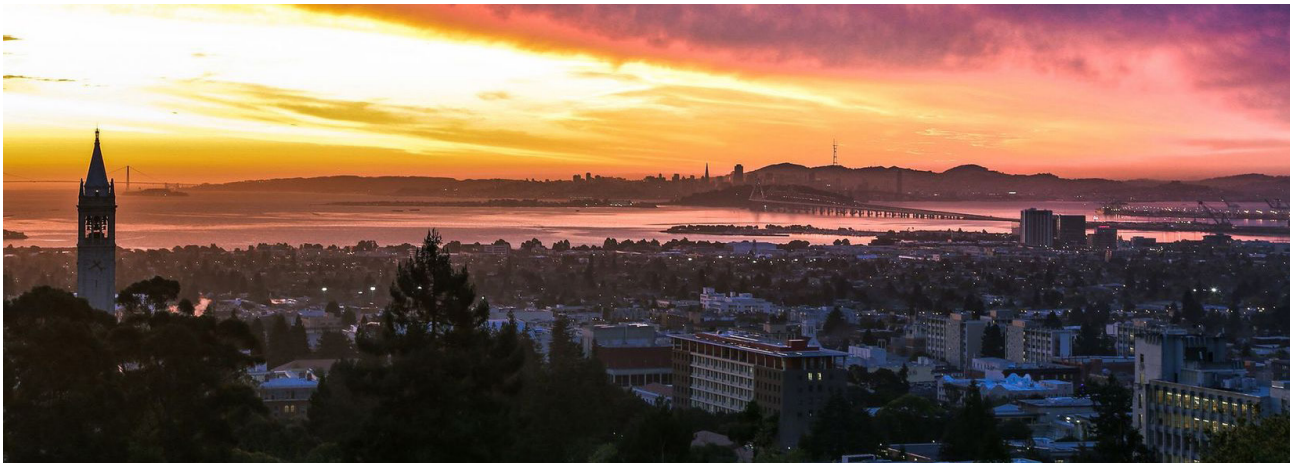


Bay Area Model United Nations Spring 2015

April 25th



BACKGROUND GUIDE BUSH WAR CABINET

BUSH WAR CABINET

A Message From the Chair

Dear Delegates,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to the Bush War Cabinet of the Bay Area Model United Nations 2015. My name is Alice Ma, and I am a sophomore at UC Berkeley from New York State. I am a Political Economy and Cognitive Science double major, which essentially means I am dabbling in more than ten different fields of study, ranging from Political Science to Psychology to Computer Science.

I have been a member of UCBMUN since Spring 2014. Having traveled to several conferences, including ones at UCLA, Columbia, and Harvard, and having staffed UCBMUN XVIII and XIX, I hope to use my experiences at these collegiate conferences to set a high standard of quality for this committee.

The idea for this committee arose from a class Allie, your Crisis Director, and I are currently taking: How Washington Works. The course, taught by Michael Nacht, Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Clinton and Obama Administrations, emphasizes that many decisions made by the United States Government do not have a purely analytical basis. This aspect of policy particularly interests me—at the end of the day, Washington is home to a complicated web of social networks, agendas, political aspirations, and ideologies.

It is up to the delegates of this committee to decide how the Bush Administration will implement its goals in the Middle East while considering domestic opinion, a genuine difference in ideology about security between hawks and doves, budget constraints, new terrorist threats, potential weapons of mass destruction, “supergiant oil fields,” failing regimes, “rectal rehydration,” and a region increasingly hostile towards United States presence.

Delegates will act as a part of a Presidential Cabinet composed of strong personalities and varied interests, headed by a largely ineffectual president and the most powerful vice president in United States history.

Sincerely,
Alice Ma, Head Chair
alicema@berkeley.edu



BayMUN Spring 2015



A Message From the Crisis Director

Dear Delegates,

Hello and welcome to UC Berkeley's Spring BayMUN 2015! My name is Allie Gordon, and I'm a sophomore here at Cal, hailing from San Diego. Currently, I'm majoring in Political Economy with a concentration in International Relations, minoring in both Middle Eastern Studies and Public Policy.

Like Alice, I have been an active member of UCBMUN since Spring 2014, and am excited to bring all I've learned from traveling to conferences and two years of working in UCBMUN's crisis committees—first in a four-way JCC, then in this year's 1985 Afghanistan Ad-Hoc—to this conference. When I'm not doing school or MUN-related activities (which, admittedly, take up a lot of my time), I'm often found baking copious amounts of cookies, hiking in the Berkeley hills, exploring San Francisco, or working as a barista in a local café.

This committee is a culmination of everything I've learned in MUN and Michael Nacht's Public Policy class thus far. As I'm sure the delegates understand, growing up in the Bush Era (and from a military family no less) makes Bush's cabinet and the policies it produced hold particular interest to me. It will be up to the delegates to analyze the global political and economic context during the Bush administration, as well as comprehend the ideals and expectations of a new breed of Republicans eager to take back Washington.

I hope this will prove to be an exciting day, full of surprises, intrigue, and innovative responses to the historical events we are all so familiar with. I look forward to seeing you, as well as baskets and baskets of notes, very soon!

Sincerely,
Allison Gordon, Crisis Director
allie.gordon3@berkeley.edu

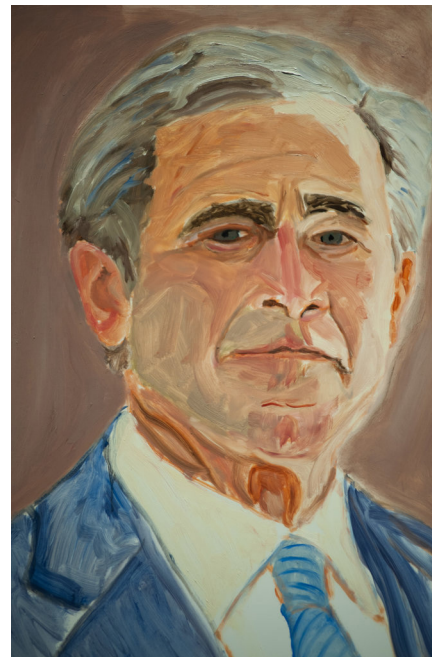


COMMITTEE BACKGROUND

This committee will begin in February 2001, shortly after Bush takes office. Although historically the Bush War Cabinet wasn't officially formed until 2001 after 9/11, many of its members were already meeting informally and in Presidential Cabinet meetings, and many of its objectives were already being discussed and shaped during this time. The groundwork was laid by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operations, government investigations, diplomacy, and pushes for increased U.N. Security Council sanctions against Iraq. While 9/11 is often seen as the trigger event and the ultimate justification for the "War on Terror" and, later, the War in Iraq, the Bush's cabinet had already been discussing military plans in the region since January 2000, long before the fall of the World Trade Center shook the hearts and minds of Americans throughout the country.

We have decided to include some figures that would not come to power until 2003 or later. Be aware that this will change the dynamics and direction of the administration's policy.

Following 9/11, Bush called for an immediate "War on Terror" to defend U.S. security interests. This led to the launch of Operation Enduring Freedom on 7 October 2001 in Afghanistan. Its public aims were to dismantle Al-Qaeda and remove the Taliban from power. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) joined in support in 2003. These forces faced guerilla tactics, the complexities of local tribal politics, and a region with low infrastructural support.





