INSURGENT AESTHETICS

SECURITY AND THE QUEER LIFE OF THE FOREVER WAR

RONAK K. KAPADIA

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INTRODUCTION. SENSUOUS AFFILIATIONS

Security, Terror, and the Queer Calculus of the Forever War

Waging war in some ways begins with the assault on the senses: the senses are the first target of war. —**Judith Butler**, *Frames of War*

Blank spots on maps outline the things they seek to conceal. —**Trevor Paglen**, *Blank Spots on the Map*

To say there is a Muslim—a thing, an object rendered as manipulable—is to create a figure, a ghost, a lie. . . . The zealous indignation and fear of the Muslim betrays a deeper hypocrisy. "Terror" talk is the new race talk—the "terrorist" (or the "militant" or the "radical") is the twenty-first-century way of saying "savage." —**Sohail Daulatzai and Junaid Rana**, "Left"

Let us begin with a vision of an armed drone in the night sky. For more than a decade, the US government has told us that these stealth unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) represent the revolutionary edge of twenty-first-century lethal military technologies, remotely targeting and precisely eliminating so-called known and suspected terrorists in the distant battlefields of the global "war on terror."[1] US drone strikes and aerial surveillance operations have been reported or suspected across the proliferating theaters of Washington, DC's seemingly interminable planetary war. While many Americans recognize the state-sponsored military conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq since 2001 as traditional, full-scale "hot wars"—as measured by air and ground invasion and occupation of national territories—the ongoing US war on terror

against a shape-shifting constellation of enemies like Al-Qaeda and ISIS is a far more diffuse project. It heralds instead a nearly two-decade-long globalized biopolitical struggle of regulating, managing, and warehousing populations scattered across the heterogeneous landscapes of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Algeria, Syria, Palestine, Yemen, Somalia, Libya, Niger, and beyond—to say nothing of the undeclared wars closer to home. Although the US monopoly on drone technologies has ended, the global military arms race in unmanned aerial systems has just begun. Soon our "voluminous spaces of human existence" will be filled indefinitely with a wider "matrix of military violence," not just overseas in the frontiers of US empire but also on domestic shores, with remotely controlled objects of death and destruction owned and patrolled by foreign military powers, private security forces, and start-up rebel groups alike.[2] The armed drones of the near future are expected to resemble dragonflies and honey bees—an everlasting multispecies swarm of intel, misery, and sovereign power from above.[3]

What do the people on the ground who are targeted by the so-called signature strikes of the drone age see, think, feel, and sense when they encounter this swarm in the dystopian here and now? How have early twenty-first-century technologies of aerial warfare and remote surveillance disordered and rearranged people's collective sense of place, space, and community across the expanding scenes of American warfare in South and West Asia, North and West Africa, and the Greater Middle East?[4] Legal reports on drone strikes have documented how community gatherings such as weddings, funerals, communal prayer, tribal council meetings, and other forms of social congregation have been undermined by the unpredictable but steady stream of war machines enveloping the rugged borderlands region that sutures Afghanistan to Pakistan, known as "Af-Pak."[5] Af-Pak today symbolizes the so-called lawless frontier of lethal experimentation and algorithmic warfare. It is an extreme topography of counterterrorism where "uneven geo-legalities of war, state, and exception make drone warfare a reality in certain places and not others."[6] The differential powers of the US military over precarious life and death, freedom and suffering, recognition and obliteration have been radically expanded and revitalized through these new technologies of surveillance that seek to enclose suspect humanity within its aerial view, transmitting and translating what it "sees" of that humanity into abstract data for the US security state. How are patterns of life and collective embodied lifeworlds of people who dwell under the drones disorganized and destroyed by US aerial attacks on their towns and villages?

Consider the life and death of Mammana Bibi. Bibi was a sixty-seven-

FIG 1.1 Nabila Rehman, nine, holds up a picture she drew depicting the US drone strike on her Pakistan village, which killed her grandmother, Mammana Bibi, at a news conference on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC, October 29, 2013. Nabila and her father and brother attended the news conference to highlight the personal costs in collateral damage for civilians killed and injured in the US drone strike program. Photograph: Reuters/Jason Reed.

year-old grandmother and the only midwife in her remote mountainous village in North Waziristan, Pakistan. She was killed by a CIA drone strike while tending okra as her grandchildren played nearby on October 24, 2012.[7] A year later, Bibi's son Rafiq ur Rehman, a primary school teacher, traveled to Washington, DC, with two of his children—Zubair, age thirteen, and Nabila, nine—to testify at the first-ever congressional hearing on the civilian impact of US drone strikes.[8] At this sparsely attended inquest, Rehman described his mother as *aik lari main pro kay rakhna* (literally translated from Urdu as "the string that held our family together").[9] His children went on to depict in harrowing detail both the sensory destruction caused by the drone's imprecise targeting and the collateral aftermath in their lives (figure 1.1). Rehman's son Zubair, who was injured in the attack when shrapnel ripped through his leg, reflected on the traumatic and disordering impact of the strikes: "I no longer love blue skies. In fact, I now prefer grey skies. The drones do not fly when the skies are grey. . . . When the sky brightens and becomes blue, the drones return and so does the fear."[10] The poisoned air, the buzzing sounds,

the deadly hellfire pouring down from above, the earth rattling beneath their feet, and the interminable waiting—the absolute indeterminacy and lack of syncopation that breaks the rhythms and beats of everyday life—all collide and collude in crafting a new US global imperial sensorium. This conjures a felt world of necropolitical ruin on the frontiers of US empire in the Greater Middle East that also enfolds and enables contemporary US civic life. What can be seen, counted, and known from these tales of today's wars and their toxic afterlives?

For an alternative sensorial relation to the drone and its manifold violences, we can turn to the contemporary work of Pakistani American visual artist Mahwish Chishty.[11] Upon traveling home from the US to her native Lahore in 2011, Chishty found her family and friends furiously debating the merits of the new American-led drone war raging along the border with Afghanistan. Trained as a miniature painter at the National College of Arts, Lahore, Chishty was so roused by this news (and of her family's proximity to war) that she quickly transformed her art practice to grapple with this freshly intimate aspect of twenty-first-century warfare. She began creating colorful paintings and sculptural installations featuring armed drones adorned in the ornate tradition of Pakistani truck art.[12] The regional folk tradition of truck art is an information-intensive medium that pairs well with the big data aspirations of drone warfare.[13] In Pakistan, long-haul freight trucks made by American companies such as Ford and General Motors are often retrofitted and bejeweled with regional styles. Street artists then meticulously paint them with poetic and religious texts, images of martyrs and film heroes, and brightly colored mosaics.[14]

Chishty's *Drone Art Paintings* series (2011–16) appropriates the signature motifs from this labor-intensive craft folk tradition for her fine-art practice (figures 1.2–1.6). She first stains her paper with tea, following the miniature painting practice of creating a neutral canvas. For Chishty, the stained paper is meant to conjure the distressed landscape of the Af-Pak border as seen from above. After tracing a blank architectural silhouette of an unmanned aerial vehicle, the artist then fashions what she calls a "second skin" for the drone. She refracts the drone's signature shadows and lines through elegant embellishments that mimic the vibrant floral patterns and calligraphic folk art used to adorn the long-haul trucks in Pakistan.[15] The visual effect is luminous and haunting. A dense bricolage of finely patterned flowers, fish bones, human skulls, crescent moons, and feminized eyes and lips meticulously fill in the paintings, which are then embellished with gold leaf borders, in keeping with the Mughal miniature tradition. In "Reaper" (2015), Chishty

scatters flecks of gold leaf on the horizon to resemble blasted shell fragments (plate 1). In a neat reversal, the artist seizes on this flamboyant regional folk tradition, which revels in its visibility and dramatic splendor, to shed light on the otherwise stealth war machines wreaking havoc and instability across her homeland. In the process, she has made the foreign and distant appear familiar and intimate. Her aesthetic practice defines new ways to disclose the unseen and unsaid of contemporary US global state violence.

The complex interplay between visibility and invisibility and between beauty and terror featured in *Drone Art Paintings* is central to this book's examination of aesthetics in the context of the violence of the forever war. Of particular note is Chishty's use of gouache, a painting technique that uses opaque pigments ground in water and thickened with a glue-like substance. There is a permanence to the opaque watercolor paint that not only renders a brilliant exuberance to her visual artworks but also belies the persistent temporality of the forever war (plates 2-6). I deploy the forever war critically to describe the seemingly permanent US-led war on terror and its multiple disastrous permutations in the nearly two decades since the events of September 11, 2001.[16] The durative nature of the forever war challenges the willful presentism and nationalist amnesia of the US military's invocation of only the most recent invasion of Iraq as a "long war." The phrase originates in a speech delivered by former Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld on the eve of the Pentagon's release of its Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) in October 2006. In it, Rumsfeld opened with the declaration, "The United States is a nation engaged in what will be a long war," announcing an incipient generational conflict akin to the twentieth century's Cold War and characterized by a struggle to "root out terrorism" and "battle extremism" that could stretch across several decades.[17] In this way, Rumsfeld viewed the unilateral Iraqi conflict as the first foray into an eternal embrace of a twenty-first-century counterinsurgent campaign in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Horn of Africa, the Philippines, and beyond. In this book, I disidentify with the elite military source of this term and reorient it to consider instead how the US has engaged aggressively in a "long war" since its inception and throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries—in effect examining not the US "at war" but the US "as war."[18]

As the lone global superpower in the early decades of the twenty-first century, the United States is the primary purveyor of racial-colonial terror and neoliberal violence across the contemporary world. Its national security and counterinsurgent policing apparatus unfolds across ever-expanding terrain, a transnational battlespace that includes distant, often secret wars and nu-

FIG 1.2 (*top left*) Mahwish Chishty, *MQ-9/Guardian*, 2011. Gouache and tea stain on paper, 24 in. × 12 in. © Mahwish Chishty.

FIG 1.3 (*bottom*) Mahwish Chishty, *MQ-9/Predator*, 2011. Gouache and tea stain on paper, 24 in. × 12 in. © Mahwish Chishty.

FIG 1.4 (*top right*) Mahwish Chishty, *MQ-9/1*, 2011. Gouache, tea stain, and gold leaf on paper, 8 in. × 28.5 in. © Mahwish Chishty.

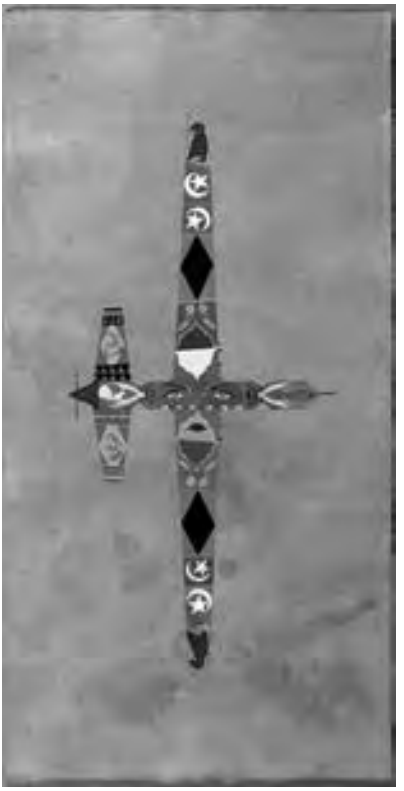

FIG 1.5 Mahwish Chishty, *MQ-9/5*, 2013. Gouache and tea stain on paper, 24 in. × 12 in. © Mahwish Chishty.

FIG 1.6 Mahwish Chishty, *MQ-9/2*, 2011. Gouache, tea stain, and gold leaf on paper, 8 in. × 28 in. © Mahwish Chishty.

merous intertwined policing and security arrangements closer to home. The US has acted over decades in complex and shifting relation to a range of other imperial projects and regional regimes in the Greater Middle East, including other Middle Eastern states and outside powers. It is for this reason difficult, if not impossible, to offer a sweeping appraisal of the astounding vision and strategic expanse of Washington's worldwide counterterror and counterinsurgent wars. But we can locate a particular genealogy of the forever war in the longue durée of US colonial expansion and war-making in the Greater Middle East across the long twentieth century.[19] This book argues that the forever war is not only a historical period describing a series of geopolitical and military conflicts, but also an ongoing archival project, structure of feeling, and production of knowledge for interpreting and acting on the geopolitical alignments of the US in the broader "post"–Cold War era. The "forever" of "forever war" calls up a fantasy sense of temporal perpetuity in wartime's violence in the dystopian here and now that likewise mimics the uninterrupted and limitless spree of US global war-making across the long twentieth century.[20] This is a particularly apt description given the twenty-first-century US military empire's quest for "full-spectrum dominance," or the geo-strategic campaign for total planetary control across all combat domains: land, sea, air, space, outer space, and cyberspace.[21]

Today the US military depicts its forever wars of public safety and security as newly deterritorialized, that is, an "everywhere war" that can, in principle, occur anywhere and is thus no longer sequestered spatially, either horizontally or vertically, to battlespaces putatively outside US borders.[22] Instead, through new strategies for the reproduction and suspension of state sovereignty—such as drones and satellites operated from within US territories, on the one hand, and an invisible empire of foreign military bases and paramilitary proxies across the globe, on the other—the US security state purports to have conquered the challenges of space-time in armed conflicts and is therefore unbridled from the territorial strictures that have historically defined it.[23] The abstract sense of temporal limitlessness of a planetary forever war is further evidence that the US military has been most preoccupied by a struggle to overcome the geographic limitations of warfare and sovereignty in its pursuit of global supremacy over the past several decades. Along with the lack of sustained public consciousness of US involvement in all-out global warfare, this borderless vision of twenty-first-century military empire links temporally and spatially dispersed bodies and geographies through differential forms of management and extermination, revealing the nation as a "forever war" machine: seemingly enduring, mutable, and eternal.

But nothing truly lasts forever. Despite its projected sense of dominance, breadth, and precision, the contemporary US military-surveillance state is not static nor omnipotent. If we follow the lead of Mahwish Chishty and the other visionary artists and cultural practitioners considered in this book, we might discover that the US state's capricious imperial powers are in fact fleeting, fragile, and always failing. Felicitous cracks have appeared in the surface of the forever war's architecture that can be exploited by forms of fugitivity, refusal, and rebellion "that were impossible yesterday and might be impossible tomorrow."[24] New assemblages of state security and flexible war-making, including drone warfare, have engendered racialized worlds of untold anguish for those rendered suspect within its imperial world order. But this historical fact also augurs new openings for the forever war's insurgent undoing. So much of the popular and scholarly discourse on contemporary US militarism attunes so closely to the dominant strategies and technologies of late modern warfare that such work has the unintended effect of making the state's frameworks and institutions seem monolithic and omniscient even as that work seeks to critique war and empire. This book plots another, more arresting approach.

Insurgent Aesthetics: Cultures of Counterinsurgency, Security, and Struggle

Insurgent Aesthetics is about the creativity and fugitive beauty that emanate from the shadows of terrible violence incited by forever war. Of freedom dreams flecked by inscriptions of wartime's death and dispossession.[25] The forever war is an assault on the human sensorium for citizens, subjects, survivors, and refugees of US empire alike.[26] A time of ever more state security and imperial violence, the historical present necessitates more sensuous ways of knowing and feeling that challenge the militarized imperatives of the state and exceed the visual register alone. The global circulation of images of violence and social suffering has also intensified in our public culture over the past three decades. As a privileged regime of power, the field of vision is central to the manufacture and global supremacy of US war-making regimes and to the violent regulation of racialized, gendered, and sexualized bodies under the conditions of state security and surveillance.[27] Given the US state's will toward quantified abstraction in counting, without ever being accountable to, those killed, diseased, displaced, traumatized, and/or maimed in its armed conflicts, how might we divine other, more sensuous and affective ways of knowing this forever war and its inhuman violences? This book asserts that

we must demand a stranger calculus—what I term a *queer calculus*—that unsettles prevailing interpretations of the forever war, makes sensuous what has been ghosted by US technologies of abstraction, and endows the designs for seemingly impossible futures amid infinite aggression. A queer calculus of the forever war advances an account of both dominant knowledge apparatuses and data logics of the US security state as well as alternative logics, affects, emotions, and affiliations of diasporic subjects living and laboring in the heart of empire. One such embodied queer calculus can be found in the corpus of aesthetic forms created by contemporary diasporic artists from South Asia and the Greater Middle East. These imaginative works of art reassemble vision with the disqualified knowledges, histories, geographies, and memories preserved by the "lower" senses of empire's gendered, racialized Others to fashion an insurgency against empire's built sensorium. In so doing, these insurgent aesthetics craft a queer calculus of US empire that makes intimate what is rendered distant, renders tactile what is made invisible, and unifies what is divided, thereby conjuring forms of embodied critique that can envision a collective world within and beyond the spaces of US empire's perverse logics of global carcerality, security, and war.

This book engages a wide range of critical interdisciplinary paradigms to reveal the radical experiments, aesthetic strategies, and freedom dreams of contemporary Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic artists. I argue that these works comprise a transnational constellation of visual art and aesthetics that together have animated new ways to think, feel, sense, and map the world amid US global state violence and its forever wars across the so-called Muslim world.[28] Specifically, the book surveys the broader post–Cold War expansion of US militarism in the Greater Middle East (Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Palestine) and the domestic regimes of surveillance and repression in the US and other militarized sites mapped onto a transnational jihadist network. It contends that new and flexible forms of remote killing, torture, confinement, surveillance, and lawfare have built a distinctive post–9/11 infrastructure of gendered, racialized state violence both within and beyond US borders, which in turn marks the ongoing present as a distinct age within the longue durée of US settler colonial society. I explore this complex terrain through a contrapuntal queer feminist analysis of contemporary Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic visual cultures and their critical intersections with the contemporary logics and tactics of global warfare.[29] Although many scholars have studied the impact of liberal empires and late modern warfare in the Greater Middle East, including the militarized and racialized vision of US imperialism at its core, insufficient attention has been paid to how the

state's dominant necropolitical calculus of neoliberal security and warfare has been thwarted and reimagined.[30] By contrast, this book foregrounds the conceptual works of contemporary artists from South Asian and Middle Eastern diasporas, whose insurgent aesthetic acts refashion ascendant ways of knowing and feeling the forever war.

