

ANTH 498N/SOCI 498N ADVANCED TOPICS IN ANTHROPOLOGY/SOCIOLOGY

Seminar director:

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Fall Semester, 2014-2015

03 credits

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Meeting days and times:

Fridays: 8:45am—11:30am

Campus: SGW, Room: MB-2.285

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## INTRODUCTION

### Description

This is a research seminar that brings into focus the anthropology and sociology of contemporary empire-building. Topics of study may include: nation-building, global and domestic counterinsurgency, "humanitarian intervention," the ideologies of militarism, the militarization of the social sciences and the broader society, the national security state, soft power, the media and information operations, hegemony and capital accumulation.

### The Backdrop

This seminar was first launched in 2010 as a way of meeting a demand by anthropology and sociology students for a course that opened room to discuss and analyze some of the deeply troubling contemporary developments in the international sphere, such as the US-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan (and Canada's own interventionism in Afghanistan and Haiti), torture in US detention centres, and the recruitment of social scientists to serve in counterinsurgency operations, among other issues. This seminar was thus prompted by numerous contemporary conditions and developments, stemming from George W. Bush's "Global War on Terror," to Barack Obama's "Struggle against Violent Extremism," and Canada's own military interventions in Haiti, Afghanistan, and Libya. Even in the short time since 2010, however, some of the key foci have shifted.

The temporal frame of the seminar (what for our purposes we define as *contemporary*), is the period since the end of the Cold War. On the one hand, it would be valid to argue that one can overstate the uniqueness of the Cold War period by overemphasizing it as a struggle between two superpowers (as opposed to a "war against the 'Third World,'" which both preceded, continued through, and followed the Cold War), and that historical continuities should not be dismissed. On the other hand, it would be difficult to contend that absolutely nothing new and significant has occurred since the end of the Cold War, namely the rise of unrivalled

dominance of the US as a global military superpower. So we could rephrase the frame of the seminar as follows: it is the period marked by the singular dominance of the US as a military hegemon.

This period has thus witnessed the rise of a single dominant military superpower that proclaimed a “New World Order” and envisioned the 21<sup>st</sup> century as the “New American Century”. While at present we also witness the rise of what some call regional hegemonies and diverse power blocs, the US still retains unrivalled military power.

While few analysts who use the term “new imperialism” would be willing to invest any energy in defending the idea that current imperialism is substantially “new,” there are some contemporary developments that merit closer attention and that parallel those that came to the fore the last time a “new imperialism” was publicly announced: the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the “new imperialism” also refers to what has long been called “the new empire”, i.e. the US.

The developments that unfold in the present and that form the special foci of this seminar include: war as a means to secure *access* to resources; war corporatism (especially the privatization of the means of war); militarization of foreign policy and of social relations and political discourse at home; framing interventions and counterinsurgency as “humanitarian” and geared toward “protecting civilians,” what some variously refer to as the new military humanism or liberal imperialism; and, the use of mass media and state media to project “soft power,” in order to gain legitimacy and win approval for imperial dominance. The role of the social sciences also figures prominently in all of this.

With respect to the social sciences, and the current political conditions of knowledge creation in universities, we see the increased re-expansion of the national security state into the universities, funding US students through various CIA-related programs, recruiting faculty, and funding social science research through the Pentagon’s Minerva Research Initiative, all of which have an impact far beyond American borders. Anthropologists will have read CIA job ads in journals published by the American Anthropology Association; some will have followed the raging debates surrounding the advent of the Pentagon’s “Human Terrain System,” which embeds anthropologists and social scientists in counterinsurgency teams in Afghanistan and Iraq; and psychologists debate their involvement in torture and interrogation in places such as Guantanamo. Sociologists have joined HTS as well. At the same time, we see newly reclaimed imperial aspirations, formally articulated by the “new imperialists” (i.e., Max Boot, Michael Ignatieff, Niall Ferguson) and by the now formally defunct Project for a New American Century.

As the US finds itself stretched across the globe, and in a state of precipitous economic decline, under economic and other challenges from numerous actors operating transnationally, it turns to a wider array of instruments for projecting power, and maintaining supremacy in the face of decline. These range from controlling access to natural resources, building widened military alliances, to ideological and symbolic manifestations of empire-building as part of a “soft power” strategy, to complement or make up for what the military cannot accomplish. We thus

see both the militarization of areas previously dominated by civilians, such as humanitarian aid efforts, to the incorporation of civilians within military structures. Accompanying the militarization of popular culture and social life in the US, is the rapid growth of military industries and war-related services, especially through private contractors. War is very expensive, and very big business. This takes us through the economic, ideological, political, and military expressions of the new imperialism, specifically in connection with wars against “terror” and “insurgency”.

