

COURSE SYLLABUS
POLI 3440: The Politics of Fear

Department of Political Science
Dalhousie University
Winter 2014

Department of Political Science
Dalhousie University

Class Time: Friday 1:25-4:25
Location: Henry Hicks 217

Instructor: Dr. Margaret Denike
Office: 362 Henry Hicks Administration Building
Telephone: (902) 494-6298
Email: m.denike@dal.ca (Please use this Dal address, rather than the BLS or OWL system for any inquiries)
Office Hours: Tuesday 1:30-3:30, or by appointment

Teaching Asst: Kristian Rafuse
kristian.rafuse@dal.ca (All essay assignments are to be submitted electronically as an MSWord document, and NOT in hard copy please, to this email address)

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Focussing largely on post-9/11 US, this course will consider the instrumentality of fear and terror in public policy, and its role in fostering public opinion and managing social groups and populations. Drawing on interdisciplinary and theoretical analyses of sex and race discrimination, and working with documentary media, it will consider various ways in which nationalist and racist politics are implicated in the production and proliferation of 'terror' in contemporary western societies, in practices perpetrated or sanctioned by both state and non-state actors. It will look at the recent discourses of terrorism and its representation in the media; philosophical considerations of anti-immigrant fear-mongering; and political analyses of the economy of "security" industries. It will also address the role of both state and corporate interest in disaster relief, epidemics, and other social crises.

REQUIRED TEXTS:

- Paul Virilio. 2012. *The Administration of Fear*. Trans. Ames Hodges. NY: Semiotexte.

- Some of the course materials are available electronically, either through web links to internet resources (provided on the syllabus) or PDF documents available through the OWL Black System (WebCT). **If the link to a suggested website is not working for any reason, please start by trying to locate the article via google to find an alternative link.**
- Some of the readings are available in on-line journals, for which students are expected to gain access through your Dal library account.

EVALUATION PROFILE:

Essay 1:	30%	(Max 2000 words)	Due Feb 4
Essay 2:	30%	(Max 2000 words)	Due Mar . 11
Test:	40%		Mar 25

Grading Profile:

90-100 = A+	77-79.9 = B+	65-69.9 = C+	50-55.9 = D
85-89.9 = A	73-76.9 = B	63-64.9 = C	50 > F
80-84.9 = A-	70-72.9 = B-	60-62.9 = C-	

Participation:

The preparation and participation of each and every student in the class discussions will determine the success of the course. Although there is no participation grade, students are expected to attend every class, and to have completed the readings and given themselves time to think about them in advance of each class.

Overview of Written Assignments:

This course requires you to write two short essays that address the leading themes and concepts of this course (specifically: the politics of fear and its relation to one (or more) of the following themes: nationalism, racism, Islamophobia, sexual politics, imperialism, capitalism, neoliberalism, criminal accountability; media studies; studies in affect or emotion, or neuropolitics, while drawing on a) several (a minimum of four for each assignment) of the materials listed in the syllabus of this courses and, if appropriate, b) additional materials, ideally from peer-reviewed, scholarly journals and related sources.

Think of these assignments as a challenge to demonstrate your mastery of all (in not most) of the course materials and the questions that these materials give rise to, AND, for each essay, to demonstrate your mastery of the approach of at least one political theorist, whose general argument or critical approach should be set out and clarified, and/or extended and/or evaluated in the course of your essay. Below are a series of suggested essay topic questions, for you to choose. You may choose any of these topics for either essay.

