GOOD INTENTIONS



GOOD INTENTIONS

Norms and Practices of Imperial Humanitarianism

The New Imperialism, Volume 4

Edited by Maximilian C. Forte



Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Good intentions: norms and practices of imperial humanitarianism / edited by Maximilian C. Forte.

(The new imperialism; volume 4)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-9868021-5-7 (bound).--ISBN 978-0-9868021-4-0 (pbk.)

1. Humanitarian intervention. 2. Imperialism. I. Forte, Maximilian C.,
1967-, editor II. Series: New imperialism (Montréal, Québec); v. 4
IZ6369.G66 2014 341.5'84 C2014-905200-6

Front cover image: According to the official caption, this is US Navy Hospital Corpsman 2nd Class Porfirio Nino, from Maritime Civil Affairs Team 104, who practices speaking Kinyarwanda, one of the official languages of Rwanda, during a civil observation mission in Bunyamanza, Rwanda, August 7, 2009. (DoD photo by Senior Chief Mass Communication Specialist Jon E. McMillan, US Navy. Public domain.) This particular photograph was also used as the lead image for a 2011 presentation by AFRICOM titled, "United States Africa Command: The First Three Years". On the image the following words were superimposed: "Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngamantu' I am a person through other people. My humanity is tied to yours.~ Zulu proverb"

Back cover image: According to the official caption, these are US Airmen assigned to the 23rd Equipment Maintenance Squadron, 75th Aircraft Maintenance Unit "downloading" an A-10C Thunderbolt II aircraft during an operational readiness exercise at Moody Air Force Base, Georgia, August 4, 2009. (DoD photo by Airman 1st Class Joshua Green, US Air Force. Public domain.)

© 2014 Alert Press 1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd., W., Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H3G-1M8 www.alertpress.net

Some rights reserved.

Electronic copies of this work may be freely circulated without the permission of the publisher, but without altering any of the contents. Any number of chapters may be freely printed or photocopied, or provided as free digital copies, for use in a course in an educational institution. This book may not be republished and/or resold, in any format.

Printed in Canada

CONTENTS

List of Figuresvii
Prefaceix
Introduction
Imperial Abduction Lore and Humanitarian Seduction
Maximilian C. Forte1
PART ONE: Good Intentions, NGOs, and Violence
Chapter 1
Iatrogenic Imperialism: NGOs and CROs as Agents of Questionable Care
Émile St-Pierre37
Chapter 2
US Imperialism and Disaster Capitalism in Haiti
Keir Forgie57
Chapter 3
Who Needs Me Most? New Imperialist Ideologies in Youth-Centred Volunteer Abroad Programs
Tristan Biehn77
Chapter 4
Queers of War: Normalizing Lesbians and Gays in the US War Machine
Hilary King

PART TWO: The Political Economy of Exception

Chapter 5
The International Economic Sovereignty of the United States of America: Integrating the Exception into Our Understanding of Empire
Karine Perron105
Chapter 6
Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Wage Labour: The American Legislative Exchange Council and the Neoliberal Coup
Mathieu Guerin121
PART THREE: Pariahs, Princes, and Playthings
Chapter 7
The Terrorist, the Tyrant and the Thug: "Anti-Anti- Imperialism" in American Media and Policy
John Manicom149
Chapter 8
Glorification of the Military in Popular Culture and the Media
Laura Powell167
Chapter 9
A Flickr of Militarization: Photographic Regulation, Symbolic Consecration, and the Strategic Communication of "Good Intentions"
Maximilian C. Forte185
CONTRIBUTORS281
INDEX 283

FIGURES

6.1: Current or Recent Corporate Members of	
ALEC by Sector	130
9.1: Super Bowl Meeting	202
9.2: US Army Online Message Schedule	
9.3: Lined Up and Ready to Go	219
9.4: Ready to Drop	220
9.5: Skipping Rope with Cambodian Children	221
9.6: Skipping Rope in the Aftermath of the	
Earthquake in Haiti	
9.7: Teaching a Haitian Orphan How to Jump	222
9.8: Encounter with a Little Girl in Afghanistan	223
9.9: Care and Play	225
9.10: Singing to Children	226
9.11: Piggybacking on US Troops	227
9.12: Military Madonna in Afghanistan	228
9.13: So I Do, Master, As Fast As I Can	229
9.14: Reading to Students	230
9.15: Sharing the Gaze	231
9.16: The Foot Doctor	
9.17: A MEDCAP in Djibouti	233
9.18: AFRICOM Brings You This New School	233
9.19: Volleyball in Cambodia	234
9.20: Militarizing Community Relations in the	
Philippines	235
9.21: A Radical in Our Midst?	
9.22: Migrant Soldiers	
9.23: Greeting the "War on Terror" in Tonga	238
9.24: The Last Unit to Leave Iraq	
9.25: From Over the Horizon	
9.26: An AID DART into Haiti	
9.27: Hope for Haiti	
9.28: This Food Aid was Brought to You by	
9.29: Painting Walls in Vietnam	245
9.30: President Obama Presents a Medal of Honour	
9.31: Reunited	
9.32: American Thanksgiving in Honduras	249
9.33: Tube City	250

