ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

1 For an account of the September 13, 2001, National Security Council (NSC) meetings and several follow-on sessions concerning the debate over Iraq war plans, see Douglas Feith, War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 13-15, 47-49.

2 SIGIR interviews with Brigadier General (Ret.) Mark Scheid, former CENTCOM logistics planner; Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner; and Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans.

3 SIGIR interview with General (Ret.) Colin Powell, former Secretary of State and Richard Armitage, former Deputy Secretary of State, February 4, 2008; and Karen DeYoung, Soldier: The Life of Colin Powell (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 401-403.

4 Christopher Catherwood, Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2004), 74.

5 Judith S. Yaphe, "The View from Basra: Southern Iraq's Reaction the War and Occupation, 1915-1925," in The Creation of Iraq, 1914-1921, ed. Reeva Spector Simon and Eleanor H. Tejirian (New York: Columbia University Press,2004), 28-30.

6 Phebe Marr, The Modern History of Iraq, 2nd edition, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003), 12-19.

7 Christopher Catherwood, Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2004), 19, 44, 74.

8 Christopher Catherwood, Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq, (New York, NY: Carroll & Graf, 2004), 7, 123, 130, 217, 221.

9 Phebe Marr, The Modern History of Iraq, 2nd edition, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003), 113-116.

10 Phebe Marr, The Modern History of Iraq, 2nd edition, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003), 177-178, 207-208, 217-259.

11 Kuwaiti political structures remained intact after the nation's leadership fled in 1990.This enabled negotiations with the United States before military action restored the Kuwaitis to power, a very different situation than in 2002 and early 2003 when the Iraqi exile leadership was fractious and could not provide a unified front with which to negotiate plans. Nevertheless, the condition of Kuwait's infrastructure proved worse than anticipated, just as would happen in Iraq in 2003. Sewage, water, and electricity plants in Kuwait failed in 1991. The effort ultimately repaired 10,000 kilometers of electrical lines and restored more than 145 schools, 1,000 public buildings, and hundreds of other facilities. The Army Corps of Engineers alone completed 1,200 task orders with the help of international contractors. Janet A. McDonnell, After Desert Storm: The United States Army and the Rebuilding of Kuwait (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1999), 31, 129-131, 176-185.

12 See: United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) 661, 687, 706, 712, 986, and 1051. UNSCR 661 of August 6, 1990, imposed comprehensive economic sanctions on Iraq, exempting food and medicine, and established a committee to oversee implementation of the sanctions; UNSCR 687 of April 3, 1991, set terms for a cease-fire and maintained the terms of the embargo; UNSCR 706 of August 15, 1991, set out a mechanism for an oil-for-food program and authorized an escrow account to be established by the Secretary-General (to fund an oil-for-food program, $1.6 billion was to be raised in six months by the sale of Iraqi oil); UNSCR 712 of September 19, 1991, confirmed the sum of $1.6 billion to be raised by the sale of Iraqi oil in a six-month period to fund the Oil-for-Food program; UNSCR 986 of April 14, 1995, enabled Iraq to sell oil worth up to $1 billion every 90 days and use the proceeds for humanitarian supplies (it also set terms of reference for the Oil-for-Food program); and UNSCR 1051 of March 27, 1996, established the export/import monitoring system for Iraq.

13 Independent Inquiry Committee, "The Impact of the Oil-for-Food Programme on the Iraqi People," September 7, 2005, 8, 16.

14 Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, "Annual Statistical Bulletin 2001," 2001, 3.

15 United Nations Security Council S/1999/356, "Annex II: Report of the Second Panel Established Pursuant to the Note by the President of the Security Council of 30 January 1999 (S/1999/100), Concerning the Current Humanitarian Situation in Iraq," March 30, 1999; and Independent Inquiry Committee, "The Impact of the Oil-for-Food Programme on the Iraqi People," September 7, 2005, 10.

16 To make up the additional intake necessary to survive, the very poor relied on wheat flour and bread, the only foodstuff whose prices remained low. Independent Inquiry Committee, "The Impact of the Oil-for-Food Programme on the Iraqi People," September 7, 2005, 18, 20.

17 UN Secretariat Memorandum S/1996/356, "Memorandum of Understanding between the Secretariat of the United Nations and the Government of Iraq on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 986 (1995)," May 20, 1996.

18 UN Office of the Iraq Programme: Oil-for-Food, "Background Brief: Food Basket," February 26, 2003, http://www.un.org/Depts/oip/food-facts.html; and GAO Testimony 04-651T, "United Nations: Observations on the Oil for Food Program," April 7, 2004.

19 Independent Inquiry Committee, "Manipulation of the Oil-for-Food Programme by the Iraqi Regime," October 27, 2005, 1-9; and Iraq Survey Group, "Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD with Addendums," September 30, 2004, 8-9, http://www.gpoaccess.gov/duelfer/index.html.

20 For an overview of international aid provided to Iraq in the 1990s, see GAO Report 03-792R, "Rebuilding Iraq," May 15, 2003.

21 SIGIR interview with William Orme, Director of Communications, UN Development Program, September 8, 2006.

22 Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 219.

23 The cell's members included Major General Victor Renuart, CENTCOM Director of Operations (J3); Brigadier General John F. Kimmons, CENTCOM Director of Intelligence (J2); Colonel David D. Halverson, Chief of Operations Plans Division, CENTCOM (J3); and Colonel Mark Scheid, Chief of Logistics Plans Division, CENTCOM (J4). SIGIR interview with Brigadier General (Ret.) Mark Scheid, former CENTCOM logistics planner, September 20, 2006.

24 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008; SIGIR interview with Brigadier General (Ret.) Mark Scheid, former CENTCOM logistics planner, September 20, 2006; and SIGIR interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, May 22, 2008. Secretary Rumsfeld later stated, "I do not recall, nor do others present in the numerous discussions with General Franks, giving any guidance that could be interpreted as requesting CENTCOM not plan for Phase IV postwar operations, as General Franks will attest. Nor would I have minimized its importance." Donald Rumsfeld, written comments to SIGIR, November 5, 2008. Michael Fitzgerald, CENTCOM Chief of War Plans, attests that, "We, CENTCOM, were not in charge of designating and developing the government, determining who would be responsible in immediate post-conflict." Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

25 SIGIR interviews with Brigadier General (Ret.) Mark Scheid, former CENTCOM logistics planner, September 20, 2006; and Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, May 22, 2008. The notation used for campaign phases changes over the years as military doctrine evolves. From 2001 to 2006, the phases were: 1-Deter/Engage; 2-Seize; 3-Decisive Operations; and 4-Transition. Joint Chiefs of Staff Joint Publication 3-0, "Joint Operations," III-18-III-21, http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/others/jp-doctrine/jp3_0(01).pdf. In 2006, the phases were changed to 0-Shape; 1-Deter; 2-Seize Initiative; 3-Dominate; 4-Stabilize; and 5-Enable Civil Authority. Joint Chiefs of Staff Joint Publication 3-0, "Joint Operations," IV-26-IV-30, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/new_pubs/jp3_0.pdf. The phases represent general guidance to combatant commanders and may be changed for specific plans. For purposes of this book, Phase IV refers to the establishment of self-sustaining peace, civil control, and the rule of law.

26 For popular accounts, see Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006); Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin Group, 2007); Bob Woodward, *State of Denial: Bush at War, Part III* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); and Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).

27 Warrick initially discussed this evaluation with State Department officials Steve Beecroft, Alan Limpert, and others from the Iraq desk. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Thomas S. Warrick, former Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, November 10, 2004. Dr. Gordon Rudd was the staff historian for both the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). All of Rudd's interviews will be identified as "ORHA/CPA Historian." The groups were: Democratic Principles and Procedures; Economy and Infrastructure; Defense Policy and Institutions; Education; Public Health and Humanitarian Needs; Civil Society Capacity Building; Transitional Justice; Water, Agriculture and Environment; Preserving Iraq's Cultural Heritage; Public Finance; Oil and Energy; Local Government; Anti-Corruption Measures; Foreign and National Security; Free Media; Migration; and Public Outreach. DoS, "Future of Iraq Project," May 12, 2003, Overview, 4, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB198/FOI%20Overview.pdf.

28 These meetings, held in the White House situation room, included Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, Under Secretary of State Marc Grossman, Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Peter Pace, Chief of Staff to the Vice President I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence John McLaughlin, and Deputy National Security Advisor Steven Hadley. General Wayne Downing—then Zalmay Khalilzad and later Frank Miller—attended as staff representatives from the NSC. The internal NSC calendar referred to the Deputies gatherings as "regional affairs" meetings, obscuring their purpose from the wider NSC staff. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, December 17, 2004. For a general description of the "Deputies Lunches," see Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 237-298.

29 Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 237-298; and SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008.

30 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, December 17, 2004; and Richard Armitage, "The Future of Iraq," Department of State policy paper distributed to the Deputies Committee on July 25, 2002, as quoted in Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 277-78.

31 Donald Rumsfeld, "Beyond Nation Building," DoD speech, February 14, 2003.

32 For an analysis of the Afghan campaign, see Stephen Biddle, "Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy," Strategic Studies Institute, November 2002.

33 It was only later that the initial gains in Afghanistan unraveled with the resurgence of the Taliban. David Rohde and David E. Sanger, "How a 'Good War' in Afghanistan Went Bad," *New York Times*, August 12, 2007; and Center for the Study of the Presidency, "Afghanistan Study Group Report," January 30, 2008.

34 Richard Armitage, "The Future of Iraq," Department of State policy paper distributed to the Deputies Committee on July 25, 2002, as quoted in Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 277-78.

35 SIGIR interviews with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008; SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM (J5) Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008; and SIGIR interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, May 22, 2008.

36 Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 154-56; and NSC briefing, "Iraq: Goals, Objectives, Strategy," circulated by National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, October 29, 2002.

37 Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 281-83.

38 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, June 28, 2003.

39 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Thomas Fisher, former CENTCOM planner, August 27, 2003; and ORHA/CPA Historian with Major Ray Eiriz, former CENTCOM planner, December 7, 2006.

40 SIGIR interviews with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, June 26, 2008; and February 4, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 276-77.

41 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, December 17, 2004.

42 Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, multiple interviews with ORHA/CPA Historian and SIGIR; and DoD IG Report 07-INTEL-04, "Report on the Pre-Iraqi War Activities of the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy," February 9, 2007. Douglas Feith disputes the assertion that the name of the office was chosen as a deliberate deception and that its products were not widely shared, saying that "The Office of Special Plans was one of the most transparent offices in the United States Government." Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, written comments to SIGIR, January 7, 2009.

43 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, August 19, 2008.

44 SIGIR interview with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, May 3, 2006.

45 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Ray Eiriz, former CENTCOM planner, December 7, 2006.

