INDEX

9/11 attacks, 70–71, 81, 107, 125, 127, 183, 228–29
Abanes, Richard, 57
Abel, Richard L., 27, 70, 114
Abu Ghraib, 12–13, 29, 129, 137
Ackerman, Spencer, 219, 225
advertising. See marketing
Afghan American Artists and Writers Association, 225
Afghanistan Papers, 286
Air Force, US, 219
Airwars, 265
al Qaeda, 20, 126, 248, 271, 273, 280
al-Assad, Bashar, 264
Alatas, Syed Hussein, 284
al-Baghdadi
death of, 142
al-Baghdadi, Abu Bakr
death of, 45, 151, 177
Alberts, 233
Ali, Tariq, 283–84
Allied Patriotic Society, 58
al-Shaabaab, 201, 204
Alston, Phillip G., 27
American Patriots, Inc., 58
Anderson, Benedict, 53, 127
Andrejavic, Mark, 51
Anglie, Anthony, 180, 277
Anker, Elizabeth R., 191
Appadurai, Arjun, 31, 135
Arbery, Ahmed, 14
archive. See law’s archive
Armageddon, 229
Armageddon (film), 229
Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA 2001), 278
Asad, 12
Asad, Talal, 260
assassination, 87, 95, 101, 103, 105–7, 258
Atlantic Council, 238
Austin, Lloyd, 285
Authorization for the Use of Force (AUMF), 22–23, 107
Authorization for Use of Force (AUMF), 99
Azerbaijan, 278
Azoulay, Ariella, 133–34
bacronym, 51–52
Baldor, Lolita C., 284–85
Ball, Howard, 88
Barthes, Roland, 52
Basinger, 198, 201, 203
Basinger, Jeanine, 182–83
Bassu, Moni, 65
Bauman, Richard, 51
Bayoumi, Moustafa, 8
BMI International, 230
Bleew, Kathleen, 57–60, 68
Benjamin, Walter, 4
Ben-Porath, Sigal, 52
Berg, Manfred, 12
Bernstein, Carl, 250
Bertelsen, Lone, 130
Bluhba, Homi K., 136, 232
Biden, Beau, 268
Biden, Joseph, 46, 134, 277
Afghanistan withdrawal, 283
and Afghanistan withdrawal, 268, 281
and al Qaeda, 274
and political mythology, 267
and Taliban, 274
intelligence disregarded, 271
bin Laden, Hamza, 151
bin Laden, Osama, 107, 249
death of, 1, 44, 93, 132, 177, 272
Black Hawk Down (book), 189, 191
Black Hawk Down (film), 189, 233
Black Lives Matter, 13–15
black sites, 98
Black, Gregory D. 1990, 339
Boasberg, James, 133
Boston Marathon (2013), 56
Bottrici, Chiana, 110–12, 146
Bowen, Peter, 202
Bowden, Mark, 189
Briggs, Charles L., 51
INDEX

