



CITIES UNDER SIEGE

THE NEW MILITARY URBANISM

'Superb.' Edwin Heathcote, *Financial Times*

STEPHEN GRAHAM

Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism

Stephen Graham
Global Urban Research Unit
School of Architecture
Planning & Landscape
Newcastle University, U.K.

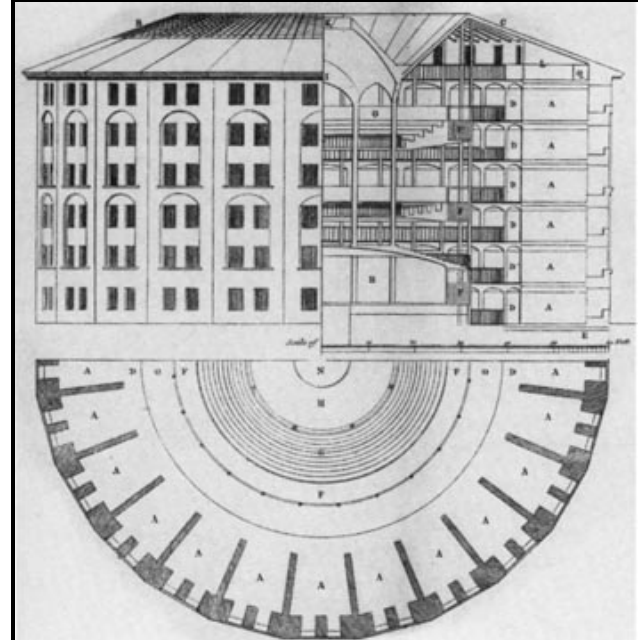
Foucault's boomerang
Mobile exemplars of architectural
and control technology



“It should never be forgotten that while colonization, with its techniques and its political and juridical weapons, obviously transported European models to other continents, it also had a considerable boomerang effect on the mechanisms of power in the West, and on the apparatuses, institutions, and techniques of power. A whole series of colonial models was brought back to the West, and the result was that the West could practice something resembling colonization, or an internal colonialism, on itself”

Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*, 2003.

Historic boomerangs



A new military urbanism
is emerging, constituted through a
complex set of Foucauldian boomerangs

These profoundly connect attempts at
urban securitisation in 'Homeland' cities
and colonial, counter-insurgency, urban
warfare

Both shaped by a linked idea of
permanently and preemptively targeting
the everyday sites, circulations and spaces
of cities as 'battlespace' within 'assymetric'
or 'non-traditional' warfare

Blurs war-peace; policing- intelligence-
military force; liberal 'inside' - illiberal
'outside' of nations; local - global



INTELLIGENCE ^{and the} LONG WAR

AFCEA SPRING INTELLIGENCE SYMPOSIUM

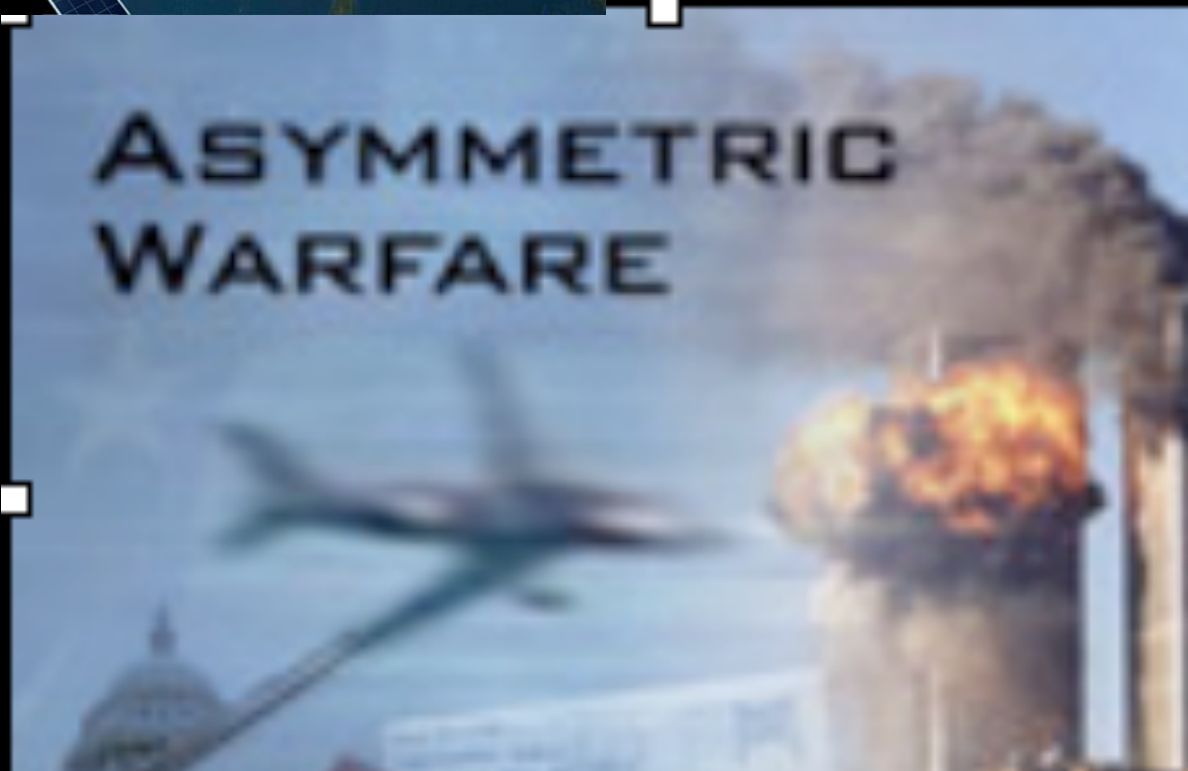
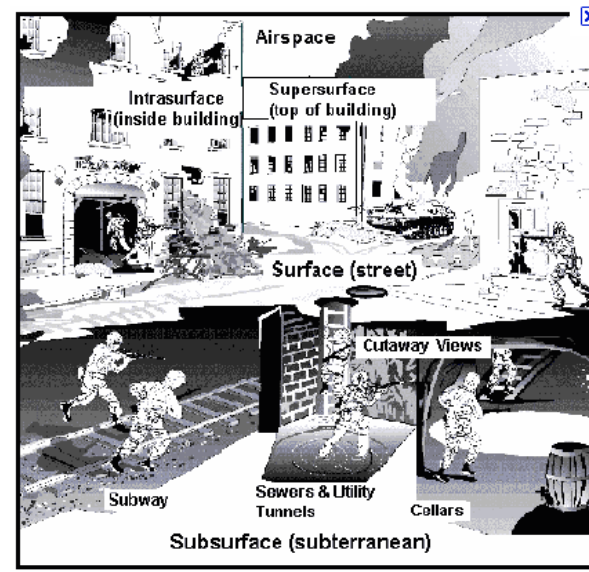
April 18-19, 2007

Defense Intelligence Analysis Center (DIAC)
Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, DC

A classified symposium (TS//SI//TK) for U.S. Citizens only

The Symposium is based on the premise that our national security increasingly is threatened by a multiplicity of adversaries ranging from rogue states to extremist movements. Four tailored sessions will concentrate on the role of intelligence in this evolving security environment:

- The first will look outward and examine the military perspective.
- The second will focus internally on homeland security.
- The third will address the challenges of providing an effective intelligence workforce.
- The final session will explore what technology brings to the mix.



Seven Illustrative
examples:

I. Discourse,
Representation,
Simulation

Linked,
anti-urban,
imaginative
geographies



Every Night, All Night
#1 IN MULTI-SENSOR THERMAL IMAGING

FROM BAGHDAD TO BATON ROUGE
We've Got Your Back

The Most Reliable – The Best Support – Across the Broadest Base of Operations

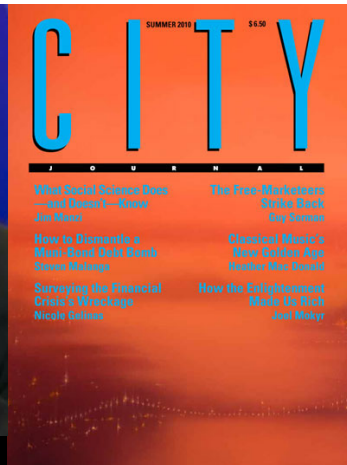
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Griffin: Unfair that Question Time was filmed in 'ethnically cleansed' London

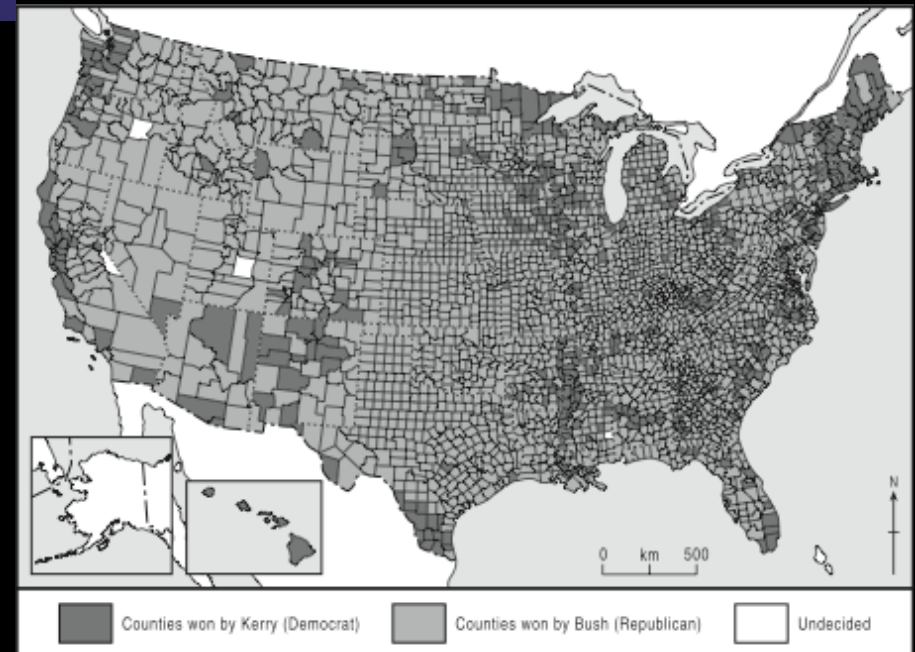
- Capital is no longer British, says BNP leader
- No place for you here, says Boris Johnson



Cosmopolitanism and "Homeland": Inner city Orientalism

Far-Right often see cosmopolitan domestic cities as beyond the authentic spaces of the nation

Rural areas have "become the heartland of militarism and 'authentic' patriotism" Deborah Cowen. Law enforcement agencies and militaries are often bastions of ethno-nationalist, anti-urban right.



