

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA  
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

GEOGRAPHY 521  
PHILOSOPHY, SOCIAL THEORY AND HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

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*'La géographie, ça sert, d'abord, à faire la guerre': Yves Lacoste*

Many of the most compelling debates in contemporary philosophy and social theory turn on modern war, and this course will consider some of the key philosophical contributions of Michel Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, Judith Butler and others and theoretical elaborations by Zygmunt Bauman, Michael Dillon, Achille Mbembe and others. But there has been a long and intimate relationship between War and Geography that few of these contributions acknowledge, and so the course will also pay particular attention to the changing spatialities of modern war, to the ways in which these contributions intersect with the densely concrete materialities of military violence, and to counter-geographies constructed by artists and writers.

Since the end of the Cold War, and with increasing frequency since 9/11, we have often been told that the conduct of contemporary war by advanced militaries (unlike their adversaries) has become accurate and proportionate, legal and ethical, thereby raising the bar for 'just' or 'virtuous' war. Another central aim of the course is thus to assess claims like these, which will involve a traverse across a wide interdisciplinary field that includes political philosophy, ethics and international law – all of which have also attracted human geographers.

Finally, I'm also particularly interested in the ways the visual and performing arts can become part of the research process – not only media to engage wider audiences (important though that is) – and the course will reflect this too.

The preliminary course outline is below; **required readings are shown in bold**, and I expect all participants in the seminar to have read and thought about them in advance of the class. The remaining readings are to provide further springboards for term papers, and in most cases identify major texts.

I'm currently completing two books, *The everywhere war* and *War material*, which address these issues; you can also find many of my own essays, presentations and commentaries at [www.geographicaliminations.com](http://www.geographicaliminations.com).

## Resources

### On wars in the shadows of 9/11:

- Etienne Balibar, 'What's in a war? (Politics as war, war as politics)' *Ratio Juris* 21 (2008) 365-86
- Jason Burke, *The 9/11 wars* (London: Allen Lane, 2011)
- Patrick Crogan, *Gameplay mode: war, simulation and technoculture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011)
- David Chandler, "'War without end(s)': grounding the discourse of "global war"'. *Security dialogue* 40 (2009) 243-62
- Christopher Coker, *The future of war: the re-enchantment of war in the twenty-first century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004)
- James Der Derian, *Virtuous War: mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network* (New York: Routledge, 2009; second edition)
- Mark Duffield, *Development, security and unending war: governing the world of peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007)
- Derek Gregory, *The colonial present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004) [and Forum in *Political Geography* (2008)]
- Derek Gregory, 'War and peace', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (2) (2010) 154-86
- Derek Gregory, 'The everywhere war', *Geographical Journal* 177 (2011) 238-50
- Maria Ryan, 'War in countries we are not at war with', *International politics* 48 (2011) 364-89
- Michael Shapiro, 'The presence of war: "Here and elsewhere"', *International political sociology* 5 (2011) 109-25
- Martin Shaw, *The new western way of war* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2005)
- Roger Stahl, *Militainment Inc: War, media and popular culture* (New York: Routledge, 2010)
- Hew Strachan and Sibylle Scheipers (eds) *The changing character of war* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

### War is of course a moving target; the following websites and blogs are particularly useful at tracking it:

- Afghan Analysts Network at <http://aan-afghanistan.com/index.asp?id=1>
- The AfPak Channel at <http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/>
- Crimes of War at <http://www.crimesofwar.org/>

Danger Room at <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/>  
Dictionary of War at <http://dictionaryofwar.org/>  
Institute for the Study of War at <http://www.understandingwar.org/>  
International Crisis Group at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/>  
Long War Journal at <http://www.longwarjournal.org/>  
Small Wars Journal at <http://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php>  
Subtopia: a field guide to military urbanism at <http://subtopia.blogspot.com> [*now discontinued but the archived entries are a rich resource*]  
War in Context at <http://warincontext.org/>

A stimulating website that includes sections on Art, Film, Literature, Theory [including short video lectures on, amongst others, Arendt, Bauman, Butler, Foucault, Virilio and Zizek], Theatre and Testimony is <http://www.historiesofviolence.com/> curated by Brad Evans.