One of the reasons for having this seminar is that it is necessary, if not urgent, that students in anthropology and sociology should try to understand the contemporary global geopolitical and economic contexts in which they work, and in which the peoples they study live. Our assigned readings focus on some of the key works in this field, produced primarily by anthropologists, with some sociologists and writers in related disciplines. Our supplemental and further readings take students, if they wish, into wider fields of inquiry, bringing to the fore the works of military officers, anti-war activists, journalists, policy-makers, and other prominent figures that have worked to shape public opinion about empire today.

## **SOME QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS**

We will raise and discuss many more questions and problems than can be listed here, but at least some of these are sure to be raised more than once.

- Is there a “new” imperialism, and what is “new” about it? If it is not “new,” does that mean there is nothing at all that is novel about the present? Does it matter?
- What constitutes “empire”? Does one need to be an “anti-imperialist” to see empire?
- Why were Canadian Forces sent to Afghanistan? Are we “peace keepers”? What is “peace-building”?
- Is US hegemony in decline? What is/was the nature of US hegemony?
- Where do we see a reworking of relationships between the military, intelligence, and civilian spheres in US-dominated international relations?
- If a program is humanitarian in intent, how could it be conceived as imperialist?
- Was NATO’s war in Libya a war for human rights? Do Western political leaders really care about human rights in Syria, and why Syria?
- Should anthropologists not join the military to “help reduce harm”? What do such formulations typically leave out of the picture?
- If the military and intelligence communities wish to fund social science research, then what is the problem? Would it be better if those communities worked without an understanding of “foreign cultures”? Again, what do such formulations take for granted?
- Does the achievement of empire abroad threaten democracy at home?
- How can imperialism be “liberal”?
- What is “neo-conservativism” and how can we have, as we are told, neo-conservative policies when it comes to geopolitics, and neo-liberalism when it comes to political economy? Do our labels make sense?

- What is “anti-imperialism,” and is it reducible to a “leftist” stance?
- What makes a “failed state” and why should “nation-building” be our concern?
- What are the “perils of isolationism”? In what sort of perspective would such terms matter?
- What is the difference between a “war of choice” and a “just war”?
- Should anthropologists and sociologists be actively involved in preventing unnecessary wars, and if so, how?
- Can we think of research ethics as separate from politics?

## **RESPONSIBILITIES OF SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS**

In the course of this seminar, participants will develop their own critical thinking about some of the problems, questions, and debates raised throughout the semester. As an advanced seminar, participants will go beyond simply consuming and organizing information in order to recite it. Instead, participants will challenge their own thinking as they challenge the thinking of others, and in the process construct and refine their stances on some very controversial issues of great contemporary importance.

Seminar participants are asked to consider the assumptions on which (their) arguments rest; the benefits and limits of certain concepts; the social, cultural, and political consequences or implications of adopting or endorsing certain theoretical or practical approaches; the underlying moral, political, social or cultural theories behind key policies; and the ethical issues raised for the practice of anthropology and sociology.

There are no tests or exams in this seminar. Instead the purpose of the sessions, and assigned readings, is to present an array of concepts, theories, and questions, with the aim of facilitating participants as they develop their own research projects. The ultimate aim is the production and publication of a peer-reviewed, edited volume which will normally appear several months after the seminar has concluded – however, that volume is officially separate from the seminar.

Lectures and assigned readings and the discussions stemming from both, will form a critical part of seminar participants’ own research projects. No research paper should be constructed in isolation from the seminar, and without any dialogue with key seminar contents.

## **RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SEMINAR DIRECTOR**

Aside from overall seminar administration, such as preparing this syllabus, the readings, and maintaining the seminar website, the seminar director has number of key responsibilities. One is to stimulate and moderate the weekly seminar discussions, by providing brief background lectures and summaries, while making sure that different perspectives are voiced and heard (even if needing to play devil’s advocate), while guarding against abusive and disruptive behaviour. Participants are asked to show the maximum respect for everyone in the seminar, to avoid shooting the messengers and focus on the messages themselves and it is the seminar director’s responsibility to supervise discussions and ensure that we all adhere to such

practices.

