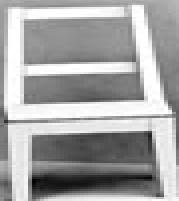


# TIME IN THE SHADOWS

CONFINEMENT IN  
COUNTERINSURGENCIES



Laleh Khalili

# Time In The Shadows Confinement In Counterinsurgencies

**Amin Parsa**

## Time In The Shadows Confinement In Counterinsurgencies:

**Time in the Shadows** Laleh Khalili, 2012-11-21 Detention and confinement of both combatants and large groups of civilians have become fixtures of asymmetric wars over the course of the last century Counterinsurgency theoreticians and practitioners explain this dizzying rise of detention camps internment centers and enclavisation by arguing that such actions protect populations In this book Laleh Khalili counters these arguments telling the story of how this proliferation of concentration camps strategic hamlets security walls and offshore prisons has come to be Time in the Shadows investigates the two major liberal counterinsurgencies of our day Israeli occupation of Palestine and the U S War on Terror In rich detail the book investigates Abu Ghraib Guant namo Bay CIA black sites the Khiam Prison and Gaza among others and links them to a history of colonial counterinsurgencies from the Boer War and the U S Indian wars to Vietnam the British small wars in Malaya Kenya Aden and Cyprus and the French pacification of Indochina and Algeria Khalili deftly demonstrates that whatever the form of incarceration visible or invisible offshore or inland containing combatants or civilians liberal states have consistently acted illiberally in their counterinsurgency confinements As our tactics of war have shifted beyond slaughter to elaborate systems of detention liberal states have warmed to the pursuit of asymmetric wars Ultimately Khalili confirms that as tactics of counterinsurgency have been rendered more humane they have also increasingly encouraged policymakers to willingly choose to wage wars

*The Oxford Handbook of Late Colonial Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies* Martin Thomas, Gareth Curless, 2023-10-10 The lethality of conflicts between insurgent groups and counter insurgent security forces has risen markedly since the Second World War just as those of conventional or inter state wars have declined For several decades conflicts within states rather than between them have been the prevalent form of organised political violence worldwide Recent conflicts in Afghanistan Iraq and Syria have fired interest in colonial experiences of rebellion while current western interventions in sub Saharan Africa have prompted accusations of militarist humanitarianism Yet despite mounting interest in counter insurgency and empire comparative investigation of colonial responses to insurrection and civil disorder is sparse Some scholars have written of a golden age of counter insurgency which began with Britain's declaration of a Malayan Emergency in 1948 and ended with the withdrawal of US ground troops from Vietnam in 1973 It is with this period if not with any presumed golden age that this volume is concerned This Handbook connects ideas about contested decolonization and the insurgencies that inspired it with an analysis of patterns and singularities in the conflicts that precipitated the collapse of overseas empires It attempts a systematic study of the global effects of organized anti colonial violence in Asia and Africa The objective is to reconceptualize late colonial violence in the European overseas empires by exploring its distinctive character and the globalizing processes underpinning it

## **Incarcerating the Crisis** Jordan T. Camp, 2016-04-18

The United States currently has the largest prison population on the planet Over the last four decades structural unemployment concentrated urban poverty and mass homelessness have also become permanent features of the

political economy These developments are without historical precedent but not without historical explanation In this searing critique Jordan T Camp traces the rise of the neoliberal carceral state through a series of turning points in U S history including the Watts insurrection in 1965 the Detroit rebellion in 1967 the Attica uprising in 1971 the Los Angeles revolt in 1992 and events in post Katrina New Orleans in 2005 Incarcerating the Crisis argues that these dramatic events coincided with the emergence of neoliberal capitalism and the state s attempts to crush radical social movements Through an examination of the poetic visions of social movements including those by James Baldwin Marvin Gaye June Jordan Jos Ram rez and Sunni Patterson it also suggests that alternative outcomes have been and continue to be possible

### **Police**

**Encounters** Ilana Feldman,2015-05-13 Egypt came to govern Gaza as a result of a war a failed effort to maintain Arab Palestine Throughout the twenty years of its administration 1948 1967 Egyptian policing of Gaza concerned itself not only with crime and politics but also with control of social and moral order Through surveillance interrogation and a network of local informants the police extended their reach across the public domain and into private life seeing Palestinians as both security threats and vulnerable subjects who needed protection Security practices produced suspicion and safety simultaneously Police Encounters explores the paradox of Egyptian rule Drawing on a rich and detailed archive of daily police records the book describes an extensive security apparatus guided by intersecting concerns about national interest social propriety and everyday illegality In pursuit of security Egyptian policing established a relatively safe society but also one that blocked independent political activity The repressive aspects of the security society that developed in Gaza under Egyptian rule are beyond dispute But repression does not tell the entire story about its impact on Gaza Policing also provided opportunities for people to make claims of government influence their neighbors and protect their families

### **The**

**Counterrevolution** Bernard E. Harcourt,2018-02-27 A distinguished political theorist sounds the alarm about the counterinsurgency strategies used to govern Americans Militarized police officers with tanks and drones Pervasive government surveillance and profiling Social media that distract and track us All of these contends Bernard E Harcourt are facets of a new and radical governing paradigm in the United States one rooted in the modes of warfare originally developed to suppress anticolonial revolutions and more recently to prosecute the war on terror The Counterrevolution is a penetrating and disturbing account of the rise of counterinsurgency first as a military strategy but increasingly as a way of ruling ordinary Americans Harcourt shows how counterinsurgency s principles bulk intelligence collection ruthless targeting of minorities pacifying propaganda have taken hold domestically despite the absence of any radical uprising This counterrevolution against phantom enemies he argues is the tyranny of our age Seeing it clearly is the first step to resisting it effectively