Further instructions for each written assignment will be provided in class. The general objectives of these assignments are as follows:

- a) Concerning comprehension, breadth of the materials that you cover, and accuracy of content. One objective of these assignments is for you to demonstrate your understanding and thoughtful analysis of a wide range of the readings that are listed on the syllabus for this course (a minimum of four for each essay), while supplementing your discussion and analysis of these readings with appropriate additional scholarly resources. It is also designed to assist you in developing and/or demonstrating the skills and practices of clearly and accurately representing, documenting, contextualizing, and contrasting the ideas and arguments of other writers (and particularly theorists) on a given topic.
- b) Concerning style: Another objective is for you to demonstrate your ability to develop and properly document a coherent argument in academic essay format, with attention to a clear introduction or outline; relevant paragraph development, and accurate referencing and citations.
- c) Concerning method/approach. Another specific objective of this assignment is for you to demonstrate your understanding and appropriate application of a political-theoretical argument made by one or more political theorists discussed in the course) about the politics of fear, or terror, or emotion, or affect, ... in relation to race analyses, or analyses concerning capitalism and economic exploitation, exceptionalism, or media (for example. Consider how their critiques may clarify the way that fear has been deployed in the public domain.

Essay Topic questions:

1. What is 'the politics of fear', as understood by one or more contemporary political theorist, and how is it related to any of the following: a) neoliberal economic policies and their impact on poverty; b) Islamophobia; c) racial profiling and race discrimination; d) other relevant theme concerning different status of social groups.
2. Mythic monsters of various sorts (eg., witches, cannibals, savages, terrorists) have appeared in every historical era. Consider the 'terrorist' as a contemporary manifestation of such monster. Discuss the function(s) that are served by such a figures, socially, politically and/or psychologically. How does the terrorist serve the politics of fear? And with what implications for racial, religious or ethnic minorities?
3. Some commentators have said that 9/11 has radically transformed the world, and particularly the treatment of Muslim and Arabic racial and ethnic minorities in western countries. Others argue that 9/11 is an arbitrary marker of change, and that little has shift in the course of the laws, policies and practices that concern minorities. Discuss, using one or more of the political theorists covered in the course.
4. We have often heard it said that in times of crisis, such as the 'war on terror', we must make certain sacrifices and tolerate infringements on our rights and freedoms in order to

in order to achieve a measure of security. While drawing on one or more of the political theorists discussed in this course, provide a critical analysis of this line of argument?

5. The dominant stereotypes by which terrorist/enemies and patriotic allies ('good and bad figures) are represented in the media and public policy both draw on and reinforce ideas of sex and gender roles, sexual and cultural difference, nationhood, proper citizenship, etc. Using your choice of any political theorist to orient your analysis, discuss how these representations operate in a specific context.
6. Several critical commentators have noted that the US-led war on terror is demonstrative of contemporary –though historically familiar—patterns of imperialist and colonial practices, reminiscent of the western occupation and exploitation of so-called 'colonies'. Discuss.
7. A definitive feature of the U.S.-led 'war on terror' is marked the explicit attempts of the Bush administration to circumvent international laws of war (and particularly the Geneva conventions) in their treatment of arresting, detaining and deporting 'enemy combatants'. Using any contemporary political theorists' argument to orient your analysis, discuss this 'exceptionalism' and its implications.
8. How has media and other technology been implicated in the way that fear is administered in contemporary western states? How and to what extent does it engage the politics of affect and/or emotion?

Schedule of Weekly Topics and Readings

Weeks and Topics

1. Jan 10

Introduction and Overview of Topics and Readings Preliminary discussion

- Documentary fragment: *Century of the Self*. Available at: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/the-century-of-the-self/> re-start at 1:27.... (which picks up on Bernays...and relates him to the politics of fear; manipulation of fear as a weapon of the cold war; the desires and fears of crowds; how to represent the popular government of Guatemala.....
- The Bush campaign 'wolf ad' .: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MU4t9O_yFsY

Some of the film resources related to the course (others are listed below):

- How People are Manipulated by Fear and Propaganda (Youtube, 5 mins): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H86-JN2sRXQ&feature=fvwp&NR=1>

