted that Britain is firmly standing up once again for the principles in which she believes” (Hansard 1982, 145). In arguing for a military option, Winston Churchill Jr. (Conservative, Stretford) characterized Argentina’s action as a “humiliating experience” claiming that “[Britain] will be judged by the resoluteness and determination with which we meet this challenge,” implying that military action is not only warranted from a strategic point of view, but is necessary to preserve British standing, to correct for this humiliation. Churchill imagined the Falklands may be used to reaffirm a prior British identity, confident in its principles and role as an exceptional power in the world (Hansard 1982, 55-6). Thus, the war itself was constructed as a crucial test of British resolve, for the British Self, the failure of which to overcome would result in a type of ignominious resignation of being simply one ignominious country amongst many.

Military action in the Falkland Islands was constructed not only as a means to rejuvenate Britain's identity in the world vis-à-vis other states, but also its domestic political culture. Julian Amery (Conservative, Preston North), foremost amongst the old-guard of British imperialists, argued that the military option to recapture the islands was necessary as the crisis itself helped to revitalize British political life. He argued that "Since April 3 [the date of the invasion] there has been a new spirit abroad in Britain . . . Without national self-confidence there can be no economic, moral, or social revival." "What is at stake in the Falkland Islands crisis," claimed Amery, "transcends the immediate issue of the Falkland Islanders and our own stake in the South Atlantic. The crisis is a catalyst of the basic values of our society," more accurately, the will to stand in defense of what are considered constitutive values (Hansard 1982, 286). He argued that vitality combined with principle is an important quality for a political culture to possess, and thus, the invasion of the islands (despite the fact that, at the time of Amery's quote it had only just occurred) was evidence of a rebirth, a reemergence of British power and values, and thus, an affirmation of British Self-identity lost in recent years, and thought gone for good.

In Chapter 2, I argue that Self-identity may be constructed in opposition, not only to a partial Other, but also a temporal Other, or a former "version" of the Self in question. In an effort to legitimate British military, those in favor of this option linked it to a prior instantiation of the British Self, employing the rhetoric of familiar British victories, while constructing this in opposition to the "defeatist mentality" originating in the Suez Crisis. Subsequent to the British reinvasion of the islands, in response to concerns about casualties, two Conservative MPs defended military action by reference to courage and

vitality as virtues particular to Britain. David Atkinson (Conservative, Bournemouth East) argued, “There will be faint hearts and cold feet at home and abroad as we go through with the liberation of the islands . . . let us also consider why and how we came to establish our world interests and presence in the first place.” He continued, “Many countries choose to associate . . . with us still because of other qualities for which we are peculiarly known as a nation – qualities which we are displaying and principles which we are now defending.” He concluded that to remain true to these principles, by “standing up for ourselves and by liberating those islands now rather than pussy-footing, delaying and relying instead on economic sanctions and eternal negotiations” is the best way forward, and that “he who hesitates is lost. He who dares, wins” (Hansard 1982, 293). Enoch Powell (Conservative, South Down), making a similar point, recalls the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo, quoting, “Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let’s see who will pound the longest” and further argues that “no battle worth fighting is won except at the margin” and “A pushover is meaningless and leads to no result” (Hansard 1982, 320).

Thus, in legitimating the military option, geopolitical interests were not constructed to be the main reason for war, but rather, the affirmation of an ideational lineage particular to Britain. It is no coincidence that this type of rhetoric is found mostly amongst the Conservatives, the former party of Empire, and, during the period of decolonization, the main critics of the “scuttle” from the colonies. According to this narrative, the bitter defeats entailed by Britain’s international decline during the 1950s to 1970s mirrored a more serious entropy: that of the British body politic and the British nation itself. What *military* action helped to do was to prove, not only that the British

Nation was capable of undertaking an endeavor such as this, it affirmed the solidarity and capability of the British nation as a single entity.[40]

Finally, in order to fully legitimate British military action in the Falklands, those who supported it went through pains to distinguish or derive lessons from the Suez Crisis and construct this crisis in opposition to it. This was done by suggesting by arguing that, "Suez was about property rights" and that the "Falkland Islands is about Human Rights." Furthermore, "At Suez a British government violated the United Nations charter" while "in the Falkland Islands crisis the Argentine Government have violated the United Nations charter and the British position has won overwhelming endorsement from the Security Council" (Hansard 1982, 30).[41] While Suez was seen as a divisive issue, foreshadowing the difficulties Britain would face in forthcoming years, the Falklands united nation and government. James Callaghan, Leader of the Labour Party, implores his fellow MPs to "Let us not make [the Falklands conflict] like Suez. Let us not have what happened in 1956, when servicemen went into Suez against a background of bitter party political debate" (Hansard 1982, 157). Finally, the lesson of Suez was that Britain could not depend on its allies, and instead, had to discover its own moral foundations. The Falklands, then, was about a duty "which we owe to ourselves –the duty to rescue our people and uphold our rights" (Hansard 1982, 3).[42] The specter of Suez, the failure of independent action, the floundering and hasty, piecemeal, and

[40] It is no coincidence that after success in Falklands War, Thatcher used her renewed mandate to push through reforms she sought as vital to British economic regeneration, arguing that the so-called "Spirit of the Falklands" showed that, with proper unity and the right attitude, anything could be done. Steele (2010) makes a similar point regarding the neoconservative attachment to vitalism, the notion that a healthy body politic is one that is constantly acting, moving against something.

[41] Denis Healy, Labour, Leeds East.

[42] Edward Du Cann, Conservative, Taunton.

ultimately ineffectual nature of British post-colonial policy, and all the baggage associated with it, was to be exorcised through action in the Falklands.

In short, I am not arguing that Britain did not have what we would define as strategic "interests" in repossessing the Falklands. Indeed, there were multiple factors involved, both international political as well as domestic, ideational and material. Rather, I am arguing that in the push to legitimate the military option, Britain was constituted through the contemporary discourse surrounding the crisis in two ways. Legitimation of the military option hinged upon the alignment of three facets of British identity: Britain as a moral power, as an upholder of international order international law. This combined with the construction of Argentines as dictators, untrustworthy, and only respectful of power. Negotiations may have been possible with more trustworthy, or less morally odious regimes, but to negotiate with a military dictatorship (who regularly flouted the human rights of its citizens) was anathema to an emerging British identity that eschewed its colonial past in favor of a future that emphasized international law and democratic governance. Finally, those purveying the dominant narrative viewed the military option as a means to rejuvenate or counter a possible competing identity for Britain as just another state.

Alternative Narratives

These were not the only narratives forwarded within the British political elite. Opposition to the military option came from a number of sources, and put forth contending versions of both the British Self and the Argentine Other. They were aimed at countering the appeals for military action through the construction of either competing visions of British identity or demonstrating how the dominant construction of British identity put forward in order to legitimate the military option was contradictory, or

patently false. First, those who constructed an alternative identity argued that recent history had shown the British to be a limited power, and that it should act as such. Raymond Whitney (Conservative, Wycombe) argued that it would be difficult to "maintain at 800 miles the scale of military operation involved 200 or 300 miles from the Argentine mainland." He claimed, further, that this is not engaging in "defeatism" but instead it is "a question of realism and the avoidance of another humiliation for the country" (Hansard 1982, 14). Denis Healy (Labour, Leeds East) noted, contra arguments for war, that "the most dangerous scenario of all would be that of an all-out assault on the Falkland Islands at a time when we are dangerously weak in air power," especially in relation to an enemy that has had weeks to build up their forces (Hansard 1982, 32). Calls abounded (especially amongst Labour MPs) "to stop being unrealistic about Britain's role in the world," arguing that military action in the Falklands would not act to serve higher principles, or means for Britain to reaffirm its strength or sense of moral rectitude. Rather, military action would act as an example of "jingoism that is leading this and other nations to war" (Hansard 1982, 265).[43]

Others argued that Britain could never benefit from war, as "war would be disastrous" and the fact that Britain, as a relatively deflated world power, would "face considerable odds" as "the other side has superiority in terms of . . . infantryman [and] air cover" (Hansard 1982, 132, 168).[44] Even if the islands were to be retaken, it was argued that to "have a permanent fleet on a vast scale there indefinitely" would be an impossibility given British capabilities at the time (Hansard 1982, 315).[45]

[43] Ray Powell, Labour, Ogmore.

[44] Jack Ashley, Labour, Stoke on Trent; Robin Cook, Labour, Edinburgh Center.

[45] Martin Flannery, Labour, Sheffield Hillsborough.

These alternative narratives often constructed the Falklanders as victims, but of the British rather than the Argentines. The dominant narrative's suggested that the Falklanders, along with the British, were victims of Argentine aggression, and thus, military action was constructed as "rescue". Contrary to this, many argued that diplomacy would be in the *true* interests of the Falklanders as "sovereignty is not what we want: it is the welfare of the people" (Hansard 1982, 44).[46] Furthermore, as Frank Allaun (Labour, Salford East) asserted, British military action would in fact, not constitute a "rescue" but further victimization, asking, "Do the islanders want the attack . . . with all the blood and tears that would entail for their families . . . and their wives, children and parents?" He continues, "no one asked the islanders what they want" (Hansard 1982, 134). In fact, as one MP claimed, the "escalation of military activity [could have resulted] in the deaths of Falkland Islanders – the very people we claim to be defending" (Hansard 1982, 214).[47]

Moreover, part of the justification for going to war was the British identity that included Falklanders as part of the British Self. Stan Thorne (Labour, Preston South) implied a distinction, claiming the islanders have no right "to expect British lives to be sacrificed on their behalf" (Hansard 1982, 162). Those purveying an alternative narrative contended, "[the Falklanders] should be thought of as being much more dependent on their relations with Argentina than on their very distant relations with the British Isles" and that a choice for war would only result in "the retention of an outcrop of rocks in the waters of the South Atlantic" (Hansard 1982, 291).[48] Thus, while the

[46] Tony Benn, Labour, Bristol South East.

[47] Bob Cryer, Labour, Keighley.

[48] Andrew Faulds, Labour, Warley East.

dominant narrative legitimated a war defending the rights of the Falkland Islanders and British subjects from Fascist tyranny, alternative narratives constructed the crisis in political terms rather than moral terms. Given the possibility of British loss, the toll that would be exacted in human lives on each side, as well as the fact that the economic and political future of the Falklands was with Argentina rather than Britain, diplomacy was argued to be a necessity as opposed to military action.

Yet another alternative narrative challenged the dichotomous opposition between the "good" British and the "bad" Argentines. First, whereas the dominant narrative offered a British identity constructed as peaceful, altruistic, and acting in defense of democracy and liberal rights, opposition MPs broached multiple challenges to this conception of Britain and its role in the Falklands conflict. The British Navy's sinking of the Argentine naval ship *Belgrano*, which was "torpedoed without a declaration of war well outside the exclusion zone" prompted some to question who was the aggressor and who was the victim (Hansard 1982, 192).[49] John Gilbert (Labour, Dudley East) suggested that rather than "using minimum force to achieve maximum military advantage" that the sinking of the *Belgrano* was "aimed at producing maximum casualties and psychological shock to the Argentines" (Hansard 1982, 197). The British military response, rather than acting as a defensive act, was instead interpreted as a means by which to "stress our virility," reinterpreting the dominant narrative's connection between rejuvenating British strength and the military option (Hansard 1982, 52).[50] Finally, others questioned the characterization of opposition between the liberal British

[49] Tony Benn, Labour, Bristol South East.

[50] John Silkin, Labour, Deptford.

state and Fascist Argentine state, claiming that "we were happily selling arms to that same Fascist junta not long ago" (Hansard 1982, 248, 264).[51] This is not to say that these MPs felt that Britain was *not* a democracy, or naturally an aggressor, but rather that the current administrations' policies were not reflective of the *true* British self.

Those who opposed military intervention offered an alternative narrative deploying similar constructions of British identity as law-abiding, internationalist, and above all, absent the vestiges of its pre-colonial Self, yet arguing for an alternative, non-conflictual policy. After all, it was "unwise for the United Kingdom to hold on to colonial possessions . . .acquired, usually by force, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century" as these could "only be dangerous and embarrassing to us and were of no national advantage" (Hansard 1982, 291).[52] Frank Hooley (Labour, Sheffield Heeley), while not denying that the Falklands should be relinquished, disagreed with military action, whether on the part of Argentina or Britain, claiming that Britain should "build a worldwide coalition to apply . . . sanctions to the Argentine to compel or induce it to relinquish its hold on the Falkland Islands" (Hansard 1982, 54-5). Indeed, as one MP put it, the Falklands war "[had] arisen out of our inability as a country to come to terms with the new world and our post imperial phase" (Hansard 1982, 61).[53] One MP charged that "transfer of sovereignty of the Falkland Islands [had] been considered for 20 years or so" and that military conflict represented an "atavistic and unnecessary exercise," reminiscent of British imperial gunboat diplomacy" (Hansard 1982, 192).[54] Robin Cook

[51] David Steel, Liberal, Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles; Ray Powell, Labour, Ogmore.

[52] Andrew Faulds, Labour, Warley East.

[53] Nigel Spearing, Labour, Newham South.

[54] Tony Benn, Labour, Bristol South East.

(Labour, Edinburgh Center) suggested that the British should, at all costs, "negotiate with the Argentines over their claim to sovereignty" as they had done before, as "an aggressive attack on the Falkland Islands" would help to "sacrifice . . . international support" upon which the British depend (Hansard 1982, 169).

In short, this narrative emphasized Britain's identity as law abiding, democratic, but post-colonial and non-conflictual. According to these narratives, and the identities proffered within them, it was Britain's duty to remain true to the "principle of resolving disputes by negotiation," a principle which "must stand supreme" (Hansard 1982, 252).[55] In all, the above alternative narratives challenged the legitimation of war through reference to a number of alternative Selves and Other narratives, or by arguing that Britain was not living up to its true Self. They argued that Britain's political, economic, and military limitations would result in failure and reinforce the type of shame felt after Suez, the shame not of weakness but of overbearing hubris.

Epilogue

As argued by contemporary scholarship, victory in the Falklands War prompted a reversal in British evaluations of its own capabilities, both domestically and politically (Freedman 1988; Gibran 1997; Monoghan 1998). This newfound spirit was evident in the more active part that the British took in world politics (partly due to the influence of a charismatic leader and her political relationship with American President Ronald Regan) but also provided the government with the political capital needed to engage in sweeping domestic changes (Monoghan 1998). As discussed in Chapter 5, at the end of the 1980s, while the relationship between the United States and Britain was stronger

[55] Judith Hart, Labour, Lanark.

than ever, and Britain still had significant influence (more cultural than political) over its Commonwealth, during the 1990s Britain began to look east towards a prosperous European Union. The newfound ambition, as well as an identity that, as a result of victory in the Falklands War, reiterated its attachment to defense of liberal principles and international law would figure prominently in its participation in the 2003 Iraq War.

From a theoretical standpoint, this case provides a glimpse into how identities are constructed during crises, and how those identities are employed to legitimate policy choices. This case demonstrates that relying simply upon crude Self-Other constructions may radically underdetermine explanations for legitimation. Legitimations for going to war involved a former or possible Britain identity *qua* a state in decline as well as a romanticized Britain identity embodied by the Falkland Islanders. This suggests that one should consider, not only oppositional Self-Other identities, but also how constructions of partial Others and former Selves may be incorporated into explanations for legitimation.

CHAPTER 5
THE IRAQ WAR, 2003

Overview

The British, having achieved a relatively quick and painless victory in the Falklands War, entered the late 1980s with a newfound sense of self-confidence. The postwar British government, employing its newfound political capital, was able to suppress labor disputes that plagued the economy throughout this period. While, due to the personal relationship of Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Regan, the so-called “special relationship” was solid as ever, Britain began to diversify its political affiliations. As early as the 1970s, Europe replaced the Commonwealth as Britain’s premier trading partners. After a failed attempt at creating the European Free Trade Area in the early 1960s, Britain, recognizing its economic future lay in Europe rather than its Commonwealth, applied for membership in the European Economic Community. Despite significant French opposition in the 1960s, Britain eventually joined in 1973, along with Denmark and Ireland.

Simultaneously, Britain sought to strengthen its “special relationship” with the United States, especially due to its military dependence on this important ally. The British vacillated as to the partner with whom they most identified from the 1970s onward. In the 1980s, due to ideological sympathies between their leaders the Anglo-American relationship seemed to take precedence over Britain’s European ties. This was coupled with Margaret Thatcher’s increasingly bleak view of closer integration with Europe throughout the 1980s. Yet, with the election of Tony Blair in 1997, Britain began to take a more pro-European stance. Finally, relationships with the Commonwealth remained relatively strong, although tensions emerged as a result of more restrictive

immigration policies. In short, between the Falklands War and the events of 9/11, British political sympathies lay partly with its Atlantic Alliance, and its European partners.

Subsequent to the 9/11 attacks, the US viewed Britain as its most staunch ally. Partly because of the historical political and military ties amongst the two states, but also due to Britain's important position as a powerful NATO ally. Starting in mid-2002 and ending March 15th, 2003, Tony Blair and the British Labour government made its case for war against Iraq. Relative to both the Suez Crisis and the Falklands War, there were a number of similarities in the manner in which the war was legitimated through the dominant narrative. First, as in the previous two cases, the *casus bellum* (in this case allegations of a weapons of mass destruction program) was constructed not as a political act of a sovereign state, but rather a criminal or amoral act, in contravention of international law and order. Similarly, Saddam Hussein (and his government by extension) was constructed a "dictator" and criminal, possessed of hidden designs and corrosive of international law and order. Relationally, the government and its allies constructed Britain's identity in opposition to this radical Other, as protectors of international law and international order. In a similar manner, Britain legitimates its military incursion into Iraq along familiar lines, comparing Saddam Hussein to past dictators, and constructing them as untrustworthy, and therefore, unable to be negotiated with or contained. The government and its allies constructed democratic Britain as trustworthy and moral, and thus not disposed towards dealing with unsavory regimes.

Yet, a number of differences exist between the Suez and Falklands Cases and the Iraq Case. First, the dominant narrative constructs the Iraqi people as partial Other,

victims in relation to the British rescuers. To be clear, this relational construction was not absent in prior cases. Yet, in this case it assumes increased salience. If indeed the British were constructed as protectors of international order and morality, the way in which Saddam treated his own citizens figured prominently in legitimating military conflict. Allowing this flagrant abuse of human rights to go unanswered challenged the dominant narrative's construction of Britain as a moral power, and protector of international law and order. Second, as of 2001, a new threat had emerged towards international order and morality---"Islamic terrorism." Thus, the government and its allies constructed British identity as the protector of international law and order in opposition to this new threat. As I will discuss in the epilogue to Chapter 5 and throughout Chapter 6, how Britain employs identity narratives (including categories of "Others") to legitimate military response to crises, may inform us as to important changes not only in British identity, but how constructions of threats to international order change over time.

