

**Course Title:** 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 5:30-7:30pm (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

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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>

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 and Chapter 1. (This will be available in Canvas one week prior to class)

## 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 and Chapter 1.

#### *Recommended or further reading*

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

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.

### **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*

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

#### *Recommended or further reading*

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

Zoe Wool, ed. *Soldier Exposures and Technical Publics*. *Public Books*, February 14, 2013. Avail online:  
<https://www.publicbooks.org/soldier-exposures-and-technical-publics/>

**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*

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 Reading*

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](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)

**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.*

*Required reading*

*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%20U.S.%20Budgetary%20Costs%20of%20Post-9%2011%20Wars%209.1.21.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%20Direct%20War%20Deaths%209.1.21.pdf>

*recommended reading*

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%20et%20al%20Costs%20of%20War%202020%2009%2008.pdf>

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

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

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

**Week 5 (July 25): War and Global Abolition**

*We will focus on police militarization as a specific cost of war. We will host guest speaker Jessica Katzenstein who will discuss her research on police militarization.*

*required reading*

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](https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Police%20Militarization_Costs%20of%20War_Sept%2016%202020.pdf)

*recommended reading*

Brett Story, *The Prison in 12 Landscapes*. Documentary (2017).

<https://www.prisonlandscapes.com/>

**Week 6 (August 1): War Futures**

*What is the future of the post-9/11 wars? 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/>.

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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.

<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/>