- Edward Bernays and the Art of Public Manipulation (youtube, 9 mins): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qiKMmrG1ZKU>
- Documentary: *Hijacking Catastrophe: 9/11*
- Documentary: *Century of the Self* (first 10 minutes, as an intro to Edward Bernays, Freud's nephew; the birth of public relations (at 28-30 minutes); the use of fear (of communism) to manipulate 'the masses' at 1:26:00: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/the-century-of-the-self/>
- Documentary: *The Culture of Fear*, available at: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/culture-of-fear/>
- Documentary: *A Virus Called Fear*: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/virus-called-fear/>
- Documentary: *Fear, Anger, Politics*: (45 mins)
- YouTube Lecture: *The Psychology of Politics*. (Jan 2012) On the idea of emotions empowering political views: on how attitudes toward some issues can predict others; how conservatism is associated with a fear of uncertain): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sus0-3upvuA&feature=g-vrec>
- Documentary: *Weapons of Mass Deception*. At: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/weapons-of-mass-deception/>
- Documentary: *Unconstitutional* <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/unconstitutional-the-war-on-our-civil-liberties/> (on sweeping policy changes post 9/11; Patriot Act; i.e., exceptionalism)
- Talk/lecture on Youtube, Michael Hardt, *What to do in a Crisis*: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=66_W9h5dqy4

2. Jan 17

Fear Mongering, Myth-Making, and the Terror Industry

- Joseba Zulaika and William A. Douglass. "Waiting for Terror," in *Terror and Taboo: the Follies, Fables, and Faces of Terrorism*. NY: Routledge, 1996, pp. 3-30 (plus notes, pp. 241-245)
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Terrorized by 'War on Terror'," *Washington Post*. Sunday, March 25, 2007., available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/03/23/AR2007032301613.html>

- John Mueller, “Overreacting to Terrorism: The Terrorism Industry,” pp. 29-48 and “An Alternative to Terrorism Policy” pp. 141-171 in *Overblown: How Politicians the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats and Why we Believe Them*. NY: Free Press, 2006.

Additional recommended resources:

- Documentary: BBC: *The Power of Nightmares* at: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/the-power-of-nightmares/> especially at 45 mins

3. Jan 24

Theorizing Fear in Contemporary Western Politics and Media

- Frank Furedi. 2005. “The Politics of Fear,” *Politics of Fear: Beyond Left and Right*. N.Y.: Continuum, pp.123-141.
- David Altheid. 2009. “Terrorism and the Politics of Fear,” in *Terror Post 9/11 and the Media*. NY: Peter Lang, pp. 42-63
- Brian Massumi. 2005 “Fear, The Spectrum Said,” *Positions* 13:1 (Spring), pp. 31-48

Additional recommended resources:

- Noam Chomsky, “How Should We Respond,” *Power and Terror: Post-9/11 Talks and Interviews*. NY: Seven Stories Press, 2002, pp.105-114.
- Documentary Film: *Power and Terror: Part I* available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z7Mdi2y9__8
(it takes until 3:00 for Chomsky’s talk to begin; it is prefaced by a series a quotations and footage of the hundreds of people assembling for his lecture on’ power and terror’)
Power and Terror Part 2: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QEWLOQx_PHE
One way to stop terrorism: to stop participating in it?; US war vs. south Vietnam; On the hypocrisy of western imperial war crimes ; self-righteousness, etc.
- Interview With Noam Chomsky: for the film *Power and Terror, Power and Terror: Post-9/11 Talks and Interviews*. NY: Seven Stories Press, 2002, pp. 11-44.
- Frank Furedi. 2005. “Politics is Lost for Words,” *Politics of Fear: Beyond Left and Right*. N.Y.: Continuum, pp. 5-27. (ISBN: 0-8264-8728-9)
- David L. Altheide. 2003. “Notes Towards a Politics of Fear,” *Journal for Crime, Conflict, and Media*’ 1(1): 37-54 Available at: <http://www.milkingtheherd.com/media%20clips/Notes%20Towards%20A%20Politics%20of%20Fear.pdf>
- Brian Massumi, “Everywhere you want to be: Introduction to Fear,” in Brian Massumi, ed., *The Politics of Everyday Fear*,” Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, pp. 3-37.
- David Altheide, “*Terrorism and the National Security University*” (available on YouTube)

4. Jan 31

Theorizing Fear as Movement, Speed, Technology, Propaganda

- Paul Virilio. 2012. *The Administration of Fear*. NY: Semiotexte. (Purchased book)