Such discourses
work to render all
cities as intrinsically
pathological and
requiring highly
militarised 'security'

Katrina:
'Iraqification' of
domestic response -
'Urban Operations'
against 'insurgents'
to 'reclaim' New
Orleans



Expeditionary urban operations shaped (or at least justified) through domestic urban paradigms



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'Gated Communities' For the War-Ravaged

U.S. Tries High Walls and High Tech To Bring Safety to Parts of Baghdad

By [Karin Brulliard](#)
Washington Post Staff Writer
Monday, April 23, 2007; Page A01

Advertisement



Whilst mock 'Arab' cities pepper the 'Homeland',
mock US cities (bases) dot the fringes of 'Empire'







Yodaville 'Urban Target Complex', Arizona

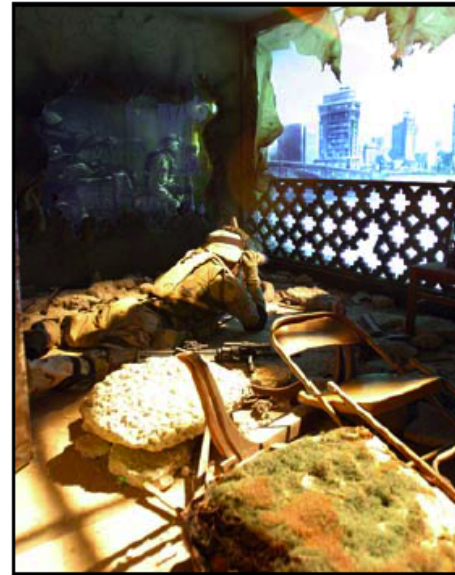
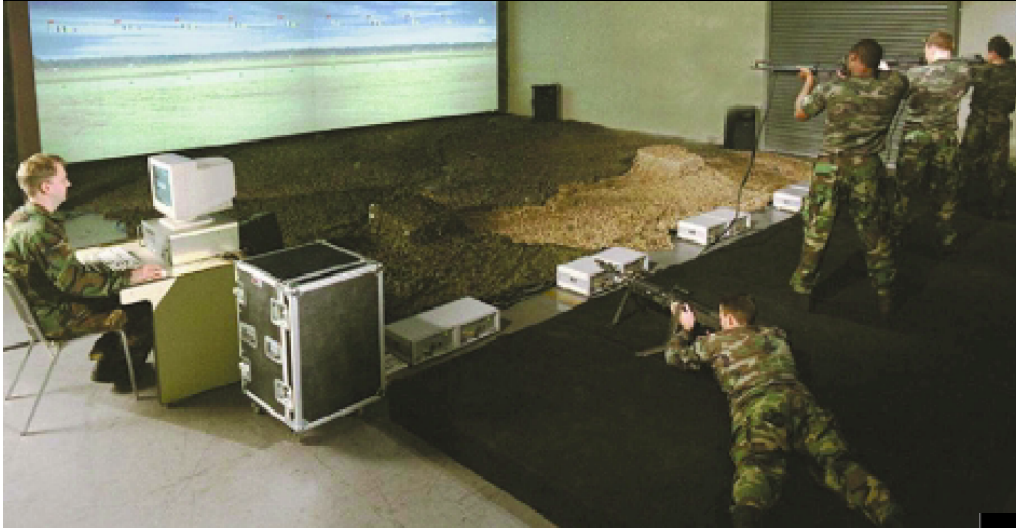




Negev: 'Baladia' - Fake Palestinian city built for IDF by US Army Corps of Engineers



Hybrid Simulations: 'Augmented Reality'



Concept: Troops would be able to conduct in-field mission rehearsal, embedded training or other visualization applications using a 3D database for out-the-window view on helmet mounted or vehicular displays prior to urban engagement



Holodeck version 0.001 alpha

Simulated Future Insurgencies: 'Urban Resolve' - Jakarta/ Baghdad 2015

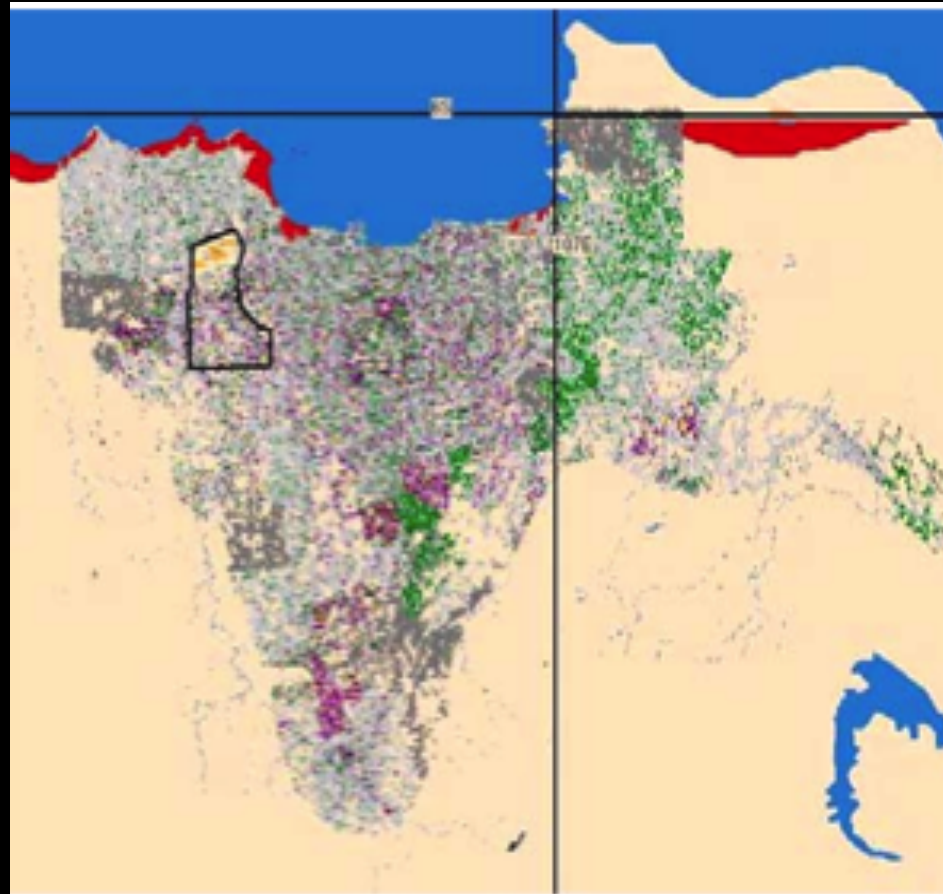


Figure 3. JSAF PVD view of Jakarta buildings



Figure 1. Jakarta AOI



Popular Orientalism: Intrinsically devious cities



What Will It Take To Win?

The Weapons

The Perils

Clearing a Room

THE PERILS

The U.S. expects Iraqi soldiers to position gun nests in densely populated areas, capitalizing on the coalition's reluctance to inflict high numbers of civilian casualties. The bigger unknown is whether the Iraqis will unleash chemical or biological weapons in their own capital. *Roll over circles to learn more*





ROGAMING.COM



WIKIIZO

WIKIIZO

Systematic and Violent Erasure of Ground Perspectives

Aljazeera
Exclusive



The Ultimate Boomerang?

Newest Raytheon control systems deliberately use the “same HOTAS [hands on stick and throttle] system on a [] video game.”