Brown, Harold, 240
Brown, Michael, 14
Brown, Wendy, 223, 245
Browne, Ryan, 264
Brysk, Alison, 23, 109, 271
Brezinski, Zbig, 239
Buchanan, Ruth, 122
Burchart, David, 57
Burns, Robert, 284–85
Bush, George H. W., 61–62, 277
Bush, George W., 42, 52, 73, 107, 228, 273
administration, 250
Afghanistan, 283
and al Qaeda, 248
and frontier myth, 113
don intelligence disregarded, 21, 271
Iraq WMD, 252
on Iraq invasion (2003), 241
don Osama bin Laden, 113
statecraft, 99
Butler, Judith, 192, 227
Calley, William, 290
Callimachi, Rukmini, 149
Capra, Frank, 182
Carlucci, Frank C., 240
Carson, Thomas L., 52
Carter, Jimmy
Afghanistan, 282
Castro, Fidel, 101
Cecil, Paul F., 245
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 101
Chamayou, Gregoire, 187
Chamayou, Grégoire, 35, 148, 194, 226
Chan, Sue, 241
Cheesman, Nick, 28
Cheney, 278
Cheney, Richard, 248, 250, 278
Chokshi, Niraj, 237
Chomsky, Noam, 100, 165, 250
Christian Patriots Defense League, 58
Church Committee, 101
CIA killings revealed by, 101
citizen rights, 273
civil liberties, erosion of, 98
civilian, category of, 2, 35, 156, 255
Clancy, Tom, 62
Clarke, Richard, 248
Clinton, Hillary, 132, 140
Cloud, David, 187
Clove, Carol, 208, 212
CNIGuard Inc., 237
CNIGuard Ltd, 237
Cobb, Jasmine Nicole, 118
Cohen, William S., 240
Cohn, Laura, 253
Cold War, 15, 19–20, 30, 95, 100, 102, 238,
255, 263
collateral damage, 9, 35–36, 187–88, 194, 215,
220, 265–66, 275, 284, 289
2021 Kabul drone strike, 179
al-Qaeda killing and, 149
and new technologies of killing, 35
as discounted lives, 177
Baghuz strike in Syria (2019), 287
deception and, 287
in Syria, 265
colonialism, nineteenth-century, 20, 23
colonialism, settler, 56, 160
Comaroff, Jean 2007, 180
Comaroff, John 2007, 180
combat films, 117–18, 182–83, 192, 198–99
and political mythology, 198
as genre, 199, 201
Combatting Terrorism Act of 2001, 52
Conan (dog), 146–49
Coombe, Rosemary, 25
Cooper, Helene, 179, 265
Correll, John T., 240, 252–53
Costs of War project (Brown University), 12,
36
Couch, Stuart, 258
counterterror state
Cold War and, 261
disrupt, 189, 192, 227, 271
planetary jurisdiction, 230
preemption, 197
secrecy, 212
counterterrorism, 200
Cover, Robert, 3, 122, 180
Crawford, Neta, 273
Creech Air Force Base, 195–96, 202, 212
critical discourse studies, 32
daisy cutter bomb, 218
Davies, Margaret, 26, 37, 139
Davies, Elmer, 181
De Alencar, Mark, 266
de Goede, Marieke, 84
Dean, Jodi, 41–42, 130
Debord, Guy, 50
de-democratization, 17, 38, 45, 58, 143, 178,
209, 215
Der Derian, James, 31, 42, 183–85, 209, 221,
227, 229–30, 236, 245, 249, 253–55
Denounian, Avedis, 58
Derrida, Jacques, 4
Detsch, Jack, 281, 284
Devji, Faisal, 31
Devji, Karen, 279
Dhur, Ngo Dinh, 101
discounting life, 2
and race, 15
as continuum, 15
Vietnam War, 244
discounting of life, 290
and Afghanistan, 286
deception and, 55
Patriot Act, 63
discourse, public, 23, 27, 34, 167, 217, 228, 242, 260, 286
discourse, US post-9/11, 270
discourse, war-on-terror, 95, 99, 125–26
disinformation, 233, 238, 242–43, 246, 263
Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act of 2021, 69
Donne, John, 262
Dower, John, 20, 116, 219, 222, 227, 261
drone warfare, 45, 184–86, 213–14
as necropolitical deception, 186
as necropolitical power, 215
as surveillance, 188
as war porn, 176
as weaponized technology, 203
asymmetry and, 180
in entertainment media, 192
Kabul strike (2021), 191
operators, 188
planetary coordination, 195
questionable precision of, 187
strike in Kabul (2021), 179
Syria strike (2019), 186
technology and, 202
Du Bois, W. E. B., 231, 236, 261
Dudziak, Mary, 21, 72, 270
due process, 38, 269, 273
Dukakis, Michael, 239
Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne, 56
Ellenberg, Molly D., 220
embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania (1998), 20
empire
cosposition with domestic, 175
cosposition with nation, 12–13, 46, 49–50, 57, 63, 139, 239, 243, 264, 267, 284
empire, US, 284
enemy, 22, 70, 156, 177, 186, 235, 272
Engelhardt, Tom, 36–37, 266, 284
Engelhardt, Tom, 266
enhanced interrogation. See torture
enmity, as necropolitical affect, 9, 22, 34, 51–52, 150, 155, 177, 236, 269, 288–89
Estrin, Daniel, 149
extraordinary rendition, 98
Eye in the Sky (film), 45, 193, 197, 207–8, 210, 214
Fairclough, Norman, 32
Falk, Richard, 31
Fanon, Frantz, 180
Fitzpatrick, Peter, 122, 180
Flowerdew, John, 34
Floyd, George, 14
Ford, Gerald, 102, 107, 129
Ford, John, 182
Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, 88
Foucault, Michel, 151, 174
Fox News, 264
frankenbomb, 222
Franke-Ruta, Garance, 22
Franks, Tommy, 251
Freedom Support Act, 277
Freud, Sigmund, 224
Gamer, Eric, 14
Geneva Conventions, 114
genocide, 45, 56, 244, 261
Glass-Steagall Act (1933), 239
Global Crossing, 251
Godin, Jason, 247, 250, 252
Goldwater-Nichols Act (1986), 247, 250, 252
Good Kill (film), 192
Goodman, J. E., 77
Gort, William J., 65
Graham, Lindsey, 264
ground zero, 131, 258, 262, 275
as keyword, 128
Group Inc. (DGI), 236
Gryphon Partners, 280
Guantanamo, 27, 29, 74, 99, 137, 148, 257
Camp Justice, 40
Guantanamo
Camp Justice, 27, 42
Gulf War (1991), 60–62, 119, 199
Gunnello, Markus, 72
Gunther, Brad, 220
Gusterson, Hugh, 175, 179, 188, 203, 226
Hage, Ghassan, 53
Hall, Jerome, 150
Hall, Stuart, 31
Halliburton, 251
Hamdani, Mohammed Salman, 65
Hamilton, Dontre, 14
Hansen, Thomas Blom, 4–5, 82
Hartman, Saidiya, 176
Hartung, William, 264
Healy, Jack, 284
Herman, Edward S., 165, 250
Hersh, Seymour, 1, 101–2
Hibbert, Guy, 202
Hiroshima, 128, 181, 217–18, 228, 235, 241, 257, 262
Höglund, Johan, 184, 190
INDEX