Background to the Crisis

The roots of the 2003 Iraq War were to be found in the 1991 Gulf War. The United States and a coalition of allies removed Saddam Hussein's invasion force from Kuwait in February of 1991. Despite calls by some to pursue the Iraqi Army into Iraq and eventually overturn Saddam's regime, the American-led coalition of which the United Kingdom was part decided against this. While Saddam's regime remained in power, a policy of containment was undertaken. A number of restrictions were placed upon Saddam's regime directly after the war in an effort to prevent renewed Iraqi aggression against neighboring countries, internal separatists or competing ethnic groups.

First, a no-fly zone was instituted in the northern part of Iraq in April of 1991 in order to protect Kurdish minorities, and in the summer of 1992 a similar zone was

created in the south in order to protect Iraq's Shiite majority (Ricks 2006, 13). Second, UNSC Resolution 707 mandated that the Iraqi military must submit to a regime of weapons inspections and disclosure, as there was substantial evidence to suggest that the Iraqi military was developing or had developed weaponized chemical and biological agents, and was in the process of developing nuclear weapons (United Nations Security Council 1991 hereafter UNSC). The resolution mandated voluntary full and final disclosure of all weapons of mass destruction programs on the part of Iraq, and unconditional and unrestricted access to suspected weapons sites by IAEA inspectors. This was supplemented by UNSC Resolution 1051 in 1996, which called upon Iraq to report all shipments of dual-use WMD items (UNSC 1996). Third, UNSC Resolution 687 called for reparations to Kuwait, as well as a regime of sanctions against Iraq, excluding necessities such as medicine and food, tied to compliance to other UN resolutions and weapons inspections (UNSC 1991).

Throughout the mid-1990s, Iraq regularly flouted weapons inspections in addition to circumventing sanctions, resulting in punitive reprisals in 1994 and 1996. Most notably, in 1998 under Operation Desert Fox, a set of airstrikes and cruise missile targeted suspected weapons sites, command-and-control facilities, and government headquarters. These strikes, according to one US official, almost resulted in the overthrow of Saddam's regime (Ricks 2006, 19).

Throughout the 1990s, the perception amongst the British as well as the US was that, despite sanctions, the Iraqi regime was still engaged in a process of rearmament, especially with regards to its WMD programs. This was not only due to the threat posed to his regime by the US, but instead, due to regional conflicts, as "chemical weapons

had been vital in repelling the Iranian soldiers . . . in the Iran-Iraq War" and "the gassing of the Kurds had delivered not just a military but a psychological blow to their hopes of challenging Saddam, so these weapons had played a pivotal role in suppressing internal dissent." (Blair 2010, 376). Also, "Saddam knew that Iran was acquiring nuclear weapons capability, and believed that Israel had that capability already. For him, the acquisition of such nuclear capability would serve his basic purpose: to be the dominant force in the Arab World" (Blair 2010, 376). Furthermore, it was disclosed that the Iraqi government was funding proscribed activities through illegal manipulation of the UN oil-for-food program, which allowed a limited sale of oil in order to acquire food and medicine for the Iraqi people.

The immediate catalyst for the Iraq War was the 9/11 attack, and the subsequent call on the part of the Bush Administration to root out terrorists, punish those who harbored them, and address threats to the United States emanating from so-called "rogue states", with whom the terrorists were inexorably tied (Mockatitis 2012, 7). Iraq was enumerated amongst the list of "rogue states," in the *2002 National Security Strategy*, which elucidated the doctrine of pre-emption in instances in which US national security was judged to be in danger (White House 2002). After this, events moved quickly. In August 2002, US Vice President Dick Cheney asserted that Saddam was seeking "'domination of the entire Middle East' and desired to 'take control of a great portion of the world's energy supplies, directly threaten[ing] America's friends throughout the region and subject[ing] the United States . . . to blackmail'" (Fawn 2006, 2). On October 7th, the Bush administration claimed that the Saddam regime had trained Al-

Qaida operatives, and four days later, Congress voted to authorize war in Iraq, if the Bush administration deemed necessary (Fawn 2006, 2; Israeli 2004, 24-5).

This post-9/11 American foreign policy coincided with a New Labour foreign policy that emphasized fundamental human rights and liberties, as evidenced by British support in Kosovo in 1999, as well as intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000 (Blair 2010, 378-79; Clarke 2007, 604). British support after 9/11 came quickly, as Blair gave his unequivocal support to the US War on Terror, standing "'shoulder to shoulder' as [the U.S.'s] closest ally" and hoping to "gain Washington's attention" as he argued that a comprehensive anti-terrorism strategy should "address the economic, social and political roots of terrorism" (Freedman 2007, 627). This support included assistance in operations in Afghanistan, sending 1,000 British Special Forces to work with Americans on the ground (Clarke 2007, 605).

Despite accusations of ties to terrorist networks, the primary justification for war on the part of the Blair administration was the presence of continuing WMD programs in Iraq. Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, the Iraqi government attempted to circumvent UNSC declarations removing inspectors from the country, or limiting access to suspected sites. When pressure was increased, Saddam's regime would often relent, allowing inspectors to return or permitting access to previously forbidden sites. By late in 2002, the Bush and Blair administrations were emphasizing the purported connection between the Iraqi government and terrorism, and the fear of the acquisition of WMDs by terrorist groups.[1] In September of 2002, the US intelligence community, at the behest of Congress, prepared a National Intelligence Estimate regarding Iraqi capabilities to

[1] Accusations of connections between Al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein were dropped soon after they were alleged, and in the UK, the emphasis on this connection was never officially used as justification for war.

produce WMDs, alleging that “Iraq possessed chemical and biological weapons” and “was making advances in developing ways to weaponize and deliver biological weapons, and was ‘reconstituting its nuclear program” (Ricks 2006, 52). The British intelligence community also provided evidence of continued development of WMDs (Fawn 2006, 2). Later in the month, Tony Blair (who had exploited his position of credibility within the US administration to argue for seeking UN approval before going to war) and US Secretary of State Colin Powell made the case to the UNSC to seek approval for war with Iraq. Ultimately, a compromise solution was reached on November 8 in the form of UNSC Resolution 1441, calling for weapons inspectors to be readmitted to Iraq (after a four year absence) and placing the burden of proof on Iraq to demonstrate that it did not have WMDs. Notably, this resolution did not explicitly mandate military action in the event of non-compliance.

In response to this, on November 18th, weapons inspectors under the auspices of the IAEA and the UNMOVIC were allowed to resume their efforts in Iraq, and on December 7th, 2002, the Iraqi government delivered 12,000 printed pages of materials regarding the weapons program (Fawn 2006, 3). Despite the fact that, from November of 2002 onward, weapons inspectors were allowed free access to all suspected sites, a point confirmed by Hans Blix, head of UNMOVIC , the US argued that Baghdad was in continuing breach of UNSC Resolution 1441. In fact, Blix insisted on December 19th, 2002, that Iraq was more or less in compliance with weapons inspections, and as of January 9th, 2003, that no “smoking gun” regarding the continuance of a WMD program had been found (Timeline of Iraq War 2013). Further evidence was forwarded in early 2003 by the Bush administration, including Bush’s assertion that British intelligence had

learned that Saddam "recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa," and a senior State Department official's contention that "clear evidence" existed that Iraq was hiding biological and chemical weapons, and harboring members of Al-Qaeda (Bush 2003; Dao 2003; Fawn 2006, 4). None of these accusations were fully substantiated (Fawn 2006, 4). Throughout February and March, there was every indication that Iraq was complying with weapons inspections, and by January and February, key US allies within NATO, including France and Germany, had made clear their opposition to the war. Both British and US governments argued that UNSC Resolution 1441 legally mandated war in the case of non-compliance, and therefore a second resolution was not necessary (Fawn 2006, 6; Williams 2003, 25). After rejecting a French plan to allow inspectors 120 days to finish their job, Blair and Bush joined the Prime Ministers of Spain and Portugal in a meeting in the Azores where they established March 17th, 2003 as Saddam Hussein's deadline to leave Iraq within 48 hours or face war. The ultimatum was not met and war began on March 19th.

Policy Options

Ostensibly, justification for military action was based upon the presence of WMDs in Iraqi territory, and the continued unwillingness of Saddam Hussein to allow unfettered access to inspectors. The presence of WMDs in Iraq, combined with the future possibility of Iraq's acquisition of long-range delivery systems, was argued to be a strategic threat to Britain. Beyond this, it was argued that sanctions and the British/US policy of containment, practiced throughout the Clinton and early Bush administrations had proven ineffective, and would continue to be so, as Saddam's actions belied his untrustworthy and inhumane nature (Bluth 2004, 871). Yet, there are a number of questions to be answered. First, to contend that construction of identity was

instrumental in legitimating the drive to war against Iraq by the British cabinet, we must first effectively show the presence of other viable policy options, and demonstrate that they were recognized by policy-makers at the time as such.

These break down into two distinct categories: continued containment and deterrence through sanctions and periodic small-scale military action, and continued support for UN weapons inspections. First, a policy of dual containment had been pursued throughout the Clinton and early George W. Bush administrations, which identified both Iraq and Iran as potential threats, and sought to contain the latter through mostly economic and diplomatic means, and the former with economic, diplomatic, and when necessary, military means (Clawson 1998; Ehteshami 2003; Gause 1994). These included targeted economic sanctions as laid out by the UNSC, as well as the implementation of two no-fly zones in Iraqi territory. This also included measured strikes against Iraq in retaliation for non-cooperation with weapons inspections, the most notable being a retaliatory bombing campaign designated Operation Desert Fox in 1998. To be clear, for the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to demonstrate that containment was an *ideal* option, as in most cases, policy choice is merely a satisficing exercise, but instead that it was possible, thus lending itself to being legitimated through reference to identity.

Though many in the Blair cabinet did not believe so, it may be argued that the policy of containment and deterrence was quite effective, and arguments for their continuation were circulating both in academic and policy circles. It was argued that past action had shown that Saddam was a reasonable international actor, that hadn't been any more aggressive than his neighbors (Walt and Mearsheimer 2003). Moreover,

the continued threat of military action against Iraq was effective in containing his territorial and political ambitions, as Iraq mobilized its army on the Kuwaiti border in order to force modifications of the UN weapons inspections regime, but was deterred by a UN warning, backed up by the threat of US military power (Mearsheimer and Walt 2002). Moreover, targeted sanctions had "drastically reduced the revenue available to Saddam, prevented the rebuilding of Iraqi defenses after the Persian Gulf War, and blocked the import of vital materials and technologies for producing WMDs" (Lopez and Cortright 2004, 90).

Moreover, there was the question of how the toppling of Saddam's regime would affect the wider Middle East. What the policy of dual containment implicitly recognized was that, though both may be considered national security threats, Iraq and Iran could be employed in containing one another. After all, they had fought a bloody, protracted war against one another between 1980 and 1988 and their governments were controlled by competing ethnic groups. It was recognized that to upset this balance by toppling the minority Sunni regime in Iraq would result in a Shia majority Iraqi state that would likely be closely aligned with Iran, thereby increasing its power in the region. By leaving both Iraq and Iran's regimes in power, the dual containment strategy played one off against the other, and prevented either from becoming a dominant regional power.

Moreover, the perceptions within the British government at the time were that Saddam Hussein did not constitute a significant military threat. A British report circulating in March 2002 amongst the British cabinet argued that "Saddam's ability to threaten his neighbors had been constrained" and "Iraq's nuclear programme had been effectively frozen, and that biological and chemical weapons programs were facing

serious constraints" (Bluth 2004, 876). Indeed, the report argued containment had held for the past decade. Yet, by the middle of 2002, regime change was replacing containment as the policy of choice towards Iraq in the Blair administration. To be fair, it was argued that Iraq's government complied only with the ever-present threat of military action in the background, but this cannot be forwarded as a critique of the containment strategy. This is, in fact, the very point of a containment strategy based upon deterrence: to coerce an opponent to do something they would otherwise not through the threat of punishment. The paradox of deterrence is that the actual use of military force, rather than only the threat, places pressure on the target state to employ the weapons that the threat is meant to deter.

As far as the problem of destabilization of the greater Middle East, it was clear that this problem was recognized in the Blair administration, as early on, much of Britain's future support for a legitimating resolution was based upon renewal of the Israeli-Palestinian road map for peace, which had stalled after 9/11 (Clarke 2007, 606). Also, certain elements amongst the political elite were keenly aware of the geopolitical ramifications of regime change in Iraq. As I demonstrate later, there were a number of individuals within the House of Commons who actively argued that Iraqi regime change through military action, rather than fostering a political realignment in the region in line with British and American aspirations, would undermine the security of the UK by instigating terrorist activity or upsetting the delicate geopolitical balance of the Middle East.

Finally, it may be argued that containment was not a viable policy option because Iraq was supporting and collaborating with terrorists, and, most alarmingly, Al-Qaeda.

The Bush administration claimed that there was significant collaboration between Iraq and Al-Qaeda operatives, and if this collaboration continued, that would provide a sufficient *casus bellum* (Fawn 2006, 4). Indeed, while these accusations were redacted by the Bush administration only after the decision to go to war was made, immediately approaching to the decision to go to war, the Blair administration shied away from making substantial claims about Al-Qaeda involvement, and the belief that there was significant collaboration between the two was not wide-spread (Hansard 2003b, 286w).[2] I argue later that part of the legitimation of the war hinged on attaching Iraq and Al Qaeda under a common identity as a terrorist "Other" despite a lack of evidence for this cooperation.

A number of scholars suggest that containment vis-à-vis became viewed in increasingly negative terms within the Blair administration after 9/11, despite the perceived, if partial, success that it had delivered (Bluth 2004).[3] Containment was presented as an illegitimate option due to the constructions of identity that Blair and his administration employed in arguing for war in Iraq. These included discursively linking Iraq to a terrorist threat that could be neither contained nor deterred. Similarly, Saddam's domestic policies, specifically his human rights abuses and his international policies, aided in the construction of the Iraqi government as irrational and therefore unable to be deterred by conventional means.

The other policy option was continuing the UN inspections regime under UNSCOM set up under UNSC Resolution 687, providing the authority to monitor Iraq's

[2] Geoffrey Hoon, Secretary of Defense. The threat to Britain from Al Qaeda was considered distinct from Iraq, as a number of MPs questioned how military action in Iraq would make British safer from the Al Qaeda threat as demonstrated in Hansard 2003b, 23 and Hansard 2003b, 36.

[3] For the American context see Jervis 2003.

compliance with a series of disarmament provisions, including the disclosure and destruction of chemical and biological weapons facilities (Bluth 2004, 827). This is not to suggest that Saddam complied with the inspections regime, as a number of UNSC Resolutions found Iraq in breach of its obligations, including USNC Resolution 707 (1991) to UNSC Resolution 1441 (2002). Moreover, UNSC Resolution 687 had authorized “all necessary means” to be employed in order to assure compliance on the part of the Iraqi regime (UNSC 1991). While there is evidence to suggest that Blair’s support of the US plan for war was initially contingent on the US taking the case to the UNSC in order to argue for an additional resolution, although, when support in the UNSC was not forthcoming, it was argued that UNSC Resolution 1441 alone granted authority to intervene in the case of Iraqi noncompliance with weapons inspections (Bluth 2004).

Given the fact that Saddam maintained a record of noncompliance, why should we consider continued UNSCOM inspections to be a possible policy option? First, there is evidence to suggest that weapons inspections were in fact working, and UNSCOM inspections demonstrated the Iraqi regime did not have the capacity that US intelligence suggested. In February of 2003, Mohammed El Baradei, director of the IAEA reported to the United Nations, “We have found to date no evidence of ongoing prohibited nuclear or nuclear related activities in Iraq” (quoted in Ricks 2006, 94). Moreover, El Baradei’s report suggested that real progress had been made in dismantling a weapons program that was highly advanced in 1991, including confiscation of nuclear-weapons-usable material and equipment (Williams 2003, 22). Moreover, UNMOVIC, which had been barred from Iraq, was unconditionally allowed to return in September of 2002. Until the

beginning of the war in March of 2003, there were repeated assertions on the part of UNMOVIC's chief, Hans Blix, that there was no substantial evidence to suggest that there were active WMD programs in Iraq. In fact, the evidence suggested that Iraq was in compliance, as "Saddam's regime . . . delivered 12,000 printed pages and related material [related to its WMD program], such as CDs, on 7 December, one day ahead of the deadline" (Fawn 2006, 3).

In January, Britain asserted that it would possibly go ahead with military action absent a specific UNSC Resolution sanctioning it, relying instead on the authority implied under UNSC Resolution 1441, justifying this with reference to "clear evidence" that Iraq was concealing biological and chemical weapons (Fawn 2006, 4). This is despite the fact that El-Baradei, the head of the IAEA, gave the impression that weapons inspections were working, and asked for more time in order to carry them out. In February, US Secretary of State Colin Powell presented the case for war against Iraq to the UN, arguing that the presence of WMD programs in Iraq was provable beyond a reasonable doubt. Yet, at the same time, "UNMOVIC could find no corroboration of Powell's claims" (Fawn 2006, 5). On February 14, Hans Blix reported to the Security Council that there was "no serious evidence that Baghdad was failing to comply with inspections" (Fawn 2006, 5). These reports were certainly common knowledge amongst government insiders, and available to policy-makers and political elites in the British House of Commons. Moreover, the UN option was seriously supported by a number of Britain's important allies, including Germany and France. This is important, as one of the foundations of the Blair's foreign policy was a turn towards Europe. French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin declared at the UN on the 21st of January that "today

nothing justifies considering military action" and advocated for continued weapons inspections in lieu of military action (Fawn 2006, 4). At a Security Conference held in Munich in February, German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer declared to US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, "Excuse me, I am not convinced" (Fawn 2006, 5).

Finally, there were calls within the United Nations in late 2002 and early 2003 against a war in Iraq. Kofi Annan, specifically, argued against the unilateral approach that would be taken by the British alongside the United States (Mockatitis 2012, 85-6).[4] Moreover, Villepin argued against military conflict without UN sanction arguing, "In this temple of the UN we are the guardians of an ideal, the guardian of a conscience" (Fawn 2006, 5). Britain's advocacy of war absent UN approval was surprising, given the respect and admiration demonstrated for the United Nations by Blair and the UK's foundational identity as a supporter of international law. In fact, Blair was instrumental in convincing the US administration to go to the UN in the first place. Therefore it is puzzling that, despite this effort, Blair would side with the US over the wishes of the UNSC and other major allies such as the French and Germans. In any case, the UN was still a possible legitimate policy option, despite not being chosen. I will argue that continued inspections under UN auspices was delegitimated due to the representations of the British Self, constituted as courageous and steadfast, willing to stand up to aggression when international organizations fail. As a corollary to this was the construction of the UN as an organization that acted merely to facilitate the Iraqi regimes continued intransigence.

[4] Kofi Annan, in a speech delivered to the UN General Assembly on September 12, 2002.