## Outline

### Tuesday 10 September Introduction to the course

### Tuesday 17 September Neo-liberalism, biopolitics and later modern war

*We begin by thinking through the idea of later modern war (and the connections between war and modernity) through debates over so-called 'new wars'. On the one side, and closely associated with the United States, is a 'revolution in military affairs' (RMA), which originally promised that future wars could be fought with fewer ground troops through the intensive use of high technology. In this optic, new systems of sensing, surveillance and information management are wired to the development of precision-guided weapons to rework the spatial templates of geopolitics. In its later versions, the convergence between military operations and the advanced sectors of the global economy is ramped up through the enhanced time-space compression made possible by network-centric warfare. On the other side are the so-called 'new wars' characterized by the rise of para-state actors including militias and guerrilla forces engaged in asymmetric warfare. For the most part these groups rely on cheap, light even improvised weapons to combat the concentrated firepower of regular armies. They too are enmeshed in globalization, but Nordstrom describes this as a 'shadow globalization': many of them are supported and funded (at least in part) by emigré communities; they draw their recruits from the diaspora, from refugee camps and from city-dwellers who have been forcefully excluded from the global economy; and they are involved in translocal networks that are non-state, non-formal, and extra-legal, and which in many cases traffic not only in weapons but in 'conflict commodities' like drugs and diamonds.*

On 'techno-war', the RMA and the connections between neo-liberalism and military violence, see:

- Zygmunt Bauman, 'Reconnaissance wars of the planetary frontierland', *Theory, culture and society* 19 (2002) 82-90
- Zygmunt Bauman, 'Wars of the globalization era', *European journal of social theory* 4 (2001) 11-28
- Michele Chwastiak, 'Rationality, performance measures and representations of reality: planning, programming and budgeting and the Vietnam war', *Critical perspectives on accounting* 17 (2006) 29-55
- Deborah Cowen and Neil Smith, 'After Geopolitics? From the geopolitical social to geoeconomics', *Antipode* 41 (2009) 22-48
- Simon Dalby, 'Geopolitics, the revolution in military affairs and the Bush doctrine', *International Politics* 46 (2009) 234-52
- James der Derian, *Virtuous war: mapping the military-industrial-media-entertainment complex* (New York: Routledge 2010; second edition)
- Richard Ek, 'A revolution in military geopolitics?' *Political geography* 19 (2000) 841-74
- James William Gibson, *The perfect war: technowar in Vietnam* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986)
- David Harvey, *The new imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Frederick Kagan, *Finding the target: the transformation of American military policy* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007)
- Anna Leander, 'The market for force and public security: the destabilizing consequences of private military companies', *Jnl. peace research* 42 (2005) 605-622
- Anna Leander, 'The power to construct international security: on the significance of private military companies', *Millennium* 33 (2005) 803-26
- Randy Martin, *An empire of indifference: American war and the financial logic of risk management* (New York: Routledge, 2007)
- Retort, *Afflicted Powers: capital and spectacle in a new age of war* (London: Verso, 2005) [and Forum in *Public Culture* 20:3 (2008)]
- Peter Singer, 'Outsourcing war', *Foreign affairs* 84 (2005) 119-32

On 'new wars', see:

- Tarak Barkawi, 'Globalization, culture and war: on the popular mediation of small wars', *Cultural critique* 58 (2004) 115-147
- Michael Brzoska, "'New wars" discourse in Germany', *Journal of peace research* 41 (2004) 107-117
- Philip Cerny, 'Neomedievalism, civil war and the security dilemma: globalisation as durable disorder', *Civil wars* 1 (1998) 36-64
- Helen Dexter, 'New war, good war and the war on terror: explaining, excusing and creating Western neo-interventionism', *Development & Change* 38 (2007) 1055-1071

- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: war and democracy in the age of empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004) Part I: War
- Dietrich Jung (ed.), *Shadow globalization, ethnic conflicts and new wars: a political economy of intra-state war* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003)
- Mary Kaldor, *New and old wars: organized violence in a global era* (third edition) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012)
- Patrick Mello, 'In search of new wars', *European journal of international relations* 16 (2010) 297-309
- **Herfried Münkler, 'Wars of the 21<sup>st</sup> century', *Intl. Review Red Cross* 85 (2003) 7-22**
- Herfried Münkler, *The new wars* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005)
- Harald Wydra, 'Victims and new wars', *Cambridge review of international affairs* 26 (2013) 161-180