A second, though by no means secondary, responsibility of the seminar director is to provide continued guidance and feedback on research projects. In each anticipated case the director is in the position of offering numerous sources for research, and participants should make use of this by seeing him during office hours and following up with e-mail. Related to this, the director will try to add to the seminar website online resources for each topic in the schedule, for each week of the seminar. Additional items, notes, and thoughts may be offered on the seminar blog, which is a component of the seminar website.

Thirdly, the seminar director will endeavor to return all written assignments within two weeks, or sooner.

The seminar director does not seek to impose any particular political position on students in this seminar. He will evaluate materials on the basis of their showing coherent and consistent reasoning, well substantiated arguments, and effective writing—regardless of the political opinions of the seminar participants. Having said that, the seminar director will work to ensure that participants do not simply dismiss or ignore key seminar materials, our dominant concerns, concepts, and theoretical discussions, when developing their own research projects.

## **BASIC WORK STRUCTURE OF THE SEMINAR**

### **Three Tracks**

In order to maximize both our limited time, and to enhance our learning, this seminar proceeds on three separate and distinct “tracks”. They do not necessarily coincide, and indeed one of the challenges for seminar participants will be to judge how best to merge these tracks in their own research papers.

**Track One** consists of assigned readings, and discussion of the readings. **Track Two** consists of lectures, which very often will be focused on subject matter that is separate and apart from the assigned readings, but which occasionally may complement the readings. **Track Three** consists of seminar participants’ own research.

*Normally, the first part of the weekly session* will be occupied by a lecture. The **second part of the weekly session** will tend to focus on discussions of the assigned readings. Attendance is not recorded, but active participation is mandatory (see below).

## SEMINAR WORK, EVALUATION, POLICIES

### Overview of Assignments

Assigned readings, lectures, and discussions in seminar sessions are aimed at developing a conceptual vocabulary and analytical frameworks that will be relevant to seminar participants in producing their own research papers – either by applying, adapting, amending or critiquing what is covered in these sessions.

**Active participation** is a graded component in this seminar. Participants will have questions, comments, and opinions to share. However, if daunted by speaking spontaneously, or feeling that there is a competitive environment where a few voices dominate, participants should approach the seminar director concerning the option of presenting prepared summaries of assigned readings. In some instances, the seminar director will instead opt to assign verbal presentations of summaries of readings, for the purposes of review and discussion in the seminar.

In terms of the assignments in this seminar, all of them are geared toward the production of participants' research papers, as part of a step-by-step process of mentoring and review.

This is the complete schedule of assignments, and what they represent in terms of the overall grade for the seminar:

**Participation** (worth 20%).

**Research Paper Prospectus** (worth 10%). Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due on October 3.

**Structured Outline and Working Bibliography** (worth 10%). Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due on October 17.

**First installment of draft paper** (worth 10%). Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due on: October 31.

**Second installment of draft paper** (worth 10%). Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due on: November 14.

**FINAL PAPER** (worth 40%): please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due on December 3.

## Description of the Assignments

**Research Paper Prospectus:** A prospectus identifies the topic that you intend to investigate, and the kinds of questions and/or problems your paper seeks to address. You should be indicating what you want to research, and why. When you submit this assignment, you will not have had time to learn most of the concepts presented in this course—however, please offer at least a preliminary outline of how you intend to conceptualize and explain your argument, and this may draw on theories you have learned in other courses. Finally, explain how the proposed research paper intersects with the key concerns of this seminar.

→ The prospectus, with your **name, email address, and proposed title of your paper**, should be typed single-spaced and *must not exceed 500 words*. It is due by midnight on October 3, and you will receive an email confirmation of receipt by the next morning.

## Structured Outline and Working Bibliography:

**Structured Outline:** This is best explained with an invented example below.

### **Official Rationale for Invading Iraq** [*this would be a heading in your eventual paper*]

- Shifting explanations for the invasion [*an example of a point covered in this section*]
- The WMD argument
- Why the work of weapons inspectors was halted, undermined
- Colin Powell's speech at the UN Security Council—key points
- Bush's address to the nation

### **International Law and the Invasion of Iraq**

- Key statements from legal scholars, diplomats
- Quotes from UN Charter
- Insider statements from UK and US governments

### **The Meaning of Occupation and Iraqi Resistance**

- How occupation is defined under international law
- Extent of resistance, how resistance was characterized by US officials
- ... .. *etc. etc.*

Your outline should encompass your paper, as you envision it, from start to finish. With this outline ready, you should be in a position to start filling it in, using the headings to organize your notes, and start writing up each section.

**Bibliography:** Hard work and initiative are of course very much rewarded in this seminar, while also boosting the chances that your work will be published. The items listed in your bibliography typically amount to a total of 200 pages of reading, *not* including assigned readings that you may use.