Finally, we must examine some evidence that would militate against the choice of war as a policy option. First, there were serious questions as to whether Iraq ever posed a serious threat to the British. Indeed, both the British and American presses questioned the analogy that Paul Wolfowitz forwarded between the contemporary Iraqi regime and the Nazi regime, arguing that “Iraq was hardly a great power. It had few allies, no industrial base, and was split internally by religious and ethnic differences” (Ricks 2006, 64; Mearsheimer and Walt 2002, 2). Moreover, the British Joint Intelligence Committee issued a summary of the intelligence on Iraqi WMDs in 2002 that was circulating in the government in the run-up to the war, which suggested that, while there were still questions as to whether Iraq had weaponized stocks of chemical and biological agents, they did not possess the delivery systems to successfully deliver a payload onto British territory (Intelligence and Security Committee 2003, 15). Moreover, regarding this dossier, “Blair’s chief of staff Jonathan Powell warned in a minute that ‘the document does nothing to demonstrate a threat, let alone an imminent threat from Saddam . . . we will need to make it clear in launching the document that we do not claim that we have evidence that he is an imminent threat’” (Cook 2004, 221). Second, there were questions as to whether the preparations for a post-Saddam Iraq were going to be adequate, given the constraints of men and material with which the US and British forces would face. It was noted that the hopes for a smooth democratic transition in Iraq were mired by lack of civil society and a tradition of brutal, centralized rule (Ricks 2006, 65).

Moreover, voices within the military began questioning the rosy assessments of postwar Iraq forwarded by the Bush administration, and argued that postwar occupation

and transition would involve many more troops that were allotted merely to maintain security (Ricks 2006, 71). The question, then, is how the choice for military conflict was legitimated absent a clear an immediate threat (according to the intelligence services) as well as a plan for postwar administration. Again, I argue that it was based upon a construction of Saddam Hussein as untrustworthy, unable to be deterred, and single-mindedly preoccupied with obtaining such weapons in the future, despite the fact that he had limited capacities at the time. Given these policy options, and the identities forwarded in the dominant narrative, how were both containment and continued UN inspections rendered illegitimate, and the military option legitimated?

Identities

Whereas the dominant narrative in previous cases was forwarded most prominently by the party in government, in this case, the dominant narrative cut across party lines, adopted by many in both the Labour and Conservative parties. Before proceeding into how the dominant narrative constructed the important actors in the Iraq War, there is an important distinction to be made between here and the cases explored in Chapters 3 and 4. Whereas the construction of time figured prominently in the Suez Crisis and the Falklands War, it takes on particular significance construction of the crisis in the Iraq War. Bal (1997) contends that the representation of time is important in producing meaning in narratives. Choosing at which point to begin a narrative may include or exclude information that would otherwise allow for different interpretations of the crisis. In constructing this crisis, the dominant narrative began at the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and continued with multiple mentions of the Iraqi government's repeated and flagrant violations of multiple UNSC Resolutions. In doing so, it leaves out a checkered history during which the British and the US lent support to Saddam

Hussein in the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988). Rather, the dominant narrative constructs the crisis as having its roots in the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Although many MPs in the House of Commons debates mentioned such cooperation, this cooperation was downplayed and constructed as irrelevant. This allowed the government and its allies to construct the crisis in such a way as to place responsibility solely on the Iraqi regime.

Overall, the government and its allies, like in previous crises, constructed the British as paragons of morality and protectors and upholders of international law and order. In doing so, the government and its allies constructed Britain in opposition to Saddam Hussein and his regime, as criminal and immoral. Moreover, despite the lack of clear evidence, the dominant narrative linked the Iraqi regime to a new radical Other, international Islamic terrorism.

Similar to Chapters 4 and 5, the dominant narrative constructed the British as reasonable purveyors of the current international order. The government and its allies suggested that the British offered repeated attempts at good-faith negotiation, which the Iraqi regime either ignored, flouted, or actively evaded. UK Secretary of State Jack Straw claimed that Iraq was granted repeated chances to rectify their situation:

> As of the 8th November 2002, we obtained a Security Council resolution. All we are asking now of the international community, Iraq and this House, is that we follow through on the words that were (agreed by the United Nations on 8 November and by this House on 25 November" (Parliamentary Debates 2002; hereafter known as Hansard).

Straw recounts the number of times that the British attempted good-faith negotiations, providing every possible chance for compliance:

> Let us look at the recent evidence. On 10 September last year, Iraq declared—I was there in the General Assembly when this was said—that it would never, ever readmit weapons inspectors under any circumstances. Then President Bush made his important and most welcome speech to the General Assembly. Four days later, Iraq said that it would after all

> readmit weapons inspectors, but made its offer subject to 19 spurious conditions of the kind that it has often come forward with. Fortunately, those were rejected. There were then two months of intense negotiations inside the Security Council. In response, the international community united, resolution 1441 was passed unanimously and the Security Council agreed to back its diplomacy with the credible threat of force. The inspectors finally entered Iraq on 27 November, looking, as the resolution required, for full, active and immediate co-operation from Iraq (Hansard 2003c, 267).

Beyond this, the government and its allies constructed the British as trustworthy, both in relation to Iraq and its allies. Patrick Mercer (Independent, Newark) assured his fellow MPs that the British must be viewed as trustworthy, as standing shoulder to shoulder with its damaged ally the United States (Hansard 2002a, 105). This trustworthiness was characterized as courage. According to the dominant narrative, the British must support its allies, lest it be construed as cowardly. George Osborne (Conservative, Tatton) compared the British government favorably to other European governments, having stated, "I am proud that a British government . . . [who] have put their head above the parapet and supported the United States" (Hansard 2002a, 98).

Conversely, the dominant narrative constructed Saddam Hussein in opposition to the British as untrustworthy. Whereas the British had offered every route for a peaceful solution, Prime Minister Tony Blair suggested Saddam Hussein's regime disregarded these offers at every possible juncture. Saddam's mode of operation was to "obstruct and harass the UN inspectors" to the point that they could not effectively carry out their duties (Hansard 2003c, 123). This untrustworthiness was further evidenced by the "history of concealment" of his programs, which "suggest that he cannot be trusted" (Hansard 2002a, 89).[5] Blair makes clear that throughout the late 1990s, up to 2002,

[5] Donald Anderson, Labour, Swansea East.

"[Saddam] was engaged in a systematic exercise in concealment of [WMDs]" (Hansard 2002a, 123). Defectors from his regime offered further evidence of his prevarication. David Winnick (Conservative, Walsall North) argued that the 1995 defections of Saddam Hussein's sons-in-law "revealed the extent of the biological weapons programme that previously the regime had strenuously denied having…" asking, "should we believe that this hide and seek game with the inspectors will lead to anything [resembling a peaceful solution]" (Hansard 2002b, 139)?

As was noted, essential to the construction of the dominant narrative was Tony Blair's Secretary of State, Jack Straw, who forcefully made the case for war. He questioned why such an extensive effort was required for Iraq, when it required only nine inspectors a matter of months to assure compliance in the case of the former South African nuclear program. This, he argued, revealed that Saddam's regime cannot be trusted (Hansard 2003c, 400). According to Straw, the reasons for this lie in the characteristics of the regime. He continued that dictators such as Saddam are rarely trustworthy. He claimed, regarding Saddam's requests for more time, "Saddam's aim is a 'now' that shall never arrive. His tactics all along have been to prevaricate." Straw goes on to list repeated attempts to force compliance that failed due to Saddam's purported aims (Hansard 2003c, 267). Simply put, Jack Straw claimed Saddam Hussein "not only a liar" but one with dangerous intentions (Hansard 2003b, 1066). Yet, the dominant narrative's construction of the crisis and the actors involved also hinged on constructions of both the British Self and the Iraqi Other as moral entities.

As in Chapters 3 and 4, during the Iraq War the government and its allies constructed Iraqi and British political actions in moral terms. The government and its

allies ignored domestic and geopolitical political imperatives for Iraq's policies, and instead, constructed Iraq's behavior as evidence of Saddam Hussein's immoral, brutal nature. The dominant narrative constructs British identity in opposition to this immorality, and argued that to allow this to continue would contradict prior and contemporary constructions of Britain as a moral power, and the purveyor of international order and international law. The government and its allies constructed Britain as a state that was imbued with a responsibility toward upholding this international order. During the Iraq War, the government and its allies linked this morality the renewed construction of British strength post-Falklands War.

Those supporting the dominant narrative asserted that, though it is not the easy course, the moral path (in this case, war), as history has shown, is the nobler path, and the one that Britain has always chosen to take, if not with a few initial missteps (Hansard 2002a, 105; Hansard 2003b, 23; Hansard 2003c, 331-32). Patrick McCormack (Conservative, South Staffordshire) MP lampoons those who "are not prepared to face up to the consequences" of what he feels to be taking full responsibility in its role as guardians of liberal values by paraphrasing St. Augustine's tongue-in-cheek prayer regarding chastity, "Make us tough, but not yet." He argued that "the Prime Minister, as a national leader, has had the courage and calmness" to lead the international community against "a tyrant whose evil . . . has not been exceeded in the past half century or more" (Hansard 2003c, 402-04).

While Britain constructed itself as a moral power and a supporter of the international order, the dominant narrative constructed Britain's Other, Iraq, morally in three distinct ways. First, by the construction of Saddam Hussein as a radical Other;

second, by the construction of the Iraqi people as passive victims of Saddam Hussein which must be rescued by the British, and finally, through the construction of a new radical Other linked to Saddam Hussein—international Islamic terrorism.

First, the government and its allies construct the Iraqi regime, usually represented in the figure of Saddam Hussein, in exclusively moral terms, as a "brutal dictator," a "murderous dictator in Baghdad" who has "used chemical weapons against his own people and has a history of brutality, repression and disdain of human rights that is unequalled anywhere in the world" (Hansard 2002, 54; Hansard 2003, 676; Hansard 2003b, 271).[6] Throughout the Commons debates, individual instances of Saddam's brutality are forwarded as indication of his character and intentions (Hansard 2002a, 907-08; Hansard 2003c, 361).[7] As shown above, the dominant narrative constructed British identity as opposed, indeed duty bound, to react to such events.

Those purveying the dominant narrative questioned Saddam's motives and how they should be addressed, relying on constructions of and comparisons two past dictators. Two Conservative MPs argued that it is only due to the "clear and credible threat of force" that Saddam's regime was brought to the table for negotiations in late 2002. The government and its allies suggested dictators such as Saddam Hussein only understand power, it is therefore "wise and prudent to make preparations for war because . . . it is inconceivable that Saddam Hussein will comply and disarm without the threat of military action" (Hansard 2002a, 123; Hansard 2002b, 856).[8] Like all dictatorial

[6]Jack Straw, Secretary of State; David Winnick, Conservative, Walsall North; Tony Blair, Prime Minister.

[7] Tony Blair, Prime Minister; David Winnick, Conservative, Walsall North.

[8] Geoffrey Hoon, Secretary of Defense; Hugh Bayley, Conservative, York Central. See also Hansard 2003, 23 and Hansard 2003a, 562.

personalities, the Iraqi regime is, “aggressive” and “dangerous” and must be dealt with not as a cooperative partner, but . . . decisively through force if necessary (Hansard 2003b, 1063).[9] After all, claims Jack Straw (Secretary of State), Iraq under Saddam is “the only country . . . in the world to have fired missiles at five of its neighbors, to have used chemical weapons against its own people, and . . . that has invaded two of its neighbors in recent years” (Hansard 2003c, 266).

The government and its allies also compared Saddam Hussein to past dictators in order to construct him in an unfavorable light. Robert Wareing (Independent, Liverpool West Derby) compared Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler (though he is careful to admit they did not have the same capabilities) (Hansard 2002a, 103). George Osbourne (Conservative, Tatton) argued that military dictators have always had the same perverse aims, and, in response to questions of “why not wait?” and “Iraq is not a threat to us today” he argues “That is the argument for appeasement down the ages” (Hansard 2002a, 98). Although these comparisons often offered the proviso that Saddam does not possess the capabilities that Germany did in the 1930s, these constructions create potential “boundaries of action.” According to the dominant narrative, Saddam may not have had the capabilities of Hitler, but he certainly possessed his intentions. The government and its allies conveyed this, constructing boundaries for future action. The dominant narrative argued that, left unchecked, dictators such as Saddam will gain power and use that power towards ends corrosive not only to British national interests, but also in pursuing actions that challenge key

[9] Alan Howarth, Labour. Newport East.

aspects of British identity. This is explored later in the analysis regarding narratives of "appeasement" forwarded to delegitimate diplomatic and containment policy options.

Second, the dominant narrative constructed the British Self in opposition to a weak and helpless partial Other represented by the Iraqi people. Often, elements of an identity excluded from a narrative are as revealing as those included. In this case, the dominant narrative characterized the Iraqi people as lacking in agency, as passive objects in a contest between the West and Saddam Hussein. Indeed, the British government and its allies disassociate the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein in the dominant narrative. They are constructed as Britain's friends, as people with whom "[the British] have no quarrel," and with whom Britain would like to work to "help . . . to restore Iraq to its proper place in the community of nations" (Hansard 2002a, 63).[10] Indeed, when mentioned at all, the Iraqi people are characterized as victims of the Iraqi regime, "silenced and butchered by this tyrant" that will "continue to live in terror indefinitely as helpless prisoners and victims of the tyranny" (Hansard 2002a, 106).[11] The government and its allies suggested that the sanctions regime, considered to be harmful by many MPs in the House of Commons, was only so because "of the way that Saddam implements it" and his being left in power would mean "misery and poverty for many, many millions of Iraqis" (Hansard 2003a, 881).[12]

Those who espoused the dominant narrative were silent concerning desires of the Iraqi people, or for the most part, assumed they were coterminous with those of the West. Iraq is described as "a potentially rich country . . . as s country with a middle

[10] Jack Straw, Secretary of State.

[11] Shaun Woodward, Labour, St. Helens South.

[12] Tony Blair, Prime Minister.

class and educated people." One MP suggested, "If economic and political freedoms are returned to Iraq, that can have a powerful effect on a region in which those liberties are largely absent" (Hansard 2003c, 300).[13] As shown here, the dominant narrative constructed the Iraqi people as partial Others. They were victims to Saddam Hussein's brutality, but imbued with a kernel of humanity, allowing them to become full members of the international community if Britain helped remove Saddam (the major impediment to their development) from power. While the dominant narrative constructed the British as moral paragons, the Iraqi people are constructed as an entity with no agency, passive onlookers, or at most, victims to the barbarous regime of a dictator.

The dominant narrative's construction of the Iraqi people warrants comparison to the British government's construction of Arabs during the Suez Crisis. Whereas the dominant narrative in Chapter 3 constructed the Arab peoples as "child-like" and "in need of guidance" to become true members of the community, this discourse is absent during the dominant narrative's legitimation of the Iraq War. Despite this, they are similarly constructed as lacking agency, as passive observers. Similar to Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian Leader during the Suez Crisis, Saddam Hussein does not embody the wishes of his people. Whereas in Chapter 3, Nasser and the Arab people are constructed as complementary, during the Iraq War, the Iraqi regime and its people are constructed through a relationship of difference. Saddam Hussein is constructed as their oppressor, and it is their lack of agency, their helplessness, rather than their eagerness and susceptibility to demagoguery that allows Saddam to continue in power. Finally, in Chapter 3, whereas the dominant narrative charges that Nasser does not

[13] Michael Portillo, Conservative, Kensington and Chelsea.

work in the interest of his people, the dominant narrative did not use this as legitimation for war in itself. In the case of the Iraq War, although not the primary legitimation, during the Iraq War, this acted (in conjunction with other arguments) to legitimate war against Saddam in and of itself. The dominant narrative argued that brutal dictators must not be left in power as a matter of international law and international morality. This difference will be explored further in Chapter 6.[14]

Finally, the dominant narrative constructed Saddam as morally opposed to Britain through his linkage with international Islamic terrorism. The government and its allies discursively linked Saddam to this threat, despite the fact that the government forwarded only marginal empirical evidence to substantiate these claims or to clarify how the Iraqi government was connected. Blair stated, "we do know of links between al-Qaeda and Iraq" though claiming, "we cannot be sure of the exact extent of those links," a point which he reiterated in a speech before the House of Commons six days later (Hansard 2003a, 871).

Despite the tenuous nature of these links, the government and its allies insisted the nature of the threat (the Iraqi Government and global Islamic terrorism) is one and the same, as "we do not simply have a choice of dealing with [terrorism] or [Iraq]. It is important to deal with both – I believe that they are linked - not least because of the signals that we convey about the firmness of our intentions" Hansard 2003b, 29). Shaun Woodward (Labour, St. Helens South) argued:

> I do not believe that we face a choice between a hierarchy of dangers – either winning the war against terrorism or dealing with Saddam Hussein. Those are part of the same strategy for security . . . Iraq is central to the

[14] For more on changing norms of humanitarian intervention in the international system see Finnemore 1996.

> strategy for security and dealing with global terrorism (Hansard 2002a, 106).

Blair further argued, in more abstract terms, that these two threats are linked not only by common goals, but through their "fanaticism" most visibly embodied in the 9/11 attacks. According to Blair, Al-Qaeda and Iraq must be given equal attention "because both represent the threats of the fanatical over the rational. They represent threats to the civilized world from acts of barbarity." He continued, "So the fact is that these two issues are intimately linked . . . It is not possible to have those two threats operating and for them not to come together at a certain point, and the consequences would then be devastating" (Hansard 2003b, 35).

This construction of the threat of a faceless, yet powerful enemy implicitly constructed Britain in opposition as the protector of a moral that it is duty-bound to uphold. Not only is that moral order challenged by traditional interstate threats, but now by new, more insidious, transnational threats allied to more traditional ones. Conceiving of this linkage in terms of boundaries of acceptable action, although the capabilities of Saddam are limited (despite his attempts at building WMDs) his connection with Islamic terror constructs him as a pervasive and immediate threat. At this time, less than two years had passed since the United States was attacked, without warning, by Al-Qaeda. Regardless of whether or not Blair actually believed this connection to be true, the dominant narrative constructs boundaries of possible and acceptable action. First, it increased the capabilities of Saddam vicariously, and more importantly, it legitimated any course of action in order to guard against this threat to life and property but also but to threats to British values and ways of life.

