

ON THE STRATEGIC DECISION-MAKING IN THE SECOND PERSIAN GULF WAR

"See, part of being a leader is: you can't lead unless you know where you want to go. You can't say 'follow me' and not have a destination. We have a destination in mind, and that is a freer world." George W. Bush¹

Introduction

As ongoing war in Iraq still divides opinions in and outside of the United States, the issue of the strategic leadership and decision making inside the U.S. government does that too. It is extremely difficult to acquire impartial information concerning the issue. The full chronology of what actions took place in U.S. planning before or during the war to force Saddam Hussein from power is still unclear. Many sources of this article are **strongly disputed or secondary in nature.**

Formal influence

Legal and organizational base for U.S. government decision making

"And the one who decides, the one who makes the foreign policy decisions for the United States of America, is not the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of Defense or the National Security Advisor. It's the President."²

However, it is obvious that the president needs assistance while dealing with foreign policy issues.

National Security Council

The National Security Council³, which members meet at the White House in order to discuss national security issues, played the crucial role during the planning phase of the second Gulf War. The National Security Council is the president's most important forum for considering foreign policy matters with his advisors and cabinet members.

The function of the Council is to advise the president with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable different Governmental bodies to co-operate effectively in matters involving the national security. The president is presiding over meetings of the Council. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff may, in his role as the most important military adviser to the Council, attend and participate in meetings if the president so decides.⁴

The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (NSA) directs the Council staff which is also known as the Executive Secretariat. Staff members are selected from the diplomatic corps, the intelligence community, the civil service, the military services, academia and the private sector. The NSC staff does the long term coordination and integration of foreign policy and national security matters across the government.

As U.S. planes were attacking almost daily Iraqi targets between 1991 and 2003 and Saddam Hussein was seen as the greatest threat for Middle East stability, it is not surprising that Iraq was in many cases the number one issue in Security Councils meetings⁵. It was before Bush was inaugurated when Richard Cheney decided that Topic A in meetings should be Iraq. He wanted to make sure that the president understood the situation concerning Iraq⁶.

The National Security Council and the National Security Council Staff working procedures are personalised to the president's style⁷. After 9/11 much of the decision environment involving the War on Terror became embedded in meetings which included the core personnel of the NSC and others closest to Bush. This group was known as the "War Cabinet"⁸. Also the Vice President Richard Cheney, who was extremely experienced politician, seemed to favour centralized advisory system.

Iraq Liberation Act of 1998

Congress has the constitutional responsibility to examine policy initiatives and issue assets for foreign affairs and national defence. Thus the numerous congressional committees and their staffs have significant impact on foreign policy. In 1973 Congress passed the War Powers Resolution (WPR) to ensure that Congress and the president share in making decisions about the use of force.⁹ While presidents have never acknowledged the constitutionality of the War Power Resolution they have reported to Congress accordingly.

Between August 2 1990, when Iraq invaded and began a 7 month occupation of Kuwait, and March 2003, the relationship between Saddam Hussein's Iraq and United States could have been described as cautious at best. The first Gulf War,

which aimed to liberate Kuwait, not to occupy Iraq, ended on February 28, 1991. After that date the U.S. and Iraq were extremely hostile towards each other until the second Gulf War erupted 2003.

Saddam Hussein was broadly seen as the greatest threat against American interests¹⁰ on Gulf area. The U.S. Congress stated regarding United States policy towards Iraq 1998 that "It should be policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace the regime." The president at the time, Bill Clinton, signed H.R. 4655, the "Iraq Liberation Act of 1998." October 31 that year.¹¹

In Persian Gulf area, the presence of U.S. forces became practically permanent. They enforced no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq. Moreover – they represented the long-term commitment of the United States to regional allies – namely Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.¹²

9/11 – Joint Resolution Authorizing the Use of Force Against Terrorists

Three days after the terrorist attacks Congress passed a Joint Resolution, authorizing the president "to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons **he determines** planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on Sept. 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons."¹³ Three weeks later president Bush reported to Congress the use of force against Afghanistan. The terrorist attacks and the following Global War On Terror (GWOT) have also broadened the scope of Department of Defense's role in the interagency arena.

Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002

On October 16, 2002, the president signed into law the "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002." The resolution authorized the president to use the armed forces to defend the national security of the United States against the threat posed by Iraq and to enforce all relevant U.N. resolutions regarding Iraq.¹⁴

Informal influence

Pressure Groups

In the years before and during the Bush administration, there was ongoing internal battle within key foreign policy structures over the strategic direction of U.S. national security policy. With the end of the Cold War and geopolitical conflict, the foreign policy agenda was captured by new issues like free trade, democratization, terrorism etc. There were those who believed in a traditional multilateral approach and those who believed unilateral stance.¹⁵

The Project for the New American Century

“Educational organization” named the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) was established in the spring of 1997. This organization, which promotes American global leadership, has raised several questions and a few conspiracy theories. The most direct accusation against PNAC claims that they actually orchestrated the whole war against Iraq.¹⁶ It is indeed obvious that PNAC promotes U.S. position as the world’s only superpower which grand strategy should aim to preserve and extend that position as far into the future as possible. The Defense Policy Guidance (DPG), which was drafted in the beginning of 1992, formed bases for PNAC military thinking. The later suppressed DPG document was crafted by Lewis Libby and Paul Wolfowitz at the request of Defense Secretary Richard Cheney – who all became members of the George W. Bush government some eight years later. DPG is currently regarded as an early formulation of the neoconservatives’ post-cold war agenda.¹⁷

Members of the PNAC were dissatisfied with President Clinton’s policy towards Iraq and wrote a well-known letter to the president January 26, 1998. On that letter they stated: “...we are convinced that current American policy toward Iraq is not succeeding.” They urged the president to pronounce a new strategy, which should aim at the removal of Saddam Hussein’s regime from power.¹⁸

Putting conspiracy theories aside, it is interesting to notice that eleven out of eighteen people, who signed the actual letter, were later nominated into the president George W. Bush cabinet. Among those were Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld¹⁹ and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. When looking at these names and numbers we should keep in mind that by the time that George W. Bush won the election, neo-cons²⁰ were the strongest foreign policy faction in the Republican Party²¹. As the Clinton presidency came to a close, PNAC moved decisively to make sure that its agenda was highly visible at the 2000 Republican presidential primaries. Neo-conservatives didn’t succeed having their own

primary candidate, Malcolm Stevenson Forbes Jr.²², elected so they supported George W. Bush.