The Iraq War began with the surprise invasion of Iraq on 20 March 2003. The U.S., along with the United Kingdom and other allies, invaded under the rationale that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction. The U.S. quickly toppled Hussein's regime, captured Hussein, and occupied the region.

The U.S. faced issues such as sectarian violence amongst Sunnis and Shias and local insurgencies.

It is important to note that this war was not directly related to U.S. goals to oust terrorists. Instead, the War in Iraq is associated with the "War on Terror" by policymakers because it involves broader American fears of militant and lower economically developed countries fostering instability in the Near East. This committee, however, can decide the timings and directions of these military conflicts, while balancing U.S. interests in establishing a relatively stable Middle East with its own oil interests, domestic opinions, and security concerns.

DYNAMICS OF THE BUSH WAR CABINET: IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

The Cabinet members of the Bush Administration had a fairly clear ideological view regarding the direction of American Foreign Policy even before taking office. In 1998, Bush received lessons in foreign policy from Condoleezza Rice and Paul Wolfowitz, whom later would become National Security Advisor and Deputy Secretary of Defense in Bush's Cabinet, respectively.

Soon after Bush took office in January 2001, Donald Rumsfeld, soon to be Secretary of Defense, put forth a memo outlining the United States' endangered position in the international realm. Wolfowitz submitted a classified draft report to the Pentagon with similar sentiments in 1992. Regarding Iraq, Pau Henry O'Neill, Secretary of Treasury, commented that "it was never about whether we would go, it was about how, and how soon." Furthermore, the Bush Cabinet was interested in the oil fields and oil politics of the region from very beginning of its inception.



The Hawks versus Doves: Security Issues Post-Cold War

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's memo, titled, "Talking Points, FY01 and FY02-07 Budget Issues", espoused five points outlining the United States' endangered position. Rumsfeld believed that:

- 1) The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the rise of new regional powers, many of which are "intensely hostile" to the United States.
- 2) Post Cold War trade and advancement in technology has made it possible for poor countries to acquire "the most destructive military technology ever devised."
- 3) The civil sector now creates technology that can contribute to advanced military capability, making it more difficult for the United States to use brute military force.
- 4) China, Russia, Iran, Iraq, and North Korea are investing in said technology and will spread it to other regions.
- 5) Threats will emerge with little warning.

A school of thought known as "Revolution in Military Affairs" postulated that the modern world was in the midst of an infrequent leap in military tactics and technology— more specifically, the development of long-range weapons and advancement in information technology. Such leaps have historically changed the world power structure and resulted in the fall of complacent world powers, and many in the Bush Administration feared this outcome.



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The Oil Question

In January 2000, Defense Intelligence Agency put together documents “mapping Iraq’s oil fields and exploration areas and listing companies that might be interested in leveraging the precious asset”. One document listed companies from thirty countries, their bidding histories, areas of interests, and specialties, and provided a map of Iraq “with markings for “supergiant oilfield”, “other oil-field,” and “earmarked for production sharing”.

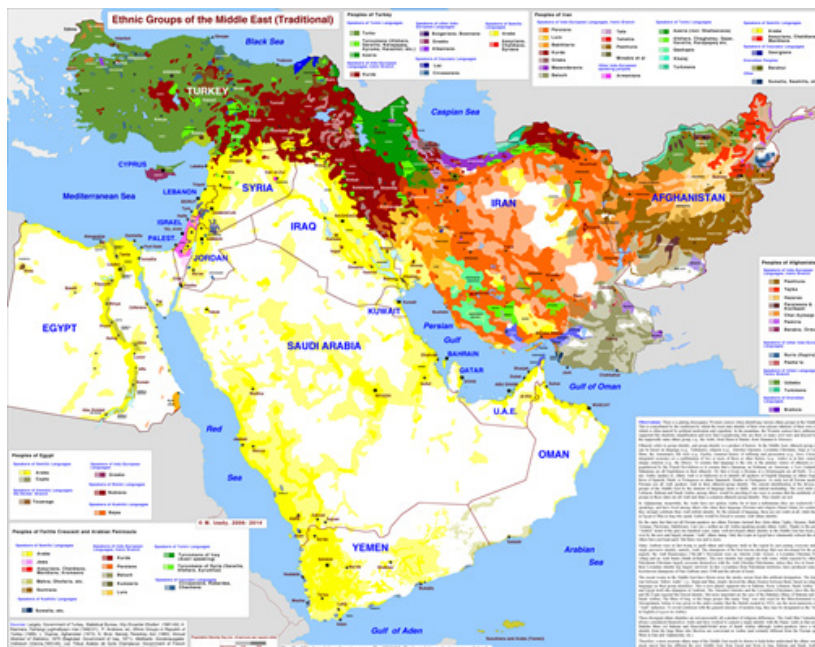
Of the estimated 130 billion barrels of oil reserves in Iraq, the government, under Saddam Hussein, controls nearly all of it. Hussein is reluctant to award contracts to outside companies and Iraqi companies develop the oil in an arguably inefficient manner. Furthermore, some policy makers fear that Saddam Hussein could use the revenue generated from his oil production to extend his control toward the entire Persian Gulf region.

The Question of Non-Intervention

On the other side of the spectrum, many believed that military intervention in the Middle East would be a huge mistake. Not only would the operation be costly, it would not be likely to yield desirable results; a range of factors in the region and historical lack of success in dealing with guerilla tactics means any military plans will fail. Overstretching the U.S. could be ultimately detrimental, as seen in several empires in the past, including Alexander the Great’s territories, the British Empire, and the Roman Empire.

Furthermore, some doves also champion the “moral cause” of not disrupting the lives of the people in the region and not incurring unnecessary casualties. Other doves point to the importance of honoring the sovereignty of nations.

CONFLICTS IN THE NEAR EAST



A Fractured Region: Religion

The Near East is highly heterogeneous. The religion of Islam plays a prominent role, but this religion too has its divisions. The Sunni majority makes up more than 90% of the population in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan; Shiites are a majority power in Iran, and hold a slight majority over Sunnis in Iraq. For centuries, these sects have had unstable relations, living together in the Middle East.

The differences in their religion are complex, based on the original divide of whether they believe the Prophet’s family is also holy and should hold political power, developing into a multitude of divergences including the holiness of imams, the way they pray, and the texts they consider infallible. These differences directly determine who each group believes should be in political power; this difference, combined with instability, poverty, ethnic lines, and war, could lead to extreme results.



Recent Divides: The First Gulf War

The First Gulf War in 1990 occurred under the first Bush Administration when Iraq attempted to invade Kuwait. The U.S., along with key allies such as Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, Egypt, immediately launched a counterattack to remove Iraqi troops from Kuwait. The response from the region and the world was generally supportive of the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. The United Nations Security Council immediately launched economic sanctions against Iraq. Other nations in the region and world sent their own forces, forming the largest military alliance since World War II.