Aim for diverse sources: primary documents (such as speeches, papers produced by international organizations or government departments), newspaper articles, websites,

academic journals, books by non-academics and public intellectuals, videos, etc.

*For this assignment, you must use the seminar **Handbook** as found on the course website, particularly to structure the writing, to locate sources, and for the format for a list of sources.*

→ The outline and bibliography, with your **name, email address, and proposed title of your paper**, should be typed single-spaced, and has **no word limit**. It is due by midnight on October 17, and you will receive an email confirmation of receipt by the next morning.

### **First Installment of Draft Paper:**

To ensure that students start early in writing up their papers, you are required to submit the first pages of your paper, anywhere between **one** (1) and **two** (2) single-spaced typed pages. This is not a formality, or an exercise meant to stand on its own—you must present the material that you actually intend to produce for the final paper.

→ The first pages of your paper, with your **name, email address, and proposed title of your paper**, should be typed single-spaced, and *must not exceed 1,000 words*. References must be included, and are not part of the word count. It is due by midnight on October 31, and you will receive an email confirmation of receipt by the next morning.

### **Second Installment of Draft Paper:**

Picking up roughly where you left off with the last assignment, you are required to submit the next set of pages of your paper, anywhere between **one** (1) and **two** (2) single-spaced typed pages. This is not a formality, or an exercise meant to stand on its own—you must present the material that you actually intend to produce for the final paper.

→ This set of pages of your paper, with your **name, email address, and proposed title of your paper**, should be typed single-spaced, and *must not exceed 1,000 words*. References must be included, and are not part of the word count. It is due by midnight on November 14, and you will receive an email confirmation of receipt by the next morning.

### **Final Research Paper:**

For this it is imperative and mandatory that you carefully read and follow all of the rules and guidelines as set out in the **Handbook for Research Papers in the New Imperialism Seminar**. Failure to do so could result in such penalties as to jeopardize your passing this component of the seminar.

In general, participants should not feel confined to using only academic **sources**, only disciplinary sources, and only items in print. An enormous wealth of papers, essays, and reports are available online, many from credible authorities and from excellent institutional, professional, and journalistic sites. In addition, many of those materials are authored by key



actors in the very events that we discuss—and unless a paper is intended to be theoretical in nature, this seminar places emphasis on the use of primary sources.

The aim should be for a sustained, in-depth examination of a given topic area, backed up by comprehensive reading of analysis, commentaries, and official documents where these are available. Also, you should focus first on using primary documents (published interviews, government papers, speeches, UN statistics, the websites of key actors—are just some examples), unless your paper is a theoretical treatment (in which case you must read the key theoretical works of relevance).

Papers of a theoretical nature are welcome, focusing on key concepts or ways in which debates have been analytically framed. Reviews of the most important literature on a given topic are also welcome, as long as they are well structured and aim towards some conclusion.

Otherwise, researchers should aim for a good sample of sources: newspaper articles, websites of the organizations or associations concerned, whitepapers, critical commentaries, and academic articles or book chapters. In no case should a researcher work with only one book. While there is no “magic number” of sources one should be citing in one’s essay, it is expected that on average the more advanced papers will be using the equivalent of between 10 and 25 substantial sources, beyond assigned readings (which may be included). Your sources can also include YouTube or other videos.

**Topic areas** in this seminar can be very diverse. Research projects must fit within the parameters of the course. Some examples could include, among others:

- The New Imperialism: Histories and Theories
- Liberal Imperialism
- The New Military Humanism
- The “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P)
- Corporations and the war industries
- Militarism in society and culture
- Media and empire
- Gender, sexuality, human rights, and interventionism
- NGOs, neoliberalism, and foreign intervention
- Anthropology, Sociology, and empire
- The militarization or “securitization” of Social Science
- The Minerva Research Initiative
- US “soft power,” theory and/or practice
- Information operations, PsyOps, public diplomacy: US or NATO cases
- The national security state: US, Canada, or another NATO member state
- Surveillance, foreign and domestic: US
- Domestic Surveillance and Counterinsurgency in Canada
- Case studies, involving foreign intervention, such as: Somalia, Yemen, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sudan, Libya, Haiti, Venezuela, Iran, Syria.

