AMERICAN [SIC] UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Understanding War, Building Peace: Exploring the Impacts of U.S. Overseas Military Bases

ANTH 350-003, Spring 2012 Wednesdays, 8:10-10:40 p.m., Ward 105

David Vine: vine@american.edu; 202-885-2923

Office Hours: Battelle-Tompkins T-49, Mondays 2:35-6:35 p.m., and by appointment

This course is organized around a book I have been working on for more than two years about the global network of more than 1,000 U.S. military bases overseas. Military bases will serve as a lens to examine the United States as a society and topics including the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the "war on terror," militarism and militarization, the military industrial complex, imperialism and colonialism, global transformations in capitalism, the competition for scarce natural resources, and peacebuilding. Course participants will have an opportunity to provide feedback about and assist in the writing of the book, tentatively titled *Base World*.

In the class, we will not be content with offering critique and detached analysis. Instead we will continually explore possibilities for contributing to movements for peace, conflict resolution, and alternatives to war. Course participants are encouraged to use semester-long investigative projects to engage personally in efforts to understand and alter the dynamics of war and militarization and to build a more peaceful world.

The class schedule will generally alternate between weeks focused on topics and themes that help to understand the "base world" and weeks focused on specific bases or countries hosting bases. In addition to those listed above, topics include feminist perspectives on international relations; the military industrial complex; social movements for peace; alternative approaches to war and foreign policy; oil and resource wars; torture; and the relationships between militarization and categories like gender, sexuality, class, race/ethnicity. Bases include those in Japan and Okinawa, Guam, Hawai'i, Puerto Rico, Diego Garcia, Germany, Italy, South Korea, Guantánamo Bay, Iraq, and Afghanistan, among others.

Structurally, the class will be a discussion-based seminar. As such, and as an upper-level undergraduate course, the class assumes continually active and thoughtful participation from every student. The classroom will be a space for passionate, engaged discussion, where everyone is encouraged to express one's views freely and to dissent with me and with others, while recognizing the responsibility to respect the rights of others, including their right to free expression. Beginning with the syllabus and throughout the semester, students will have opportunities to shape the direction of the class, choose the subjects of discussion, and improve the course design through regular feedback.

PARTICIPATION AND ATTENDANCE

Careful and thoughtful reading and active participation in class, in addition to written assignments, are the most important elements of this course. I expect advance notice and an explanation for any classes you will miss.

Because this class stresses active participation in class discussions and respect for all course participants, computers and other personal electronic devices may never be used in the classroom. If there is a legitimate reason to make an exception to this rule, please come speak to me. Thanks for your understanding.

WEEKLY CRITICAL REACTION PAPERS

Each week, before the start of class, I expect you to submit a 1-2-page "critical reaction" paper in response to the assigned readings for the week. The critical reaction must be submitted typed and on paper at the beginning of each class. Your reaction should offer thoughtful reflection about each of the week's readings. While summarizing the main points of each reading will be helpful, go beyond to offer your own original thoughts about the texts. In this way, the reactions should help you to work through and organize your thinking about the readings and clarify the key issues you want to discuss each week. The papers can include your ideas, critiques, questions, challenges, inspirations, uncertainties, connections, comparisons, concerns, applications, implications, and other thoughts. The reactions will not be graded, but thoughtful, focused papers will indicate effort and engagement in the course.

The reaction is also an opportunity to ask any general questions about the class, anthropology, and things that are confusing in the course. You can also use it to give me feedback of any kind about my teaching, ways I could improve the class, and general frustrations or inspiration. I also welcome emailed questions (best if the question is urgent) as well as anonymous questions or comments placed in my mailbox next to the Anthropology Department office, Battelle-Tompkins, T-20.

READING SUGGESTIONS

I generally believe that underlining/highlighting and note-taking are essential parts of reading assigned academic texts. Another useful way to help you read carefully and ensure that you are prepared for class is to answer the following questions for each reading assignment. I strongly suggest writing out the answers and other thoughts inspired by a reading. These notes will later help you prepare for assignments and make use of your readings in future classes and other academic work.

Suggested Questions to Ask of Each Reading

- 1) What is the main argument or thesis of the reading? (What was the author's goal in writing?)
- 2) What evidence does the author provide to support the main argument? Is there enough evidence? What methods did the author employ to collect evidence?
- 3) Are you convinced by the author's argument? Why or why not?
- 4) What is the significance of the reading—both for academic thought and the larger world?
- 5) What questions does the reading raise for you? What other thoughts, ideas, inspiration?

