

Senior Seminar: Humanitarianism in Uniform

INTL 1803L

Fall 2018

Instructor: Jennifer Greenburg
Course time and location: Weds 3-5:30pm, 138 Watson
Office: 324 Watson
Office hours: Wednesdays, 1-3pm
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Seminar goals and objectives

The goal of this senior seminar is to explore the relationship between militarism and humanitarianism. When the US Army and Marine Corps released the *Counterinsurgency Field Manual* in 2006, military officials referred to NGOs as ‘force multipliers’ and soldiers as ‘armed social workers.’ In this course, we will develop a framework to understand military humanitarianism. We will also examine how military humanitarianism exceeds the geographical boundaries of the ‘War on Terror,’ investigating cases throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. We will draw on a combination of scholarly texts and primary sources to better understand how militarized forms of development and humanitarianism are playing out in the world. While our enquiry is sparked by the challenges of the present conjuncture, we will work to understand the present through its history. A central argument of this course is that colonial and Cold War histories are crucial to understanding the present moment. The course brings together diverse issues, including: gender, colonialism, counterinsurgency, military historiographies, ‘complex emergencies,’ and the ‘security-development nexus.’

This course is grounded in the historical and geographical approach of the instructor, but also draws on an interdisciplinary body of scholarship from anthropology, feminist studies, critical race theory, development studies, history, international relations, and critical military studies. Drawing on insights from critical human geography, the course emphasizes the spatial interconnections between the different cases we will explore together, and asks how militarism creates certain types of spaces. In order to ask about the history of the present moment of military humanitarianism, the course begins with material situated in the ‘War on Terror,’ then works backward, historically, to situate these current events in their longer colonial and Cold War histories.

This course is a senior seminar designed for International Relations and Development Studies seniors. Regular attendance and participation is required of all students. The course must be strictly limited to **20** students to preserve the discussion-oriented seminar atmosphere.

This course qualifies as a **WRIT** course and fulfills the IR capstone requirement. Students taking the course for a capstone must take the course for a letter grade.

Course Readings

There are four required books for this course:

Terry, J. 2017. *Attachments to War: Biomedical Logics and Violence in Twenty-First-Century America*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Weizman, E. 2011. *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*. New York: Verso.

Tzemach Lemmon, G. 2015. *Ashley's War: The Untold Story of a Team of Women Soldiers on the Special Ops Battlefield*. New York: Harper.

Bryan, J. and D. Wood. 2015. *Weaponizing Maps: Indigenous People and Counterinsurgency in the Americas*. New York: Guilford Press.

These titles are available at the Brown Bookstore, and have been placed on 3-hour reserve in the Rockefeller Library under course reserves. I highly recommend obtaining hard copies and require you to bring course readings to class; however, if you prefer to access e-copies of books, some of these titles are available through OCRA/e-brary.

The remaining articles, chapters, and selections are available online through OCRA.

Seminar Requirements and Grading

Participation and Attendance (20% final grade) and **Leading Seminar Discussion** (10% final grade)

You and your colleagues will lead the first 15-20 minutes of the seminar each week. Please sign up on Canvas (under 'Collaborations'>Seminar Discussion Sign Up), in pairs, to introduce the week's readings, beginning with week 3 (9/19). Please spend 15-20 minutes providing an overview and framing of the week's readings. You are welcome to draw out key points from the readings, but please do not summarize. The assumption should be that your colleagues have all closely read the material before coming to class. I ask you to draw the class's attention to questions or difficult theoretical concepts we might use our time together to work through. I also ask that you closely read the online postings from the week and bring to class especially compelling points and questions raised by your peers.

Your attendance and participation in the seminar are central to its success. You will be allowed one unexcused absence. Additional absences not excused by a doctor's note or an extenuating circumstance approved by a course instructor will result in a 5% deduction from your final grade.

Short Reading Commentaries (30% final grade)

Students are expected to post reading commentaries (1-page **maximum**) to Canvas a total of six (6) times during the semester. Post commentaries to the 'Discussions' tab for each week in the course website within Canvas. Commentaries should not summarize the readings, but should offer reflections or questions about key ideas or linkages between readings or topics covered. These commentaries will frame our discussion in the seminar. You cannot submit a commentary (for credit) the week you present in class. In addition to posting on the course website, you are also expected to read other students' commentaries before we meet. Each commentary will comprise 5% of your total grade. The deadline to submit commentaries is Tuesday midnight. Late postings will receive an automatic two-point deduction.