- The US and Bolivia/Venezuela/Ecuador, or other cases
- Canada and Haiti
- The Eastern European “Colour Revolutions” as a vehicles of US Intervention

**WARNING:** Do not recycle/replicate/resubmit/re-use papers you have written in other courses, either in whole or in part. That is a serious violation of the Academic Code of Conduct at Concordia University and could result in severe penalties....Besides, challenge yourself by doing something new, it's what learning is all about.

→ Your final research paper, with your **name, email address, and title of your paper**, should be typed single-spaced, and *should not exceed 5,000 words*. It is **due by 12:00pm (12h00) on Wednesday, December 3, 2014**, and you will receive an email confirmation of receipt within three hours of the passing of the deadline.

## Seminar Policies

**Extensions are not taken by students**, under any circumstances. An extension can only be granted by the course coordinator, in advance of the due date for an assignment, and only under extreme circumstances. Extreme circumstances only include severe illness that occurred for a significant amount of time before an assignment is due, pending the provision of documentation, or a death in the immediate family (parents or siblings). Students with documented learning disabilities will be allowed one extra day to submit work – except for the final paper.

Generally, **no late work is accepted in this course**. On one single occasion, a student without a documented excuse for an extension, who misses the deadline, may be allowed to submit his or her work, with a lateness penalty of 10% of the points for the assignment, deducted immediately starting with the passing of the deadline and with further 10% deductions for each passing day. *No technical reasons* are acceptable excuses for late work: always anticipate problems by backing up your work, emailing it early, or emailing from other locations and using other computers.

Students with learning disabilities will generally *not* receive any extension on their work for this course, since there are no exams written in class.

Incomplete grades (INC) are not granted in this course, under any circumstances.

There is one major exception to these policies: in the event of a major public health crisis, or events beyond the University's control, alternative seminar requirements and grading policies will be developed and used.

Participants whose behaviour in class is disruptive and abusive can expect a generalized deduction of their participation grade, down to zero.

Do not call the main office for seminar-related inquiries.

Please avoid coming to class late, and if you do, enter as silently as possible and take the first available seat. Students who are observed to be repeatedly late will likely incur a deduction from their participation grade.

How work is graded:

For all work done in this seminar you will receive a numerical grade which will be converted to a letter grade when final grades are processed. To translate numbers into letter grades, please consult the following chart, copied directly from the faculty handbook in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. It is vital that you understand that the characterizations below (i.e., "excellent") are central in guiding the instructor's evaluation of the quality of a paper.

|          |            |   |                                  |
|----------|------------|---|----------------------------------|
| A+       | 90-100     | } | "Excellent"                      |
| A        | 85- 89     |   |                                  |
| A-       | 80- 84     |   |                                  |
| B+       | 77- 79     | } | "Very Good"                      |
| B        | 73- 76     |   |                                  |
| B-       | 70- 72     |   |                                  |
| C+       | 67- 69     | } | "Satisfactory"                   |
| C        | 63- 66     |   |                                  |
| C-       | 60- 62     |   |                                  |
| D+       | 57- 59     | } | "Poor"                           |
| D        | 53- 56     |   |                                  |
| D-       | 50- 52     |   |                                  |
| F or FNS | 40 (30-49) | } | "Fail/ No Record/ No Submission" |
| R        | 20 ( 0-29) |   |                                  |

## Academic Regulations & Plagiarism Issues

Section 16 (Academic Information: Definitions and Regulations) of the Undergraduate Calendar will be strictly administered - particularly on deadlines, Failing Grades, Administrative Notations, Late Completions='INCompletes' (Grade/INC), 'Failed No Supplementals' (FNS), 'Did Not Writes' (Grade/DNW).

Students must familiarize themselves with Concordia University's Academic Integrity Website (<http://provost.concordia.ca/academicintegrity/>), and in particular its page devoted to plagiarism (<http://provost.concordia.ca/academicintegrity/plagiarism/>).

## **Announcements, E-Mail Use**

In the event of an unscheduled cancellation of a class, the appropriate notice is posted by the University on its website. You will also be notified by email. Please check your email as late as four hours before the start of class.

Having said that, please ensure that you have the right email address entered in your MyConcordia student profile. That is the same email address to which seminar messages are sent.

## **Disclaimer**

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this seminar is subject to change".