Holder, Eric H. Jr., 140
Hollywood films, post-Cold War, 229
Holocaust, 271
Honig, Bonnie, 168, 204
human rights, 29, 38, 86, 98, 114, 191, 221, 235, 255, 269
Hussein, Nasser, 8, 210, 213
Hussein, Saddam, 219, 231–32
Hussein, Uday, 231
Huston, John, 182
hypermediatization, 36
hyperreality, 227, 230, 232
Immigration and Nationality Act, 88
imperial presidency, 98
imperialism, 118, 180
imperialism, militarized, 217–18, 220, 233, 247, 255, 286
infowar, 184, 253
insectothopter (surveillance camera), 196
international law, 29, 38, 45, 86, 103, 149, 178, 272
Iran hostage crisis, 247
Iraq invasion (2003), 219, 253
ISIS-K, 285
Islamic State (ISIS), 171, 173, 219, 224, 262, 265, 287, 289
Islamophobia, 17, 70, 117
Jackson, Richard, 33, 124–25, 145, 177, 213, 271
Jayasuriya Kanishka, 7
Jenkins, Mark, 72, 208
Johns, Fleur, 7
Johnson, Chalmers, 125, 228, 243
Judicial Watch, 133
Judas, John B., 121
justice, as vengeance, 44, 87, 96, 113, 115, 141, 266, 269, 272, 281, 284–85
Kabul airport bombing, 286
Kabul airport suicide bombing, 179
Kabul drone attack (2021), 187
Kabul drone attack 2021, 285
Kahn, Paul, 74
kamikaze missions, 260
Kantorowicz, Ernst H., 120, 130, 270
Kaplan, Amy, 12, 20, 49, 128, 143, 225, 275
Kaplan, Caren, 22
Kareen, Thomas, 180
Kellner, Douglas, 50
Kennedy, Liam, 131–33, 188, 211–12
Khalilzad, Zalmay, 269, 278–81
Khartoum, Hamid, 262
killing extrajudicial, 9
extraterritorial, extrajudicial, 2, 9, 11, 44, 87, 94, 97, 100, 124, 130, 133, 143, 151, 191, 215, 233, 285
extraterritorial, extrajudicial targeted, 9
Killowen Group, 237
king's two bodies, 270
Kingsolver, Barbara, 128
Kirkpatrick, Jeanne, 239
Kissing, Henry, 276
Klein, Stephen A., 190
Klimas, Jasmint, 264
Koppes, Clayton R., 181
Kreyg, Martin, 42
Kumar, Ruchi, 263
Kuwait, 61–62, 173, 230, 283
Lange, Katie, 182
Latih, Ali, 224, 226
Latif, Ali M., 290
law. See also law's archive and meaning-making, 51
as category, 221
as compound category, 24
as cultural text, 26
as lexicon, 29
as public thing, 40, 63, 95, 100, 132, 204, 217, 245, 253, 290
as publicity, 74
as spectacle, 51, 55
as state law, 26
co-constitution with culture, 21, 29, 111, 180, 233, 290
reading for, 7, 10, 29, 290
law, necropolitical. See necropolitical law's archive, 38–39, 220, 225
violence of, 39, 49, 70, 96, 100, 127, 135, 217
Lawrence, J. P., 20
Lens, Sidney, 19
Li, Darryl, 23
liberal legalism, 28
liberal legality, 4, 24, 38, 42–43
and counterterror state, 150
appearance of, 81
Locher, James R. III, 247
Lohan, Jinee, 8
Low, Lisa, 249
Lubin, Alex, 10, 14–15, 19, 33, 193, 269, 278
Lucas, George, 231
INDEX