*On biopolitics and war see:*

- Colleen Bell, 'War and the allegory of medical intervention: why metaphors matter', *International political sociology* 325-8
- **Colleen Bell, 'Hybrid warfare and its metaphors', *Humanity* 3 (2) (2012) 225-47**
- Michael Dillon and Julian Reid, *The liberal way of war: killing to make life live* (London: Routledge, 2009)
- Michael Dillon and Luis Lobo-Guerrero, 'Biopolitics of security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: an introduction', *Review of international studies* 34 (2008) 265-92
- Brad Evans, 'Foucault's legacy: security, war and violence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century' *Security dialogue* 41 (2010) 413-33
- **Brad Evans, 'The liberal war thesis: introducing the key principles of twenty-first century biopolitical warfare', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 110 (3) (2011) 747-56**
- Michael Foucault, "*Society must be defended*": *Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-6* (2003)
- Achille Mbembe, 'Necropolitics', *Public culture* 15 (2003) 11-40
- John Morrissey, 'Liberal warfare and biopolitics: US juridical warfare in the war on terror', *Geopolitics* 16 (2) (2011)
- Joseph Pugliese, *State violence and the execution of law: biopolitical caesurae of torture, black sites, drones* (New York: Routledge, 2013)
- Julian Reid, *The biopolitics of the war on terror* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

## **Tuesday 24 September Imag(in)ing war**

*Images have become increasingly important to the conduct of war; in Precarious Life Judith Butler argues that 'there is no way to separate, under present historical conditions, the material reality of war from those representational regimes through which it operates and which rationalize its own operation.' This requires us to think*

*carefully about two, closely related issues – media representations of military violence and its effects, and the ways in which militaries have incorporated political technologies of vision into their operations. Today we focus on the first of these issues.*

For general discussions, see:

- Dora Apel, *War cultures and the contest of images* (Rutgers University Press, 2012)
- Judith Butler, *Frames of war* (London: Verso, 2009)
- **Elisabeth Dauphinee, ‘The politics of the body in pain: reading the ethics of imagery’, *Security dialogue* 38 (2) (2007) 139-55**
- Bernd Hüppauf, ‘Experiences of modern warfare and the crisis of representation’, *New German Critique* 59 (1993) 1-76.
- Susie Linfield, *The cruel radiance: photography and political violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
- Fraser MacDonald, Rachel Hughes and Klaus Dodds (eds) *Observant states: geopolitics and visual culture* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010)
- Jan Mieszkowski, *Watching war* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012)
- W.J.T. Mitchell, *Cloning terror: the war of images, 9/11 to the present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011)
- Stuart Price, *Brute reality: power, discourse and the mediation of war* (London: Pluto Press, 2010)
- Julian Stallabrass (ed) *Memory of Fire: images of war and the war of images* (Photoworks, 2013) (see a review and response by Stallabrass at <http://www.aperture.org/blog/embedded-images/>)

*In the second part of today’s seminar, we will think about images of war produced by photojournalists and artists. Both offer wide (battle)fields, but I suggest we begin by reading this general survey together:*

- **Lilie Chouliaraki, ‘The humanity of war: iconic photojournalism of the battlefield, 1914-2012’, *Visual communication* 12 (3) (2013) 315-340**

For other discussions of war reporting, see:

- Duncan Anderson, *Glass warriors: the camera at war* (London: Collins, 2005)
- **David Campbell, ‘Constructed Visibility: photographing the Catastrophe of Gaza’, at [http://www.david-campbell.org/wp-content/documents/Constructed\\_Visibility.pdf](http://www.david-campbell.org/wp-content/documents/Constructed_Visibility.pdf)**
- Matt Farish, ‘Modest witnesses: foreign correspondents, geopolitical vision and the First World War’, *Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.* 26 (2001) 273-87
- Daniel Hallin, *The “uncensored War”: the media and Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989)
- Jean Hood, *War correspondent: reporting under fire since 1850* (London: IWM/Conway, 2012)

