## ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

SPEAKING OUT ON WAR,
PEACE, AND AMERICAN POWER

EDITED BY ROBERTO J. GONZÁLEZ



UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS

AUSTIN

## **CONTENTS**

INTRODUCTION	Anthropologists in the Public Sphere: Speaking Out on War, Peace, and American Power 1
PART I	WAR, PEACE, AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY 21
CHAPTER 1	FRANZ BOAS 23 "Scientists as Spies" (The Nation, 1919)
CHAPTER 2	MARGARET MEAD <b>26</b> "Warfare Is Only an Invention—Not a Biological Necessity" (Asia, 1940)
CHAPTER 3	MARSHALL SAHLINS <b>34</b> "Once You've Broken Him Down" (The Nation, 1965)
CHAPTER 4	GERALD D. BERREMAN 46 "Contemporary Anthropology and Moral Accountability" (To See Ourselves, 1973)
CHAPTER 5	LAURA NADER <b>52</b> "Two Plus Two Equals Zero—War and Peace Reconsidered" (Radcliffe Quarterly, 1983)
CHAPTER 6	BEATRIZ MANZ <b>58</b> "Dollars That Forge Guatemalan Chains" (New York Times, 1985)
CHAPTER 7	DAVID PRICE <b>62</b> "Anthropologists as Spies" ( <i>The Nation</i> , 2000)

Acknowledgments xiii

CHAPTER 8 PIERRE BOURDIEU 71

"Abuse of Power by the Advocates of Reason"

(Acts of Resistance, 1998)

PART II PRESCIENT ANTHROPOLOGY:

DIAGNOSING CRISES ABROAD 73

CHAPTER 9 ROBERT M. HAYDEN 75

"West Must Correct Its Mistakes in Yugoslavia"

(Baltimore Sun, 1992)

CHAPTER 10 ROBERT M. HAYDEN 78

"NATO Fuels the Balkan Fire"

(Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 1999)

CHAPTER 11 ANNA SIMONS 82

"No Exit from Somalia"

(Washington Post, 1991)

CHAPTER 12 ANNA SIMONS 84

"Our Abysmal Ignorance about Somalia"

(Washington Post, 1992)

CHAPTER 13 ANNA SIMONS 88

"The Somalia Trap" (Washington Post, 1993)

CHAPTER 14 WINIFRED TATE 91

"Increased U.S. Military Aid to Colombia

Won't Curb Drug Trafficking"

(San Francisco Chronicle, 1999)

CHAPTER 15 WINIFRED TATE 94

"Colombia: Rules of the Game"

(Foreign Policy in Focus, 2001)

CHAPTER 16 LESLEY GILL 97

"Unveiling U.S. Policy in Colombia"

(Foreign Policy in Focus, 2002)

CHAPTER 17 MARC EDELMAN 102

"The Price of Free Trade: Famine"

(Los Angeles Times, 2002)

CHAPTER 18 ALI QLEIBO 105 "How Two Truths Make One Tragedy" (The Independent, 2000) IEFF HALPER 108 CHAPTER 19 "The Matrix of Control" (Media Monitors Network, 2001) TEFF HALPER 112 CHAPTER 20 "After the Invasion: Now What?" (CounterPunch, 2002) **CHAPTER 21** HUGH GUSTERSON 117 "If U.S. Dumps Test Ban Treaty, China Will Rejoice" (Los Angeles Times, 2001) PART III PRELUDE TO SEPTEMBER 11 121 CHAPTER 22 ASHRAF GHANI 123 "Cut Off the Arms Flow and Let Afghans Unite" (Los Angeles Times, 1989) CHAPTER 23 JAMES MERRYMAN 127 "U.S. Can Strengthen African Ties in Wake of Terrorism with Aid. Clear Policies" (Harrisburg Patriot-News, 1998) **CHAPTER 24** ROBERT FERNEA 130 "Egyptians Don't Like Saddam, But . . ." (Austin American-Statesman, 1991) CHAPTER 25 BARBARA NIMRI AZIZ 133 "Gravesites—Environmental Ruin in Iraq" (Metal of Dishonor, 1997) CHAPTER 26 FADWA EL GUINDI 140 "U.N. Should Act to Protect Muslim Women" (Newsday, 1998)

ZIEBA SHORISH-SHAMLEY, INTERVIEWED

"Women under the Taliban" (Dateline, 2001)

BY JANA WENDT 144

CHAPTER 27

CHAPTER 28 WILLIAM O. BEEMAN 147

"Follow the Oil Trail—Mess in Afghanistan

Partly Our Government's Fault"