### **Targeting in International Law**

Amin Parsa,2023-12-05 This book is about how distinctions are drawn between civilians and combatants in modern warfare and how the legal principle of distinction depends on the technical means through which combatants make themselves visibly distinguishable from civilians The author demonstrates that

technologies of visualisation have always been part of the operation of the principle of distinction arguing that the military uniform sustained the legal categories of civilian and combatant and actively set the boundaries of permissible and prohibited targeting and so legal and illegal killing Drawing upon insights from the theory of legal materiality visual studies critical fashion studies and a dozen of military manuals he shows that far from being passive objects of regulation these technologies help to draw the boundaries of the legitimate target With its attention to the co productive relationship between law technologies of visualisation and legitimisation of violence this book will be relevant to a large community of researchers in international law international relations critical military studies contemporary counterinsurgency operations and the sociology of law

**Sinews of War and Trade** Laleh Khalili, 2021-08-10 How shipping is central to the very fabric of global capitalism In our networked world the realities governing the international movement of freight are easily forgotten But maritime transport remains the bedrock of trade Convoys perpetually crisscross the oceans carrying gas oil ore indeed every type of consumable and commodity These movements though practically invisible mean that control of the seas is vital in an age when no nation can survive on domestic products alone Professor and author Laleh Khalili travelled the Mediterranean the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean aboard gigantic container ships to investigate the secretive and sometimes dangerous world of maritime trade What she discovered was strangely disturbing brutally exploited seafarers enduring loneliness and risking injury to keep the cogs of trade turning In the Arabian peninsula's ports forbidden places encircled by barbed wire and moats of highways the dockers struggle for benefits and political rights as they have for generations Environmental catastrophes threaten with increasing intensity and frequency Around the oil trading nations of the Middle East a history of British colonialism modern US imperialism and local autocracies combine to worsen the conditions of modern seafarers and piracy persists near the Horn of Africa From her research riding the sea lanes and visiting the major Middle Eastern ports Khalili has produced a book that exposes the frayed and tense sinews of modern capital a physical network without which none of our more abstracted webs and systems could operate

Race and America's Long War Nikhil Pal Singh, 2017 In this sweeping erudite and much needed book Nikhil Pal Singh obliterates any myth of American peace revealing instead that the thread tying America's past and present is long and continuous war hot vicious global and racial Linking domestic and foreign terrains of combat he reveals the various ways in which war and race are inextricably intertwined whether packaged as wars on communism terrorism or crime Robin D G Kelley author of Africa Speaks America Answers Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times Race and America's Long War is a brilliant and lacerating account of the United States brutal and racially inflected inner and outer wars Singh forensically diagnoses the disfigurations the United States has wrought domestically and overseas through its traffic in violence and race in the context of ever more rapacious and dehumanizing capital accumulation Laleh Khalili author of Time in the Shadows Confinement in Counterinsurgencies This thoughtful intervention will transform contemporary discussion Singh calls for a complete reassessment of the political significance of

struggles against structural racism Beyond that he asks a host of urgent important questions about the fundamental importance of war to U S government and policing in their broadest definitions Paul Gilroy author of Darker than Blue On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture This is an extraordinarily timely publication Singh s framework upends traditional distinctions between global and national politics tracing the ways that conflicts rooted in the domestic and foreign spheres rely on the same material infrastructure political logic and populist appeal Singh illuminates the continuities in militarized thought and action across place and time from settler colonial wars for territory and imperial excursions abroad to militarized policing at home Daniel Martinez HoSang author of Racial Propositions Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California One of our great historians demonstrates his virtuosic ability to skate across huge territories of history with insight and precision Matthew Frye Jacobson author of Barbarian Virtues The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad 1876 1917    **Age of Coexistence** Ussama Makdisi, 2021-09-21 Flawless Makdisi reminds us of the critical declarations of secularism which existed in the history of the Middle East Robert Fisk The Independent Today s headlines paint the Middle East as a collection of war torn countries and extremist groups consumed by sectarian rage Ussama Makdisi s Age of Coexistence reveals a hidden and hopeful story that counters this clich d portrayal It shows how a region rich with ethnic and religious diversity created a modern culture of coexistence amid Ottoman reformation European colonialism and the emergence of nationalism Moving from the nineteenth century to the present this groundbreaking book explores without denial or equivocation the politics of pluralism during the Ottoman Empire and in the post Ottoman Arab world Rather than judging the Arab world as a place of age old sectarian animosities Age of Coexistence describes the forging of a complex system of coexistence what Makdisi calls the ecumenical frame He argues that new forms of antisectarian politics and some of the most important examples of Muslim Christian political collaboration crystallized to make and define the modern Arab world Despite massive challenges and setbacks and despite the persistence of colonialism and authoritarianism this framework for coexistence has endured for nearly a century It is a reminder that religious diversity does not automatically lead to sectarianism Instead as Makdisi demonstrates people of different faiths but not necessarily of different political outlooks have consistently tried to build modern societies that transcend religious and sectarian differences

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