46 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, October 11, 2006.

47 Colin H. Kahl, "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq," *International Security* 32, no. 1 (Summer 2007), 16.

48 According to Frank Miller, to whom the Humanitarian Working Group reported, it was not originally charged to do any reconstruction planning. SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, June 26, 2008.

49 SIGIR interview with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, May 3, 2006.

50 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, October 11, 2006; and SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, June 26, 2008.

51 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel (Ret.) Joseph J. Collins, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Stability Operations, August 29, 2006.

52 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, October 11, 2006.

53 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, October 11, 2006.

54 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel (Ret.) Joseph J. Collins, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Stability Operations, August 29, 2006.

55 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel (Ret.) Joseph J. Collins, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Stability Operations, August 29, 2006.

56 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, October 11, 2006.

57 The "Karzai" comment refers to how Hamid Karzai emerged in Afghanistan as a national leader around whom the nation could generally rally. Karzai, an Afghan exile leader, was named as the country's president after the overthrow of the Taliban.

58 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel (Ret.) Joseph J. Collins, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Stability Operations, August 29, 2006.

59 SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interviews with Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, December 17, 2004, January 27, 2005, and March 21, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 315-317, 544-45.

60 SIGIR interview with General George Casey, former Director of the Joint Staff and former Commander of MNF-I, July 30, 2008.

61 This subdivision of Phase IV had long been CENTCOM's preferred concept of operations, and was taken from OPLAN 1003-98, a standing plan for war in Iraq that had been approved by the Secretary of Defense in 1998. SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

62 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

63 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008), 316-317.

64 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, December 17, 2004.

65 The strategy paper was circulated on October 29, 2002. Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor, Memorandum to the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, Chief of Staff to the President, Director of Central Intelligence, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Principals' Committee Review of Iraq Police Paper," October 29, 2002, as reproduced in Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 541-43.

66 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, January 27, 2005.

67 SIGIR interview with Donald Rumsfeld, former Secretary of Defense, December 12, 2008.

68 Assistant Secretary of State William Burns and his deputy, Ryan Crocker, worked to produce a twelve-page, single-spaced analysis of political risks they titled "The Perfect Storm." Karen DeYoung, *Soldier: The Life of Colin Powell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 459; and SIGIR interview with Ambassador Ryan Crocker, United States Ambassador to Iraq, February 24, 2008.

69 SIGIR interview with General (Ret.) Colin Powell, former Secretary of State and Richard Armitage, former Deputy Secretary of State, February 4, 2008; and SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, August 19, 2008.

70 For an overview of the literature, see, for instance: James Dobbins, et al., *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003); and Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (New York: Times Books, 2006). For an opposing view, see Justin Logan and Christopher Preble, "Failed States and Flawed Logic: The Case Against a Standing Nation-Building Office," CATO Institute Policy Analysis, no. 560 (January 11, 2006).

71 Minxin Pei and Sara Kasper, "Lessons from the Past: The American Record on Nation Building," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Policy Brief, no. 24 (May 2003), 2, 4.

72 See: Charles Tripp, "Iraq: The Imperial Precedent," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, January 13, 2003; and Brent Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," Op-Ed, *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2002.

73 For perspectives on the Germany case study and how historians viewed its relevance to Iraq, see Charles S. Maier, Seminar, "Comparative Insights: Marshall Plan, Japan, and Iraq," Seminar at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, March 7, 2005, http://mitworld.mit.edu/video/255/. On the use of historical analogy between Japan and Iraq, see John W. Dower, "A Warning from History: Don't Expect Democracy in Iraq," *Boston Review*, February 2003; John W. Dower, "The Other Japanese Occupation," *The Nation*, July 7, 2003; and John W. Dower, "Lessons from Japan about War's Aftermath," Op-Ed, *New York Times*, October 27, 2002. These analyses are drawn from a larger body of scholarship, including: John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of WWII* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000).

74 National Intelligence Council, "Principal Challenges in Post-Saddam Iraq," January 2003, as reproduced in: U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, "Prewar Intelligence Assessments about Postwar Iraq," May 25, 2007, 56-94.

75 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, August 19, 2008.

76 The Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University in November 2002 hosted a meeting of more than 70 scholars, experts, and practitioners from inside and outside the government to discuss post-intervention reconstruction and political stabilization of Iraq. A 41-page proceeding of the workshop, "Iraq: Looking Beyond Saddam's Rule," was circulated across the government, including to the office of Douglas Feith. National Defense University, "Workshop Report: Iraq: Looking Beyond Saddam's Rule," National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies in collaboration with the Naval Postgraduate School, November 20-21, 2002; Edward P. Djerejian and Frank G. Wisner, co-chairs, *Guiding Principles for U.S. Post-Conflict Policy in Iraq* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2003); Richard W. Murphy and C. Richard Nelson, "Winning the Peace: Managing a Successful Transition in Iraq," The Atlantic Council Policy Paper, January 2003; William D. Nordhaus, "Iraq: The Economic Consequences of War," *The New York Review of Books* 49, no. 19, December 5, 2002; and Bob Davis, "Cost of Iraq War May Top $100 Billion," *Wall Street Journal*, September 16, 2002. For subsequent news accounts, see Carl Kaysen, Steven E. Miller, Martin B. Malin, William D. Nordhaus, and John D. Steinbruner, *War with Iraq: Costs, Consequences and Alternatives,* (Cambridge, MA: American Academy of Arts, 2002); Frederick D. Barton and Bathsheba N. Crocker, "A Wiser Peace: An Action Strategy for Post-Conflict Iraq," Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2003; and Anthony Cordesman, "Planning for a Self-Inflicted Wound: U.S. Policy to Reshape a Post-Saddam Iraq," Center for Strategic and International Studies, December 31, 2002.

77 Conrad C. Crane and W. Andrew Terrill, "Reconstructing Iraq: Insights, Challenges, and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario," U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, February 1, 2003.

78 Sinan Al-Shabibi, Colonel (Ret.) Scott Feil, Rend Rahim Francke, and Phebe Marr testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 1, 2002, as part of a multi-day hearing on Iraq. Their panel focused specifically on post-Saddam Iraq. U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, "Hearings to Examine Threats, Responses, and Regional Considerations Surrounding Iraq," July 31 and August 1, 2002. Also see Phebe Marr's subsequent writings, especially Phebe Marr, "Iraq 'The Day After': Internal Dynamics in Post-Saddam Iraq," *Naval War College Review* LVI, no. 1 (Winter 2003); P.L. 107-243, Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution of 2002, October 16, 2002; and White House Press Release, "Statement by the President," October 16, 2003.

79 GPO Access, "Congressional Hearings," 107th Congress (2001-2002), 108th Congress (2003-2004), http://www.gpoaccess.gov/chearings/.

80 The project's first meetings, held April 9 and 10, 2002, under the auspices of the Middle East Institute, a nonpartisan research center in Washington, DC, opened with the discord that was to mark its findings and Iraqi exile politics more generally. Ahmed Chalabi, the prominent Iraqi exile and leader of the Iraqi National Congress, raised concerns about the Middle East Institute's participation. He viewed the think tank as an unnecessary intermediary between the Iraqi National Congress and the State Department. Acceding to Chalabi's concerns, the State Department agreed to be the project's sole sponsor, with meetings resuming in early July. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Thomas S. Warrick, former Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, November 10, 2004. The three groups that did not meet were Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons; Foreign and National Security Policy; and Preserving Iraq's Cultural Heritage. DoS, "The Future of Iraq Project," May 12, 2003, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB198/index.htm.

81 Four of the groups (Education; Free Media; Transparency and Anti-Corruption Measures; and Civil Society Capacity Building) did not begin meeting until after the start of the new year. DoS, "Future of Iraq Project," Overview, 7-8, May 12, 2003, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB198/FOI%20Overview.pdf. For details on updates sent to the Executive Steering Group, see ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Thomas S. Warrick, former Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, November 10, 2004.

82 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Thomas S. Warrick, former Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, November 10, 2004.

83 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, August 19, 2008.

84 For the edited volumes of the Future of Iraq Project, see DoS, "The Future of Iraq Project," May 12, 2003, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB198/index.htm.

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88 International Monetary Fund, "Iraq: Statistical Appendix," August 2007; Energy Information Administration, Department of Energy, "Iraq Country Analysis Brief," December 2005, as cited in SIGIR, *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress,* July 2006, 34; Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002), 116-117; and Economist Intelligence Unit, "Country Profile: Iraq," 2005, 34; International Telecommunication Union, "World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators," no date, A-30m, http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at_glance/cellular03.pdf.

89 There were an estimated 500,000 people working in various intelligence, security and police organizations. With the inclusion of the armed forces and paramilitary units, the estimate for the total Iraqi Security Forces is 1.3 million. Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002), 116-117.

90 Bechtel National, Inc., "Iraq Infrastructure Reconstruction Program," Assessment Report submitted to USAID, June 2003; and Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 22, 2003.

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93 Energy Information Administration, Department of Energy, "Country Analysis Brief: Iraq," December 2005, as cited in SIGIR, *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress,* July 2006, 34.

Chapter 2

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3 SIGIR interview with Andrew Natsios, former USAID Administrator, April 17, 2006.

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5 Chamberlin had just stepped down as Ambassador to Pakistan, and knew White House planners from her long career at the Department of State. SIGIR interviews with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, April 18, 2007 and May 3, 2006.

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19 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, March 29, 2007; USAID memorandum, "USAID Consultations on Iraq Contingency Plans," February 24, 2003, http://pdf.dec.org/pdf_docs/PDABY342.pdf; USAID Press Release, "USAID Announces $200 Million in Emergency Food Assistance to Iraq," April 2, 2003; and World Food Program Press Release, "WFP Welcomes International Response to Iraq Appeal," April 4, 2003.

20 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, March 29, 2007.

21 Interestingly, the group was not directed to meet by the Joint Staff Political-Military Cell, but rather arose more spontaneously from contacts of lower and mid-level staff members on the NSC and at CENTCOM. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Ray Eiriz, former CENTCOM planner, December 7, 2006.

22 SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interviews with CENTCOM planners Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, Colonel John Agoglia, Major Thomas Fisher, and Major Ray Eiriz.

23 SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006.

24 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, March 27, 2007.

25 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, February 9, 2006. Joshua B. Bolten, OMB Director, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 29, 2003; and USAID, "Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq," February 19, 2003. Shelter and payroll management assistance sectors had been considered but were ultimately dropped.

26 Milligan, a USAID official, had worked in Ecuador, Zimbabwe, and finally Indonesia, where Agency personnel were evacuated after the Bali bombing. Shortly thereafter, Wendy Chamberlin included him in planning.