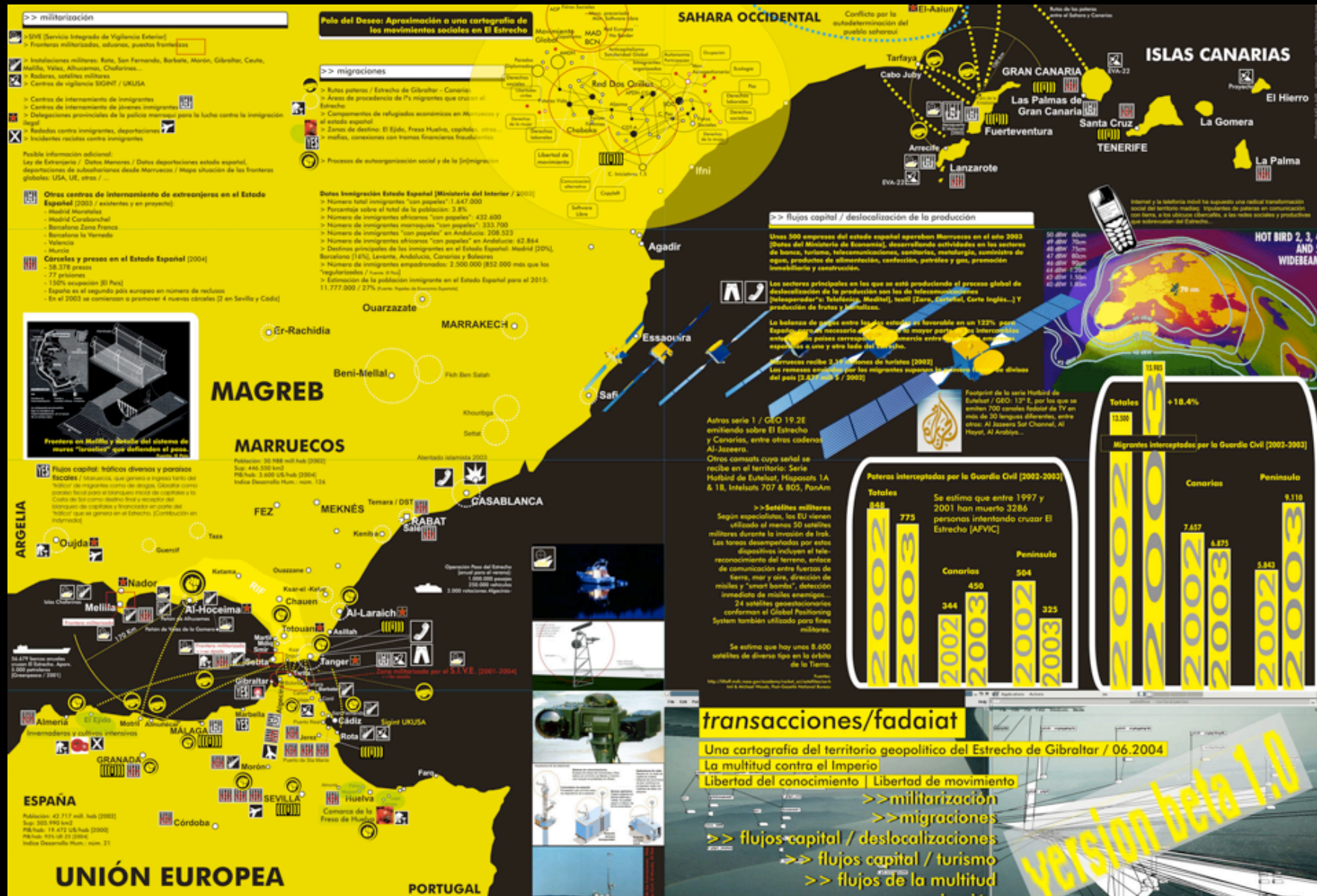
Raytheon's UAV designer argues that ‘there's no point in re-inventing the wheel. The current generation of pilots was raised on the [Sony] Playstation, so we created an interface that [the pilots] will immediately understand’

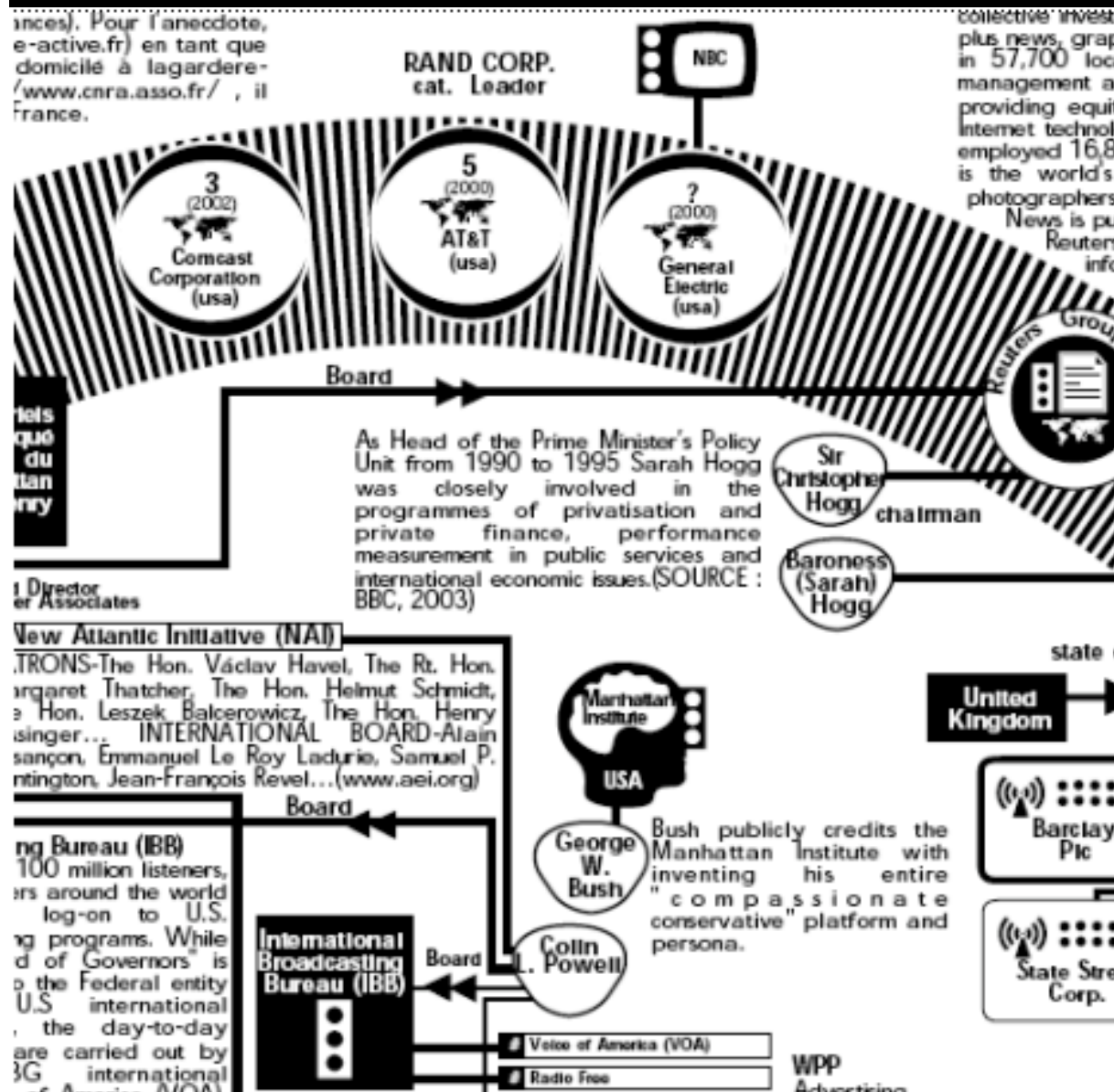


“Inside the trailers, crews don’t get even the sensation of flying that one gets in a flight simulator,” writes Kaplan. “The real tension for these pilots comes from the clash with everything outside the trailers, beyond Nellis is the banal world of spouses, kids, homework, and soccer games not to mention the absurdity of a city where even the gas stations have slot machines. Simply entering or leaving one of the trailers is tremendously disorienting.”

Quoted in Robert Kaplan, ‘Hunting The Taliban In Las Vegas,’ *Atlantic Monthly*, Aug 4, 2006,

Security-Pacification complexes & the 'new security economy'





Arrempted
generalisation of
US/Israeli
Paradigms of
'Homeland
Security'

Growth of
private security
and policing

TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

NeoConOpticon

The EU Security-Industrial Complex



In association with
statewatch

T
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Arming Big Brother

The EU's Security Research Programme

T
N
I

Ben Hayes

TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

TNI BRIEFING SERIES
No 2006/1

Statewatch
monitoring the state and civil liberties in the
European Union





“In 1998, at the same time that urban geographers were writing that cities are places where identities form, social capital is built, and new forms of collective action emerge, the US Marine Corps explained the phenomenon a bit differently: "cities historically are the places where radical ideas ferment, dissenters find allies and discontented groups find media attention" thereby making cities "a likely source of conflict in the future”

Gan Golan (2005)

Paramilitarisation of Policing







Normalisation of
'non-lethal weapons'
against urban publics?
'Sonic warfare' hits
the high street
(Steve Goodman)



Sonic warfare: U.S. police admit they trained a 'spotlight of sound' louder than a jet engine on G20 rioters

By [MAIL FOREIGN SERVICE](#)

Last updated at 7:55 AM on 2nd October 2009

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Critics have slammed American police officers after they trained an ear-splitting 'spotlight of sound' on G20 protesters in Pittsburgh last week.

The device can beam 'unbearable' alarm tones and voice commands to nearly two miles away. To a person standing three feet in front of it, it is louder than a jet engine.

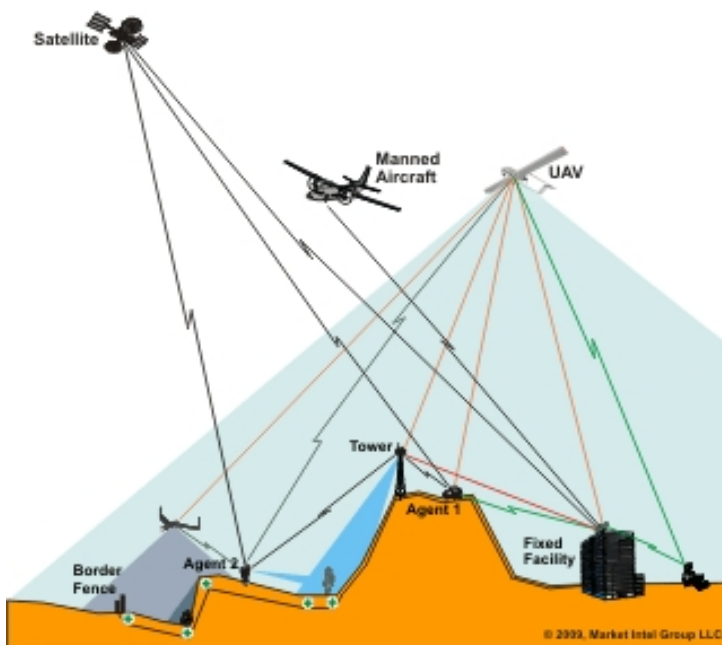
The device, called a Long Range Acoustic Device (LRAD), concentrates sound in a 30- or 60-degree cone.