## **IMPROVING STUDENTS' ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE**

The University offers many services that can help students. To improve students' ability to succeed in their courses, get the most out of the university experience, and ensure their success in completing their degree, it is strongly recommended that you make a note of the following list of services:

Concordia Counseling and Development offers career services, psychological services, student learning services, etc. <http://cdev.concordia.ca/>

The Concordia Library Citation and Style Guides:

<http://library.concordia.ca/help/howto/citations.html>

Advocacy and Support Services: <http://supportservices.concordia.ca/>

Student Transition Centre: <http://stc.concordia.ca/>

New Student Program: <http://newstudent.concordia.ca/>

Access Centre for Students with Disabilities: <http://supportservices.concordia.ca/disabilities/>

Student Success Centre: <http://studentsuccess.concordia.ca/>

The Academic Integrity Website: <http://provost.concordia.ca/academicintegrity/>

Financial Aid & Awards: <http://web2.concordia.ca/financialaid/>

Health Services: <http://www-health.concordia.ca/>

## SEMINAR READINGS

Readings for this seminar are extracted from three main texts (below), and a selection of journal articles which are either freely available online, or which can be accessed using your Concordia Library account.

Required texts can be purchased from the Concordia Bookstore—they are also available on Reserve in the Webster Library. See:

<http://bkstore.concordia.ca/services/coursebook.asp?DEP=ANTH&CRS=498N&SEC=&submit=List+Books&IMG=Y>

### Required:



David Harvey.  
**The New Imperialism.**  
Oxford University Press,  
2003/2005.  
\$23.95



Colin Mooers, editor.  
**The New Imperialists:  
Ideologies of Empire.**  
One World, 2006.  
\$23.95



Didier Fassin and Mariella  
Pandolfi, editors.  
**Contemporary States of  
Emergency: The Politics of  
Military and Humanitarian  
Interventions.**  
Zone Books, 2010.  
\$28.69

# SCHEDULE OF SESSIONS, READINGS, and ASSIGNMENTS

## Part One: The New Imperialism – History, Theories, Concepts, Practices

### September

#### Week 1

Friday, September 5, 2014

- ♦ The seminar: structure, expectations, intended outcomes
- ♦ Research Topics

#### What is the “new imperialism”? Part 1

*Topics covered include:*

- ♦ Defining themes of the new imperialism

*Readings:*

“Introduction: The New Watchdogs,” Colin Mooers, pp. 1-8, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

*Recommended, though optional:*

Forte, Maximilian C. (2010). “Introduction: The ‘New’ Imperialism of Militarization, Humanitarianism, and Occupation.” In Maximilian C. Forte (Ed.), *The New Imperialism, Volume 1: Militarism, Humanism, and Occupation* (pp. 1-29), Montreal, QC: Alert Press.

#### Week 2

Friday, September 12, 2014

#### What is the “new imperialism”? Part 2

*Topics covered include:*

- ♦ Empire avowal ♦ The Iraq War ♦ Project for a New American Century ♦ U.S. national defense strategies ♦ What is the significance of oil (and strategic minerals)?

*Readings:*

Chapter 1, “All About Oil,” pp. 1-25, in: Harvey, David. (2003). *The New Imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 8, Adam Hanieh, “Praising Empire: Neoliberalism under Pax Americana,” pp. 167-198, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

Lutz, Catherine. (2009). “Introduction: Bases, Empire, and Global Response.”

Monday, September 15, 2014

- Deadline for withdrawal with tuition refund from two-term and fall-term courses.
- Last day to add two-term and fall-term courses.

### **Week 3**

Friday, September 19, 2014

#### **Empire, Hegemony, and Capital**

*Topics covered include:*

- ♦ Territorial and capital logics ♦ hegemony ♦ 19<sup>th</sup> century imperialism ♦ Imperialism to WWII
- ♦ U.S. hegemony after WW2 ♦ After the Cold War ♦ Neo-liberalism ♦ overreach ♦ blowback

*Readings:*

Chapter 6, Colin Mooers, "Nostalgia for Empire: Revising Imperial History for American Power," pp. 111-135, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

*Optional:*

Chapter 2, "How America's Power Grew," pp. 26-86, in: Harvey, David. (2003). *The New Imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

### **Week 4**

Friday, September 26, 2014

#### **Economic Crises and Imperial Wars**

*Topics covered include:*

- ♦ Space-time ♦ capital accumulation ♦ states-markets ♦ supra-state organization ♦ global financial circuits ♦ privatization ♦ multilateral financial institutions

*Readings:*

Chapter 4, "Accumulation by Dispossession," pp. 137-182, in: Harvey, David. (2003). *The New Imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 5, "Consent to Coercion," pp. 183-212, in: Harvey, David. (2003). *The New Imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Forte, Maximilian C. (2012). "Liberal Imperialism and the New Scramble for Africa." From: *Slouching Towards Sirte: NATO's War on Libya and Africa*. Montreal, QC: Baraka Books, 17-30.