At first neo-cons and PNAC appeared to be dissatisfied with the new president. George Bush didn't promote increases in defence spending or force transformation that the PNAC detailed. Neo-cons felt that realistic policy advocated by Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice²³ at that time was, in fact, the policy of Bush too.

The other letter from PNAC to the president of the United States is dated September 20, 2001. The letter was written after 9/11 terrorist attacks and was quite straight forward in its wordings. "It may be that the Iraqi government provided assistance in some form to the recent attack on the United States. **But even if the evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack**, any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and its sponsors must include a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq."²⁴

The case for war

*"Mr. Chairman, the last thing we want is a smoking gun.
A gun smokes after it has been fired"²⁵*

The U.S. government estimated that intelligence is the first line of defence against terrorists and the threat posed by hostile nations.²⁶ In his statement before the House Armed Services Committee on Iraq September 18th 2002, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff estimated that "the Iraqi regime remains a significant threat to our interests and those of our allies". Moreover, he stated that "Iraq's weapon of mass destruction program represents a greater threat to American lives, our interests and those of our allies and friends." According to General Myers, Iraq "**without any doubt**" valued clandestine programs in order to produce nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.²⁷ His statement was, of course, one part in the flow of information, which was later described as a failure of the U.S. Intelligence Community in it's assessments on Iraq.²⁸

The main question is **why** the Intelligence Community failed or would seem like that? Is the failure result of the deliberate attempt to misguide the nation? When U.S. Intelligence Community drafted the National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction September 2002, most what analysts actually knew for fact pre-dated the 1991 Gulf War.²⁹ According to an official report that aspect of uncertainty was never accurately or adequately explained to policy-

makers. Especially CIA was blamed on abusing its unique position in the Intelligence Community and access to policy makers.³⁰

There are, however, some indicators that Intelligence Community's "maybes" were transformed into "hard facts" in the political level of discussions. According to former White House counterterrorism director Richard A. Clarke, it was Donald Rumsfeld who started to suggest right after September 11th that the U.S. should bomb Iraq instead of Afghanistan because Iraq had better targets. According to the Observer magazine, president George Bush first asked Tony Blair to support the removal of Saddam Hussein already nine days after 9/11³¹.

There is also a possibility, that the IC actually gave all the necessary information to different governmental bodies, including the president and the National Security Council, **but the most senior political and military decision makers simply ignored what they felt negative advice.**³² The role of the vice president Cheney should be mentioned. Cheney had a strong background in national security and Bush wanted him to study the nation's vulnerability to terrorism. In that role, the vice president may have been able to press Bush to adopt his views on national security and Iraq. The vice president apparently also issued his own personal National Intelligence Estimate of Hussein.³³

George Bush & foreign policy³⁴

"It would be churlish to claim that the Bush's administration's foreign policy has been error-free from the start. We are human beings; we all make mistakes. But we have always pursued the enlightened self-interest of the American people, and in our purposes and our principles there are no mistakes."³⁵

When George W. Bush started his presidential term, he promised that he would put an "end to the open ended deployments and unclear military missions". This, with the National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice's hint³⁶ that the United States would withdraw its forces from Balkans, raised some concerns in U.S. European allies. However, the president assured NATO allies that troops would remain.

In 2004 the former Secretary of State, Colin L. Powell, wrote in his article "A Strategy of Partnerships" that "it seems that an administration can develop a sound foreign policy strategy, but it can't get people to acknowledge or understand it."³⁷ Powell's article was countering to accusations that the president had no vision for the world, nor any strategy. President's inner circle³⁸ played important role when George Bush's foreign policy was formed.³⁹

The National Security Strategy (NSS) of the United States of America published September 2002⁴⁰, which defined U.S. policy priorities in eight sections, had at least one very important announcement in it. It stated that **“as a matter of common sense and self defense, America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed”**.⁴¹ According to Colin L. Powell the NSS made the concept of pre-emption open in order to reassure the American people that the government possessed common sense: “you do not allow future attacks to happen before you take action.”⁴² However, many foreign governments started to worry the United States is not going to respect treaties or behold to multilateral institutions, if vital U.S. interests are at stake.

Colin Powell promoted the use of diplomatic and economic tools **before** resorting to war. Inside Bush’s government he was one of the last who believed in containment and deterrence. After all, he was one of the few senior officials to have experienced and learned the political and military lessons of the Vietnam War himself. He also promoted the use of **overwhelming force** to carry out specific **political objectives** tied to a definitive **exit strategy** if the course was war⁴³. The use of overwhelming force, political objectives and exit strategy were the corner stones of the “Powell doctrine”. **Bush’s appointment of Powell as Secretary of State implied that the United States would, after “years of an unstable foreign policy”⁴⁴, pursue a return to the Powell Doctrine. After September 11th that was not a case anymore.**⁴⁵

After September 11th, the United States looked to its Commander-in-Chief for strong leadership. 9/11 imposed a national security priority on the George W. Bush administration. At the same time the foreign policy decision making power moved from the Department of the State to the Department of Defense mainly because of the strong personalities of Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz. The 2002 State of the Union speech⁴⁶ was a strong signal of what was going to happen. Iraq, North Korea and Iran were labelled as an **“axis of evil”⁴⁷**. Simultaneously NSS emphasized proactive foreign policy and a pre-emptive military strategy. The State of the Union Address was a starting point of the **public⁴⁸** campaign for military action against Iraq. When discussing with his inner circle the president was in favour of those advisors who presented him what he believed were decisive choices.

“The Man”, George W. Bush

“I’m the kind of guy that when I make up my mind – you know, I appreciate advice and counsel – but we were going. And the doctrine, if you harbour terrorist you are equally as guilty as terrorist, came right from my soul.” George W. Bush⁴⁹

At first the president George W. Bush seemed to continue Clinton's foreign policy regardless of the previous campaign rhetoric. Neo-conservative magazine *Weekly Standard* disagreed strongly with the President's positions on China, Iraq, the Middle East in general and, of course, defence spending.