CLASS FACILITATION

At least once during the semester, you and another course participant will be asked to serve as facilitators for part of a day's class discussion. The aim is to stimulate discussion with one provocative question or argument that addresses the key substance of the week's readings and what you and your partner think we should be discussing. Most likely you will want to frame the week's readings in some way, but do not simply regurgitate what everyone will already have read. And be sure to offer a critical question or argument about the readings and topics at hand that provides a lively springboard for discussion and critical thinking. Think about how best to creatively engage the class, and don't be afraid to take risks. *Do not*, however, simply summarize the material, offer a perfunctory powerpoint, tell us what you liked and didn't like, provide biographical material about authors, substitute a long video clip for a thoughtful presentation, or read an unfocused list of questions. Generally groups will facilitate discussion at the beginning or mid-way through each class period. If you have any technological requirements, please arrive early to class to allow sufficient time to set-up.

SEMESTER-LONG INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT

The major assignment for this course is a semester-long project. Although this may take the form of a traditional research paper, I encourage you to make the paper an investigative or experientially-based project that will seek to understand or uncover some significant phenomenon related to military bases. Investigative projects may involve original research in or around DC and may involve ethnography, interviewing, participant observation, archival research, surveys, and other research methodologies. A final paper (or papers) totaling at least 20 pages is required.

Experientially-based projects may involve an internship or service learning activity with an organization working on issues relevant to the class and out of which a final project could be arranged. Those interested in this option (and the possibility of gaining a Community Service Learning Project credit) should speak to me as soon as possible to make necessary arrangements. Projects involving internships or service learning will require a final portfolio of work completed and a minimum 10 page paper.

I am also open to discussing other kinds of projects.

As the assignments below should indicate, the projects are intended to be ones that you explore throughout the semester, not just in the last weeks before the final paper is due. Most of all, you are encouraged to select a project that will inspire you and sustain your interest and attention for at least the course of the semester. I also strongly encourage you to design your project so that it makes an impact in the world beyond fulfilling a course requirement. This could mean writing your paper as a publishable article, writing an op-ed or other short article as part of the final assignment, producing a project aimed at assisting the work of a specific organization, among other possibilities. I am open to receiving final projects that are not entirely written, although the format of your project must be outlined in your 1 paragraph project proposal and approved in consultation with me.

ASSIGNMENTS

- 1) Critical reaction papers, typed and on paper, turned in weekly before the beginning of class.
- 2) Meeting with me to discuss semester's project, due by February 8.
- 3) 1 paragraph minimum project proposal describing the project's focus and aim, methodologies, any ethical considerations, and expected outcomes, due February 15.
- 4) 1-2 page preliminary bibliography and final paper outline, due March 28.
- 5) 1 group presentation during the course of the semester, date to be determined for each group.
- 6) 8-10 minute maximum final project presentation, April 25 or May 2.
- 7) Semester-long project final papers and other products, due in class May 2.

WRITING REQUIREMENTS

All written assignments must be double spaced, 12-pt. font, with 1-inch margins on all sides, and comply with generally accepted rules of writing, style, and proper academic citation. For guidance, see the *MLA Style Manual and Guide to Scholarly Publishing* (see http://thewritesource.com/mla.htm); the *Chicago Manual of Style* (see http://library.osu.edu/sites/guides/chicagogd.php); or the American Anthropological Association style guide: http://www.aaanet.org/pubs/style_guide.htm.

All writing assignments must be turned in on paper (i.e., not electronically) at the beginning of the class on which they are due, unless otherwise indicated or arranged. If there is a legitimate reason why you must turn in an assignment late, you should contact me more than 24 hours before the due date to explain the problem and make other arrangements.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

By registering for this class and at AU, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code (http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.htm or see the "Student Handbook and Planner"). You are responsible for familiarizing yourself and complying with all its standards of academic conduct, including those related to plagiarism. I take plagiarism and academic dishonesty very seriously, and I am required to report cases to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, whose policy is to fail students for the course. Please read the university's Academic Integrity Code closely, and be sure to ask me if you have any questions.\(^1\)

Special Note: In addition to plagiarizing others, it is possible to plagiarize oneself when using your own previously written material without proper citation. To avoid self-plagiarism and related academic dishonesty, you must cite any and all material that you have written for any purposes other than for this class. If you want to use material written for another class in this course, you must ask for advance permission to do so.

¹ Michael Manson, Academic Affairs Administrator, College of Arts and Sciences, American University, Washington, DC, email communications, January 8, 2008 and January 8, 2009.