Finally, the dominant narrative constructed the British as both purveyors of, and protectors of, the international legal order. The dominant narrative suggested that the British have been "following through [on] our obligations under international law" despite Saddam's continued refusal to comply. The dominant narrative suggested that the British, in their capacity as protectors of international law, must sometimes act to uphold that designation. Straw argued, "on occasion it is essential to enforce law by force; otherwise the world becomes extremely dangerous" (Hansard 2003b, 1071). Those purveying the dominant narrative argued that, if nothing is done, this may be corrosive to the very principles of international law that Britain is duty bound to uphold. One MP argued, "Saddam Hussein . . . defies international law . . . it is absolutely essential that we tackle him . . . otherwise we will undermine the very principles and institutions in whose name we act" (Hansard 2003c, 288).[15]

In opposition to this British identity, the dominant narrative constructed Saddam Hussein's continued defiance in the face of UN resolutions as an example of an "international crime," while the dominant narrative similarly referred to him as an international criminal. David Winnick (Labour, Wallsal North) argued that Saddam, "the criminal dictator had time to leave Kuwait [in 1991] and his refusal to do so led to the Gulf War" (Hansard 2002b, 852). Moreover, his actions vis-à-vis his own people were constructed as acts of a "war criminal" as opposed to that of a legitimate leader (Hansard 2003a, 156).[16] The dominant narrative constructed Britain, not only as a follower of international law, but its enforcer if necessary. Similarly, it constructed Iraq

[15] Michael Moore, Liberal Democrat, Berwickshire, Roxburgh and Selkirk.

[16] Andrew Robathan, Conservative, South Lecestershire.

under Saddam as a pervasive threat to international law, whose lack of compliance threatened the entire structure of international law itself. It thus fell to the British to act.

In short, the government and its allies, through the dominant narrative, constructed Britain's identity along three axes. First, the government and its allies constructed Britain as trustworthy in opposition to Saddam Hussein as duplicitous. Second, the dominant narrative constructed Britain as a purveyor of international morality and order. Opposed to this was the dual threat of Saddam Hussein and his regime, and its links with international terror. Furthermore, British identity as upholder of international order and morality was cast in opposition to the partial Other of the Iraqi people. While the Iraqis are constructed as passive victims of Saddam, the British are constructed as heroic saviors, allowing the Iraqis to fulfill their potential through the removal of Saddam's government. Thus, according to the dominant narrative, these radically and partially opposition identities threatened the identity of Britain as a moral paragon and protector of international order. Finally, Britain's construction as a follower and protector of international law was challenged by Saddam Hussein's construction as a criminal. What follows is an explanation of how the government and its allies, through the dominant narrative, employed these identities to justify military action during this crisis.

Analysis

The Containment and UN Options

In order to understand how the military option was legitimated, we must first explore how the non-conflictual options were delegitimated. To be fair, these two policies, containment and continued UN pressure, were neither independent nor easily distinguishable; most policy elites in favor of the continuation of the policy of

containment pursued jointly by the UK and the United States in the 1990s and early 2000s believed that it had worked, and would continue to work. Continued weapons inspections were a manifestation of, and an indispensable component of this policy. Yet, for the sake of analysis, I discuss them as analytically distinct, as the narratives that delegitimate each choice follow different paths.

First, the dominant narrative suggested that, due to Saddam Hussein's untrustworthy nature, and his linkage to global Islamic terror, the policy of containment towards Saddam Hussein had been a failure. The government and its allies provided a number of reasons for this. First, since previous containment policies had failed to deter the 9/11 attacks, one could not be sure that Saddam would not behave similarly, especially given his previous actions. Whereas if the dominant narrative constructed Saddam in a similar fashion to a more traditional state, such as the former Soviet Union, policies of containment may have worked, instead the dominant narrative linked him to global Islamic terror. Indeed, the possibility of deterrence is contingent upon an enemy having something of value to lose. Yet, the government and its allies linked Saddam Hussein to global terror, and suggested that he represented an entity that was unable to be deterred. The government and its allies underscored the severity of this threat by reference to the frightening suddenness, randomness, destructiveness and relative ease of terrorist attacks. Given that "a single glass of anthrax left on a London tube could kill all the people in London," it was no longer plausible to believe that containment could work (Hansard 2003c, 356).[17] Michael Ancram (Conservative, Devizes) assured that Saddam would use such weapons against the West as he had

[17] Alan Duncan, Conservative, Rutland and Melton.

readily used them against his own people (Hansard 2002a, 64).[18] Those in support of the dominant narrative suggested that containment could not be guaranteed to work 100% of the time, and therefore, it was incumbent upon the British not to risk this policy.

An important component in the construction of this legitimation was the way in which the dominant narrative constructed the relationship between Saddam Hussein and his own people. Tony Blair suggested that, if Saddam cannot be contained from gassing his own people by the threat of revolt, how could anyone hope to divine whether or not he could be trusted not to do so against Britain or the United States. The dominant narrative asserted, given that "he used chemical weapons against his own people and has a history of brutality, repression and disdain of human rights" how could containment be expected to operate (Hansard 2003b, 271)?

Second, the sanctions and inspections regimes were an essential element in the containment policy, and had been regularly transgressed by supposed allies, rendering the policy ineffective. Michael Portillo (Conservative, Kensington and Chelsea) claimed that, "During the 1990s and beyond, Russia and France undermined the sanctions regime. They advertised to Saddam the infirmity of purpose of the west" (Hansard 2003c, 298). Straw commented that "let no one be under any illusions: the policy of containment is not the policy of disarmament as set out in resolution 1441 or any of the preceding resolutions" as he had argued that UNMOVIC had found evidence of continued evidence of a weapons program (Hansard 2003c, 273). The blame for the failure of containment, suggested the dominant narrative, fell not only upon Saddam's shoulders, but the lack of resolve on the part of such supposed allies as France. The

[18] See also Hansard 2002a, 84.

government and its allies argued that continuing upon this track would simply reinforce the “infirmity” of the British.

Finally, the government and its allies suggested the events of September 11th presented a break from traditional thinking about containment, as the threat of terrorism was not subject to the logic of containment. Not only was Saddam untrustworthy, and were the stakes now immeasurably higher, the “new reality” facing the British resulted in suspicion of the risks that come with containment. An essential feature of containment is allowing one’s enemy to remain intact, yet not allowing them to expand beyond a particular area. As conveyed earlier, containment is often used in conjunction with deterrence, which assumes that, because your enemy values something (e.g. a population, a territory, at the very least, their own lives) they can be cowed into acting in a way compatible with a state’s desires. As Blair states, “we know too from 11 September that these terrorists have no demands that could ever be negotiated upon” (Hansard 2003b, 23). Terrorists, argued the government and its allies, could not be deterred, nor could a state leader that displayed the brutality necessary to use chemical weapons on his people. Again, both Saddam’s identity as a brutal dictator, together with his putative connections with terrorism rendered containment or deterrence an illegitimate policy. Moreover, Straw argued that the failure of containment was irrevocably tied to the fact that containment “requires a degree of trust and Saddam that we cannot risk and which runs contrary to all the evidence.” As a result, the policy of containment was not compatible with the identity that was constructed for Saddam as an untrustworthy terrorist, and to engage in such a policy prove disastrous, as “it means leaving Saddam as a standing example that defiance pays” (Hansard 2003c, 273). Not

that this would be acceptable in a pre-9/11 world, but it became less acceptable in a post-9/11 one. The lingering threat of Iraq linked to global Islamic terror would remain anathema to a British identity that was constructed as anti-appeasement. This is discussed in the later in Chapter 5.

Arguments delegitimating the UN option relied both on constructions of Saddam Hussein's untrustworthy nature in addition to Britain's construction as a protector of international law. This involved a strange twist of logic. Indeed, a mandate from the UNSC legalizing an invasion was not forthcoming due to opposition by China, Russia, and most notably, France. Despite this, the government and its supporters contended that UNSC Resolution 1441 provided the necessary authority for war. They argued that if Saddam was found to be non-compliant with this initial resolution, a second resolution providing explicit sanction for military action would in fact be redundant. According to the dominant narrative, the language of Resolution 1441 provided the necessary authority.

Moreover, because Saddam had regularly flouted the inspections regime, as well as numerous UNSC resolutions, to leave this transgression unpunished would endanger the credibility of the UN itself (Hansard 2003c, 275). Straw called it a "moment of choice for the UN" as "the UN's pre-war predecessor, the League of Nations, had the same fine ideals as the UN" but "it could not back diplomacy with a credible threat and, where necessary, the use of force" (Hansard 2003c, 276). Despite evidence that inspections were working, and head of the UNMOVIC calling for additional time, Straw argued that the UN had repeatedly been fooled by a perpetually untrustworthy Saddam, and that they were probably being fooled now (Hansard 2003c, 269). Despite the fact that the Iraqi regime had cooperated, providing unfettered access to sites and disclosing

significant amounts of information regarding their weapons program in a timely fashion, opposition remained consistent. The dominant narrative portrayed this cooperation as a means to obfuscate and delay. It seems that, regardless of the level of cooperation on the part of the Iraqi regime, the construction of the Iraqi identity contained in the dominant narrative would not allow for the continuation of weapons inspections, no matter how fruitful they were demonstrated to be. Thus, following the UN option, which would ostensibly coincide with British identity as a protector and follower of international law, was deemed illegitimate. Similar to Chapter 3, where during the Suez Crisis, the dominant narrative argued a distinction between the spirit of the law and the institutions purveying it, the dominant narrative during the Iraq War offered a similar suggestion. The government and its allies argued that following through with more UN inspections would undermine the entire fabric upon which the international legal order was founded.

In comparison with Chapter 4, in which the boundaries of action were understood *post-facto* (i.e. the invasion of the Falklands by the Argentines had already occurred at the time the debates were ongoing) construction of boundaries for Iraq within the dominant narrative involved more interpretation. The dominant narrative constructed containment as impossible due both to the untrustworthy nature of Iraq, as well as the new realities that had emerged with the onset of global Islamic terrorism. Thus, Britain's identity as a protector of the international order was challenged by this new threat, one that could not be contained, and furthermore, one whose boundaries themselves seemed limitless. According to the government and its allies, to merely contain a threat that, by definition, did not operate according to a territorial paradigm was deemed illegitimate. Thus, these diplomatic options contradicted Britain's role as protector of

international law and order due to the oppositional construction of Saddam as both untrustworthy, and linked to an enemy that, by its nature, could not be contained nor negotiated with.

The Military Option

If the options for containment and continued inspections were rendered illegitimate, how were the identities deployed in the dominant narrative used to legitimate the military option? First, those supporting the dominant narrative argued that war was necessary because the Iraqi regime presented an imminent threat to the British, because the extent of Saddam's weapons and programs could not be adequately discerned. Soon after the passing of UNSC Resolution 1441 on November 8th, a debate in the House of Commons concerning the path forward revealed that many within the chamber viewed Saddam Hussein as unique amongst Iraqi leaders, arguing that "the thing that differentiates Saddam Hussein from the appalling Governments who have preceded him is that he is clearly a threat to the rest of the world" continuing "if he has weapons of mass destruction, clearly, we should take pre-emptive action to disarm him" (Hansard 2002a, 79).[19] Straw's identification of Iraq's record, noted earlier, as unique in its aggressive stance against its neighbored rendered his regime a major threat (Hansard 2003c, 266). Blair agreed, identifying the "threat to this country from his accumulated weapons of mass destruction" and that further negotiations must be avoided. Only "full and complete cooperation with UN inspectors" would act to halt the push towards war (Hansard 2003b, 859).

[19] Peter Tapsell, Conservative, Louth and Horncastle.

As addressed earlier, remarks on the part of the Chief UN weapons inspector Hans Blix suggested that, by this point, the Iraqi government was in fact cooperating, though admittedly, gaps in information still remained. Blair summarily ignored this information, arguing that:

> I believe that those inspectors, if they were given . . . cooperation, could do their work very easily; but if they are not given that cooperation . . . we get sucked back into delays of months and then years [the result of which would be that] we are unable to then unable to shut down the weapons of mass destruction programme . . . that everyone accepts is a danger to the world (Hansard 2003b, 859-60).[20]

The danger was "If Saddam Hussein were to obtain nuclear capacity" he would be acting from "an almost impregnable position" and would be "relatively invulnerable" (Hansard 2003c, 335).[21] Furthermore, some MPs argued that, if acquired, Saddam would use these WMDs against the West as he had not hesitated to use them against his own people (Hansard 2002a, 46; Hansard 2002a, 79).[22] This suggestion, however, relied upon a construction of Saddam as being both untrustworthy, unable to be deterred or contained, and finally, as barbarous and cruel, whose nature would dictate he would attempt to use these weapons against the West.

Yet, while Saddam's putative threat had existed for the past 12 years, the connection with terrorist elements identified by the dominant narrative placed this danger in stark relief. The dominant narrative argued that it was not the weapons capabilities that the Iraqi regime possessed at the time (as it was clear that, despite any WMD programs that were extent, Iraq did not possess the ability to deliver these

[20] He reiterates this idea of a threat to global security no less than three times throughout the month in the House of Commons. See also Hansard 2003b, 23.

[21] Donald Anderson, Labour, Swansea East.

[22] Michael Ancram, Conservative, Devizes; Peter Tapsell, Conservative, Louth and Horncastle.

weapons to British soil) but rather, the imminent threat of terrorism and similarly minded "rogue states" that were linked with Saddam's regime that presented the most severe threat. It is because of this that war became the only means of legitimately addressing this threat. Blair suggested in a speech before the House of Commons that "we know that Iraq is not alone in developing weapons of mass destruction; there are unstable, fiercely repressive states either proliferating or trying to acquire WMDs." He continued, "Unless we take a decisive stand now as an international community, it is only a matter of time before these threats come together" (Hansard 2003b, 23). In this same debate, Stuart Bell (Labour, Middlesbrough) asked, "what kind of world would we . . . be living in" if "a rogue state has VX nerve agents, toxin gases and anthrax" and "can link up with worldwide terrorists" (Hansard 2003b, 27). As noted earlier, it was the uncertainty attendant to terrorism and rogue states that rendered the military option preferable. The dominant narrative, keeping in mind Britain's role as a protector of international order, argued that this "future world" would not be one in which the fabric of international order and law could be maintained.

Yet, in order to legitimate war as a policy option, it was not enough to simply assert these threats existed. After all, they had existed for a while, and moreover, there were calls on the part of both allies and the UN to delay the rush to war and allow more time for inspections. As corollary to the argument that the Iraqi regime was an imminent threat, those supporting the dominant narrative argued a renewed policy of containment or continued UN weapons inspections was tantamount to allowing this imminent threat to go unanswered, merely delaying inevitable conflict. The argument that "it would never be right to take pre-emptive military action against Iraq or any other dictator" was

equated to “the argument for appeasement throughout the ages” (Hansard 2002a, 98).[23] As in Chapters 4 and 5, the government and its allies suggested that, “History should have taught us the dangers of not dealing effectively with ruthless dictators” and if threats aren’t addressed sooner rather than later, “the result will not be peace or security. It will simply be returning to confront the issue again at a later time, with the world less stable, the will of the international community less certain” and most importantly “and the will of those repressive states . . . emboldened and undeterred” (Hansard 2003b, 23). Straw argued that “delay would send Saddam the clearest possible signal that his strategy is succeeding. It would tell him that the international community lacks the will to disarm him” and it would suggest to other potential rogue actors that they should indeed do the same (Hansard 2003c, 272).

Furthermore, despite calls on the part of UN weapons inspectors and much of the international community to delay war (as it seemed that, at least for the time being, the inspections regime seemed to be bearing fruit) any compliance on the part of Saddam’s regime to reveal the extent of their weapons programs was dismissed as disingenuous, and merely an attempt to stall for time. Gerald Kaufman (Labour, Manchester Gorton) argued that there had been a number of resolutions, and that “If Saddam can get away with the games he is playing, stringing out the process until it is vitiated and nullified, the consequences for world order will be catastrophic.” The idea that war should be delayed was dismissed as ludicrous, as it was deemed to be contingent upon the notion that “Saddam will suddenly display a change of heart” (Hansard 2003c, 301). The government and its allies asserted delay merely allowed

[23] George Osborne, Conservative, Tatton.

Saddam to continue his atrocities. George Foulkes (Labour, Carrick, Cumbock and Doon Valley) warned, “Each day that passes without action to disarm Saddam Hussein means that more of those children will die and more members of the opposition will be persecuted.” He continued, “My colleagues should remember that there are consequences of inaction, as well as of action” (Hansard 2003c, 292).

In addition to the argument that Saddam represented an immediate threat to the British Self, the government and its allies further argued that that, if the British did not go through with their threat for war unless their exact demands were met, it would give the impression of weakness and reveal a lack of resolve on the part of the British, and the West as a whole. Blair argued as early as November 25th, 2002 that to not fulfill the UN mandate to rid Iraq of WMDs would be “the single most dangerous thing we could do” (Hansard 2002b, 676). He continued that if Britain showed “weakness now . . . no one will ever believe us when we try to show strength in the future” and that “all our history, especially British history, points to this lesson” (Hansard 2003b, 23). Jack Straw related this to the military option, arguing, “As we know from world history, on occasions it is essential to enforce law by force; otherwise the world becomes extremely dangerous.” Blair argued that if British resolve was questioned, the outcome would be to “recruit people to the cause of terrorism” on the “belief among these fanatics that the will of the international community is weak, that it does not have the determination to confront these issues” (Hansard 2003b, 33). Moreover, Britain’s credibility and role in this struggle was deemed essential, as its identity constructed in the dominant narrative, was that of protector and guarantor of world order and international institutions. To back down from the threat of force would have entailed “the United Nations [going] the way of

the League of nations in 1924 during the Abyssinian campaign . . . If the international community had taken those events more seriously . . . international law could have been enforced" (Hansard 2002a, 112).[24] The defense of Britain was explicitly connected with defense of these institutions, as Patrick Cormack (Conservative, South Staffordshire) argued in an effort to dissuade MPs from voting for an amendment that would require explicit UN sanction for military action,

> We are now at a critical juncture in the history of this new century. If we allow this evil tyrant to get away with it, we will advance into the century with no credible international organisations and with our own credibility, and therefore the defence of our very people, at risk (Hansard 2003c, 304).

In short, the military option was legitimated according to four arguments. First, the traditional argument, that Iraq posed an existential threat to Britain because of its WMD program. This only was possible in due to a prior construction of Saddam as unable to be contained or deterred. Second, because of Iraq's connection with international terror and other rogue states, it threatened world order, and challenged the dominant narrative's construction of Britain as a protector of this moral order. This new challenge knew no boundaries, was constructed as *sui generis*, although and therefore argued to be all that more dangerous. Third, Saddam was constructed as an imminent threat to Britain (and by extension, the world) due to his perceived intransigence. Allowance of this continued intransigence was tantamount to a policy of appeasement, and the dominant narrative argued history had shown that the "tyrannical" or "dictatorial" state is unable to be sated. If allowed to continue on, the dominant narrative argued this threat to the British Self would only become greater, and degrade its ability and that of

[24] Andrew Selous, Conservative, South West Bedfordshire.

its allies to contain it. Additionally, to ignore this threat would embolden other potential adversaries. This would contradict the dominant narrative's construction of Britain as a moral power, steadfast in its protection of international order and law.

