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 multimedia 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
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

**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**


**RECOMMENDED (OPTIONAL) READING**


Please contact the Stanford Continuing Studies office with any questions
365 Lasuen St., Stanford, CA 94305
continuingstudies@stanford.edu
650-725-2650

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

RECOMMENDED (OPTIONAL) READING


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?

REQUIRED READING:


RECOMMENDED (OPTIONAL) READING
Airwars Annual Report for 2021. Also see news and investigations at https://airwars.org/reports/in-depth-report.


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


Please contact the Stanford Continuing Studies office with any questions 365 Lasuen St., Stanford, CA 94305 continuingstudies@stanford.edu 650-725-2650
Read “overview” sections for all (other sections are recommended but not required)


OPTIONAL FURTHER READING


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

**REQUIRED READING**

OPTIONAL FURTHER READING
https://www.prisonlandscapes.com/


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.

RECOMMENDED READING

Additional news articles on Burkina Faso:

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:

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


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.