27 Jock Covey, Michael J. Dziedic, and Leonard R. Hawley, eds., *The Quest for Viable Peace: International Intervention and Strategies for Conflict Transformation* (Washington, DC: USIP, 2005).

28 SIGIR interviews with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006; Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, March 27, 2007; Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, March 29, 2007; and Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, April 18, 2007.

29 Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor, Memorandum to the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, Chief of Staff to the President, Director of Central Intelligence, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Principals' Committee Review of Iraq Police Paper," October 29, 2002, as reproduced in Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 541-43.

30 USAID, "Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq," February 19, 2003.

31 See: "Electricity" in USAID, "Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq," February 19, 2003.

32 See: "Food, Agriculture, and Rural Economy" in USAID, "Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq," February 19, 2003.

33 See: "Education" and "Electricity" in USAID, "Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq," February 19, 2003.

34 SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006.

35 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, February 9, 2006.

36 See: "Transportation" in USAID, "Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq," February 19, 2003.

37 The CORDS pacification program in rural Vietnam is an interesting precursor to Provisional Reconstruction Teams used in Afghanistan and Iraq. See: R. W. Komer, RAND Report R-967-ARPA, "Bureaucracy Does Its Thing: Institutional Constraints on U.S.-GVN Performance in Vietnam," August 1972; Lewis Sorley, *A Better War: The Unexamined Victories and Final Tragedy of America's Last Years in Vietnam* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1999); and Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (New York: Vintage, 1989).

38 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, March 27, 2007.

39 SIGIR interviews with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, April 14, 2006; and March 27, 2007.

40 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the National Security Council, August 19, 2008.

41 SIGIR interview with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, April 18, 2007. The military also uses this term to denote large depictions of plans, schedules or programs.

42 SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006; and SIGIR interview with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, April 18, 2007.

43 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, March 29, 2007; and SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, November 2, 2005.

44 SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006.

45 GAO Testimony 03-1171T, "Foreign Assistance: USAID Needs to Improve Its Workforce Planning and Operation Expense Accounting," September 23, 2003, 1-5.

46 SIGIR interview with Andrew Natsios, former USAID Administrator, April 17, 2006.

47 For current provisions for the FAR, see Acquisition Central, "Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR)," http://www.acqnet.gov/FAR/.

48 James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (New York: Basic Books, 1991 reprint edition), 126-127.

49 USAID Acquisition Regulation (AIDAR), Subpart Level 48, CFR 706.302-70, October 18, 2007, http://www.usaid.gov/policy/ads/300/aidar.pdf. A good overview of contracting procedures can be found in: Valerie Bailey Grasso, Congressional Research Service Report RL32229, "Iraq: Frequently Asked Questions about Contracting," updated March 18, 2005; and John R. Luckey, Congressional Research Service Report RS21555, "Iraq Reconstruction: Frequently Asked Questions Concerning the Application of Federal Procurement Statues," June 23, 2003. For an overview of budget mechanisms for humanitarian assistance, see Rhoda Margesson, Congressional Research Service Report RL33769, "International Crisis and Disasters: U.S. Humanitarian Assistance, Budget Trends, and Issues for Congress," updated May 3, 2007; and SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

50 Authority comes from Public Law 87-195 which amended the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA). P.L. 87-195, Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Section 491, September 4, 1961. The FAA of 1961 releases the agency from some of the more stringent requirements for domestic acquisition. The conditions under which exemptions may be invoked are outlined in an addendum specific to each agency. USAID implements the procurement aspects of the FAA under AIDAR provision 48 CFR 701.601. AIDAR, Subpart Level 48, CFR 701.601, October 18, 2007, http://www.usaid.gov/policy/ads/300/aidar.pdf.

51 Under a pre-authorization letter, contractors proceed "at risk," which means that they will only be reimbursed for expenses later deemed by USAID to have been appropriate given the nature of the pending task.

52 Bruce N. Crandlemire, USAID Assistant Inspector General for Audit, Memorandum to Wendy Chamberlin and Timothy T. Beans, "USAID's Compliance with Federal Regulations in Awarding the Iraq Education Sector Contract, (AIG/A Memorandum 03-001)," June 6, 2003, http://www.usaid.gov/oig/iraq_doc/memorandum_03-001_6-06-03.pdf. Seven exemptions in the FAR allow contracting officers to hold shorter bid periods, use a pre-selected list of bidders, or award a contract outright without competition. (The latter is known as no-bid or sole-source contracting.) Thorough justification must accompany these awards and the FAR prescribes that they be re-competed as soon as practical. The FAR requires a written, certified justification before any exemption to full and open competition is used. The FAR Subpart 6.3 governs the applicability. FAR, Subpart 6.3, "Other Than Full and Open Competition," June 12, 2008, http://www.arnet.gov/far/current/html/Subpart%206_3.html#wp1086841. The AIDAR provides regulations for USAID. AIDAR, Subpart Level 48, CFR 706.302-70, October 18, 2007, http://www.usaid.gov/policy/ads/300/aidar.pdf.

53 USAID IG Audit A-000-04-003-P, "Capping Report on the Audit of USAID's Compliance with Federal Regulations in Awarding the Iraq Phase I Contracts," May 19, 2004.

54 SIGIR interview with Bruce Spake, Vice President of DAI, November 2, 2006.

55 USAID, "Funding Summary #3, Fiscal Year (FY) 2003," April 2, 2003.

56 USAID memorandum, "USAID Consultations on Iraq Contingency Plans," February 24, 2003, http://pdf.dec.org/pdf_docs/PDABY342.pdf.

57 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, March 27, 2007. On January 24, 2003, USAID issued IRG a request for proposal, giving the organization three days to respond. On February 7, 2003, USAID subsequently issued the firm the Agency's first sole-source contract in the reconstruction effort. USAID Press Release, "USAID Reconstruction Efforts in Iraq," May 1, 20003. See also: IRG Press Release, "IRG will support USAID in the overall planning, monitoring, coordination, management, and reporting on reconstruction and rehabilitation activities across a variety of sectors including health, agriculture, civil society strengthening, and infrastructure." IRG, "IRG Selected to Implement Key Post-War Reconstruction," March 13, 2003. "Only one of the first eight contracts was sole-sourced by USAID, for personnel support, which was awarded to IRG." USAID Fact Sheet, "Contracting by USAID for Reconstruction of Iraq, Questions and Answers," May 2, 2003, http://www.usaid.gov/press/factsheets/2003/fs030508.html.

58 For examples of USAID's Statements of Work see RTI, USAID contract EDG-C-00-03-00010-00, Section C, April 11, 2003; Abt Associates, USAID contract RAN-C-00-03-00010-00, Section C, April 30, 2003; and CAI, USAID contract EDG-C-00-03-00011-00, Section C, April 11, 2003.

59 SIGIR interview with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, May 3, 2006.

60 SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006.

61 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 29.

62 For final amounts of USAID contracts, several of which were increased multiple times, see USAID, "Assistance for Iraq Contracts and Grant," http://www.usaid.gov/iraq/contracts/.

63 SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006.

64 P.L. 108-11, Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 2003, and for other purposes," April 16, 2003; and SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005, 29-30.

65 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 30; and Bruce N. Crandlemire, USAID Assistant Inspector General for Audit, Memorandum to Gordon West and Timothy T. Beans, "USAID's Compliance with Federal Regulations in Awarding the Iraq Infrastructure Reconstruction Program Phase II Contract (AIG/A Memorandum 04-006)," April 20, 2004, http://www.usaid.gov/oig/iraq_doc/memo04_006.pdf. USAID eventually increased the contract's ceiling to $1.03 billion in September 2003.

66 USAID Press Release, "USAID Awards Iraq Infrastructure Contract," April 17, 2003.

67 USAID Bechtel Contract EEE-C-00-03-00018-00, Section C, http://www.usaid.gov/iraq/contracts/pdf/BechtelSecC.pdf.

68 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 30.

69 "There's a lot of money to pay for this that doesn't have to be U.S. taxpayer money … the oil revenues of that country could bring between $50 billion and $100 billion over the course of the of the next two or three years … We're dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction, and relatively soon." Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense, in a hearing before the House Appropriations Committee, March 27, 2003.

70 Iraq contains 115 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, the third largest in the world. Since only 10 percent of the country has been explored, analysts believe that there is much more to be found. Energy Information Administration, Department of Energy, "Country Analysis Briefs: Iraq," August 2007.

71 Eliot A. Cohen, Director, "Gulf War Air Power Survey," U.S. Air Force, 1993; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Gary Vogler, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Oil, June 18, 2003.

72 The resolution authorized expanding sales from $2.1 billion to $5.256 billion in a six-month period. UN Press Release SC/6492, "Security Council Authorizes Sale of Iraq Oil to Offset Shortfall in Revenues Resulting from Delay in Oil Sales, Drop in Oil Prices," March 25, 1998; and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1153, February 20, 1998.

73 Michael H. Mobbs, "Memorandum for the Record: Potential for Competition in Obtaining Contractor Services Required by the Energy Infrastructure Planning Group (EIPG)," November 8, 2002.

74 Members included Mike Mackowski, Senaca Johnston from State, Barbara Glotfelty from DoD Contracting, Matt Armitrano, a consultant, and a CIA representative. SIGIR interview with Gary Vogler, CPA Senior Advisor to Oil, May 10, 2006.

75 Michael H. Mobbs, "Memorandum for the Record: Potential for Competition in Obtaining Contractor Services Required by the Energy Infrastructure Planning Group (EIPG)," November 8, 2002; and SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

76 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

77 Donald L. Trautner, "A Personal Account and Perspective of the U.S. Army Logistics Civil Augmentation Program (LOGCAP)," 2004 Conference of Army Historians, July 15, 2004.

78 Donald L. Trautner, "A Personal Account and Perspective of the U.S. Army Logistics Civil Augmentation Program (LOGCAP)," 2004 Conference of Army Historians, July 15, 2004.

79 Lieutenant Colonel Steven T. Mitchell, "Targetable Logistics: Contractors in Zones of Conflict-Backbone or Underbelly?" U.S. Army War College Strategy Research Paper, March 18, 2005, 4.

80 T. Christian Miller, *Blood Money: Wasted Billions, Lost Lives, and Corporate Greed in Iraq* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2006), 76.

81 For a detailed analysis of contractors in the Iraq theater, see Congressional Budget Office, "Contractors' Support of U.S. Operations in Iraq," August 2008.