MY RESPONSIBILITIES

I pledge to the best of my ability to make this as enriching and exciting an academic experience as possible for everyone; to come prepared to lead engaging class sessions; to create a safe and nurturing academic environment in the classroom that encourages the free exchange of ideas; to remain open to all dissent, critique, suggestions about the class, and other feedback; to adapt the course as appropriate in response to student feedback; to meet personally with students during my office hours and at other times by appointment or otherwise to discuss any aspect of the course; to read carefully and return all written assignments as quickly as I can; and to be fair in my evaluation and in the grading that AU unfortunately requires me to complete.

WRITING GUIDE

The following are a few basics for all written assignments. For more detailed assistance, visit the Writing Center, Battelle-Tompkins 228, 202-885-2991 for appointments, or see me or your T.A.

- Develop original ideas!
- Have an engaging title
- Avoid passive verbs
- Avoid gendered words (e.g., "chairman"; instead, "chair")
- Think carefully about every word you use
- Make your writing compelling and engaging
- Avoid all spelling and grammatical errors (use a spelling and grammar checking function on your word processing software)
- Cite any original idea or information taken from other sources with an endnote, footnote, or in-text citation
- Be clear and concise
- Compile all sources used in a bibliography, works cited, or works consulted section at the end of the paper, using a consistent citation style from one of the options styles above
- Your final project should also have a strong, clear thesis set out most likely in the first paragraph or two; your ideas should be organized coherently; you should make effective use of class readings and discussions as well as outside sources; a conclusion should sum up your findings.

LEARNING AND LIFE RESOURCES

If you encounter any difficulty this semester for any reason that affects your participation in the course, please don't hesitate to speak with our T.A. or with me. In addition to the department's assistance, the university offers a variety of learning and life resources to take advantage of. See: https://my.american.edu/content.cfm?load=includes/help.cfm or the following:

Academic Support Center: 885-3360, MGC 243, www.american.edu/ocl/asc.

Counseling Center: 885-3500, MGC 214, www.american.edu/ocl/counseling.

Disability Support Services: 885-3315 (V/TDD), MGC 206, www.american.edu/ocl/dss.

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can make arrangements to address your needs.

Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender & Ally Resource Center: 885-3347, MGC 201, www.american.edu/ocl/glbta.

International Student and Scholar Services: 885-3340/50, Butler 410, www.american.edu/ocl/iss.

Judicial Affairs and Mediation Services: 885-3328, Butler 408, www.american.edu/ocl/jams.

Multicultural Affairs: 885-3651, MGC 204, www.american.edu/ocl/oma.

New Student Programs: 885-3303/74, Butler 407, www.american.edu/ocl/orientation.

Student Health Center: 885-3380, McCabe Hall 1st Floor, www.american.edu/healthcenter.

REQUIRED TEXTS

All the texts should be available in the campus bookstore, on 2-hour reserve in the library, and at inexpensive prices when purchased (often used) online. All other required readings will be available on Blackboard, on 2-hour reserve in the library, on the internet, or in class. If, for any reason, you have difficulty purchasing the books, please let me know. All other required readings will be available on Blackboard, on 2-hour reserve in the library, on the internet, or in class.

Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Gillem, Mark L. *America Town: Building the Outposts of Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Johnson, Chalmers. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy and the End of the Republic.* New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004.

Lutz, Catherine, ed. *Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts*. New York: NYU Press, 2009.

Turse, Nick. *The Complex: How the Military Invades Our Everyday Lives*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008.

CLASS SCHEDULE

All assignments and readings are due on the date indicated.

Notes for where to find texts

B=Book

BBe=Blackboard E-reserves
BBx=Blackboard External Links

January 18: Introductions

January 25: Okinawa and the Impacts of U.S. Overseas Bases

Lutz, Catherine, ed. *Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts.* New York: NYU Press, 2009. Foreword, Introduction, chaps. 1, 8. B

Gillem, Mark L. *America Town: Building the Outposts of Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007. Pp. 34-51, 67-70, chap. 8.

Feffer, John. "Japan: The Price of Normalcy," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 2-3-09, January 10, 2009. Available at http://japanfocus.org/-John-Feffer/3009.

