

Department of Political Science  
The University of Western Ontario

**POL /9759b**  
**THC 9609b**

## **‘War on Terror’**

Professor Nandita, Biswas Mellamphy

**Office hours:** Tu/Th 11:30-12:30 PM or by appointment, Social Science Centre 4095  
[nbiswasm@uwo.ca](mailto:nbiswasm@uwo.ca) or 519-661-2111 ext. 81161

**Class location and times:** Mon, 11:30am-2:30pm, SSC 4255

**Course Description:** What happens when war and militarization extend out of the space of the battlefield and become integrated into the civilian space of everyday life? Just as we have witnessed the global integration of information, communication, and trade which are no longer confined by territorial boundaries, so too can 'war' be seen as no longer confined to its classic theatre of operation, the battlefield. Today, in combination with the technological and informational revolutions characteristic of the 21st century, the governance of terror in the name of security has effectively led to the tactical and indefinite extension of war into all spheres of life. This course seeks to critically and theoretically investigate the changing nature of 'war', from classical to network-centric warfare. We will examine the concept of 'terror' both as an historical mode of warfare, as well as a new globalized phenomenon within the domain of the 'global war on terror'. The course material draws from a growing international field of scholarship that researches the problematization of politics, security and war from the perspective of political theory, philosophies of information and bio-technology, continental philosophy, as well as postmodern and poststructuralist critiques of the political subject and political power. The course materials will seek to elucidate the following concepts/themes:

- Security and Insecurity (the politics of fear)
- States of exception and discourses of 'crisis'
- Classical warfare vs. network-centric war (war at a distance)
- Predation and constructing the 'asymmetric enemy'
- Swarming, drone warfare, and machinic cognition
- Biometrics, Privacy and the Surveillance State
- Algorithmic Governance

This course is focused on **“inquiry-based learning”** which presupposes that ‘all learning begins with the learner’. The course presupposes that YOU will take a *proactive* involvement in your own learning: this includes consulting online and print sources for further information on a topic, or consulting me whenever you need help or have a relevant question.

## Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this course, you should be able to:

- Demonstrate knowledge of diverse theories and methodological approaches and recognize the ethical dimensions and problems of methodologies
- Demonstrate an awareness of how power, culture and history condition/influence knowledge formation and be able to situate knowledge historically and contextually
- Demonstrate understanding of the controversial nature of and the limits of your own intellectual knowledge, in light of exposure to information, concepts, theories and experience
- Demonstrate well developed, independent information literacy and research skills and be able to identify goals for their own professional development and further learning
- Work effectively with others, demonstrating the skills of giving constructive and critical feedback to peers, responding to feedback, and using active listening
- Be able to assess arguments and evidence critically, as well as communicate orally and in written form in an analytic and clear fashion

**Required Course Material:** All articles will be available on the course website (OWL).

## Evaluation Breakdown:

- Critical Book Review (4-5 pages); list of possible books to be provided (15%)
- Oral Presentation of one of the week's readings: 15%
- Journal Research Project: Your task is to design the framework and prototype for a journal devoted to the critical study of war on terror/terrorism; your task will be to do research about the various interdisciplinary fields related to the study of war on terror and put together a proposal for the contents. Full Instructions will be given: 30%
- Publishable quality Research Paper (40%): 20-25 pages (double spaced, typed, title page and bibliography); deadline TBD.

Late essay submissions may be subject to a penalty deduction of 5% a day (from the due date until the day that the assignment is received by the instructor, including weekends and holidays). **To discuss these policies further, please feel free to meet with me.**

**Course Website (OWL):** All the course administration, including required readings, announcements, detailed explanation of assignments and other extra materials will be found on the course website. Everything having to do with each component of the course will be available on the course website. *The website has not been developed to be a replacement for attending class.* Problems with accessibility to the course website cannot be used as a basis for missing deadlines or appealing your grades. This means that if you are having problems accessing the course website, you must notify your instructor as soon as possible and you will be directed to a computer technician.

## Computer, Cell-phone and Other Gadgets Policy:

- You may use your computers to take notes during lectures, but I reserve the right to ensure that you are not text-messaging, surfing the internet, or distracting other students.
- No digital recording (either voice or image) of the lectures is allowed.
- All cellphones (and similar technologies) must be turned off, silent or on 'vibration' mode during the duration of the class and during tutorials.

**Special Needs:** If you are a student with special needs, or you simply want to discuss the course materials in more depth, *please feel free to discuss with me in person at any time.* Visit Western's *Student Development Services* (<http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/>) to access the resources available to you.

**Western Medical Accommodation Policy** (Medical Notes): The University of Western Ontario's Senate has approved a medical note policy, which affects all students. Please follow the procedures as set out by the University and see your Academic Counseling office to present your case and documentation **before** asking me for an extension without penalty. For more detailed information and forms, please visit <https://studentservices.uwo.ca/secure/index.cfm>, and for further policy information please visit [http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/accommodation\\_medical.pdf](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/accommodation_medical.pdf)

**Academic Dishonesty Policy:** "Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/choloff.pdf>." The University of Western Ontario uses software for plagiarism checking. Students may be required to submit their written work in electronic format for plagiarism checking. (UWO Senate 2002-03)." If you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please do not hesitate to ask me.