Finally, the construction of British identity as active, courageous and steadfast in its protection of international order and international institutions served to restrict policy choice. Given the construction of Iraqi identity as untrustworthy and barbaric, pursuit of negotiations or continued containment, according to the dominant narrative, would be equated with appeasement. Thus, the identity narrative legitimated resort to arms. Given the constructed identity of the Iraqi regime, the only threat that would be deemed "credible" would be military action. To fail to follow through on this would entail the destruction of international law and international institutions to which British identity is ineluctably moored. The government and its allies argued that to fail to act (with military force if necessary) in defense of these would reveal British weakness, and ultimately, invite international disorder. Yet, this dominant narrative did not go unchallenged. Competing constructions of identity, both of Britain and Iraq, challenged the legitimacy of the military option, instead privileging other, more diplomatic courses of action.

Alternative Narratives

The aforementioned narrative was espoused by a broad array of political actors, including the Labour Government, PM Tony Blair, the Secretary of State Jack Straw, Secretary of Defense Geoffrey Hoon, as well as a number of staunch supporters from the Labour Party, such as David Winnick (Labour, Wallsal North) as well as from across the aisle, such as Patrick Cormack (Conservative, South Staffordshire). Despite the bipartisan support, many MPs proffered alternative narratives, most of which constructed the main actors in a very different fashion, and as a result, delegitimated

war as a policy option. I hesitate to call this a unified narrative, yet, these different narratives displayed a number of common themes. First, whereas the timeline presented in the dominant narrative tended to begin at 1990, with Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, or perhaps in 1988 with Saddam's use of chemical weapons against his own citizens, the timeline of these alternative narratives extended the temporal ambit, noting Western cooperation with Saddam's regime prior to 1990 (Hansard 2002a, 79; Hansard 2003c, 342).[25] Second, whereas the dominant narrative is sparse on the details of post-invasion planning, those who question this dominant narrative ask how the government is prepared to occupy, administer, provide for security of the Iraqi people, and rebuild Iraqi institutions and infrastructure post-invasion (Hansard 2003a, 558; Hansard).[26]

Most important were the portrayal of actors and how their identity was constructed in these alternative narratives. First, whereas in the dominant narrative the crisis is constructed narrowly, as a defiant rogue state facing the international community led by the lawful Western powers, alternative narratives tended to place the issue in a wider context, including other actors. Israel, for example, was included in many of these narratives, portrayed as a state that, similar to Iraq, routinely ignores UNSC Resolutions and possesses WMDs (Hansard 2002a, 67; Hansard 2003c, 312; Hansard 2003c, 355).[27] Moreover, whereas in the dominant narrative the impact of a war in Iraq on the greater Middle East is left unaddressed, those challenging this

[25] Neil Gerrard, Labour, Walthamstow; Mohammed Sarwar, Labour, Glasgow Central.

[26] Tam Dalyell, Labour, Linlithgow. Also, though it is not necessarily germane to the argument at hand, the connection made between past conflicts is interesting. Whereas the dominant narrative tried to connect this conflict with the Falklands War, generally regarded as a necessary and just war, those questioning this dominant narrative attempted to attach this to the Suez Crisis, which was and continues to be regarded as a debacle. For this comparison see Hansard 2003b, 463; Hansard 2003c, 357.

[27] Peter Kilfoyle, Labour, Liverpool Walton; Frank Dobson, Labour, Holborn and St. Pancras ; Geoffrey Clifton-Brown, Conservative, Cotswalds.

narrative argued that considerations of other states in the region should be included, most notably a Shiite-dominated Iran (Hansard 2002a, 67).[28]

In these alternative narratives, the identities of the British Self, the Iraqi Other, and the Iraqi people were constructed differently. First, although Iraq (i.e. the Iraqi Government, and more explicitly Saddam Hussein) is constructed negatively (indeed, all agree that he is a murderous dictator) he is not constructed as an imminent threat (Hansard 2003, 33; Hansard 2003b, 36; Hansard 2003c, 295).[29] In these narratives comparisons to Hitler are downplayed, and instead he is not constructed as a traditional political actor, subject to persuasion and coercion through incentives and disincentives (Hansard 2002a, 103; Hansard 2003c, 285-86).[30] Most important, alternative narratives questioned Iraq's connections with global Islamic terrorism, arguing that organizations such as Al-Qaeda constitute the true threat to Britain (Hansard 2002a, 116; Hansard 2003b, 265; Hansard 2003b, 29; Hansard 2003c, 295; Hansard 2003c, 347).[31] In fact, David Heath (Liberal Democrat, Somerton and Frome) argued that a war against Iraq would act as a "potent recruiting tool" by terrorist, decreasing rather than increasing British security (Hansard 2003b, 33).

Second, alternative narratives constructed the British Self differently. Most certainly, these alternative narratives espoused a vision of British identity that is

[28] Peter Kilfoyle, Labour, Liverpool Walton.

[29] Douglas Hogg, Labour, Sleaford and North Hykeham; Jenny Tonge, Liberal Democrat, Richmond Park; Kenneth Clarke, Conservative, Rushcliffe.

[30] Robert Wareing, Independent, Liverpool West Derby; Chris Smith, Labour, Islington South and Finsbury.

[31] Jenny Tonge, Liberal Democratic, Richmond; Charles Kennedy, Liberal Democrat, Ross, Skye and Lochaber; John Stanley, Labour, Tonbridge and Malling; Kenneth Clarke, Conservative, Rushcliffe; Robert Walter, Conservative, North Dorset.

commensurate with international law. Yet, they argued that Britain has historically, and should continue to remain subordinate to these international institutions and laws (Hansard 2002a, 77).[32] They argued that if Britain did not subordinate itself to international law in its action vis-à-vis Iraq that this, rather than the continuance of Saddam's regime, would be deleterious towards international law and order in addition to being contrary to its identity. Many of these alternative narratives argued that Britain had in fact subverted this identity by acting as a lackey to the United States, which these alternative narratives regularly identified as flouting international law (Hansard 2002a, 97; Hansard 2003c, 309).[33] They specifically identified the current US regime as the perpetrators, characterizing them as dishonest at best, and criminal at worst (Hansard 2002a, 99-100; Hansard 2002a, 93).[34] Finally, alternative narratives challenged the dominant construction of the Iraqi people in a number of ways. To be clear, the majority of these alternative narratives constituted them as victims, but also argued that to perpetrate a war against Iraq would make the Iraqi people victims to both Britain and Iraq (Hansard 2002a, 103; Hansard 2003, 550-01; Hansard 2003b, 39).[35] Additionally, whereas the dominant narrative constructed the Iraqi people as a monolithic entity, this is challenged, as Mark Hendrick (Labour Cooperative, Preston) that the Iraqi people are indeed three different peoples: Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish (Hansard 2002a, 96-7).

[32] Michael Moore, Liberal Democrat, Berwickshire, Roxburgh and Selkirk.

[33] George Osborne, Conservative, Tatton; George Galloway, Labour, Bradford West.

[34] Desmond Turner , Labour, Brighton Kemptown; Gerald Kaufman, Labour, Manchester Gorton.

[35] Robert Wareing, Independent, Liverpool West Derby; Simon Thomas, Plaid Cymru, Ceredigion; Joan Ruddock, Labour, Lewisham Deptford.

Yet, the question remains: how did these alternative identity narratives help to delegitimate war as a policy option? First, as these alternative narratives constructed Saddam Hussein as distinct from global Islamic terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda, some argued he was not a significant threat. In fact, alternative narratives argued that an illegitimate war in the Middle East would only help to destabilize an already unstable region (Hansard 2002, 108).[36] These alternative narratives pointed to the fact that support for war amongst Middle East states is minimal, and hatred of the West is palpable amongst the general populations of these countries (Hansard 2002a, 80; Hansard 2002a, 103-04; Hansard 2003c, 286-87).[37] Since Saddam Hussein and global Islamic terrorism were constructed separately, alternative narratives argued that the removal of a bulwark against this terrorism, in addition to the ill-will created by an invasion of Islamic territory by the West, would give terrorists newfound support in these countries, and thus would decrease rather than increase British security (Hansard 2003b, 30).[38] Second, most alternative narratives argued that military action should take place firmly within the framework of international law by the normal procedures, which would specifically include an additional UNSC Resolution sanctioning military action (Hansard 2002a 76; Hansard 2002a, 101; Hansard 2003c, 288).[39] Indeed, a second resolution explicitly mandating military action against Iraq was not a viable political option for the British, due to strenuous opposition from China, France, and Russia.

---

[36] David Chidgey, Liberal Democrat, Eastleigh.

[37] Peter Tapsell, Conservative, Louth and Horncastle; Robert Wareing, Independent, Liverpool West Derby; Chris Smith, Labour, Islington South

[38] Ian Taylor, Conservative, Esher and Walton.

[39] Diane Abbott, Labour, Hackney North and Stoke Newington; Elfyn Llwyd, Plaid Cymru, Meirionnydd Nant Conwy ; Michael Moore, Liberal Democrat, Berwickshire, Roxburgh and Selkirk.

Those espousing this alternative narrative argued that, if the British indeed identified as a protector and purveyor of international law, they should yield to the strictures of international institutions such as the UNSC.

Finally, alternative narratives forwarded a number of arguments in favor of continuing the containment or deterrence as viable policy options, as well as allowing for the continuation of UNMOVIC inspections. First, these narratives argued that, during its tenure, the policy of containment allied with inspections had significantly degraded Saddam's capability, one MP putting the rate of compliance at 70% (Hansard 2003c, 285-86).[40] Kenneth Clarke (Conservative, Rushcliffe) argued that inspections had not been given enough time, and that "the other approaches - the use of threat [as opposed to actual warfare] in order to get compliance – have not yet been exhausted" (Hansard 2003c, 293). Gavin Strang (Labour, Edinburgh East) questioned, "Has Iraq attacked, or threatened to attack, its neighbors or the wider world?" He continued, "When we talk about those 12 years, we should not pretend that they were 12 years of total failure . . . there was an effective containment of Saddam Hussein, and containment in those circumstances is not necessarily a bad policy" (Hansard 2003c, 316). Moreover, the questionable intelligence adopted by the Blair Cabinet in arguing for war raised a number of flags, many asserting the evidence connecting Saddam to global Islamic terrorism was not convincing enough to justify war (Hansard 2003, 34; Hansard 2003c, 294).[41]

[40] Chris Smith, Labour, Islington South.

[41] Tony Lloyd, Labour, Stretford; Kenneth Clarke, Conservative, Rushcliffe.

These arguments adopted an identity of Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi Government as being able to be contained, characterizing his regime in political rather than moral terms. Indeed, most who espoused this narrative suggested that Saddam Hussein is indeed an immoral person, but this does not prevent him from being faced with the same types of incentives as other state leaders. Moreover, they argued that containment or continued UN inspections presented a more legitimate option as it accorded with both the proffered Iraqi identity (as an entity able to be contained or deterred) as well as British identity in accordance with international law. According to alternative narratives, absent a second UNSC Resolution, the only recognized legal option was continued inspections. To circumvent this process was considered illegitimate, contrary to a British identity that was in accordance with international law, while conversely, supporting continued inspections in accordance with world opinion and international law was constructed as legitimate.

In short, I'm not suggesting that if these alternative narratives had been taken seriously by the Blair Cabinet that they would have resulted in a different outcome, but rather that there was an intimate connection between identities that are forwarded by the Government and the justification for going to war. Simply put, policy choices are, at least in part, contingent upon the identities that are forwarded in their defense, and further, chosen policies merely serve to reinforce these identities. What follows is a brief examination of the implications of this, how this insight may be applied to further studies in the future, and what limitations are contained in this research.

Epilogue

Whereas in the epilogues in Chapters 3 and 4, I discussed the ramifications for British identity in the shadow of the conflicts in which they participated, it is questionable

whether enough time has passed in order to fully explore ramifications for British identity in regards to the Iraq War. Despite this, a few points may be noted. There is some evidence to suggest Britain has begun to take a more active role in world affairs. First, the British have become quite active in humanitarian crises, sometimes employing military force, since the end of the Cold War. In addition to a military intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000, the British (along with France) took the lead in lending support to the united opposition to the Libyan regime in its 2010 Civil War. Second, Britain has been foremost amongst nations in support of the changing view of sovereignty explicated in the UN doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (Chandler 2010; Feinstein and Slaughter 2004). Whereas traditionally the institution of state sovereignty places a country's domestic politics beyond the political and legal ken of other countries, the R2P doctrine suggests that sovereignty is a privilege, a contract between governed and those that govern. This doctrine argues that, if a state leader violates his responsibility to protect his people, then traditional rules of sovereignty no longer apply, and the international community may be empowered to take action. This doctrine has clear affinities with a similar concept of human security, which suggests that the onus of the state is not protecting itself, but rather its citizens. The paradigm of Human Security suggests that, often times, wars that are represented as protecting citizens often do more harm, and that other non-military security threats, including criminal and environmental, are often more dangerous than traditional military ones (Kaldor 2007). Britain's active support of these types of doctrines suggest, not necessarily a shift in its identity as a protector of international law, but perhaps a shift in how that role is being expanded. Finally, although it is beyond the purview of this analysis, one must question

how the dominant narrative's construction of Britain vis-à-vis a radical terrorist Other will direct British foreign policy in subsequent years.

On the other hand, few would suggest that the fallout of the Iraq War had a positive effect on the British political establishment. The prosecution of the Iraq War, under what were considered generally false pretenses, was perhaps almost single-handedly responsible for the removal of Tony Blair from party leadership. The British electorate continues to hold a very dim view of the war and future involvement in the region, as evidenced by strong rhetoric combined with limited action vis-à-vis the Syrian Civil War. Thus, it is perhaps too early to make definitive comments concerning British identity in the future. However, what is certain is that, whatever military interventions do take place, their legitimation will depend heavily upon the categories of identity treated in the preceding analysis. Politics may be viewed not only as the art of leadership, but the art of legitimating policy choices. The ways in which that is done, and the categories adopted are of paramount importance for the study of IR. Chapter 6 will focus on how the preceding analysis sheds insight into current debates into IR, including the necessity of focusing on identity, policy legitimation, and their relationship, as well how this project provides multiple entry points for future inquiry regarding the relationship of narrative representation, identity, and the politics of legitimation.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

Throughout this project, I analyze how constructions of British identity vis-à-vis its partial and radical Others were employed to legitimate foreign policy choices during three post-World War II security crises. Focusing on the construction of dominant identity narratives, I demonstrate that legitimation of foreign policies cannot be understood apart from the identities employed to justify them, and foreign policy choices must accord with these identities. Despite significant shifts in historical, political, and economic realities within Britain between 1956 and 2003, and significant differences in the crises themselves, construction of British identity within the dominant narratives in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 remained remarkably similar. These dominant narratives emphasized Britain as a rational, democratic, dynamic, and international law-promoting power. They constructed Britain as a full political entity imbued with political agency, and a protector and seminal figure in the creation of international law and the international order.

Furthermore, these narratives constructed the radical Others in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 in a remarkably similar fashion. They were constructed as irrational, criminal, and corrosive of international order. While Britain was constructed as embodying universal political and legal principles, the radical Other was constructed as avaricious, dishonest, and harboring a hidden agenda. Moreover, the dominant narratives constructed these crises not as political events, but criminal acts for which the radical Other was responsible, necessitating swift and forceful action. Finally, the role of the partial Other, while differing amongst the three cases, was always a passive one. The partial Others

were constructed as victims of the radical Other in need of protection and rescue for which the British were responsible.

In Chapter 6, first, I offer a brief comparative analysis of Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Second, I examine potential shortcomings of my research method, and propose strategies to address them in subsequent analyses. Third, I demonstrate how this analysis fits into the broader scholarly context regarding identity and narrative. Finally, I suggest some avenues for future research into the relationships among identity, narrative, and legitimation.

Comparing the Cases

Pronounced similarities amongst the three cases lead one to conclude that certain elements of British identity have remained relatively constant throughout the post-World War II period. Legitimations in the dominant narrative of foreign policy choices in the Suez Crisis, Falklands War, and Iraq War were all contingent upon constructions of a Self that emphasized the democratic nature of Britain's political system, its unique role as the fount and protector of international law, and the superiority of the British political system vis-à-vis the Other. While strategic or geopolitical considerations were evident, the dominant narrative's legitimation of the military option in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 all hinged, to some degree, on defense of principles deemed constitutive of the British *corps politique* challenged by an array of radical and partial Others.

First, analysis of House of Commons debates during the Suez Crisis reveal that legitimating the decision to undertake military action did not hinge on geostrategic imperatives alone. During the Suez Crisis, the dominant narrative constructed the crisis as a breach of international law on the part of the Egyptian regime, and legitimated war

based on Britain's identity as the protector of international law and order. The dominant narrative constructed both the Argentine invasion of the Falklands in 1982 and the Iraq Crisis in mid-2002 and early 2003 in a similar light. Britain, as the upholder of international law and order, was duty-bound to intervene in response to what the dominant narrative constructed as an international criminal act. Indeed, there were significant geopolitical imperatives for the British to go to war during the Falklands Crisis. Whether or not the same can be said for the Suez Crisis or the run-up to the Iraq War is questionable. Yet, while there may have been strategic imperatives for military action in all three crises, legitimation in the Suez, Falklands, and Iraq Wars hinged on defense of principles and elements of identity, rather than these geostrategic imperatives.

Furthermore, the governments and their allies in the Suez, Falklands, and Iraq Wars constructed British identity in convergence with, and upholding universal interests and principles. The dominant narratives constructed Britain as exceptional in this regard. In 1956, the dominant narrative suggested that Nasser's confiscation of the Suez Canal was a challenge to the prevailing international order, just as in 1982 the invasion of the Falklands constructed as undermining the principle of state sovereignty, and the continued transgressions of Iraq in relation to UNSC undermined constitutive principles of international order in 2003. In short, the dominant narrative constructed a British Self indelibly aligned with universal principles and acting in the interests of universal peace and order, and in fact, duty bound to uphold these principles.

As an aside, E.H. Carr's (1964) seminal work *the Twenty Years' Crisis* portents construction of British identity in the post-World War II era. Carr (1964) suggests that

the post-World War I settlement was not constructed upon a “harmony of interests” as the allies had suggested, but rather represented their individual state interests. He suggests that natural concordance of state interests do not exist, and instead this so-called “harmony of interests” served as a rhetorical tool used by the British and the Americans to justify the imposition of a post-World War I international order reflective of their interests. Indeed, Carr’s insights have been supported by subsequent analyses. More recent scholarship supports the contention that states use rhetorical tools to justify the prevailing international order. Labels such as “democracy” or “adherence to international law” do not exhibit stable meaning, and are often times attached to states’ friends and allies, while enemies are constructed in a less generous manner (Hoffman 1977; Oren 1995; Oren 2003).

