

IRAQ

Iraq emerged as an independent monarchy in 1932, by merging the three provinces of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra into one political entity. This was accomplished through a series of complicated steps which, though interesting, are really not germane to this work. A short list of facts, which are germane, includes the monarchy's endemic weakness, corruption, and subordination to British foreign policy. A series of military coups established the army as the main source of political power, and governmental instability was a fact of life. In 1941, at the height of WWII, a pro-Nazi movement led by Rashid Ali and his "Pan-Arabists", attempted to take advantage of Britain's perilous position, vis-a-vis the bitter fighting between them and Axis troops in Africa, to overthrow the monarchy. Rashid Ali's troops moved against the RAF base at Habbaniya and demanded its capitulation. The local British commander refused. A makeshift Allied expeditionary group (Habforce) quickly raised the "siege" of Habbaniya, squashed the revolt, and things returned to normal. But its root causes, dissatisfaction with the monarchy, militant nationalism, "Pan-Arabism", latent fascism, and widespread anti-Semitism continued to gnaw at the Iraqi "body politic".

The history of modern Iraq begins in the 1950's, when small groups of young nationalists in the army, calling themselves the "Free Officers", began to organize and lay down revolutionary plans. The number of Free Officers was never very large, but there was a considerably larger number of sympathizers waiting to join the fun. They worked in cells, and the identity of the participants was kept secret. Only the "Central Organization", which supplied leadership to the movement, was known to all. This group was composed of fourteen members, headed by an officer named 'Abd al-Karim Qasim. Of several proposed plots, that laid down by Qasim and his close collaborator, 'Abd as-Salam 'Arif, proved the most appealing. On July 14th, 1958, a general staff order went out for an Iraqi brigade to proceed to Jordan. Its mission, ostensibly, was to reinforce Jordanian forces against alleged threats by Israel. As 'Arif and his brigade passed through Baghdad on their way to the front, he intended to divert them, attack, and capture the city.

The plot succeeded. Revolutionary forces captured Baghdad, declared the downfall of the monarchy, and proclaimed a republic, all in the same day. Leading members of the royal house, including the king and crown prince, were executed and General Nuri, the defense minister, was killed during the attack. Qasim, head of the revolutionary force, formed a Cabinet, over which he presided, and appointed himself commander of the National Forces. He also assumed the portfolio of defense and appointed 'Arif as minister of the interior and deputy commander. A "Council of Sovereignty", composed of three persons, was to act as head of state. A provisional constitution declared that Iraq formed an integral part "of the Arab nation" and that "Arabs and Kurds are considered partners in this homeland." Iraq was declared a republic and Islam the state religion. All executive and legislative powers were entrusted to the "Sovereignty Council" and the Cabinet. It soon became clear, however, that power rested solely with Qasim, backed up by the army.

Conflicts among the various officers developed rapidly, first between Qasim and 'Arif, and then between Qasim and his own supporters. 'Arif championed the Pan-Arab cause and advocated Iraq's union with the U.A.R. Qasim rallied the opposition, mostly Kurds and communists. 'Arif's movement collapsed in October, but Qasim's power was soon threatened again. He tried to divert public attention to foreign affairs in June 1961, by advancing Iraq's claim to Kuwait's sovereignty. This brought him into conflict not only with Britain and Kuwait, but with other Arab states as well. He next opened negotiations with the "Iraq Petroleum Company" to increase Iraq's royalties, but negotiations broke down due to his extreme demands. His solution was to found the "Iraq National Oil Company" (INOC). By 1963, Qasim was isolated internally as well as externally. The only remaining "friendly" power was the Soviet Union. One faction of the army, in cooperation with an Arab nationalist group, started a rebellion in February 1963. This was the Iraqi regional branch of the "Arab Socialist B'ath (Renaissance) Party". The regime suddenly collapsed, Qasim was executed, and 'Arif took control.