82 Michael H. Mobbs, "Memorandum for the Record: Potential for Competition in Obtaining Contractor Services Required by the Energy Infrastructure Planning Group (EIPG)," November 8, 2002. In this memorandum Mobbs identifies Bechtel and Fluor as among other contractors who have the technical capacity but not an existing connection to CENTCOM. See: SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

83 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

84 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

85 John L. Long, Associate General Counsel, Acquisition and Logistics, Memorandum to Barbara Glotfelty, Energy Infrastructure Planning Group, "Legal Position on LOGCAP Scope of Work," November 8, 2002.

86 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

87 USACE, "Frequently Asked Questions: Engineer Support to Operation Iraqi Freedom," USACE Missions—Oil Fire Suppression and Restoration of Production, updated September 5, 2007.

88 "The resulting contingency plan was used as justification for subsequently awarding a sole-source contract to Kellogg Brown & Root for restoring the oil infrastructure, for which nearly $1.4 billion was obligated during fiscal year 2003." GAO Report 04-605, "Rebuilding Iraq: Fiscal Year 2003 Contract Award Procedures and Management Challenges," June 2004, 14, 16, 19-20. The contract was replaced by competitively procured contracts in January 2004. KBR was awarded a contract capped at $1.2 billion to repair the oil infrastructure of Southern Iraq. Parsons Iraqi Joint Venture was awarded a contract capped at $800,000 to carry out repairs in Northern Iraq. USACE, "Frequently Asked Questions: Engineer Support to Operation Iraqi Freedom. USACE Missions—Oil Fire Suppression and Restoration of Production," updated January 20, 2004, http://www.hq.usace.army.mil/cepa/iraq/faq.htm (accessed April 24, 2006).

89 Although the contingency plan that violated contracting regulations was used as justification for the sole-source contract to Kellogg Brown & Root, GAO found that the award of the contract generally complied with applicable legal standards. GAO Report 04-605, "Rebuilding Iraq: Fiscal Year 2003 Contract Award Procedures and Management Challenges," June 2004, 19-21.

90 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Contracting and Procurement, Washington, DC, December 5, 2005.

91 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Robert Crear, Commander of Task Force RIO, June 25, 2003.

92 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the National Security Council, August 19, 2008.

93 For an overall account of Treasury's activities, see Chapters 7, 8 and 9 in John B. Taylor, *Global Financial Warriors: The Untold Story of International Finance in the Post-9/11 World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007); and U.S. Treasury, "Contingency Plans for Reconstruction of Iraq's Financial Institutions and Financial Markets," April 28, 2003.

94 Iraqi currency printed before 1990 in Switzerland is referred to as the Swiss dinar, which was still used in the Kurdish region at the time of the 2003 invasion even though the Iraqi Central Bank began printing a new currency, known as the Saddam dinar, in 1991. Iraq, as a result, had two systems of currency, one of which—the Saddam dinar—had been subject to inflation, and another—the Swiss dinar—which had not lost nearly as much of its value, even though it had technically ceased to be legal tender. For a description of how the Treasury team approached this problem, see Chapters 7, 8 and 9 in John B. Taylor, *Global Financial Warriors: The Untold Story of International Finance in the Post-9/11 World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007).

95 For supplementary accounts, see USIP and ORHA/CPA Historian interviews with David Nummy, former Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, October 14, 2004, and June 23 and 27, 2003.

96 GAO Testimony 04-579T, "Recovering Iraq's Assets: Preliminary Observations on U.S. Efforts and Challenges," March 18, 2004; Roger H. Bezdek, "Using Vested Assets for the Reconstruction of Iraq," *Public Fund Digest* 5, no. 2 (2005); and Executive Order 13290, "Confiscating and Vesting Certain Iraqi Property," March 20, 2003.

97 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, April 14, 2006.

98 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, June 26, 2008.

99 SIGIR interview with Jonathan Dworken, former Director for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response for the NSC, March 29, 2007.

Chapter 3

1 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 316-317.

2 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008.

3 SIGIR interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, May 22, 2008.

4 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008; SIGIR interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, May 22, 2008; and Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006), 140-46.

5 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM (J5) Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008; and SIGIR interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, May 22, 2008.

6 Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Fisher, former CENTCOM planner, email to SIGIR, October 20, 2008.

7 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Thomas Fisher, former CENTCOM planner, August 27, 2003.

8 SIGIR interview with General George Casey, former Director of the Joint Staff and former Commander of MNF-I, July 30, 2008. For an early history of JTF-4, see Chapter 4 of Nora Bensahel et. al., *After Saddam: Prewar Planning and the Occupation of Iraq* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008).

9 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 347.

10 Powell explained his concurrence in the following terms: "People say, 'Well it should have been State.' State does not have the personnel, the capacity, or the size to deal with an immediate postwar situation in a foreign country that's eight thousand miles away from here, so there was never a disagreement about this. It made sense. I point out to people that Douglas MacArthur was not a Foreign Service Officer … neither was Lucius Clay a Foreign Service Officer." SIGIR interview with Colin Powell, former Secretary of State, February 4, 2008.

11 SIGIR interview with Colin Powell, former Secretary of State, February 4, 2008.

12 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 347-50. Frank Miller disputes that the discussion of the Defense Department's takeover of the reconstruction mission was as clear as Feith characterized it. SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, February 4, 2008.

13 National Security Archive, "New State Department Releases on the 'Future of Iraq' Project," September 1, 2006, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB198/index.htm. National Security Presidential Directive 24, "Post-War Iraq Reconstruction," January 20, 2003, is not publicly available. Information about NSPD 24 was obtained through: DoD IG Audit D-2004-057, "Contracts Awarded for the Coalition Provisional Authority by the Defense Contracting Command-Washington," March 18, 2004, 1.

14 SIGIR interview with Andrew Natsios, former USAID Administrator, April 17, 2006.

15 SIGIR interview with James Kunder, USAID Acting Deputy Administrator, February 15, 2008.

16 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, February 4, 2008.

17 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Ray Eiriz, former CENTCOM planner, December 7, 2006.

18 For an overview of how the war plan developed, see Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006).

19 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM (J5) Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008; and Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006), 48-51, 52-54, 66-67.

20 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM (J5) Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

21 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM (J5) Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

22 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005. For an overview of how force levels evolved, see Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006), 95-105.

23 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, December 12, 2005.

24 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

25 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Thomas Fisher, former CENTCOM Planner, August 27, 2003.

26 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005. An account of Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner's involvement in ORHA is to be published in 2009 by Gordon Rudd, the ORHA/CPA Historian.

27 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008.

28 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey S. Kojac, NSC military aide, October 19, 2007.

29 DoD News Transcript, "DoD News Briefing-Secretary Rumsfeld and Gen. Myers," March 20, 2003.

30 SIGIR interview with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, April 18, 2007.

31 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

32 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004. Douglas Feith asserts that his office provided Garner with both written and oral briefings. Feith also asserts that Garner must have known about the office of Special Plans. Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, written comments to SIGIR, January 7, 2009.

33 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

34 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel (Ret.) Paul Hughes, former ORHA/CPA Director of Strategic Policy, June 29, 2006.

35 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004; and ORHA, "Contracting Support for ORHA, Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) Operational Structure," March 28, 2003.

36 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, February 9, 2006.

37 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

38 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005. Douglas Feith recalls contention only over the Civil Affairs pillar Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, written comments to SIGIR, January 8, 2009.

39 Secretary Rumsfeld characterizes this exchange differently. "As I recall, the issue with General Garner was not whether Defense should staff every position at ORHA, but over several individuals whom the White House believed would not be a good fit with ORHA." Donald Rumsfeld, former Secretary of Defense, written comments to SIGIR, November 5, 2008.

40 USAID Assistant Administrator Wendy Chamberlin had called Lucke—formerly AID's mission director in Jordan, the agency's second largest mission—out of retirement in October when she learned he spoke some Arabic. SIGIR interview with Wendy Chamberlin, former USAID Assistant Administrator, Near East Bureau, April 18, 2007.

41 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

42 Mobbs was not Feith's first choice. Feith's first candidate was ineligible to serve. His second, David Kay, was appointed to ORHA, but resigned after two days. Kay would eventually lead the Iraq Survey Group, a task force that searched for weapons of mass destruction at the war's end. Although Mobbs had served in the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the 1980s, much of his professional experience was as a lawyer specializing in corporate and commercial matters in Russia and Eastern Europe. Fox News, "Bio: Michael H. Mobbs," provided by ORHA, April 23, 2003.

43 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

44 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Thomas Baltazar, C3 Operations Officer for ORHA, June 10, 2003.

45 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

46 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with George F. Ward, former Head of Humanitarian Pillar of ORHA, June 29, 2006.

47 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Steven Hawkins, former Commander, JTF-4, June 23, 2003.

48 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Thomas Fisher, former CENTCOM Planner, August 27, 2003.

49 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Steven Hawkins, former Commander, JTF-4, June 23, 2003; and SIGIR interview with Brigadier General Mike Jones, Director of J-5 Middle East Affairs, April 13, 2007.

50 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Steven Hawkins, former Commander, JTF-4, June 23, 2003.

51 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, December 17, 2004.

52 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Steven Hawkins, former Commander, JTF-4, June 23, 2003.

53 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

54 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

55 SIGIR interview with Brigadier General Mike Jones, Director of J-5 Middle East Affairs, April 13, 2007. Title X of the U.S. Code obliges the Joint Chiefs to provide military advice to the President. A staff larger than that working for the Secretary of Defense backs the Joint Chiefs. These different echelons of planning—the Joint Staff in Washington, combatant commanders in the field, and civilian staff in the Office of the Secretary of Defense—are collaborative, at least in theory. Some analysts note that Rumsfeld's tenure strained this system of civil-military cooperation. Michael C. Desch, "Bush and the Generals," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 3 (May/June 2007). Secretary Rumsfeld himself, however, disputes this characterization. "Relationships with the Joint Chiefs during my tenure were professional. As is their statutory obligation, they provided useful and constructive advice to the President and to me." Donald Rumsfeld, former Secretary of Defense, written comments to SIGIR, November 5, 2008. Rumsfeld notes that Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Richard Meyers and Richard H. Kohn wrote a rebuttal to Desch's article. See: Richard B. Myers and Richard H. Kohn, "The Military's Place," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 5 (September/October 2007).

56 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Steven Hawkins, former Commander, JTF-4, June 23, 2003.

57 ORHA/CPA Historian interviews with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 5, 2006, and September 14-15, 2005.

58 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

59 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

60 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM J5 Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

61 SIGIR interview with General (Ret.) Colin Powell, former Secretary of State, February 4, 2008.

62 SIGIR interview with Bob Gersony, former Advisor to the USAID Administrator, January 16, 2007; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Ronald E. Adams, former Deputy Director of ORHA, September 29, 2006.