Bush's aim was to direct foreign policy in general and to delegate the specific details of foreign policy to his aides and cabinet secretaries⁵⁰. President Bush did not – as a leader – see any need to explain his decisions; *“That’s the interesting thing about being the president. Maybe somebody needs to explain to me why they say something, but I don’t feel like I owe anybody an explanation.”*⁵¹

With this leadership style the president may have sometimes discouraged⁵² free-flow of ideas or debate. He has, for example, a habit to nickname people around him. The former Treasury Secretary, “The Big O”, Paul O’Neill, who was fired from his job for disagreeing too many times with the president’s policy on tax cuts, was not amused by this habit. According to him nicknaming was a form of bullying.⁵³ President Bush did not micromanage his staff or engage himself in policy debates with them – it was the Commander-in-Chief leadership. He actually expected consensus after the decision was made.

The role of the United Nations

*“First, the fact is that there are a number of countries that want Saddam Hussein gone. Some are reluctant to say publicly just yet. But, if the U.S. waited for a consensus before acting, we would never do anything.”*⁵⁴

Much of the Bush's government's internal debate was whether to address UN as Colin Powell and Tony Blair insisted or not.⁵⁵ The United Nations was not enjoying particularly good reputation among neo-conservatives during the previous years. In his testimony before the House National Security Committee on Iraq September 18th, 1998, the future Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz stated: *“The United Nations is unable or unwilling to pursue a serious policy in Iraq, one that would aim at liberating the Iraqi people from Saddam's tyrannical grasp and free Iraq's neighbours from Saddam's murderous threats.”*⁵⁶

From the U.S. government point of view, Saddam Hussein ignored all 16 UN Security Council resolutions before the president himself asked the UN Security Council to act. The question was not about the lack of resolutions, but how to proceed if Saddam Hussein obviously continues to challenge them. President

Bush put it in his address to UN as "All the world faces a test, and the United Nations a difficult and defining moment. Are Security Council resolutions to be honoured and enforced, or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?"⁵⁷ Military action seemed to be unavoidable if no drastic action were taken. It is apparent that after September 11th, **Bush accepted, at least partly, neo-conservative view of American leadership as a unipolar hegemony instead of collective security.**

However, **George W. Bush did send his Secretary of State, Colin Powell, to present the U.S. case on Iraq to the UN Security Council.** This had at least three goals to achieve. First, Colin Powell was giving the reluctant international community last chance to join the coalition of willing. Second, Tony Blair needed the gesture in order to stay in the office⁵⁸. Third, he convinced the American public that the war was justified.⁵⁹ Cheap Saudi oil, new military aid and economic assistance were used in an attempt to buy the votes of poor countries on the Security Council.⁶⁰

The U.S. efforts failed and in the beginning of March 2003, the foreign ministers of France, Germany and Russia said that they "will not allow" passage of a UN resolution to authorize war against Iraq. The statement was made public after the three ministers held meeting in Paris. "Russia and France, as permanent members of the Security Council, will assume their full responsibilities on this point."⁶¹ These remarks were important for Saddam Hussein, because he obviously trusted that France and Russia would prevent an invasion by the United States⁶².

As it became apparent that UN resolution will not pass, the White House continued to assemble a "Coalition of the Willing". Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld dismissed France and Germany as "Old Europe" and highlighted favourably the "New Europe"⁶³, which formed important – political⁶⁴ – part of the Coalition. Administration officials stated publicly that they didn't attempt to bully nations into supporting U.S. Iraq policy, but there are some indicators of coercion. The role of the Vice President Richard Cheney must be noted. He was used to convince different countries to join U.S. effort. America was called "the Arm-Twister" when Bush Administration, quite understandably from the power politics point of view, used a mixture of courtship and threats when addressing countries one by one.⁶⁵

Some governments, including United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Australia, Denmark, Portugal and Japan, accepted U.S. position without any pressure.⁶⁶ On Tuesday, March 18 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell released a list of some 30 countries that he claimed had agreed to be publicly identified as members of

the alliance. According to him there were also another 15 countries that preferred to remain anonymous⁶⁷. However, it is important to notice that the list included only 4 of 15 Security Council members and eight of the countries were so called NATO wannabes⁶⁸. Also the designation of Turkey as a member of the coalition is open to discussion at least.

A least Britain initially assumed that they would get far more support from other countries and especially UN than what was actually received. Strong international support and commitment would have been a crucial missing link between Powell Doctrine's exit strategy and Rumsfeld Doctrine's speed and accuracy with light U.S. footprint. Almost as big miscalculation was made when coalition planners assumed that Iraq could use its oil money for quick recovery after a change in country's leadership. Especially an Iraqi exile Ahmed Chalabi was able to convince the administration that nation building in Iraq would be an easy process. However, Chalabi was a quite dubious character and was not broadly trusted.⁶⁹

The war

Lessons learned from Afghanistan formed a basis from which Rumsfeld and General Tommy Franks created their plan for the invasion of Iraq. It is extremely important to notice, that ongoing discussion is part of the similar "lessons learned" process and, as such, highly valuable.

The planning for regime change in Iraq centred in three key concerns: the possible use of weapons of mass destruction, short and victorious war and transition of power to the Iraqis as quickly as possible. For example Powell's arguments that U.S. invasion would lead to further anti-American sentiment and insurgency were dismissed.

During the planning phase of Post-Saddam era, it became clear, that many experts, who were working on U.S. policy, actually had very little knowledge of Iraq. That in turn led to some serious miscalculations. The U.S. government expected that troops would be perceived as liberators and missed the early signs of rising insurgency.

The Joint Staff directed CENTCOM⁷⁰ to create special Joint task Force 4 in order to conduct interagency planning for stabilization operations. The outcome was a 300-page Phase IV Operations Order, which focused on seven lines of operations: unity of effort, security, rule of law, civil administration, governance, humanitarian assistance and resettlement.⁷¹

By March 2003, the Iraqi military was suffering from 13 years of international sanctions, low quality of training and weak morale. For example feared militias were created to defend Iraq from internal enemies, not external ones.