Melton, Dan, and Robert D. Eldridge. "Emotionalized debate blurs valuable functions of Futenma," *Japan Times* March 7, 2010. Available at http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/eo20100307a2.html

Optional: For more background on bases and various perspectives on bases, see "Mission Creep," *Mother Jones* online. Available at: http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2008/09/mission-creep.html. BBx

February 1: Some Useful History and Some More Perspectives on Bases

America Town, Introduction, chaps. 1-2, 4, skim 5. B

Harkavy, Robert E. *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200-2000.* London: Routledge, 2007. Pp. 1-28, 253-56. BBe

Calder, Kent E. *Embattled Garrisons: Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. Pp. xi-xviii, 1-63. BBe

"Empire of Bases 2.0: Does the Pentagon Really Have 1,180 Foreign Bases?" Tom Dispatch, January 9, 2011. Available at http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175338/tomgram%3A_nick_turse%2C_the_pentagon%27s_planet_of_bases_.

February 8: Colonialism and Imperialism: Guam, Hawai'i, Vieques, Diego Garcia MEETING WITH ME DUE BY THIS DATE

Bases of Empire, chaps. 7, 10. Optional: chap. 6.

Natividad, Lisa L., and Gwyn Kirk. "Fortress Guam: Resistance to US Military Mega-Buildup," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 19-1-10, May 10, 2010. Available at http://www.japanfocus.org/-Gwyn-Kirk/3356.

Bevacqua, Michael L. *Chamorros, Ghosts, Non-voting Delegates: GUAM! Where the Production of America's Sovereignty Begins.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2010. Pp. 1-20. BBx

Guam Chamber of Commerce selected readings [short]. BBx

Optional: Lutz, Catherine. "US Military Bases on Guam in Global Perspective," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 30-3-10, July 26, 2010. Available at http://www.japanfocus.org/-Catherine-Lutz/3389.

Optional: Vine, David. "Introduction." In Island of Shame: The Secret History of the U.S. Military Base on Diego Garcia. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. BBx

February 10-12: Lavender Language Conference 19

February 15: The Military Industrial Complex 1 PARAGRAPH PROJECT PROPOSAL DUE

Turse, Nick. *The Complex: How the Military Invades Our Everyday Lives*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008. [Focus on parts I-V, VIII] B

February 22: The Local Political-Economy of Bases: Italy and Germany

Bases of Empire, chap. 3 [skim]. B

Editors. "The Downgrading of Europe. *The Economist* January 14, 2012. Available at http://www.economist.com/node/21542789.

Rasbach, Elsa. "Protesting U.S. Military Bases in Germany," *Peace Review* 22, no. 2: 121-27. BBx

Kagan, Robert. *Washington Post* February 3, 2012: A17. Available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-importance-of-us-military-might-shouldnt-be-underestimated/2012/02/gIQAX5pVlQ_story.html.

America Town, chap. 6. B

Yeo, Andrew. *Activists, Alliances, and Anti-U.S. Base Protests*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pp. 100-117. BBe

Vine, David. "Yankee City in the Heart of the Camorra: The U.S. Military in Campania." BBx

Optional: Cooley, Alexander. Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008. Pp. 195-216. BBe

February 29: Gender, Bases, and Feminist Approaches to International Relations

Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. [Focus especially on the prefaces, chaps. 1, 4-6, 9.] B

March 7: Sex Work and a "Peace Island": South Korea

America Town, Pp. 51-70, chap. 7. B

Moon, Seungsook. "Regulating Desire, Managing the Empire: U. S. Military Prostitution in South Korea, 1945–1970." In *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present.* Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, eds. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. Pp. 39-78. BBe

Moon, Seungsook. "Camptown Prostitution and the Imperial SOFA: Abuse and Violence against Transnational Camptown Women in South Korea." In Höhn and Moon. Pp. 337-365. BBe

Murphy, Hannah. "A Call against Arms." TV broadcast, Al Jazeera English, 2011. Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_aSJgZOkLlU.

Optional: Cooley, Alexander. Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008. Pp. 95-101, 105-113. BBe

Optional: Vine, David. "Jeju Island Activist Sung-Hee Choi Interviewed in Prison," Foreign Policy in Focus, July 26, 2012. Available at http://www.fpif.org/blog/jeju_island_activist_sung-hee_choi_interviewed_in_prison.

March 11-18: SPRING BREAK, NO CLASS

March 21: Torture and Secret Detention: Guantánamo Bay and the Black Sites

Lipman, Jana. "Introduction: Between Guantánamo and GTMO." In *Guantánamo: A Working-Class History between Empire and Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. Pp. 1-18. BBe

Danner, Mark. "US Torture: Voices from the Black Sites." *New York Review of Books*, April 9, 2009. Available at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/apr/09/us-torture-voices-from-the-black-sites/.