Additional resources:

- William Connolly, “The Body/Brain/Culture Network,” chapter 1 of *Neuropolitics: Thinking, Culture, Speed*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
- See John Ebert’s explication of Virilio, available as ½ on youtube:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bKPHLH88vf4>
- See John David Ebert, *The New Media Invasion* (his book and interview, which is also on youtube in 5 parts or so)

5. Feb. 7 Munro Day

6. Feb 14 Fear and Capital: Investing in Security, Shock, and the Commons

- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. 2012?. *Declaration*. (Particularly the Intro and Chapter 1: “Subjective Figures of the Crisis”). Available at:
<http://www.sok.bz/web/media/video/Declaration.pdf>
- Klein, Naomi. 2007. “Shock therapy in the U.S.A.: The Homeland Security Bubble,” in *Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. NY: Metropolitan Books, pp. 283-307.

Additional recommended resources:

- Ben Anderson. 2011. “Affect and Biopower: Towards a Politics of Life,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. NS 37, pp. 28-43.
- Klein, Naomi. 2007. “Blank is Beautiful; Three Decades of Erasing and Remaking the World, in *Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. NY: Metropolitan Books, pp. 3-21.
- Lisa Anderson, “Shock and Awe: Interpretations of the Events of September 11,” *World Politics*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (January 2004), pp. 303-325. Available through Project Muse.
- For a report on terrorist attacks (compiled through the ‘world-wide incidences of terrorism database’, with ‘terrorism’ defined in an exceptionally broad way broadest way, see: http://www.nctc.gov/witsbanner/docs/2010_report_on_terrorism.pdf
- For a current interview on the role of social media, western relationships with Islamic ideology; and the impossibility of an ‘us vs. them’ mentality that fuelled the war on terror, see: Interview by Tavis Smiley of the comparative religions scholar Reza Aslan:
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/tavissmiley/interviews/#top>

7. Feb 21

Spring Break

8. Feb. 28

Emotion and the Affective Politics of Terror Power, Terror and the Limits of the Law

- Andrew A.G. Ross, “Circulations of Affect in Global Politics,” from *Mixed Emotion: Beyond Fear and Hatred in International Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 15-38.
- Andrew A.G. Ross. 2014. “The Affective Politics of Terror,” from *Mixed Emotion: Beyond Fear and Hatred in International Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 68-92.
- Catherine MacKinnon, “Women’s September 11th: Rethinking the Law of Armed Conflict,” *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 259-278.

Additional Recommended Readings:

- John T. Jost and David M. Amodio. Motivation and Emotion, 2012, Volume 36, Number 1, Pages 55-64. (use library access)
- Ann Kaplan, 2008. “Global Trauma and Public Feelings: viewing images of catastrophe,” *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 11:1, pp. 3-24.

9. Mar 7

States of Emergency and Legal Exceptionalism When does International Law Apply?

- Michael Ratner and Ellen Ray, “Guantanamo and Rule by Executive Fiat,” Chapter 1 in *Guantanamo: What the World Should Know*. White River Junction, Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2004, pp. 1-29.
- William Banks, “United States Responses to September 11,” in Victor V. Ramraj, Michael Hor and Kent Roach, *Global Anti-Terrorism Law and Policy*. NY: Cambridge UP, 2005 pp. 490-510. (BLS)
- Military Order of November 13, 2001: Detention, Treatment and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War Against Terrorism. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo/mo-111301.htm>
- Summary of the “Torture Memos”. Available at: http://www.lawofwar.org/Torture_Memos_analysis.htm. See also the introduction to Karen J. Greenberg and Joshua L. Dratel, *The Torture Papers*, (a few pages excluded) at: http://books.google.ca/books?id=fVD8aTISzD4C&dq=torture+papers&printsec=frontcover&source=bn&hl=en&ei=2fiMTPnSG8G78gbs-ty6CQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false
See, in particular, the Memorandum for the President of Roberto Gonzales (January 25,

2002). At: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB127/02.01.25.pdf>

Additional recommended resources:

- Documentary: *Unconstitutional*. A decent documentary on the sweeping changes following 9/11 introduced instantly through the Patriot Act, ie provisions to expand law enforcement powers that were previously rejected by congress)
<http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/unconstitutional-the-war-on-our-civil-liberties/>
- Carl Schmitt, "Definition of Sovereignty," from *Political Theology*. [1922]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, pp. 5-15.
- Giorgio Agamben, "The State of Exception as a Paradigm of Government," *State of Exception*. Trans. Kevin Attell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. pp. 2-30
- Oren Gross and Fionnuala Ni Aolain, *Law in Times of Crisis: Emergency Powers in Theory and Practice*; Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. ... (ISBN: 0-521-54123-9).
- International Committee of Jurists, *Assessing Damage, Urging Action: Report of the Eminent Jurists Panel on Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and Human Rights*. 2009. Available in pdf at: <http://ejp.icj.org/IMG/EJP-Report.pdf>, pp. 1-25.

10. Mar 14

Fear and Contagion: Racism and Public Policy National Identity and Racial Purity

- Sherene Razack, "Race thinking and the Camp", *Casting Out: The eviction of Muslims from Western law and Politics* (University of Toronto Press, 2008).
- Kent Roach, "Canada's Response to Terrorism," in Victor V. Ramraj, Michael Hor and Kent Roach, eds. *Global Anti-terrorism Law and Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 511-533
- Anna Pratt and Sara K. Thompson, "Chivalry, 'Race' and Discretion at the Canadian Border," *British Journal of Criminology*. Vol 48, No. 5 pp. 620-639. Available through EBSCO Host at:
<http://ejcontent.ebsco.com/ContentServer.aspx?target=http%3A%2F%2Fbjc%2Eoxfordjournals%2Eorg%2Fcgi%2Freprint%2F48%2F5%2F620%2Epdf>

Additional recommended resources:

- Documentary: *Fear, Anger, Politics* (on stereotyping and demonizing Muslims)
<http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/fear-anger-politics/>
- Puar, Jasbir K. and Amit S. Rai, "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots," in *Social Text* 72, Vol. 20, No. 3 Fall 2002 117-148.

- Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, "From the Canadian War on Queers to the War on Terror: Resisting the Expanding National Security State," in Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), pp. 429-458.
- Leti Volpp, "The Citizen and the Terrorist." *UCLA Law Review* 49, no. 5 (June 2002) 1575-600.
- CBC News, "Indepth: Racial Profiling" May 26, 2005.
http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/racial_profiling/
- Reem Bahdi, "No exit: Racial Profiling and Canada's War against Terrorism," 41 *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, Summer/Fall 2003.
- Kevin R. Johnson, "Racial Profiling after September 11: The Department of Justice 2003 Guidelines," 50 *Loyola Law Review*, pp. 67-88.
- Chapter 5: Preventative Mechanisms," International Committee of Jurists, *Assessing Damage, Urging Action: Report of the Eminent Jurists Panel on Terrorism, Counterterrorism and Human Rights*. 2009. Available in pdf at: <http://ejp.icj.org/IMG/EJP-Report.pdf>, pp. 91-118.

11. Mar 21

Accountability under Domestic and International Law

- Nasser Hussain and Austin Sarat. 2010. "Introduction: Responding to Government Lawlessness: What does the Rule of Law Require?" In Austin Sarat and Nasser Hussain, eds. *When Governments Break the Law: The Rule of Law and the Prosecution of the Bush Administration*, NY: New York University Press, pp. 1-36.
- Materials on the work of Francis Boyle, and Lawyers Against War, using international law to pursue and indictment against Bush.: "Bush to the Hague": Available at : <http://www.bushtothehague.org/>
- Lawyers against the War: letter campaign to Canadian MPS to ban Bush's entry to Canada (under intl law): Available at: http://www.lawyersagainsthewar.org/letters/LAW_letter_re_George_Bush_20110825.pdf
- *Public Hearings on State Responses to 9/11*: Discussion

12. March 28 Test

13. April 4

- **Film and discussion**