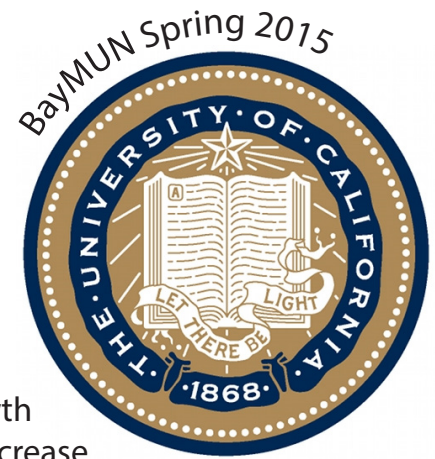
The State of Oil

Since the 1970s, the Middle Eastern region has seen a shift in control of oil refineries towards state control. In 2001, government-owned agencies control nearly all of the oil supply. Oil-rich nations in the region have joined together to form the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and this body has expanded greatly in power since its formation in 1960. This governing body fixes oil prices, establishes a quota and limit for production, and attempts to prevent exploitation by private companies or other nations.

UNITED STATES INTERNAL ISSUES AND INTERESTS

The Energy Problem

Referred to by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as "the engine of the world economy," oil plays an essential role in the U.S. and World economies, touching nearly every aspect of industry. Oil is used to power manufacturing plants, operate machines on farmlands, transport goods within the United States and to the rest of the world on planes and cargo ships, etc. Fluctuations in oil prices greatly affect the economy.



In 2000, the United States was estimated to consume 19.7 million barrels of crude oil per day while only producing 5.82 million barrels. Furthermore, the U.S. economy saw a growth in demand for oil, and consumption was only expected to increase from there. The largest producers of oil include Saudi Arabia with 8.40 million barrels, Russia with 6.48 million barrels, Iran with 3.70 million barrels, China with 3.25 million barrels, Mexico with 3.00 million barrels, and Iraq with 2.60 million barrels. For various political reasons, the U.S. does not want to import oil from Russia, Iran, or China, leaving the Middle Eastern region absolutely vital. Consequently, any instability or undesirable regime in the region, especially when such factors easily spill over into other countries in the area, is extremely concerning for the Bush Administration.

The Role of Oil in Recession

Oil prices play an important role in the economy; increased oil prices can lead to deflation, lack of liquidity, and an increased valuation of the debt of the United States. The recession of 1973 is one such example. OPEC instituted an embargo of oil against the U.S. and other Western countries. While other factors played a role as well, many economic experts point to the oil crisis as the main contributing factor. Concretely, this resulted in high unemployment rates, stagnation, and the first recession since the boom following World War II.

Economic experts forecast that should oil prices spike, severe hampering of liquidity could contribute to a financial disaster. If oil prices were to jump from \$19.7 a barrel to \$133.4 a barrel between 2002 and 2008, for example, the huge influx of oil revenue to suppliers would then directly or indirectly find its way back to U.S. markets, lowering interest rates on securities, treasuries, and other bonds. This unprecedented investment in bonds could lead to disastrous results.

This committee should remain cognizant of how the domestic economy affects war making. Military activity plays both a positive and negative role, incurring extra expenses but also spurring production. It is impossible to conduct successful military strategy without the economic cooperation of other countries in the Near East, both in the form of continuing to supply oil and in the helping to support the costs of military operations. If the war is seen as having a negative effect on U.S. domestic life, it will be unsustainable and will not help in election or re-election seasons.



Tax Cuts

The surplus generated by a conservative budget in the 1990s remains a key issue for this administration. Many Republicans are concerned that a surplus will lead to increased governmental investment, dabbling in a region that should be left to the private sector. As such, Bush has proposed a series of tax cuts popular with Republicans, the wealthy, and financial conservatives. These are vital to his re-election and to satisfying those that contributed to his campaign.

However, it is also true that war expenditures would decrease the surplus. Evidently, the U.S. does have the money to wage war at the moment; however, economic uncertainty could lead to the surplus being less than expected if economic conditions change. A high debt would be hugely unpopular with Bush's and Cheney's staunchest supporters.

Citizen Reluctance to War

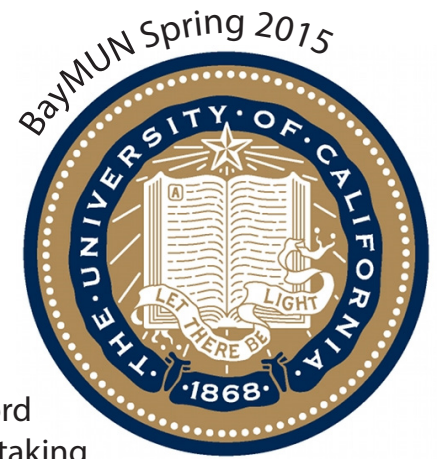
The United States population has seen a decisive unwillingness to engage in long-term warfare. With a robust middle class and a lack of a culture of prestige for being a soldier, the U.S. often faces difficulties recruiting soldiers, from regions such as California or the Northeast in particular. Criticism that war is overly costly also incurs the disapproval of conservatives seeking a smaller deficit and fewer taxes.

One of Bush's main campaign platforms was to implement across-the-board tax cuts. While the US currently has a large surplus, Bush does intend to implement these cuts, and any military expenditure that will lead to a huge governmental debt will be unpopular with Bush and Cheney's supporters.

POLITICS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

Presidential Election of 2000

The election of 2000 was highly contentious. The vote count in Florida was so close that it was ultimately decided in a Supreme Court Case, giving Bush the presidency with only 49% of the popular vote. Bush campaigned



on a platform of tax cuts and foreign non-interventionism. Immediately upon taking office, O'Neill commented that Bush was adamant about pursuing tax cuts to honor his word to the people, yet he was simultaneously willing to consider taking action in the Middle East. In sum, the Bush administration faces unique challenges due to the controversial way the election was decided. His administration must work to win over public opinion.

Elections in 2002 and 2004

Mid-term congressional elections will occur in 2002. A gain in seats for the incumbent party in the first midterm election after a president's election has occurred only twice since the Civil War, once in 1934 and another in 1998. Republicans currently hold 221 seats in the House of Representatives while Democrats hold 212. Republicans hold 49 seats in the Senate and Democrats hold 50. These are slim margins. In 2002, all seats in the House of Representatives and all Class II Senate seats will be up for election.

The Presidential Election will take place in 2004. Michael Nacht, Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Clinton and Obama administrations, has said that the primary goal of any politician is to win re-election. This is a part of the culture of modern-day Washington. Any politician driven and capable enough to stand on the national stage— especially the president— seeks re-election above all else, even if they must compromise some of their own values. This context should play an important role in all decisions and strategies of the Bush Cabinet.

Personality and Character of the United States Administration

George W. Bush

George W. Bush was a unique President. Members of his Cabinet, including Paul O'Neill, have commented that he was much less analytical and data-driven than previous presidents, including Carter, Reagan, and Clinton. He was surprisingly unknowledgeable in many fields crucial to governance, including economics, foreign policy, and energy. As Governor of Texas, he rarely traveled abroad; during his presidential campaign Bush "expressed skepticism about foreign entanglements and a disdain for nation building." Still, his peers commented that he was willing to admit his lack of knowledge and eager to learn more.