- Andrew Hoskins, *Televising war: from Vietnam to Iraq* (London: Continuum, 2004)
- Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin, *War and media: the emergence of diffused war* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010)
- Deborah Jaramillo, *Ugly war, pretty package* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 2009)
- Donald Matheson and Stuart Allan, *Digital war reporting* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009)
- Gabriela Melischek, Josef Seethaler and Matthias Karmasin, *Selling war: the role of the mass media in hostile conflicts* (Intellect, 2013)
- Paul Moorcraft and Philip Taylor, *Shooting the messenger: the political impact of war reporting* (Dulles WA: Potomac, 2008)
- Ann Wilkes Tucker, Will Michels, Natalie Zelt, *War photography: images of armed conflict and its aftermath* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts/Yale University Press, 2012)

On modern war and art, see:

- Monica Bohn-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War* (Princeton University Press, forthcoming)
- Laura Brandon, *Art and war* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006)
- Paul Gough, *A terrible beauty: war, art and the imagination 1914-1918* (forthcoming)
- Alan Ingram, 'Making geopolitics otherwise: artistic interventions in global political space', *Geographical journal* 177 (2011) 218-22

<b>Tuesday 1 October</b>	<b>Militarized vision</b>
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We now turn our attention to the scopic regimes of advanced militaries. Much of this work owes a considerable debt to:

- Paul Virilio, *War and cinema: the logistics of perception* (1984; London: Verso, 1989)

See also:

- Caroline Croser, 'Networking security in the space of the city: event-ful battlespaces and the contingency of the encounter', *Theory and event* 10:2 (2007)
- Caroline Croser, *The new spatiality of security* (London: Routledge, 2010)
- Derek Gregory, 'Seeing Red: Baghdad and the event-ful city', *Political Geography* 29: 266-79

Our main purpose today is to consider two case studies. The first is what Wikileaks called 'Collateral Murder', an attack by two US Apache helicopter in Baghdad on 12 July 2007:

- **The video released by Wikileaks on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rXPrfnU3G0>**
- Read excellent summary discussion in Wikipedia: ‘July 12, 2007 Baghdad airstrike’
- Kim Zetter, ‘US soldier on 2007 Apache attack: what I saw’ [Ethan McCord] at Wired.com, 20 April 2010 at <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2010/04/2007-iraq-apache-attack-as-seen-from-the-ground/>
- **Redacted US Army investigation report at [http://www.wired.com/images\\_blogs/dangerroom/2010/04/6-2nd-brigade-combat-team-15-6-investigation.pdf](http://www.wired.com/images_blogs/dangerroom/2010/04/6-2nd-brigade-combat-team-15-6-investigation.pdf)**

The second is an attack in Uruzgan province in Afghanistan on 21 February 2010; there is a much richer archive available here, owing to a successful FOI request, and the full documentation is available at <https://www.aclu.org/drone-foia-department-defense-uruzgan-investigation-documents>.

- **Summary transcript of radio conversations at <http://documents.latimes.com/transcript-of-drone-attack/>**
- **David S. Cloud, ‘Combat by camera: Anatomy of an Afghan war tragedy’, *Los Angeles Times*, 10 April 2011 at <http://documents.latimes.com/transcript-of-drone-attack/>**

For brief discussions, see:

- Derek Gregory, ‘From a view to a kill: drones and late modern war’, *Theory, culture and society* 28 (7-8) (2011) 188-215
- Derek Gregory, ‘Lines of descent’ [DOWNLOADS tab at [www.geographicalimagination.com](http://www.geographicalimagination.com)]

*Note: I am working with the full archive for this attack, together with other incidents including the attack in New Baghdad, on a new project, ‘Militarized vision’: so any help will be fully and individually acknowledged.*

<b>Tuesday 8 October</b>	<b>Bodies, wounds and somatic geographies</b>
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*James Der Derian observes that many discussions of contemporary war are strangely devoid of bodies (of combatants and civilians) so we need to think carefully about bodies in war. Ground troops have long needed an acutely corporeal knowledge to survive the battlefield, which produces what is sometimes called a ‘haptic’ or ‘somatic’ geography; and soldiers are not only the vectors of military violence but also often its victims*

On haptic geographies see:



- **Santanu Das, ‘Geographies of sense’, Ch. 2 in his *Touch and intimacy in First World War literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)**
- Derek Gregory, ‘Gabriel’s map: cartography, corpography and modern war’ [in *War material*; I will circulate the pdf]
- John Hockey, ‘Switch on: sensory work in the military’, *Work, employment, society* 23 (2009) 477-493.

