

Twenty Years of War: The Causes and Costs of the Post-9/11 Wars

Course Code: HIS 04

Instructor: Jennifer Greenburg

Class Sessions and Recording

Meeting days and times: Mondays 530-730pm (PST)

Meeting location: Live Online (Zoom)

The class sessions will be recorded. I encourage you to attend live online sessions to the greatest extent possible, as lectures will be broken up with interactive activities, small group discussions in breakout rooms, possibilities for Q&A, and unique opportunities to interact with several guest speakers. You will get much more out of this course by attending live. Students may still earn credit by watching class recordings, and are encouraged to watch recordings if they have a conflict during scheduled class times.

Course Features:

- Live session
 - Lecture, discussions, and Q&A
 - Opportunities for interaction and active participation
 - Guest speakers
 - An informal drop-in time for student Q&A
- Assignments & Coursework
 - Assignments, supplementary resources, and course materials posted in Canvas
 - Readings will include policy papers and journalistic sources alongside traditional academic texts. Readings will be accompanied by multi-media and artistic commentary on war and violence.
 - Optional discussions in Canvas
- Instructor will hold office hours
- Individual conferences available by request

Course Summary

This course reflects on the causes and consequences of the post-9/11 wars. In contrast to popular and media interpretations of the August 2021 Kabul airlift as the “end” of the war on terror, we will ask how these wars have morphed and expanded as we enter their third decade. This course will benefit anyone seeking to better understand how the past two decades have been shaped by war. Students will come

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away from the course better equipped to understand the expanding geography of war and conflict today, including the war in Ukraine. There is no prior required knowledge or skills to complete this course aside from interest in and engagement with course topics. Students will have the opportunity to learn from instructor-led lectures and interactive small group sessions. They will also have the unique opportunity to interact with two guest speakers who have done direct, applied research and policy advocacy in this field. In participatory segments of the class, we will abide by discussion guidelines that establish respect for a variety of political viewpoints and life experiences.

*Please see course page for full description and additional details.

Grade Options and Requirements

- No Grade Requested (NGR)
 - This is the default option. No work will be required; no credit shall be received; no proof of attendance can be provided.
- Credit/No Credit (CR/NC)
 - Students must attend and/or watch at least [5] class sessions.
- Letter Grade (A, B, C, D, No Pass)
 - Students must attend and/or watch at least [5] class sessions and complete a document or news analysis of a primary source related to the course material.

*Please Note: If you require proof that you completed a Continuing Studies course for any reason (for example, employer reimbursement), you must choose either the Letter Grade or Credit/No Credit option. Courses taken for NGR will not appear on official transcripts or grade reports.

Textbooks/Required Materials

All required course materials will be made available via canvas. If you prefer to read hard copies of required excerpts from books, assigned books should be widely available online or through most academic (and some public) library systems. Electronic copies of required material will be made freely available (in compliance with fair use copyright law).

First Assignment

Please read these two short pieces prior to the first class:

Mahmood Mamdani, “Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: An African Perspective” (2001)
<https://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/mamdani.htm>

David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2020. Introduction.

Tentative Weekly Outline

Week 1 (June 20): Going to War

How did the post-9/11 wars start? What are their deeper roots? How do we situate them within a longer history of what anthropologist David Vine calls “the United States of war”?

REQUIRED READING

Mahmood Mamdani, “Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: An African Perspective” (2001)
<https://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/mamdani.htm>

David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2020. Introduction.

RECOMMENDED (OPTIONAL) READING

Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Verso, 2007.

Kathleen Belew, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.

Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* New York: Verso, 2009.

Rajiv Chandrasekaran. *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone*. Knopf: 2006.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon, 2014.

Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*. New York: Three Leaves Press, 2005.

Roberto González, Hugh Gusterson, and Gustaaf Houtman, eds. *Militarization: A Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

George Packer. *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. New York: Penguin, 2006.

Week 2(June 27): Fighting War (I)

How were the post-9/11 wars fought? In Part I of this segment, we will focus on soldiering. Readings provide a window into the effects of war on US military personnel and American society more broadly.

REQUIRED READING

Aaron Glantz. *The War Comes Home: Washington's Battle Against America's Veterans*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2009. Part I: Coming Home.