SCROLL DOWN TO HEAR THE DEVICE



Israel as global exemplar

“Many of the country's most successful entrepreneurs [are now] using Israel's status as a fortified state, surrounded by furious enemies, as a kind of twenty-four-hour-a-day showroom--a living example of how to enjoy relative safety amid constant war.” Naomi Klein



Advanced Technology Center, P.O. Box 539, Haifa 31053, Israel
Tel: 972-4-8315315 Fax: 972-4-8550002

**ELBIT SYSTEMS' HERMES 450 UNMANNED AIR VEHICLE TO
SUPPORT U.S. HOMELAND SECURITY ON ARIZONA'S
SOUTHERN BORDER**

Leo Gleser , president of ISDS, a company which proudly proclaims that it was established by ex-MOSSAD agents and which involved in £200 million security contracts for the Athens Games, talks of a “growing tsunamis of violence, criminal acts, and global insecurity triggered by the 9/11 events” which made the “the western world finally understand that measures had to be taken.”



Blurring Inside-Outside: Transnational Security Corporations

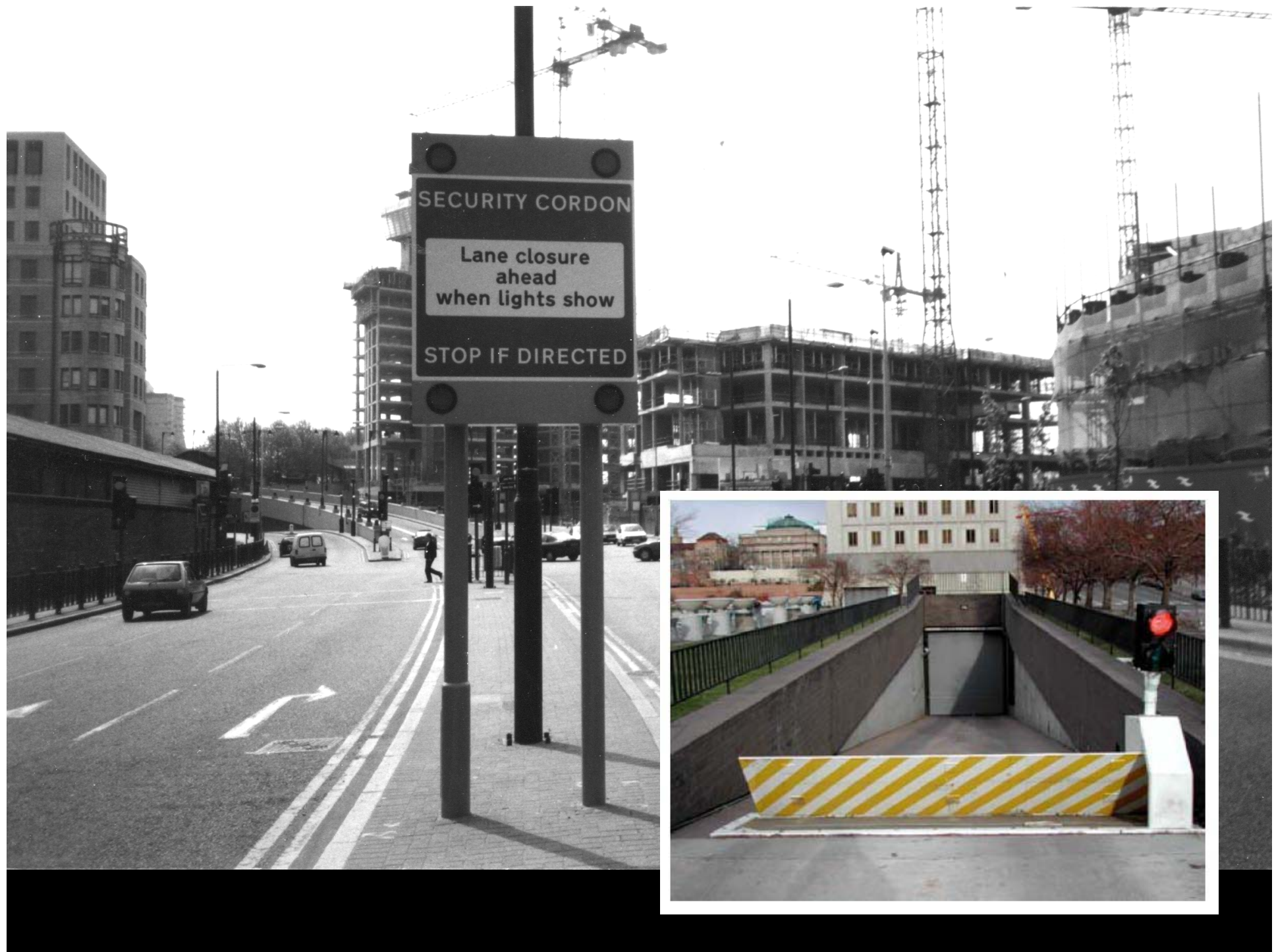
- G4S – world's largest company
- 630,000 people -- taking up a myriad of outsourced contracts. It secures prisons, asylum detention centres, and oil and gas installations, VIPs, embassies, airports and infrastructure and operates in 125 countries.
- According to its web site, G4S specialises in particular in what they term “executive style life-support in hazardous environments.”
- .After buying up the ArmorGroup mercenary company in 2008, it also now runs a large number of Blackwater-style security operations in Iraq.



3. Urban Design and Architecture: Related Shifts to a Passage-Point Urbanism- Jittery Camps and Archipelagoes of Enclaves

“The new bunker is a passage from one point to another”
Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer





Green-Zones ===== Security Zones (Jeremy Nemeth)



‘Medieval Modernity’





A REPORT BY THE INTERAGENCY TASK FORCE OF
THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION

Designing for Security in the Nation's Capital



Chronicle / Jakub Mosur



Chronicle / Jakub Mosur





Arsenal case study

from Lucy Foster **PLUS**



Urban design principles: The new blast zone



Fig 5.6 The entire base section of 7, World Trade Center -- one of the skyscrapers constructed on the site of the destroyed World Trade Center -- consists of a blast-proof concrete which was later hidden by a colourfully lit screen





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4. Events

Mobile exemplars as shop windows for legal, physical and technological aspects of the new military urbanism

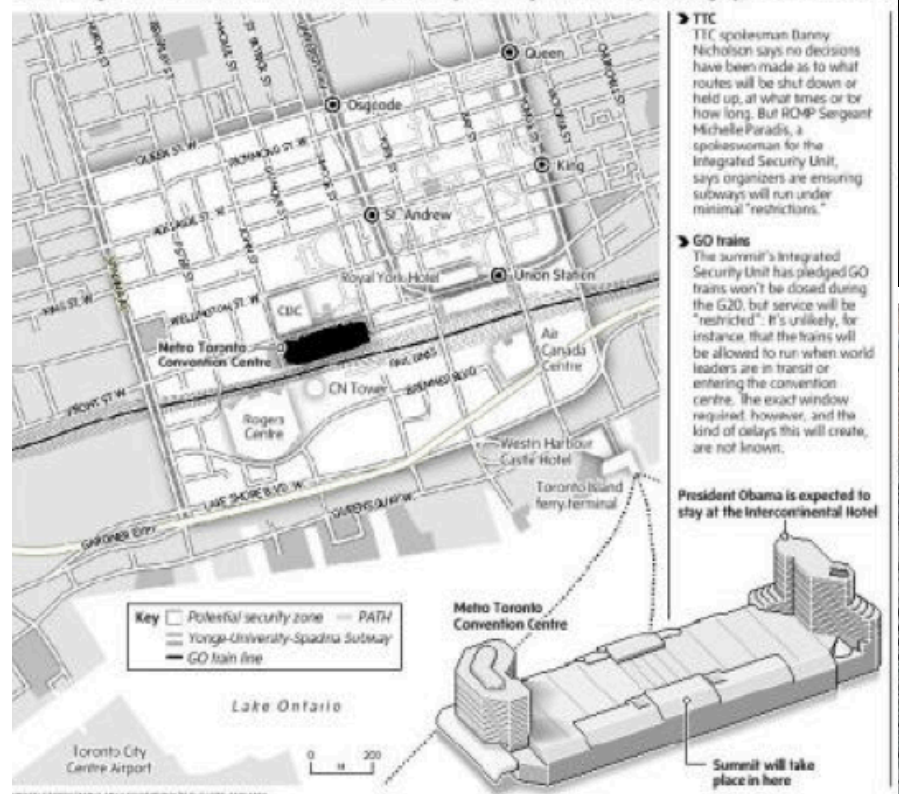


Security industry see Olympics as a “key driver of the industry” or as “keeping the market buoyant.

“The Olympics is a tremendous opportunity to showcase what the private sector can do in the security space,” a UK Government Official was quoted recently as saying in a *Financial Times* Defence supplement. “Not only do you have a UK security kitemark on the product but you've got an Olympic kitemark to boot”



As the meeting of the G20 leaders looms 12 weeks from now, the security veil is being lifted this month, ever so slightly, to inform Toronto residents



TTC
TTC spokesman Barry Nicholson says no decisions have been made as to what routes will be shut down or held up, at what times or for how long. But RCMP Sergeant Michelle Paradis, a spokeswoman for the Integrated Security Unit, says organizers are ensuring subways will run under minimal "restrictions."