**Weekly Reading Schedule: Subject to modification**

\* Available on course website.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Required and Recommended Readings</b>	<b>Lecture Themes</b>
Jan 5	<p>Introduction to the Themes of the Course and Discussion of Course Mechanics</p> <p>Noam Chomsky, "There is No War on Terror"  <a href="http://www.alternet.org/story/30487/chomsky%3A+%27there+is+no+war+on+terror%27">http://www.alternet.org/story/30487/chomsky%3A %27the re is no war on terror%27</a></p> <p>* "Critical Terrorism Studies—an introduction", Marie Breen Smyth <i>et. al.</i></p> <p>*"Baudrillard, Globalization and Terrorism" by Douglas Kellner.</p>	<p><i>Defining the Scope of the Study of 'War on Terror'</i></p>
Jan 12	<p>Brian Massumi, "The Half-Life of Disaster"  <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/apr/15/half-life-of-disaster">http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/apr/15/half-life-of-disaster</a></p> <p>*Alexander Galloway, "Are Some Things Unrepresentable?" (from <i>The Interface Effect</i>).</p> <p>* Douglas Kellner, "9/11, Spectacles of Terror, and Media Manipulation".</p> <p>*Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin, "Introduction" (from <i>War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War</i>).</p>	<p><i>War, Media and Disaster Capitalism</i></p>
Jan 19	<p>*Cory Robin, <i>Fear: The History of an Idea</i>, p. 1-43.</p> <p>*McKenzie Wark, "Securing Security" (from <i>Telesthesia: Communication, Culture and Class</i>).</p> <p>*Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, "Hunting A Whale Of A State: Kittler And His Terrorists", 399-412.</p> <p>Dan Tynan,  <a href="http://www.itworld.com/article/2708226/it-management/in-the-21st-century-surveillance-state--we-are-all-terrorists.html">http://www.itworld.com/article/2708226/it-management/in-the-21st-century-surveillance-state--we-are-all-terrorists.html</a></p> <p>Adam Curtis, <i>Power of Nightmares</i>, BBC documentary</p>	<p><i>Fear, Terror and the Power of Insecurity</i></p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Required and Recommended Readings</b>	<b>Lecture Themes</b>
Jan 26	<p>*Carl von Clausewitz, "What is War?" and "Purpose and Means in War" in <i>On War</i>, p. 7-44.</p> <p>*Carl Schmitt, <i>The Concept of the Political</i>, p. 25-37.</p> <p>*Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, <i>Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire</i>, Preface and p. 3-10, and p. 12-32.</p> <p>*Louiza Odysseos, "Crossing the Line? Carl Schmitt on the 'Spaceless Universalism' of Cosmopolitanism and the War on Terror", <i>The International Political Thought of Carl Schmitt</i>, p. 124-143.</p>	<i>War, Sovereignty and States of Exception</i>
Feb 2	NO CLASS	NO CLASS
Feb 09	<p>*Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, <i>Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire</i>, p. 37-62.</p> <p>*Gal Hirsch, "On Dinosaurs and Hornets: A Critical View on Operational Moulds in Asymmetrical Conflicts", <i>RUSI Journal</i>, p. 60-63.</p> <p>*Reza Negarestani, "The Militarization of Peace", <i>Collapse: Philosophical Research and Development</i>, vol. 1 (2006). <a href="http://www.urbanomic.com/Publications/Collapse-1/PDFs/C1_Reza_Negarestani.pdf">http://www.urbanomic.com/Publications/Collapse-1/PDFs/C1_Reza_Negarestani.pdf</a></p> <p>*Deleuze and Guattari, "Treatise on Nomadology: The War Machine", <i>A Thousand Plateaus</i>, 351-423.</p>	<i>Who is Friend and Who is Enemy? From Symmetrical to Asymmetrical War</i>
Feb 16	READING WEEK	CLASS CANCELLED
Feb 23	<p>*Gregoire Chamayou, "The Dialectic of the Hunter and the Hunted," (from <i>Manhunts: A Philosophical History</i>).</p> <p>Gregoire Chamayou, "The Manhunt Doctrine", <a href="http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/the-manhunt-doctrine">http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/the-manhunt-doctrine</a></p> <p>*Derek Gregory, "Drone Geographies", 7-19.</p> <p>"UNHRC Adopts Drones Resolution"</p>	<i>Predation and Drone Warfare</i>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Required and Recommended Readings</b>	<b>Lecture Themes</b>
	<p>(cont'd)</p> <p><a href="http://justsecurity.org/8712/unhrc-adopts-drones-resolution/">http://justsecurity.org/8712/unhrc-adopts-drones-resolution/</a></p> <p>*Parthan Vishvanathan, "A Game of Drones: The Legality of the Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Targeted Strikes and Targeted Killings", 165-180.</p>	