My chief premise in this book is that if we want to apprehend (so as to ultimately arrest) contemporary transnational security politics and carceral practices, especially the prevailing biopolitical regimes of surveillance, imprisonment, and killing perfected at the domestic and international fronts of the forever war, then we need an alternate approach to the maps of strategic thinkers and security analysts who have been telling us how we should look, think, and feel about the world and its violences. By privileging a wide range of diasporic cultural forms—namely, visual and sound installation, performance, painting, photography, new media, and video—as a generative site for critiquing American war and empire, this book illuminates what I term *insurgent aesthetics*, an alternative articulation of minoritarian knowledge produced by those populations and their diasporic kin most devastated by the effects of the homeland security state and its forever wars.[31] This book illustrates how Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic artists in the US and Europe, including Mahwish Chishty, Wafaa Bilal, Naeem Mohaiemen/Visible Collective, Rajkamal Kahlon, Index of the Disappeared, Mariam Ghani, and Larissa Sansour, have grappled in their work with the neoliberal state of exception and the national security state's use of gendered racial violence. *Insurgent Aesthetics* documents the impact of present-day militarized security practices and historical legacies of imperial violence on diasporic, (im)migrant, and refugee communities in the US who have been besieged both by domestic wars on terror, crime, drugs, and immigration as well as military and foreign policies directed at their homelands. These artists, in turn, have produced sensuous affiliations and political imaginaries that critique the simultaneous proliferation of gendered racism, neoliberal capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and Islamophobia in the post–9/11 period. These concepts represent intersectional systems of power and violence that fuel the ideological engines that legitimate the homeland security state's use of global prisons, confinement technologies, overt killing, and permanent warfare as inevitable features of a political economy that seeks to "solve" our multifarious contemporary crises. In this context, what role can expressive culture and aesthetics play in struggles over hegemony of the contemporary neoliberal carceral, security, and warfare state? This book answers this question by centering the expansive world-making knowledge practices of diasporic vi-

sual and multimedia artists who hail from societies besieged by war but live and labor in the heart of empire. In short, the book investigates how South Asian and Middle Eastern diasporic artists challenge violent histories of US militarism, sustain critical opposition to the global war machine through the realms of art and culture, and create alternative systems of knowing, feeling, and living with and beyond forever warfare.

The theoretical strategy and interpretive framework that I name "insurgent aesthetics" brings together diverse histories, geographies, and archives organized around several unifying themes. First, the book argues that insurgent aesthetics is a collective and relational praxis. *Insurgent Aesthetics* represents the first sustained effort to analyze contemporary works of conceptual art across the South Asian and Middle Eastern diasporas as a coherent social, cultural, and political formation challenging the explanatory power of dominant "expert" knowledge about US empire and its forever war. Second, these artists share a collective concern with revealing the gendered racial violence at the heart of the US security state. My close readings of their artworks make visceral and palpable what artist and cultural geographer Trevor Paglen calls "the black world," the contradictions and disavowals of official archives of US global warfare.[32] In this study, I grapple with the contradiction between the US state's claim to rational security and the material orders of brutality, misery, ruin, detention, confinement, and extermination upon which that claim continuously is made. For instance, the US state has, on the one hand, come to "know" the so-called human terrain[33] of global conflict in the war on terror by using abstract vision and limitless data to map racialized "Muslim" populations and innovate surveillance and intelligence-gathering procedures. On the other hand, the US state persistently disavows imperial violence in efforts to disappear the corporeality of its wars through "black sites," redactions of classified documents, so-called touchless torture of detainees, denials of civilian death counts in drone attacks, and bans on images of the coffins of US soldiers killed in combat. This imperial paradox of transparency and opacity in discourses of state security reveals what political theorist Laleh Khalili calls "the contrasts and connections between that far twilight realm in which sovereign violence occurs without concealment and the domestic liberal order in which the same violence is concealed in broad daylight."[34] This incongruity is manifest in both the gendered racialization of contemporary Arab, Muslim, and South Asian communities in the US and in the aesthetic works highlighted throughout this book, which cast light on the manifold unseen and disembodying technologies of secrecy and terror that define the forever war.

Third, as theorists and practitioners, these artists exemplify the significance of insurgent aesthetics by utilizing official archives and technologies of war, such as declassified government documents and surveillance cameras, as resource and inspiration for their experimental and conceptual art practices. Many newly released government documents detail widespread US military practices of torture, interrogation, kidnapping, and rendition. The artists' direct engagement with the "black world" of US statecraft is central to the book's contention that insurgent aesthetics not only expose the contradictions of the warfare state but also make available more capacious ways of knowing, feeling, and sensing states of security. However, I reject a strict sociological reading of these artists' contributions in line with approaches that would view them as native informants for the international art world. The US-based minoritarian art practitioner is routinely seen as merely transmitting information rather than pushing aesthetic boundaries. By contrast, a focus on aesthetic aims, innovations, and formal manipulations of these cultural forms is, as queer critics Kadji Amin, Amber Musser, and Roy Pérez contend, "the very *substance* of many of these artists' engagement with legacies of social violence. Aesthetic form offers resources of resistance to the violences of interpretation that prematurely fix the meaning of minority artistic production within prefabricated narratives."[35] As such, I opt to center a formal analysis of artistic techniques and forms in keeping with newer queer feminist approaches to visual aesthetics.[36]

Fourth, these artists embody insurgent aesthetics' public dimension through site-specific visual, installation, and performance art practices that often extend beyond gallery walls. They use common aesthetic strategies to coimplicate audiences, thus closing the distance between state violence and its afterlives. I am drawn to these artists in particular because they comprise an important part of my own scholar-activist relational orbit. Much of their work has been informed by deep contact with a legacy of urban grassroots activism, legal advocacy, and civil and human rights work. They encompass a group of artists (as activists, scholars, lawyers, curators, journalists, architects, and multimedia cultural producers in their own right) who, in the main, came of age in the cultural and political organizing milieu of New York City and other cities across the US in the 1990s. This pre-9/11 period spawned an efflorescence of urban multiethnic activist and creative cultural production against a range of violences such as urban police brutality; immigrant detention; and feminist, LGBTQ, and labor struggles. This invigorating milieu had profoundly politicizing effects on successive generations of Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic artists and activists in the US and North

America.[37] In this sense, the contemporary art of social practice featured in this book draws on activist traditions and social movements, including prison abolition, immigrant justice, antiwar activism, US Third World feminism, and Black liberation, which often predate the global war on terror and stem from earlier encounters with US military, security, and penal regimes.

Fifth and finally, in my analysis of contemporary US war and empire, I focus on intimacy, affect, and sensation in ways that exemplify hallmarks of postcolonial, Black, Indigenous, and women of color feminist inquiry in American studies. It is worth recalling that feminist and queer studies have the longest critical engagement with the figure of the body as a gendered, sexualized, and racialized entity.[38] *Insurgent Aesthetics* examines how the body is implicated in the workings of US global warfare and in the diasporic visual art and aesthetics that challenges counterinsurgent knowledge. This focus critiques how security states turn counterinsurgency into an abstraction that has no visceral, physical, or psychic impact on the victims of security. In contrast to the security state's will to abstract knowledge, these artists illustrate how war is felt on the flesh and how the corporeal is a key site for acquiring political knowledge. The body and the senses thus become vehicles to affectively "know" the circumstances of security, carcerality, and counterinsurgency. It is important to note that I treat the body not as an abstract entity but as a social formation differentiated by race, gender, sexuality, ability, citizenship, and religion. By making the body and its sensory states the primary focus of the formation of security states and the challenges to that formation, my book extends this critical intersectional queer feminist legacy. It does so further by arguing that an analysis of what I term "the sensorial life of empire" is an urgent question of a just and equitable future. I ultimately argue that the insurgent aesthetics of Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic cultural producers are crucial not only for their diagnosis of the dominant maps of exclusion and political violence characterizing the US forever war, but also for the open-ended and sensuous models of subjectivity, collectivity, and power that they imagine and inhabit.

At once a critical formalist examination of how diasporic cultural producers have innovated new directions in contemporary American art and visual media, *Insurgent Aesthetics* prioritizes a transnational queer feminist account of the effects of the US forever war on the racialized, gendered, and sexualized bodies that are its targets. Drawing on and advancing frameworks in critical ethnic and postcolonial studies, queer and feminist studies, and visual culture and performance studies, *Insurgent Aesthetics* outlines alternative maps for exposing violent global histories of US militarism in the

Greater Middle East and designing collective futures. It further argues that critical analysis of insurgent art and culture can excavate subjugated forms of knowledge about the US and its forever wars, a vital resource for policy, activism, and social transformation.

Theorizing Culture in the Age of Neoliberal Security and Warfare

My approach to the study of insurgent aesthetics as a mediation of material conditions builds on works across disciplines that understand visual art and expressive cultures as offering a critical and sensuous intervention in the context of debates on neoliberal security and late modern warfare. To date, global security has been a rich topic of critical analysis in the social sciences, but not yet fully for the humanities. Rather than cede an engagement with these issues to the social sciences, I explore in this book how contemporary social, political, and economic processes of security governance can be understood through the lens of South Asian and Middle Eastern diasporic visual and performance art practices. I contend that the global politics of imperialism, war, terrorism, and militarism cannot be extracted from practices and processes of cultural mediation. In this way, insurgent aesthetics do not literally represent social crises and contradictions, but rather do the work of defamiliarizing or queering the social order. Put differently, they implicate their audiences in the violence of the forever warfare and in turn engage our collective critical analysis of its existing hegemonic formation. As such, insurgent aesthetics poses a critique of the knowing subject at the center of dominant Western aesthetics and the social exclusions at the heart of that project.[39] By radically challenging who the subject is that gets to "know" the endless emergency of the forever war and its gendered racialized regimes of institutionalized terror and violence, this book illuminates a method for knowing and sensing otherwise. The dissident works of art under investigation here are not about inclusion or assimilation, or even civil or human rights, but rather about advancing a rebellious aesthetic depiction of the "impossibility of such resolutions"—to paraphrase literary critic Christina Sharpe—by representing the paradoxes of brownness within the legacies of the forever war.[40]

Although the first chapter of this book develops a historical genealogy of contemporary twenty-first-century US counterinsurgency and global war-making regimes, my primary goal is to shift attention *away* from the dominant imbricated structures of US gendered racial and imperial formation

to focus *instead* on the capaciousness and creativity of insurgent aesthetics. That is, I wish to spotlight the affective structures and aesthetic forms of resistance found in Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic cultures. This analytic shift is about foregrounding the alternative so as to identify, interrogate, and animate race radical and decolonial queer feminist experiments with speculation, fabulation, and otherworld imaginings in the midst of *and in spite of* the forever war. However, the diasporic cultural field of art and performance that I seek to enliven through this book does not have an obvious or indexical relation to the logics and tactics of US global warfare. Furthermore, insurgent aesthetics are not uniformly oppositional or resistant to the violent practices of the counterinsurgent state. Yet, when read through the lens of critical theory, these works of art produce a radical cultural archive that, while illegible within prevailing discourses of foreign relations, make visible the contours of race, gender, sexuality, religion, and citizenship in US forever wars. They further allow us to articulate social visions and political imaginaries that are incompatible with dominant counterinsurgent and counterterrorist solutions to crisis. I thus see these cultural forms as offering epistemological and affective interpretations that expose, without ever succumbing to, the contradictory logics of the US security state.

The notion of insurgent aesthetics of the forever war challenges a state-based security framework. In this fundamental paradigm, security is defined as "the quality of being free from threats" (whether those threats come from external invasion or internal rebellion), a status ensured through the state's historic monopoly over violence. In my queer feminist analysis of the cultural politics of national security and the securitization of everyday life, I draw upon critical security studies and international relations scholarship that embraces poststructuralist insights to interrogate the rhetoric, grammar, and motives of key terms and concepts such as "security," "terror," "danger," "targets," "bodies," and "expertise" in the forever war.[41] In so doing, I expose how prevailing conceptual framings contribute to US imperial and identity formation across the contemporary period. My analysis of insurgent art and performance practices further challenges the so-called proper objects and conventional reading practices of the social sciences. Rather than taking the notion of "security" as a given, I ask instead, who does this normative framework make "secure"? Who does it target for killing, abandonment, or humiliation? US global counterinsurgencies (GCOIN) and militarized regimes often work to obscure evidence of the proliferating and intersectional forms of racialized, gendered, sexualized, xenophobic, Orientalized, and Islamophobic violence they inaugurate. By contrast, the artists I study find complex

and creative ways to account for the subjects who are murdered, detained, disappeared, tortured, abstracted, ignored, or otherwise dispossessed by the forever wars waged in the name of security and freedom. Closely reading their art is my way of locating ethical practices and perceptual regimes that access those subjugated knowledges, histories, geographies, and memories absented by the abstractions of war. Analyses of insurgent aesthetics thus provides a "trace," material and affective evidence of the redacted archives of security wars and their affective afterlives.

Insurgent Aesthetics is also informed by scholars of race, war, and empire who have traced how the neoliberal state of exception enables the post–9/11 war on terror and its national security regime.[42] These critics argue that the emergence of the US national security state in the mid-1940s[43] is closely tethered to the subsequent neoliberal political and economic restructuring starting in the early 1970s that has led to mass criminalization, securitization, and inequality in the US and globally.[44] More specifically, this set of interconnected historical, political, and economic shifts over the latter half of the twentieth century has intensified racialized, gendered, and regionalized class disparities and led to the militarized retrenchment of multiple freedoms through the dismantling of the welfare state, the social wage, and the broader "liberal-pluralist distributive order" characterizing the mid-twentieth century.[45] In this context, transnational feminists such as Inderpal Grewal have argued that US neoliberal and imperial policies can be understood through the "'state effect' of appearing like a security state," which paradoxically signals "the rationale for militarized cultures of surveillance and protection that lead to insecurities, threats, and fears, which work at material, affective and embodied levels. Security is also a cause and effect not just of the relations of the United States with the world, but also of neoliberal policies that have contributed to the inequalities that create insecurity throughout the world, including in the United States itself."[46] Detailing multiple approaches to "security" as the shape-shifting keyword of contemporary governance across the period that she terms "advanced neoliberalism," Grewal outlines how the concept has been appropriated in vast domains of welfare, militarism, criminalization, humanitarianism, and beyond in the production of "exceptional citizens" who claim responsibility for national security in the absence of the state's dismantled social safety net and at the expense of its gendered racialized Others.

This book's approach is informed, moreover, by scholars who take the longer view to articulate the nexus of security, race, and capitalism in the US since its founding. Historian Nikhil Pal Singh pursues an approach to

"America's long war" that highlights the durable entanglements of race and war that gave rise to the US as a capitalist power well before the advanced neoliberal age of globalization. He writes, "The frontier wars, the wars of the early US empire, and the twentieth century's world wars all illuminated affinities between war-making and race making, activating or reanimating distinctions between friend and enemy along an internal racial border."[47] The gendered racialization of enemies of the state was crucial to the so-called law and order policies of ensuing decades that led to the criminalization of both domestic and foreign populations and the formation of the neoliberal turn as early as the 1940s.[48] As Singh adds, "new conceptions of inequality were realized and practiced in trials by violence: the wars on crime, drugs, and now terror. Through the 1990s, the success of neoliberal policies that rolled back welfare-state protections and market regulations in the name of austerity, efficiency, and individual responsibility carried a similarly sharp racial edge as they sought to separate the deserving from the threatening poor."[49]

Singh's critical reformulation of America's long war echoes other scholarly arguments on how these fundamental social transformations were the state's response to what sociologist Jordan T. Camp calls "the organic crisis of Jim Crow Capitalism."[50] Camp observes how "moral panics around race, crime, disorder, security, and law and order became the primary legitimating discourse for the expanded use of policing, prisons, and urban securitization in the state's management of social and economic crises."[51] What he terms "neoliberal racial and security regimes" are the "outgrowth of a long counterinsurgency against the Black freedom, labor, and socialist alliance that took shape in the struggle to abolish Jim Crow racial regimes."[52] The resultant period of neoliberal political and economic restructuring (which has its roots in early Cold War bipartisan consensus) has given rise to uneven capitalist development, mass criminalization, and violent securitization in cities across the US and globally. I would add that worldwide counterinsurgency operations of the European great powers (developed in the wake of revolutionary decolonization movements across the Global South) also emerged at the precise moment in which antiracist and socialist critiques of domestic counterinsurgency (police surveillance and incarceration) "gripped the imaginations of radical social movements in the US."[53] In particular, the late 1970s and early 1980s mark the beginning of the explosive boom in the racialized US prison population and a turn toward mass incarceration, domestic counterinsurgency, and neoliberal restructuring that is part and parcel of the "war on drugs" and the "war on crime."[54] Putting my account of the forever war in conversation with this scholarly literature on racial capitalism and the

Black Radical tradition provides more historical context for the domestic and international ends of US counterinsurgency warfare and its gendered racial targets into the twenty-first century.

The work of Camp and Singh builds on the groundbreaking contributions of Stuart Hall and his students in edited volumes such as *Policing the Crisis* and *The Empire Strikes Back*.[55] These scholar-activist projects provide endlessly compelling blueprints for analyzing our ongoing crises of authority caused by police violence; mass and racialized incarceration; seemingly permanent foreign and domestic wars; and struggles for global economic, environmental, social, sexual, and religious justice. To better understand issues of crime, of terrorism, of immigration, of gender violence, of poverty, of forever wars, and so on, we need to adopt intersectional, interdisciplinary approaches to understand how presumably distinct spheres collude in producing dissident outsiders. By now, scholars take for granted this notion of "articulated categories," or a framework of intersectionality (in works of Stuart Hall, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and countless others) that formulates an understanding of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and other categories of social difference as co-constituted, that is, coming into existence "in and through relation to each other," to adopt Anne McClintock's terms.[56] But this understanding of articulated categories advanced by Hall and other Black British thinkers of the time went one step further to demonstrate the intersectional nature not only of social difference but of culture, politics, and the economy too. These realms are rendered too often as discrete spheres of inquiry rather than co-constituted social forces. In their classic volume *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*, Hall and his colleagues argued that the problems confronting advanced capitalist nations such as Great Britain and the US in the 1970s were not purely economic, but that the crisis of overaccumulation was a political and social crisis too. That is, they claimed that race and other salient categories of difference were at the heart of capitalist violence. Governments repeatedly scapegoat "outsiders"—whether undocumented Central American migrants, trans and gender-nonconforming people, sex workers, the homeless, the seroconverted, Muslim refugees, and so on. The point here is that there is often an unseen cultural and ideological dimension to what is conventionally understood as "merely" political or economic.[57] So too with the moral panics of security.