Anyhow, the invasion and battles clearly proved that U.S. armed forces were capable to fight as planned. The overall speed, accuracy and lethality were something unique. The war plans represented a real-world test of Rumsfeld Doctrine which relied on light and lethal forces combined with speed. Militarily the first phase of the war was a great success. However, plans and the reality did not meet after major combat operations were declared to be over.⁷²

The Department of Defense's internal disagreement on troop levels became public three weeks before the invasion when the Army Chief of Staff General Eric Shinseki stated that United States needed at least "several hundred thousands troops" in the post-invasion phase of war. Both Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz rebutted Shinseki's claims.⁷³ Rumsfeld also succeeded in replacing those officers in senior positions who challenged his view.

As it became case in Iraq, force levels needed for defeating the enemy differs from force levels needed for removing the regime from power and conducting post-combat stability operations. In the past, Pentagon war games have given only a little consideration to the force requirements after major combat operations.⁷⁴

It seems quite likely, that the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and Mr. Rumsfeld himself, put intense pressure on the U.S. military to plan for the lowest possible level of deployment.⁷⁵ Moreover, major withdrawals of forces were planned to start almost immediately after Baghdad fell ignoring the fact that U.S. military could not secure rear areas, prevent looting and suppress insurgency.⁷⁶

There is also a totally different viewpoint to the situation in Iraq today. It is not, as we could imagine, a showcase of neo-con OR Bush's administration's failure, but the proof that U.S. military should be strengthened. The U.S. is lacking the force structure that it needs to be itself.⁷⁷

The Office of Reconstruction and Assistance (ORHA) and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA)

January 2003 the U.S. Defense Department established the Office of Reconstruction and Assistance⁷⁸ to deal specifically with a post-Saddam Iraq. **However, it is obvious that the civil military co-operation between ORHA and CENTCOM was almost nonexistent during or after the war and ORHA's mission was given only a modest priority.⁷⁹**

When Saddam Hussein fell the Office was replaced with the Coalition Provisional Authority. It did not solve the problems experienced before. Only a handful of CPA staff spoke Arabic and a large number of them were temporary hires of contractors from several sources. More over, the CPA isolated itself from Iraqis and other allied actors by staying inside separate safe areas.⁸⁰

As one result of the lessons learned from the reconstruction of Iraq the Bush administration promulgated National Security Presidential Directive 44 on December 7, 2005. *"The Secretary of State shall coordinate and lead integrated United States Government efforts, involving all U.S. Departments and Agencies with relevant capabilities, to prepare, plan for, and conduct stabilization and reconstruction activities. The Secretary of State shall coordinate such efforts with the Secretary of Defense to ensure harmonization with any planned or ongoing U.S. military operations across the spectrum of conflict."*⁸¹ That document should solve one principal problem of interagency decision making when clearly naming the person in charge.

Conclusions – decision making in the second persian gulf war

"For the peace of the world and the benefit and freedom of the Iraqi people, I hereby give the order to execute Operation Iraqi Freedom. May God bless the troops."
George W. Bush, March 19, 2003⁸².

It is apparent that no decisions can be made, or were made, regardless of history and national politics. However, there were several factors which gave uplift for neo-conservative thoughts inside George Bush's government.

The administration's inner circle was relatively small⁸³ and without actually attending to the meetings one could easily lose the track on discussions and decisions. Furthermore, the Bush's advisory system, which did not support formal processes, was sustained by strong personalities and the president heard and accepted arguments that were made in the strongest personal fashion⁸⁴. Condoleezza Rice was the only member of the cabinet whom Bush directly asked for a recommendation of whether to go to war⁸⁵.

There was a powerful group of senior politicians, with their own agenda, inside Bush's government. Richard Perle⁸⁶, the Chairman of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz were part of that group. They never disguised their goals concerning Iraq. Also the vice president Richard Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, who were working together already during Ford's presidency (1974–1977), were part of that very influenceable cluster.

Terrorist strike against U.S. homeland on September 11th 2001 had, of course, major impact⁸⁷ on decision making process. It allowed “hidden” ideas to surface⁸⁸ and to materialize and pushed aside maybe more pragmatic world views. **The neocons were more effective in pushing their policies with the president and their viewpoint prevailed over other groups.**

Inside Bush’s government’s decision making cycle there appears to be **several obstacles in a flow of information**. One of the most severe of those was between State department and the rest of the administration.⁸⁹ Secretary of State was informed of President’s decision⁹⁰ for war after Cheney and Bush informed the Saudi Ambassador.

The Department of Defense expected that the Department of State would handle the reconstruction but the Department of State was not informed of this until late at the planning process. Furthermore, the civil-military co-operation was not successful after the major combat operations. **In short: Everyone involved in post-war planning assumed someone else would do reconstruction⁹¹.** The reconstruction planners also assumed that more troops would be available to establish safe and secure environment but that did not happen.

In the months leading up to the war, **opinions of the planners of the war and the top generals divided** quite strongly on troop level needed. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and the Head of the U.S. Central Command General Tommy Franks disregarded claims that the war plan was dangerously thin.

Summary

The strategic decision making process inside Bush government was informal, influenced by strong personalities and sometimes strict disputes. These qualities were combined with heavy neo-conservative thinking and, above all, the shock effect of 9/11 terrorist attacks. These attacks gave the justification for Commander-in-Chief leadership style. Decisions were made as fast and effectively as possible and they were followed through – even if they were controversial in nature.