Under his Presidency, Bush's Cabinet often made decisions based on ideology. Cabinet meetings were "scripted", and every Secretary received memos of when to speak and what to say. Bush quickly formed a group of inner advisors with ideas similar to his.

Dick Cheney

Dick Cheney was particularly important in Bush's administration. Previously, vice presidents played mostly symbolic roles, including campaigning throughout the country on behalf of the President and shaping perceptions of the administration's policies. When questioned if he essentially ran the government, Cheney responded that he didn't—he only managed Defense, Energy, and Economics—three fields largely regarded as the most important functions of government.

Cheney was known to be more supportive of government action in the Middle East than Bush. He staunchly believed it was absolutely vital to the United States. No amount of advice, data, or congressional opinion was going to deter him. His actions directed Bush administration foreign policy towards a much more Hawkish view. If he could have his way, he would have supported an even more hardline policy, persisting despite the setbacks and complexities of the region.

Furthermore, Cheney had previously been the CEO of Halliburton, and he strongly believed in the U.S. need for oil. He did not want regulations on the energy industry despite evidence of global warming. More than anybody else, he appreciated the need for cheap, stable, U.S. influenced oil.

A MILITARY BRIEFING: KEY REGIMES IN THE REGION

Kuwait:

Since Kuwait's liberation following the Gulf War, the United States has worked to help ensure that Iraq complies with UN Security Council Resolutions regarding the matter. Furthermore, the US has provided military and technical assistance from foreign military sales (FMS) and commercial sources. Current FMS contracts between the U.S. military and Kuwait Defense Forces total 8.1 billion dollars,



including Patriot Missile Systems, F-18 Hornet fighters, etc. Kuwait plays an important role in aiding U.S. fights against terrorism with intelligence, diplomacy, blocking financing of terrorist groups, and military, and 63% of its population have a favorable opinion of the U.S. at this time.

Saudi Arabia:

Although an ally of the U.S. in the Gulf War in 1991, Saudi Arabia does not approve of U.S. interventions in the Middle East unless it is deemed absolutely necessary. Saudi Arabia and the U.S. disagree on the recognition of Israel. Saudi Arabia plays a pivotal role in the region and is the world's largest producer of oil; their clout has been shown in 1973, when the OPEC oil embargo caused a financial recession in the U.S. Saudi Arabia is a reluctant ally, allowing the U.S. to station some troops in the region, and playing a (potentially dubious) role in supporting stability in the region.



Syria:

An ally with the U.S. in the Gulf War and a participant in several attempted Middle East Peace Negotiations, Syria is another reluctant ally to the U.S. While willing to provide (possibly dubious) intelligence and military support to the U.S., Syria has also been linked to providing "passive support" to resistance movements, including Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and is on the U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism.



Iran:

President Mohammad Khatami, elected in 1998, called for increased dialogue with the U.S., but many Iranian conservatives opposed changing policy on Israel, nuclear energy, and support for terrorism that the U.S. demanded. Iran is an alleged supporter of al-Qaeda. An article in the Wall Street Journal in May 2001 stated, "officials of the Iranian government helped arrange advanced weapons and explosives training for al-Qaeda." However, they are deeply resentful of Saddam Hussein's regime after facing disastrous losses in the Iraq-Iran War of 1980.

Nevertheless, in 2001 Iran's representatives have shown to be receptive to cooperating the U.S.; however, U.S. negative attitudes towards Iran could change this. Strategically speaking, Iran has the potential of becoming an important military ally in the region, if U.S. officials are willing to pursue a more cooperative relationship.

The United Arab Emirates:

The U.A.E. is relatively focused on economic growth; it has a great interest in establishing good relations with the West. The U.A.E. can be expected to cooperate, although there are rumors that their government pays terrorist groups to stay away from its metropolitan centers, Dubai and Abu Dhabi. The U.A.E. does, however, have aspirations that one day the Middle East will be the center of the world: financially, technically, culturally, and militarily.

Pakistan:

Pakistan is known to support the Taliban (pre-9/11). However, Pakistan has a history of moderately stable diplomatic and economic relations with the U.S. and is not likely to forsake them. As a country bordering Afghanistan, its cooperation in any operations is vital. Further complicating the picture, Pakistan has nuclear capabilities, making it a potential contributor to instability in the region, and the watchful eye of countries such as China and India make it difficult for the U.S. to take unilateral action in the region. The U.S. imposed economic sanctions in 1998 as a response to the country's growing nuclear program.

Israel:

A particularly controversial ally of the U.S., Israel plays an important role in giving the U.S. a military foothold in the Middle East. Increased cooperation with surrounding Middle Eastern countries (many of which do not recognize Israel) will necessarily strain relations with Israel, and vice versa.

THE DYNAMICS OF AFGHANISTAN

The Taliban

The Taliban is an Islamic fundamentalist political movement in Afghanistan. It formed a government, known as the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, in September 1996, and continues to rule to today, February 2001. This government is only recognized by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the U.A.E.

The Taliban was formed from a particularly zealous faction of the mujahedeen, Islamic resistance fighters against the USSR. At this time, they were supported and funded by the U.S. government and Pakistan's Intelligence Services, the ISI. The Taliban gets its name from the Pashto word meaning "students," as they consider themselves students of Islam. Following the withdrawal of the USSR, Afghanistan fell into years of conflict among mujahedeen groups. The strength of the Taliban promised stability, and they were able to seize control from then-president Burhanuddin Rabbani in 1996.





The Taliban have been accused of massacres, scorching thousands of homes, and denying UN food supplies to 160,000 starving civilians. They enforce a violent interpretation of Sharia law, known for its brutality towards woman in particular, influenced by the predominantly Saudi Wahhabi sect of Islam. The Taliban has sheltered Al-Qaeda within Afghanistan's borders, originally on the condition that it didn't antagonize the U.S.—though leader Osama Bin Laden took back this promise in 1998. It is widely known that they are funded and supported by Pakistan. A 1998 U.S. State Department document confirms that "20-40 percent of Taliban fighters are Pakistani."

Al-Qaeda

Self-identifying as an Islamist jihadist group, Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for a series of attacks on 7 August 1998, killing hundreds outside U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. This attack secured a place for Osama Bin Laden on the FBI's ten most-wanted fugitives list.

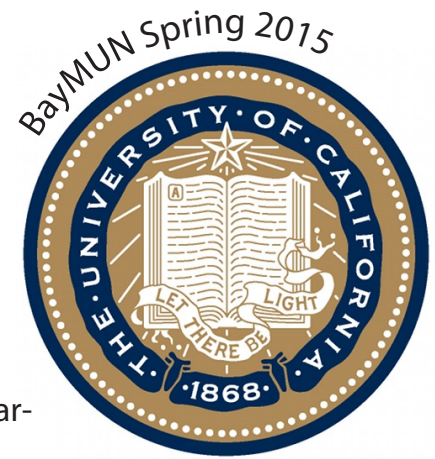
Al-Qaeda uses suicide bombings and simultaneous attacks. Al-Qaeda-linked individuals have undergone training in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and Sudan. Al-Qaeda seeks a complete break from all foreign influences in Muslim countries and believes that liberal Muslims and Shias are heretics. Currently, the CIA and FBI are attempting to monitor their activities.