It follows, then, that state surveillance and racism are deeply imbricated in the history of US capitalism. The saga of national security surveillance in the US, in turn, is inseparable from the history of US colonialism, gendered racism, and empire. As many scholars have argued, racialized surveillance

has enabled the consolidation of capital and empire throughout US history, from the settler colonial period through to our advanced neoliberal era of forever war.[58] According to Arun Kundnani and Deepa Kumar,

> What brings together these different systems of racial oppression—mass incarceration, mass surveillance, and mass deportation—is a security logic that holds the imperial state as necessary to keeping 'American families' (coded white) safe from threats abroad and at home. The ideological work of the last few decades has cultivated not only racial security fears but also an assumption that the security state is necessary to keep "us" safe. In this sense, security has become the new psychological wage to aid the reallocation of the welfare state's social wage toward homeland security and to win support for empire in the age of neoliberalism.[59]

To their account of the neoliberal and racial regimes of security at the heart of empire, we can add the insights of US women of color and Third World feminists who have long argued that racial and imperial capital, in Grace Kyungwon Hong's terms, "was always organized around gender, reproduction, and sexuality."[60] Indeed, debates on national security surveillance and warfare remain impoverished without an intersectional analysis of gendered racism, capitalism, and empire.[61]

To review, this book's critical cultural studies approach to insurgent aesthetics and neoliberal security and warfare is indebted to at least three major intellectual formations. The first inspiration, as described above, is my reading of the work of the late Stuart Hall and his comrades in the 1970s and 1980s at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.[62] The second body of scholarship is the US Black Radical tradition, most often associated with the writing of Cedric Robinson.[63] The third strand of critical cultural materialist influence on this book is the work of Lisa Lowe and other "post-Marxist" materialist feminists of color and queer of color critics who likewise reject the crude dichotomous thinking on cultural politics that emphasizes stale binaries between social control and resistance or incorporation and subversion of earlier cultural Marxist traditions. These writers also note how "culture" names "the field on which economic and political contradictions are articulated."[64] Under this formulation, diasporic visual art and related cultural forms are the sites where knowledge and meaning about the forever war are at once constituted and unraveled. These works can provide essential reserves for articulating ideological systems of difference across multiple national sites. "Because culture is the contemporary reposi-

tory of memory, of history," writes Lisa Lowe, "it is through culture, rather than government, that alternative forms of subjectivity, collectivity, and public life are imagined. This is not to argue that cultural struggle can ever be the exclusive site for practice; [but] it is only through culture that we conceive and enact new subjects and practices in antagonism to the regulatory locus of the citizen-subject."[65] Moreover, for Hong, as for other materialist feminists of color in this rich intellectual tradition, culture is a "material force rather than a transcendental, autonomous, aestheticized separate sphere," or "the site to express that which is unspeakable."[66] *Insurgent Aesthetics* thus presents a vital counterhegemonic site for constructing new political subjects and analytics that are materially and aesthetically at odds with the institutions of citizenship and national identity—the grounds from which insurgent alternatives and political coalitions against the forever war might emerge. As such, this book connects the intersectional theorizations of diaspora, migration, and insurgency in critical race, postcolonial, Black, Indigenous, queer, and feminist studies to the long-standing scholarly tradition on the cultures of US imperialism.[67]

On the Queer Calculus of US Empire

In this introduction's opening account of the "collateral afterworlds"[68] of US drone strikes in Af-Pak, I asserted that we require a stranger calculus to grasp the violence of the forever war and challenge the state's dominant militarized logics—what I term a *queer calculus*—that unsettles normative analyses of the forever war and outlines blueprints for utopian future imaginings amid limitless violence. In this section I elaborate on queer calculus as an epistemological and affective intervention, and in so doing dwell on the essential, if unexpected, reservoir of political inspiration and theoretical power that the field of queer studies affords this book's account of the forever war. Queer calculus is a critical hermeneutic strategy through which racialized and dispossessed peoples, including Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians in the diaspora, have created alternative world-making knowledge projects to render visible or sensuous all that has been absented by the abstractions of the forever war.[69] The constellation of contemporary art and performance works analyzed here produces an insurgent aesthetics by how it interacts and plays with viewers' multisensory experiences of and responses to its aesthetic objects. This book questions the abstractions and rationalities of US imperial discourse and the statistical modes through which the forever war's "collateral damage" is calculated, aggregated, and divided. In the process, I ex-

pose another calculus, a *queer* calculus, of bodies in pain and of bodies that imagine alternatives to that pain. Queer calculus is thus about inhabiting another arithmetic altogether, one that constructs a slantwise relation to how imperial warfare has been measured conventionally, including body counts, combat time, military budgets, and the price of oil. This critical hermeneutics is at odds with the US state's necropolitical calculations, an investment in numeracy and counting that dates back to the early American slave period and further evokes what geographer Katherine McKittrick suggestively names "the mathematics of unliving."[70] If, as I contend in this book, global counterinsurgencies disorganize and destroy communal modes of belonging for racialized and diasporic populations targeted by US forever wars, then an antiracist, feminist, and decolonial queer calculus not only identifies an alternative frame from which to interpret these violent imperial practices but also signals an entirely new mode of inhabiting and feeling the world collectively and relationally in times of neoliberal security and war.

Insurgent Aesthetics is indebted to the major paradigm shift in queer studies over the past two decades that situates the study of sexuality at the intersections of race, nationalism, (settler and franchise) colonialism, capitalism, liberalism, migration, militarism, and empire.[71] The mode of critical inquiry (that is, antiracist, feminist, decolonial, and queer critique) prioritized in this project is in explicit conversation with the emergent formation known as critical ethnic studies.[72] As Chandan Reddy, Grace Hong, and Roderick Ferguson have all argued, Third World and women of color feminisms and queer of color critique emerge from this intersectional, race radical tradition of scholarship rather than primarily from Eurocentric strands of queer theory.[73] I use these broader theorizations of the social world from queer of color, queer diasporic, and queer Indigenous/Native studies to suggest that we can further de-link queer reading practices and analytics from putatively queer bodies. Moreover, the mode of queer studies I draw on in this project understands queerness not simply as an identitarian category (to describe LGBTQIA populations), but as a critical set of interpretative practices or a decolonial praxis that makes possible the production of new knowledges, affects, and affiliations.[74] Here, a willingness to accept that queer theory can be marshalled beyond studies of non-normative sexualities and genders becomes paramount.[75] This is not at all to suggest that the decolonizing erotic project at the heart of queer theory should be abandoned. I likewise remain attentive to scholarly criticism that has called into question the wholesale valorization of sexual deviance and disorder that is endemic to contemporary queer studies and politics, and the genealogies of what theorist Kadji

Amin calls "disturbing attachments" that sometimes ensue from the field's idealization of the queer erotic.[76] But I equally want to join other queer critics who hold on to the power of queerness as a complex sign for decolonization and radical pleasure, intimacy, fugitivity, coalition, and utopian futures despite (and perhaps also because of) these conditions of violent subjection.[77]

By asserting the sign and method of queerness centrally within this study, I bring the intellectual and political tools from queer of color and queer diasporic critique—intersectionality and assemblage theory and an attention to embodiment, sensation, and aesthetics—to address violent transformations in the sensorial life of US empire in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. While the primary goal of this book is *not* to privilege an examination of non-normative gender and sexual subjects in a criticism of the forever war, this is not at all to imply that heteropatriarchal structures or non-normative sexual or gender subjectivities, expressions, and embodiments do not centrally undergird US neoliberal security state practices of racialization, war, and empire. In fact, US global security and surveillance regimes have long been concerns of at least radical feminist, if not queer and/or trans*, studies.[78] As literary critic Kyla Wazana Tompkins observes, one of the clearest insights of queer of color criticism is that as the "foundational racial violences" undergirding modern nation-states "were being laid down and concretized, categories of normative and non-normative sexuality were constructed alongside and over them . . . . Queer of color critique articulates queer theory from the heart of these and other histories."[79] Moreover, US, Israeli, and other settler colonial and biopolitical regimes have long rendered the sexualities of nonwestern and racialized Others (including Arabs, Muslims, South Asians, and Palestinians) as non-normative—that is, savage, repressed, and deviant—in order to legitimize settler colonial dispossession over people and lands. While attentive to the intersectional systems of social power and violence that structure the imperial and racial formation of the forever war, my primary goal in this book is to apply the conceptual traditions and tools of queer criticism to enhance a scholarly investigation of race, security, and empire.

At the same time, this book explores how queer politics and queer studies themselves might be enriched and reimagined in light of violent practices such as aerial bombings and remote warfare, military detention and extrajudicial torture, and the atmospheric and subterranean politics of US/Israeli settler colonialism. Because these sites comprise the major flashpoints of neoliberal security and warfare examined in this book, I ask further, what are the effects of these violent practices on the gendered, racialized, and

sexualized bodies that are their targets? What alternative forms of being and belonging do such vulnerable queered and racialized bodies in turn enact and imagine through culture and performance? And finally, how do the insurgent aesthetics of South Asian and Arab diasporic artists "queer" the governing calculus of US empire to propose alternative modes of sensuous affiliation and fugitive coalition in the forever war? As my brief tripartite discussion reveals below, I aim my use of queer criticism in concrete ways throughout this book. "Queer calculus" thus names an alternative lens to analyze (1) logics and evidence, (2) affects and the senses, and (3) sensuous affiliations and coalition in the forever war.

ON LOGICS, ARCHIVES, AND EVIDENCE

The first meaning of "calculus," from its origins in mathematics, refers to a particular method or system of reasoning used by the state in its often senseless enumeration of wartime violence. Central to this book are questions of expertise, mastery, and evidence—concepts finely calibrated to serve the super-panoptic ambitions of the US forever war. How does the US global security archipelago "see"? How does it devise a visual order to know what it knows about its citizens, subjects, economies, enemies, and geographies? In chapter 1 I analyze key aspects of contemporary security expertise and the dominant knowledge practices through which security threats are visualized, rationalized, and managed. In this way, I highlight the centrality of the aerial perspective, both literally and figuratively, to imperial epistemes of global warfare. This analysis of the normative logics of US empire demands that we pay close attention to what is "up in the air." The post–Cold War national security state, in its efforts to contrive what Randy Martin called a "techno-scientific intelligence war," has attempted to acquire infinite knowledge about the so-called terrorist enemy while actively destroying the evidence of its collateral violences in the process.[80] Yet, as seen in nearly two decades of disastrous war and occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US security apparatus remains befuddled by precisely *how* to rule as a neocolonial power. This recursive failure of mastery in imperial theaters of war ensues despite the US's "sturdy confidence in the power of calculable information."[81]

While this first meaning of "calculus" captures these contradictory logics and evidentiary tactics of US imperial governance, which I trace extensively in chapter 1, I also use "calculus" here to analyze the *alternative logic or system of reasoning* produced by diasporic cultural workers as they attempt to make better or different sense of the incoherences of the forever war. "Calculus," in this manner, refers to the queer epistemologies of the

diasporic cultural forms I amplify in chapters 2 through 4. This book's expressive cultural archive of insurgent aesthetics thus offers another system of value for visualizing, knowing, and sensing the forever war. Queer and feminist criticisms provide important stimuli for my approach through their persuasive attacks on normative claims to evidence, archives, and systems of representation.[82] For example, drawing on the work of subaltern and postcolonial studies, the late queer performance theorist José Esteban Muñoz, in his assessment of the politics of knowledge, proposes an alternative mode of valuation, or "proofing," that is crucial to this book's account of the queer calculus of the forever war.[83] For Muñoz, the search for publics, or "outposts of actually existing queer worlds," led him to place critical utopian emphasis on ephemera, which is a "kind of evidence of what has transpired but certainly not the thing itself . . . a mode of proofing and producing arguments often worked by minoritarian cultural and criticism makers."[84] According to Muñoz, analyses of ephemera do not displace materiality but instead refashion it for the service of contemporary queer politics. Identifying ephemera, like queerness, involves attending to traces and performances of lived experiences—"the remains, the things that are left, hanging in the air like a rumor."[85] Because the historical archives of queerness were often unintelligible to heteronormative eyes ("makeshift and randomly organized"), it has been easy for those who subscribe to traditionalist methodologies to critique the evidentiary authority of queer scholarship and its still incipient (non-) claims to "rigor."[86] He continues: "This has everything to do with the fact that leaving too much of a trace has often meant that the queer subject has left herself open for attack. Instead of being clearly available as visible evidence, queerness has instead existed as innuendo, gossip, fleeting moments, and performances that are meant to be interacted with by those within its epistemological sphere—while evaporating at the touch of those who would eliminate queer possibility."[87] Muñoz's powerful methodological vision thus challenges both heteronormative and disciplinary constraints on "the archive" and offers some of the most lucid insights into the subaltern queer scholar's especially vexed relation to historical evidence.

This book's approach to archival production is likewise indebted to Indigenous, queer, postcolonial, transnational, and race radical feminisms, which have questioned the evidentiary force of normative epistemological claims that are often saturated with racism, sexism, classism, regionalism, ableism, casteism, and homophobia. For instance, Grace Hong argues that women of color feminist praxis names the return of the repressed by US neoliberal abstraction in both its early twentieth-century and its late twenti-

eth- and early twenty-first-century forms. For Hong, race is a kind of "ghost: almost inarticulable, always slipping away. It is almost always misrecognized as something more solid, something more knowable."[88] Historically, there are "ways of seeing, evaluating, classifying, and representing" that effectively silence other systems of representation, but notably, those "silences produce their own echoes."[89] Hong and other critics demonstrate how women of color and transnational feminist cultural forms offer an analytic—that is, a "way of making sense of"—that reveals the contradictions and incoherences of the racialized and gendered state. This conceptual approach to ghosting resonates closely with the groundbreaking work of sociologist Avery Gordon, who argued evocatively that "haunting is one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with (such as with transatlantic slavery, for instance) or when their oppressive nature is continuously denied (such as with free labor or national security)."[90] For Gordon, "haunting" is therefore "an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known in the archive."[91] Taken together, these critical insights on ephemera, silences, and ghosting all point to how critical queer, feminist, and postcolonial approaches to dominant archives offer creative strategies to unmoor the stranglehold of common explanatory frames of imperial power over the meanings of late modern warfare, especially when the oppressive nature of empire is continuously denied or disavowed. I find this collective archival impulse to be highly generative for my queer feminist decolonial exploration of the forever war, which itself is an archive that continues to unfold violently, even as it refuses to see itself *as* an archive. *Insurgent Aesthetics* thus ruminates on the imaginative function of diasporic expressive cultures to offer an alternate, demilitarized system of "proofing," one that summons the ephemeral echoes, traces, and ghosts silenced by the sovereign frames of American war and empire.

ON AFFECTS, SENSATIONS, AND EMBODIMENT

If this first meaning of calculus underscores the role of logics, archives, and systems of reasoning in developing a critique of the forever war, the second, less circulated sense I use in this book has a more physiological origin. This notion of calculus underscores the role of affects, sensations, and embodiments. In medicine, "calculus" (or "calcification") describes a concretion of minerals within the body, in places such as the kidney or gallbladder. This process is often painful, as these stones are difficult to displace or dissolve. Their destructive power accrues as they grow in number, wreaking havoc on

different organs, first one by one and then on the entire system as a whole. This organic sense of calculus also conjures the idea of residue, a palimpsestic view of time that carries with it the somatic sedimentation of older histories, encounters, and legacies of violence. The second interpretation thus opens up a particularly generative way of describing the forever war as a violent, corporeal, and temporal process working on minoritarian bodies. It allows me to accentuate not only what we might call "the sensorial and somatic life of empire," but also the sedimentation of different forms of embodied violence over time.

As students of race, gender, and empire well know, the material regulation of bodies and sensory processes is crucial to the biopolitical and necropolitical security practices perfected in the global forever war. Yet this phenomenon also has a pervasive discursive dimension. Scholars of war, crime, and governance have brought renewed attention to the interarticulation of physiological metaphors of contagion and illness with crime and terrorism.[92] "Quarantining," "infection," and "host" are all pathological discourses long used to express anxieties over the circulation of terrorism. For instance, in his study on the changing configurations of US governance after World War II that led to the "war on crime," legal scholar Jonathan Simon underlines the connection between the health of the individual body and the collective health of the body politic under the sign of US imperial governance, noting how "cancer and crime share a rich metaphoric tradition of trading images."[93] As literary scholar Patrick Deer adds, "like a virus, it seems, war tropes have *spread* throughout the body politic and global economy."[94] Indeed, these pathological security discourses obtain not only in the domestic arena, but in the context of foreign and military policy as well. Visual studies scholar Nicholas Mirzoeff illustrates this fact by citing the US military's own counterinsurgency field manual, which refers to three stages of counterinsurgency as "'first aid,' 'in-patient care-recovery,' and the final achievement of 'outpatient care—movement to self-sufficiency.'"[95] Mirzoeff elaborates on how these biopolitical and biomedical metaphors persist in the ongoing occupation as crucial, if imperfect, representations of US military doctrine.[96] The examples I draw together here from Simon, Deer, and Mirzoeff all reveal how biopolitical and necropolitical tropes of health, illness, and contagion saturate contemporary discourses of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency warfare. These symbols further permeate my archive of insurgent aesthetic responses, as the discussion in chapter 3 of visual artist Rajkamal Kahlon's haunting paintings and collages of anatomical figures culled from US archives of medical autopsies and death notifications will make clear.