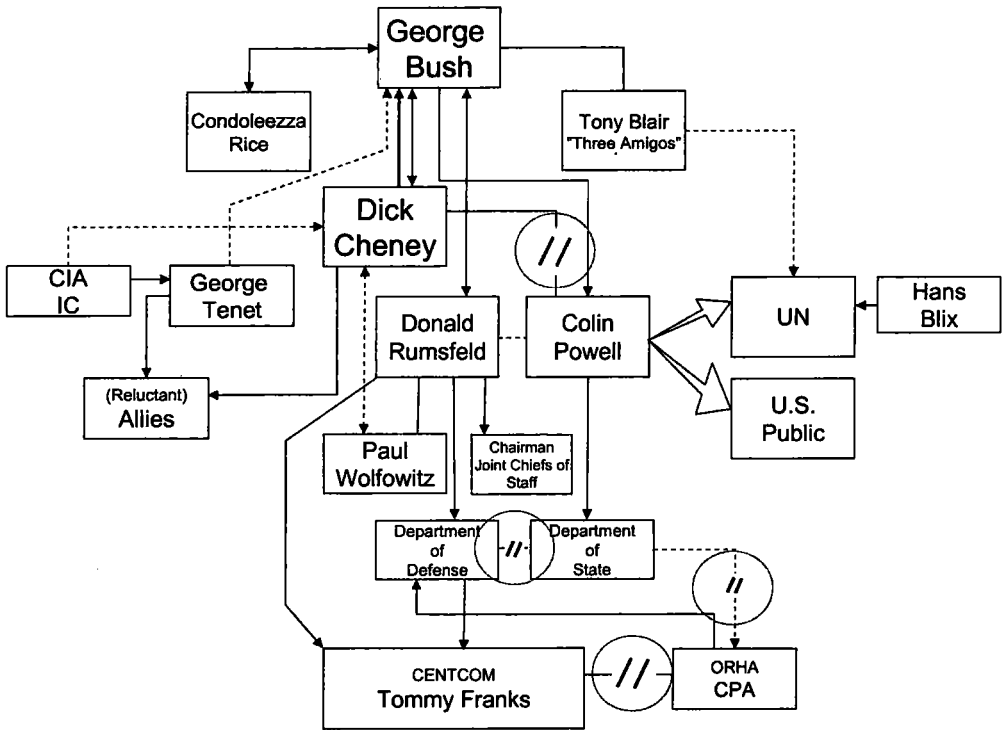


Figure 1: Simplified picture of the strategic decision making in the second Persian Gulf War. Major obstacles in the flow of information circulated.

Notes

- ¹ Tell me – what do you really think of Tony Blair, Mr President?, The Daily Telegraph, April 22, 2006.
- ² Statement of Colin L. Powell, U.S Secretary of State, April 23, 2003.
- ³ The National Security Act of 1947 mandated a major reorganization of the foreign policy establishments of the U.S. Government. The act created many of the institutions, including the National Security Council, that were useful for presidents when formulating and implementing foreign policy. It should be noted that the Council need not to convene formally to function. The creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and the Northern Command after 9/11 is the most important new interagency arrangement since the National Security Act.
- ⁴ U.S. National Security Act of 1947, Title I – Coordination for National Security, National Security Council. See also: Meinhart, Richard. Strategic planning by the Chairmen, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1990 to 2005, April 2006, p. 2-3. The Chairman Joint Chief of Staff's formal leadership responsibilities are described as: 1) Strategic direction 2) Strategic planning 3) Contingency planning and preparedness 4) Advice on requirements, programs, and budget 5) Doctrine, training, and education 6) Other matters. The CJCS, who by law does not exercise military command, also reports to the Secretary of Defense. The Joint Staff has a budget of under \$700 million and consists of approximately 700 military officers, 210 enlisted members, and 195 civilians.

- ⁵ This has raised several theories how George Bush had actually decided to remove Saddam Hussein from power well before 9/11. See e.g. Bush Sought 'Way' To Invade Iraq? CBS Worldwide Inc. Jan. 11, 2004. "From the very first instance, it was about Iraq."
- ⁶ Woodward, Bob, "Plan of Attack", Simon&Schuster, 2004, New York.
- ⁷ Whittaker, Alan G; Smith, Frederick C; McKune, Elizabeth: The National Security Policy Process: The National Security Council and Interagency System, p. 7: "President Johnson continued with an informal advisory NSC system relying upon the National Security Advisor, a small NSC staff, ad hoc groups, and trusted friends. Johnson instituted a "Tuesday Lunch" policy discussion group that included the Secretaries of State and Defense, CIA Director, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Later administrations have found similar weekly breakfast or lunches to be useful for exploring and coordinating policy issues."
- ⁸ Dolan Chris J., Cohen David B., The War About the War: Iraq and the Politics of National Security Advising in the G.W. Bush Administration's First Term, Politics&Policy, Volume 34, No. 1, March 2006, p. 33-34. Membership included: Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Powell, Armitage, Card and Rice. Myers, Franks and Tenet participated as necessary.
- ⁹ War Powers Resolution of 1973 ; "The President in every possible instance shall consult with Congress before introducing United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situation where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances, and after every such introduction shall consult regularly with the Congress until United States Armed Forces are no longer engaged in hostilities or have been removed from such situations."
- ¹⁰ The Persian Gulf's strategic importance is likely to grow in the next 20 years. Nearly one out of every three barrels of oil reserves in the world are under Saudi Arabia or Iraq. See e.g. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/international/contents.html> and 2006 Report of the National Energy Policy Development Group "Over the next 20 years, U.S. oil consumption will grow by over 6 million barrels per day. If U.S. oil production follows the same historical pattern of the last 10 years, it will decline by 1.5 million barrels per day. To meet U.S. oil demand, oil and product imports would have to grow by a combined 7.5 million barrels per day. In 2020, U.S. oil production would supply less than 30 percent of U.S. oil Administration." Whoever controls the Gulf region will maintain global leverage for years to come.
- ¹¹ H.R.4655, the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998, Sec.3. Sense of the Congress regarding United States Policy Toward Iraq. It is to be noted that the act did not authorize military action in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power. In addition, on October 21, 1998, the President Bill Clinton signed into law the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999, which made \$8 million available for assistance to the Iraqi democratic opposition.
- ¹² In April 1991, under authority of Security Council Resolution 688, the U.S., UK and France began to patrol over northern Iraq, excluding Iraqi aircraft from the zone. The southern no-fly zone was established a few months later. The legality of these zones was widely disputed.
- ¹³ Joint Resolution Authorizing The Use Of Force Against Terrorists, September 14, 2001. Emphasis added.
- ¹⁴ Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002. The resolution conferred broad authority on the president to use force and required the president to make periodic reports to Congress. The resolution expressed congressional "support" for the efforts of the president to obtain "prompt and decisive action by the Security Council" to enforce Iraq's compliance with all relevant Security Council resolutions.
- ¹⁵ Dolan Chris J., Cohen David B., The War About the War: Iraq and the Politics of National Security Advising in the G.W. Bush Administration's First Term, Politics&Policy, Volume 34, No. 1, March 2006, p. 30.
- ¹⁶ See e.g. Dorrien, Gary, "Benevolent Global Hegemony": William Kristol and the Politics of American Empire, The Logos Reader, Spring 2004 or Bölsche, Jochen, "This War came from a Think Tank", Der Spiegel, March 4, 2003.
- ¹⁷ Rebuilding America's Defenses. Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century. A Report of The Project for the New American Century, September 2000. P. i-ii. See also <http://pnac.info/index.php/2003/1992-defense-planning-guidance-draft-excerpts/>
- ¹⁸ Letter to President Clinton on Iraq, January 26,1998. <http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqlintonletter.htm>