Osama Bin Laden

Bin Laden is a multi-millionaire originally from Saudi Arabia. He is the known leader of Al-Qaeda and is known to have funded the mujahedeen in Afghanistan. He has made several videos of himself declaring war on the United States. Little else is known about him at this time.

Demographics

Afghanistan has seven main ethnic groups: Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Aimaq, Turkmen, and Baloch. Pashtuns are the largest ethnic group, and originate from the Hindu Kush Mountains. They have been the de facto rulers of Afghanistan because of their unity under the Durrani Empire in the 17th century. Pashtuns follow Sunni Islam and speak Pashto. Most members of the Taliban are



Pashto, and minorities tend to oppose the Taliban regime. Other ethnicities are distinctly smaller and less powerful; most are also Sunni, though there is a Shi'a minority particularly among Hazaras.

The two key languages spoken in the country are Pashto and Dari. However, Dari is more commonly spoken between different ethnicities, given the fact that Pashto is limited to Pashtuns. Pushes from the government to make Pashto more viable have been overwhelmingly unsuccessful; compared to Dari, it is a more complicated language to learn, and is commonly viewed as a "barbaric" language by other ethnicities. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on Pashto was often met with animosity from those already unhappy with Pashtun political dominance in Afghanistan's government. Many Afghans are bilingual. Some Afghans are also fluent in English and Urdu.

THE DYNAMICS OF IRAQ

Current Iraqi Government

With the end of World War I bringing an end to Ottoman rule over Iraq, the British set up the British Mandate of Mesopotamia and imposed a monarchy that did not take into account ethnic and religious boundaries. Southern Iraq was primarily Shiite Muslim, and Northern Iraq was Kurdish and Christian Assyrian. Since then, Iraqi political history has been filled with military coups, often between Shia and Sunni factions, and civil wars with the Kurds.



Saddam Hussein came to power in 1979. Although a self-proclaimed secular ruler, he was born to a Sunni family and his regime was dominated by Sunnis. Only 20% of Iraqis are Sunni. Hussein, supported by the U.S., invaded Iran in 1980. The ensuing Iraq-Iran War lasted eight years, and Iraq was known to have used chemical weapons, including mustard gas, against the Iranians.



Hussein led the Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990, and ever since the international community has been wary that Hussein intended to attack other nations in the region, including Saudi Arabia. The UN Security Council imposed harsh economic sanctions on Iraq in Resolution

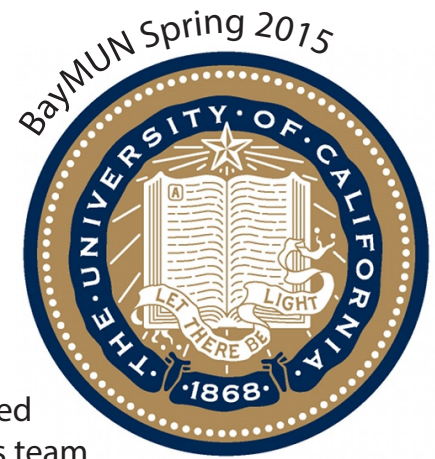
687, which banned all trade and financial resources except for medicine and "in humanitarian circumstances" foodstuffs. These sanctions applied until Iraq complied with removing its weapons of mass destruction, which led to economic downturn within Iraq. These sanctions are estimated to have caused the deaths of 200,000 to 500,000 children under the age of 5. The United States has not had an embassy in Iraq since 1991.

There are many rebellious groups in Iraq. Following the end of the Gulf War in 1991, Shia and Kurdish Iraqis led uprisings against Saddam Hussein's regime. These were quickly crushed, in part using chemical weapons. The Shia majority of Iraq, estimated at 65% of Muslims, is still deeply resentful of Saddam, a Sunni. Gaining political power is their objective. Further complicating things, the Kurds in the North, 15% of the population, want independence and the formation of Kurdistan.

Allegations of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Resolution 687 specifically banned Iraq from possessing biological, chemical, or nuclear weapon capabilities, eliminating extended-range ballistic missiles, forced Iraq to pay war reparations and war debt, and prohibited support for terrorism. It is certain that Iraq previously possessed large stockpiles of weapons, and they have used them frequently in the war with Iran and in suppressing rebel groups.

The U.N. established the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) to inspect weapons facilities. Iraqi officials met UNSCOM with lukewarm cooperation. UNSCOM discovered that "by January 1991, a team of 100 scientists and support staff had filled 157 bombs and 16 missile warheads with botulin toxin, and 50 bombs and five missile warheads with anthrax. In an interview with the BBC, Rihab Taha, who worked in developing Iraq's biological weapons program, denied the Iraqi government had weaponized the bacteria. "We never intended



to use it", she told journalist Jane Corbin of the BBC's Panorama program. "We never wanted to cause harm or damage to anybody." However, UNSCOM found the munitions dumped in a river near al-Hakam. UNSCOM also discovered that Taha's team had conducted inhalation experiments on donkeys from England and on beagles from Germany." In 1991, Iraq provided a declaration for biological weapons, but claimed it was purely for defensive purposes, only for UNSCOM to later discover the program also included weaponization.

Iraq provided declarations of its chemical weapons programs in 1991, 1992, 1995, and 1996 after facing pressure from UNSCOM. UNSCOM left Iraq in 1998. While Chief weapons inspector Hans Blitz said that "access has been provided to all sites we have wanted to expect," it is clear that Iraq does not fully accept its disarmament. As of 2001, no further inspections have been conducted, and while UNSCOM inspections declare that Iraq has disarmed considerably, it is unclear whether Iraq has disarmed, or, perhaps, if they have further developed their weapons capabilities.

Oilfields in Iraq

Iraq has 140 billion barrels of oil, the world's fifth-largest proven reserves. This data is from 2-D seismic data from the 1970s and does not include reserves from unexplored territory, implying that the actual oil reserve numbers are much greater.

Iraq's "supergiant" fields include the Majnoon Field, Halfaya Field, West Qurna Field, and Rumaila Field . Iraq plays a central role in the stability of the region. Saddam Hussein has shown expansionary ambitions in the past, both in the Iran-Iraq War and the Persian Gulf War. Growth in his power is highly undesirable. Arguably, it would be impossible to maintain our oil interests in the Middle East without a cooperative Iraq.

STRATEGIC CHALLENGES TO THE UNITED STATES

Insurgency Tactics

Due to the increase in availability of sophisticated weapons, the Middle East region has seen an unprecedented capability of small, poor units to engage a larger enemy. Oftentimes the enemy is not a state with a government; instead, enemy combat units are fluid and can easily hide amongst normal civilians.



Insurgency tactics include suicide bombing, kidnapping, and shootings. Guerillas operate in teams of five to ten men, striking quickly and escaping detection. Insurgents can use improvised explosive devices (IEDs), camouflaged hidden behind road rails and telephone poles, hidden in garbage or dead animals, or disguised as rocks. Insurgents also ambush military convoys using AK-47 assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades. Insurgents have improved their tactics over time and can be expected to become more efficient as war wears on.