While this dominant calculus of the forever war makes use of the gendered racialized body and the senses to imagine threats and their violent containment, one wonders whether a method exists to account for the forever war that theorizes bios otherwise. To that end, Judith Butler argues that to better understand the operation of warfare, "we have to consider how it works on the field of the senses. What is forced and framed through the technological grasp and circulation of the visual and discursive dimensions of war?"[97] If the senses are the first targets of war, as Butler maintains, then seizing an alternative relation to the sensorial realm is crucial to the development of a sustained antiwar politics. *Insurgent Aesthetics* seeks out queer approaches to embodiment and the senses in order to critique the state's biopolitical regulation of vulnerable populations and its simultaneous reliance on corporeal metaphors. I call this alternate relation to the bios and senses a "queer" calculus because queer critique offers the most vibrant accounting of the sensuous and embodied realms of inquiry that other frameworks have sidelined.[98]

Insurgent Aesthetics documents how Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic cultural producers have seized the senses to develop different accounts of the forever war. This book displaces the overemphasis of visual culture in analyses of transnational warfare by focusing on lesser-studied senses, including touch and sound. I demonstrate how these extravisual sensory relations have become newly vital to US security governance, both as actual military weapons (e.g., the use of music during torture[99]) and as resources for diasporic public cultures. An attention to embodied performance art practices in chapter 2, specifically through a formal reading of Iraqi-born artist Wafaa Bilal's tactile performances of pain, reveals how insurgent aesthetics approach the body and its sensorial regimes otherwise in the context of aerial and drone warfare. In chapter 3 I explore these questions through aesthetic responses to US military detention and confinement globally, analyzing how collaborative art practices by the Visible Collective and the Index of the Disappeared manipulate vision and visuality to conjure an aesthetics of "warm data," a sensuous record of the absences and redactions in archives of the US security state. In chapter 4 I explore queer sensorial approaches to flight, escape, weightlessness, and fantasy in the context of the ongoing Israeli occupation of Palestine. I show throughout how these diverse diasporic cultural forms develop queer feminist approaches to embodied sensory relations, seeing bodies not only as texts but as flesh and bones, "material and not just materialized" through social relations.[100] An account of the queer calculus of the forever war thus takes up the conjoined material and discursive con-

notations of the phrase to capture how affects, fantasies, sentiments, and the senses have figured in and mattered to the shaping of US empire and its insurgent undoing in multiple sites across the forever war.

ON SENSUOUS AFFILIATIONS, RELATIONALITY, AND BELONGING

The third and final interpretation of calculus in this project follows closely from the first two on reason and affect, respectively, to examine how transnational and diasporic affiliations have been undermined and transformed by the forever war. If "affect" refers to the "glue" that coheres social relations,[101] I argue that the forever war makes various forms of affective belonging difficult or impossible to sustain through its violences, abstractions, and restrictions on the movement of gendered racialized bodies. At the same time, the US global security state conflates multiple groups of people into "terrorist lookalike" populations (through the gendered racial figure of the "Muslim") and evinces Manichean Cold War–style binaries that divide the world into those who are "with us" and those who are "against us" in the war on terror. This dominant map of US empire, characterized by its fixity, abstractions, and incoherences, has produced what Patrick Deer calls "a strategy that partitions, separates, and compartmentalizes knowledge, offering a highly seductive, militarized grid through which to interpret the world."[102] This existing "grid" of intelligibility not only creates schisms and separations when imagining targeted groups and militarized geographies; it also attempts to produce a coherent idea of the "Muslim enemy Other" from disparate populations of Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians with divergent histories of race and class oppression in the US. This process of gendered racialization is meant to construct, in anthropologist Junaid Rana's terms, "a visible target of state regulation and policing for consuming publics."[103] The great irony of this blatant form of enemy production is that rather than celebrate the "richness of population historically forced together by conquest," as Randy Martin notes, US empire treats this diversity instead as "a menacing entanglement from which imperial might must flee."[104] In this light, the US forever war project is about not only resource extraction or control over strategic territories, but also systems "to effect a separation from unwanted attachments and attentions—precisely what is meant by terror."[105]

Nevertheless, these forever war conflations, abstractions, and estrangements generate unintended and potentially valuable consequences for theorizing queer alternatives now. As I document throughout this book, the tactics of the US global security state inadvertently produce new sensuous

alliances and coalitions between groups of people who might not have previously seen themselves as allied with each other or who might not have understood how they were involved in overlapping struggles against imperial policing, racialized punishment, and gendered militarism at home and abroad.[106] Put differently, *Insurgent Aesthetics* argues that an alternative map of radical diasporic affiliation and transnational belonging has been produced among groups of Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians in the US as well as activists in civil and immigrant rights and antiwar movements as a result of, and in spite of, the dividing orders of the forever war. This book points to insurgent aesthetics to reinstate the memory of these collective attachments and sensuous affiliations. Thinking "Arab–Muslim–South Asian" concurrently thus indexes a powerful, if evanescent, alternative politics of belonging and coalition that is not circumscribed by the hostile categories conjured by US state security as it targets populations for discipline or dispersal.[107] Here I am accentuating the time-based and durational dimensions of the forever war (as ostensibly eternal) juxtaposed by the fleeting, fugitive, and ephemeral nature of insurgent collective aesthetics forged over the past two decades. What might it mean to consider the queer legacy of "Arab–Muslim–South Asian" as an anti-identitarian formation of racialized struggle that emerged in a particular time and place and that is just as temporally and spatially unbound as the US forever war?

By historicizing "West Asian" and "South Asian" racial formations in the forever war, *Insurgent Aesthetics* further expands the field of Asian American studies, in which "Muslims" and "Arabs" have been invisible or ambiguously addressed at best.[108] Sunaina Marr Maira has aptly described a new form of comparative "US Area Studies" emergent after 9/11, arguing that the "hypervisibility of Muslim Americans after 9/11 is tied to the state's desire to map Muslims, and especially Middle Eastern and Pakistani communities, within the US to monitor them and convince the American public that it is guarding against the threat of terrorism."[109] Postcolonial feminists such as Rey Chow, Chandra Mohanty, and Ella Shohat have likewise argued that academic practices in the US, which produce knowledge formations and mappings through a variety of ideological state apparatuses, cannot be understood outside of their relationship to imperialism; the visual force of these intellectual and political projects produces realities on material landscapes, bodies, and affiliations.[110] *Insurgent Aesthetics* contributes to the field of contemporary scholarship that emanates from this rich postcolonial feminist tradition by drawing together these conceptual insights with comparative area studies literature on the Greater Middle East and South Asia as well as transnational, dia-

sporic, and global assessments of South Asian, Muslim, and Arab diasporas as newly hypervisible political categories for US scholarship.[111]

Thinking relationally about insurgent aesthetics as a new queer poetics of solidarity produced in and through the forever war additionally refuses to simply reproduce the violences of US gendered racialization, whereby a full set of social differences is reduced to a chain of equivalences under the sign of "Islam." Instead, this relational approach resonates with the queer studies emphasis on locating models of non-blood-based affiliation routed in and through difference and with critical attention to the challenges and traps of identification.[112] The forever war thus evokes queer forms of belonging, desire, and intimacy that often evade recognition or translation—what Elizabeth Povinelli, writing elsewhere on liberal settler colonial states, calls a "politics of espionage."[113] If global forever war manipulates, conflates, and destroys communal bonds, stripping away our sense of responsibility and our way of knowing each other and ourselves in times of war, then it also engenders the conditions of possibility for imagining alliances and fugitive coalitions anew. This book explores this contradictory queer terrain created by shape-shifting states of security, breaking open imperial frames of violence to reveal a queer account of the insurgent aesthetics of the forever war and to conjure the moment when, as Judith Butler performatively avows, "war stands the chance of missing its mark."[114]

Locating Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians in the Heart of US Empire

Many racialized and Indigenous peoples have been targeted by contemporary US global war-making and thereby experience different degrees of precarity, vulnerability, dispossession, immiseration, and risk in relation to the US national security state. While this book focuses on the violences of contemporary US global war-making in the Greater Middle East, it understands settler colonial histories of settlement, land theft, Native genocide, African chattel slavery, and Asian exploitation as wholly vital to the genealogy of the US forever war and its racist architecture of social control. I also observe the complex traffic of Euro-American colonizing discourses and practices in the Greater Middle East and throughout the Global South that inevitably borrowed from and refashioned each other, as well as the longer history, throughout the twentieth century, of revanchist security thinking and imperial governance, whose gestations have all materialized into the horrors of the twenty-first-century world.[115] Thus, I see the broader US national se-

curity project to be integral to settler colonial processes in North America and constitutive to the genesis of the modern state and its capitalist mode of production.[116] *Insurgent Aesthetics* approaches these conjunctural concerns by analyzing the racialized architecture of security and surveillance in the historical epoch that Inderpal Grewal describes as "advanced neoliberalism."[117] This period extends before 9/11 but ramps up dramatically under the Bush, Obama, and now Trump administrations with foreign wars (including the deployment of US forces, the training of foreign counterterrorism forces, relentless US bombings, targeted assassinations, and black sites throughout parts of the Greater Middle East, South Asia, and Africa). This corresponds to a panoply of carceral regimes on the domestic front including aggressive militarized policing, mass deportations, migrant detentions, forced removals, and prison expansion, including the criminalization of whistleblowers and social justice activists.

Given this sprawling global imperial formation, I have chosen to focus on the aesthetics and politics of contemporary Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians in the US and Europe and the transnational networks of subjugated knowledge, affect, and affiliation they have forged during the forever war. I do so for three principal reasons. First, the vast majority of the subjects under investigation in this book are women artists who trace their origins back to numerous countries across the Greater Middle East and South Asia, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Palestine. They comprise multiple geographic, religious, and supranational ethnic identities, and this relational lens powerfully captures how the events of September 11 have collided with older histories of imperialism, gendered racism, heteropatriarchy, neoliberal capitalism, Islamophobia, and US Orientalism while also amplifying newer modes of anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, anti-Palestinian, and anti–South Asian racisms.[118] Second, a focus on the visionary, world-making potential of contemporary art and aesthetics in the context of US war and empire has been sorely underinvestigated in the scholarly literature on Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporas.[119] This book intervenes by centering the social potential of aesthetics as a queer feminist fugitive strategy for critiquing politics and reimagining collective social life under conditions of surveillance and securitization.[120] Third, while many of the artists under review here have risen to prominence in the fine art world over the past decade, they remain largely understudied in visual culture, art history, and performance studies. This book contributes to these scholarly fields by explicitly highlighting the work of contemporary Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic queer feminist cultural producers as indispens-

able to both US/North American and international art worlds and markets alike.[121]

The critical praxis of insurgent aesthetics that I trace throughout this book is centered on the long-standing dialectic between insurgency and counterinsurgency in the forever war. This book argues that the contemporary global forever war machine is the culminating product of consecutive, long twentieth-century campaigns of US GCOIN in the Philippine-American War, the American War in Vietnam, and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq since 2001. GCOIN refers to a military strategy that involves containing or extinguishing the threat of so-called insurgencies that thwart the political authority of an occupying power. And yet, as the late Pakistani political theorist Eqbal Ahmad aptly observed, counterinsurgency is better recognized as a "multifaceted assault against organized revolutions. This euphemism for counterrevolution is a product neither of accident nor of ignorance. It serves to conceal the reality of a foreign policy dedicated to combating revolutions abroad and helps to relegate revolutionaries to the status of outlaws."[122] US and European counterinsurgencies, when historically directed at rebellions from one constellation of racialized or colonized peoples, also have exacerbated erstwhile forms of terror and violence directed at other Indigenous and racialized communities of color.[123] As Ahmad crisply adds, "the reduction of a revolution to a mere insurgency also constitutes a priori denial of its legitimacy."[124]

I embrace the radical language of insurgency in this book's queer calculus of the forever war to theorize how the figure of the "Muslim terrorist" has shaped post–9/11 security discourse. The obsession on the "Muslim terrorist" as a political enemy, of course, did not begin after 9/11. It has evolved steadily since at least the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the Reagan-era focus on the threat of so-called Islamist politics.[125] Critical scholars of the Muslim International have argued emphatically that, by normalizing the language of terrorism and antiterrorism, the figure of the "Muslim" has become a twenty-first-century way of marking the "savage"—casting out particular individuals, groups, and ideas as threats to the "Human."[126] In the great tradition of Frantz Fanon and Sylvia Wynter, for instance, cultural theorists Sohail Daulatzai and Junaid Rana provocatively ask, "Can the Muslim be human?"[127] The normalization of "terrorism" as a category, and the gendered racialized Muslim figure as its constitutive object, has sanctioned the US security state to inflict barbarous violence on the militarized and racial-colonial targets of its forever wars and to delegitimize any critical form of anti-imperial dissent or rebellion. Indeed, it is precisely this racial-religious

figure of the Muslim that has enabled the expansion of the national security apparatus, the militarization of US urban police forces, mass incarceration, so-called deradicalization programs targeting Muslims on college campuses and places of worship, and countless other imperial and racial projects across the advanced neoliberal period, all of which together spawned the institutional conditions of possibility for something as blatant as a "Muslim ban" in the age of Trumpism.[128]

Despite master narratives of American exceptionalism, which view the US as both distinct from the world and simultaneously its microcosm and thus its metonym (through the language of multiculturalism and diversity), the US state actively weaponizes forms of racial and religious difference in the service of empire.[129] It does so further by demonizing as "anti-American militants" all those who would resist US policies of global hegemony, especially its contemporary security wars in the Greater Middle East and their domestic reverberations. My insurgent account of the global forever war challenges the white supremacist, Islamophobic, and heteropatriarchal logics of domination through which popular consent is routinely marshalled for "the state-organized killings of 'Islamic militants,' 'radical extremists,' 'terrorists,' 'jihadis,' and any other number of conjurings of the Muslim in the racialized imagination."[130] By embracing the language of a radical insurgency in my discussion of contemporary diasporic artists, I thus seek to denaturalize the prevailing language of the state that views the figure of the Muslim as the preeminent militarized and racial-colonial target of US counterinsurgent warfare. My goal here is instead to prioritize a thorough engagement with what literary scholar Julietta Singh calls "forms of worldly living that do not entail mastery at the center of human subjectivity."[131] Doing so will help animate what cultural theorist Alexander G. Weheliye cogently terms alternative "genres of the human"—that is, aesthetic works that cannot be reduced to the lexicon of resistance and agency but instead make possible a deeper interrogation of the forms of critical humanity imagined by those cast outside the domain of "Man."[132]

By insurgency, I also summon the longer history of subterranean and fugitive consciousness of insurgent struggle, or what geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore refers to as "infrastructures of feeling" against the forces of empire, gendered racism, and capital.[133] This fugitive consciousness of insurgent struggle is a key element in making visible, so as to undermine, the forever war. The insurgent is a figure of hope, possibility, futurity, and trespass. As part of my analysis of twenty-first-century insurgent aesthetics, I evoke the wide-ranging historical legacies of Black-, Latinx-, Asian-, Arab-, and

Native-led revolts against state terror, racial capitalism, and settler colonialism in the US/North America. In addition, I call upon the legacy of various so-called nonstate actors of revolutionary liberation movements sweeping across the decolonizing world (Africa, Latin America, Asia) during the long twentieth century; which responded to the emergence of global counterinsurgency campaigns by former imperial powers.[134] These race radical freedom struggles have long been incompatible with global counterinsurgencies and have provided salient critiques of the common sense of US global militarism and securitization. By embracing the language of insurgency and its dialectical relation to counterinsurgency in my queer feminist treatment of art and aesthetics, I thus describe an approach to creative political struggle that works through decentralized networks and across multiple contexts to abolish a society structured in dominance. I aim to situate the work of the contemporary Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic cultural producers under review here within this longer legacy of race radical and Native rebellion to US imperial warfare and state terror.[135]

Although this book focuses on the historical present, the forms of material violence enacted by the contemporary US security state under the guise of a forever war have a long history. When we understand the US forever war not as exceptional but as part of a global, neoliberal racial regime firmly rooted in the history of settler colonialism and racial capitalism, we begin to see some instructive parallels and relationships. The ideological threat and material practice of (national) security and terror upon multiple, overlapping populations stretches from territorial expansions, internal frontier wars, chattel slavery, settlement, and genocides in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to annexation wars in the Pacific and the Caribbean in the late nineteenth century; and transitions from European colonial domination to the ascendance of the US onto the world stage in the twentieth century, along with unending wars in Asia and the Pacific in the period after World War II; counterinsurgent interventions against left-leaning movements in Africa, Central America, and Indochina throughout the Cold War; and the cultivation of pro-American autocrats and CIA-sponsored proxy wars and political terror in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East; through to post–Cold War militarized humanitarian interventionism and twenty-first-century renovations of overt militarized invasion, occupation, and counterterrorism in the Greater Middle East.[136] These multiple, consecutive, and overlapping permutations of exploitation and dehumanization encompass the long racist settler colonial history of the United States and are crucial to understanding the rise of twentieth- and twenty-first-century US global

power through military governance of the decolonizing world. This complex relational history conjoins both the violent subordination *and* the freedom struggles of Native and Indigenous peoples and Asian, Arab, Latinx, and African-descended peoples in the US and globally. As such, the histories of racial slavery, settler colonialism, imperial expansion, and fascism inform not only what Lisa Lowe strikingly names the "intimacies of four continents," but also the genealogy of the contemporary forever war.[137] As *Insurgent Aesthetics* will reveal, these braided histories of violence and their material afterlives are imprinted onto the DNA of the forever war and in the very practices of state violence that the artists in this book interrogate so evocatively in their creative works.[138]

As countless scholars have argued, the repression of Muslims and related racial-religious groups after 9/11 is not exceptional; instead, as Sunaina Maira states, it "must be situated in the longer, global history of US imperial policies in West and South Asia and in relation to other, domestic processes of criminalization, regulation, and elimination of racialized peoples by the US state."[139] As such, I approach the "post–9/11" moment not as a radical historical or political rupture, but rather as a continuation of a longer history of US imperialism that has been erased or evaded. Empire, in this sense, is my lens for tracing the gendered racial formation of US imperial power that took shape long before 9/11 and includes the state's policies of surveilling and repressing radicals or leftist insurgents during the Cold War, as well as a history of undermining Arab American activism before the current war on terror.[140] The "post–9/11" designation should more properly be understood, in anthropologist Nadine Naber's words, "as an extension if not an intensification of a post–Cold War US expansion in the Middle East," which prompted, in Maira's terms, a moment of "renewed contestation over the state's imperial power and ongoing issues of war and repression, citizenship and nationalism, civil rights and immigrant rights."[141] While the geopolitical realignments of the first two decades in the new millennium clearly impact my analysis of insurgent aesthetics, I follow historians Mahmood Mamdani's and Rashid Khalidi's arguments that the roots of contemporary political violence in the Greater Middle East (and their domestic effects) must be traced back to the conflicts and transitions of the "late Cold War" period of the 1970s and early 1980s, a topic I explore further in chapter 1, where I discuss how the US transitioned from its Cold War machinations to overt and unilateral military occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq after the Cold War.[142] As I will show, these historical developments have, in turn, produced

new forms of sensuous affiliation, fugitive coalition, and decolonial knowledge about the US and its twenty-first-century military empire.