63 Milligan sent a memorandum to Lieutenant General (Ret.) Garner summarizing progress across eleven sectors and highlighting outstanding issues for his action. Christopher Milligan, Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance Group, memorandum to Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, Director of ORHA, "Status of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance Preparations," January 26, 2003.

64 SIGIR interview with Thomas Wheelock, former Chief of Party for USAID's contractor International Resources Group, January 5, 2006.

65 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Carl A. Strock, former Commanding General of USACE, October 30, 2006. Bernoulli's equation is used by engineers to describe the relationship between air pressure and velocity in fluid dynamics.

66 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

67 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Robert D. Costello, Jr., ORHA Chief of Logistics, June 15, 2003.

68 Douglas Feith disputes this characterization. Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, written comments to SIGIR, January 7, 2009.

69 Dayton Maxwell, "Deliberate and Development Post-Conflict Planning in Iraq: The Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis, Coalition Provisional Authority, A USAID Perspective," unpublished manuscript, July 23, 2004, 9.

70 Leonard Hawley, "Urgent Policy Issues and Capability Needs: U.S. Interim Civilian Transitional Administration (ICTA) in Iraq," written analysis to Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, March 10, 2003.

71 SIGIR interview with Leonard Hawley, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Peacekeeping, February 12, 2008.

72 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 7-9.

73 An inherently governmental activity involves: (1) binding the United States to take or not to take some action by contract, policy, regulation, authorization, order, or otherwise; (2) determining, protecting, and advancing economic, political, territorial, property, or other interests by military or diplomatic action, civil or criminal judicial proceedings, contract management, or otherwise; (3) significantly affecting the life, liberty, or property of private persons; or (4) exerting ultimate control over the acquisition, use, or disposition of United States property (real or personal, tangible or intangible), including establishing policies or procedures for the collection, control, or disbursement of appropriated and other federal funds. White House Office of Management and Budget Circular A-76 (Revised), "Performance of Commercial Activities," May 29, 2003; and FAR, Subpart 7.5, "Inherently Governmental Functions," http://www.acquisition.gov/far/current/html/Subpart%207_5.html.

74 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 10.

75 The statutory provision used was Title 5, Section 3161, of the U.S. Code, under 5 CFR 213.3199.

76 ORHA, "Staffing for the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA)," Attachment to email from Larry Hanauer, Special Assistant to the Director of ORHA, to Gretchen Anderson, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), "ORHA Personnel Growth," April 18, 2003.

77 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Thomas Baltazar, C3 Operations Officer for ORHA, June 10, 2003.

78 General Garner dictated notes for the record on February 28, March 3, and March 10, 2003 about the general status of ORHA preparations and his meetings with Secretary Condoleezza Rice, President Bush, and the United Nations. ORHA/CPA Historian and SIGIR interviews with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner.

79 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

80 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 5, 2006.

81 A spreadsheet of Rock Drill attendees was maintained by ORHA staff. ORHA, "Rock Drill," undated. During military operations undertaken with other countries, officers from the coalition countries typically join the headquarters staff in various capacities.

82 The Political-Military and Near East Affairs bureaus did not dispatch their senior officers handling the Iraq portfolio. ORHA, "Interagency Rehearsal and Planning Conference: Summary and Analysis," February 21-22, 2003.

83 Dayton Maxwell, "Deliberate and Development Post Conflict Planning in Iraq: The Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis, Coalition Provisional Authority, A USAID Perspective," unpublished manuscript, July 23, 2004, 23-24; and ORHA, "Interagency Rehearsal and Planning Conference: Summary and Analysis," February 21-22, 2003.

84 ORHA, "Interagency Rehearsal and Planning Conference: Summary and Analysis," February 21-22, 2003.

85 ORHA, "Interagency Rehearsal and Planning Conference: Summary and Analysis," February 21-22, 2003.

86 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with George F. Ward, former Head of Humanitarian Pillar of ORHA, June 29, 2006.

87 ORHA, "Interagency Rehearsal and Planning Conference: Summary and Analysis," February 21-22, 2003.

88 ORHA, "Interagency Rehearsal and Planning Conference: Summary and Analysis," February 21-22, 2003.

89 SIGIR interview with Ross Wherry, former USAID Director of the Office of Iraq Affairs, April 5, 2006.

90 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

91 Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, follow-up interview notes to ORHA/CPA Historian, March 10, 2003; and SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interviews with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner.

92 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Carl A. Strock, former Commanding General of USACE, October 30, 2006.

93 Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, follow-up interview notes to ORHA/CPA Historian, March 3, 2003; and SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interviews with Lieutenant General Garner.

94 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, December 12, 2005; and Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (Pantheon Books, 2006), 160-63.

95 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 402-11.

96 Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, follow-up interview notes to ORHA/CPA Historian, March 10, 2003.

97 SIGIR interview with General (Ret.) Colin Powell, former Secretary of State, February 4, 2008; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

98 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

99 Douglas Feith asserts that Rumsfeld wanted to institute a "proper analysis and process" to "find the best candidates in the United States, not just the best ones in the U.S. government. See Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 387.

100 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

101 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, March 30, 2004.

102 Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, follow-up interview notes to ORHA/CPA Historian, March 10, 2003.

Chapter 4

1 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Paul Hughes, former ORHA/CPA Director, Strategic Policy Office, May 2, 2007.

2 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

3 Gordon Rudd, ORHA/CPA Historian, compiled a list of language skills of ORHA personnel. SIGIR conversations with Gordon Rudd, ORHA/CPA Historian, Summer 2007.

4 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Robert D. Costello, Jr., ORHA Chief of Logistics, June 15, 2003.

5 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Paul Hughes, former ORHA/CPA Director, Strategic Policy Office, May 2, 2007.

6 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Robert D. Costello, Jr., ORHA Chief of Logistics, June 15, 2003; and SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, October 27, 2008.

7 SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Paul Hughes, former ORHA/CPA Director, Strategic Policy Office, May 2, 2007.

8 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 21.

9 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant Colonel Stephen M. Elliott, Contracting Officer for ORHA as part of DCMA's Contingency Contracting Administration Services Mission, July 12, 2003.

10 Some question remains about the purpose of this funding. Some say it was strictly for the ORHA staff and translators; the ORHA/CPA comptroller says the purpose was more expansive. Gary Minor, "Financing the Fight—From the Front," *Air Force Comptroller* (January 2004).

11 The war started on March 20 in Iraq, late evening on March 19 in the United States. The date of the event in local time is used for this report.

12 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Ronald E. Adams, Deputy Director of ORHA, September 29, 2006.

13 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 5, 2006. For a chronology of JTF-4's dissolution, see Nora Bensahel et al., *After Saddam: Prewar Planning and the Occupation of Iraq* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008), 51-52.

14 Dayton Maxwell, "Deliberate and Development Post Conflict Planning in Iraq: The Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis, Coalition Provisional Authority, A USAID Perspective," unpublished manuscript, July 23, 2004, 24.

15 ORHA's leaders did not give it credence, and it was never formally issued. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Ronald E. Adams, Deputy Director of ORHA, September 29, 2006.

16 Dayton Maxwell, "Deliberate and Development Post Conflict Planning in Iraq: The Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis, Coalition Provisional Authority, A USAID Perspective," unpublished manuscript, July 23, 2004, 23-24.

17 Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, Director of ORHA, memorandum to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, passed through Larry Hanauer, Special Assistant to the Director of ORHA, March 21, 2003.

18 OSD, "Policy, Governance & External Relations in Post War Iraq, Ministry Candidates," March 25, 2003.

19 Colin Powell, Secretary of State, memorandum to Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, untitled, March 26, 2003.

20 USAID Press Release, "Food and Non-Food Relief Supplies to Iraq," April 10, 2003.

21 SIGIR interview with Sloan Mann, USAID/OTI DART team member, August 10, 2007; and USAID, "A Year in Iraq," May 2004, 4.

22 For background on the Humanitarian Operations Center (HOC) and for an articulation of NGO reticence, see Refugees International, "Humanitarian Coordination for Iraq: A Job for the United Nations," April 9, 2003. The article notes that, "Even as they rely on the HOC for access, the view of most aid agencies is that close association with the military forces of a belligerent compromises the impartiality that lies at the core of their mission. The aid agencies provide humanitarian assistance based on need, not politics; the idea of using aid strategically to win "hearts and minds" is anathema to the humanitarian community. Yet while the principles espoused by most aid organizations would seem to dictate distance from the HOC, pragmatism seems to have dictated association."

23 Dayton Maxwell, "Deliberate and Development Post Conflict Planning in Iraq: The Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis, Coalition Provisional Authority, A USAID Perspective," unpublished manuscript, July 23, 2004, 18.

24 USIP interview with Thomas Wheelock, Chief of Party for USAID's contractor International Resources Group, September 8, 2004.

25 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Steven Hawkins, former Commander, JTF-4, June 23, 2003.

26 SIGIR interview with Bruce Spake, Vice President of DAI, and Steve Connolly, Task Order Manager, DAI, November 2, 2006.

27 Dayton Maxwell, "Deliberate and Development Post Conflict Planning in Iraq: The Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis, Coalition Provisional Authority, A USAID Perspective," unpublished manuscript, July 23, 2004, 40.

28 CENTCOM, "Governorate Support Team (GST) Concept," briefing slides; and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Fisher, former CENTCOM planner, email to SIGIR, October 20, 2008.

29 Christopher Milligan, "Bottom Up Governance: For a Democratic Iraq," briefing slides, April 2, 2003, 11, 14.

30 Jon Wegge and T. Christopher Milligan, "Regime Change and Local Government: A Strategy for a Stable Iraq, with Lessons from Indonesia," November 2002.

31 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, USAID Deputy Director of Iraq, March 27, 2007, and Christopher Milligan, "Bottom Up Governance: For a Democratic Iraq," briefing slides, April 2, 2003.

32 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

33 Larry Hanauer, Special Assistant to the Director of ORHA, email to Gretchen Anderson, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), "ORHA Personnel Growth," April 18, 2003.

34 Some of that staff included personnel who provided security but were not assigned specifically to ORHA. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant Colonel Stephen M. Elliot, Contracting Officer for ORHA as part of DCMA's Contingency Contracting Administration Services Mission, July 12, 2003; and Director for Operations and Personnel memorandum to Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), "Questions from Jaymie Durnan—Why the Huge Increase in [ORHA] Staff?" attachment to email from Larry Hanauer, Special Assistant to the Director of ORHA, to Gretchen Anderson, of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), "ORHA Personnel Growth," April 18, 2003.

35 Dov S. Zakheim, Under Secretary of Defense and Comptroller, memorandum to Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense, "Response to Your Question on Increased Staffing Level for the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance," April 14, 2003.