viii FIGURES

9.34: Mooring a Giant	251
9.35: A Wall of Metal	
9.36: Hand Launching a Mini Drone in Iraq	253
9.37: Jogging through Chemical Warfare	
9.38: I, Robot	254
9.39: Ashanti for War	255
9.40: Military-Media Friendship	256
9.41: Admiral Mullen on The Daily Show	257
9.42: Admiral Mullen on CBS' Face the Nation	257
9.43: Katie Couric and Admiral Mullen	258
9.44: The Military-Media-Academia Complex	258
9.45: The Militarized Campus	259
9.46: US Navy Office Meets Liberia's President Ellen	L
<i>y</i>	260
9.47: Meeting with Saudi Arabia's Defence Minister	
9.48: Global Hawk	
9.49: Globemaster	263
9.50: Hercules Rides Off into the Sunset	264
9.51: Seahawks Flying into the Setting Sun	265
9.52: Seahawk Sunset in the Persian Gulf	265
9.53: Santa Claus and a Little Helper Perform a	
Cargo Airdrop	266
9.54: Santa Claus in Helmand province, Afghanistar	
9.55: Santa Claus and Operation Goodwill	267
9.56: Central America as a Little Girl	269
9.57: The Veiled Woman	270

PREFACE

ow do "good intentions" pave the road for empire? There is some confusion, especially in North America, that reflects the dominant ideological charter for interventionism abroad and increased moral regulation at home (that is, politics masked as morality), with one result being increased militarization in order to forever be at the ready to intervene. The confusion is deliberate by those doing the work of mystification, feigned by those who spin multiple simultaneous contradictions in order to distract and distort, and innocent on the part of those who trust experts and authorities. The confusion in question has multiple facets that take the form of various myths and inaccuracies: a) that the intentions are good, and thus they justify all actions taken, while expressions of anti-interventionism are to be judged as born of malice and ill-will; b) that the motivations have little to do with protecting or enhancing corporate power and neoliberal socioeconomic restructuring; c) that our violence is civilized, while the violence of others is barbaric; d) that our political systems are democracies, while regimes rule others; e) that there really is no imperialism, and if there is then it is both eternal and a fundamental part of an unchanging human nature; f) that we must never stand idly by while others suffer (except, I would interject, for when it is suitable to our leaders, especially when we commit atrocities); g) that there is no basic, underlying political uniformity within our dominant political and media institutions; h) that we practice good governance, both transparent and accountable, without pandering to private interests; and, i) that we encourage and tolerate a broad range of views, and do not narrow down discourse to a select few allowable perspectives. These myths and a few more form part of the orthodoxy of what is now a post-liberal society.

It is thus with honour and pleasure that I present the salutary works of advanced research students who have

x Preface

dedicated themselves to questioning these dominant "truths," and who are also willing to share their work to better inform a wider public. The chapters presented here, in what is already the fourth volume in this series, stemmed from a seminar on the New Imperialism, offered in 2014 in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Concordia University in Montreal. Chapters went through several stages of planning, drafting and revision, and reflect theoretical, analytical, and empirical mastery of their respective subjects. Taken together, the chapters have multiple, valuable considerations and revelations to offer the reader.

Whether it is iatrogenic violence, voluntourism, the misappropriation of gay rights, or NGOs serving as the Trojan Horses of US dominance and neoliberal social reengineering, contributors to this volume expose and analyze the many ways in which the new imperialism involves partitioning the world into tutors and wards, saviours and victims. Underlying the seduction of imperial elite-lore are established modes of socialization and enculturation, ranging from the elaborate and persistent demonization of chief opponents of US empire to the lionization of military actors commonly rendered as heroes. Also scrutinized in this volume are the domestic social and political costs, reaching as far as the displacement of urban populations to make way for the expansion of the informatic industries of empire, paving the way for the unprecedented dominance of corporations in our daily lives.

A final question lingers in the background throughout this volume. How much longer will we continue to buy into projects proclaiming "good intentions"?