United States Senate Armed Services Committee. "Senate Armed Services Committee Inquiry into the Treatment of Detainees in U.S. Custody." [Read at least the last 4 pp.] BBx

Optional: Bases of Empire, chap. 2.

Optional: Bennett, Jeff. "Abu Ghraib: A Predictable Tragedy?" In Höhn and Moon. Pp. 366-396. BBe

Optional: Vine, David. "Is Obama Closing Guantánamo?: How Diego Garcia Reveals Obama Administration Loopholes on Torture and Detention." Unpublished MS. BBx

Optional: Vine, David. "Thoughts on the Nazi Holocaust, Genocide, and 'Never Again." Unpublished MS. BBx

March 28: "The Bases of Empire": Imperialism, Oil, and War 1-2 PAGE PROJECT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND FINAL PAPER OUTLINE DUE

Johnson, Chalmers. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy and the End of the Republic.* New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004. [Focus especially on the prologue, chaps. 1-4, 6-8, 10.] B

April 4: Bases and the Costs of War I: Iraq

Bases of Empire, chap. 4.

Grossman, Zoltan. "War and New US Military Bases," *Counterpunch* February 2-4, 2002. Available at: http://www.counterpunch.org/2002/02/02/war-and-new-us-military-bases/.

[For an accompanying Powerpoint presentation by Grossman, see: http://academic.evergreen.edu/g/grossmaz/Militarybases2004.ppt]

http://costsofwar.org: Read every web page on the site except those focused on Afghanistan.

Optional: Stillman, Sarah. "The Invisible Army: For foreign workers on U.S. bases in Iraq and Afghanistan, war can be hell." *New Yorker* June 6, 2011. Available at http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/06/06/110606fa_fact_stillman

April 11: Bases and the Costs of War II: Afghanistan

Turse, Nick. "Digging in for the Long Haul in Afghanistan: How Permanent Are America's Afghan Bases?" *Tom Dispatch* October 21, 2010. Available at http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175310/tomgram%3A_nick_turse%2C_base_desires_in_afghanistan.

Cooley, pp. 217-248. BBe

http://costsofwar.org: Read web pages focused on Afghanistan.

Barfield, Thomas. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. 1-16. [Optional, pp. 17-65.] BBe

April 17: Global Day of Action on Military Spending event TBA

April 18: Alternatives and the Future of Overseas Bases

America Town, Conclusion. B

Bases of Empire, Afterword. B

Calder, pp. 225-228, 209-224. BBe

Optional: Sutton, Barbara, Sandra Morgen, and Julie Novkov, eds. Selections from Security Disarmed: Critical Perspectives on Gender, Race, and Militarization. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008. 30-75. BBe

Optional: Hodge, G. Derrick, and Merrill Singer. "Conclusion: The Political Economy and Critical Geography of the War Machine." In Singer and Hodge. Pp. 303-329. BBe

Optional: Pemberton, Miriam, and Lawrence Korb, "Report of the Task Force on a Unified Security Budget for the United States." Report, Washington, DC, July 2011. [Possible to skim parts.] Available at http://www.fpif.org/files/3336/Unified Security Budget FY2012.pdf.

Optional: Donnelly, Thomas, and Vance Serchuk. "Toward a Global Cavalry: Overseas Rebasing and Defense Transformation." Report, Washington, DC, American Enterprise Institute, July 1, 2003. Available at http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/toward-a-global-cavalry/.

April 25: Project Presentations I

May 2: Final Exam Period, 8:10-10:40 p.m., Project Presentations II FINAL PROJECTS DUE

EVALUATION (AND, UNFORTUNATELY, GRADING)

I expect your full participation in all aspects of class sessions and the completion of all assignments. My evaluation and (what I hope you will find to be) constructive feedback on your work will primarily come in the form of written comments returned to you on your assignments. Because AU requires me to assign final grades, I will do so primarily based on class participation, the quality of and energy devoted to assignments, and improvement over the course of the semester. I will assign grades in accordance with the following distributions and AU guidelines:

Reading, attendance, and class participation: 50 points

Class facilitation: 5 points

Final project presentation: 5 points

Final project: 40 points

Improvement and effort: 5 bonus points

A: Superior, original, thoughtful work in completion of all course requirements;

B: Very good work in completion of course requirements;

C: Satisfactory work in completion of course requirements;

D: Unsatisfactory or incomplete work in course requirements and/or a failure to meet minimum attendance requirements;

F: Failure to meet minimum course standards for assignments, participation, attendance.²

² See "Guideline of a General Education Syllabus," online document, available at http://www.american.edu/academics/gened/faculty.htm.