Final Research Paper (40% final grade, including proposal (5%), and draft for peer review (5%))

This course requires a final research paper of 18-20 pages (double-spaced). The paper requires original independent research and should expand on one or several of the course's themes. You may, for example, choose a country you are particularly interested in, and focus on its history of militarized

humanitarianism, and/or a military humanitarian intervention in the present day. You might also take several theoretical frameworks explored in the course and put them in discussion with one another (outside reading beyond authors/readings on the syllabus would be required for this option), or your research could involve reading military doctrine or policy papers expanding a particular aspect of the course.

You are required to submit a 1-2 page research paper proposal, double-spaced, including a preliminary list of research materials by **October 10** (5% final grade). I encourage you to meet with me before this date to discuss your plan, and I welcome you to office hours throughout the semester to discuss the progression of your research and writing. Please submit to Canvas and bring a hard copy to class.

A paper draft for peer review is due in class on **December 5**, when you will complete a guided peer review of one another's work (5% final grade). Please bring a hard copy of your draft to class. This draft must be at least 5 pages long, though the more complete a draft you bring, the more thorough commentary you will receive, and the stronger your final draft will be.

Final papers are due **December 13** by 5pm (30% final grade). Please place a hard copy in my mailbox (Watson, second floor in the mail room), AND submit your paper electronically via Canvas (in 'Assignments'). Both hard copy and electronic submission are required. When you submit your final draft, staple your peer reviewed draft and peer review form to your final draft. Late papers will be marked down one third of a grade for each 24-hour period after a deadline is missed, including weekends and holidays. Extensions will not be granted outside of personal illness or family emergency that is professionally documented.

I also encourage you to visit the Writing Center, located in J. Walter Wilson 213 (appointments can be made online). See: <https://www.brown.edu/academics/college/support/writing-center/>.

Final Grades are calculated as follows: A: 90-100%, B: 80-89%, C: 70-79%, NC: <70%.

Email is the best way to reach me. I generally respond to student emails within 24 hours, Monday-Friday. Last-minute requests and questions may not be answered within less than 24 hours.

Coursework Allotment

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 3 hours per week in class (42 hours total). Required readings for the seminar meeting are estimated to take a minimum of 8 hours per week (12 intensive reading weeks, at 96 hours total). In addition, writing and researching weekly response essays and the final paper is estimated to take a minimum of approximately 42 hours. Please note that these are estimations of how 180 hours breaks down over the course of the semester, and actual workload will vary depending on research project and pace of reading. Please also note that these are minimum coursework allotment estimations, and that in order to excel in this class, it is likely you will devote more than the minimum allotment to these activities.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism will not be tolerated. The consequences of committing an act of plagiarism are serious and can jeopardize your future. If you are unsure of what constitutes plagiarism, and the consequences of violating codes and principles of academic integrity, please consult the Academic and Student Conduct Codes, available at:

https://www.brown.edu/Administration/Dean_of_the_College/curriculum/documents/principles.pdf.

Please note that in this class, when you submit your final paper electronically, it will be checked for originality. Electronic submission is required by the stated deadline(s).

Accessibility and Accommodations Statement

Brown University is committed to full inclusion of all students. Please inform me early in the term if you have a disability or other conditions that might require accommodations or modifications of any of these course procedures. You may speak with me after class or during office hours. For more information, please contact **Student and Employee Accessibility Services** at [401-863-9588](tel:401-863-9588) or SEAS@brown.edu.

Schedule and Readings

September 5: *Introduction*

September 12: *War in everyday life*

Terry, Jennifer. *Attachments to War: Biomedical Logics and Violence in Twenty-First-Century America*

September 19: *Defining our terms: humanitarianism, development, security, war and militarization*

Bornstein, E. and P. Redfield. 2010. 'An Introduction to the Anthropology of Humanitarianism,' in *Forces of Compassion*. Pages 3-30.

Calhoun, C. 2010. 'The Idea of Emergency: Humanitarian Action and Global (Dis)Order,' in *Contemporary States of Emergency*. Pages 29-58.

Hart, G. 2009. 'D/developments after the Meltdown.' *Antipode* 41 (s1): 117-41.

Neocleous, M. 2011. 'Inhuman Security,' in *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations*, Eds. Chandler and Hynek. Pages 186-197.

Lutz, C. 'Militarization,' in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. In press.

Optional: Lutz, C. 2012. 'War,' in *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*. Pages 482-499.

September 26: *Humanitarian Violence*

Weizman, Eyal. 2011. *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*.

Bhungalia, Lisa. 2015. 'Managing Violence: Aid, Counterinsurgency, and the Humanitarian Present in Palestine.' *Environment and Planning A* 47: 2308-2323.