GO trains
The summit's Integrated Security Unit has pledged GO trains won't be closed during the G20, but service will be "restricted". It's unlikely, for instance, that the trains will be allowed to run when world leaders are in transit or entering the convention centre. The exact window required, however, and the kind of delays this will create, are not known.



Pre-emptive
geographies:
anti-
democratic
legal
suspensions,
criminalisation
and pervasive
'terror
labelling'
(Gan Golan)

		WTO 1999 Seattle	IMF 2000 Washington DC	RNC 2000 Philadelphia	DNC 2000 Los Angeles	Inaug 2001 Washington DC	WEF 2002 New York City	Anti-war 2003 Portland, Oregon	IMF 2002 Washington DC	Anti-war 2003 New York City	FTAA 2003 Miami	G8 2004 Sea Island, Georgia	DNC 2004 Boston	RNC 2004 New York City	Inaug 2005 Washington DC
Legal Tactics	Ordinances, "State of Emergency" Used to restrict assembly									X	X	X			
	Delayed issuance of permits									X		X		X	
	Improper termination of event				X						X				
	False / mass / pre-emptive arrests	X		X	X		X		X		X			X	
	Arrest of journalists / legal obs / medics	X	X		X		X	X	X		X			X	
	Prolonged detention	X		X			X		X	X	X	X		X	
	Exorbitant bails	X		X	X										
	Random detention or searches and seizure				X						X	X			
Spatial Tactics	'Free speech' Zones / 'No-protest' Zones	X			X		X			X	X		X		
	Restrict protester access to protest site	X			X	X	X			X	X	X		X	X
	Maximum security perimeter / fencing					X	X			X	X	X	X		
	Mobile netting barriers to corral									X				X	
	Shut down business areas of city	X			X						X	X			X
Intimidation Tactics	Public training drills						X					X	X	X	
	Media showcase of weapons, tactics				X		X					X	X	X	
	Massive presentation of force on streets				X		X				X	X	X		X
	US armed forces deployed on streets	X							X			X	X		
	Helicopters or Armoured Personnel Carriers	X			X		X				X	X	X		X
	Activists' homes surveilled		X				X					X	X	X	
	Activist meeting spaces raided		X	X	X						X				

WTO = World Trade Organisation; IMF = International Monetary Fund; RNC = Republican National Convention; DNC = Democratic National Convention;
Inaug = Presidential Inauguration; WEF = World Economic Forum Summit; FTAA = Free Trade Area of the Americas Summit; G8 = G8 Summit



All-Risks Planning





Banished

The New Social Control in Urban America

Katherine Beckett
Steve Herbert

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Complex overlaps
with broader legal
geographies of
'revanchist' urbanism,
'zero tolerance' &
pre-emptive exclusion
and criminalisation



“Water cannon and steel cordon sold separately”, mocks Dan Hancox on the influential Games Monitor website. “Baton rounds may be unsuitable for small children.”

”

Every Night, All Night

#1 IN MULTI-SENSOR THERMAL IMAGING



FROM BAGHDAD TO BATON ROUGE

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The Most Reliable – The Best Support – Across the Broadest Base of Operations



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See video of these products at:
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5. Surveillance

Deep anti-urban
obsession with trying
to permanently unveil
cities through new
surveillance
assemblages

‘Technophilia’: Latest
military-standard
surveillance equipment
increasingly normalised
in everyday policing of
domestic cities

Targeting & 'armed vision': Jordan Crandall

Fantasy of being “switching on and off to distinguish between friend and enemy.” Bottomley and Moore)

“Tracking is integral” to the emerging modes of governance and sovereign and military power based on anticipatory seeing”

Represents “a gradual colonization of the now, a now always slightly ahead of itself” (Crandall 1999).



The Clutter of Concealment



July 6, 2005

Transparent Urban Structures - Industry Day

30

Why is Identification and Tracking so Difficult?

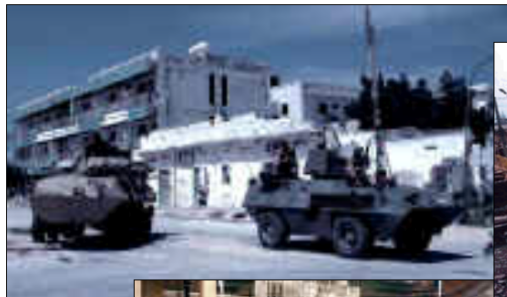
- **Enemy leaders look like everyone else**
- **Enemy combatants look like everyone else**
- **Enemy vehicles look like civilian vehicles**
- **Enemy installations look like civilian installations**
 - Schools, mosques, hospitals, factories
- **Enemy equipment and materials look like civilian equipment and materials**
 - Biotech, chemical engineering, food processing, energy production
- **Enemy weapons indistinguishable from civilian materiel beyond an intimate distance**
- **Traditional ISR from the Cold War and conventional war was never designed for these purposes**
- **We need close-in, terrestrial means**
 - In continuous development
 - Installed years ahead of time
 - Integrated with other information systems

“Video analytics’: Pre-emptive, algorithmic definition of urban ‘normality’ and putative ‘threat’



Combat Zones That See

Multi-Camera Surveillance for Urban Operations



**Briefing to
Industry**

BAA 03-15

27 March 2003

Thomas M. Strat

Information Exploitation Office
tstrat@darpa.mil

UNCLASSIFIED: Approved for Public Release; Distribution Unlimited



Surveillance cameras spring up in Muslim areas - the targets? Terrorists

- Birmingham system to monitor known extremists
- Outrage over scheme paid for from terrorism fund

Paul Lewis

[guardian.co.uk](#), Friday 4 June 2010 18.55 BST

[Article history](#)



A surveillance camera and Birmingham Central Mosque in the city's Balsall Heath area. Photograph: Andrew Fox for the Guardian

NORTHCOM: Urban Operations

PETER BYRNE

The Byrne Report / The Bohemian

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Wednesday, October 1, 2008

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TOP STORIES IN U.S.

1 of 10 Auto Task Force to Back More Loans, W...

2 of 10 U.S. Revives Oil-Industry Battle

3 of 10 U.S. Steps Up Wage-Law Enforcement

1 Command just tightened its control over N
Bush administration to control armies on the
anada. The self-described job of NORTHCOM
urbances. To spot these nuisances, NORTH
olo. It correlates electronic data collected from
cal law enforcement agencies and neighborhood watch groups.

onnaissance Wing announced the
eale Air Force Base in Yuba County.
n manned spy plane flew its first
er the continental United States.
e \$132 million war-fighting machines,
ours while leisurely photographing
s to the fusion center at Colorado

's main activity is targeting houses
1 by Hellfire missiles. It is difficult to
pplication for this harbinger of death
"pilots" fly by remote control from

OCTOBER 1, 2008

Satellite-Surveillance Program to Begin Despite Privacy Concerns

Article

Comments (5)





Biometric boomerangs:
An “evolving global norm
of securitized identity”
John Measor and
Benjamin Muller