## October

### Week 5

Friday, October 3, 2014

#### **"Democracy Promotion" as Imperialism**

*Topics covered include:*

♦ freedom, democracy, human rights, in the imperial lexicon ♦ democratization as global counterinsurgency ♦ destabilizing other democracies ♦ global political engineering ♦ U.S. hegemony by frugal, symbolic means

*Readings:*

Chapter 1, Ellen Meiksins Wood, "Democracy as Ideology of Empire", pp. 9-24, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

*Optional:*

Chapter 2, Aziz Al-Azmeh, "After the Fact: Reading Tocqueville in Baghdad," pp. 25-44, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

Chapter 3, Tariq Ali, "Tortured Civilizations: Islam and the West," pp. 45-59, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

**Research Paper Prospectus** (worth 10%). Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due by midnight on October 3.

### Week 6

Friday, October 10, 2014

#### **Imperialism by Many Other Means**

*Topics covered include:*

♦ propaganda, public relations, public diplomacy, strategic communications, information operations, PsyOps ♦ mainstream media, social media, regime media ♦ NGOs ♦ marketing, consumerism ♦ commodification ♦ developmentalism

*Readings:*

Chapter 9, Tanner Mirrlees, "American Soft Power, or American Cultural Imperialism?," pp. 199-228, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

Chapter 10, Paul Cammack, "UN Imperialism: Unleashing Entrepreneurship in the Developing World," pp. 229-260, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

### Week 7

Friday, October 17, 2014

#### **Imperial Philosophies, Discourses, and Apologia**

*Topics covered include:*



- ♦ ideology and empire ♦ the valorization of empire ♦ rehabilitation of empire

*Readings:*

Chapter 7, Thom Workman, "When Might is Right: Ancient Lamentations, Straussian Ministrations and American Dispensations," pp. 137-165, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

Chapter 5, David McNally, "Imperial Narcissism: Michael Igatieff's Apologies for Empire," pp. 87-109, in: *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire*.

**Structured Outline and Working Bibliography** (worth 10%). Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due by midnight on October 17.

**Part Two: Emergency and Exception –**

**"Humanitarian" Intervention, Military Humanism, and the Responsibility to Protect**

**Week 8**

Friday, October 24, 2014

**An International State of Exception**

*Topics covered include:*

- ♦ The emergency imaginary ♦ humanitarian governance ♦ progress and civilization ♦ contemporary missionary logics ♦ military intervention

*Readings:*

Fassin, Didier, & Pandolfi, Mariella, "Introduction: Military and Humanitarian Government in the Age of Intervention," pp. 9-25, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. New York: Zone Books.

Calhoun, Craig, "The Idea of Emergency: Humanitarian Action and Global (Dis)Order," pp. 29-58, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. New York: Zone Books.

Forte, Maximilian C. (2012). "Humanitarianism and the Invention of Emergency." From: *Slouching Towards Sirte: NATO's War on Libya and Africa*. Montreal, QC: Baraka Books, 237-265.

Sunday, October 26, 2014

- Last day for academic withdrawal from fall-term courses.

**Week 9**

Friday, October 31, 2014

## Responsibility to Protect and Interventionist Morality

Topics covered include:

♦ R2P ♦ will to intervene ♦ securitization ♦ international policing ♦ “failed states” ♦ British humanitarian interventionism ♦ moral orders

Readings:

Makaremi, Chowra, “Utopias of Power: From Human Security to the Responsibility to Protect,” pp. 107-127, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. New York: Zone Books.

Pupavac, Vanessa, “Between Compassion and Conservatism: A Genealogy of Humanitarian Sensibilities,” pp. 129-149, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. New York: Zone Books.

Fassin, Didier, “Heart of Humaneness: The Moral Economy of Humanitarian Intervention,” pp. 269-293, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. New York: Zone Books.

**First installment of draft paper (worth 10%).** Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, .docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due by midnight on October 31.

## November

### Week 10

Friday, November 7, 2014

### Saving the Other

Topics covered include:

♦ Somalia ♦ “Save Darfur” ♦ “the humanitarian international” ♦ “surgical strikes” ♦ iatrogenic violence ♦ therapeutic domination ♦ the calculation of suffering ♦ shock and awe ♦ “protection”

Readings:

de Waal, Alex, “An Emancipatory Imperium? Power and Principle in the Humanitarian International,” pp. 295-361, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. New York: Zone Books.