Finally, framing my critical investigation of the forever war in this fashion helps to amplify an important strand of Asian Americanist criticism over the past two decades.[143] This scholarship compellingly argues that Asian migration to the US is largely a by-product of uninterrupted US war-making, gendered racialization, and empire in the global Asias across the long twentieth century.[144] This powerful reframing of Asian diasporic subjectivity in the US/North America appreciates how populations from Palestine to Pakistan, Afghanistan to the Philippines are not only (economic) migrants to the Global North but also often refugees, postcolonial, and neo-imperial subjects of the United States.[145] In contrast to studies that rely on the language and frameworks of post–civil rights liberal multiculturalism (e.g., recognition, inclusion, belonging, rights, assimilation), this alternative perspective highlights the entanglement of (South and Southwest) Asian Americans with the US as one marked by indirect but interminable forms of imperialism and (neo) colonial power.[146] Unlike some artists under investigation here, who forged works in the diaspora after years of living in conflict zones marked by direct embodied experience with the US war machine and its client states, the majority of the artists under review in this book are instead diasporic subjects of surveillance societies in the West, differentially impacted by hierarchies of US gendered racialization but not directly targeted by militarized projects of US imperial warfare.

As critics of the US forever war in the Greater Middle East, however, these artists have pursued often more privileged transnational art activist careers that are paradoxically upheld by US empire in global cities such as New York, Dhaka, Amsterdam, and Berlin. This complicated social location situates them differently from many of the racialized and dispossessed subjects of their artworks, including criminalized immigrant detainees and suspected enemy combatants who are forced to suffer the dividing brutalities of US empire as military targets either in the US, at US military prison sites, or in the Global South. For many of these artists, it is precisely their privileged lack of proximity to nonwestern populations and social geographies most ravaged by US global warfare in the Greater Middle East that haunts their insurgent aesthetic practices. Much of their artistic work reflects precisely on the hardened if tenuous line that divides them from violent conflict and its collateral afterworlds. This is so despite the histories of Western colonialism, anticolonial nationalism, postcolonial citizenship, and US racialization that

they often share with many of those they seek to recuperate from archives of the US security state. One way to depict these artists' insurgency against their structural complicity with state violence, then, is in how they wrestle with their own structural participation in the post–9/11 forever war in their formal works as diasporic subjects estranged from the war's cruelest victimizations, even while simultaneously being racialized with these populations through the complex visual order of the forever war machine.[147] By examining insurgent practices and comparative analytics forged by South Asian and Middle Eastern diasporic cultural producers who trace their origins to nonwestern societies that are engulfed by war but who live and labor in the heart of empire, *Insurgent Aesthetics* not only questions what counts as "security" in voided archives of US imperial war-making but also demonstrates how these aesthetic projects reveal a more capacious critique of the transnational politics of surveillance, torture, and killing in theaters of state-sanctioned forever warfare.

Insurgent Aesthetics: Mapping the Book

Insurgent Aesthetics is the product of transnational queer feminist cultural studies. Its critical investigations and arguments are grounded in an interdisciplinary method of close readings of art and diasporic cultural production. I promiscuously and willfully read and sourced secondary materials across the humanities, including critical and cultural theory; critical ethnic studies; American studies; Asian American studies; Indigenous/Native studies; Black studies; postcolonial and diaspora studies; affect studies; queer studies; feminist, gender, and women's studies; area studies of South Asia and the Middle East; art and art history; visual studies; performance studies; and traditional fields of interpretive social science such as geography, anthropology, sociology, criminology, political science, and international studies (lawfare/military/carceral studies). The aesthetic genres assembled in order to advance this book's arguments are equally wide-ranging, and I have selected a self-consciously radical activist cohort of contemporary visual, installation, and performance artists to study concurrently. Many of these conceptual artists know each other and have collaborated over a number of years; they represent a dynamic segment of a broader efflorescence of radical justice–oriented artists, activists, archivists, lawyers, journalists, and intellectuals committed to revealing and combating the multiple social crises of our time.

In this introduction I have established the primary concepts and ap-

proaches of this book through extended reflection on the collateral aftermaths and sensorial devastation of US drone warfare as a way to locate my own investment in the study of war and empire through contemporary art and performance. As a queer feminist scholar in the field of American studies, with long-standing research interests in postcolonial and transnational studies of late modern warfare and empire, I have sought to highlight how attention to art and aesthetics as forms of sensuous knowledge and critique can make available alternate ways of knowing and feeling the social world. This introduction interweaves discussion of the primary concepts of and approaches to insurgent aesthetics and queer calculus as critical hermeneutics through which to reappraise the US forever war. By opening with visual artist Mahwish Chishty's work on *Drone Art Paintings*, I firmly anchored the book's investigations to the concerns of the contemporary moment, even as the longer history of US empire is crucial to grasping the legacy and impact of the forever war.

Chapter 1, "Up in the Air: US Aerial Power and the Visual Life of Empire in the Drone Age," begins to trace that longer history by developing a critical genealogy of the foremost logics of gendered racial and imperial formation that define the present sites of US militarism and imperial warfare in the Greater Middle East. Using a genealogical historical method, I outline some major flashpoints and material transformations of counterinsurgent policing and killing, liberal confinement, and global war-making across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that are necessary in order to better appraise both dominant US militarized imaginaries in the Greater Middle East and South Asia as well as critical interventions by Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic artists, whose insurgent aesthetics are central to this book's study of the forever war. For instance, I examine the US military's use of drones for targeted assassinations across Iraq and the borderlands region of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Af-Pak). I underscore how the human sensorium (specifically vision) is central to what is "up in the air," that is, the principal epistemologies of waging war across the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. I investigate the fundamental role of sensory knowledge in contemporary discourses of the US global security state in the Greater Middle East. As such, chapter 1 considers three major discursive sites and corresponding areas of scholarship. First, I detail security policing and counterinsurgency in the US, South Asia, and the Middle East from the end of the Cold War to the present. This period is referred to as the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) and was precipitated by the fall of the Soviet Union and the subsequent rise of "non-state actors." Second, I highlight the military's

experimental and controversial Human Terrain System, a US Army support program (2005–15) in which social scientists and academics provided military commanders with an understanding of local populations under siege. Finally, I investigate the expanded use of drone technologies across the imperial geographies of the forever war. Drawing on postcolonial feminist criticism and critical geography, lawfare, and military studies, I show how the aerial perspective is central to contemporary US global security regimes, thereby demonstrating the pivotal role of visual frames to manufacturing and obliterating vulnerable populations.

Chapter 2, "On the Skin: Drone Warfare, Collateral Damage, and the Human Terrain," shifts this book's focus away from the dominant militarized calculus of the US forever war and toward insurgent aesthetics of Arab, Muslim, and South Asian diasporic expressive cultures. In particular, this chapter examines visual, performance, and literary works by New York City–based Iraqi artist Wafaa Bilal as a meditation on the bodies of those rendered precarious and dispossessed by US global state violence. Through close readings of his work, I trace an alternative relation to the social worlds disappeared by US aerial warfare in Iraq (and by extension in Af-Pak) to illuminate the insurgent aesthetics detailed in the introduction. The crucial force of Bilal's artwork hinges primarily on the pain he inflicts on his own body—especially his skin. He is best known for a performance in which he lived in a gallery for a month and was shot with paintballs by remote internet users watching through a webcam. Bilal's other works include a twenty-four-hour endurance performance in which artists tattooed a borderless map of Iraq onto his back and another in which he surgically implanted a surveillance camera onto his skull for a year. My reading of Bilal's creative work highlights the critical role of touch, embodiment, and the senses in forging a queer calculus. This framework carefully reconceptualizes the violence wrought by US aerial wars in Iraq and by extension in Af-Pak, Yemen, Somalia, Niger, and beyond.

Chapter 3, "Empire's Innards: Conjuring 'Warm Data' in Archives of US Global Military Detention," returns to the securitized space of the "homeland" to consider the domestic ends of forever warfare in the United States. I examine contemporary aesthetic responses to the archive of detentions, deportations, and deaths at US global military prison sites. This chapter examines how collaborative visual art projects outline the redactions, mistranslations, and disappearances wrought by the US military empire. In particular, this chapter considers the formal and sensory aspects of collaborative works by the Visible Collective (Naeem Mohaiemen and Ibrahim Quraishi) and

the Index of the Disappeared (Chitra Ganesh and Mariam Ghani), two New York City–based multiethnic art collaborations, as well as solo visual installations and drawings by Berlin-based artist Rajkamal Kahlon. These artists conjure an aesthetics of "warm data" in documents related to US global military detention by affixing warmth, touch, and sound to otherwise "cold" data, thereby transforming the administrative violence of the regulatory security state into an imaginative queer haptic archive of the disappeared. As part of my analysis of their works, I discuss the complicities of contemporary US-based Arab, Muslim, and South Asian refugee and migrant communities with war and empire. Through the specific language of trespass and betrayal, I investigate the complex participation and uneven incorporation of diasporic subjects into the projects of the US military empire and its forever wars.

In chapter 4, "Palestine(s) in the Sky: Visionary Aesthetics and Queer Cosmic Utopias from the Frontiers of US Empire," I trace the transnational dimensions of insurgent aesthetic responses to US security regimes, and their entanglement with Israeli settler colonial violence, through a queer feminist analysis of the science fiction and fantasy film work of London-based Palestinian visual artist Larissa Sansour. Chapter 4 tracks joint settler security state logics between the US and Israel, with Palestine as the "archetypal laboratory" for experimenting with new technologies of global counterinsurgencies and asymmetric war-making. Concluding the book in this way allows me to highlight the staggering reach of the US forever war and the numerous entanglements between what Laleh Khalili calls "the two major liberal counterinsurgencies of our day."[148] In particular, I analyze a set of speculative film and visual art practices that call attention to the links between US and Israeli security state practices and advance queer, feminist, decolonial, Indigenous, and diasporic modes of thinking about utopian futures beyond the US/Israeli forever war. Sansour's science fiction films provide an alternate sensorial regime through which to understand the "facts-on-the-ground" of contemporary US/Israeli security policing and securitization. By closely reading her science fiction film trilogy series as a form of sensuous knowledge and critique, I also question what architecture, outer space, and Arabfuturism together might yield for thinking Palestinian sovereignty otherwise. In the speculative visualities Sansour constructs, the dystopian here and now of settler colonial rule in Palestine/Israel has not simply faded away, rendering the Israeli occupation and broader colonization of Palestine vanquished. Sansour's fantasy work does, however, offer an outside and an otherwise that reaches toward an elsewhere of Palestinian freedom un-

bridled by the strictures of settler security states. In this way, her work is an exemplar of what I term "queer feminist visionary aesthetics." It conjures both a sensuous record of present-day Israeli settler security state violence and a necessary queer feminist diasporic recalibration of enduring questions about home, land, collectivity, sensation, embodiment, and sovereign futures beyond settler time. By outlining the links between US and Israeli neoliberal security regimes, this final chapter also probes fugitive alliances and radical forms of insurgent political consciousness between Palestine and Indigenous/Native futurisms and Afrofuturisms in the US/North America. In so doing, this chapter not only contributes to the transnationalization of American studies but also probes the field's outer-planetary and cosmic dimensions too.

In the book's epilogue, "Scaling Empire: Insurgent Aesthetics in the Wilds of Imperial Decline," I review the primary concepts and approaches animating this study of the forever war and offer a brief reflection on how we might rethink insurgent aesthetics and sensuous affiliations in the context of accelerated American imperial decline and the rise of Trumpism. The botched efforts at "nation-building" in Iraq and Afghanistan over the past two decades combined with skyrocketing inequality, planetary destruction, and accelerated human suffering across and within national boundaries all together attest to the spectacularly failed nature of the twenty-first-century empire-state and presage the ends of the American Century. Through brief close readings of the Index of the Disappeared's latest work, *The Afterlives of Black Sites*, and popular media accounts of two instances of contemporary aerial insurgent acts, I reflect on the multiple scales of US empire and the visionary aesthetic and political possibilities for trespass, fugitivity, and ungovernability into the wild. What remains to be seen is how the contradictions of the present historical conjuncture of imperial decline and imperial expansion will assemble new techniques of security expertise and practices of gendered and racialized governance that alter the central calculus of life and death on this planet. I suggest in the epilogue that the insurgent diasporic cultural forms that emanate from this moment of global economic crisis and political instability offer powerful clues that signal a necessary moment of collective reckoning and an opportunity to imagine outside and beyond the stranglehold of US empire, when global warfare finally misses its mark.

In the midst of enduring bloodshed in Afghanistan and Iraq; population displacements and drone attacks in Pakistan, Somalia, Libya, Niger, Syria, and Yemen; the drumbeat of war against Iran and North Korea; the deepening occupation of Palestine; the normalization of intensified disciplinary

tactics against racialized immigrant and nonimmigrant peoples of color in the US; and the complex unfolding of imaginative geographies of liberation and freedom in the US, the Greater Middle East, and around the world today, a queer feminist fugitive relation to these violent archives advances urgently needed genealogies of the forever war and its affective afterlives. The prevailing logics of state security in discourses of terrorism, militarism, and war have impoverished our political imaginations. *Insurgent Aesthetics* reveals how diasporic art and expressive culture can make available new ways of knowing, sensing, and feeling that were once thought to be unintelligible or unimaginable. An analysis of insurgent aesthetics offers a moment of refreshment—an opportunity to think antiracist, anti-imperialist queer feminist politics anew. It lets us move beyond the state's supreme calculus of security and carcerality to propose urgently needed alternatives to US empire. A queer calculus of the forever war designs sensuous affiliations and freedom dreams as expansive as the Pentagon's fever dreams of everlasting warfare but without the violence of their vision.

INTRODUCTION

1. The history of drone technologies and airpower stretches across the long twentieth century and has deep roots in European colonial modernity. First developed for military reconnaissance, surveillance, and intelligence gathering, drone technologies emerge out of the history of British colonial administration and policing and have become the preferred tool for twenty-first-century US military and security planners across South Asia, Africa, and the Greater Middle East. See my extended discussion of the genealogies and geopolitics of drone technologies in chapter 1. See also Bashir and Crews, *Under the Drones*; M. Benjamin, *Drone Warfare*; Chamayou, *A Theory of the Drone*; Gregory, "Drone Geographies"; Grosscup, *Strategic Terror*; Gusterson, *Drone*; C. Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*; Parks and Kaplan, *Life in the Age of Drone Warfare*; Scahill, *The Assassination Complex*; Shaw, *Predator Empire*; Turse and Engelhardt, *Terminator Planet*.

2. Shaw, "Scorched Atmospheres," 690; Gregory, "Drone Geographies."

3. Bumiller and Shanker, "War Evolves With Drones"; Sell, "From Blimps to Bugs"; Wilcox, "Drones, Swarms, and Becoming-Insect."

4. In this book, I adopt the regional designation of the "Greater Middle East" to describe the primary geopolitical sites of US global war-making in the twenty-first century. I do so with some critical hesitation, given the term's area studies and military origins and imperfect capture of the proliferating sites of counterterrorism and counterradicalization across the African continent. This phrase resurfaced in the early 2000s in critical security studies circles to describe a regional imperial cartography that encompasses, according to historian Andrew J. Bacevich, "a vast swath of territory stretching from North and West Africa to Central and South Asia," from Morocco to the western edge of China (Bacevich, *America's War for the Greater Middle East*, xxii). See also Yambert, *Security Issues in the Greater Middle East*. Other cartographic terms attempt to delimit or describe US military intervention and security planning in this contiguous region, including MENASA (Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia) or SSWANA (South and Southwest Asia and North Africa). The latter in particular emerges out of progressive diasporic political and cultural spaces that sought to interrogate the historical and social contexts of empires, colonialism, independence, authoritarianism, Islamism, secularism, and revolution. Scholars and activists have also grappled with the "naming problem" to index the post–9/11 formation and consolidation of the "new and terribly broad racial category, which can only be described along the lines of 'Arab-Middle Eastern-South Asian-Muslim'" (Naber, *Arab America*, 252).

5. Cavallaro et al., *Living under Drones*. "Af-Pak" refers to an imperial cartography and cross-border region historically occupied by the Pashtun ethnic group. White House strategist Richard Holbrooke coined the term in 2008. The Af-Pak designation is interesting both for its regional geopolitical implications and for area studies knowledge projects more generally. In popular use, Pakistan has increasingly become disentangled from South Asia and newly sutured to the Middle East, given its renewed importance as a "failed state" and reluctant collaborator in the US global war on terror over the past two decades. Pakistan is a particularly vital geostrategic ally to the US in its global war on terror, and the two countries have maintained a long-standing, if fragile, patron-client relationship (tied to antiterror and antidrug campaigns, militarism, and international migration). Political theorist Kiren Aziz Chaudhry's essay on US militarism in Af-Pak succinctly describes the changing geopolitical dimensions of the region. See Chaudhry, "Dis(re)membering \Pä-ki-'stän\." See also Rana, "The Globality of Af-Pak"; and Tahir, "The Containment Zone."

6. Shaw and Akhter, "The Unbearable Humanness of Drone Warfare in FATA, Pakistan."

7. Rafiq ur Rehman, "Please Tell Me, Mr. President, Why a US Drone Assassinated My Mother," *Guardian*, October 25, 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/oct/25/president-us-assassinated-mother.

8. Reprieve, the British human rights group, together with Brave New Foundation, helped the Rehman family travel to Washington. The hearing was attended by only five members of Congress. Those attending were all Democrats: Rush Holt of New Jersey, Jan Schakowsky of Illinois, John Conyers of Michigan, Rick Nolan of Minnesota, and Alan Grayson, the Florida Democrat who invited the family to Washington and held the hearing.