Analyses in Chapters 3-5 support these assertions. Dominant constructions of British identity were closely identified with principles such as “international law” and “international order” despite the governments’ questionable adherence to them. Indeed, legal justifications for military intervention in the Suez Crisis and the Iraq War were questionable at best. Regarding the former, British military intervention lacked even the most minimal international support, including its most fundamental ally, the United States. Moreover, despite the dominant narratives in Chapters 3-5 allying British identity with democratic principles juxtaposed with its non-democratic enemy, public and cross-party support for military action were absent. British adherence to universal principles, and the notion that those principles were shared not only by members of the Commonwealth, but by the world as a whole, was indeed questionable.

Second, the dominant narratives in Chapters 3-5 exhibit fundamental similarities in how the governments and their allies constructed their enemies. In these narratives, radical Otherness is not constituted in the guise of a competing state or society, but rather, is constructed as a single government or individual. The dominant narratives in support of military intervention constructed the behaviors of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Argentinian military Junta, and Saddam Hussein not as political actions of heads of state, but rather the transgressions of the international order by criminal outlaws. Whereas the dominant narrative constructed the British Self as a legitimate political entity, the radical Other was inherently irrational, anti-democratic, power-seeking, and possessed of nefarious designs inimical not only to Britain and its interests, but by extension, the interests of global order, international law, and democracy. The dominant narrative constructed the Other as brutally oppressive (Often individual instances of this oppression were forwarded as legitimations for going to war.) not only towards foreigners, but the government's own citizens as well.

In all cases, the Other's actions were shorn of any political connotation and instead represented as moral choices. Many constructions offered in these dominant narratives are paradoxical to say the least. The Egyptian government during the Suez Crisis is an instructive example. On the one hand, Gamal Abdel Nasser was constructed as a cunning political operator, yet was subject to the excesses of desire, passion and irrationality. His decisions were constructed as moral choices, thus rendering mainstream political categories irrelevant, implying his motives were apolitical. Yet, during the Suez Crisis Eden's government constructed Nasser as a cunning political master and demagogue to which the masses of the Arab states are susceptible. The

dominant narrative's construction of the radical Other in Chapters 3 and 5 exhibit stark similarities and rely upon Orientalist constructions of Arab leaders and populations forwarded in the 19th century (Said 1979).

Despite these similarities, this project reveals broad shifts in the construction of British identity and Other identities. Legitimation in Chapters 3-5 cannot be understood absent inclusion of a partial Other. In both the Suez Crisis and the Iraq War, the partial Other consisted of the Egyptian and Iraqi people respectively. In both cases, they were constructed as non-agents, passive societies that had fallen under the sway of a ruthless tyrant. While not constructed entirely in opposition to the British Self, they were characterized partly through difference, yet exhibiting potential for advancement. On the other hand, in Chapter 4, Falkland Islanders were constructed as a kind of partial Other reflective of a previous and more authentic form of British political and moral ideals. Indeed, in Chapters 3-5, while the partial Others were constructed as passive agents, victims of the radical Other, marked differences exist amongst Chapters 3-5 regarding both the construction of the partial Other as well as British responsibilities towards them.

First, the dominant narratives' constructions of the partial Other in Chapters 3-5 reveal changes in how the British both constructed these populations, as well as their role as protectors of international law and international order. During the Suez Crisis, the dominant narrative constructed Egyptians and Arabs as similar in some important respects yet different in others. As discussed in Chapter 3, the dominant narrative depicted Egyptians as untrustworthy due to their affiliations with Nazi Germany during the Second World War. The dominant narrative in Chapter 3 constructed Arabs *writ large* as fanatical, child-like, and overly-emotional, although capable of advancement.

Whereas discussion of the nature of Arab peoples figured prominently in the dominant narrative in Chapter 3, in Chapter 4 there were relatively few mentions of the nature of the Argentine people in House of Commons debates.[1] Despite the dearth of Argentine popular identity construction, in Chapter 4 the dominant narrative constructed the Falkland Islanders themselves as exemplars of an idyllic British identity. Thatcher's government and its allies constructed the Falklanders as romanticized, independent British yeoman embodying principles of a British exceptionalism endangered by years of political decline.

Finally, in Chapter 5, the dominant narrative constructed Arabs differently than in Chapter 3. While constructions of Arabs revolved around Orientalist stereotypes during the Suez Crisis, constructions of the Iraqi people during the Iraq War depicted them as helpless victims, robbed of agency, and in need of British protection. The dominant narrative during the Iraq War constructed an Iraqi people without an independent political identity. Insofar as their political desires were constructed, they reflected the desires of the West.

On a related noted, representations of the partial Other changed throughout Chapters 3-5, and representations of British responsibility vis-à-vis the partial Other changed as well. British responsibility toward the partial Other and its duties under international law and regarding the maintenance of international order differed significantly. During the Suez Crisis, the dominant narrative's legitimation of military action relied upon construction of the partial Other as a potential threat. As the dominant narrative constructed Arab peoples as susceptible to the demagoguery of the Egyptian

[1] Racist, stereotypic depictions of Argentines were, however, heavily represented in the British media, although this is beyond the purview of this study.

government, military intervention was justified to prevent the construction of an Arab Empire. Furthermore, insofar as the dominant narrative referenced rescue of the Egyptian people, it constructed this as part of Britain's colonial responsibility. In Chapter 4, the government and its allies depicted responsibility towards the Falklanders in terms of responsibility toward British, rather than colonial, subjects. Finally, in Chapter 5, the dominant narrative constructed the Iraqi people, not as potential enemies, but innocent victims of the Iraqi regime's brutality. The dominant narrative's construction of the British as upholders of international law and order is used as part of the argument to legitimate military action. Whereas during the Suez Crisis, the dominant narrative constructed international order as the maintenance of international property rights, on the one hand, or the sanctity of treaties on the other, this analysis renders it clear that, by 2003, maintenance of international order entailed an entirely different set of responsibilities.

As discussed in Chapter 5, recent scholarship has noted how norms of state sovereignty and humanitarian intervention have changed over the past sixty years. Finnemore (1996) argues that legitimate humanitarian intervention in the early 20th century usually involved rescuing Christians from Muslims. Muslims were not yet constituted as fully "human" in the same way Christians were. Yet, due in part to decolonization and changing norms, by the late 20th century norms of humanitarian intervention constructed individuals as equal, regardless of race or ethnicity. Similarly, norms of state sovereignty have also undergone significant changes from 1945 to the present. Whereas norms of classical state sovereignty privilege the principle of non-intervention, norms have shifted to reflect a more conditional notion of sovereignty especially in the wake of the Cold War (Chandler 2010; Feinstein and Slaughter 2004).

Norms forwarded by the UN in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and supported by many in the international community underscore a Responsibility to Protect, claiming that state sovereignty is conditional upon a government's ability and desire to provide its citizens with certain basic civil rights and protections (Doyle 2011; Evans 2004).

Given this shifting conception of sovereignty in the international system, it is unsurprising that, while the dominant narrative's construction of Britain as a "protector of international law and order" remained constant, how this identity was employed to legitimate military intervention shifted over time. Whereas to consider oneself a paragon of international law and order in 1956 may not have warranted military intervention for humanitarian purposes, in 2003, this identity, if not demanding it, at least allows it. Thus, how British identity was employed in legitimating military intervention reflects shifts in this international normative structure. While the categories of British identity may have remained the same since 1956, the meanings of those categories have changed. Later, I reflect upon how this very phenomenon necessitates a more complex conceptualization of identity and narrative in IR.

To be clear, I do not suggest the dominant narratives discussed above were the only ones forwarded. Indeed, as explored in Chapters 3-5, alternative narratives were regularly forwarded by the Opposition to delegitimate military intervention. Further, neither does this suggest that these identities were "held" by a majority of the population, or even a majority of political elites in Britain. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is impossible to empirically decipher true beliefs with any reasonable certainty. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 2, there is significant evidence to suggest that the effect of public opinion on foreign policy is minimal. Despite these provisos, the commonalities

and differences of construction of British Self and Other identities during these three distinct phases of British history lend insight into how changing British identity, in conjunction with changing in international norms, have augured shifts in how those identities are employed to legitimate policy choices.

What is clear, through examination of both dominant and alternative narratives in Chapters 3-5, is that while British identity has undergone some profound shifts, in terms of its role as a colonial power and its fears concerning its status as a great power, the underlying bedrock of principles upon which Britain's identity is built has remained the same. This underscores a point, examined in subsequent pages, that in order to understand legitimation one must examine how identities are employed in historically and politically contextualized narratives. While Britain's status as a "protector of international law" or "democratic power" has remained the same, the meaning of those terms are liable to change based upon the narrative context within which they are articulated. Indeed, referring to Britain as follower or protector of international law can, and was, used to both legitimate and delegitimate military intervention in all three cases. Thus, the future of analysis of political legitimation and its relationship to identity relies upon examining these phenomena through the lens of narrative. Yet, while this analysis represents an improvement over existing approaches to studies of legitimation and identity, it exhibits some shortcomings. In the interest of aiding future research into this interesting field, I offer some suggestions on how to improve upon this research design for future research.

Strengthening the Research Design

The purpose of this project is to examine how Self and Other identity narratives were employed to legitimate policy choice during security crises. This requires

examining how these foreign policy crises themselves were cast, and how the narratives used to legitimate them reflected these identities. To be clear, this analysis was not intended to replace or subvert more traditional causal explanations of foreign policy. Indeed, it would be naïve to suggest strategic interests played no part in explaining these military interventions. To proffer a model that casts strategic interests in opposition to identity would be a misinterpretation of the constructivist move. Constructivsts argue identity constructs states' strategic and economic interests. Regardless of the status of British economic and strategic interests, the analysis supports my original contention that legitimation of military intervention depends upon invocation of identities. As in all analyses, limitations in terms of time and resources place constraints on the project. While I limit the impact of these constraints in my research design to the best of my ability, this project, as well as future projects, may benefit from certain improvements.

First, expanding the temporal scope of the study would provide a more robust measure of how British identity is used to legitimate foreign policy decisions, especially in regard to British exceptionalism and respect for international law. The purpose of this project was to analyze how the British legitimated military interventions with respect to identity. This invariably involves examining how the British underwent a shift from a colonial to a post-colonial identity. One possible critique of this design is that, by the time of the Suez Crisis, colonialism was already an illegitimate form of political organization. As early as the mid-1940s, the emerging nationalist movement in India made the continuation of imperial control untenable for the British in its most prized possession. Furthermore, the British Empire was under immense strain as early as

1918, with a dearth of trained administrations, the addition of a number of mandates under British supervision, and finally, the astronomical costs incurred in fighting the First World War (Hyam 2006, 12). Some suggest that a significant segment of the British political elite viewed colonialism as untenable as far back as the 1890s (Friedburg 1988).

Although in the Chapter 3, I demonstrate that there is evidence that well into the 1950s, certain British political elites believed the Empire not only to be tenable, but the future of the British state, inclusion of a pre-1945 case does hold some appeal. First, it would increase the robustness of the research design by examining how legitimation proceeded in an historical context in which colonialism was a more legitimate form of political organization. Potential cases include the Boer War (1899-1902) and military actions against the Arabs during the 1920s. I indicate earlier that my analysis provides three snapshots, points in British history during which the British Empire was sick (1956), dying (1982), and dead (2003). My decision to include more recent cases, rather than past cases, was informed by the desire to undertake a more timely analysis, rather than an historical exploration of British identity and legitimation. Keeping this in mind, either of the aforementioned cases would present an instance in which the British Empire was in a healthier state, and thus provide a more expansive analysis of British legitimation of policy choice during security crises.

Second, my research design relies mostly upon House of Commons debates in lieu of other types of official discourse. While I include some Foreign Office and Cabinet Office documents in Chapter 3, these types of documents are not yet available for the cases I explore in Chapters 4 and 5. The laws governing declassification of documents

in the United Kingdom provide that Cabinet papers are declassified after thirty years, meaning that much of the information for the Falklands War has already been declassified, though there is quite a ways to go for the Iraq War (Public Records Act 1958).[2]

Indeed, during this analysis I had to make a difficult choice as to whether or not to include government records available for the Suez Crisis (1956) that were not yet available for the Falklands or Iraq Wars (in 1982 and 2003 respectively). I chose to sacrifice consistency in favor of validity and robustness and included records from the Suez Crisis, the type of which were not available for the other two. I did this because it made for a richer and more nuanced examination of the Suez Crisis while not necessarily undermining the larger aims of the project. Although I chose to limit my analysis to legitimation as processes of public justification, it would be a useful exercise to examine how House of Commons debates related to debates within other British institutions. Inclusion of these formerly classified documents may help to better elucidate the processes by which these foreign policy choices were legitimated privately to other members of the cabinet.

Finally, during all three examined crises, the British decision was for military conflict over negotiation. In a traditional causal analysis this would violate one of the fundamental rules of political methodology, as it is a clear example of choosing cases based upon the dependent variable. As I have stressed in Chapters 1 and 2, this analysis does not seek to substitute for causal analysis, but rather, to complement it.

[2] During the time I was researching this case, these documents, which can only be found at the British National Archive, were not available.

Although the research design does not deem it necessary, examination of an instance in which a military option was not chosen would provide an interesting comparison.

Contributions to Existing Literature

Exploration of legitimation as a phenomenon in international relations has undergone a renaissance over the past fifteen years, extending its reach into mainstream IR scholarship (Mearsheimer 2011). Realists such as Mearsheimer have traditionally diminished the importance of legitimation in IR, arguing that exploring legitimation should take a back seat to traditional causal explanations of state behavior (Mearsheimer 2001). Mearsheimer's (2011) current work, rather than representing a break from his earlier assumptions, builds upon them in order to understand the reasons and means by which state leaders lie in order to realize the goals of state security. One reason, claims Mearsheimer, is the need to build both popular and government support for necessary but potentially costly policies. By focusing on such an important question, Mearsheimer has unknowingly revealed (and attempts to overcome) a major gap in mainstream IR.

As previously noted, the essence of politics in a democracy is convincing, or attempting to, convince other political agents of the necessity or desirability of one policy over another. Until the last 15 years, mainstream IR scholarship has either diminished the importance of this process, or assumed it as a necessary part of the foreign policy process while leaving it unpacked. Thus, this research builds upon prior scholarship in the field of legitimation in a number of ways.

First, this work confirms many of the contentions of prior scholars regarding legitimation. Indeed, the dominant narratives proffered in Chapters 3-5 suggest that state leaders indeed seek to provide stable links between identity and foreign policy

(Hansen 2006). Yet, whereas Hansen (2006) suggests a stable link between identity and foreign policy is necessary, my analysis demonstrates that both alternative and dominant narratives rely on similar articulations of identity categories. Jackson (2006) makes a similar point by suggesting that legitimations rely upon what he terms "rhetorical commonplaces," or terms that have meaningful resonance for policy-makers and publics alike.

My analysis builds upon this scholarship by demonstrating that, while both dominant and alternative narratives rely upon these prior identities, the narratives themselves, and how these identities are constructed vis-à-vis partial and radical Others, former constructions of Selves, and in relation to a construction of the crisis itself, provide different meanings for these identities. As demonstrated earlier, Britain's identity as a protector of international law may be employed to argue for or against military intervention. What truly matters is the way the story is presented, how the crisis is constructed, how previous identities and crises are understood and employed in the narrative's arguments. These factors make the difference between legitimation of a military option and legitimation of a non-conflictual policy options. In short, while legitimation is indelibly moored to identity, narratives provide the context in which identities are employed to legitimate foreign policies. Thus, one may not truly explore the role of identity in the process of legitimation without providing an account of narrative.

Second, more nuanced analysis of legitimation necessitates not only the inclusion of narrative, but the extension of the conceptual limits of identity in order to make it compatible with a narrative approach. Until recently, identity scholarship

conceived of relational identity in simple Self-Other terms. These scholars argued that the Self is constituted through a relationship of difference with a radical Other (Connolly 1991; Campbell 1992; Doty 1996; Neumann 1999). Yet, as was demonstrated in Chapter 2, more recent scholarship has challenged the necessity of construction of identity in simple binary terms (Waever 1998; Hansen 2006). These analyses confirm that identity cannot be understood as a simplistic binary relationship of difference.

While identity is indeed a relational phenomenon, the relational webs through which identities are cast are often quite complex. As demonstrated in Chapters 3-5, explanations for legitimations in war would be incomplete absent inclusions of partial Others and former Selves. Moreover, these constructions are often quite nuanced, historically grounded, and require a careful and grounded empirical analysis. For example, during the Suez Crisis, the construction of Arab and Egyptian people as undependable and susceptible to demagoguery legitimated military action, lest Egypt be left in a position to create an Arab Empire. During the Iraq War, construction of the Iraqi people as victims of Saddam Hussein was similarly instrumental in legitimating war. Furthermore, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, explorations of the role of identity in must not relegate themselves to contemporary constructions of identity, but must instead explore how the current Self is often times constructed vis-à-vis a former Self (Waever 1998). The construction of British identity in relationship to a Britain-in-decline was instrumental in explaining legitimation of the military option during the Falklands Crisis. Political events are almost unimaginably complex, and due to this, conceptualizations of identity in IR must be able to incorporate analysis of multiple actors and relationships as opposed to privileging singular oppositional relationships (i.e. the radical Self-Other

binary). The research design adopted in my analysis builds upon earlier work by providing an empirically grounded framework that accomplishes this.

Finally, this project demonstrates the possibility of a robust empirical analysis that incorporates both poststructural and social psychological insights. Recent poststructural critiques of identity coincide with alternatives to simple Self-Other models proffered by Jackson (2006) and Steele (2008) among others. The significant overlap between the poststructural view of identity and the model I adopt suggests the possibility of cross-pollination---narrative identity construction combined with a more complex analytical framework may provide more useful approaches to identity in IR and its relationship to legitimation and understanding state behavior.

Recent poststructuralist scholarship underscores this earlier oversimplification of identity in constructivism. “Constructivism,” argues Epstein, “has come under increasing critique from within the reflectivist turn for the way it has entrenched a fixed, essentialized understanding of identity in IR” (Epstein 2011, 8; Campbell 1998; Hansen 2006; Lynn Doty 2000; Smith 2000; Zehfuss 2002). This insight has prompted some to reject the study of identity as a category of inquiry altogether. Some scholars have suggested Lacan’s use of “subject positions” in lieu of “self-identity” as a way to understand the ideational roots of statehood. For these scholars, the “unified self is . . . nothing more than an imaginary construct that the individual needs to believe in order to compensate for a constitutive lack that lies at the core of her (or his) identity” (Epstein 2011, 8). This position “highlight[s] the existence of alternative ontologies of identity that have been largely ignored by constructivism” (Epstein 2011, 8). According to this view, what constitutes the social subject is “the ability to speak, to make meaning or

'symbolize'" (Epstein 2011, 8). Epstein suggests this recent "scholarship amply illustrates the Lacanian point that the making of the self is a narrative act" (Epstein 2011, 10). This is remarkably similar to the insights adopted throughout the mid-2000s by scholars relying on a social psychological approach. The biographical narrative approach to identity pioneered by Giddens (1991) and adopted by Steele (2008), while not requiring inclusion of reflection upon the Other in the construction upon the Self, does not preclude it.