You can also find more online at <http://geothory.wordpress.com/space/>

See also:

- Paul Higate, ‘The private militarized and security contractor as geocorporeal actor’, *International political sociology* 6 (2012) 355-72
- John Hockey, ‘Head down, Bergen on, mind in neutral: the infantry body’, *Journal of political and military sociology* 30 (2002) 148-171
- Kevin McSorley (ed) *War and the body: militarisation, practice and experience* (London: Routledge, 2012): introduction available at [http://www.academia.edu/2037123/War\\_and\\_the\\_Body\\_-\\_Introduction](http://www.academia.edu/2037123/War_and_the_Body_-_Introduction)
- Kevin McSorley, ‘Helmetcams, militarized sensation and “Somatic War”’, *Journal of war and culture studies* 5 (1) (2012) 47-58.

For our discussion of today’s wars, I want to focus on the work of two medical anthropologists:

- **Ken MacLeish, ‘Heat, weight, metal, gore, exposure’ (Ch. 2 of his *Making war at Fort Hood: Life and uncertainty in a military community* (Princeton University Press, 2013); also download the Introduction at <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i9963.pdf>)**
- **Zoe Wool, ‘On movement: the matter of US soliers’ being after combat’, *Ethnos: journal of anthropology* (2012) [search under ‘Latest articles, November 2012: DOI:10.1080/00141844.2012.658428]**

Then we will discuss a remarkable play:

- **Owen Sheers, *Pink Mist* (2013)**

You can download it from Amazon for \$9.99. (If there is sufficient interest, we will arrange a reading of the play too, and open it up to a wider audience). If you want to know the context, see <http://geographicalimagination.com/2013/06/05/playing-war/>

<b>Tuesday 15 October</b>	<b>War and the city</b>
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- Stephen Graham, ‘Robowar dreams: US military technophilia and global south urbanisation’, *City* 12 (2008) 25-49

- Stephen Graham, 'Cities as battlespace: the new military urbanism', *City* 13 (2009) 383-402
- Stephen Graham, *Cities under siege: the new military urbanism* (London: Verso, 2010)
- Stephen Graham, 'When life itself is war: on the urbanization of military and security doctrine', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36 (1) (2012) 136-55.
- David Kilcullen, *Out of the mountains: the coming age of the urban guerilla* (2013) (available as download from Amazon for \$9.99)
- Saskia Sassen, 'When the city itself becomes a technology of war', *Theory, culture and society* 27 (6) (2010) 33-50
- Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's architecture of occupation* (London: Verso, 2007) (see especially Ch. 7)

**Tuesday 22 October NO CLASS [DG lecturing at York]**

**Tuesday 29 October Re-writing the geography of war**

*Air power dramatically re-writes the geography of war and makes the distinction between 'military' and 'civilian' spaces profoundly unstable.*

In general:

- Martin van Creveld, *The age of airpower* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011)
- Beau Grosscup, *Strategic terror: the politics and ethics of aerial bombardment* ((London: Zed, 2006)
- Sven Lindqvist, *A history of bombing* (New York: New Press, 2001; new edition 2011)

In geography the work of Ken Hewitt has been exemplary in opening up critical perspectives on bombing: see especially

- Ken Hewitt, 'Place annihilation: area bombing and the fate of urban places', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73 (1983) 257-84
- Ken Hewitt, 'When the great planes came and made ashes of our city...': towards an oral geography of the disasters of war', *Antipode*, 26 (1994) 1-34
- Ken Hewitt, 'Proving grounds of urbicide: civil and urban perspectives on the bombing of capital cities', *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 8 (2009) 340-375.

Hewitt focuses on the victims of bombing; see also:

- Jörg Friedrich, *The fire: the bombing of Germany 1940-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) (trans. Allison Brown)
- Juliet Gardiner, *The Blitz* (London: HarperPress, 2010)

- Susan Grayzel, *At home and under fire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Keith Lowe, *Inferno: the devastation of Hamburg 1943* ((London: Viking/Penguin, 2007)