RECOMMENDED (OPTIONAL) READING

Catherine Lutz. *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century*. Boston: Beacon, 2001.

Kenneth T. MacLeish, *Making War at Fort Hood: Life and Uncertainty in a Military Community*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Jennifer Terry, *Attachments to War: Biomedicine and Violence in Twenty-First-Century America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

Zoe Wool, *After War: The Weight of Life at Walter Reed*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Zoe Wool, ed. *Soldier Exposures and Technical Publics*. Public Books, February 14, 2013. Avail online:

<https://www.publicbooks.org/soldier-exposures-and-technical-publics/>

Veteran reflections on 20 years of war:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/opinion/afghanistan-veterans-september-11.html>

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/09/08/us/politics/9-11-veterans-afghanistan.html>

Week 3 (July 11): Fighting War (II)

This week, in Part II of our “Fighting War” segment, we will examine drone war. How are the post-9/11 wars fought from the air? What is the specific cost of fighting wars via drone? Who pays this cost?

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Neta Crawford, *Accountability in Killing: Moral Responsibility for Collateral Damage in America's Post-9/11 Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Selections.

Azmat Khan, "The Civilian Casualty Files: Hidden Pentagon Records Reveal Patterns of Failure in Deadly Airstrikes," *New York Times*, December 18 2021, Avail online: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/18/us/airstrikes-pentagon-records-civilian-deaths.html>

RECOMMENDED (OPTIONAL) READING

Airwars Annual Report for 2021. Also see news and investigations at <https://airwars.org/reports/in-depth-report>.

Derek Gregory, "From a View to Kill: Drones and Late Modern War." *Theory, Culture & Society* 28 (7-8) 2011: 188-215.

Dave Philipps, "The Unseen Scars of Those Who Kill Via Remote Control," *New York Times*, April 15, 2022. Avail online: https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/15/us/drones-airstrikes-ptsd.html?utm_source=P%26S%3A+Drone+News+Roundup+%E2%80%94+All&utm_campaign=4770080e43-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_08_01_04_01_COPY_02&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_066db1cbcd-4770080e43-391888040

Riverbend, *Baghdad Burning: Girl Blog From Iraq*. New York: Feminist Press, 2006.

Maja Zehfuss. "Targeting: Precision and the Production of Ethics." *European Journal of International Relations* 17(3) 2011: 543-566.

Week 4 (July 18): The Costs of War

This week we will first provide an overview of the large-scale human and economic costs of the post-9/11 wars, in terms of US budgetary obligations, human displacement globally, and war deaths. We will then (this week and next) delve in depth to examine how specific terrains such as policing and domestic politics have been affected by war.

REQUIRED READING

Listen to "After 20 Years, Measuring the True Costs of the Post-9/11 Wars," *Trending Globally: Politics and Policy*, September 8 2021. <https://trending-globally.captivate.fm/episode/after-20-years-measuring-the-true-costs-of-americas-post-9-11-wars>.

Peruse map, "United States Counterterrorism Operations, 2018-2010." <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2021/US%20Counterterrorism%20Operations%202018-2020%2C%20Costs%20of%20War.pdf>

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Read “overview” sections for all (other sections are recommended but not required) Neta Crawford, “The U.S. Budgetary Costs of the Post-9/11 Wars,” Costs of War Project, Brown University. September 1, 2021.

https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2021/Costs%20of%20War_U.S.%20Budgetary%20Costs%20of%20Post-9%2011%20Wars_9.1.21.pdf

Neta Crawford and Catherine Lutz, “Human Cost of Post-9/11 Wars: Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones, Afghanistan & Pakistan (Oct. 2001 - Aug. 2021); Iraq (March 2003 - Aug. 2021); Syria (Sept. 2014 - May 2021); Yemen (Oct. 2002-Aug. 2021) and Other Post-9/11 War Zones,” Costs of War Project, Brown University, September 1, 2021.

https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2021/Costs%20of%20War_Direct%20War%20Deaths_9.1.21.pdf

OPTIONAL FURTHER READING

Spencer Ackerman, *Reign of Terror: How the 9/11 Era Destabilized America and Produced Trump*. New York: Viking, 2021.