While many compatibilities and potentialities for synthesis exist amongst these competing schools of thought, many scholars have failed to capitalize on these due to needlessly rigid disciplinary boundaries and the tyranny of "isms" (Lake 2011). Poststructuralist conceptualizations of identity share more common ground with mainstream IR, such as those borrowed from Giddens, than many would care to admit. Often, useful syntheses are eschewed due to perceived incompatibilities, based in obscure, esoteric epistemological and ontological points. The Lacanian treatment of identity forwarded by Epstein (2011) is functionally similar to the account of identity offered by Giddens (1991). Attempts at overcoming these "isms" have not come exclusively from mainstream IR scholars such as Lake. Some scholars argue that the epistemological moorings of poststructuralist scholarship do not preclude the possibility of rigorous research designs, prompting scholars such as Milliken (1999), Hansen (2006), and Epstein (2011) to attempt to provide methodological standards for poststructuralist scholarship. By adopting and building upon attempts to construct rigorous, empirically-driven poststructuralist works such as those of Hansen (2006) and Epstein (2011), and the adoption of the device of narrative in understanding identity

pioneered by Steele (2008), this project joins conversations in these two bodies of knowledge.

Possibilities for Future Research

The analysis offered in this project suggests that narratives and identity play an important role in legitimating foreign policy. Yet, this insight broaches further questions regarding the relationship between identity, narrative, and policy choice. First, the longitudinal method employed in this analysis may lend insight into shifts in British identity since the end of Empire. The analysis offered here provides a skeletal rubric which, of course, would need to be expanded and filled in. The research design offered in this project provides an explanation for identity change through temporal Othering *a la* Waever (1998) as an analytical method, and if extended, could provide fruitful insights into the nature of British identity.

Second, the use of analogy in influencing foreign policy choice, while explored in the US context, has yet to be fully examined in the British context (Khong 1992). Since the "Munich analogy" figured so prominently in Chapters 3- 5, this begs the question of how analogies operate over time? Do their meanings transmute through time, or do they remain constant? What role does narrative play in constituting meaning in metaphor? In regards to the last question, analyses of the three crises provide evidence that analogies to the Munich Crisis figured prominently amongst both supporters of dominant and alternative narratives suggesting that meanings of analogies may indeed be as contingent upon narrative context as identity.

Third, the adoption of a narrative approach to state identity may provide a more complex understanding of how identities are constructed through time. The relationship between time and the subject in IR has garnered recent scholarly attention (Solomon

2013). To begin, there is the question of how identity changes through time and the means by which this occurs. An important part of this story involves the capacity inherent in social beings for self-reflexivity, or using previous knowledge and experience to continually reconstitute the biographical narrative upon which Self-identity is based (Giddens 1991, 52-3). States *qua* social actors are unique as both products of knowledge as well as producers of knowledge about themselves (Giddens 1984, 5; Steele 2008, 150). Therefore, states are self-aware actors that can "ask what their past and current actions imply about 'who they are' as a state" (Steele 2008, 150). This means that prior biographical narratives, both proffered from within and without, are taken into account and influence reformulations of state identity. Yet, by what means do these reformulations occur?

Shame and guilt are two phenomena that bear directly on this question. "Shame," argues Giddens, "is essentially anxiety about the adequacy of the narrative by means of which the individual sustains a coherent biography" (1991, 65). The role of self-reflexive shame, as well as the role the academic community plays in challenging the identity of the state, are two facets of international politics that have only recently been explored, but may provide significant insight into how state identity changes, and how this bears upon foreign policy (Steele 2010). Britain throughout the post-World War II era would provide an excellent testing ground for these theories. Preliminary evidence in Chapter 4 suggests a significant role for the phenomenon of shame in the process of identity shift.

Finally, the relationship of narrative and time presents an interesting puzzle, and one that has only recently been broached in IR. Further attention to this relationship

may lend insight into how constructions of time operate in legitimating or delegitimating foreign policy choices. If narratives “order our world” (Wibben 2012, 43) and act as a medium “by which human experience is meaningful” (Polkinghorne 1988, 1) then this, by necessity, implies a representation of the time in which those events and experiences take place. The importance of time and how it is represented has breathed new life into the constructivist approach to international relations over the past 10 years. Recent scholarship has delved into the construction of temporality and how it colors various topics such as the theory of classical realism (Steele and Hom 2010) and the US War on Terror (Debrix 2008; Jarvis 2009; Lundborg 2012; Solomon 2013; Steele 2010). Moreover, explorations into the role of temporality and formation of the subject suggest that the construction of the subject is ontologically bound to construction of time, as the full meaning of subjectivity understood in Lacanian terms as a string of signifiers is always, “constituted by other terms and, inversely, sealing their meanings by its retroactive effect” (Lacan 2006, 682; Solomon 2013, 4). This constant reformation of subjectivity in time suggests that, though the subject strives for completeness, it is always forthcoming, and thus final meaning is “achieved” only through the imposition of fantasy, the traces of which are made natural (Solomon 2013, 4; Zizeck 2002; Zizeck 1989, 102). Thus, the subject’s identity is indelibly tied to, indeed constituted by the fictions it creates for itself, fictions which are constantly reformulated according to the psychological needs of the agent.

This means that the subject at present is occupied by the constant process of forming its past and its future. Berenskoetter argues that constructivists have heretofore been preoccupied with the past, though both conventional and critical constructivist

concerns are deeply pervaded with constructions of possible futures. He argues, "humans are primarily driven by an attempt to make the future meaningful and themselves within it" and "future uncertainty . . . is a fundamental feature of the human condition." Humans engage this uncertainty with "attempts to make the future meaningful by imagining . . . possible worlds." He continues that "while IR scholar have been busy making prophecies of their own, how visions of the future affect decision making and motivate action has not received much analytical attention" (Berenskoetter 2011, 652- 655). As such, Berenskoetter examines the role of constructions of utopia in International Relations. How do constructions of future worlds relate to the past, and how does this relate to the concept of identity and narrative within the British context? Furthermore, how does this better help us understand international politics more broadly?

The "Future" of Narrative in Narratives of the Future

As biographical narrative involves projecting one's identity into the future, biographical narratives during crises tend to deal in "all or nothing" terms by projecting one of two possible futures: either one that is completely dystopian (the worst of all possible worlds) or utopian (the best of all possible worlds), and in doing so, tends to reduce the menu of possible policy options. For example, during the Suez Crisis, two plausible futures were provided by the Eden administration's narrative of the crisis. The first was one in which Britain had lost the canal, which included the probability of a vast Arab empire on Britain's periphery, headed by anti-British, possibly pro-Soviet dictator with whom negotiations would be impossible. Contrast this to a future in which military action had succeeded and Britain retained its influence in the region, perhaps gaining a more solid foothold and bolstering its regional allies. As might be expected, even though

the operation failed, the outcome was not as bad as the worst possible scenario. On the other hand, had it succeeded, this would surely not have stemmed the tide of nationalism and decolonization that was building during this period.

The run-up to the Iraq War provides an even starker example of these dystopian and utopian futures: on the one hand, according to Blair's narrative, a nuclear-armed Saddam Hussein was constituted as an existential threat to both the United States and the United Kingdom due to his connections with Islamic terrorism (despite the recognized lack of evidence of this). Saddam Hussein's possible success in joining the nuclear club would represent a significant reduction in British security. His elimination would not only remove an unreliable and unpredictable quantity from the Middle East, but also remove a brutal dictator that oppressed his own people, making way for a democratic revolution in the Middle East. While there is only preliminary evidence for this relationship, a more rigorous examination of the relationship between crises and dystopian and utopian futures, and how that influences legitimation of less conciliatory foreign policy choice offers the immense promise.

Although futures matter, constructions of the future are ineluctably moored to constructions of the past, which themselves are moored to types of narrative. One need only look at how political scientists and historians create wholly artificial boundaries when constructing their works to understand the relationship between the two. Indeed, despite the description of liberal politics as bound by a linear conception of time, it seems more accurate to describe liberalism as occurring in eschatological time, pervaded with the eschatological notion that "end times" are upon us as divined by revelation of prophetic events. One only need examine Francis Fukuyama's (1992) *End*

of History, which does not suggest linear progression, but rather that the last days are revealed to us through the occurrences of the end of the Cold War and the ushering in of a post-historical liberal future, an end of politics. Or, perhaps, one's attention should be directed at constructions of time in globalization literature, which seems to confront the future through construction of a speeding up in time (the increasingly frenetic speed of interactions towards a singularity of sorts) that seems to suggest time is moving exponentially more rapidly. The point of all this is to suggest that men make weave constructions of the future, yet, they face what Harold Bloom (1973) termed the "anxiety of influence," the notion that our human creativity is inescapably pervaded with what we've witnessed before us.

If this is indeed the case, then an examination of narratives and their treatment of time may bring us closer to understanding the implications of not only the construction of identity, but how those identities are coupled with constructions of time, and how these dual constructions act to inform policies. All this is to suggest that even scholars for whom the recent focus on temporality in international relations are not immune from the anxiety of influence, as Hayward Alker, writing in 1987 suggested, in a wonderfully poetic moment: "Life is not a myth or a fairy tale with a guaranteed happy ending ; neither is it an inevitable tragedy, one that encompasses all of Western civilization or the human species" (1987, 1). Alker prompted us to think about the constraints that inform our constructions of past of futures, of narratives altogether. I do not want to suggest that we are indelibly bound by a few stock narratives – tragedy, comedy, utopia or dystopia – but rather that these narrative structures ineluctably influence our thinking. White (1987) argues that what makes an historical narrative a "true" narrative, rather

than a chronicle or a set of annals, is the promise of continuity; it is the notion that the prior narrative suggests a future route, pervaded throughout with a normative position. Part of what is accomplished in my prior analysis is to show that identity is not constructed absent influence of history and historical instantiations of that identity. Yet, the very form of narrative itself "serves the purpose of moralizing judgments" and, as thus we are bound, perhaps by nature, perhaps by cultural proclivities, to be born back ceaselessly into the use of narrative. A renewed agenda in IR would examine how a common tropes represent identity and time in narrative, and what this allows the person formulating that narrative to legitimately do. It would balance the exigencies of understanding the world, with the imperatives of changing it, and forge a position for the critical scholar as the purveyor of alternative narratives and alternative ethics of international relations. Indeed, can we ever, as White asks "narrativize without moralizing" (1987, 25)? The answer to this is a resounding "no." Therefore, the intersection of identity, morality, and temporality immense promise for the future of the discipline of IR.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Adler, Emmanuel. 1991. “Cognitive Evolution: A Dynamic Approach for the Study of International Relations and their Progress.” In *Progress in Postwar International Relations*, eds. Emmanuel Adler and Beverly Crawford. New York: Columbia University Press, 43-88.

Alker, Hayward. 1987. “Fairy Tales, Tragedies, and World Histories: Towards Interpretive Story Grammars as Possibilist World Models” *Behaviormetrika* 21(1): 1-28.

Allison, Graham. 1971. *Essence of Decision*. Boston: Little Brown.

Ashley, R.K. and R.B.J. Walker. 1990. “Speaking the Language of Exile: Dissidence in International Studies” *International Studies Quarterly* 34(3): 259-68.

Axelrod, Robert. 1976. *Structure of Decision*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bach, Jonathan. 1999. *Between Sovereignty and Integration: German Foreign Policy and National Identity after 1989.* New York: St. Martin Press.

Bal, Mieke. 1997. *Introduction to the Theory of Narrative.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Barthes, Roland. 1977. *Image, Music, Text.* New York: Hill and Wang.

Beck, Peter. 1985. *The Falkland Islands as an International Problem.* London: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.

Benes, Vit. 2011. “Role Theory: A Conceptual Framework for the Constructivist Foreign Policy Analysis?” Conference Paper *prepared for the “World Crisis: Revolution or Evolution in the International Community”, August 17-20, University of Porto, Portugal.*

Berenskoetter, Felix. 2011. “Reclaiming the Vision Thing: Constructivists as Students of the Future” *International Studies Quarterly* 55(3): 647-668.

Blair, Tony. 2010. *A Journey.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Bloom, Harold. 1973. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bluth, Christopher. 2004. “The British Road to War: Blair, Bush, and the Decision to Invade Iraq” *International Affairs* 80(5): 871-92.

Boyle, Peter G, ed. 2005. *The Eden-Eisenhower Correspondence 1955-57.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Braun, Lindsay Frederick. 2003. “Suez Reconsidered: Anthony Eden’s Orientalism and the Suez Crisis.” *The Historian* 65(3): 535-61.

Breuning, Marijke. 1997. “Culture, History, Role: Belgian and Dutch Axioms and Foreign Assistance Policy.” In *Culture and Foreign Policy,* ed. Valerie Hudson, Boulder, CO: Rienner, 99-124.

Bush, George. 2003. *State of the Union Address.* Jan 28. (Jan 22, 2014).

Buzan, Barry. 1997. "Rethinking security after the Cold War." *Cooperation and conflict* 32(1): 5-28.

Buzan, Barry. 2010. “Interdependence and Britain’s External Relations.” In *Britain in the World,* eds. Lawrence Freedman and Michael Clarke. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 10-41.

Cabinet Office. 1952. “British Overseas Obligations.” File CAB 129/53, C(52)202. British National Archive.

Cabinet Office. 1956. “Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on Thursday, 18th October, 1956 at 11:30 A.M.” File CAB 128/30, CM 56(71). British National Archive.

Cabinet Office. 1956a. “Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on Tuesday, 23rd October, 1956, at 11 a.m.” File CAB 128/30, C 56(72). British National Archive.

Cabinet Office. 1956b. “Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on Wednesday, 24th October, 1956 at 10 a.m.” File CAB 128/30, CM 56(73). British National Archive.

Cabinet Office. 1956c. “Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on Wednesday, 25th October, 1956 at 10 a.m.” File CAB 128/30, CM 56(74). British National Archive.

Cain, P.J. and A.G. Hopkins. 2001. *British Imperialism: 1688-2000.* London: Longman.

Campbell, David. 1992. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Campbell, David. 1996. “Political Prosaics, Transversal Politics, and the Anarchical World.” In *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities,* eds. Hayward Alker and Michael Shapiro. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Campbell, David. 1998. *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity and Justice in Bosnia*. Minneapolis, MI: University of Minnesota Press.

Carbonell, Jaime G. 1978. “POLITICS: Automated Ideological Reasoning” *Cognitive Science* 2(1): 27-51.

Chandler, David. 2010. *International Statebuilding: The Rise of Post-Liberal Governance.* New York: Routledge.

Carr, Edward Hallett. 1964. *The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919-1939; an Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. New York: Harper & Row.

Charlton, Michael. 1989. *The Little Platoon: Diplomacy and the Falkland Islands Dispute*. London: Basil Blackwell.

Checkel, Jeffrey. 1999. “Norms, Institutions and National Identity in Contemporary Europe.” *International Studies Quarterly* 43(1): 83-114.

Churchill, Winston and Charles Eade. 1943. *The End of the Beginning: War Speeches.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.

Clarke, Michael. 2007. “Foreign Policy.” In *Blair’s Britain: 1997-2007*, ed. Anthony Selden (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Pp. 593-614.

Clawson, Patrick. “The Continuing Logic of Dual Containment” *Survival* 40(1): 33-4.

Coker, Christopher. 1986. *Nation in Retreat?* Oxford: Pergamon.

Colonial Office. 1952. “[The problem of nationalism]: Letter From Sir W. Strang to Sir T. Lloyd.” File CO 936/217. British National Archives.

Colonial Office. 1960. “Poynton Circular, Secret and Personal.” File CO1015/2515. British National Archives.

Cook, Robin. 2004. *The Point of Departure: Why One of Britain’s Leading Politicians Resigned over Tony Blair’s Decision to Go to War in Iraq*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Connolly, William E. 1991. *Identity/difference: democratic negotiations of political paradox*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Crawford, Neta C. 2006. “How Previous Ideas Affect Later Ideas.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 266-83.

Curtis, Mark. 1995. *The Ambiguities of Power: British Foreign Policy since 1945.* London, UK: Zed Books Ltd.

Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dao, James. "U.S. May Give the U.N. Data on Iraqi Labs," *New York Times*, 30 Jan, 2003.

Darwin, John. 1988. *Britain and Decolonization: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-war World.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Debrix, Francois. 2008. *Tabloid Terror: War, Culture and Geopolitics.* New York: Routledge.

Derrida, Jacques. 1994. *Of Grammatology.* Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass.

Dillon, George Michael. 1989. *The Falklands, Politics and War.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Doty, Roxanne. 1993. "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines" *International Studies Quarterly* 37(3): 365-92.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. *Imperial Encounters: the Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Doyle, Michael. 2011. "International Ethics and the Responsibility to Protect." *International Studies Review* 13(1): 72-84.

Eagly, Alice and Shelly Chaiken. 1993. *The Psychology of Attitudes.* Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

East, Maurice. 1978. "National Attributes and Foreign Policy." In *Why Nations Act,* ed. M.A. East, S.A. Salmore, and C.F. Hermann, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 143-60.

East, Maurice and Charles F. Hermann. 1974. "Do Nation-Types Account for Foreign Policy Behavior?" In *Comparing Foreign Policies,* ed. James Rosenau. New York: Wiley, 269-303.

Eddy, Paul. 1982. *The Falklands War.* London: Andre Deutsch.

Eden, Anthony. 1960. *Full Circle: the Memoirs of Anthony Eden*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Edkins, Jenny. 1999. *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. 2003. "Iran-Iraq relations after Saddam." *Washington Quarterly* 264: 115-129.

Eisenhower, Dwight David. 1965. *Waging Peace, 1956-1961: The White House Years*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

El-Baradei, Mohammed. 1982. “The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and Access to the Gulf of Aqaba: A New Legal Regime” *American Journal of International Law* 76(3): 532-54.

Epstein, Charlotte. 2008. *The Power of Words in International Relations: The Birth of an Anti-Whaling Discourse.* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Epstein, Charlotte. 2011. "Who speaks? Discourse, the Subject and the Study of Identity in International Politics" *European Journal of International Relations* 17(2): 327-350.

Evans, Gareth. 2004. “When is it Right to Fight?” *Survival* 46(3): 59-82.

The Falkland Islands Review: Report of a Committee of Privy Counsellors. 1983. Chairman, the Rt. Hon. Lord Franks, Cmnd 8787. London: HMSO, 108-112.

“Falklands War Timeline” *The Telegraph*, 2 April, 2012.

Fawn, Rick. 2006. “The Iraq War: Unfolding and Unfinished.” In *The Iraq War: Causes and Consequences*, eds. Rick Fawn and Raymond Hinnebusch. London: Lynne Reiner: 1-20.

Fearon, James D. 1994. “Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes” *American Political Science Review* 88(3): 577-92.