*On other historical geographies of the kill-chain:*

- Derek Gregory, “‘In another time zone, the bombs fall unsafely’”: Targets, civilians and late modern war’, *Arab World Geographer* 9 (2) 88-111 [available at [www.geographicalimagination.com](http://www.geographicalimagination.com)]
- Derek Gregory, “‘Doors into nowhere’”: Dead cities and the natural history of destruction’, in Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan and Edgar Wunder (eds.), *Cultural memories* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2011) (available online via Koerner).
- **David Fedman and Cary Karacas, ‘A cartographic fade to black: mapping the destruction of urban Japan during World War II’, *Jnl. historical geography* 38 (3) (2012) 306-28;** see also the remarkable digital resource co-curated by Cary Karacas at <http://www.japanairraids.org>

*On targeting:*

- J. Marshall Beier, ‘Discriminating tastes: ‘smart’ bombs, non-combatants and notions of legitimacy in warfare’, *Security dialogue* 34 (2003) 411-25
- **J. Marshall Beier, ‘Outsmarting technologies: rhetoric, revolutions in military affairs and the social depth of warfare’, *International Politics* 43 (2006) 266-80**
- Nick Cullather, ‘Bombing at the speed of thought: intelligence in the coming age of cyberwar’, *Intelligence and national security* 18 (2003) 141-154
- Robert Ehlers, *Targeting the Third Reich: Air intelligence and the Allied bombing campaigns* (University Press of Kansas, 2009)
- Chad Harris, ‘The omniscient eye: satellite imagery, “battlespace awareness” and the structures of the imperial gaze’, *Surveillance & Society* 4 (1/2) (2006) 101-22
- Randall Wakelam, *The science of bombing: Operational Research in RAF Bomber Command* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009)
- Maja Zehfuss, ‘Targeting: precision and the production of ethics’, *European Journal of International Relations* 17 (3) (2011) 543-56

<p><b>Tuesday 5 November    Drones and targeted killing</b></p>
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*Many commentators suggest that drones (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles or Remotely Piloted Aircraft) have re-written the geography of war all over again.*

- Philip Alston, ‘The CIA and targeted killings beyond borders’, New York University School of Public Law and Legal Theory Research paper Series, Working Paper 11-64 (2011)

- Jack Beard, 'Law and war in the virtual era', *American Journal of International Law* 103 (2009) 409-445
- Gregoire Chamayou, *Théorie du drone* (Paris: La fabrique, 2013); see also my readings of the book at [www.geographicalimagination.com](http://www.geographicalimagination.com)
- Christian Enemark, 'Drones over Pakistan: secrecy, ethics and counterinsurgency', *Asian Security* 7 (3) (2011) 218-37
- Derek Gregory, 'From a view to a kill: drones and late modern war', *Theory, culture and society* 28 (7-8) (2011) 188-215
- Derek Gregory, 'Lines of descent', at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/derek-gregory/lines-of-descent> [20 November 2011; also in Pete Adey (ed) *From Above*, 2013]
- Caroline Holmqvist, 'Undoing war: war ontologies and the materiality of drone warfare', *Millennium* [forthcoming: Early View]
- **Frédéric Mégret, 'War and the vanishing battlefield', *Loyola University Chicago International Law Review* 9 (1) (2011-2) 131-56.**
- **Joseph Pugliese, 'Prosthetics of law and the anomic violence of drones', *Griffith Law Review* 20 (4) (2011) 931-61**
- Ian Shaw and Majed Akhter, 'The unbearable humanness of drone warfare in FATA, Pakistan', *Antipode* 44 (2011) 1490-1509
- **Ian Shaw, 'Predator Empire: the geopolitics of US drone warfare', *Geopolitics* 18 (3) (2013) 536-59**
- Peter Singer, *Wired for war: the robotics revolution and conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (New York: Penguin, 2009)
- Lucy Suchman, 'Situational awareness: bioconvergence at the boundaries of bodies and machines', *Mediatropes* (2013) (forthcoming)
- Tyler Wall and Torin Monahan, 'Surveillance and violence from afar: the politics of drones and liminal security-scapes', *Theoretical criminology* 15 (2011) 239-54
- Eyal Weizman, 'Thanato-tactics', in Adi Ophir, Michal Givoni and Sari Hanafi (eds), *The power of inclusive exclusion: anatomy of Israeli rule in the occupied Palestinian territories* (New York: Zone Books, 2009) pp. 543-573 and in Patricia Clough and Craig Willse (eds) *Beyond biopolitics: essays on the government of life and death* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011)