Security Briefing

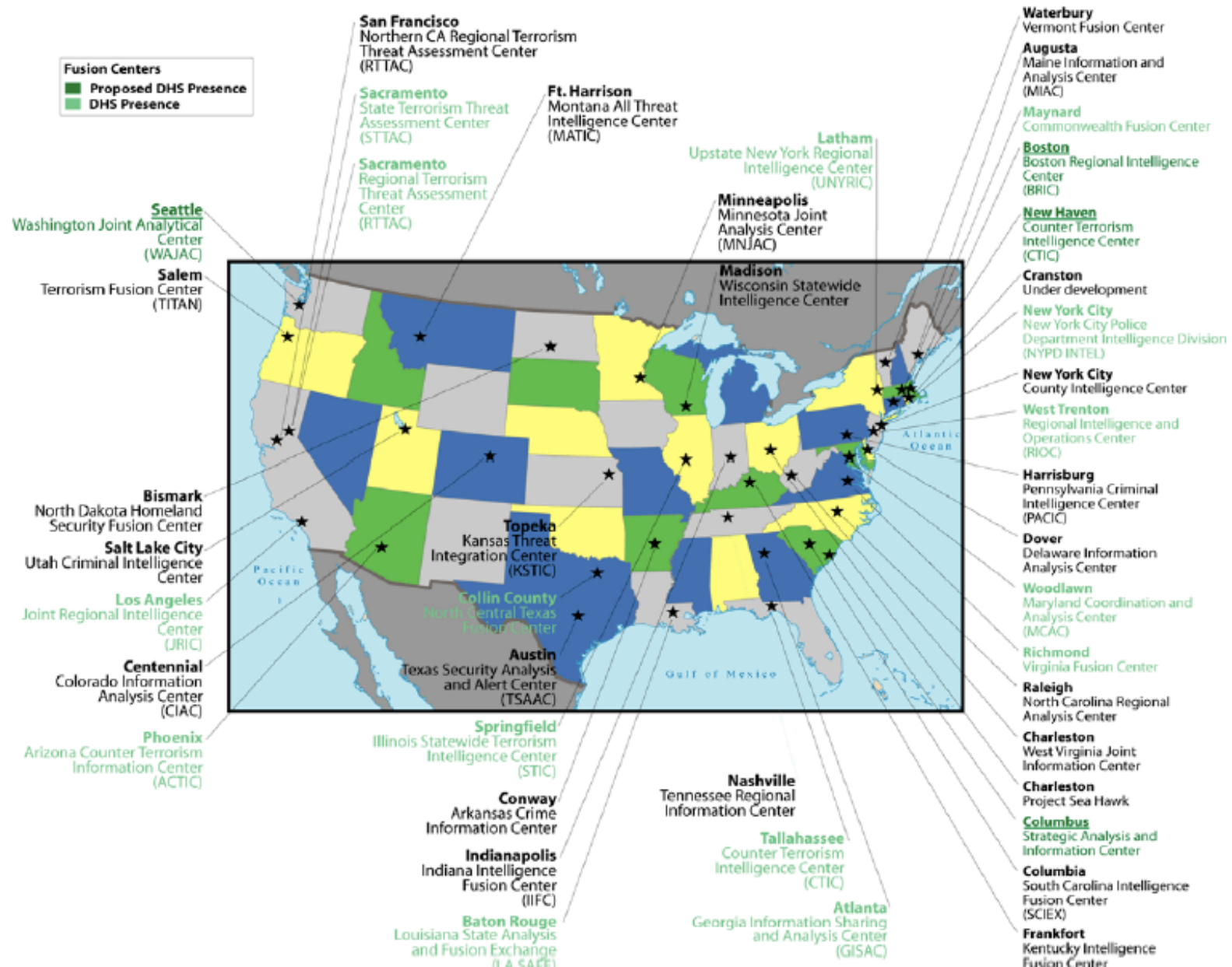


An Eye for Detail

Picking Out Possible Terrorists

Appendix B. Map of Current and Planned Fusion Centers

Figure 3: Map of Current and Planned Fusion Centers

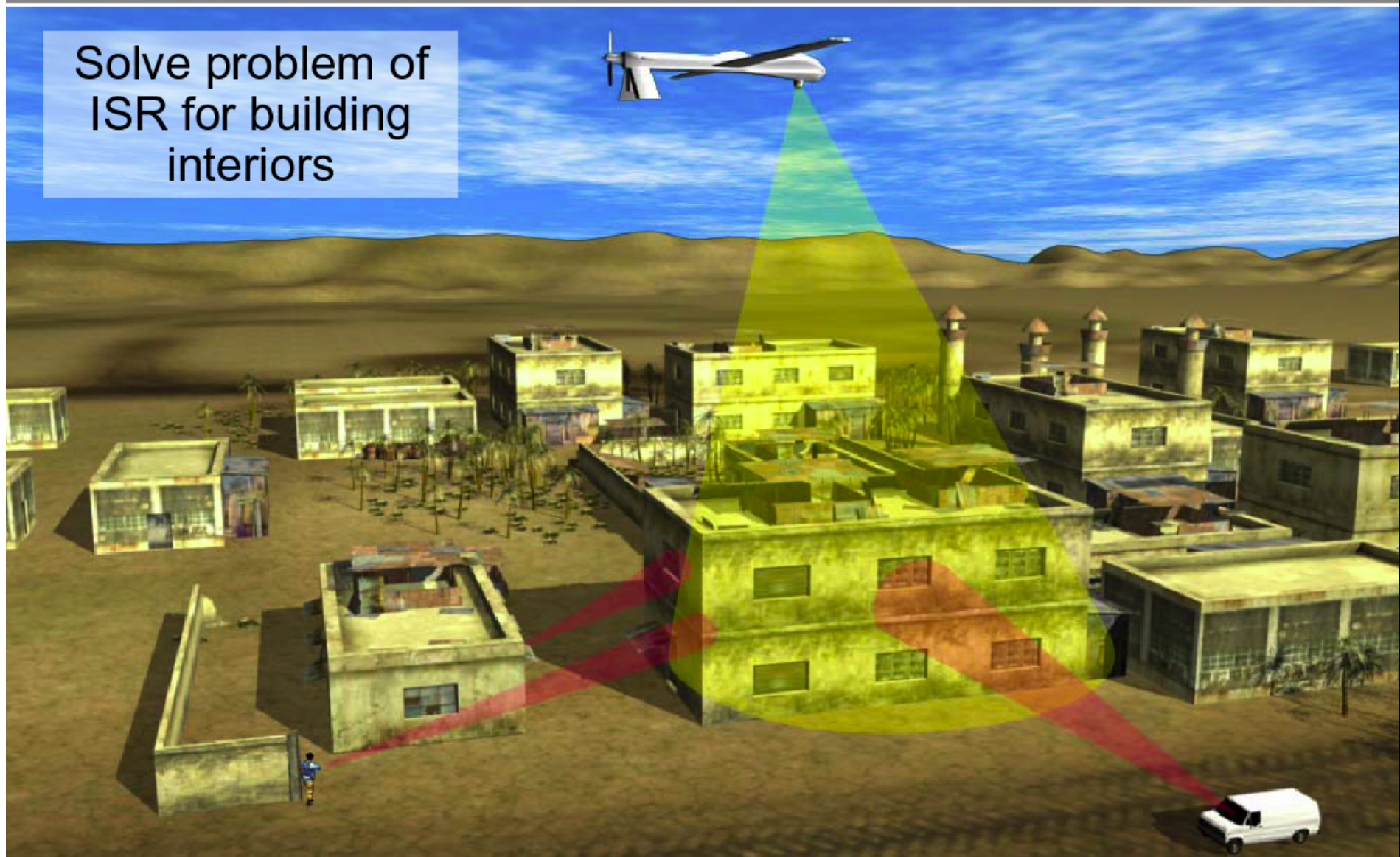


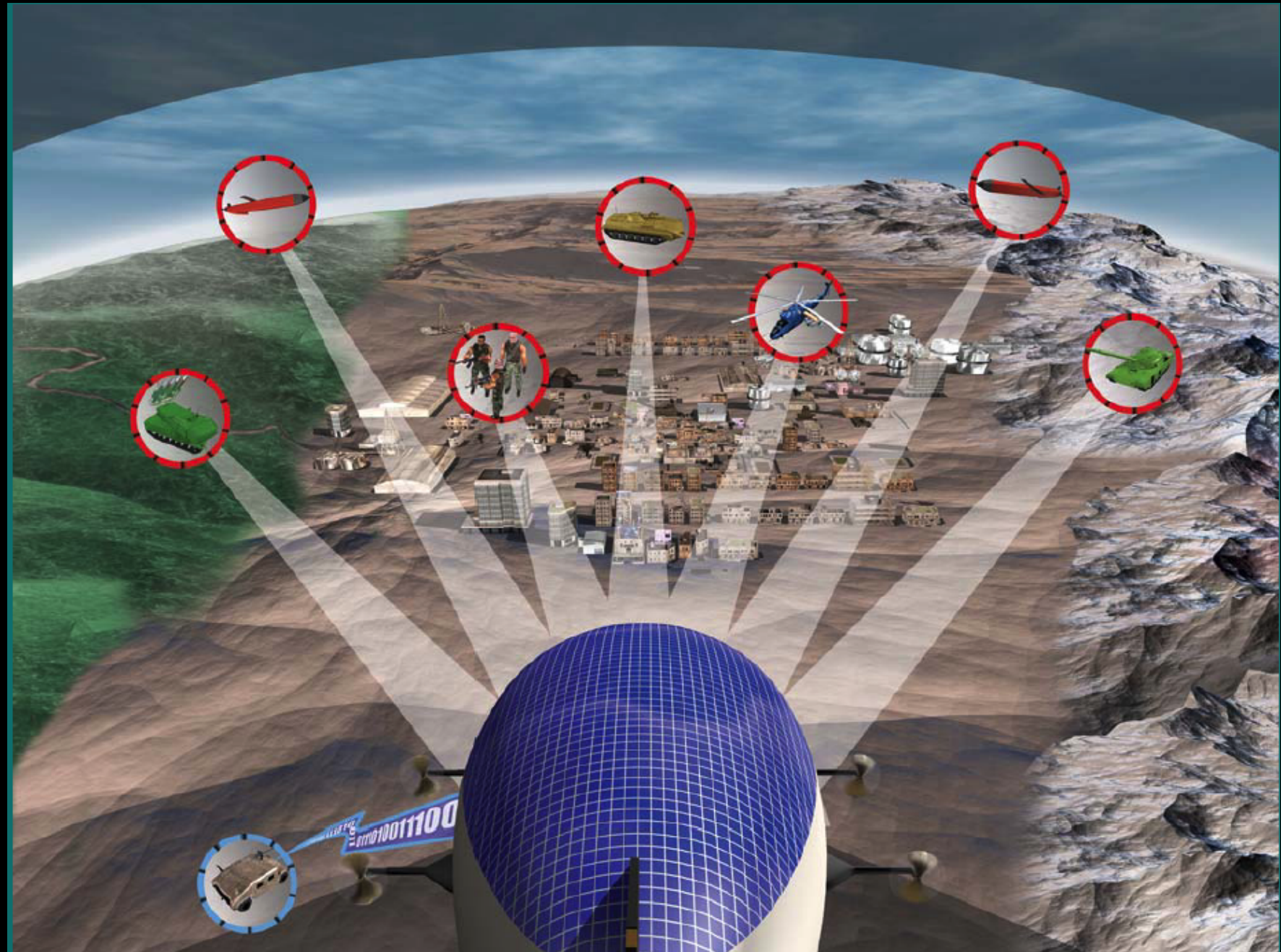


DARPA VisiBuilding Program



Solve problem of
ISR for building
interiors



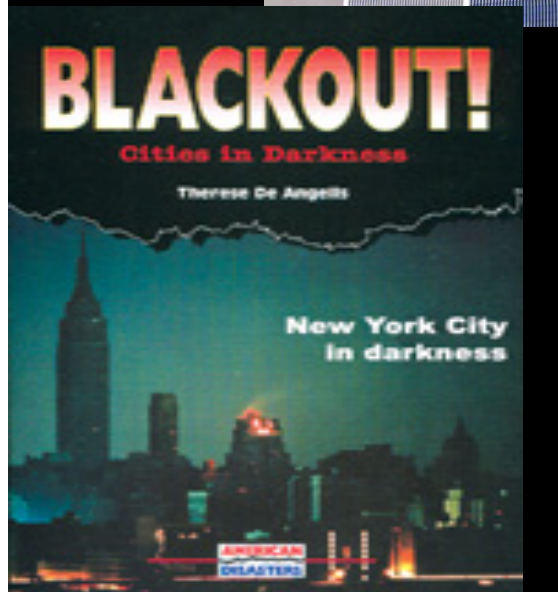


6. Infrastructure

Securitisation of everyday urban infrastructures:

Biopolitics of urban, logistical societies

Infrastructural terrorism



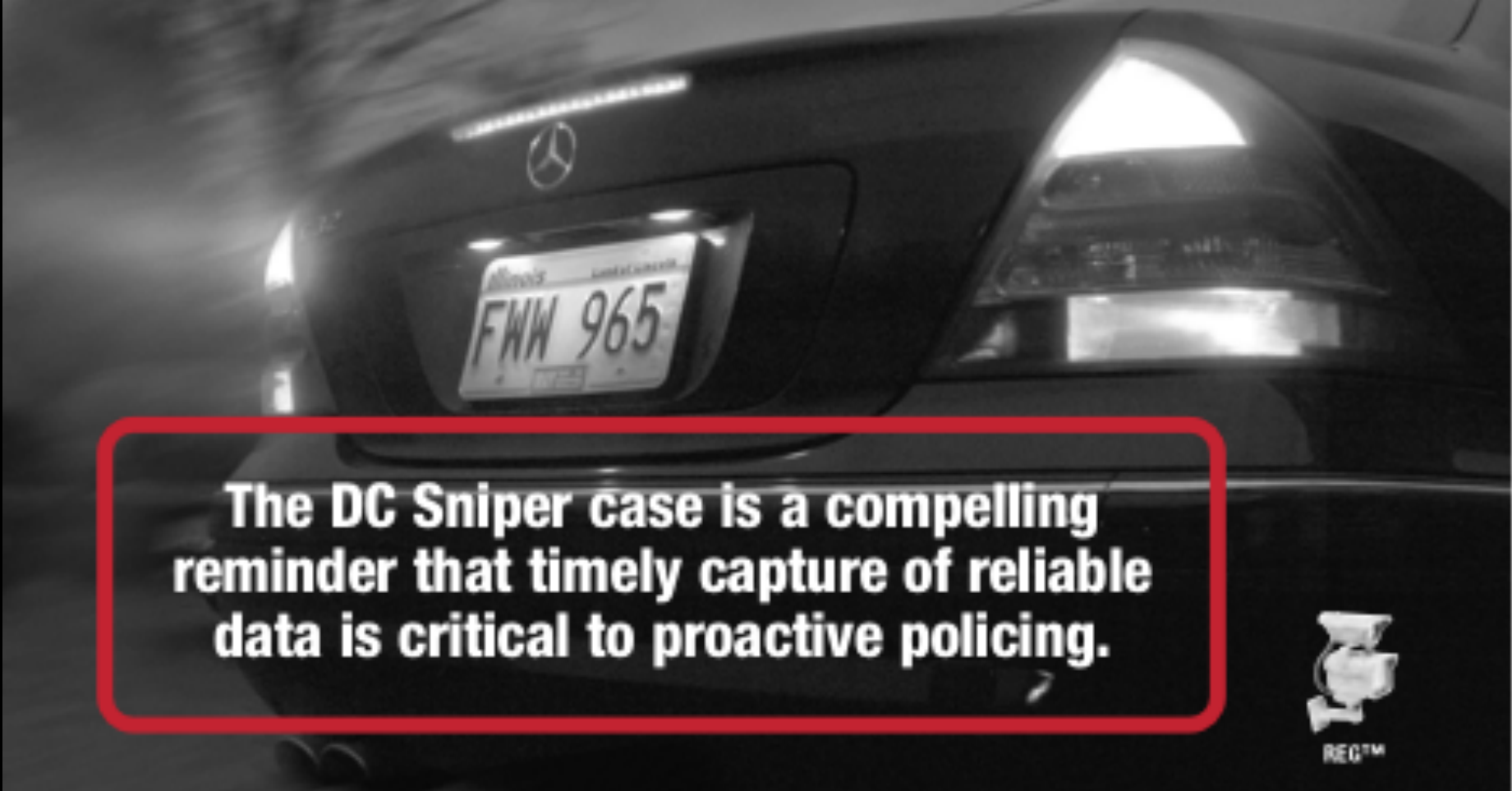
Water...

**We cannot
safeguard vital
resources without
24/7 surveillance.**

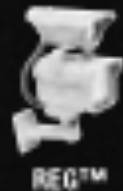


UF500

Streets . . .



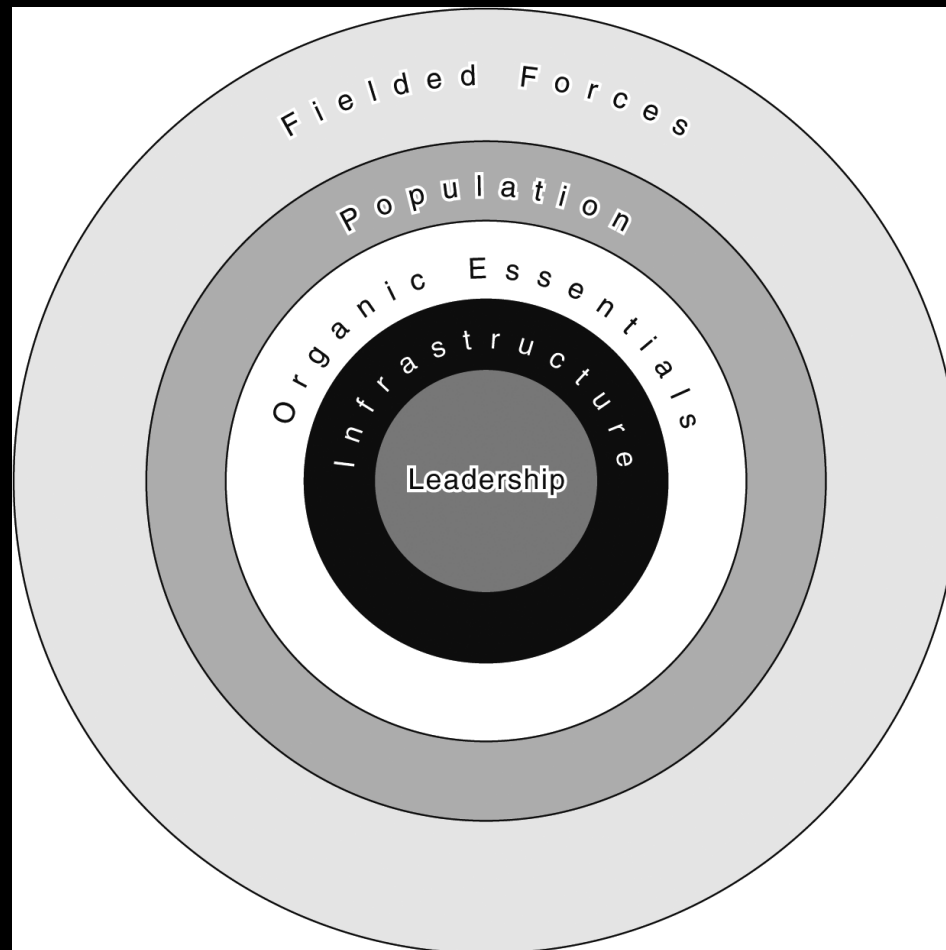
The DC Sniper case is a compelling reminder that timely capture of reliable data is critical to proactive policing.



Paralleled by much more stealthy,
invisible, and deadly
state infrastructural warfare