(Pacific News Service, 1998)

PART IV ANTHROPOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS

OF SEPTEMBER 11 151

CHAPTER 29 CATHERINE LUTZ 153

"Our Legacy of War"

(Chronicle of Higher Education, 2001)

CHAPTER 30 DAVID HARVEY, TALAL ASAD, CINDI KATZ,

NEIL SMITH, AND IDA SUSSER 156

"Local Horror/Global Response"

(Chronicle of Higher Education: Colloquy, 2001)

CHAPTER 31 WILLIAM O. BEEMAN 158

"A War Our Great-Grandchildren Will Be Fighting—Understanding Osama Bin Laden"

(Pacific News Service, 2001)

CHAPTER 32 JANET MCINTOSH 161

"What Have the 9/11 Investigators Overlooked?"

(Christian Science Monitor, 2002)

CHAPTER 33 WADE DAVIS 165

"We Need a Global Declaration

of Interdependence"

(International Herald Tribune, 2002)

PART V ON AFGHANISTAN, CENTRAL ASIA,
AND THE MIDDLE EAST 171

CHAPTER 34 ROBERT CANFIELD 173

"Nation Is Home to Afghans, Mujahedeen, Taliban, Afghan-Arabs, to Name a Few"

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 2001)

CHAPTER 35 ASHRAF GHANI 176

"The Folly of Quick Action in Afghanistan"

(Financial Times, 2001)

CHAPTER 36 NAZIF SHAHRANI 180 "Afghanistan Can Learn from Its Past" (New York Times, 2001) CHAPTER 37 ZIEBA SHORISH-SHAMLEY, INTERVIEWED BY AMY GOODMAN 183 "Women in the New Afghanistan" (Democracy Now! 2001) DAVID B. EDWARDS AND CHAPTER 38 SHAHMAHMOOD MIAKHEL 189 "Enlisting Afghan Aid" (People's Geography Project, 2001) KAMRAN ASDAR ALI 192 CHAPTER 39 "Pakistan's Dilemma" (Middle East Report Online, 2001) FRANCESCA MEREU, WITH SERGEI CHAPTER 40 ARUTYUNOV AND IAN CHESNOV 197 "War Destroyed Chechnya's Clan Structure" (Middle East News Online, 2002) PART VI **EXAMINING MILITARISM AND THE** "WAR ON TERROR" 203 CHAPTER 41 WILLIAM O. BEEMAN 205 "U.S. Anti-Terrorist Message Won't Fly in Islamic World" (Pacific News Service, 2001) CHAPTER 42 DAVID PRICE 208 "Terror and Indigenous Peoples: War without End" (CounterPunch, 2001) CHAPTER 43 IOHN BURDICK 211 "Afghan War Could Be Recruiting Tool for Terrorists" (Syracuse Post-Standard, 2001) DALE F. EICKELMAN 214 **CHAPTER 44** "First, Know the Enemy, Then Act" (Los Angeles Times, 2001) CHAPTER 45 **IOHN BURDICK 219** "Sept. 11 Exposes Futile Search for 'Perfect' Missile Defense" (Syracuse Post-Standard, 2001)

CHAPTER 46 ROBERTO I. GONZÁLEZ 222

> "Ignorance Is Not Bliss" (San Francisco Chronicle, 2002)

CHAPTER 47 MAHMOOD MAMDANI 226

"Turn Off Your Tunnel Vision"

(Washington Post, 2002)

**CHAPTER 48** THOMAS MCKENNA,

INTERVIEWED BY NERMEEN SHAIKH 229

"The Roots of Muslim Separatism in the

Philippines" (AsiaSource, 2002)

PART VII ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES 237

CHAPTER 49 ROBERTO J. GONZÁLEZ 239

"Lynne Cheney-Joe Lieberman Group Puts Out

a Blacklist" (San Jose Mercury News, 2001)

CHAPTER 50 DAVID PRICE 243

"Academia under Attack: Sketches for a New

Blacklist" (CounterPunch, 2001)

**CHAPTER 51** HUGH GUSTERSON,

INTERVIEWED BY SHARON BASCO 247

"Lynne Cheney's Free Speech Blacklist"

(TomPaine.com, 2002)

CHAPTER 52 LAURA NADER 252

"Harmony Coerced Is Freedom Denied"

(Chronicle of Higher Education, 2001)

**EPILOGUE** Unconventional Anthropology:

Challenging the Myths of Continuous War 257

List of Contributors 269

Permissions 273

Index 279