

Contents

Introduction to the 1998 Paperback Edition	ix
Note to the Reader	xxxv
PART ONE: THE BATHIST POLITY	1
Chapter 1: Institutions of Violence	3
The Secret Police	3
The Army	21
The Party Militia	29
Numbers of Armed Men	32
The Party Militia	33
The Army	33
The Police	36
Summary	38
Party and State	39
Chapter 2: A World of Fear	46
The First Spectacle	47
A New Kind of Fear	58
Cruelty and Power	66
The Penultimate Spectacle	70

Chapter 3: Ba'athism and the Masses	73
Ideology and Organization	73
The Importance of Being Young	76
The Education of Masses	82
The Status of Women	88
Development versus Freedom	93
Backwardness as Justification	96
The Degradation of Thought	99
Building Defences	104
Chapter 4: Authority	110
The Leader Syndrome	110
The Authority of the Ba'ath	124
Authority and Morality	129
The Source of Authority	131
The Future as an Authoritative Source	138
Towards a New Arab Individual	139
Party and State Reconsidered	142
Conclusion	145
PART TWO: THE LEGITIMATION OF BA'ATHISM	147
Chapter 5: Pan-Arabism and Iraq	149
Husri and the New Morality	152
The Road to Discipline	160
The Army and the Assyrians	166
The Denouement: 1936–41	175
Chapter 6: Formation of the Ba'ath	183
Founding Personalities and Formative Events	183
The Pan-Arabism of the Ba'ath	189
The July 1943 Statement	191
National Identity and Islam	197
The Coherence of the Ba'ath	201
Secularism or Confessionalism?	209
Secularism	209
Confessionalism	212
Shu'ubiyya	216
Being through Organization	220
The Leader Principle and Party Organization	222
Ba'athism and Communism	226

Chapter 7: The Legitimation of Iraqi Ba‘thism	229
A Confession	229
The National Action Charter	231
The End of Politics	235
From Classes to Masses: 1958–68	236
The ICP	239
The ABSP	242
The Transmutation of Ideas	246
Imperialism	248
Socialism	250
Freedom	253
Conclusion: The Final Catastrophe	258
A Sense of Scale	259
The Problem of Cause	262
Qadisiyyat Saddam	270
The Conduct of the War	276
In Lieu of a Conclusion	284
Appendix: Purges of High-Ranking Officers, Ba‘thists, and Politicians since July 17, 1968	291
Index	297
Chronology	311