Information Technology

The rise of the Internet and mobile connection capacities has changed the landscape of warfare. Information technology makes it easier for independent guerilla units to coordinate with each other— communication no longer requires a large army and a central organizational backbone. This decentralization of command structures makes it extraordinarily difficult to flush out all insurgents in a country.

Furthermore, the connectivity provided by the Internet allows terrorist groups to establish relations with sympathetic people throughout the world. This proliferation of the ideology supporting extremist causes might inspire others to carry out their own attacks or coordinate attacks with terrorist groups. These channels of communication are difficult to monitor and, as of 2001 in the U.S., illegal for the government to regulate en masse.

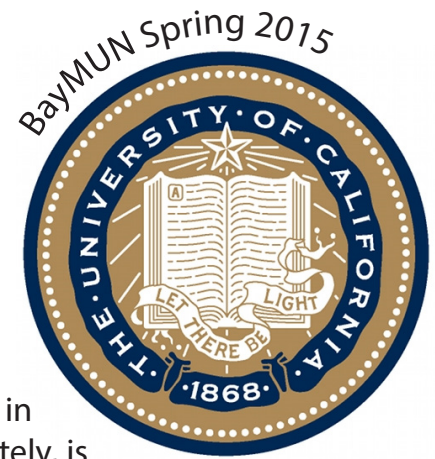
ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

Sanctions

Secretary of State Colin Powell, and Secretary of Treasury Paul O'Neill, generally favored altering the sanctions regime against Iraq. Furthermore, the lifting of sanctions plays an important role in acquiring allies in the region; for example, there are currently sanctions against countries, including Pakistan, that these countries would like to see removed.

Acquiring Allies

It is important for the United States to juggle the complex political landscape in the region. In order to carry out successful strategy, the U.S. needs military



bases, intelligence, infrastructure, and at least a façade of support of other actors in the region. Furthermore, the U.S. does not want to see a “domino effect” where the instability in one region spills over to another. Preventing this, unfortunately, is difficult to achieve due to the nature of violence, displacement, an influx of refugees, and guerilla tactics. Nevertheless, strong allies are crucial, and the U.S. has historically given military aid to friendly governments.

Torture of Potential Terrorists

The CIA used “enhanced interrogation techniques” to extract information from U.S. enemies. For example, an alleged Afghan militant, Gul Rahman, was brought to a CIA-run prison, COBALT, stripped naked, and “shackled to the wall of his cell in a position that required the detainee to rest on the bare concrete floor”. Other tactics included “rectal rehydration” to feed prisoners that wouldn’t eat, using fear of insects, sleep deprivation, prolonged standing, and waterboarding. Such tactics, if known to the public, would be highly controversial.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- Is Intervention Justified?

There is frequent criticism that the U.S. military is overblown, that our interests in the Middle East are hypocritical, and that private interests drive the military-industrial complex. Certainly, money spent on military expenditure is often seen as a waste if nothing is accomplished. U.S. citizens are not happy to waste the lives of its youth. U.S. influence in the Middle East has also been shown to cause increased instability; one might argue that the complex geopolitical, ethnic, and religious landscape of the Near East renders any decisive military action impossible.

What many don’t consider, however, is whether the United States is genuinely in danger of falling from its position as the dominant world power, and what such a decline would mean for both the world and the livelihood of U.S. citizens. In addition to referring to military power, this could also refer to economic power— especially as spurred by affordable oil prices— and political power over regimes in the region.

The most difficult part of this current situation is that the future cannot be accurately predicted. This Cabinet carries a tremendous responsibility — its



decisions decide the lives of hundreds of millions of people in the Near East as well as hundreds of millions of people in the U.S. Paul Nitze, a prominent political scientist attributed with unnecessarily pushing the United States towards a more aggressive nuclear policy during the Cold War, once said that if he was wrong the worst case scenario was that relations would be colder and tenser; if his opponents, the doves, were wrong, the United States, and potentially the world as a whole, would face utter ruin. The same concept applies in this situation — at least, Cheney believed so, and so did other members of the Cabinet.

Other questions to consider include:

- Is action in the Middle East genuinely necessary, and to what degree?
- What are the potential long-term consequences?
- How indispensable is oil?
- Will our actions be counterproductive by making the region unstable in an undesired way?
- How will any actions taken in the Middle East affect public opinion?
- How will strategies affect election and re-election chances?
- How should the Cabinet portray its strategies to win over public opinion?

CHARACTER PROFILES

Paul O'Neill

Secretary of Treasury

Although O'Neill worked in Washington as a younger man, at the time of Bush's election he was long removed from politics. He had just retired as chairman of Alcoa, which he had rebuilt into an industrial giant, and was preparing to relax and enjoy the wealth his hard work had produced. However, when his old friend Dick Cheney suggested him as Secretary of Treasury to the newly elected George Bush, and Bush officially solicited O'Neill, he could not turn the offer away. Leading up to and during the early administration, O'Neill met with George Bush to provide his economics expertise, but was frustrated by the president's apparent lack of interest. O'Neill was never afraid to speak his mind and provide what he saw as realistic facts, even when his input was unsolicited among his peers. As Treasury Secretary, O'Neill had a close relationship with Fed chairman



Greenspan, and aimed to protect his interests in privatizing social security, making tax cuts conditional, and providing a rational perspective to the ideologically driven administration.

The functions of the Department of Treasury are as follows: Managing Federal finances; collecting taxes, duties and monies paid to and due to the U.S. and paying all bills of the U.S.; currency and coinage; managing government accounts and the public debt; advising on domestic and international financial, monetary, economic, trade and tax policy; enforcing federal finance and tax laws; investigating and prosecuting tax evaders, counterfeiters, and forgers.

Colin Powell
Secretary of State

The child of Jamaican immigrants, Colin Powell was raised in the Bronx and educated in New York public schools. He served as a four-star general in the US Army, first deployed as an advisor to Vietnam in 1963, where he was awarded a Purple Heart. He was also sent to Korea, then began his career in the Pentagon. He was a national security adviser to Reagan, and the first African-American Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staffs under George HW Bush. He became well known during operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, developing the "Powell Doctrine," which advocated using overwhelming force in order to effectively maximize success and minimize casualties.

When he was confirmed as Bush's Secretary of State, it was the highest federal government rank an African American had achieved in the United States. Unlike some other officials, Powell entered Bush's cabinet wary of war in the Middle East, emphasizing the importance of containment. If they were to go to war, Powell knew the U.S. would need international support, and that would be difficult to achieve.

The duties of the Secretary of State are as follows: serves as the President's principal adviser on U.S. foreign policy; conducts negotiations relating to U.S. foreign affairs; grants and issues passports to American citizens and exequaturs to foreign consuls in the United States; advises the President on the appointment of U.S. ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and other diplomatic representatives; advises the President regarding the acceptance, recall, and dismissal of the representatives of foreign governments; negotiates, interprets, and terminates treaties and agreements; promotes beneficial economic intercourse between



the United States and other countries; administers the Department of State; Supervises the Foreign Service of the United States.