Mar 2	<p>*Information Commissioner's Office of the United Kingdom, "A Report on the Surveillance Society" (2006), <a href="http://ico.org.uk/~/media/documents/library/Dat...URVEILLANCE_SOCIETY_FULL_REPORT_2006.pdf">ico.org.uk/~media/documents/library/Dat...URVEILLANCE_SOCIETY_FULL_REPORT_2006.pdf</a></p> <p>*Philip Agre, "Surveillance and Capture: Two Models of Privacy", 740-760.</p> <p>*Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript to Societies of Control", 177-182.</p> <p>*Haggerty and Erikson, "The Surveillant Assemblage", 605-622.</p> <p>*Manuel Delanda, <i>War in the Age of Intelligent Machines</i></p>	<i>The Surveillance Society and Surveillant Assemblages</i>
Mar 9	<p>*Louise Amoore, "Biometric borders: Governing mobilities in the War on Terror", 336-351.</p> <p>Philip Agre, "Your face is not a Bar Code: Arguments Against Automatic Face Recognition in Public Places", <a href="http://polaris.gseis.ucla.edu/pagre/bar-code.html">http://polaris.gseis.ucla.edu/pagre/bar-code.html</a></p> <p>Sarah Resnick, "Leave Your Cellphone at Home", <a href="https://nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/leave-your-cellphone-at-home/">https://nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/leave-your-cellphone-at-home/</a></p> <p>Sander Jansma, "The Privacy Paradox in a Control Society".</p> <p><a href="http://money.cnn.com/2014/09/16/technology/security/fbi-facial-recognition/">http://money.cnn.com/2014/09/16/technology/security/fbi-facial-recognition/</a></p>	<i>Biometrics and Datawar: Privacy in the Age of Intelligent Machines</i>
Mar 16	<p><a href="http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/wearing-a-mask-at-a-riot-is-now-a-crime-1.1306458">http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/wearing-a-mask-at-a-riot-is-now-a-crime-1.1306458</a></p> <p>*Edouard Glissant, "Opacity", excerpt.</p> <p>Zach Blas, "Escaping the Face: Biometric Facial Recognition and the Facial Weaponization Suite"</p>	<i>The Right to 'Opacity' and The Politics of Illegibility</i>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Required and Recommended Readings</b>	<b>Lecture Themes</b>
	<p>cont'd</p> <p><a href="http://median.newmediacaucus.org/caa-conference-edition-2013/escaping-the-face-biometric-facial-recognition-and-the-facial-weaponization-suite/">http://median.newmediacaucus.org/caa-conference-edition-2013/escaping-the-face-biometric-facial-recognition-and-the-facial-weaponization-suite/</a></p> <p>Adam Harvey's "Stealth Wear"  <a href="http://ahprojects.com/projects/stealth-wear">http://ahprojects.com/projects/stealth-wear</a></p> <p>*Alex Galloway, Eugene Thacker, &amp; McKenzie Wark,  <i>Excommunication: Three Inquiries into Media and Mediation.</i></p>	
Mar 23	<p>*Eugene Thacker, "Networks, Swarms, Multitudes", parts 1 &amp; 2  <a href="http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=422">http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=422</a>  <a href="http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=423">http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=423</a></p> <p>*Tony Sampson, "Contagion Theory Beyond the Microbe", 1-44.</p> <p>*Roberto Esposito, <i>Bios: Biopolitics and Philosophy.</i></p>	<i>The Politics of Immunities, Viralities and Mutations</i>
Mar 30	<p>*Luciana Parisi and Tiziana Terranova, "Crowd, Power and Post-democracy in the 21st Century".</p>	<p><i>Crowd-power and protest</i>  Guest Speaker:  <b>Magdalena Olszanowski</b>  (Concordia University, Montreal)</p>
Apr 06	<p>Francesca Musiani, "Governance by Algorithms", <i>Internet Policy Review</i>,  <a href="http://policyreview.info/articles/analysis/governance-algorithms">http://policyreview.info/articles/analysis/governance-algorithms</a></p> <p>Evgeny Morozov, "The Rise of Data and the Death of Politics",  <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jul/20/rise-of-data-death-of-politics-evgeny-morozov-algorithmic-regulation">http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jul/20/rise-of-data-death-of-politics-evgeny-morozov-algorithmic-regulation</a></p> <p><a href="http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2127115/Pentagon-plans-telepathic-troops-read-minds--field-years.html">http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2127115/Pentagon-plans-telepathic-troops-read-minds--field-years.html</a></p> <p><a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2013/01/could-human-enhancement-turn-soldiers-into-weapons-that-violate-international-law-yes/266732">http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2013/01/could-human-enhancement-turn-soldiers-into-weapons-that-violate-international-law-yes/266732</a></p>	<p><i>War in the Age of Algorithmic Governance</i>  Last Class</p>