- ¹⁹ Donald Rumsfeld is seen as a close ally of Dick Cheney who pushed Rumsfeld's nomination with George W. Bush.
- ²⁰ Kablan, Eben, U.S. Political Parties and Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations, January 3, 2006. Neoconservatives, or "neocons," believe in the use of U.S. military might to foster the spread of democracy around the globe. According to Irving Kristol's account of neoconservatism in the *Weekly Standard*, the favorite neocon text is Thucydides' Peloponnesian War, in which the Greek historian explains "the strong will do what they will, the weak will do what they must." The notion of spreading democracy is also rooted in history; after World War I, Woodrow Wilson saw the spread of democracy as a means to promote global stability. What distinguishes neocons from other Wilsonians is their commitment to the use of force; in the words of historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., they are "Wilsonians with machine guns." Today, neocons are among the chief advocates of the U.S. operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some have called for military intervention in other trouble spots, such as Syria, Iran, and parts of Africa.
- ²¹ Dorrien, Gary, "Benevolent Global Hegemony": William Kristol and the Politics of American Empire, *The Logos Reader*, Spring 2004.
- ²² The primary candidate was Malcolm Stevenson "Steve" Forbes Jr. who was one of the signers of the Statement of Principles of Project for the New American Century (PNAC) on June 3, 1997.
- ²³ Condoleezza Rice kept her distance from neo-cons. According to her the "U.S. would no longer be the world's 911". See e.g. Preble, Christopher: "The Rice Doctrine", *Foreign Service Journal*, February 2005, p. 47: "For a while, Condoleezza Rice seemed to side with the realists."
- ²⁴ Letter to the President Bush on the War on Terrorism, September 20, 2001. <http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter.htm>. Emphasis added.
- ²⁵ Statement of Donald H. Rumsfeld, U.S Secretary of Defence, Before the House Armed Services Committee on Iraq, September 18, 2002.
- ²⁶ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002, p. 30. "Designed around the priority of gathering enormous information about a massive, fixed object – the Soviet bloc – the intelligence community is coping with the challenge of following a far more complex and elusive set of targets." The primary role of the intelligence community (IC) in the process of national security decision making is to provide information that will help policy makers to understand the situation they are dealing with. It is up to policy maker to decide how to use the information.
- ²⁷ Statement of General Richard B. Myers, United States Air Force, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Before the House Armed Services Committee on Iraq, September 18, 2002
- ²⁸ Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's prewar intelligence assessments on Iraq. Conclusion 1: "Most of the major key judgments in the Intelligence Community's October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE), *Iraq's Continuing Programs for Weapons of Mass Destruction*, either overstated, or were not supported by, the underlying intelligence reporting. A series of failures, particularly in analytic trade craft, led to the mischaracterization of the intelligence."
- ²⁹ Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's prewar intelligence assessments on Iraq, Conclusion 2.
- ³⁰ Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's prewar intelligence assessments on Iraq, Conclusion 7.
- ³¹ Clarke, Richard, in an exclusive interview on CBS 60 Minutes. He also claimed that president Bush ordered his then top anti-terrorism adviser to look for a link between Iraq and the attacks, despite being told that there didn't seem to be one. His accusations are denied by the White House. <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/03/19/60minutes/main607356.shtml> and <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/politics/story/0,6903,1185407,00.html>
- The Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld stated before the House Armed Services Committee on Iraq that "We do know that the Iraqi regime has chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction and is pursuing nuclear weapons." He continues: "The point is this: we know Iraq possesses biological weapons, and chemical weapons, and is expanding and improving their capabilities to produce them. That should be of every bit as much concern as Iraq's potential nuclear capability." Statement of Donald H. Rumsfeld, U.S Secretary of Defence, Before the House Armed Services Committee on Iraq, September 18, 2002. Emphasis added.

- ³² Cordesman, Anthony H. *American Strategic, Tactical, and Other Mistakes in Iraq: A Litany of Errors*, April 19, 2006. p 5. See also "A Spy Speaks Out, Former Top CIA Official On "Faulty" Intelligence Claims": "He says he saw how the Bush administration, time and again, welcomed intelligence that fit the president's determination to go to war and turned a blind eye to intelligence that did not.", A former CIA official, Tyler Drumheller, speaks in CBS 60-minutes program, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/04/21/60minutes/main1527749.shtml>
- ³³ Accusations like these are highly controversial. See e.g. Benjamin Daniel, "President Cheney: His office really does run national security." <http://www.slate.com/id/2129686/> see also Woodward, Bob, *Plan of Attack*, Simon&Schuster, 2004, New York.
- ³⁴ During the presidential election campaign the democratic pollster (later senior adviser for democratic candidate Kerry) Mark Mellman believed that Bush was in for trouble. "A guy who doesn't know the difference between Grecians and Greeks ought not to be president," said Mellman.
- ³⁵ *A Strategy of Partnerships*, by Colin L. Powell, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004.
- ³⁶ See e.g. <http://www.brookings.edu/views/op-ed/gordon/20001102.htm> "Unilateral American Withdrawal from the Balkans Would Be a Bad Idea"
- ³⁷ *A Strategy of Partnerships*, by Colin L. Powell, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004.
- ³⁸ Vice President Richard Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice.
- ³⁹ George W. Bush balanced his lack of foreign policy experience by surrounding himself with talented political group including security advisor Condoleezza Rice. The most powerful national security adviser of recent years was Henry Kissinger, who started as National Security Advisor to Richard Nixon and then became his secretary of state. The National Security Advisor is the president's personal advisor responsible of ensuring that the president has all the necessary information for decision making. However, the missions in Afghanistan and Iraq resulted in Secretaries of Defense and State being more frequently involved directly with the president or vice president rather than through the National Security Advisor.
- ⁴⁰ The president transmits to Congress regularly a wide-ranging report on the national security strategy of the United States. The latest version was published on March 2006. According to the National Security Act of 1947 each national security strategy report includes a comprehensive description and discussion of the following topics:
- 1) The worldwide interests, goals and objectives of the United States.
 - 2) The Foreign policy, worldwide commitments, and national defence capabilities of the United States.
 - 3) The proposed short-term and long-term uses of the political, economic, military, and other elements of the national power of the United States.
 - 4) The adequacy of the capabilities of the United States to carry out the national security strategy of the United States.
- The report is supposed to be produced annually and is awaited eagerly as it expresses **strategic vision** what the United States stands for in the world.
- ⁴¹ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002, Foreword.
- ⁴² *A Strategy of Partnerships*, by Colin L. Powell, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004.
- ⁴³ Colin L. Powell did not reject the use of military force, but he insisted it should be used only after all other feasible courses of action. Anyhow, he probably was much less "dove" than thought.
- ⁴⁴ During the 2000 campaign president Clinton's actions in Kosovo were used as an example how political goals kept shifting and decisive military force was not used from the beginning of the conflict. The discussion of Clinton's failures was vivid. See e.g. <http://www.cato.org/dailys/02-11-99.html>
- ⁴⁵ See e.g. Dormont, Josh. *The Powell factor: Analyzing the Role of the Powell Doctrine in U.S. Foreign Policy*. Gaines Junction. Spring 2005. P. 22-23.
- ⁴⁶ The State of the Union speech is one of the top sources of presidential activism. It is the president's method to mobilize the government.
- ⁴⁷ 2002 State of the Union speech: "North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom. Iraq

- continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror." "States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world."
- ⁴⁸ On November 2001 the President had told Donald Rumsfeld that he wanted to develop a plan for war in Iraq. Since then CENTCOM updated war plans constantly.
- ⁴⁹ Tell me – what do you really think of Tony Blair, Mr President?, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 22, 2006.
- ⁵⁰ Dolan Chris J., Cohen David B., *The War About the War: Iraq and the Politics of National Security Advising in the G.W. Bush Administration's First Term*, *Politics&Policy*, Volume 34, No. 1, March 2006, p. 33.
- ⁵¹ Woodward, Bob, *Bush at War*, Simon&Schuster, New York, 2002, p. 145–146.
- ⁵² Bush Sought 'Way' To Invade Iraq? CBS Worldwide Inc. Jan. 11, 2004. "In his book, O'Neill says that the president did not make decisions in a methodical way: there was no free-flow of ideas or open debate". He was especially dissatisfied to president's style just to listen him during their first hour-long one-on-one meeting. According to him the president was disengaged on domestic issues and that was particularly disturbing. O'Neill's opinion may be the result of difference between his expectations and the president's leadership style as O'Neill compares Bush to Nixon and Ford who had, apparently, different methods to govern.
- ⁵³ Bush Sought 'Way' To Invade Iraq? CBS Worldwide Inc. Jan. 11, 2004.
- ⁵⁴ Statement of Donald H. Rumsfeld, U.S Secretary of Defence, Before the House Armed Services Committee on Iraq, September 18, 2002. Emphasis added.
- ⁵⁵ Dormont, Josh. *The Powell factor: Analyzing the Role of the Powell Doctrine in U.S. Foreign Policy*. Gaines Junction. Spring 2005, p. 35.
- ⁵⁶ Statement of Paul Wolfowitz, Dean of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University for the House National Security Committee Hearings on Iraq, September 16, 1998.
- ⁵⁷ See also: *A Strategy of Partnerships*, by Colin L. Powell, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004. "President Bush went before the UN on September 12, 2002, to make his case for the UN's enforcing its own resolutions (16 of them in total); that Security Council Resolution 1441 – which warned the Iraqi regime to comply with its own obligations under previous UN resolutions – passed unanimously in November 2002; that we tried for a further resolution to unite the international community in the months before Operation Iraqi Freedom began; that we went to the UN in May 2003 after Operation Iraqi Freedom to secure Resolution 1483, lifting sanctions against Iraq that had become obsolete; and that we sought and secured Resolution 1500 in August, recognizing the Iraqi Governing Council." "**Had we not done all these things, month after month... would have been a significant departure from policy.**" Emphasis added.
- ⁵⁸ Hinsliff Gaby, "Bush admits he offered Blair way out of the Iraq conflict", *The Observer*, April 23, 2006. President Bush offered to release Tony Blair from the military coalition because he feared that domestic opposition to the war would actually bring him down.
- ⁵⁹ See e.g. Baker Gerard, Blitz James, Dempsey Judy, Graham Robert, Peel Quentin and Turner Mark, "Blair's Mission Impossible: the Doomed Effort to Win a Second Resolution", *Financial Times*, May 29, 2003. See also Record, Jeffrey: "Winberger-Powell Doctrine Doesn't Cut It", *Proceedings*, US Naval Institute, October 2000 "Military action need not to be popular, as long as it is perceived to be necessary, and if not seen as necessary, action can still be sustained if domestic opposition to it remains tolerable to the White House."
- ⁶⁰ Anderson Sarah, Bennis Phyllis, Cavanagh John: *Coalition of the willing of coalition of the coerced? How the Bush Administration Influences Allies in its War on Iraq*, *Institute for Policy Studies*, Feb. 26, 2003, p. 1.
- ⁶¹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,,908441,00.html>, The official text of the joint declaration by the foreign ministers of France, Russia and Germany, March 6 2003. "In these circumstances, we will not let a proposed resolution pass that would authorise the use of force."
- ⁶² Woods Kevin, Lacey James, Murray Williamson: *Saddam's Delusions: The View From the Inside*, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006, p. 3.
- ⁶³ In late April General James Jones said that the Pentagon was considering closing or shrinking bases in Germany and opening new bases in Eastern European countries which were supporters of Iraq war.
- ⁶⁴ Only two countries, United States and United Kingdom, were making significant contributions to the military actions.