9. Karen McVeigh, "Drone Strikes: Tears in Congress as Pakistani Family Tells of Mother's Death," *Guardian*, October 29, 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/29/pakistan-family-drone-victim-testimony-congress (accessed June 21, 2018).

10. McVeigh, "Drone Strikes."

11. Mahwish Chishty is a contemporary visual artist of Pakistani origin who has exhibited nationally and internationally at venues such as University of Technology (UTS Gallery), Sydney, Australia; Boghossian Foundation, Villa Empain, Brussels, Belgium; Utah Museum of Contemporary Art; Museum of Contemporary African Diasporan Arts (MOCADA), Brooklyn, New York; Imperial War Museum, London, UK; and Gandhara Art Gallery, Karachi, Pakistan. See more of her work online at http://www.mahachishty.com/ (accessed June 11, 2018).

12. On the history of Pakistani truck art (and the use of paintings, calligraphy, ornamental décor such as mirror work, wooden carvings, chains, and pendants), see Paracha, "The Elusive History and Politics of Pakistan's Truck Art."

13. See Khong, "Mahwish Chishty."

14. See, e.g., Mughal, "Pakistan's Indigenous Art of Truck Painting."

15. See images from Chishty's *Drone Art* series online at http://www.mahachishty.com/drone-art-series/ (accessed June 11, 2018).

16. My use of "the forever war" in this book also echoes the 1974 science fiction novel and ultimate series by American author Joe Haldeman inspired by his experience serving in the US Vietnam War as well as the 2009 nonfiction work by investigative war correspondent Dexter Filkins on US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. See Haldeman, *The Forever War*; and Filkins, *The Forever War*. See also Danner, *Spiral*; and the Editorial Board, "America's Forever Wars," *New York Times*, October 22, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/22/opinion/americas-forever-wars.html.

17. See "Quadrennial Defense Review Report," February 6, 2006, http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/QDR20060203.pdf (accessed January 9, 2019). See also Bacevich, *The Long War*; N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*.

18. I credit Sora Y. Han for this critical formulation. See Han, *Letters of the Law*.

19. Engelhardt, "Mapping a World from Hell." On US and Israeli permanent warfare, see K. Feldman, *A Shadow over Palestine*; and N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*.

20. For broad overviews on the costs and consequences of US war-making across the long twentieth century in the Greater Middle East, see Bacevich, *America's War for the Greater Middle East*; Dower, *The Violent American Century*; Engelhardt, *Shadow Government*; O. Khalil, *America's Dream Palace*; McCoy, *In the Shadows of the American Century*.

21. Engdahl, *Full Spectrum Dominance*; Shaw, *Predator Empire*, 22.

22. Gregory, "The Everywhere War."

23. See, e.g., Engelhardt, *Shadow Government*; A. Feldman, "Securocratic Wars of Public Safety"; C. Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire*; A. Kaplan, "Where is Guantánamo?"; Parks and Kaplan, *Life in the Age of Drone Warfare*; Lubin, "The Disappearing Frontiers of US Homeland Security"; Medovoi, "Dogma-Line Racism" and "Global Society Must Be Defended"; Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*; Shaw, *Predator Empire*; Vine, *Base Nation*.

24. S. Dillon, *Fugitive Life*, 22. My use of "fugitivity" is informed most centrally by works on the afterlives of slavery in Black studies. See, e.g., Campt, *Image Matters* and *Listening to Images*; Gumbs, *Spill*; Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*; Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection* and *Lose Your Mother*; and Moten, *In the Break*.

25. My use of "freedom dreams" is inspired by Robin D. G. Kelley's evocative phrase in his treatment of the twentieth-century Black radical imagination in domains of communism, surrealism, and radical feminism. See Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*.

26. The term "empire" has various theoretical and historical genealogies, which I cannot elaborate fully here, but this book provides an analysis of empire as a key framework for understanding the political and cultural shifts before and after 9/11. Recent scholarship on the cultural and political dimensions of modern US empire, particularly works oriented toward the Greater Middle East and South Asia, are crucial to my theorization of the queer calculus of the forever war. Culled from the last twenty-five years of innovations at the nexus of American studies and postcolonial criticism, these scholarly works examine the material and ideological dimensions of US empire. While this study emphasizes the role of race and racism in the

historical emergence of the US in the international order, I want to underscore my commitment to advancing scholarship that attends to the intersectional logics of race, gender, sexuality, class, religion, citizenship, and ability. These social markers are enduring categories within American studies and related fields of critical ethnic studies, queer studies, gender and women's studies, and disability studies, among others. Intersectional feminist and queer of color theorizing perhaps has gone furthest in detailing the importance of analyzing multiple social determinations. My use of "intersectionality" aims to convey not "multiple identities" but convergent and diverse modes of recognition and particularity. As evidenced by several recent cultural histories of the domestic and international context of empire, imperial race-making was a deeply gendered process. Gender and sexuality are constitutive to European and US forms of imperialism not only as allegories for the politics of dominance but as concrete material organizations of power, including practices and ideologies of race, which centrally sustain colonial projects both within the metropole and colony. The following works advance intersectional analyses of race, gender, class, sexuality, and citizenship in imperial formations that serve as exemplars for the present study: Briggs, *Reproducing Empire*; Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Renda, *Taking Haiti*; Saldaña-Portillo, *Indian Given*; N. Shah, *Contagious Divides*; N. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*; A. Smith, *Conquest*; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*; and Weinbaum, *Wayward Reproductions*.

27. On the centrality of visuality and war-making, see, e.g., J. Butler, *Frames of War*; Chow, *Age of the World Target*; Dawson, "Drone Executions"; A. Feldman, *Archives of the Insensible*; K. Feldman, "Empire's Verticality"; Hochberg, *Visual Occupations*; C. Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*; Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible*; Mirzoeff, *The Right To Look*; W. J. T. Mitchell, *Cloning Terror*; Parks, *Rethinking Media Coverage*; Virilio, *War and Cinema*. See also chapter 1 of this book.

28. My invocation of the "Muslim world" (as something other than an abstract geographic term performing a racial Orientalism) is informed by anthropologist Zareena Grewal's assertion that "rather than a foreign region, the Muslim world is a global community of Muslim locals, both majorities and minorities who belong to the places where they live and who, in their totality, exemplify the universality of Islam." See Grewal, *Islam Is a Foreign Country*, 6–7. See also Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World*.

29. My use of "contrapuntal" is indebted to the postcolonial work of Edward Said, who, borrowing from music, described the dialectic between literary and cultural narratives set in the European metropole at the height of empire and the colonies upon which the great powers depended for their wealth. See Said, *Culture and Imperialism*.

30. For representative works examining liberal empires and late modern warfare broadly defined, see, e.g., Amar, *Security Archipelago*; J. Butler, *Frames of War*; Dillon and Reid, *Liberal Way of War*; Dower, *The Violent American Century*; Grewal, *Saving the Security State*; C. Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*; Khalili, *Time In the Shadows*; Maira, *Missing*; Martin, *An Empire of Indifference*; Masco, *Theater of Operations*; McCoy, *A Question of Torture*; Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*; Neocleous, *War Power, Police*

Power; M. Nguyen, *Gift of Freedom*; Reddy, *Freedom with Violence*; N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*.

31. This book joins the growing scholar activist effort to expose the ideological and material links between various sites of contemporary US global state violence. Throughout, I place the global concept of "homeland security" in dialogue with seemingly more domestic concepts such as "mass incarceration" and "police violence." I do so to underscore the blurring between the domestic and foreign fronts in the US forever war and to call attention to the imaginative forms of coalitional activism that have emerged in response. I use the concept of the homeland to describe a broader constellation of interests and ideologies that extend beyond the sovereign borders of the state. Following scholars such as Amy Kaplan and Alex Lubin, "the homeland" refers to a transnational space that can include urban US cities and distant battlefields in the global war on terror. In a similar fashion, "military urbanism" refers to the militarization of urban spaces. The idea explains how Western militaries and security forces have come to perceive all urban terrain as a conflict zone inhabited by lurking shadow enemies. Thus, if war, terrorism, and security are now the grammar through which collective social life is viewed and regulated across urban spaces in the United States, one of the central tasks of this book is to explore how insurgent artists and cultural producers have begun to resist and reimagine these militarized frames of war and the manifold forms of violence enacted in their name. On the homeland, see A. Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*; and Lubin, "The Disappearing Frontiers of Homeland Security." On military urbanism, see Graham, *Cities under Siege*.

32. Paglen, *Blank Spots on the Map*.

33. The "human terrain" was a controversial US Army Training and Doctrine Command program (2005–15) aimed at counteracting the intelligence communities' perceived inadequate cultural and historical knowledge and cultural interpretive capacities in counterinsurgency operations in the Global South. It involved "embedding" anthropologists, sociologists, linguists, and other social scientists with combat brigades to better "interpret" and "understand" local cultures. The idea of the "human terrain" stretches back nearly fifty years to the infamous US House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) report about the perceived threat of Black Panthers and other so-called militant groups. As such, the HTS program has a much longer genealogy of US domestic counterinsurgencies that predates the post–9/11 global war on terror. See González, *American Counterinsurgency*; and Kelly et al., *Anthropology and Global Counterinsurgency*.

34. Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*, 7.

35. Amin, Musser, and Pérez, "Queer Form," 227.

36. On critical race/queer/feminist formalist approaches to minoritarian aesthetics and corporeal modes of knowing, see, e.g., Amin et al., "Queer Form"; Getsy, "Queer Relations"; Leigh, Ganesh, and McMillan, "Alternative Structures." See also Alvarado, *Abject Performances*; Bradley, "Other Sensualities" and *Resurfaced Flesh*; Doyle, *Hold It Against Me*; Fleetwood, *Troubling Vision* and *Marking Time*; Halberstam, *Queer Art of Failure*; Harper, *Abstractionist Aesthetics*; Holland, Ochoa,

and Tompkins, "On the Visceral"; Horton-Stallings, *Funk the Erotic*; Lee, *Exquisite Corpse of Asian America*; McMillan, *Embodied Avatars*; Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*; S. Ngai, *Ugly Feelings*; Nyong'o, *Afro-Fabulations*; J. Rodriguez, *Sexual Futures*; See, *Decolonized Eye* and *Filipino Primitive*; C. Smith, *Enacting Others*.

37. For more on the efflorescence of radical political fervor in 1990s South Asian and Arab diasporic arts and activism in the US, see, e.g., Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants*; Kapadia et al., "Artist Collectives in Post-2001 New York"; Maira, *Desis in the House*; Mathew, *Taxi*; Naber, *Arab America*; Prashad, *Karma of Brown Folk*; Sudhakar et al., "Crafting Community."

38. Formative sources for my analysis of body politics in critical race, queer, feminist, and postcolonial theory include Ahuja, *Bioinsecurities*; P. Anderson, *So Much Wasted*; Balce, *Body Parts of Empire*; D. Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent*; J. Butler, *Bodies That Matter*; Casper and Moore, *Missing Bodies*; E. E. Edwards, *The Modernist Corpse*; Espiritu, *Body Counts*; Fleetwood, *Troubling Vision*; Halberstam, *In A Queer Time and Place*; McSorley, *War and the Body*; Muñoz, *Disidentifications*; Nash, *Black Body in Ecstasy*; Pérez, *A Taste for Brown Bodies*; Rosenberg and Fitzpatrick, *Body and Nation*; Salamon, *Assuming a Body*; Scarry, *The Body in Pain*; Schalk, *Bodyminds Reimagined*; Sedgwick, *Touching, Feeling*; Serlin, *Replaceable You*; Shah, *Contagious Divides*; Stoler, *Haunted By Empire*; Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*; and Wilcox, *Bodies of Violence*.

39. See Chuh, *The Difference Aesthetics Makes*; Fleetwood, *Marking Time*; Lloyd, *Under Representation*; See, *Filipino Primitive*; Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus*.

40. Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 14. See also Chuh, *Imagine Otherwise*.

41. The interdisciplinary field of critical security studies focuses on the role of interpretation in the articulation of danger, expanding the field's traditional emphases on the international system and the nation-state and its military capacities. More recent objects of study that push past the state-centrism of political scientific approaches to security include global health, the environment, human rights, peacebuilding efforts, media, popular culture, and technology. Representative works in critical security and international relations studies include Amar, *The Security Archipelago*; Booth, *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*; Burke, *Beyond Security, Ethics and Violence*; Campbell, *Writing Security*; Crandall and Armitage, "Envisioning the Homefront"; Cowen, *Deadly Life of Logistics*; Croser, *The New Spatiality of Security*; Der Derian, *Virtuous War*; Dillon and Reid, *Liberal Way of War*; Dillon and Lobo-Guerrero, "Biopolitics of Security in the 21st Century"; Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*; Graham, "Laboratories of War"; Ochs, *Security and Suspicion*; Price-Smith, *Contagion and Chaos*; Qureshi and Sells, *New Crusades*; Reid, *Biopolitics of the War on Terror*; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, *Security Theology, Surveillance, and the Politics of Fear*; K. Silva, *Brown Threat*; Thomas, *Empires of Intelligence*.

42. For an influential post–9/11 political treatise that builds on the work of German theorist Carl Schmitt to theorize the emergency suspension of law for preserving the juridical order, see Agamben, *State of Exception*. For works that link the expansion of the national security state to neoliberal capitalism, see, e.g., Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*; Camp and Heatherton, *Policing the Planet*; Clarno, *Neoliberal*

Apartheid; Davis, *Abolition Democracy* and *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle*; Friedman, *Covert Capital*; Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*; Gonzales, *Reform Without Justice*; Grewal, *Saving the Security State*; Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*; Hardt and Negri, *Empire*; Kelley, "Thug Nation"; Loyd, Mitchelson, and Burridge, *Beyond Walls and Cages*; Sudbury, *Global Lockdown*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor*.

43. Historians of the twentieth-century United States periodize the emergence of the national security state to the National Security Act of 1947. Passed by Congress under President Harry Truman, this law radically restructured the US government's military and intelligence agencies and policing power after World War II. On the origins of the national security state, see Hogan, *A Cross of Iron*. Aside from the military reorganization and the creation of the Air Force and the Defense Department, the National Security Act of 1947 established the National Security Council (NSC), a center of coordination for national security policy in the executive branch, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the US's first peacetime nonmilitary intelligence agency, originally imagined as a clearinghouse for foreign policy intelligence and analysis. Under the chairmanship of the president, the NSC coordinates domestic, foreign, and military policies with the secretaries of state and defense, and reconciles diplomatic and military commitments and requirements. By contrast, the CIA reports to the director of national intelligence (since the 2004 creation of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act) and is charged with gathering and analyzing national security information from around the world, primarily through the acquisition of human intelligence (HUMINT). Unlike the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), a domestic security service, the CIA has no law enforcement function and has primarily operated overseas, including its long-standing covert paramilitary operations throughout the Cold War and its twenty-first-century expansion of global militarized activities since the September 11 attacks. For instance, since early 2017, the Trump administration has reversed an Obama-era policy of giving more responsibility for terrorist drone strikes in Af-Pak to the Pentagon. The CIA has resumed charge for not only generating intelligence but also conducting drone strikes across the Greater Middle East. See David Welna, "Trump Restores CIA Power to Launch Drone Strikes," *NPR: All Things Considered*, March 14, 2017, https://www.npr.org/2017/03/14/520162910/trump-restores-cia-power-to-launch-drone-strikes/.

44. Marxist-inflected historiography has periodized the crisis of Fordism in the 1970s as a decisive turning point in the history of capitalism. On how capital and the state's response to the crisis produced a new historical conjuncture now captured under the sign of "neoliberalism," see, e.g., Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*; Duggan, *Twilight of Equality?*; Hardt and Negri, *Empire*; and Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* and *Condition of Postmodernity*.

45. N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*, xiii.

46. Grewal, *Saving the Security State*, 2. See also Jelly-Schapiro, *Security and Terror*; and Schotten, *Queer Terror*.

47. N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*, xi.

48. Murakawa, *First Civil Right*.

49. N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*, xiii.

50. Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*.

51. Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*, 15.

52. Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*, 5.

53. Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*, 13.

54. On how these penal and policing transformations signal the latest period in a long history of US government warfare and state violence against domestic populations of color, see M. Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*; Berger, *Captive Nation*; Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*; Childs, *Slaves of the State*; A. Davis, *Abolition Democracy*; Dayan, "Due Process and Lethal Confinement"; Dillon, *Fugitive Life*; Forman, *Locking Up Our Own*; Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*; Guenther, *Solitary Confinement*; Hames-Garcia, *Fugitive Thought*; Hanhardt, *Safe Space*; Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime*; James, *Warfare in the American Homeland*; Meiners, *For The Children?*; Murakawa, *First Civil Right*; Muhammad, *Condemnation of Blackness*; D. Rodriguez, *Forced Passages*; Seigel, *Violence Work*; Spade, *Normal Life*; Sudbury, *Global Lockdown*; Stanley and Smith, *Captive Genders*; Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor*.

55. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *Empire Strikes Back*; Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*.

56. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 5. See also Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."

57. See also J. Butler, "Merely Cultural"; and Duggan, *Twilight of Equality?*

58. For critical surveillance studies approaches, see Beauchamp, *Going Stealth*; Browne, *Dark Matters*; Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*; Camp and Heatherton, *Policing the Planet*; I. Feldman, *Police Encounters*; Fernandes, *Targeted*; Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*; Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire*; Kundnani, *The Muslims Are Coming!*; Lyon, *Electronic Eye* and *Surveillance Society*; Masco, *Theater of Operations*; McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*; Monahan, *Surveillance in the Time of Insecurity*; N. Nguyen, *Curriculum of Fear*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; Rodriguez, *Suspended Apocalypse*; Selod, *Forever Suspect*; Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*; Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny*; Theoharis, *Abuse of Power*.

59. Kundnani and Kumar, "Race, Surveillance, and Empire."

60. Hong, "Neoliberalism," 64n6. On the long history of social movements and political contestations around the racialized and imperialist functions of capital, see Lenin, *Imperialism*; James, *State Capitalism and World Revolution*; E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; Robinson, *Black Marxism*; Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*; Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*.