Deepa Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012.

David Vine, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, et al. “Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States’ Post-9/11 Wars.” Costs of War Project, Brown University. September 21, 2020.

https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Displacement_Vine%20et%20al_Costs%20of%20War%202020%2009%2008.pdf

Browse all Costs of War papers, according to your own interests

<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/papers>

[Interactive Map and Other Infographics, USA Today, featuring geographic reach of post-9.11 wars, drawing on Costs of War data](#)

Week 5 (July 25): War and Global Abolition

We will focus on police militarization as a specific cost of war. We will host a guest speaker to discuss her research on police militarization.

Guest speaker: [Jessica Katzenstein](#), Inequality in America Initiative Fellow, Harvard University Faculty of Arts and Sciences

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Jessica Katzenstein, "The Wars are Here: How the United States' Post-9/11 Wars Helped Militarize U.S. Police." Costs of War Project, Brown University. September 16, 2020
https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Police%20Militarization_Costs%20of%20War_Sept%2016%202020.pdf

OPTIONAL FURTHER READING

Brett Story, *The Prison in 12 Landscapes*. Documentary (2017).
<https://www.prisonlandscapes.com/>

Jordan T. Camp and Christina Heatherton. *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*. New York: Verso, 2016.

Jordan T. Camp. *Incarcerating the Crisis: Freedom Struggles and the Rise of the Neoliberal State*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.

Nick Estes. *Our History is the Future*. New York: Verso, 2019.

Anna Feigenbaum. *Tear Gas*. New York: Verso, 2017.

Nikhil Pal Singh. *Race and America's Long War*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

Stuart Shrader. *Badges Without Borders: How Global Counterinsurgency Transformed American Policing*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019.

Week 6 (August 1): War Futures

What do the post-9/11 wars look like as they enter their third decade? This week we will focus on the war on terror in Africa, hosting a guest speaker who has done research on how the war on terror has fomented terror and violence in Africa. We will conclude the class by considering how this material challenges us to see solutions beyond war to the Ukraine crisis.

Guest speaker: [Stephanie Savell](#) Senior Researcher, Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University; Co-Director, Costs of War.

REQUIRED READING

Stephanie Savell, "US Security Assistance to Burkina Faso Laid the Groundwork for a Coup," *Foreign Policy*, February 3 2022, Avail online:
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/03/burkina-faso-coup-us-security-assistance-terrorism-military/>.

Neta Crawford, "Reliable Death Tolls From the Ukraine War are Hard to Come By - The Result of Undercounts and Manipulation," *The Conversation*, April 4, 2022.

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<https://theconversation.com/reliable-death-tolls-from-the-ukraine-war-are-hard-to-come-by-the-result-of-undercounts-and-manipulation-179905>

RECOMMENDED READING

Nick Turse, *Tomorrow's Battlefield: US Proxy Wars and Secret Ops in Africa*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015.

Additional news articles on Burkina Faso:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/magazine/burkina-faso-terrorism-united-states.html>

<https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/01/05/the-war-on-terror-is-a-success-for-terror/>

<https://prospect.org/world/war-on-terror-accelerates-in-africa/>

Additional media on Ukraine:

Andrea Mazzarino, "The Costs of (Another) War: When We Could be Fighting Climate Change," *Tom Dispatch*, March 29, 2022.

<https://tomdispatch.com/the-costs-of-another-war/>

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/26/ukraine-deaths-casualties/>

<https://www.wired.com/story/ukraine-is-in-an-environmental-crisis-too/>

Further reading on nonviolent resistance in Ukraine, courtesy of Costs of War teaching resources:

[Ukraine: nonviolent resistance is a brave and often effective response to aggression](#), Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, *The Conversation*, March 5, 2022.

[Ukraine's secret weapon may prove to be civilian resistance](#), Daniel Hunter, *Waging Nonviolence*, Feb. 17, 2022.

[Ukraine doesn't need to match Russia's military might to defend against invasion](#), George Lakey, *Waging Nonviolence*, Feb. 25, 2022.

[Why Ukrainians are ready to fight for their democracy](#), Olga Boichak, *The Conversation*, Feb. 3, 2022.

FINAL COURSE SYLLABUS

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