36 Two could write them for up to $5 million; the other could write contracts for up to $1 million. SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 21; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant Colonel Stephen M. Elliot, Contracting Officer for ORHA as part of DCMA's Contingency Contracting Administration Services Mission, July 12, 2003.

37 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant Colonel Stephen M. Elliot, Contracting Officer for ORHA as part of DCMA's Contingency Contracting Administration Services Mission, July 12, 2003.

38 ABC News, "Project Iraq," *Nightline*, April 23, 2003.

39 Dr. Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor, "Dr. Condoleezza Rice Discusses Iraq Reconstruction," White House Press Release, April 4, 2003.

40 Dr. Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor, "Dr. Condoleezza Rice Discusses Iraq Reconstruction," White House Press Release, April 4, 2003.

Chapter 5

1 Kathleen T. Rhem, "Security Still Most Serious Concern for U.S. Forces in Iraq," *American Forces Press Service*, May 15, 2003; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Michael Kelly, Australian Army Colonel, June 12, 2004.

2 SIGIR interview with Sinan al-Najaar, former senior manager in an Iraqi ministry, November 30, 2006.

3 The Saddam memorandum was published in Arabic by *Al-Hayat* (London) on July 12, 2003. For a translated version, see Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch Series no. 538, "A Top Secret Document Dated January 23, 2003 from Iraqi Intelligence: A Plan for Action in the Event of a Regime Downfall," July 17, 2003.

4 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Glenn Collins, ORHA/CPA Facility Manager, July 17, 2003.

5 SIGIR conversations with Barbara Lewis, former Senior Advisor to the Rafidain Bank, Summer 2007.

6 Robin Raphel, former Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Trade, email to SIGIR, April 11, 2007.

7 The Independent High Electoral Commission, "Fact Sheet: Voter Registration Update in the International Zone," June 25, 2008.

8 For a description of ordinary life in Iraq in the weeks preceding the invasion, see Anthony Shadid, *Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in the Shadow of America's War*, Part One: Before (New York: Henry Holt, 2005).

9 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General Steven Hawkins, former Commander, JTF-4, June 23, 2004.

10 CNN, "Ground Troops Clash Over Baghdad Airport," April 4, 2003.

11 For an account of the war plan, see Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006).

12 Anthony Shadid, *Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in the Shadow of America's War* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005), 67, 96-97.

13 For a representative account of a clash between coalition and irregular forces, see Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006), 217-221.

14 Colin H. Kahl, "COIN of the Realm: Is There a Future for Counterinsurgency?" *Foreign Affairs* 86, no.6 (November/December 2007); and Bernard Weinraub and Thom Shanker, "A Nation at War: Under Fire; Rumsfeld's Design for War Criticized on the Battlefield," *New York Times*, April 1, 2003.

15 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 1, 2006.

16 USAID, "A Year in Iraq," May 2004, 4.

17 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General David Blackledge, Commander of the 354th Civil Affairs Brigade, January 2, 2004; ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Mike Gfoeller, former Deputy Director of ORHA Region-South, August 10, 2003; and USAID, "Assistance for Iraq: DART Assessment of Umm Qasr and Relief Efforts," March 27, 2003.

18 USAID, "Assistance for Iraq: DART Assessment of Umm Qasr and Relief Efforts," March 27, 2003. A month later, on April 26, another DART team based in Jordan crossed into al-Anbar province to monitor conditions in western Iraq. USAID, "Assistance for Iraq: DART Ar Rutbah Assessment," April 26, 2003.

19 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.) Schappi Marsh, FEST team member, July 30, 2003.

20 During the invasion's initial phase, FEST teams helped shut down a hydroelectric dam that would have impacted the operations of the Third Infantry Division if it had failed. The FEST teams also ensured bridges over the Euphrates River could support M-1 tanks waiting to cross. Tele-engineering kits enabled them to relay real-time images to the reach-back center in the United States, where Farsi and Arabic-speaking engineers stood ready to translate diagrams and control panel labels. This capacity to draw on reach-back expertise brought new levels of engineering know-how to the battlefield. Once combat needs were met, the FEST teams moved on to assessing oil, water and electricity infrastructure. Two fully outfitted FEST-Main teams, larger units augmented with more engineers, worked with Task Force Restore Iraqi Oil. As the restoration of power became a major need, FEST teams later assisted Task Force Restore Iraq Electricity. By the end of May, eighteen teams were in country working for ORHA through a USAID-USACE agreement. SIGIR interview with William Fritz, USACE Assistant Deputy G-3 (Operations), Chief, Concepts, Plan and Doctrine Branch, March 1, 2006.

21 The USACE operations center and Infrastructure Assessment Team completed the assessment in the fall of 2002. Estimates for three scenarios were drawn: no damage, middle-range damage, extensive damage. $35 billion was the middle-range scenario. SIGIR interview with William Fritz, USACE Assistant Deputy G-3 (Operations), Chief, Concepts, Plans and Doctrine Branch, March 1, 2006.

22 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 22, 2004.

23 Only a two-man contingent from the DART team remained in Umm Qasr after March 27, 2003. The rest of the team made follow-up trips from Kuwait on April 2 and April 5, 2003. USAID, "Assistance for Iraq: DART Assessment of Umm Qasr and Relief Efforts," April 7, 2003.

24 SIGIR interview with Bob Gersony, former Advisor to the USAID Administrator, January 16, 2007.

25 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 22, 2004.

26 SIGIR interview with Andrew Natsios, former USAID Administrator, April 17, 2006.

27 In a letter to Secretary Rumsfeld on the relationship between DART and ORHA, Secretary Powell wrote, "if operational disagreements arise between DART and ORHA and cannot be resolved…the final resolution of the matter will come to us." Later that day, Powell wrote another letter regarding the selection of ORHA staff, claiming "these individuals may not be acceptable to you and that you have your own list of candidates to fill these positions. We have frozen these assignments until you and I deal with this." Colin Powell, Secretary of State, letters to Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, March 26, 2003. In response Rumsfeld wrote, "If you agree to this common sense approach, our involvement in subsequent disputes will be kept to a minimum." Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, letter to Colin Powell, Secretary of State, "Disaster Assistance Response Team and the Garner Group," March 31, 2003.

28 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 22, 2004.

29 USAID, "Assistance for Iraq: DART Assessment of Umm Qasr and Relief Efforts," April 4, 2003.

30 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Mike Gfoeller, former Deputy Director of ORHA Region-South, August 10, 2003.

31 DoD News Transcript, "DoD News Briefing-ASD PA Clarke and Major General McChrystal," April 10, 2003.

32 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

33 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Brigadier General David Blackledge, Commander of the 354th Civil Affairs Brigade, January 2, 2004.

34 For contemporaneous accounts of Garner's visits to Umm Qasr and developments there, see CNN, "U.S. Interim Administrator Visits Iraq," April 12, 2003.

35 DoD News Transcript, "DoD News Briefing-Secretary Rumsfeld and General Myers," April 7, 2003; and David L. Phillips, *Losing Iraq: Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 8.

36 Anthony Shadid, *Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in the Shadow of America's War* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005), 378-380.

37 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General David McKiernan, former Commander of Coalition Forces Land Component Command, December 5, 2006.

38 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General David McKiernan, former Commander of Coalition Forces Land Component Command, December 5, 2006.

39 Public Broadcasting Service, "Interview with Laith Kubba," *FRONTLINE*, September 11, 2003.

40 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Carl A. Strock, former Commanding General of USACE, October 30, 2006.

41 The military grid used by NATO militaries is based on the Universal Transverse Mercator coordinate system, not longitude and latitude. SIGIR interview with Dustin Felix, Civil Affairs Officer in the 5th Brigade, 1st Cavalry Division, December 21, 2005.

42 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

43 SIGIR interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, May 22, 2008; and SIGIR interview with Colonel (Ret.) Michael Fitzgerald, former CENTCOM (J5) Chief of War Plans, May 30, 2008.

44 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

45 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

46 Lieutenant General Garner recalls that Colonel Colin Boag, a British colonel, informed him of two possible locations to house ORHA: the Rashid Hotel or the Republican Palace. Since the media was already in the hotel, and Garner was concerned about the security risks of a vertical structure, he elected to house ORHA in the palace. SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, October 27, 2008.

47 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

48 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Glenn Collins, ORHA/CPA Facility Manager, July 17, 2003.

49 Dayton Maxwell, "Deliberate and Development Post Conflict Planning in Iraq: The Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis, Coalition Provisional Authority, A USAID Perspective," unpublished manuscript, July 23, 2004, 10-17.

50 Richard Miller, "A Brief History of CPATT," unpublished manuscript, May 15, 2005, 1. CPATT stands for the Coalition Police Assistance Training Team. Chapter 12 explains the creation of CPATT and other Iraqi security forces, both police and military.

51 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Timothy Carney, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Industry and Minerals, June 12, 2003.

52 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

53 SIGIR interview with Bruce Spake, Vice President of DAI, and Steve Connolly, QRF Coordinator, DAI, November 2, 2006.

54 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Christopher Spear, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, July 15, 2003; and SIGIR interview with James Haveman, former Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Health, and Robert Goodwin, former Chief of Staff, Ministry of Health, December 22, 2005.

55 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Christopher Spear, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, July 15, 2003.

56 SIGIR conversations with Barbara Lewis, former Senior Advisor to the Rafidain Bank, Summer 2007.

57 SIGIR interview with Samir Sumaida'ie, Iraqi Ambassador to the United States, March 11, 2008.

58 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major General Donald F. Campbell, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Justice, July 14, 2003.

59 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major Lyn S. Brown, Advisor to the Ministry of Youth and Sport, June 22, 2004.

60 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

61 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Gary Vogler, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Oil, June 18, 2003.

62 USACE, "Iraqi Oil Infrastructure Restoration Strategic Plan: Rough Order of Magnitude," June 3, 2003; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Gary Vogler, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Oil, June 18, 2003.

63 USACE, "Iraqi Oil Infrastructure Restoration Strategic Plan: Rough Order of Magnitude," June 3, 2003.

64 ORHA/CPA Historian and SIGIR interviews with Steven Browning, Task Force RIO Advisor, June 21, 2003 and April 26, 2006.

65 Dept. of the Army Memorandum to CJTF-7 C9, "Information Paper: Religious Groups in Iraq," June 24, 2003, 5.

66 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Gary Vogler, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Oil, June 18, 2003.

67 Peter W. Galbraith, National Defense University, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, June 12, 2003. One estimate of looting circulating among CPA officials was $12 billion. L. Paul Bremer, James Dobbins, and David Gompert, "Early Days in Iraq: Decisions of the CPA," Survival, August 2008, 23, 46.

68 Colonel (Ret.) Gregory Fontenot, Lieutenant Colonel E.J. Degen, and Lieutenant Colonel David Tohn, *On Point: The United States Army in Operation Iraqi Freedom* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Center for Army Lessons Learned, 2005).