Lumumba, Patrice, 101
Lutz, Catherine, 19, 190, 204, 246
Lymann, Rick, 185
lynching, 12–13, 114, 231
Mackenzie, Richard, 276, 283
Marcos, Barbara, 261
Maresca, John, 277
marketing, 31, 51–52, 59, 87, 166, 170, 240
Marsh, Allison, 196
Marshall Plan, 273
Martin, Trayvon, 14
Masco, Joseph, 16, 20–21, 23, 30, 41, 181–82, 185, 212, 218, 227, 229, 236, 255
Mashal, Mujib, 265
mass media, 30, 37, 183, 192, 239, 243, 250, 253, 262, 264
Massive Air Ordinance Blast (MOAB), 45, 218
Matten, James, 219, 224
Mawani, Renisa, 3, 5, 26, 38–39, 49, 75, 102, 127, 135, 192, 217, 220, 244
Mayer, Jane, 186
Mazzetti, Mark, 271, 286
Mbembe, Achille, 7, 9–10, 12, 16, 18, 22, 45, 48–50, 81, 84, 93, 118, 176–77, 236, 288
force of separation, 85
forms of deception, 26
Necropolitics, 5
on sovereignty, 11
McAlister, Melani, 10, 12, 23, 31, 60, 119, 144, 174, 199, 206, 228, 281, 286
McBride, Keally, 81
McCollum, Rylee, 284
McDonald, Laquan, 14
McFarland, 202
McGregor, 102
McVeigh, Timothy, 59, 68
Méndez, Xhercis, 14
metapragmatics, 274
militainment, 176
militarism, post-9/11, 31
military
and Hollywood, 182
military multiculturalism, 113, 119, 199
military-industrial complex, 236, 240, 246, 252, 269, 279–80
military-industrial-media-entertainment network, 31, 42, 184, 192, 202, 209, 221, 227, 254, 264
Miller, Marty, 219, 277
Milley, 175
Minerva Research Initiative, 33
Minnesota Patriots, 59
Mirzoeff, Nicholas, 31
misinformation, 250, See disinformation
MOAB
Hiroshima and, 216
MOAB (Massive Ordinance Air Blast), 219, 250, 252, 254
and belligerent patriotism, 223
and Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 258
as technofetishism, 223
collateral damage, 225
compared with nuclear bomb, 260
Times Square, 258
MOAB (Massive Ordinance Air Blast) (2017), 242, 262, 288
casualties, 257
Mogadishu raid (1993), 189
Mossadeh, Mohammad, 101
Moussaoui, Zacarias, 150
Mullen, Bill V., 13
Murphy, Andrew, 130
Musolf, Andreas, 53
My Lai massacre (1968), 289
Nagasaki, 128, 181, 218, 228, 262
Nash, Phil Tajitsu, 251
national interests
oil, US, 276
national interests, US, 269
oil, 61, 144, 275, 281
synonymous with war and security, 255
national security interests, 235
national security state, 19, 72
National War College, 237
nation-state jurisdiction, 273
sovereignty, 273
necropolitical law, 9, 203, 211
and liberal legality, 102
as coded transcript, 198
asymmetrical warfare and, 222
collateral damage, 35
consolidation of, 290
criminal law, 150
decision and, 10, 52, 95, 100, 284, 287
dismantling, 291
lawlessness as, 18
legitimation and, 112
liberal legality, 11, 18
liberal legality and, 95, 97, 110, 133, 245, 287
national security, 132
pillars of, 217
planetary jurisdiction, 22, 44, 48, 62, 80, 87, 131, 144, 208, 259, 272, 290
privileges national security, 212
rule of law, 240
separations, 143
343
INDEX