More references here: <http://geographicalimagination.com/2012/08/01/drones-and-military-violence-readings-and-screenings/>

### **Tuesday 12 November: Precarious lives**

I am lecturing at the University of St Andrews this week, but in my absence and in preparation for next week, I'd like you to organise a student-led discussion of

- **Judith Butler, *Precarious life, The powers of mourning and violence* (London and New York: Verso, 2006)**

### **Tuesday 19 November Civilians and the spaces of exception**

*Our focus here, to complement the discussion on, will be on the death – both conceptual and corporeal – of the civilian.*

On the genealogy of the civilian:

- Derek Gregory, 'The death of the civilian', *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006) 633-38
- Helen Kinsella, *The image before the weapon: a critical history of the distinction between combatant and civilian* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011)
- Igor Primoratz (ed), *Civilian immunity in war* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Stephen Rockel and Rick Halpern (eds) *Inventing collateral damage: civilian casualties, war and empire* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009)

For civilian casualties caused by 'advanced' militaries, see:

- Sahr Conway-Lanz, *Collateral damage: Americans, noncombatant immunity and atrocity after World War II* (New York: Routledge, 2006)
- **Thomas Gregory, 'Afghanistan, civilian casualties and the politics of intelligibility', *International feminist journal of politics* 14 (3) 327-47**
- Hugo Slim, *Killing civilians: method, madness and morality in war* (London: Hurst, 2007)
- John Tirman, *The deaths of others: the fate of civilians in America's wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Maja Zehfuss, 'Killing civilians: Thinking the practice of war', *British journal of politics and international relations* (2012)

On the space of exception, see:

- **Giorgio Agamben, *Homo sacer: sovereign power and bare life* (trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998; first published in Italian in 1995) (Kindle edition \$12.93)**
- Giorgio Agamben, *State of exception* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005) (Kindle edition \$9.60)
- Cristina Masters, 'Femina Sacra: the 'War on/of Terror', women and the feminine', *Security dialogue* 40 (2009) 29-49.
- Claudio Minca, 'Agamben's geographies of modernity', *Political geography* 26 (2007) pp. 78-97
- Lisa Bhungalia, 'Im/mobilities in a "Hostile Territory": Managing the Red Line', *Geopolitics* 17 (2012) 256-75 [on Gaza]
- Jennifer Fluri, 'Capitalizing on bare life: sovereignty, exception and gender politics', *Antipode* 44 (2012) 31-50 [on Afghanistan].
- \*Paolo Giaccaria and Claudio Minca, 'Topographies/topologies of the camp: Auschwitz as a spatial threshold', *Political geography* 30 (2011) 3-12.

- Derek Gregory, 'The Black Flag: Guantanamo and the space of exception', *Geografiska Annaler* B89 (2006) 405-27 [This is a special issue devoted to Agamben].
- Tobias Hagmann, Benedikt Korf, 'Agamben in the Ogaden: violence and sovereignty in the Ethiopian-Somali frontier', *Political geography* 31 (2012) 205-14.

## Tu 26 November War and the humanitarian present

For historical context, see:

- Michael Barnett, *Empire of humanity: a history of humanitarianism* (Cornell University Press, 2011) (available for Kindle at \$9.99)

For a more genealogical approach, Didier Fassin's work is indispensable:

- Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian reason: a moral history of the present* (University of California Press, 2011)
- Nicholas Guilhot, 'The anthropologist as witness: humanitarianism between critique and ethnography', [review of Fassin and of Bornstein and Redfield] Humanity blog at <http://www.humanityjournal.org/humanity-volume-3-issue-1/anthropologist-witness-humanitarianism-between-ethnography-and-critique>
- Steven Lukes, 'The politics of sacred life', *Public books* (August 2012) (review of Fassin, August 2012) at <http://publicbooks.org/nonfiction/the-politics-of-sacred-life>
- Simon Reid-Henry, 'On the politics of our humanitarian present', *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space* 31 (4) (2013) 753-60 [review of Barnett, Fassin and Weizman].