October 3: *The 'security-development nexus' and beyond*

Duffield, M. 2010. 'The Liberal Way of Development and the Development-Security Impasse: Exploring the Global Life-Chance Divide' *Security Dialogue* 4 (1): 53-76.

Sorenson, J. and F. Soderbaum. 2012. 'Introduction – The end of the Development-Security Nexus?' *Development Dialogue* 58: 3-5, 9-18.

Bryan, J. 2015. 'War without End? Military Humanitarianism and the Limits of Biopolitical Approaches to Security in Central America and the Caribbean.' *Political Geography* 47: 33-42.

Bachmann, J. 2010. "'Kick Down the Door, Clean up the Mess, and Rebuild the House' – The Africa Command and Transformation of the US Military.' *Geopolitics* 15 (3): 564-85.

October 10: Counterinsurgency and the 'War on Terror'

Gregory, D. 2008. "'The Rush to the Intimate': Counterinsurgency and the Cultural Turn.' *Radical Philosophy* 150: 8-23.

Gregory, D. 2010. 'War and Peace.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography*. 35 (2): 154-186.

The US Army & Marine Corps. 2007. *The US Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. No. 3-24: xxi-xlvi, 53-67, 72-75.

Network of Concerned Anthropologists. 2009. *The Counter-Counterinsurgency Manual*: 12-17, 77-93.

October 17: Gender and counterinsurgency: troubling military masculinities and colonial feminisms

Proposals due

Tzemach Lemmon, G. 2015. *Ashley's War: The Untold Story of a Team of Women Soldiers on the Special Ops Battlefield*. Selections.

Butler, J. 1990. 'Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire,' from *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.

Khalili, L. 2011. 'Gendered Practices of Counterinsurgency.' *Review of International Studies* 37(4): 1471-1491.

Greenburg, J. 2017. 'New Military Femininities: Humanitarian Violence and the Gendered Work of War Among US Servicewomen.' *Gender, Place, and Culture* 24 (8): 1107-1126.

October 24: Mapping and the militarization of space

Bryan, J. and D. Wood. 2015. *Weaponizing Maps: Indigenous People and Counterinsurgency in the Americas*.

October 31: A military definition of history

Boot, M. 2002. *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*. Pages: xiii-xx, 156-181, 281-285, 336-352.

Nagl, J. 2005. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Preface, Intro, Chapter 5.

November 7: Early 20th century occupations: Haiti past and present

Dubois, L. 2012. 'Occupation' in *The Aftershocks of History*. Introduction + Pages 204-264.

Katz, J. 2014. *The Big Truck that Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster*. Chapter 4.

Wagner, Laura. Chronicle of a Disaster Foretold. *Medium*.

November 14: *Vietnam and the Cold War*

Latham, M. 2000. *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and 'Nation Building' in the Kennedy Era*. Chapters 1, 4, 5.

November 21: *Thanksgiving Recess*

November 28: *Military humanitarian interventions in the post-Cold War era*

Draft due in class for peer review

Kaldor, M. 2007. 'A Decade of Humanitarian Intervention, 1991-2000.' In *Human Security*.

Hyndman, J. 2009. 'Acts of Aid: Neoliberalism in a War Zone.' *Antipode* 41 (5): 867-889.

Nagaraj, V. 2015. "'Beltway Bandits' and 'Poverty Barons': For-Profit International Development Contracting and the Military-Development Assemblage.' *Development and Change* 46 (4): 585-617.

Keenan, J. 2008. 'US Militarization in Africa: What Anthropologists Should Know about AFRICOM.' *Anthropology Today* 24 (5): 16-20.

December 5: *Detention and military violence in the age of Trump*

Paik, N. 'US turned away thousands of Haitian asylum-seekers and detained hundreds more in the 90s.' *The Conversation* June 28, 2018.

Nevins, J. 'How US policy in Honduras set the stage for mass migration today.' *The Conversation* June 23, 2018.

Nevins, J. 2014. 'A Matter of Life and Death: Human Rights at the Boundaries of Immigration Control,' in Lois Lorentzen (ed.), *Hidden Lives and Human Rights in America: Understanding the Controversies and Tragedies of Undocumented Immigration*, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 275-300.

Loyd, J, Matt Mitchelson, and Andrew Burrige. 2012. *Beyond Walls and Cages: Prisons, Borders, and Global Crisis*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press. Selections.

December 13: *Final paper due, 5pm*

Hard copy due to my box, Watson 2nd floor (mailroom) and submitted electronically via course website