61. On warfare/military studies, see Adey, Whitehead, and Williams, *From Above*; Al-Ali and Al-Najjar, *We Are Iraqis*; Bacevich, *Long War* and *America's War for the Greater Middle East*; Cowen, *Military Workfare*; Farish, *Contours of America's Cold War*; Friedman, *Covert Capital*; Gillem, *America Town*; Gusterson, *People of the Bomb*; N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*.

62. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham was inaugurated in 1964 as a postgraduate interdisciplinary research institute under the directorship of Richard Hoggart. The Centre is credited with

founding "modern" British cultural studies, which developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s out of efforts by the New Left to challenge assumptions held by the Old Left. See, in particular, the work of Raymond Williams (*Marxism and Literature*). Especially in the 1970s, the Birmingham Centre drew on works by Adorno, Benjamin, Althusser, and Gramsci as they were translated and published in *New Left Review*. CCCS sought to distinguish "popular" culture as a mode of textual and everyday practice from "mass" or "consumerist" culture. By exploring culture and the media anthropologically and discursively as lived experiences, this mode of scholarship, like that of the Frankfurt school, rejected the economic determinism of earlier Marxist formulations of culture, giving "voice" to the disempowered in terms of class, and later of gender, race, and migration. Unlike the Frankfurt school, however, the Birmingham school attempted to understand mass cultural consumption from the vantage point of consumers rather than producers. This approach is particularly legible in the transformations of the Centre under the directorship of Stuart Hall. CCCS appropriated Gramsci's insights on the "national-popular" to make sense of the new Thatcher regime's "great moving right show" and the changes in British working-class subcultures. This is evident in Stuart Hall's influential essays on Thatcherism, which isolate how the media constructed and built up the crime of "mugging" and the social type of the "mugger," thus conflating these notions with racial minorities and wider social ills. Hall et al.'s *Policing the Crisis* laid the groundwork for the early interventions of Hazel Carby and Paul Gilroy in *The Empire Strikes Back*, the pioneering study of the centrality of race and migration in the crisis of popular Labourism in the aftermath of Thatcher's 1979 victory and the race riots of the early 1980s. See Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back*; Hall, *Cultural Studies 1983*; Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*. For a compilation of the pioneering intellectual works (by Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Hazel Carby, and Kobena Mercer) that emphasized the need to reexamine British racism in relation to its specific historical and social manifestations, rather than viewing it as a universal constant across the range of human encounters, see Baker, Diawara, and Lindeborg, *Black British Cultural Studies*.

63. On the Black radical tradition, see Robinson, *Black Marxism* and *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning*. See also Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*; Davis, *Abolition Democracy*; Gilmore, "Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence"; Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*; Gordon, *Keeping Good Time*; Johnson and Lubin, *Futures of Black Radicalism*; Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*; Morse, "Capitalism, Marxism, and the Black Radical Tradition"; Moten, *In the Break*; McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds* and *Sylvia Wynter*; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*; Redmond, *Anthem*; N. Singh, *Black Is a Country*.

64. Lowe and Lloyd, *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*, 32n37.

65. Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*, 22. For an extension of this critical cultural materialist tradition in ethnic, queer, and feminist studies, see Ahuja, *Bioinsecurities*; Chuh, *Imagine Otherwise*; Ferguson, *Aberrations In Black*; Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*; Hong, *Ruptures of American Capital* and *Death Beyond Disavowal*; Hong and Ferguson, *Strange Affinities*; Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire*; Melamed, *Represent and Destroy*;

Reddy, *Freedom With Violence*; Williams, *Divided World*. See also Duggan, *Twilight of Equality?*; Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*; J. Rodriguez, *Queer Latinidad*; Saldaña-Portillo, *Revolutionary Imagination*.

66. Hong, *Ruptures of American Capital*, xxiv, xxxi.

67. For a sampling of works on the cultures of US imperialism in American studies, see Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*; Dawson and Schueller, *Exceptional State*; Edwards, *After the American Century*; Grewal, *Transnational America* and *Saving the Security State*; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*; Imada, *Aloha America*; Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*; Lowe, *Immigrant Acts* and *Intimacies of Four Continents*; Lye, *America's Asia*; McAlister, *Epic Encounters*; Renda, *Taking Haiti*; Schueller, *U.S. Orientalisms*; Shah, *Contagious Divides*; and Wexler, *Tender Violence*.

68. For ethnographic reflections of the gray areas between life and death, where people endure a difficult present without any recourse to a redeeming future, see Wool and Livingston, "Collateral Afterworlds."

69. Queer "world-making," following José Esteban Muñoz, and via the artwork of Carmelita Tropicana and Jack Smith, describes how "performances—both theatrical and everyday rituals—have the ability to establish alternate views of the world. . . . They are oppositional ideologies that function as critiques of oppressive regimes of 'truth' that subjugate minoritarian people." See Muñoz, *Disidentifications*, 195. Of such a "world-making project" in queer politics of the early 1990s, Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner also wrote, "We are trying to promote this world-making project, and a first step in doing so is to recognize that queer culture constitutes itself in many ways other than through the official publics of opinion culture and the state, or through the privatized forms normally associated with sexuality. *Queer and other insurgents* have long striven, often dangerously or scandalously, to cultivate what good folks used to call criminal intimacies. We have developed relations and narratives that are only recognized as intimate in queer culture. . . . Queer culture has learned not only how to sexualize these and other relations, but also to use them as a context for witnessing intense and personal affect while elaborating a public world of belonging and transformation. Making a queer world has required the development of kinds of intimacy that bear no necessary relation to domestic space, to kinship, to the couple form, to property, or to the nation. These intimacies do bear a necessary relation to a counterpublic-an indefinitely accessible world conscious of its subordinate relation. They are typical both of the inventiveness of queer world making and of the queer world's fragility" (Berlant and Warner, "Sex in Public," 558; emphasis mine).

70. Cline, *A Calculating People*; McKittrick, "Mathematics Black Life," 17. See also Morgan, "Accounting for 'The Most Excruciating Torment.'"

71. Works in the vibrant fields of queer of color, queer diaspora, and queer Native/Indigenous studies are by now too vast to name comprehensively here, but for a collection of several major insights and interventions into the field of queer studies, see Eng, Halberstam, and Muñoz, eds., "What's Queer about Queer Studies Now?" For key works in queer of color critique, see Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens"; Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*; Fiol-Matta, *Queer Mother for the Nation*;

Holland, *Erotic Life of Racism*; Keeling, *Witch's Flight*; Muñoz, *Disidentifications*; Pérez, *A Taste for Brown Bodies*; Reddy, *Freedom with Violence;* Rodriguez, *Queer Latinidad*; Soto, *Reading Chican@ Like a Queer.* For queer diasporic critique (and its refusal to reify notions of home, nation, and diaspora), see M. J. Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*; Eng, *Racial Castration* and *Feeling of Kinship*; Gopinath, *Impossible Diasporas* and *Unruly Visions*; Manalansan, *Global Divas*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Tinsley, *Thiefing Sugar* and *Ezili's Mirrors*; Tongson, *Relocations*; Walcott, *Queer Returns*. On queer Native/Indigenous studies, see Barker, *Critically Sovereign*; Byrd, *Transit of Empire*; Driskill et al., *Queer Indigenous Studies*; Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us*; Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense*; and Tatonetti, *Queerness of Native American Literature*.

72. See Elia et al., *Critical Ethnic Studies*.

73. Reddy, *Freedom with Violence*; Hong and Ferguson, *Strange Affinities*.

74. See Duggan, "Making it Perfectly Queer"; Harper et al., "Queer Transexions of Race, Nation, and Gender"; and Eng et al., "What's Queer about Queer Studies Now?"

75. Farsakh et al., "Queering Palestine."

76. See, e.g., Agathangelou, Bassichis, and Spira, "Intimate Investments"; Amin, *Disturbing Attachments*; Haritaworn, *Queer Lovers*; Mikdashi and Puar, "Queer Theory and Permanent War"; Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*.

77. See, e.g., Dillon, *Fugitive Life*; Gandhi, *Affective Communities*; Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*; Muñoz, *Disidentifications* and *Cruising Utopia*; Horton-Stallings, *Funk the Erotic*; Musser, *Sensational Flesh*; S. Ngai, *Ugly Feelings*; J. Rodriguez, *Sexual Futures*; Vargas, "Ruminations"; Gumbs, *Spill* and *M Archive*; L. Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*.

78. For a canonical work in feminist security studies, see Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. For more recent intersectional feminist, queer, and trans* treatments of state security and surveillance, see, e.g., Ahuja, *Bioinsecurities*; Beauchamp, *Going Stealth*; J. Butler, *Precarious Life* and *Frames of War*; Dubrofsky and Magnet, *Feminist Surveillance Studies*; Grewal, *Saving the Security State*; Hanhardt, *Safe Space*; C. Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages* and *The Right to Maim*; Terry, *Attachments to War*; Wilcox, *Bodies of Violence*.

79. Tompkins, "Intersections of Race," 174.

80. Martin, *Empire of Indifference*, 16.

81. Martin, *Empire of Indifference*, 16. For a posthumanist queer critique of the drive toward mastery in anticolonial politics and postcolonial studies, see J. Singh, *Unthinking Mastery*.

82. For a sample of influential works on the archival impulse across critical race, postcolonial, queer, and feminist studies, see Amin, *Disturbing Attachments*; Arondekar, *For the Record*; Arondekar et al., "Queering Archives"; Balce, *Body Parts of Empire*; Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*; J. Butler, *Frames of War*; Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*; Derrida, *Archive Fever* and *Specters of Marx*; Freccero, "Queer Spectrality"; Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*; Gray and Gómez-Barris, *Toward a Sociol-*

ogy of the Trace; A. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters* and *Hawthorn Archive*; Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*; Luk, *Life of Paper*; Manalansan, "The 'Stuff' of Archives"; Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*; Weld, *Paper Cadavers*.

83. Muñoz, "Ephemera as Evidence." See also Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*.

84. Muñoz, "Ephemera as Evidence," 10.

85. Muñoz, "Gesture, Ephemera, and Queer Feeling," 423. See also Luciano and Chen, "Queer Inhumanisms"; and Muñoz, "Theorizing Queer Inhumanisms."

86. Muñoz, "Ephemera as Evidence," 7.

87. Muñoz, "Ephemera as Evidence," 6.

88. Hong, "Ghosts of Transnational American Studies," 38.

89. Hong, "Ghosts of Transnational American Studies," 38.

90. A. Gordon, "Some Thoughts on Haunting and Futurity."

91. A. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 200.

92. For discussions of "contagion" in relation to US national forms of racialized and sexualized citizenship, see Ahuja, *Bioinsecurities*; W. Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*; Chen, *Animacies*; N. Shah, *Contagious Divides*; and Wald, *Contagious*.

93. Simon, *Governing Through Crime*, 263.

94. Deer, "Ends of War and the Limits of War Culture," 1, emphasis mine.

95. Mirzoeff, *Right to Look*, 278.

96. Mirzoeff, *Right to Look*, 300.

97. J. Butler, *Frames of War,* ix.

98. The increasingly abundant and diverse strands of critical race, ethnic, queer, feminist, postcolonial, STS, posthumanist, nonhuman, and new materialist approaches to affect and cultural theory are far too vast to summarize here. Let me pause briefly to elaborate on the terminological slippage that often occurs within these studies and that also informs my approach. Feeling, emotion, affect, and perception all capture different concepts, and it would be useful to distinguish between terms without becoming overly didactic. "Emotion" (from the Latin *emovere*) conventionally means "to move out," whereas "affect" is linked to acting or acting on: "affect refers to the effects of actions on one, on how one has been affected" (Flatley, *Affective Mapping*, 2008n3). Emotion is psychological insofar as it requires at least a minimally interpretive experience whose physiological aspect is named "affect." Some theorists, for example, Rei Terada (*Feeling in Theory*) consider "feeling" the most capacious term because it combines physical sensations (affects) with psychological states (emotions). It is, in effect, a way of emphasizing the common ground between the physiological and the psychic. I am drawn to Terada's work not only because she attends to the nonsubjective aspects of emotion, but also because she is skeptical of the "surge in academic study of feeling" (14–15). She wonders "where the attraction to emotion comes from and why it comes just now. . . . Historically, the idea of emotion has been activated to reinforce notions of subjectivity that could use the help. They also suggest that people deploy emotion in *epistemologically defensive* ways. Criticism's newfound thematization of emotion may be no exception; rising feeling may acknowledge and ward off antinomies in institutional life and thought. *Conversation about emotion often attempts to supply a sense of substantial-*

ity and purpose where there is and sometimes should be none" (15; emphasis mine). Brian Massumi's *Parables for the Virtual* addresses the slippages between theorizing affect and emotion (along with their attendant narratives of sensation and perception). Instead of focusing on subject formation, Massumi believes that the body itself is the site of affect and resistance. Affect is thus impersonal (preontological; in fact, "ontogenetic"). Finally, Jasbir K. Puar departed from emergent scholarship in queer studies of the early 2000s through her embrace of accounts of affect inspired by Gilles Deleuze and Brian Massumi. Puar's work is important in that it attends to the reactionary aspects of the incorporation of minoritarian subjectivities in national democratic formations and agendas, specifically the articulation of apparently queer political themes and concerns within the discourses of the war on terror, what she terms "homonationalism." In her account of turbaned Sikh bodies, Puar troubles analyses of affect as inhering within the minoritarian subject (and thus functioning, for José Muñoz and others, as a mode of connectivity among various historically coherent groups). Puar's book epilogue offers perhaps the most succinct, if slightly reductive, mapping of the "split genealogy" emerging within recent scholarship under the "affective turn" in poststructuralist theory (206–7). This spectrum of writing is marked, on one hand, by "spheres of techno-science criticism" situated in a Deleuzian frame (Massumi, Hardt, Hardt and Negri, Clough, Parisi, De Landa) and, on the other, "queer theory on emotions and tactile knowings" that follows from Raymond Williams's seminal work on "structures of feeling" (Muñoz, Ahmed, Sedgwick, Cvetkovich, Flatley, Gopinath). While the latter prioritizes modes of communal belonging, views affect as sutured to the subject, and remains "interchangeable with emotion, feeling, expressive sentiment," the former theorizes affect as a "physiological and biological phenomenon, signaling why bodily matter *matters*, what escapes or remains outside of the discursively structured and thus commodity forms of emotion, of feeling" (207). The scholarly stakes are far more variegated than this quick sketch allows, but Puar's analysis does reveal the problem scholars encounter when navigating the genealogies and trajectories of contemporary affect studies. What follows is a nonexhaustive list of works that influence my reading of embodiment and the senses emerging from literary/performance studies: Berlant, *Queen of America Goes to Washington City* and *Cruel Optimism*; Bradley, "Other Sensualities"; Chen, *Animacies*; Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*; Doyle, *Hold It Against Me*; Eng, *Racial Castration* and *Feeling of Kinship*; Flatley, *Affective Mapping*; Gandhi, *Affective Communities*; Gopinath, *Unruly Visions*; Horton-Stallings, *Funk the Erotic*; H. Love, *Feeling Backward*; Luciano and Chen, "Queer Inhumanisms"; McMillan, "Introduction: Skin, Surface, Sensorium"; Muñoz, *Disidentifications* and *Cruising Utopia*; S. Ngai, *Ugly Feelings*; J. Rodriguez, *Sexual Futures*; Sedgwick, *Touching, Feeling*; Tadiar, *Things Fall Away*; R. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*. For anthropology, see Mahmood, *Politics of Piety*; Masco, *Theater of Operations*; Povinelli, *Empire of Love*; Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*; Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*. For philosophy (including psychoanalytic work on trauma), see Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion* and *Queer Phenomenology*; Brennan, *Transmission of Affect*; J. Butler, *Precarious Life*; Ioanide, *Emotional Politics of Racism*; Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*; Protevi, *Political Af-*

fect; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Rancière, *Dissensus*; J. Singh, *Unthinking Mastery*; Terada, *Feeling in Theory*. For key anthologies, see Clough and Halley, *The Affective Turn*; Clough and Willse, *Beyond Biopolitics*; Gregg and Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader*; and Staiger, Cvetkovich, and Reynolds, *Political Emotions*.

99. See J. Butler, *Frames of War*; C. Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*; Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*; Parks, *Rethinking Media Coverage*. On music in torture, see, e.g., Daughtry, "Thanatosonics"; Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*.

100. Casper and Moore, *Missing Bodies*, 16.

101. Muñoz, *The Sense of Brown*.

102. Deer, "Ends of War," 1.

103. Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*, 93.

104. Martin, *Empire of Indifference*, 5

105. Martin, *Empire of Indifference*, 5.

106. Volpp, "The Citizen and the Terrorist."

107. On the "naming problem" plaguing the range of groups profiled (both racially and politically) in the post–9/11 backlash and beyond, see Maira, *The 9/11 Generation*, 14–15.

108. For notable exceptions and critical interventions in Asian American studies, see, e.g., Afzal, *Lone Star Muslims*; Ameeriar, *Downwardly Global*; Chan-Malik, *Being Muslim*; Grewal, *Islam Is a Foreign Country*; Maira, *Missing* and *The 9/11 Generation*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; Razack, *Casting Out*; Selod, *Forever Suspect*.

109. Maira, *Missing*, 9.

110. Chow, *Age of the World Target*; Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders*; Shohat, *Taboo Memories*. For foundational contributions to understanding the role of culture in colonial modernity, see Said, *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*. Said's work has been instrumental in the academic formation of colonial discourse analysis, but unsurprisingly, many scholars have since developed nuanced critiques of his analysis and its applicability to US imperialism. For an elaboration of the perceived functionalism, problematic mapping of gendered colonial metaphors, and lack of historicity in Said's work, see Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 5; Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*, 178n7; McAlister, *Epic Encounters*, 11; Miyoshi and Harootunian, *Learning Places*; Shohat, *Taboo Memories*, 364–79; and Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

111. Select works in the interdisciplinary fields of Arab/Muslim/South Asian/Middle Eastern diaspora studies that inform this book's approach include Abufarha, *The Making of a Human Bomb*; L. Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving"; Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*; Bayoumi, *How Does It Feel To Be A Problem?*; Cainkar and Maira, "Targeting Arab/Muslims/South Asian Americans"; J. Cole, *Engaging the Muslim World*; Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants*; Daulatzai, *Black Star, Crescent Moon*; Grewal, *Transnational America* and *Saving the Security State*; Gopinath, *Impossible Desires* and *Unruly Visions*; A. Gordon, "Abu Ghraib"; Husain, *Voices of Resistance*; A. Kaplan, "Where is Guantánamo?"; Maira, *Missing* and *The 9/11 Generation*; Maira and Shihade, "Meeting Asian/Arab American Studies"; Mahmood, "Feminism, Democracy, and Empire"; Mani, *Aspiring to Home*; McClintock, "Paranoid Empire"; Menon, "Where is West Asia in Asian America?"; Mishra, *Desis*

Divided; Naber, *Arab America*; Prashad, *Karma of Brown Folk* and *Uncle Swami*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages* and *The Right to Maim*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; and Volpp, "The Citizen and the Terrorist."