Donald Rumsfeld
Secretary of Defense

Raised in Illinois, Donald Rumsfeld studied Political Science at Princeton with a NROTC scholarship, serving in the U.S. Navy from 1954-57 as an aviator. He was elected to the House of Representatives by the age of 30, and during this time attended seminars at the University of Chicago, where he became a student of Milton Friedman and a proponent of an all volunteer military. He resigned from Congress in 1969 to serve the Nixon administration, and later became the White House Chief of Staff for his old friend Ford, with Dick Cheney serving as Deputy Chief of Staff. In 1975, Ford rearranged his cabinet and nominated Rumsfeld for the Secretary of Defense; at this time, Rumsfeld got to know George HW Bush, who then became the Director of the CIA. In his first term as Defense Secretary, Rumsfeld undermined Henry Kissinger to build up US strategic and conventional forces and focused on developing new weapons. Kissinger described Rumsfeld as "the skilled full-time politician-bureaucrat in whom ambition, ability, and substance fuse seamlessly."

Following his time in the Ford Administration, and until George W. Bush's election, Rumsfeld worked mainly in the private sector, working his way through the ranks of multiple pharmaceutical and science-technology companies. He continued to advise his old Washington friends in multiple capacities, however, for instance traveling to the Middle East in a Special Envoy for President Reagan. When Bush won the election, he as quick to bring in many of his father's old friends and advisors, including Rumsfeld.

The Defense Secretary is the head of the Department of Defense, "the principal assistant to the President in all matters relating to Department of Defense", and has "authority, direction and control over the Department of Defense". Because the Constitution vests all military authority in Congress and the President, the statutory authority of the Secretary of Defense is derived from their constitutional authorities. The Defense Department encompasses the Office of the Secretary



of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of the Army, Department of the Navy, and other such offices.

Anthony Principi
Secretary of Veterans Affairs

Anthony Principi was a student in the US Naval Academy, serving in the Vietnam War after graduation. He later earned his Juris Doctor degree from Seton Hall in 1975, and served as legislative council from the Department of the Navy in 1980. He first served as Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs under George HW Bush, then took over as Acting Secretary. In his time under HW Bush, Principi's peers saw him as an experienced and effective leader.

The Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) is responsible for providing vital services to America's veterans. VA provides health care services, benefits programs and access to national cemeteries to former military personnel and their dependents. The department carries out its duties through three main administrative divisions: Veterans Benefits Administration; Veterans Health Administration; and National Cemetery Administration.

Tom Ridge
Assistant to the President for Homeland Security

Tom Ridge attended Harvard College, where he graduated with honors in 1967 before proceeding to Dickinson School of Law. However, he was drafted into the US Army after only one year, and served in Vietnam, earning multiple awards. His tour was shortened by a ruptured appendix, and after returning home he completed his Juris Doctor Degree. Ridge became the Assistant District Attorney in Pennsylvania in 1980, then served six terms in Congress. In 1994, Ridge won the governor position in Pennsylvania on a platform of a pro-choice Republican; he was re-elected in 1998 and continued there before joining the Bush Administration.

Ridge was a close advisor and friend to Bush during his campaign, and was considered as a Vice Presidential nominee. Powell, another close friend to Ridge, suggested him for Secretary of Defense. However, Ridge was seen as too peaceful and inexperienced, leading to Rumsfeld's nomination. Ridge and Powell's friendship allegedly created a rift between the men and the ever-ambitious Dick Cheney. Despite this, Bush continued to depend on Ridge as an advisor and included him in many decisions of the early administration.



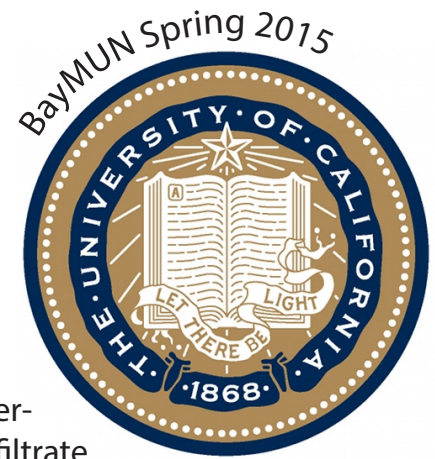
Condoleezza Rice
National Security Advisor

Born in 1954, Rice was raised in the very racially segregated state of Alabama. Her family focused on providing her the best education possible; from the age of three she studied French, music, figure skating, and ballet, as well training to be a concert pianist. Her family moved to Colorado in 1967, and Rice enrolled in the University of Denver in International Politics. She went on to get her master's degree from the University of Notre Dame, studied Russian at Moscow State University, and obtained Ph.D. from the University of Denver, focusing on what was then Czechoslovakia. She was a Democrat until 1982 and worked in the State Department during the Carter administration, but switched because she disagreed with his foreign policy.

She was appointed as the Soviet expert in George HW Bush's National Security Counsel, where she quickly became a favorite of the president. She also worked as a board member of Chevron, Transamerica, and Hewlett-Packard. During Bush's campaign, Rice worked as his foreign policy advisor, where she held the opinion that "America's armed forces are not a police force." Rice was the first woman to be named National Security Advisor in 2000, stepping. NSC advisors serve as an aide in the West Wing, and are the chief advisor to the president on National Security Issues. Their influence varies, but like his father, George W. Bush holds Rice in very high esteem.

George Tenet
CIA Director

Born and raised in Queens, New York, Tenet graduated from the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, and received a Master of International Affairs from Columbia University. Tenet quickly gravitated towards Washington, serving as an assistant for Senator Heinz of Pennsylvania, as well as on the staff for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. He worked for Bill Clinton's national security transitions team, and was appointed Senior Director for Intelligence programs in Clinton's National Security Counsel. As the second-longest-serving Director in CIA history, Tenet officially began his post in 1997. When Bush was elected President, Cheney hoped to replace George Tenet with Paul Wolfowitz.



As Director, Tenet was criticized for a lack of transparency. By 1999, Tenet was aware of the terrorist threat posed by Al-Qaeda. He created a Bin Laden unit within the Counterterrorism Center, as well as an Al-Qaeda Cell. He planned to infiltrate Al-Qaeda's "Afghan sanctuary." Intelligence was able to increase in 1999, but financial resources were too sparse to carry out all of the plan's goals. In late 2000, Tenet also experimented with a small drone, the Predator, to try and find Bin Laden.

Louis Freeh
FBI Director

Freeh attended Rutgers University both for his undergraduate education and for his JD Degree. He also obtained a degree in criminal law from NYU, before serving as an FBI Special Agent from 1975-81 in New York City. He worked as an assistant, deputy, and associate US Attorney from 1981-1991, while also becoming a first lieutenant in the US Army Reserve. George HW Bush appointed Freeh as a judge for the S District Court in New York, where he remained until Clinton appointed him as the FBI Director in 1993. Beginning in 2000, many called for Freeh's resignation, after being involved in several scandals and enduring criticisms of weak and ineffectual leadership.

John Ashcroft
Attorney General

John Ashcroft was raised in Chicago, Illinois in a deeply evangelical Christian household. He attended Yale University for his undergraduate degree, and received a JD degree from the University of Chicago. He taught briefly at Southwest Missouri State University, before being appointed the Missouri State Auditor in 1972—though he was seen as unqualified without any accounting experience. In 1974, he was hired as the Assistant State Attorney General in Missouri, sharing an office with Clarence Thomas. In 1976, Ashcroft became the State Attorney General, holding that position before becoming governor from 1985-93. As governor, Ashcroft enacted tougher sentences for gun crimes, and increased funding for law enforcement.