necropolitical law, (cont.)
state virtue, 245
violence of, 129
withdrawal from Afghanistan, 269
necropolitics, 9
and war, 54
citizen complicity in, 217
culture, 182, 185, 188, 213, 222
deception, 286
deception and, 16
force of separation, 85
separation, 16, 177
neoliberal governance, 249
neoliberalism, 245
new world order, 233
Ngai Mae M., 66
Nichols, Terry, 68
Nicholson, John W. Jr, 265
Nixon, Richard, 102
Nixon, Rob, 16
No Fly List, 84

O’Kane, Caitlin, 15
Obama, Barack, 44
address in Cairo (2009), 117
and American innocence, 129
and bin Laden, 1
and myth of American innocence, 108, 125
and necropolitical law, 109
and political mythology, 136
as chaplain-in-chief, 139
as lawyer–president–commander-in-chief, 115
necropolitical law and, 138
on death of bin Laden, 94, 97, 108, 115, 121, 123–24, 129, 136
political myth and, 112, 123
political mythology, 115, 125
racialized identity, 95, 117, 120
sacralizing language, 138
statecraft, 99–100
three bodies of, 120, 141
Oklahoma City bombing (1995), 59, 68
Olomi, Ali A., 225
Omarkhali, Khanna, 220
Operation Enduring Freedom, 275
Operation Freedom’s Sentinel, 275
Operation Iraqi Freedom, 124
Oppenheimer, Robert, 261
Orford, Anne, 204, 206, 208
orientalism, 282
Oswellian doublepeak, 124
Osman, Wazmah, 225–26, 277

Othering, 66–67, 101, 109, 119, 177, 194, 233, 255
racialized, 13, 46, 56, 84, 144, 147, 168, 182, 186, 267, 272, 275, 284, 286, 290
Owen, Wilfred, 53

Pahujia, Sunidhya, 122
Pakistan, 276
patriot, 52, 55–56, 246
as keyword, 63
Patriot Act, 33–34, 49–53, 71, 74, 76, 86, 246–47
illegibility of, 79
Patriot Day, 56
Patriot Front, 59
Patriot Games, The (novel, film), 62
Patriot missile, 62
Patriot movement, 57
Patriot Prayer, 59
patriotism, 224
belligerent, 63, 75, 182, 223
patriotism, belligerent, 10, 53–54
Patriots Coalition, 59
Patriots Day (film), 56
Patriots Day (state holiday), 56
Pawlyk, Oriania, 220, 222
Pearl Harbor, 128, 263, 266
Pease, Donald, 270
Peltier, Heidi, 54
Pence, Mike, 148, 175
Pengelly, Martin, 143
Perle, Richard, 251
Philippines, 13
Philips, Dave, 70, 185–86, 284, 287, 289
Pieslak, Jonathan, 213
Pinifar, Marco, 149
plausible deniability, 102
political mythology, 71, 111, 119, 141
American exceptionalism, 9, 82, 96, 121, 128, 228, 267, 269–70, 275
American innocence, 123, 191, 217, 227, 267, 269–71, 283
frontier justice, 269
justice and, 124
US as chosen nation, 128
US as victim, 227
Popal, Seelai, 225
Polak, Ehsan, 224, 257
post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 245
Potsdam Declaration (1945), 261
Powell, Colin, 107, 120, 237, 239, 248
Powers, Thomas, 250
private military contractors, 54–55, 281–82, 284
Project for the New American Century (PNAC), 278