Feinstein, Lee and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2004. “A Duty to Prevent” *Foreign Affairs* 83(1): 136-50.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. “Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention.” In *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics,* ed Peter J. Katzenstein, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 153-85.

Flanik, William. 2011. “’Bringing FPA Back Home:’ Cognition, Constructivism, and Conceptual Metaphor” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7(4): 423-446

Foreign Office. 1888. *Constantinople Convention.* October 29. www-rohan.sdsu.edu/dept/polsciwb/brianl/docs/1888ConstantinopleConventionon.pdf. (September 3, 2012).

Foreign Office. 1946. “Killearn to Bevin.” File FO371/53288/J1135. British National Archive.

Foreign Office. 1948. “FO ‘Strategic Appreciation.’” File FO371/68650/E7032/G. British National Archive.

Foreign Office. 1949. “Sargent to Campbell, Confidential.” File FO371/73502/J768. British National Archive.

Foreign Office. 1953. “Hankey.” File FO371/102860. British National Archive.

Foreign Office. 1953a. “[Untitled Letter]” File FO 371/102810. British National Archive.

Foreign Office. 1959. “Scott to Macmillan, Secret.” File FO 371/143732. British National Archive.

Frankel, Joseph. 1975. *British Foreign Policy 1945-1973.* London: Oxford University Press.

Freedman, Lawrence. 1988. *Britain and the Falklands War.* London: Basil Blackwell.

Freedman, Lawrence. 2007. “Defence.” In *Blair’s Britain: 1997-2007*, ed. Anthony Selden. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 615-632.

Freedman, Lawrence. 2010. “Britain in the World.” In *Britain in the World*, eds. Lawrence Freedman and Michael Clarke. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-10.

Freedman, Lawrence and Virginia Gamba-Stonehouse. 1990. *Signals of War*. London: Faber and Faber.

Friedberg, Aaron. 1988. *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Frieden, Jeff. 1988. "Sectoral Conflict and Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940." *International Organization* 42(1): 59-90.

Fukuyama, Francis. 1992. *The End of History and the Last Man.* New York: Free Press.

Garnett, Mark and Philip Lynch. 2012. *Exploring British Politics*. Essex, UK: Pearson.

Gause III, F. Gregory. 1994. "The illogic of dual containment." *Foreign Affairs* 73(2): 56-66.

George, Alexander. 1969. “”The ‘Operational Code’: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making.” *International Studies Quarterly* 13(2): 190-222.

George, Al. 1993. *Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute for Peace.

George, Al. 1994. “The Two Cultures of Academia and Policy-Making: Bridging the Gap” *Political Psychology* 15(1): 143-171.

George, Jim. 1994. *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical Reintroduction to International Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Gibran, Daniel K. 1997. *The Falklands War: Britain versus the past in the South Atlantic.* Jefferson, NC: MacFarland.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press

Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Chicago: Aldine.

Haas, Peter. 2004. "When does Power Listen to Truth? A Constructivist Approach to the Policy Process" *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(4): 569-592.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 1956. *House of Commons,* 5th series, Vol. 557, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 1956a. *House of Commons,* 5th series, Vol. 558, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

House of Commons: The Falklands Campaign: A Digest of Debates in the House of Commons 2 April to June 1982 (Hansard). 1982. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 1982a. *House of Commons*, 6th series, Vol. 21, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 1982b. *House of Commons*, 6th series, Vol. 22, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 1982c. *House of Commons*, 6th series, Vol. 23, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 2002. *House of Commons,* 6th series, Vol. 394, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 2002a. *House of Commons,* 6th series, Vol. 395, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 2002b. *House of Commons,* 6th series, Vol. 396, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 2003. *House of Commons,* 6th series, Vol. 397, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 2003a. *House of Commons,* 6th series, Vol. 398, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 2003b. *House of Commons,*6th series, Vol. 399, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). 2003c. *House of Commons,* 6th series, Vol. 400, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Hansen, Lene. 2006. *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*. London: Routledge.

Hoffman, Stanley. 1977. "International Relations: An American Social Science" *Daedalus* 106(3): 41-60.

Hollowell, Jonathan. 2003. "From Commonwealth to European Integration." In *Britain Since 1945*, ed. Jonathan Hollowell. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers: 59-108.

Hosti, Kal. 1970. "National Role Conception in the Study of Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 14(3): 233-309.

Holsti, Ole R. 1992. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus" *International Studies Quarterly* 36(4): 439-466.

Hom, Andrew and Brent Steele. 2010. "Open Horizons: the Temporal Visions of Reflexive Realism" *International Studies Review* 12(2): 271-300.

Houghton, David Patrick. 2007. "Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3(1): 24-45.

Hudson, Valerie M. 2005. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations" *Foreign Policy* Analysis 1(1): 1-30.

Hudson, Valerie M. 2014. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Hurd, Ian. 1999. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Relations" *International Organization* 53(2): 379-408.

Hyam, Ronald. 2006. *Britain's Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonization, 1918-1968*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Intelligence and Security Committee. 2003. *Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction: Intelligence and Assessments,* Cmnd. 5972, London: House of Commons.

Israeli, Raphael. 2004. *The Iraq War: The Regional Impact on Shi'ites, Kurds, Sunnis and Arabs*. Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press.

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus. 2006. *Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Janis, Irving L. 1982. *Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Jarvis, Lee. 2009. *Times of Terror: Discourse, Temporality, and the War on Terror.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.

Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jervis, Robert. 2003. "The Confrontation between Iraq and the US: Implications for the Theory and Practice of Deterrence." *European Journal of International Relations* 9(2): 315-337.

Joenniemi, P. 1990. "Europe Changes – The Nordic System Remains" *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 21(2): 205-17.

Johnson, L.K. 1977. "Operational Codes and the Prediction of Leadership Behavior: Frank Church as Mid-Career." In *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*, ed. Margaret G. Hermann. New York: Free Press.

Judd, Denis. 1996. *Empire: the British Imperial Experience, From 1765 to the Present.* London, UK: HarperCollins.

Judt, Anthony. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945.* New York, NY: Penguin Press.

Kaldor, Mary. 2007. *Human Security*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Katzenstein, Peter J. 1996. *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kennedy, Paul. 1981. *The Realities Behind Diplomacy.* London: Allen and Unwin.

Keohane, Robert. 1988. "International Institutions: Two Approaches" *International Studies Quarterly* 32(4): 379-396.

Khadduri, Majid. 1968. "Closure of the Suez Canal to Israeli Shipping" *Law and Contemporary Problems* 33(1): 147-57.

Khong, Yuen Foong. 1992. *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Kissinger, Henry. 1994. *Diplomacy.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Klotz, Audie. 1995. *Protesting Prejudice: Apartheid and the Politics of Norms in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Koch, Michael T. and Patricia Sullivan. 2010. “Should I Stay or Should I Go Now? Partisanship, Approval, and the Duration of Major Power Democratic Military Interventions” *Journal of Politics* 72(3): 616-29.

Kratochwil, Friedrich V. 1989. *Rules, Norms and Decisions: on the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krebs, Ronald R. and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson. 2007. “Twisting Tongues and Twisting Arms: The Power of Political Rhetoric” *European Journal of International Relations* 13(1): 35-66.

Krebs, Ronald R. and Jennifer Lobasz. 2007. “Fixing the Meaning of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion and the Road to War in Iraq” *Security Studies* 16(3): 409-451.

Kumar, Krishnan. 2000. “Nation and Empire: ‘Englishness’ and ‘Britishness’ in Comparative Perspective” *Theory and Society* 29(5): 575-608.

Kumar, Krishnan. 2003. *The Making of English National Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kyle, Keith. 1991. *Suez*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Lacan, Jacques. 2006. *Ecrites*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Lai, Brian and Dan Reiter. 2005. “Rally ‘round the Union Jack? Public Opinion and the use of force in the United Kingdom, 1948-2001” *International Studies Quarterly* 49(2): 255-272.

Lake, David. 2011. “Why ‘isms’ are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress” *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 465-80.

Larson, Deborah. 1994. “The Role of Belief Systems and Schemas in Foreign Policy Decision-Making” *Political Psychology* 15(1): 17-33.

Lewis, Justin. "Television, public opinion and the war in Iraq: The case of Britain." *International journal of public opinion research* 16, no. 3 (2004): 295-310.

Lindsay, James M. 1994. *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lijphart, Arend. 1971. “Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method” *American Political Science Review* 65(3): 682-93.

Lipschutz, Ronnie. 1995. “On Security.” In *On Security*, ed. Ronnie Lipschutz, New York: Columbia University Press. 1-23.

Lopez, George A. and David Cortright. 2004. “Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked” *Foreign Affairs* 83(4): 90-103.

Louis, Roger M. 1984. *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States and Postwar Imperialism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Louis, Roger M. 2006. *Ends of British Imperialism*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Low, D.A. 1991. *Eclipse of Empire.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lundborg, Tom. 2012. *Politics of the Event: Time, Movement, Becoming.* London and New York: Routledge.

Lynn-Doty, Roxanne. 2000. “Desire All the Way Down” *Review of International Studies* 26(1): 137-39.

Mackenzie, John M. 2001. “The Persistence of Empire in Metropolitan Culture.” In *British Culture and the End of Empire*, ed. Stuart Ward. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 21-36.

Mansfield, Peter. 1973. *The British in Egypt*. London: Newton Abbot.

May, Alex. 2001. “Empire Loyalists and ‘Commonwealth Men’: The Round Table and the End of Empire.” In *British Culture and the End of Empire*, ed. Stuart Ward. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 37-56.

McClosky, Herbert. 1962. “Concerning Strategies for a Science of International Politics.” In *Foreign Policy Decision Making,* ed. Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 186-205.

McCourt, David. 2011. “Role Playing and Identity Affirmation in International Politics: Britain’s Reinvasion of the Falklands, 1982” *Review of International Studies* 37(4): 1599-1621.

Mead, George Herbert. 1934. *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. “The False Promise of International Institutions” *International Security* 19(3): 5-49.

Mearsheimer, John J. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Mearsheimer, John J. 2011. *Why Leaders Lie: The Truth about Lying in International Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt. 2002. *Can Saddam Be Contained? : History Says Yes.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Miller, Hugh. 2012. *Governing Narratives: Symbolic Politics and Policy Change.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

Milliken, Jennifer. 1999. “The Study of Discourse Analysis in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods” *European Journal of International Relations* 5(2): 225-54.

Millful, John. 1999. “Introduction: Australia, the New Britain and the New Europe – an Identity or Three.” In *Britain in Europe: Prospects for Change,* ed. John Millful, Hants, UK: Ashgate, 1-10.

Mockatitis, Thomas R. 2012. *The Iraq War: A Documentary and Reference Guide*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood.

Monoghan, David. 1998. *The Falklands War: Myth and Countermyth*. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: MacMillan Press.

Moore, Hayward. 1958. *The British Reactions to the Suez Crisis*. Master’s Thesis. Gainesville: University of Florida.

Moro, Ruben O. 1989. *The History of the South Atlantic Conflict*. New York: Praeger.

Müller, Harald. 2004. "Arguing, bargaining and All That: Communicative Action, Rationalist Theory, and the Logic of Appropriateness in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 10(3): 395-435.

Nasser, Gamal Abdel. 1952. *Philosophy of the Revolution.* New York: Alfred Knopf.

Neumann, Iver B. 1999. *Uses of the other: "The East" in European identity formation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Neumann, Iver B. 2004. "Beware of Organicism: The Narrative Self of the State" *Review of International Studies* 30(2): 259-267.

Nutting, Anthony. 1967. *No End of a Lesson: The Story of Suez*. New York: C.N. Potter.

Oren, Ido. 1995. “The Subjectivity of the Democratic Peace: Changing US Perceptions of Imperial Germany” *International Security* 20(2): 147-84.

Oren, Ido. 2003. *Our Enemies and US*: *America's Rivalries and the Making of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Ovendale, Ritchie. 1985. *The English-speaking Alliance: Britain, the United States, the Dominions, and the Cold War, 1945-1951*. London, UK: G. Allen & Unwin.

Page, Benjamin, Ian Shapiro, and Glenn R. Dempsey. 1987. "What Moves Public Opinion?" *American Political Science Review* 81(1): 23-44.

Pearson, Jonathan. 2003. *Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis: Reluctant Gamble*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Polkinghorne, Donald E. 1988. *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences.* Albany: State of New York University Press.

Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy" *American Political Science Review* 77(1): 175-90.

Price, Richard. 1998. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines" *International Organization* 52(3): 613-44.

Prime Minister's Office. 1953. "Hankey to Bowker." File PREM 11/629. British National Archive.

Prime Minister's Office. 1956. ""Thought. Secret and Personal." File PREM 11/1138. British National Archive.

Prizel, Ilya. 1998. *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia and Ukraine*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Public Records Act. 1958. *Public Records Office.* Chapter 51, 6-7.

Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-Level Games" *International Organization* 42(3): 427-60.

Reifler, Jason, Thomas J. Scotto and Harold D. Clarke. 2011. "Foreign Policy Beliefs in Contemporary Britain: Structure and Relevance" *International Studies Quarterly* 55(1): 245-66.

Reynolds, David. 2000. *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the Twentieth Century*. London, UK: Pearson Education.

Ricks, Thomas. 2006. *Fiasco: the American Military Adventure in Iraq.* New York: Penguin Press.

Ricouer, Paul. 1984. *Time and Narrative*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ringmar, Erik. 1996. *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Risse, Thomas. 2000. "Let's Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics" *International Organization* 54(1): 1-40.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1997. *Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Sanders, David. 1990. *Losing an Empire, Finding a Role: British foreign policy since 1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sanders, David. 2003. "Pre-election polling in Britain, 1950-1997" *Electoral Studies* 22: 1-20.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2001. "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union" *International Organization* 55(1): 47-80.

Schultz, Kenneth. 2001. *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Shaw, Tony. 2009. *Eden, Suez and the Mass Media: Propaganda and Persuasion during the Suez Crisis*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Smith, Alastair. 1998. "International Crises and Domestic Politics" *American Political Science Review* 92(3): 623-38.

Smith, Steve. 2000. "Wendt's World" *Review of International Studies* 26(1): 151-63.

Smith, Steve. 2010. "Foreign Policy Analysis and the Study of British Foreign Policy." In *Britain in the World,* eds. Lawrence Freedman and Michael Clarke, 42-73.

Solomon, Ty. 2013. "Time and Subjectivity in World Politics" *International Studies Quarterly* 57(1): 1-11.

Somers, Margaret R. 1994. "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach" *Theory and society* 23(5): 605-649.

Steele, Brent J. 2008. *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-identity and the IR State.* London, UK: Routledge.

Steele, Brent J. 2010. *Defacing Power: The Aesthetics of Insecurity in Global Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Steiner, Zara. 1969. *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898-1914.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stewart, L. 1977. “Birth Order and Political Leadership.” In *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*, Ed. Margaret Hermann. New York: Free Press, 206-36.

Tate, Simon. 2012. *A Special Relationship? British Foreign Policy in the Era of American Hegemony.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Taylor, Charles. 1989. *Sources of the Self: the Making of the Modern Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thatcher, Margaret. 1997. *The Collected Speeches of Margaret Thatcher* . New York: Harper Collins Publishing.

Thiele, Leslie Paul. 2006. *The Heart of Judgment: Practical Wisdom, Neuroscience, and Narrative.* York: Cambridge University Press.

Thorne, C. 1978. *Allies of a Kind.* London: Hamilton.

“Timeline of Iraq War” *The Guardian*, 12 May, 2013.

Todorov, Tzvetan. 1984. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other.* New York: Harper & Row.

Tomz, Michael. 2007. “Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach” *International Organization* 61(4): 821-40.

Turner, Michael J. 2010. *Britain’s International Role, 1970-1991*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). 1991. *Resolution 687*. April 3. http://fas.org/news/un/iraq/sres/sres0687.htm (12/3/2013).

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). 1991a. *Resolution 707.* August 15. http://www.un.org/depts/unmovic/new/documents/resolutions/s-res-707.pdf (12/3/2013).

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). 1996. *Resolution 1051.* March 27. http://www.un.org/depts/unmovic/new/documents/resolutions/s-res-1051.pdf (12/3/2013).

Waever, Ole. 1995. “Securitization and Desecuritization.” In *On Security*, ed. Ronnie Lipschutz, New York: Columbia University Press. 46-86

Waever, Ole. 1998. “Insecurity, Security and Asecurity in the West European Non-war Community.” In *Security Communities*, eds. Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 69-118.

Wallace, William. 1975. *The Foreign Policy Process in Britain.* London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Wallace, William. 1984. *Britain's Bilateral Links with Western Europe.* London: Routledge.

Wallace, William. 1991. "Foreign policy and National Identity in the United Kingdom" *International Affairs* 67(1): 65-80.

Walt, Stephen M. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Walt, Stephen M. 1991. "The Renaissance of Security Studies" *International Studies Quarterly* 35(2): 211-39.

Walt, Stephen M. and John J. Mearsheimer. 2003. "An Unnecessary War" *Foreign Policy* 134: 50-59.

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Reading: Addison Wesley Publishing.

Ward, Stuart. 2001. "Introduction." In *British Culture and the End of Empire*, ed. Stuart Ward. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1-20.

Watt, D.C. 1965. *Personalities and Politics*. London: Longman.

Weldes, Jutta. 1999. *Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics" *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

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

White, Hayden V. 1987. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

The White House. 2002. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington, D.C.: Office of the President of the United States.

Wibben, Annick. 2012. *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach.* New York: Routledge.

Williams, Jody. 2003. "Iraq and Preemptive Self-Defense." In *The Iraq War and its Consequences: thoughts of Nobel Peace Laureates and Eminent Scholars,* eds. Irwin Abrams and Wang Gungwu. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing: 17-48.

Wood, Bryce. 1985. *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Wrigley, Chris. 2003. “Industrial and Labour Relations.” In *Britain Since 1945*, ed. Jonathan Hollowell. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers: 425-441.

Young, J. W. 1984. *Britain, France and the Unity of Europe.* Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Zehfuss, Maja. 2002. *Constructivism in International Relations: the Politics of Reality.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Zizeck, Slavoj. 1989. *The Sublime Object of Ideology.* London: Verso.

Zizeck, Slavoj. 2002. *For They Know Not What They Do: Enjoyment as a Political Factor.* London: Verso.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Stuart Strome began his academic career at Florida Atlantic University in 2001. Switching majors from music to political science, Dr. Strome graduated *Magna Cum Laude* in 2005. From there, Dr. Strome was employed with the American Cancer Society in Broward County Florida, assisting in community organization efforts. Dr. Strome began his matriculation at the University of Florida in 2007, initially pursuing a Master of Arts degree in political science with a concentration in international relations. In 2008, Dr. Strome was accepted to the University of Florida Department of Political Science doctoral program majoring in political science with a concentration in international relations. Having graduated in August 2014 with his Ph.D., Dr. Strome is currently employed as a Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Florida as well as a Senior Consultant for Spranza LLC Consulting.