112. This study identifies differential modes of sensuous affiliation that have been deemed illicit, illegitimate, unthinkable, or, as in Gayatri Gopinath's formulation, "impossible." See Gopinath, *Impossible Desires* for an account of the non-nuclear forms of kinship and nonreproductive modes of diasporic belonging that she names "queer diasporas." The emphasis here is less on "locating" homosexuals historically or same-sex-desiring subjects and more on attending to the modes of communal belonging, emotion, and economies of desire that together constitute one of the basic ways of establishing value, of assessing and adjudicating the world. See also Flatley, *Affective Mapping*; Gandhi, *Affective Communities*; and Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*.

113. Povinelli, *Empire of Love*, 24. For queer and/or anticolonial approaches to intimacy, see Chen, *Animacies*; Eng, *Feeling of Kinship*; Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*; Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*; Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*; Mendoza, *Metroimperial Intimacies*; Povinelli, *Empire of Love*; and N. Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*.

114. J. Butler, *Frames of War*, xxx.

115. On the long history of US imperial security governance, see Jelly-Schapiro, *Security and Terror*. For an elaboration of how the current global war on terror is connected to histories of European imperial expansion, see E. Ho, "Empire through Diasporic Eyes." For a comparative account of imperialisms that investigates the "subterranean stream" linking imperialism in Asia and Africa with the emergence of genocidal, totalitarian regimes in Europe, see Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*. Arendt was among the first to claim that European theories of racial superiority (and their totalitarian ends) were in part produced by the economic expansion into, and exploitation of, much of the darker nations, as well as the development of global white settler colonies. While Black diasporic intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Aimé Césaire, and Frantz Fanon long assailed the links between colonialism and fascism in their works, seeing colonial racism in Black Africa and racism in metropolitan Europe and the US as twin violences; no other postwar white European critic of totalitarianism or fascism other than Hannah Arendt indicted the European imperial encounter as part of their analysis of totalitarianism. While many historians on the left now see Arendt's work as an outmoded or problematic Cold War polemic that is used to defend democratic liberalism, her (admittedly schematized) "Boomerang Thesis" in part two of *Origins* allows us to understand better how imperialism and colonialism played crucial roles in creating the conditions of possibility for totalitarianism in Europe (*Origins of Totalitarianism*, 206–21). In other words, it proffers a way of characterizing the link between empire and the European heartland, a situation in which she says the "stage seemed to be set for all possible horrors. Lying under anybody's nose were many of the elements which gathered together could create a totalitarian government on the basis of racism" (221). For a critique of the limitations of Arendt's analysis for her inability "to reckon the deeply skewed, racially exclusionary character of US democracy," see N. Singh, "Afterlife of Fascism," 81. For work that builds on Arendt's innovative conception of "origins" and locates the uniqueness of

fascism in the crystallization of the West's various forms of violence, see Traverso, *Origins of Nazi Violence*.

116. For critical scholarly accounts of US national/security that inform this study, see Amar, *Security Archipelago*; Cainkar, *Homeland Insecurity*; Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*; Camp and Heatherton, *Policing the Planet*; Cowen, *Deadly Life of Logistics*; Feldman, *Police Encounters*; Gonzales, *Reform Without Justice*; Grewal, *Saving the Security State*; Hevia, *Imperial Security State*; Jelly-Schapiro, *Security and Terror*; C. Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*; O. Khalil, *America's Dream Palace*; Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*; Kumar, "National Security Culture"; Martin, *Empire of Indifference*; Masco, *Theater of Operations*; F. Scott, *Outlaw Territories*; Shaw, *Predator Empire*; N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*; Terry, *Attachments to War*; Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor*. For more journalistic and popular accounts, see Engelhardt, *Shadow Government*; Fernandes, *Targeted*; Giroux, *Public in Peril*; Greenberg, *Rogue Justice*; Greenwald, *No Place to Hide*; Johnson and Weitzman, *The FBI and Religion*; Priest and Arkin, *Top Secret America*.

117. Grewal, *Saving the Security State*.

118. On the intensification of anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, anti–South Asian, and anti-Palestinian racisms in the United States after 9/11, see Alsultany, *Arabs and Muslims in the Media*; Bayoumi, *How Does It Feel to Be a Problem?* and *This Muslim American Life*; Bazian, "The Islamophobia Industry and the Demonization of Palestine"; Cainkar, *Homeland Insecurity*; Chan-Malik, *Being Muslim*; Daulatzai and Rana, *With Stones in Our Hands*; Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire*; Kundnani, *The Muslims are Coming!*; E. Love, *Islamophobia and Racism in America*; Maira, *Missing* and *The 9/11 Generation*; Naber, *Arab America*; Rana, "The Racial Infrastructure of Terror-Industrial Complex" and *Terrifying Muslims*; Salaita, *Anti-Arab Racism in the U.S.A.* and *Uncivil Rites*; Selod, *Forever Suspect*; Sheehi, *Islamophobia*. For pedagogical approaches to the study of anti-Muslim racism in the United States, see "Islamophobia is Racism," https://islamophobiaisracism.wordpress.com/.

119. Recent exceptions to the absence of sustained scholarship on contemporary art, performance, and visual culture in relation to war and empire in studies of Arab/Muslim/South Asian diasporas include Cable, "Cinematic Activism"; Gopinath, *Unruly Visions*; Mameni, "Dermopolitics"; Mani, *Haunting Visions*; Patel, *Productive Failure*; and Schlund-Vials, *War, Genocide, and Justice*.

120. I am inspired by the critical utopian impulse in works such as brown and Imarisha, *Octavia's Brood*; Chuh, *Imagine Otherwise*; Gumbs, *Spill*; Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*; Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*; Horton-Stallings, *Funk the Erotic*; Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*; Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*; See, *Decolonized Eye*; and L. Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*.

121. Key works in contemporary Arab/Muslim American studies that inform my study include Abdul Khabeer, *Muslim Cool*; Alsultany, *Arabs and Muslims in the Media*; Bayoumi, *This Muslim American Life;* Bayoumi, *How Does It Feel To Be a Problem?*; Cainkar, *Homeland Insecurity*; Chan-Malik, *Being Muslim*; Fadda-Conrey, *Contemporary Arab-American Literature*; Daulatzai, *Black Star, Crescent Moon*; K. Feldman, *A Shadow Over Palestine*; Grewal, *Islam Is a Foreign Country*; Gual-

tieri, *Between Arab and White*; Iyer, *We Too Sing America*; Jarmakani, *An Imperialist Love Story*; Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation*; E. Love, *Islamophobia and Racism in America*; Maira, *The 9/11 Generation*; Naber, *Arab America*; Pennock, *Rise of the Arab American Left*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs*.

122. E. Ahmad, "Counterinsurgency," 36–37.

123. One vivid example of the bleeding effect of US counterterror and counterinsurgency policies is the dramatic growth in carceral strategies directed at other migrant populations during the homeland security era. For the impact on US Latinx/Latin American politics, see, e.g., Buff, *Against the Deportation Terror*; De Genova and Peutz, *Deportation Regime*; Gonzales, *Reform Without Justice*; Macías-Rojas, *From Deportation to Prison*; Márquez, "Juan Crow"; Schreiber, *Undocumented Everyday*.

124. E. Ahmad, "Counterinsurgency," 37.

125. Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim*. As Sunaina Maira adds, "the template for the War on Terror was manufactured in the 1980s to demonize those resisting US hegemony and US allies in the Middle East, particularly Israel, and led to the 'suturing of Israel and the US as defenders of 'Western' values against 'Islamic fanaticism (Kundnani 2014, 45). So Zionist ideology and the Palestine question have long been a 'shadow' in US imperial culture and race matters even if they have not always been acknowledged as constitutive of debates about 'liberal freedom and colonial violence' and key to U.S. domestic as well as foreign policies in relation to Arabs, Muslims, and anticolonial resistance, as argued by Keith Feldman (2015, 2). . . . [Maira's] book recenters the question of Palestine in theorizing the long War on Terror and the politics of solidarity with the Palestinians as a crucial site for the production of an anti-imperial politics" (Maira, *The 9/11 Generation*, 5).

126. Razack, *Casting Out*. On the "Muslim International" and the policing of the "Muslim," see, e.g., Bayoumi, *This Muslim American Life*; Daulatzai, *Black Star, Crescent Moon*; Daulatzai and Rana, *With Stones in Our Hands*; Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire*; Kundnani, *The Muslims Are Coming!*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*.

127. Daulatzai and Rana, "Writing the Muslim Left," xi.

128. Daulatzai and Rana, *With Stones in Our Hands*.

129. The discourse of American exceptionalism, and its attendant disavowal of empire, haunts every period of US historiography. Put simply in the terms of Robert Vitalis, "exceptionalism" contrasts "one's own nation's distinctiveness to every other people's sameness—to general laws and conditions governing everything but the special case at hand" (*America's Kingdom*, 280n5). Vitalis notes that the term "can be traced back to a particular academic paradigm at the onset of the Cold War and its embrace by professional history writing and those social science frameworks that look like history writing" (280n5). But the tradition of exceptionalism gained currency much earlier, first through the mobilization of key documents in the history of the early republic, including George Washington's "Farewell Address" in 1796 and the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 (Rowe, *Post-Nationalist American Studies*, 3). These docu-

ments have been read as signaling a clean break from the darker history of Europe, "specifically the history of feudalism, class stratification, imperialism and war" (3). Thomas Jefferson's "Empire of Liberty" and Frederick Jackson Turner's classic "frontier thesis" represent later elaborations (1893). The work of New Western historians in the 1980s significantly challenged Turner's thesis. Exceptionalism later morphed again when commentators argued that the US receded into isolationism after World War I. The Cold War and post–9/11 periods also witnessed significant resurgences of the exceptionalist charge. For divergent explications of American exceptionalism and its implications for US history writing, see Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*; Dawson and Schueller, *Exceptional State*; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*; and Westad, *The Global Cold War*.

130. Daulatzai and Rana, "Writing the Muslim Left," xi. Hatem Bazian defines Islamophobia as "a contrived fear or prejudice fomented by the existing Eurocentric, postcolonial, and orientalist global power structures. It is directed at a constructed global Muslim threat, which is used to maintain and extend existing disparities in economic, political, social, and cultural relations." See Bazian, "The Islamophobia Industry and the Demonization of Palestine," 1064n3.

131. J. Singh, *Unthinking Mastery*, 20.

132. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus*, 2. On the differentiation between "Man" and "human," in the work of Sylvia Wynter, where "Man" refers to the particularly Western, secular, imperial instantiation of the human, see McKittrick, *Sylvia Wynter*. See also Jackson, "Animal"; and Warren, *Ontological Terror*.

133. Gilmore, "Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence," 237. My approach to insurgent consciousness is further inspired by Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* and "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency." For other formative sources, see, e.g., E. Ahmad, "Counterinsurgency"; Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back*; Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis*; Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*; Harney and Moten, *Undercommons*; James, *Warfare in the American Homeland*; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*; Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*. My approach to insurgent knowledge further conjures Michel Foucault's concept of "subjugated knowledges," which he defined as "a whole series of knowledges that have been disqualified as nonconceptual knowledges, as insufficiently elaborated knowledges: naive knowledges, hierarchically inferior knowledges, knowledges that are below the required level of erudition and scientificity" (Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 81–82).

134. Prashad, *Darker Nations*.

135. On Native North American and Native Pacific studies critiques of the long history of the US (settler) state, see Day, *Alien Capital*; Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous People's History of North America*; Goldstein, *Formations of United States Colonialism*; Hernández, *City of Inmates*; Ross, *Inventing the Savage*; Shigematsu and Camacho, *Militarized Currents*; Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire*; and Stark, "Criminal Empire."

136. For works that trace the political, philosophical, and historical genealogies of security and terror across the long history of the US/North America, see, e.g.,

Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous People's History of North America*; Jelly-Schapiro, *Security and Terror*; Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*; Razack, *Casting Out*; and N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War.*

137. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*. Lowe's account of the problem of narrating synchronous histories of racialization and colonization is worth quoting at length: "Because ongoing settler projects of seizure, removal, and elimination are neither analogous to the history and afterlife of racial slavery, nor akin to the racialized exploitation of immigrant laborers, the discussion of settler colonialism cannot be simply folded into discussions of race without reckoning with the difference. Jodi A. Byrd observes that 'Racialization and colonization have worked simultaneously to other and abject entire peoples so they can be enslaved, excluded, removed, and killed in the name of progress and capitalism,' but cautions that we do not 'obfuscate the distinctions the two systems of dominance and the coerced complicities amid both.' In other words, liberalism comprises a multi-faceted, flexible, and contradictory set of provisions that at once rationalizes settler appropriation and removal differently than it justifies either the subjection of human beings as enslaved property, or the extraction of labor from indentured emigrants, however much these processes share a colonial past and an ongoing colonial present. In this book, I stress that the differentially situated histories of indigeneity, slavery, industry, trade, and immigration give rise to linked, but not identical, genealogies of liberalism. I focus on relation across differences rather than equivalence, on the convergence of asymmetries rather than the imperatives of identity" (Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 10–11).

138. Given that one of the central themes of this book is how war is felt on the flesh, the path-breaking work of Black feminist scholars such as Hortense Spillers and Saidiya Hartman is crucial to understanding how gendered racial and imperial power has been imprinted onto the body. On Blackness as/and terror in African American studies, see Browne, *Dark Matters*; Campt, *Listening to Images*; E. Edwards, "The Other Side of Terror"; Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*; Sharpe, *In the Wake*; Warren, *Ontological Terror*; Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus*; and C. Young, "Black Ops." Much of this newer Black queer feminist work builds on the scholarly legacy of Spillers and Hartman, as well as that of Katherine McKittrick, Fred Moten, and Sylvia Wynter, cited throughout.

139. Maira, *The 9/11 Generation*, 5. See, e.g., Alsultany, *Arabs and Muslims in the Media*; Bayoumi, *This Muslim American Life*; Daulatzai, *Black Star, Crescent Moon*; Grewal, *Saving the Security State*; R. Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis*; Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire*; Maira, *The 9/11 Generation*; Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim*; Naber, *Arab America*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; Razack, *Casting Out*; N. Singh, *Race and America's Long War.*

140. On the pre–9/11 repression of Arab American activism, see Kadi, *Food for Our Grandmothers*; Naber, *Arab America*; Shakir, *Bint Arab.*

141. Naber, *Arab America*, 61; Maira, *Missing*, 23.

142. See Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim*; and R. Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis.* This demand for historicity is heavily influenced by the emergent literature on the "global cold war." See Westad, *Global Cold War*; Suri, "The Cold War, Decoloniza-

tion, and Global Social Awakenings"; Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire*; and Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*. It is also fueled by the insistence of Arab American studies scholars on rejecting the "entrapment" narrative of the field's formation as if it were an "entirely new, exceptional, post–September 11 moment" and is grounded in the "wide range of studies about the relationship between US empire and Arab diasporas that Arab American studies scholars had been developing long before September 11, 2001." See Naber, *Arab America*, 61, for an extended account of this scholarly debate.

143. The field of Asian Pacific American studies, and in particular, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Southeast Asian American studies, has been a formative site for the proliferation of studies on diasporic literature, performance, and aesthetics as forms of resistance, knowledge, and critique to twentieth- and twenty-first-century war and empire. Recent key works in this quickly proliferating field include Bahng, *Migrant Futures*; Balance, *Tropical Renditions*; Balce, *Body Parts of Empire*; Chambers-Letson, *A Race So Different*; D. Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities*; Day, *Alien Capital*; Espiritu, *Body Counts*; T. Ho, *Romancing and Human Rights*; Hong, *Death beyond Disavowal*; Imada, *Aloha America*; Isaac, *American Tropics*; Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire*; J. Y. Kim, *The Racial Mundane*; Lee, *Exquisite Corpse of Asian America*; Lim, *Brown Boys and Rice Queens*; Lowe, *Immigrant Acts* and *Intimacies of Four Continents*; Lye, *America's Asia*; Machida, *Unsettled Visions*; Mendoza, *Metroimperial Intimacies*; Min, *Unnamable*; M. Nguyen, *Gift of Freedom*; Paik, *Rightlessness*; Pelaud, Duong, and Lam, *Troubling Borders*; Ponce, *Beyond the Nation*; Rafael, *Motherless Tongues*; San Pablo Burns, *Puro Arte*; Schleitwiler, *Strange Fruit of the Black Pacific*; Schlund-Vials, *War, Genocide, and Justice*; See, *Decolonized Eye* and *Filipino Primitive*; Shigematsu and Camacho, *Militarized Currents*; Tadiar, *Things Fall Away*; Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*.

144. Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire*; Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*; Maira, *The 9/11 Generation*; McAlister, *Epic Encounters*; Naber, *Arab America*; Reddy, *Freedom With Violence*; Shigematsu and Camacho, *Militarized Currents*; Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*; Yuh, "Moved By War."

145. Maira, *The 9/11 Generation*.

146. Bald et al., *The Sun Never Sets*; Grewal, *Transnational America* and *Saving the Security State*; Maira, *Missing* and *The 9/11 Generation*; Mani, *Aspiring to Home*; Naber, *Arab America*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; Razack, *Casting Out*.

147. I thank my anonymous reader for generously enabling this critical formulation by parsing the distinction between artists caught within differential orders of gendered racialization in the US and Europe and the nonwestern societies addressed by the US as military objects and targets.

148. Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*, 6.

ONE. Up in the Air

1. On the decade-long "hunt" to kill bin Laden and the spectacular nature of the 2011 special forces operation, see Bowden, *The Finish*. The dominant US account of the murder (of which Bowden's work is one among many) has been challenged most