344
INDEX

Taliban, 153, 269, 271–72, 274, 277, 279, 281
Task Force 9, 186
Taussig-Rubbo, Mateo, 55
Taylor, Breonna, 15
Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta, 117
Tea Party Patriots, 59
technofetishism, 221–22, 227, 250, 261, 263
terra nullius, 226, 227
terrorist, 199
as contested category, 145
as identity category, 150–52
as identity category, 153
as necropolitical designation, 145, 149–50, 152
as Other, 177
re-semantization of, 148
Thompson, Mark, 144
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 209
torture, 15, 22, 27, 29, 70, 141, 176, 191, 221, 244, 255, 258, See also Abu Ghraib, See also Abu Ghraib
Trinity test, 262
Trujillo, Rafael, 101
Trump, Donald, 45, 142, 223, 273
agreement to leave Afghanistan, 273
as imperial spectacle, 143
as White male hero, 176
asserts planetary jurisdiction, 174
civilian deaths in Syria, 265
drone warfare and, 186
on death of al-Baghdadi, 41–42, 146, 150–51, 171
on Syrian oil, 173
statecraft, 265
three bodies of, 141
Trump, Donald, Donald and Syrian oil, 144
on death of al-Baghdadi, 145
U.S.A. F.R.E.E.D.O.M.. See Patriot Act
Ullman, Harlan K., 234, 280
UN Security Council Resolution 1373, 82
United Constitutional Patriots, 59
United Nations, 13, 33
United States
as chosen nation, 96
as counterterror state, 16
founding violence, 56, 118
nationalism post-9/11, 126
planetary jurisdiction, 31, 289
racist founding, 12, 118
revolution (1776), 56
White as stand-in for, 66
Unocal, 278
CIA and, 276
USA PATRIOT Act. See Patriot Act
USS Cole attack in Yemen (2000), 20
Vavrus, Mary Douglas, 31, 207
vengeance, 285
as distraction, 286
Verdery, Katherine, 94
veterans, US military, 57–58
Vials, Christopher, 13
Vietnam War, 219, 244
and White power, 57
violence
necropolitical, 15
violence, slow, 290
Virilio, Paul, 211
Volcic, Zala, 51
Volpp, 68
Volpp, Leti, 33, 67, 136, 272
Von Drehle, David, 253
Wade, James P., 234
Waldrop, Christopher, 114
war crimes, 185–87, 287, 289
War on Terror
and culture, 230
as permanent, 2, 19, 21, 23, 44, 54, 72, 291
as state of exception, 8
lexicon, 288
logic of, 68, 70, 76, 83
long War on Terror, 17
war porn, 176
war profiteering, 252
war, as temporary, 21
war, permanent
as state virtue, 31
warfare. See also drone warfare
annihilatory, 233, 254, 260
asymmetrical, 222, 233, 244, 260–61, 265, 286, 289
information, 243, 247
Watergate scandal, 250
weapons of mass destruction, 242
White male hero, 119, 143, 156, 163, 176, 206
White Patriot Party, 58
White power, 57
White power movement, 70
White supremacy
and Obama, 113
Wilke, Christiane, 35
Willard, Martin, 184, 190
Williams, Patricia, 28
Williams, Raymond, 55, 218, 254
Wilson, Woodrow, 61, 123
Wodak, Ruth, 34
Woodward, Bob, 250
World Trade Center, 54, 228–29
World Trade Center bombing (1993), 20
World War I, 231, 256

346
INDEX

World War II, 116, 182, 265
saturation firebombing, 261
Wright, Robin, 220, 266
Young, Alvin, 245
Young, Marilyn B., 53, 254, 276

Zachary, Stacia, 219
Zevnik, Andreja, 149
Zimmerman, George, 14
Zine, Jasmin, 206
Zraick, Karen, 147