69 GAO Report 07-444, "Operation Iraqi Freedom: DoD Should Apply Lessons Learned Concerning the Need for Security over Conventional Munitions Storage Sites to Future Operations Planning," March 2007, 1, 5.

70 USAID, "Iraq – Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance," Fact Sheet #16, Fiscal Year (FY) 2003, April 21, 2003, 3. The 1st Cavalry division turned around en route. Rumsfeld also elected to remove the Third Infantry Division from the theater as soon as the 1st Armored Division, commanded by then-Major General Ricardo Sanchez, arrived—making for a net gain of zero troops. Lieutenant General Ricardo S. Sanchez, *Wiser in Battle: A Soldier's Story* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008); Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon, 2006); Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin Group, 2006); and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, September 22, 2006.

71 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel John Agoglia, former CENTCOM planner, September 22, 2006.

72 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 1, 2006.

73 P.L. 108-11, Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2003, April 16, 2003.

74 General Tommy R. Franks, "Freedom Message to the Iraqi People," April 16, 2003.

75 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 27.

76 For an account of the Nassriya conference and early political events, see Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 416-26; and Kenneth Katzman, Congressional Research Services Report RL31339, "Iraq: U.S. Regime Change Efforts and Post-Saddam Governance," January 7, 2004, 22-23.

77 BBC, "Key Shia Leader Returns to Iraq," April 16, 2003.

78 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Carl Strock, former Commanding General of USACE, May 13, 2008.

79 Karen DeYoung, *Soldier: The Life of Colin Powell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 463.

80 SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, October 27, 2008.

81 Different iterations of this list exist. See: annotated briefing slide, "ORHA's Key Tasks (Complete by 15 Jun 03)," undated; and another annotated slide by the same title, also undated.

82 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Gary Vogler, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Oil, June 18, 2003.

83 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Morgan, JTF-4 Chief of Public Works, August 12, 2003.

84 Michael Mobbs left ORHA shortly after its arrival in Baghdad. SIGIR conversations with Gordon Rudd, ORHA/CPA Historian, Summer 2007.

85 Lieutenant General Garner notes that Iraqis and the military were cooperative, and that the coordination between Washington and ORHA was most problematic. SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, October 27, 2008.

86 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008; and Douglas Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 421.

87 General Tommy R. Franks, "Freedom Message to the Iraqi People," April 16, 2003.

88 For Bremer's own account of his selection, see L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006).

89 Garner notes that he asked Rumsfeld to consider delaying Bremer's arrival until July 1, 2003, by which time he felt he could prepare for a transition. Rumsfeld disagreed. SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, April 1, 2006; and SIGIR and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, October 27, 2008.

90 SIGIR interview with Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad, former Presidential Envoy to the Free Iraqis, March 19, 2008.

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91 International Monetary Fund, "Iraq: Statistical Appendix," August 2007; and DoD, *Iraq Status Update,* August 28, 2003. Scott Wilson, "Bremer Shifts Focus to New Iraqi Economy; U.S. Occupation Chief Cites Progress on Restoring Order," *Washington Post,* May 27, 2003. USAID noted that 95 percent of landlines were down and cell phone service was only provided in Basrah. USAID: Assistance for Iraq, "NGO Pre-Bid Conference," April 17, 2003. Iraq Coalition Casualty Count; "US Deaths By Month," updated September 2008; Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, "Iraq Coalition Casualties: Contractors,", updated July 2008; Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Peril Follows Contractors in Iraq; Tennessee Pair Killed Despite Precautions," *Washington Post,* November 14, 2003; Iraq Body Count, "Documented civilian deaths from violence," updated August 24, 2008; P.L. 108-7, Consolidated Appropriations Resolution for Fiscal Year 2003, February 20, 2003; and P.L. 108-11, Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 2003, and for other purposes," April 16, 2003.

92 CPA Orders 1 and 2 greatly impacted the security forces as the Army was disbanded and many others loyal to Saddam deserted. The Iraqi Army post-invasion did not exist. The numbers available for the Iraq Security Force only includes the Iraqi Police. CPA Order Number 1, "De-Ba'athification of Iraqi Society," May 16, 2003; and CPA Order Number 2, "Dissolution of Entities," May 16, 2003.

93 The exact number of civilian contractor deaths are unknown and only include those which have been reported to the Department of Labor and the Iraq Coalition Casualty Count. This probably underestimates civilian casualties.

94 International Monetary Fund, "Iraq: Statistical Appendix," August 2007.

95 CPA, "A Free Iraq's Vision for the Future," October 23, 2003.

96 DoD, *Iraq Status Update*, August 28, 2003, 14.

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2 Peter W. Galbraith, *The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created a War Without End,* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007), 118.

3 L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), 6.

4 L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), 11-12.

5 SIGIR interview with General (Ret.) Colin Powell, former Secretary of State, February 4, 2008.

6 Donald Rumsfeld, for Secretary of Defense, written comments to SIGIR, January 7, 2009.

7 White House Press Release, "President Names Envoy to Iraq," May 6, 2003.

8 Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, memorandum to L. Paul Bremer, Presidential Envoy to Iraq, "Designation as Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority," May 13, 2003.

9 L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 12.

10 Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, memorandum to L. Paul Bremer, Presidential Envoy to Iraq, "Designation as Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority," May 13, 2003.

11 Two international laws—The 1907 Hague Regulation and the Geneva Conventions of 1949—pertain to occupations. Article 42 of the 1907 Hague Regulations states that a "territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised." According to their common Article 2, the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 apply to any territory occupied during international hostilities. They also apply in situations where the occupation of state territory meets with no armed resistance.

12 CPA Regulation Number 1, "The Coalition Provisional Authority," May 16, 2003.

13 CPA Regulation Number 1, May 16, 2003.

14 Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Iraqi Interim Authority Overview," April 28, 2003.

15 Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Iraqi Interim Authority Overview," April 28, 2003.

16 Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Testimony before the House Committee on International Relations, May 15, 2003.

17 L. Paul Bremer, III, former CPA Administrator, written comments to SIGIR, December 19, 2008.

18 L. Paul Bremer, III, former CPA Administrator, written comments to SIGIR, December 19, 2008.

19 Lieutenant General Ricardo S. Sanchez, *Wiser in Battle: A Soldier's Story* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 168.

20 Major General Sanchez had been nominated for appointment to the grade of Lieutenant General on May 5, 2003. His appointment was for the command of V Corps in Europe. DoD Press Release, "Flag and General Officer Announcements," May 5, 2003. A Corps headquarters, which would be the basis for CJTF-7, is much smaller and more tactically oriented than an Army headquarters, which was the basis for the Coalition Forces Land Component Command .

21 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Ricardo Sanchez, former CJTF-7 Commander, October 26, 2007; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with L. Paul Bremer III, former CPA Administrator, January 7, 2008.

22 SIGIR interview with Major General William H. McCoy, former Commander of USACE-GRD, June 5, 2008.

23 Ali A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 105.

24 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483, May 22, 2003; and L. Elaine Halchin, "The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA): Origin, Characteristics, and Institutional Authorities," Congressional Research Service Report RL32370, updated September 21, 2006.

25 General Tommy R. Franks, "Freedom Message to the Iraqi People," April 16, 2003. Two million members: Sharon Otterman, "IRAQ: De-Ba'athification," *Council on Foreign Relations*, April 7, 2005.

26 "Senior Party Members" were Regional Command Members, Branch Members, Section Members, and Group Members. CPA Order Number 1, "De-Ba'athification of Iraqi Society," May 16, 2003.

27 More junior ranks included Member and Active Member. CPA Order Number 1, May 16, 2003.

28 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with J. Scott Carpenter, Governance Director of the CPA, June 18, 2004.

29 L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 40.

30 ORHA/CPA Historian interviews with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, Director of ORHA; Robin Raphel, Coordinator for Civil Administration; David Nummy, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Finance; Gary Vogler, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Oil; and Major General David Petraeus, Commander of the 101st Airborne Division .

31 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jay Garner, former Director of ORHA, September 14-15, 2005.

32 SIGIR interview with Nazar Janabi, former Director General, Ministry of Defense, July 2, 2008.

33 SIGIR interview with Frank Miller, former Chairman of the Executive Steering Group of the NSC, February 4, 2008.

34 Lieutenant General Ricardo S. Sanchez, *Wiser in Battle: A Soldier's Story* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 184.

35 SIGIR interview with Samir Sumaida'ie, Iraqi Ambassador to the United States, March 11, 2008.

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39 Sharon Otterman, "IRAQ: De-Ba'athification," *Council on Foreign Relations*, April 7, 2005.

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42 SIGIR interview with General (Ret.) Colin Powell, former Secretary of State, February 4, 2008.

43 SIGIR interview with General (Ret.) Colin Powell, former Secretary of State, February 4, 2008.

44 SIGIR interview with L. Paul Bremer III, former CPA Administrator, March 18, 2008.

45 SIGIR interview with Douglas Feith, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, March 21, 2008.

46 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Meghan O'Sullivan, CPA Governance Team Member, December 29, 2003.

47 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Ricardo Sanchez, former CJTF-7 Commander, October 26, 2007.

48 SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General David McKiernan, former Commander of Coalition Forces Land Component Command, December 5, 2006; SIGIR interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Ricardo Sanchez, former CJTF-7 Commander, October 26, 2007; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major General David Petraeus, Commander of the 101st Airborne Division, July 28, 2003.

49 L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 55.

50 Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez, former CJTF-7 Commander, written comments to SIGIR, October 26, 2008.

51 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Walter B. Slocombe, Senior Advisor for Defense and Security Affairs, July 18, 2003.

52 Ali A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 157.

53 Public Broadcasting Service, "Interview with Laith Kubba," *FRONTLINE*, September 11, 2003.

54 Kirsten Lundberg, "The Accidental Statesman: General Petraeus and the City of Mosul, Iraq," *Kennedy School of Government Case Program*, 2006, 41.

55 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Major General David Petraeus, Commander of the 101st Airborne Division, July 28, 2003.

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2 Most contracts were indefinite delivery/indefinite quantity (IDIQ) contracts. U.S. government agencies use IDIQ contracts when exact quantities of supplies and/or services to be obtained through the contract cannot be precisely determined. Task orders are then issued as more detail becomes available. FAR, Subpart 16.5, "Indefinite-Delivery Contracts," June 12, 2008, http://www.arnet.gov/far/current/html/Subpart%2016_5.html.