McFalls, Laurence, “Benevolent Dictatorship: The Formal Logic of Humanitarian Government,” pp. 317-333, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*. New York: Zone Books.

Orford, Anne, “The Passions of Protection: Sovereign Authority and Humanitarian War,” pp. 335-356, in: Didier Fassin & Mariella Pandolfi (eds.). (2010). *Contemporary States of Emergency:*

### Part Three: Militarization, Militarism, and the Social Sciences

#### Week 11

Friday, November 14, 2014

#### **Imperial Social Science: The “Cultural Turn,” Combat Ethnography, and Humans as Terrain**

*Topics covered include:*

♦ counterinsurgency ♦ cultural intelligence ♦ Human Terrain System ♦ armed social science ♦ windshield ethnography

*Optional Readings:*

McFate, Montgomery. (2005). “Anthropology and counterinsurgency: The strange story of their curious relationship.” *Military Review*, March-April, 24-38.

McFate, Montgomery. (2005). “The military utility of understanding adversary culture.” *Joint Force Quarterly*, (38), 42-48.

Kipp, Jacob; Grau, Lester; Prinslow, Karl; & Smith, Don. (2006). “The Human Terrain System: A CORDS for the 21st Century.” *Military Review*, September-October, 8-15.

Renzi, Fred. (2006). “Networks: Terra Incognita and the Case for Ethnographic Intelligence.” *Military Review*, September-October, 16-22.

*Film:*

*Human Terrain: War Becomes Academic*

“Seeking to understand 'why they hate us', the US military adopts a new strategy of cultural awareness to win over the hearts and minds of the Iraqi and Afghan people. Controversy erupts when academics embed with combat troops and the war comes home to the university.”

**Second installment of draft paper** (worth 10%). Please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc, docx, or .rtf to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca). Due on: November 14.

#### Week 12

Friday, November 21, 2014

## **Assessing the Human Terrain System**

*Topics covered include:*

♦ intelligence ♦ targeting ♦ ethics ♦ politics ♦ propaganda ♦ waste, fraud, abuse

*Optional Readings:*

McFate, Montgomery, & Fondacaro, Steve. (2011). "Reflections on the Human Terrain System during the First 4 Years." *Prism*, 2(4), 63-82.

Forte, Maximilian C. (2011). "The Human Terrain System and Anthropology: A Review of Ongoing Public Debates." *American Anthropologist*, 113(1), 149-153.

Zehfuss, Maja. (2012). "Culturally sensitive war? The Human Terrain System and the seduction of ethics." *Security Dialogue*, 43(3), 175-190.

Whitehead, Neil L. (n.d.). "Ethnography, Torture and the Human Terrain / Terror Systems."

González Roberto J. (2007). "Towards Mercenary Anthropology? The New US Army Counterinsurgency Manual FM 3-24 and the Military-Anthropology Complex." *Anthropology Today*, 23(3), 14-19.

González, Roberto J. (2008). "'Human Terrain': Past, Present and Future Applications." *Anthropology Today*, 24(1), 21-26.

## **Week 13**

Friday, November 28, 2014

### **Anthropology and Militarism**

*Topics covered include:*

♦ ethnography ♦ knowledge production ♦ researching militarism & militarization

*Optional Readings:*

Sluka, Jeffrey A. (2010). "Curiouser and Curiouser: Montgomery McFate's Strange Interpretation of the Relationship between Anthropology and Counterinsurgency." *PoLAR: Political & Legal Anthropology Review*, 33, 99-115.

Gledhill, John. (n.d.). "Anthropology in the Age of Securitization."

Gusterson, Hugh. (2007). "Anthropology and Militarism." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 36, pp. 155-175.

Lutz, Catherine. (2009). "Anthropology in an Era of Permanent War." *Anthropologica* , 51(2), 367-379.

Monday, December 1, 2014

• Last day of classes – Fall term.

**Wednesday, December 3, 2014:**

**FINAL PAPER** (worth 40%): please send via email, as an attachment in .odt, .doc,.docx, or .rtf only (**not** .pdf) to: [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca), by 12:00pm (12h00).

*As final grades are submitted and your papers are returned to you, the seminar director will be informing participants of whether or not their papers are suitable for publication either as is, or with substantial or minor revisions. In those cases where many revisions would be necessary to improve a paper, this will not lead to a change of grade, but will only determine whether the paper can be included in our collective publication. It is understood in advance that not every student will choose to devote time during their summer to further revisions, and thus inclusion in the publication effort is voluntary.*

*Thank you for taking part in this seminar.*