George W. Bush’s Legacy: The Global War on Terror
The Architects of the Global War on Terror

Module 6, Lesson 1
Basic Timeline of the 9/11 Overt Wars

- **Sep 11, 2001**: Terrorist attacks on US Soil
- **Oct 7, 2001**: The US Invades Afghanistan
- **Mar 19, 2003**: The US begins its air offensive in Iraq. Ground troops enter the next day.
- **Jun 15, 2014**: The US reenters Iraq due to ISIS
- **Aug 30, 2021**: Final US troop withdraw from Afghanistan
- **Mar 15, 2023**: 2500 US troops remain in Iraq, twenty years since the Iraq war.
George W. Bush and the search for the Weapons of Mass Destruction

White House Correspondent’s Dinner where Bush jokes about not being able to find the WMDs.

President George W. Bush addresses the nation from the Oval Office at the White House Wednesday evening, March 19, 2003, announcing the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom. White House photo by Paul Morse. Public Domain

Oct 10, 2002 at 3:05 pm ET.
On Passage of the Bill in the House

296-133

Oct 11, 2002 at 12:50 am ET.
On the Joint Resolution in the Senate

77-23

Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Votes</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yea</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nay</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Voting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


## Human Costs of the Global War on Terror

Source: The Costs of War, Watson Institute, Brown University

---

### Human Cost of Post-9/11 Wars:
Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones,

Neta C. Crawford and Catherine Lutz
September 1, 2021

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Afghanistan</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>Iraq</th>
<th>Syria/ISIS</th>
<th>Yemen</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Military</td>
<td>2,324</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,598</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. DOD Civilian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Contractors</td>
<td>3,917</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>8,189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Military and Police</td>
<td>69,095</td>
<td>9,431</td>
<td>45,519 - 48,719</td>
<td>80,600</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>204,645 - 207,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Allied Troops</td>
<td>1,144</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>13,407</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14,874</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians</td>
<td>46,319</td>
<td>24,099</td>
<td>185,831 - 208,964</td>
<td>95,000</td>
<td>12,690</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>363,939 - 387,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition Fighters</td>
<td>52,893</td>
<td>32,838</td>
<td>34,806 - 39,881</td>
<td>77,000</td>
<td>99,321</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>296,858 - 301,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists/ Media Workers</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanitarian/NGO Workers</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>176,206</td>
<td>66,650</td>
<td>275,087 - 306,495</td>
<td>266,325</td>
<td>112,092</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>897,150 - 928,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (Rounded to Nearest 1,000)</td>
<td>176,000</td>
<td>67,000</td>
<td>275,000 - 306,000</td>
<td>266,000</td>
<td>112,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>897,000 - 929,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Human Costs:
- 897,150 – 928,558 **direct war deaths**
- 363,939 – 287,072 of whom were civilians
The Financial Costs of the Global War on Terror

Estimate of U.S. Post-9/11 War Spending, in $ Billions FY2001–FY2022

Financial Cost of Iraq alone: an estimated $1.922 trillion in current dollars
(Source: Military Times)

Table: The Costs of War, Brown University
The Architects Of The Global War On Terror

Top row, left to right: Dick Cheney, John Bolton, Gina Haspel, Colin Powell, Donald Rumsfeld. Bottom row, left to right: Lewis “Scooter” Libby, Paul Wolfowitz, Condoleezza Rice, Stephen Cambone, George W. Bush.

All images are from the public domain.
Defining Terms: The Bush Doctrine

The Bush administration claimed that the US was locked in a global war; a war of ideology, in which its enemies are bound together by a common ideology and a common hatred of democracy and therefore needed to be reigned in.

This came to be known as the Bush Doctrine. Two main pillars are identified for the doctrine:

1. preemptive strikes against potential enemies
2. promoting democratic regime change

Note to President George W. Bush from Condoleezza Rice

President George W. Bush wrote, "Let Freedom Reign" in response to a note passed to him by Dr. Condoleezza Rice while attending the opening session of a NATO summit June 28, 2004, in Istanbul, Turkey.

Small Group Work

Research your assigned individual and summarize findings

Name/Title/Role: Who was this individual? What was their role?

Stance: To what extent did this individual support the Global War on Terror?

Evidence: How did they shape public messaging about the war either directly (e.g. public statements) or indirectly (e.g. influence behind the scenes)?

Impact: What was this individual’s influence on the Global War on Terror?
Lesson Debrief:

As Commander in Chief, the ultimate decision-making authority for the U.S. invasion of Iraq belonged to the President. **Why is it important for us to consider the architects of this invasion – some of whom were working quietly behind-the-scenes?**

1. What were some of the “justifications” that these architects provided for the GWOT?
2. What particular words or language did they use?
3. What do we now know about the evidence they were citing?
4. What did you learn about media bias through your research?
Torture, International Law, and US Exceptionalism

Module 6, Lesson 3 – Day 1
Torture has a specific, legal definition and must meet four criteria as per the UN Convention Against Torture (UNCAT), which is an international law:

1. the act must be done with **intent**,  
2. there is **extreme** pain and suffering  
3. it is done for the **purpose** of eliciting information or other objectives, and  
4. it is consented by a person **acting in an official capacity**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Torture</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• consists of severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, inflicted for purposes such as obtaining information or a confession, exerting pressure, intimidation, or humiliation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cruel or inhuman (synonymous terms) treatment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• consists of acts which – like torture - cause serious pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, or which constitute a serious outrage upon individual dignity. <strong>Unlike torture, however, these acts do not need to be committed for a specific purpose.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Humiliating or degrading (synonymous terms) treatment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• consists of acts which cause real and serious humiliation or a serious outrage upon human dignity, and whose intensity is such that any reasonable person would feel outraged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ill-treatment (or mistreatment)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• is not a legal term, but it is an umbrella term that covers all the above-mentioned acts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• (Source: <a href="https://www.icrc.org/eng/document/2016/2016-04-07-may-iit">International Committee of The Red Cross, 2016</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (known as UNCAT) is an instrument of accountability that is meant to enforce an absolute prohibition of torture.

The Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10th, 1984 and entered into force on June 26, 1987.

The United States signed onto the treaty on April 18, 1988 and ratified the treaty on October 21, 1994 (the United States made some reservations to two articles).

Regardless of these reservations, the crux of the UNCAT’s meaning applies to and is binding on the US government.
What does the UNCAT actually do?

- Defines what is meant by torture
- Bans the use of torture, cruel and degrading treatment
- Bans *refoulement* (the extradition of individuals at risk to countries where they may face torture)
- Requires governments to actively prevent torture
- Requires governments to investigate torture allegations
- Requires governments to provide remedy to torture victims
- Establishes an appropriate UN committee to deal with issues of redress, monitoring and investigation
For the purposes of this Convention, the term "torture" means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions.
Despite ratifying UNCAT, the US did so conditionally, arguing that it requires domestic implementing legislation to take effect.

The **US developed its own guidelines** on what constitutes torture in a 2002 memo disregarding existing laws.

In 2005, President Bush stated that the Convention Against Torture **did not apply to overseas secret** prisons operated by the CIA and the military.

Torture was used by the US in the Global War on Terror despite being in defiance of the Convention Against Torture (UNCAT), which the US is party to.
The US and Torture (cont)

In developing its own guidelines, the US narrowed the definition of torture by stating that it would only seek to prevent cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment or punishment as these terms’ definitions were understood in the context of the US Constitution.

Irrespective of the US’ justifications for use of torture, torture is illegal and the use of the practice of torture constitutes a war crime.
Defining Terms: **US Exceptionalism**

The belief that the US’ values, political system, and history are unique and worthy of universal admiration.

This belief in American exceptionalism was heightened in the aftermath of 9/11. Many felt that US values were being attacked and had to be protected at all costs - even if this meant taking actions contrary to those values, such as torture. This contradiction makes a mockery of the belief of US exceptionalism (and also breaks international law).
Under no circumstances is torture legal or acceptable.
Torture, International Law, and US Exceptionalism

Module 6, Lesson 3 – Day 2
Day 1 Recap:

Torture has been a systemic practice by the United States - not an anomaly.

Torture is illegal and the use of practice of torture constitutes a war crime.

Torture was used by the US in the Global War on Terror despite being in defiance of the Convention Against Torture (UNCAT).
Black Site

A secret facility used by a country's military as a prison and interrogation center, whose existence is denied by the government.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

UNITED STATES SECRET DETENTION FACILITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Facilities</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Facilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba (Guantanamo Bay)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information displayed on this map was provided by the United Nations Human Rights Council Report on Secret Detention*, and includes the locations of 19 United States secret detention facilities around the globe. Amnesty International USA extracted geographic information from the report to create a map demonstrating the various locations of these facilities. It is important to note that these locations are only the US secret detention facilities mentioned in the UNHRC report on secret detention, and therefore may not include all facilities.

Defining Terms: Enhanced interrogation

“Enhanced interrogation” is a euphemism for the program of systematic torture of detainees by the CIA, for example, the use of waterboarding, starvation, sleep deprivation etc.

The use of the term “enhanced interrogation” is used to cover up the brutal, violent, deadly torture perpetrated by US military and intelligence, primarily on Muslim men and boys. The term was deliberately used by the Bush administration to create distance from the abuses that had become public.
The US’ engagement with torture was an **officially sanctioned, worldwide regime of torture involving dozens of countries.**

At least 119 detainees were subject to harsh interrogation at various CIA black sites, of which at least 39 of the men were subjected torture.

The report clearly acknowledges that “torture does not work”.

Any useful intelligence garnered from these prisoners came from traditional non-violent questioning; torture tactics produced nothing further of value.
Only 525 pages of the report has been shared with the public; the bulk of the 6700 page report remains classified and therefore we do not have the full picture of the US torture program.
How do these case studies and the torture timeline challenge or enhance your understandings of how the US engaged in the War on Terror?

Why is it important to learn about the practice of torture by the CIA and in the War on Terror more generally?
Torture has an extremely destructive impact on survivors - some may not be able to recover or resume any semblance of normalcy.

The CIA’s rendition, detention, and interrogation program that ran from 2002-2009 employed the most brutal tactics against “suspected terrorists.” These acts were unequivocally torture, which is a war crime according to international law.

No person has been held accountable for these crimes.

There is no justification for torture.