3 This estimate includes cumulative deposits to fund Iraqi government operations and reconstruction programs. CPA-IG, *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress*, July 2004, 59-60. A smaller portion of these funds, approximately $7 billion, was allocated for relief and reconstruction projects. GAO Report 05-876, "Rebuilding Iraq: Status of Funding and Reconstruction Efforts," July 2005, 2.

4 The humanitarian and reconstruction sectors established by the legislation were: (1) Water/sanitation infrastructure; (2) feeding and food distribution; (3) supporting relief efforts related to refugees, internally displaced persons, and vulnerable individuals, including assistance for families of innocent Iraqi civilians who suffer losses as a result of military operations; (4) electricity; (5) health care; (6) telecommunications; (7) economic and financial policy; (8) education; (9) transportation; (10) rule of law and governance; (11) humanitarian demining; (12) agriculture. P.L. 108-11, Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 2003, April 16, 2003. The Department of Health and Human Services never received any IRRF 1 funding.

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6 SIGIR interview with Christopher Milligan, Deputy Director of USAID in Iraq, February 9, 2006; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Christopher Milligan, Deputy Director of USAID in Iraq, August 13, 2003.

7 Joshua B. Bolten, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 29, 2003; and Executive Order 13290, "Confiscating and Vesting Certain Iraqi Property," March 20, 2003.

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14 CPA Regulation Number 2, "The Development Fund for Iraq," June 10, 2003.

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17 McPherson had taken leave from his job as president of Michigan State University to serve with the CPA. He chaired the PRB for the first two months and then turned over chairmanship to Oliver. Dave Oliver, "Restarting the Economy in Iraq," November 2003, 9.

18 CPA Regulation Number 3, June 18, 2003.

19 CPA Public Notice, "Managing Financial Resources for Iraq," June 18, 2003; and KPMG, "Development Fund for Iraq: Report of Factual Findings in Connection with Disbursements: For the Period from 1 January 2004 to 28 June 2004," October 14, 2004, 2.

20 CPA Regulation Number 3, June 18, 2003.

21 CPA Memorandum Number 4, "Contract and Grant Procedures Applicable to Vested and Seized Iraqi Property and the Development Fund for Iraq: Implementation of Regulation Number 3, Program Review Board," August 19, 2003.

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23 SIGIR Audit 05-004, "Oversight of Funds Provided to Iraqi Ministries through the National Budget Process," January 30, 2005, 18; KPMG, "Development Fund for Iraq Appendix: Matters Noted Involving Internal Controls and Other Operations Issues During the Audit of the Fund: For the Period to 31 December 2003," June 2004; and IAMB, Report of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq, "Covering the Period from the Establishment of the DFI on May 22, 2003 until the Dissolution of the CPA on June 28, 2004," December 14, 2004, 4.

24 Mark S. Martins, "The Commander's Emergency Response Program," *Joint Force Quarterly* 37 (2nd Quarter 2005). Martins was deputy legal counsel to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the time he wrote this article. A Fragmentary Order (FRAGO) is a change or amendment to a previous operational order.

25 SIGIR, *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress*, October 2008, 16.

26 Mark S. Martins, "The Commander's Emergency Response Program," *Joint Force Quarterly* 37 (2nd Quarter 2005), 48.

27 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 88.

28 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Human Capital Management, Washington, DC, September 20, 2005, 56.

29 ORHA was mentioned in the memorandum, but it had already been subsumed by CPA by this time. The executive agency for ORHA was transferred seamlessly to CPA until ORHA officially dissolved in mid-June. SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 24.

30 SIGIR refers to HCA as the "HCA office" when speaking of HCA as an organization and "HCA" when referring to the person in charge of the HCA office. The HCA office acted as the contracting organization for the CPA, and later for the CPA's Project Management Office (PMO) after the PMO was created in the fall of 2003. When the CPA dissolved, the HCA office continued its contracting support for the Project and Contracting Office (PCO), which took over many of the PMO's responsibilities. This distinction is noted in SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 119.

31 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement," July 2006, 25-26, 48-51.

32 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 13-14.

33 CPA-IG Audit 04-002, "Management of Personnel Assigned to CPA in Baghdad," June 25, 2004, 1, 4.

34 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 29; and DoS, comments to SIGIR, October 28, 2008.

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36 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 14.

37 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Dennis J. DeGraff, CPA Director of Personnel, June 25, 2004.

38 DoD Personnel Assessment Team, "Report to the Secretary of Defense," February 11, 2004, 3.

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40 GAO Report 04-902R, "Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues," June 2004, 37. Other analysis suggests the CPA never had more than 55 percent of its staffing requirement. Terrence K. Kelly, Ellen E. Tunstall, Thomas S. Szayna, and Deanna Weber Prine, *Stabilization and Reconstruction Staffing: Developing U.S. Civilian Personnel Capabilities* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008).

41 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Human Capital Management, Washington, DC, September 20, 2005, 73-74.

42 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 10. According to Colonel DeGraff, the U.S. government relied on the 3161 special hiring authority because most federal agencies did not respond to repeated requests for personnel. The Secretary of Defense sent letters to his cabinet-level counterparts asking them to help staff the CPA, but by late fall 2003, few had provided adequate numbers of personnel. In November 2003, the NSC appealed to the federal agencies for assistance, but this plea was similarly ineffective. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Dennis J. DeGraff, CPA Director of Personnel, June 25, 2004.

43 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 21.

44 GAO Report 04-902R, "Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues," June 2004, 39. The number of military and civilian staff provided to the CPA by the Defense Department varied from month to month. For example, in March 2004, the Defense Department provided 293 military and 168 civilian personnel, or 461 of the 1,196 on the CPA personnel roster. When the CPA ended, 384 of the CPA's 1,050 staff were either members of the U.S. military or civilians from the Defense Department.

45 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with Colonel Dennis J. DeGraff, CPA Director of Personnel, June 25, 2004.

46 SIGIR Lessons Learned Forum: Human Capital Management, Washington, DC, September 20, 2005, 132.

47 USIP interview with Rodney Bent, former OMB Director, September 14, 2004.

48 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 22; and Nora Bensahel et al., "After Saddam: Prewar Planning and the Occupation of Iraq," (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008), 118, 184.

49 Ali A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 100.

50 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 22.

51 GAO Report 04-902R, "Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues," June 2004, 39.

52 SIGIR, "Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management," January 2006, 22; and DoD IG Audit D-2004-057, "Contracts Awarded for the Coalition Provisional Authority by the Defense Contracting Command-Washington," March 18, 2004, 10-11, 28-29. The costs of the contract soon rose. For example, one third of the subject-matter experts demanded life insurance, and SAIC requested the use of higher labor rates than originally negotiated "because the subject matter experts required higher compensation." The value of the contract grew from $7.7 million when it was awarded on March 5, 2003, to $24.8 million by the end of November.

53 DoS, comments to SIGIR, October 28, 2008.

Chapter 8

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2 John B. Taylor, Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs, Testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, June 4, 2003. The Treasury team found that looters, frustrated by their inability to break into the vaults, had opened a sewer main and flooded the central bank. ORHA/CPA Historian interview with David Nummy, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, June 23, 2003.

3 ORHA/CPA Historian interview with David Nummy, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, June 27, 2003.

4 John B. Taylor, "Billions Over Baghdad," *New York Times*, Op-Ed, February 27, 2007.

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6 Joseph A. Christoff, GAO Director of International Affairs and Trade and Davi M. D'Agostino, GAO Director of Financial Markets and Community Investment, Testimony before the House Committee on Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, March 18, 2004; and ORHA/CPA Historian interview with George B. Wolfe, Deputy General Counsel, U.S. Treasury Department, June 13, 2004.

7 House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform Memorandum, "Cash Transfers to the Coalition Provisional Authority," February 6, 2007, 6.

8 SIGIR interview with George "Ged" Smith, U.S. Treasury attaché, August 20, 2007.

9 Timothy Carney, We're Getting in Our Own Way," *Washington Post*, Op-Ed, June 22, 2003; and Timothy Carney, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Industry and Minerals, written comments to SIGIR, November 16, 2008.

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13 Dave Oliver, "Restarting the Economy in Iraq," November 2003, 23.

14 CPA Order Number 30, "Reform of Salaries and Employment Conditions of State Employees," September 8, 2003.

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16 Henry A. Waxman, Chairman, Statement before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, February 6, 2007; and Robert Kraus email to Joseph Botta, "DFI-Cash00220," December 12, 2003, as cited in: House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform Memorandum, "Cash Transfers to the Coalition Provisional Authority," February 6, 2007, 6-7.

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21 CPA, "Iraq Currency Exchange," http://www.iraqcoalition.org/budget/IraqCurrencyExchange.html.

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24 George W. Bush, "President Holds Press Conference," White House Press Release, October 28, 2003.

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30 John B. Taylor, *Global Financial Warriors: The Untold Story of International Finance in the Post-9/11 World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 250-273. The Paris Club is an informal group of financial officials from 19 creditor nations that helps debtor countries restructure their debts; the London Club is a similar group of private international creditors. On November 21, 2004, long after the CPA was gone, the London Club members agreed, in the light of "the exceptional situation of the Republic of Iraq and of its limited repayment capacity over the coming year" on "exceptional treatment" that significantly reduced Iraq's external debt. See Paris Club Press Release, "The Paris Club and the Republic of Iraq Agree on Debt Relief," November 21, 2004.

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46 The Geneva Conventions require an occupying power to protect the assets of the state, but there is little precedent for determining if state-owned industries are included in this provision of the Conventions. Christopher Foote, William Block, Keith Crane, and Simon Gray, "Economic Policy and Prospects in Iraq," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 3 (Summer 2004).

47 Timothy Carney, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Industry and Minerals, memorandum to Peter McPherson, CPA Director of Economic Policy, "Fatal Flaws in Budget Policy towards State-Owned Enterprises," June 15, 2003. Timothy Carney was Ambassador to Sudan (1995–1997) and Haiti (1998–1999) and served with UN peacekeeping missions in Cambodia, Somalia and South Africa. State Department Biography, "Timothy M. Carney, Chargé d'Affaires," http://haiti.usembassy.gov/timothy_m4._carney.

48 International Monetary Fund, "Iraq: Macroeconomic Assessment," October 21, 2003, 9.

49 SIGIR interview with Dr. Sami Al-Araji, Deputy Minister of Industry and Minerals, May 2007.

50 John B. Taylor, Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs, Testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, June 4, 2003.

51 USAID IG Audit E-266-04-004-P, "Audit of USAID/Iraq's Economic Reform Program," September 20, 2004; and SIGIR interview with Gareth Davies, Chief of Party, Bearing Point, May 15, 2007.

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53 CPA Order Number 20, "Trade Bank of Iraq," July 14, 2003

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Chapter 22

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Chapter 24

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Chapter 25

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