In the 1994 midterm elections, Ashcroft was elected to the US Senate. In 1998, he ran a tight reelection race against his successor, Governor Carnahan—however, Carnahan died suddenly only two weeks before the elections. His name remained on the ballot, however, and Carnahan actually beat Ashcroft



posthumously, and his wife served in his place. After this defeat, newly elected Bush nominated Ashcroft to US Attorney General, though his confirmation by the Senate was slim, as Democrats attempted to block him due to his views against abortion and desegregation.

Ari Fleisher

White House Press Secretary

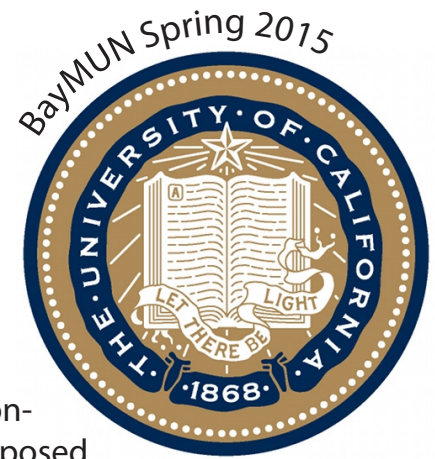
Lawrence Ari Fleischer was raised in a family of Jewish Hungarian immigrants, and has been a life-long fan of baseball. He attended Middlebury College in Vermont. After graduation, he was press secretary of Congressmen Fossel, Lent, DioGuardi, and Domenici. He was deputy communications director for George HW Bush's reelection campaign in 1992. From 1995-2000, Fleisher was the spokesman for the House's Ways and Means committee. He originally served as Elizabeth Dole's communications director in the 2000 campaign season, but switched to Bush's team when she dropped out.

The White House Press Secretary is the spokesman for the US government, especially the president and the executive. They must remain well-informed on the actions and positions taken by the US Government, and communicate them effectively to the media, usually in daily press briefings.

Paul Wolfowitz

Deputy Defense Secretary

The child of a Polish Jewish immigrant family, Paul Wolfowitz attended Cornell University in 1961, where he participated in civil rights activities and graduated with degrees in mathematics and chemistry. Against his father's wishes, he attended University of Chicago for graduate school, where he developed strong neoliberal political and economic ideals, and completed a PhD, focusing on nuclear capabilities in the Middle East. In 1972, Wolfowitz worked for the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and then joined HW Bush's committee of anti-communist experts in the CIA, called Team B. During the Carter administration, Wolfowitz served as the US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Regional Programs in the Pentagon. However, he resigned due to a conflict between his beliefs and Carter's.



During the Reagan administration, Wolfowitz became the Director of Policy Planning at the State Department. During the time when the US was supporting Saddam Hussein's conflict with Iran, Wolfowitz denounced him, feeling morally opposed to the tyrannical leader. He also opposed negotiations with Palestine, proving himself to be one of Israel's strongest supporters. Wolfowitz also argued for a unilateralist approach to China, believing that the Chinese were dependent on US support. He was promoted to the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1982-86, then became the US Ambassador to Indonesia. Under George HW Bush, Wolfowitz was the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, where he became close to then-Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

After the 1991 Gulf War, Wolfowitz strongly supported overthrowing Saddam Hussein quickly, rather than withdrawing. At the time, this was opposed by Powell and Bush, but was later adapted by George Bush's administration. From 1994 until 2001, Wolfowitz was Professor of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University.

Andrew Card White House Chief of Staff

Andrew Card attended the University of South Carolina for his undergraduate education, obtaining a degree in engineering. He continued to the US Merchants Marine Academy and the John F Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1975-1983. Under Reagan, he worked as a Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, then became George HW Bush's Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff. He briefly served as the Secretary of Transportation in the first Bush Administration as well, coordinating relief efforts of Hurricane Andrew. Card moved to the private sector during Clinton's administration, working for the American Automobile Manufacturers Association until 1998. He was also the Vice President of General Motors' Government Relations, representing GM on public policy before Congress. Upon George W. Bush's request, he ran the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia in 2000 before being appointed Bush's Chief of Staff.

The White House Chief of Staff is the highest-ranking employee of the White House office. They have no set duty but typically oversee the actions of all White House Staffers, offer advice to the president, and manage the president's schedule.



John Negroponte
Ambassador to the UN

Born in London to Greek parents, Negroponte grew up in the US, attending Yale University with William HT Bush, uncle to George W Bush. He dropped out of Harvard Law to join to Foreign Service, holding positions at eight different Asian, European, and Latin American embassies. He was one of the few Foreign Service officers to publically disagree with Kissinger's Vietnam secret peace talks. He was the ambassador to Honduras in 1981, then became Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, and the Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security. He was also an ambassador to Mexico, ambassador to the Philippines, and Deputy National Security Advisor to Ronald Reagan. The Democrats, who have yet to confirm his position at the time of this committee, have hotly contested his appointment as ambassador to the United Nations.

The US's ambassador to the UN must represent the United States on the UN Security Council and most plenary meetings of the General Assembly (unless a higher official, such as the President or Secretary of State is present). Although the position is not a cabinet office, UN Ambassadors are frequently invited to cabinet meetings and accorded cabinet level rank.

Bob Stump
House Chairman of the Armed Services Committee

A Congressman from Arizona, Robert Lee Stump was a US Navy World War II Veteran. He graduated from Arizona State University in 1951, and owned a cotton and grain farm near Phoenix for most of his life—returning there to work on weekends even when employed in DC. He served in both the Arizona House of Representatives and the Arizona State Senate, before being elected to the House of Representatives in 1976. At the time, Stump was a registered Democrat, though his views were always conservative and he became a republican in 1982. He was the chair of the Veteran's Affairs Committee from 1995 to 2001, obtaining the position after the Republicans won control of Congress for the first time in forty years. In 2001, he took over the House Armed Services committee, making him one of few to hold both crucial positions. Stump consistently supported increased military spending, but voted against all other types of spending.



He was well loved by the American Conservative Union, but despised by groups such as the AFL-CIO, the NAACP and the ACLU.

House committees specialize in specific areas to closely consider bills related to these topics, at the discretion of their chair. The House Armed Services committee is responsible for funding and oversight of the Department of Defense, the US Armed Forces, and some of the Department of Energy.

Carl Levin

Senate Chairman of the Armed Services Committee

A graduate of Swarthmore College, Carl Levin grew up in Detroit, working as a taxi driver and auto factory worker to put himself through school. He obtained his JD from Harvard Law, and entered private practice as a lawyer in 1960. He served on the Detroit City Counsel until 1977, acting as president in his second term. In 1978, Levin was elected to the US Senate. Levin was a member of the armed services committee from his first term as Senator, advocating cost controls and government transparency.

Similarly to the House, the Senate divides its work into 20 committees and 68 subcommittees to consider bills to pass on to the Senate floor. The chair of each committee represents the majority party, organizes subcommittees, and controls the committee's business.

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