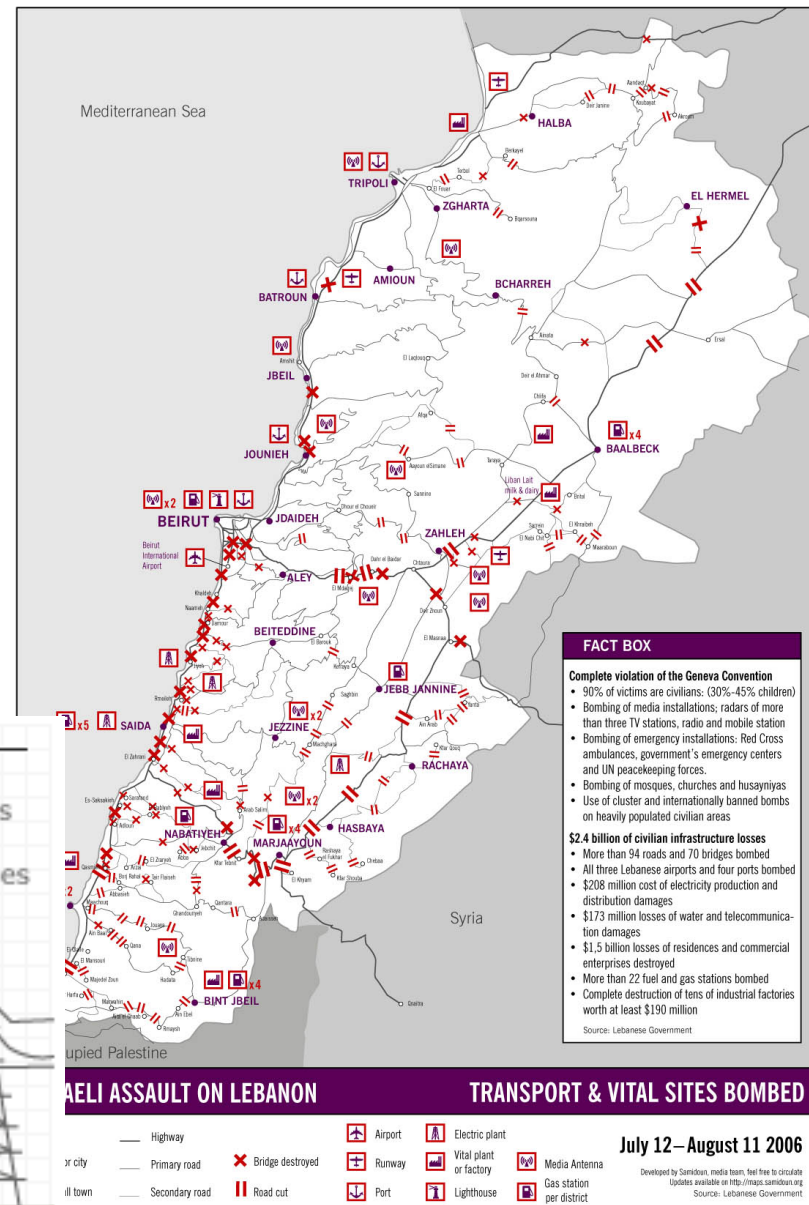
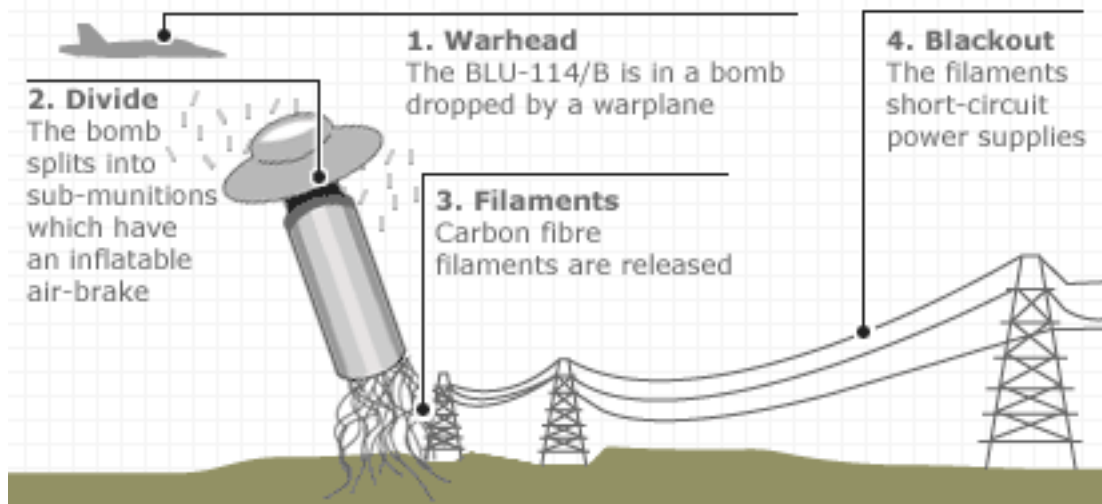


"If you want to
destroy
someone
nowadays, you
go after their
infrastructure"
(Phil Agre, 2001)





Switching cities off:
 “Bomb now, die later”
 “The war on public
 health”
 e.g. Gaza, 1967-,
 Lebanon, 2006,
 Iraq, 1991



7. Resistance

Counter-geographies: Expose, jam, challenge Foucauldian boomerangs underpinning the new military urbanism...

Populate and people urban abstractions



Figure 11.10 Anne-Marie Schleiner's 'OUT of the closet' project, New York, 2004



Figures 11.12 Transposed space: Paula Levine's Shadows from another place project





NYC GUIDE TO WAR PROFITEERS

CONTENTS:

- 1. Introduction
- 2. The War Profiteers
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- 4. The War Profiteers
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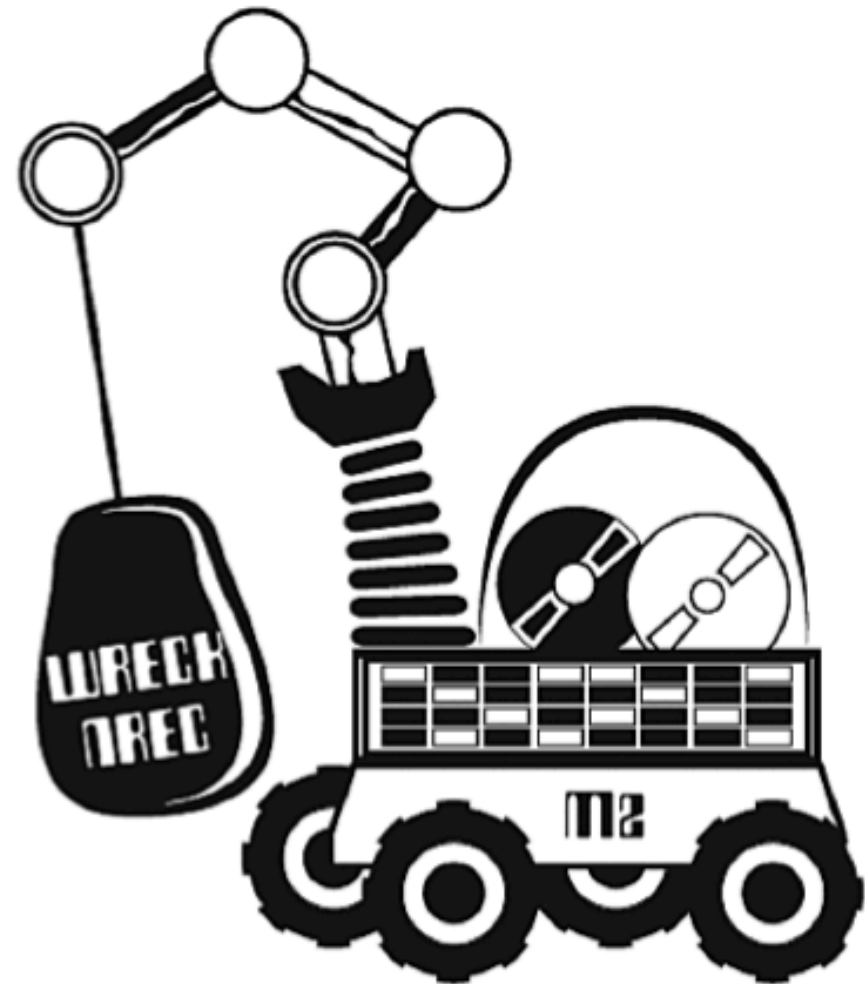
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27 FEB.-5 MARCH 2003

Orange Alert Sirens To Blow 24 Hours A Day In Major Cities

WASHINGTON, DC—As an additional reminder that the U.S. is on high alert for terrorist attacks, Secretary of Homeland Security Tom Ridge announced Tuesday that Orange Alert klaxons will blare 24 hours a day in all major cities.

"These 130-decibel sirens, which, beginning Friday, will scream all day and night in the nation's 50 largest metro areas, will serve as a helpful reminder to citizens to stay on the lookout for suspicious activity and be ready for emergency action," Ridge said. "Please note, though, that this is merely a precautionary measure, so go about your lives as normal."

The sirens, Ridge said, will be strate-

gically positioned throughout each city and will be audible within a three-mile radius. The noise will be loud enough to render conversation impossible within a 200-yard range.

"Some may find their normal sleep patterns disrupted, but it's a small price to pay to ensure our collective awareness of the heightened danger," Ridge said. "The key to preventing terrorist attacks is to have the threat constantly on your mind but still remain calm and act normal."

Ridge stressed that the government does not want individuals to let the blaring sirens affect their work or travel plans.

see SIRENS page 83



Above: Pedestrians in Manhattan maintain a high state of alertness thanks to an Orange Alert siren.

**THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE
TAKE PHOTOS EVERY DAY.
WHAT IF ONE OF THEM
SEEMS ODD?**

Terrorists use surveillance to help plan attacks, taking photos and making notes about security measures like the location of CCTV cameras. If you see someone doing that, we need to know. Let experienced officers decide what action to take.

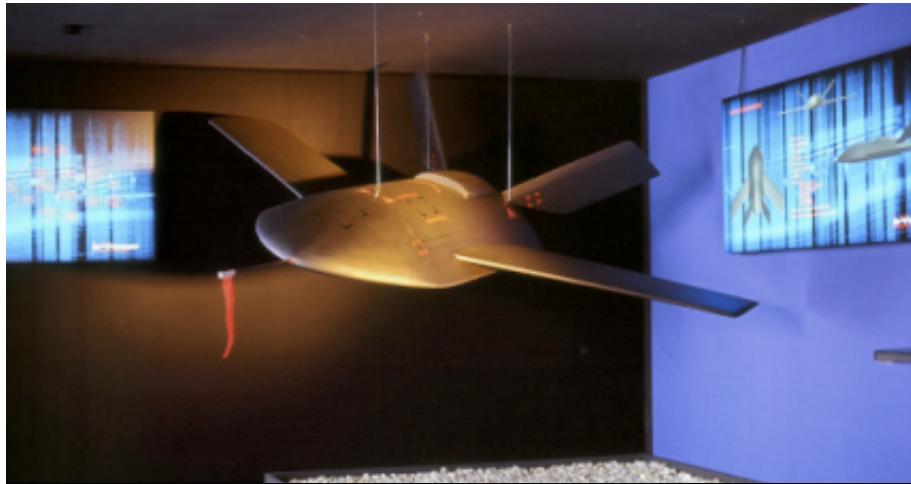


**MILLIONS OF PEOPLE
TAKE PHOTOS EVERY DAY.
SOME OF THEM ARE BROWN.
PLEASE DO NOT SHOOT THEM.**



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