- ⁶⁵ See e.g. "America the Arm-Twister", *Observer*, March 2, 2003.
- ⁶⁶ Anderson Sarah, Bennis Phyllis, Cavanagh John, *Coalition of the willing of coalition of the coerced? How the Bush Administration Influences Allies in its War on Iraq*, Institute for Policy Studies, Feb. 26, 2003, p. 1.
- ⁶⁷ See e.g. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2862343.stm>. Full list of coalition countries: Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Colombia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Georgia, Hungary, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom and Uzbekistan.
- ⁶⁸ On May 8, 2003, U.S. approved the accession of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. Six out of seven of these countries were part of the coalition.
- ⁶⁹ See e.g. Suellentrop, Chris: "Ahmad Chalabi: Why shouldn't a politician be president of Iraq?", <http://www.slate.com/id/2081360/>
- ⁷⁰ Under president Reagan the rapid Deployment Force, which was created during Carter's presidency in order to send thousands of troops to the Gulf in a crises, was transformed into the Central Command. It is the U.S. military command authority with responsibility for the Gulf and the surrounding region from eastern Africa to Afghanistan. First permanent bases on Arab soil were established after the first Gulf War 1991.
- ⁷¹ e.g. Unites States Air Force, Air War College, AWC Gateway to Internet, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/dod/postwar_iraq.htm
- ⁷² See e.g. Cordesman, Anthony H. *American Strategic, Tactical, and Other Mistakes in Iraq: A Litany of Errors*, April 19, 2006. p. 2. "At the same time, too much credence was given to ideologues and true believers, and little attention was paid to the problems that would arise once Saddam Hussein fell from power."
- ⁷³ Report for Congress: *Iraq War? Current Situation and Issues for Congress*, Updated March 4, 2003, p. 20: "The Chief of Staff of the Army, General Eric Shinseki, told the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 24 that as many as 200,000 U.S. troops might be needed for a postwar occupation, although other Administration officials have disputed the Shinseki assessment."
- ⁷⁴ e.g. *Rebuilding America's Defenses. Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century. A Report of The Project for the New American Century*, September 2000. p. 10.
- ⁷⁵ The Defense Secretary denies this accusation. See e.g. Gordon Michael R. and Trainor Bernard E., "As war began, U.S. generals feuded", *International Herald Tribune*, March 13, 2006. "It was not my plan," he said. "It was General Frank's plan, and it was a plan that evolved over a sustained period of time."
- ⁷⁶ Cordesman, Anthony H. *American Strategic, Tactical, and Other Mistakes in Iraq: A Litany of Errors*, April 19, 2006. p. 2.
- ⁷⁷ Dorrien, Gary, "Benevolent Global Hegemony": William Kristol and the Politics of American Empire, *The Logos Reader*, Spring 2004.
- ⁷⁸ Pentagon assigned key officials of the office and it had representatives from all other departments and agencies.
- ⁷⁹ Cordesman, Anthony H. *American Strategic, Tactical, and Other Mistakes in Iraq: A Litany of Errors*, April 19, 2006. p 5. ORHA was to manage the distribution of humanitarian assistance and was supposed to begin the process of rebuilding Iraq.
- ⁸⁰ *A Wider Middle East*, Strategic Yearbook 2005, The Swedish National Defence College, p. 229.
- ⁸¹ "Coordination between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense: The Secretaries of State and Defense will integrate stabilization and reconstruction contingency plans with military contingency plans when relevant and appropriate. The Secretaries of State and Defense will develop a general framework for fully coordinating stabilization and reconstruction activities and military operations at all levels where appropriate." National Security Presidential Directive/NSPD-44
- ⁸² Woodward, Bob, "Plan of Attack", Simon&Schuster, New York, 2004.
- ⁸³ Having a small number of participants in decision making process helps to control the work and prevents leaks but it also leaves out valuable experts.
- ⁸⁴ Dolan Chris J., Cohen David B., *The War About the War: Iraq and the Politics of National Security Advising in the G.W. Bush Administration's First Term*, *Politics&Policy*, Volume 34, No. 1, March 2006, p. 53.

- ⁸⁵ Woodward, Bob, *Plan of Attack*, Simon&Schuster, 2004, New York.
- ⁸⁶ On February 13, 2003 Richard Norman Perle, Chairman of the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee, explained his views concerning "Why now with Iraq?"-questions. "I think the answer in part is that we're late and we should have done this a long time ago and the fact that we didn't do it a long time ago, the fact that we tolerated the expulsion of the inspectors, was a tribute to weak leadership at the time that that took place...The Clinton administration chose not to respond or not to respond in a substantial way. That was a terrible mistake..." Richard Perle on Iraq, February 24, 2003. <http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraq-20030224.htm>
- ⁸⁷ Kristol, William, *Bush's Foreign Policy & Neo-Conservative ideology after September 11*, Spring 2005: "Fundamentally, President Bush concluded that the status quo in the Middle East was unacceptable. We could not deal with Al-Qaeda and Afghanistan and then go back to the way things were before. That did not mean that we could immediately turn everything around - we could not do that and no one responsible would - but it did mean thinking through a plan for starting to change the fundamental state of play in the Middle East."
- ⁸⁸ Dolan Chris J., Cohen David B., *The War About the War: Iraq and the Politics of National Security Advising in the G. W. Bush Administration's First Term*, Politics&Policy, Volume 34, No. 1, March 2006, p. 47 "The neocons saw this as a prime opportunity to persuade the president to attack Iraq whereas the realists favoured moving on Al-Qaeda and overthrowing the Taliban in Afghanistan."
- ⁸⁹ Woodward, Bob, *Plan of Attack*, Simon&Schuster, 2004, New York, p. 155: Powell grew increasingly frustrated with the administration during the planning of the Iraq war, mainly because they would not listen to the State department's suggestions. Also in 2003 the Department of Defense recalled most of its officers from the civilian agencies in order to convert military personnel slots to war fighting positions. That in turn led the Department of State to reduce its liaison personnel inside military organizations thus greatly hampering the flow of information.
- ⁹⁰ The actual date of the decision is strongly disputed. According to Condoleezza Rice the decision was made shortly after New Years Eve 2003. According to the President Bush, the decision took place just hours before the invasion. See e.g. Tell me - what do you really think of Tony Blair, Mr President?, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 22, 2006. "But according to the President, the final decision was not taken until it was clear that Saddam Hussein would not accept Washington's ultimatum to stand down - which was issued 48 hours before the start of hostilities."
- ⁹¹ This had some serious consequences. See e.g. Moss Michael and Rohde David: "Law and Disorder. Misjudgements Marred U.S. Plans for Iraqi Police", *The Washington Post*, May 21, 2006 "During the first two years of the war, three different government groups developed three different plans to retain Iraq's police, all without knowing of the existence of the other."