For discussions of contemporary military intervention (and even war itself) as 'therapeutic' and humanitarian, and ideas of 'military humanism', see:

- Richard Barratt, *Contesting the neutral space: a thematic analysis of military humanism* (Land Warfare Studies Centre, 2010); open access at <http://www.army.gov.au/Our-future/DARA/Our-publications/~media/Files/Our%20future/DARA%20Publications/WP/wp137.aspx>
- Colleen Bell, 'Hybrid warfare and its metaphors', *Humanity* 3 (2) (2012) 225-47
- Jean Bricmont, *Humanitarian imperialism: using human rights to sell war* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2006)
- Noam Chomsky, *The new military humanism: lessons from Kosovo* (Common Courage, 2009)
- Ashley Dawson, 'New world disorder: Black Hawk Down and the eclipse of US military humanitarianism', *African Studies Review* 54 (2) (2011) 177-94

- Costas Douzinas, ‘Humanity, military humanism and the new moral order’, *Economy & Society* 32 (2) (2003) 159-83
- Conor Foley, *The thin blue line: how humanitarianism went to war* (London: Verso, 2010)
- **Maja Zehfuss, ‘Contemporary Western war and the idea of humanity’, *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space* 30 (5) (2012) 861-76.**

For remarkably clear discussion of the muddy marchlands between military operations and humanitarian agencies, and the ethical and political dilemmas faced by those agencies, see:

- Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield (eds), *Forces of compassion: humanitarianism between ethics and politics* (School for Advanced Research Press, 2011)
- Costas Douzinas, ‘The many faces of humanitarianism’, *Parrhesia* 2 (2007) 1-28 at [http://parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia02/parrhesia02\\_douzinas.pdf](http://parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia02/parrhesia02_douzinas.pdf)
- Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi (eds) *Contemporary states of emergency: the politics of military and humanitarian interventions* (Zone Books, 2011)
- David Kennedy, *The dark side of virtue: reassessing international humanitarianism* (Princeton University Press, 2011)
- Thomas Moore, ‘Saving friends or saving strangers? Critical humanitarianism and the geopolitics of international law’, *Review of International Studies* (December 2012: ‘First View’)
- **Simon Reid-Henry, ‘Humanitarianism as liberal diagnostic: the geography of humanitarian reason and the political rationalities of the liberal will-to-care’,** Manuscript (in press); Simon has kindly agreed to share this pre-publication essay, and I will circulate the pdf but please do not forward to others
- Scott Watson, ‘The “human” as referent object? Humanitarianism as securitization’, *Security Dialogue* 42 (1)(2011) 3-20
- Eyal Weizman, *The least of all possible evils: humanitarian violence from Arendt to Gaza* (Verso, 2012); you can obtain a sense of the basic argument from the extracts assembled at e-flux here: <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/the-least-of-all-possible-evils/>

## Organization

### Auditing

I have no objection to students auditing the course, but this will require registration: and I do not permit students to attend on a casual basis, dropping in for seminars as their interests move them.

### Visualizations

Students will introduce the discussion each week. This will require preparing a visual presentation of 6-12 slides, combining images and text. The primary purpose is to provoke discussion (**not** to summarize the readings); the secondary purpose is to familiarize you with the design and use of presentation software. You can use PowerPoint, Keynote, or any other system, including open source software: but **DO NOT** rely on pre-packaged templates and, above all, **DO NOT** reduce the presentation to a series of bullets. Use Google Image and other search engines and image banks creatively to find your images; it is often effective to incorporate several into a single slide (including a background image). **You will then talk to the images – not read from a prepared text.**

**My 10 rules for presentations are here; PLEASE read them carefully:**  
<http://geographicaliminations.com/2012/07/17/visualizations-and-digital-displays-10-rules/>

### **Consultation**

I don't keep regular Office Hours for graduate students; you are welcome to meet with me at any (reasonable) time, though preferably off campus (coffee or wine, your choice). Please e-mail me for an appointment: [derek.gregory@geog.ubc.ca](mailto:derek.gregory@geog.ubc.ca)

If you encounter any problems that affect your work for this course, personal or professional, please do not delay in contacting me – I'll be happy to help in any way I can.

### **Assessment**

**Assessment** will be by **visualization [see above]** (20 per cent) and **term paper** (80 per cent). Your term paper must relate directly to the themes of the course, so please clear it with me in advance, and should be professionally presented, including a full bibliography. The body of the paper (excluding Figures and Bibliography) should be around 20 pages; ***those that exceed 24 pages will be returned for editing.*** Papers must be submitted on or before **Tuesday 3 December 2013.**