Shortly after taking power, 'Arif forced the B'ath Party underground. Sweeping changes were required in its leadership and strategy if it were to survive. Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr became regional secretary in 1964. He was assisted in his reorganization program by Saddam Hussein, a B'ath "trigger man" who was involved in a failed attempt on Qasim's life in 1959. Saddam Hussein proved instrumental in rallying civilian B'athist support for al-Bakr. A premature attempt to seize power in September 1964 led to the imprisonment of the principal B'ath leaders, including al-Bakr and Saddam Hussein. In 1965 al-Bakr was released because of illness, and in 1966 Saddam Hussein escaped.

Saddam Hussein

Saddam Hussein was born in a village of mud huts near Takrit, on the river Tigris, on April 28th, 1937. By the age of ten, realizing that his mother's live-in boyfriend couldn't stand him, he abandoned her and ran off to Baghdad to find himself. There, he moved in with his uncle, Kairallah Talfah. Talfah had served as an officer in the Iraqi army in the 1930's and was a devoted Nazi and anti-semitic. When Saddam joined him, he was working as a schoolteacher and part-time pamphleteer. His most notable literary work entitled, "Three Things God Should Not have Created: Persians, Jews, and Flies", was widely distributed after Saddam's rise to power. Talfah became Saddam's main masculine role model, and it was through him and his teaching that Saddam developed a lifelong fascination with the exercise of raw power and the domination of others. He studied the lives and works of Hitler and Stalin with gusto and any, in depth, study of his political career reveals the philosophical debt he owes to them. Among the lessons learned were; 1) Never put your trust in, or ally yourself with, the army. and 2) Build your own, trusted, armed force within the army as a counter to its power.

After the abortive attempt to murder Qasim, Saddam fled, wounded, first to Syria and then Egypt. There, he attended the Cairo Law School for a year, and continued his studies at the Baghdad Law College after his return to Iraq in 1963. When the B'athists were overthrown in 1964, Saddam was arrested and spent several years in prison. After his escape, he became a leader of the B'ath party, and was instrumental in the army coup that brought it back to power on July 17th, 1968. His favorite book is "Mein Kampf" and his favorite film is "The Godfather".

The reasons given for this coup, the corruption of the 'Arif regime, Kurdish disturbances in the north, and the government's failure to support other Arab countries in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, were merely a cover. The root cause was that the 'Arif regime, placed in power by the army, and with no popular support, had become completely dependent on it. Thus, when the B'ath Party

persuaded a few key officers to abandon 'Arif, the fate of his government was sealed. The four primary B'ath military supporters were Colonel 'Abd ar-Razzaq an-Nayif, head of military intelligence, Colonel Ibrahim 'Abd ar-Rahman ad-Da`ud, chief of the Republican Guard, Colonel Sa'dun Ghaydan, and Colonel Hammad Shihab. The first two agreed to cooperate on condition that an-Nayif would be the new premier and ad-Da`ud the minister of defense. The B'ath Party accepted this arrangement as a necessary evil, but had no intention of sticking to it. On the morning of July 17th, 1968, President 'Arif's palace was stormed by B'athist officers. "Stormed" may not be the appropriate word, since Ghaydan had arranged for the gate to be left open. 'Arif surrendered and agreed to leave the country.

The first act of the new regime was to establish the "Revolutionary Command Council" (RCC), which, in turn, elected al-Bakr president of the republic. Almost immediately, yet another power struggle arose between the B'athist and Nayif-Da`ud groups, over socialism and foreign policy. This was, as usual, a cover for the real struggle, i.e. which of the two groups was really in control. On July 30th, an-Nayif was invited to the presidential palace. After lunch, Saddam Hussein arrested him at gunpoint. An-Nayif agreed to leave the country, and was duly sent to Morocco as ambassador. Ad-Da`ud, who was then on a mission to Jordan, was advised to stay there (for his health's sake).

These events cleared the way for the B'ath Party to gain control once and for all. Al-Bakr assumed the premiership in addition to the presidency. Most Cabinet posts were given to B'ath leaders. Sympathizers of the Nayif-Da`ud group were "removed", along with a number of civil servants considered unfriendly to the B'athists. An Interim Constitution was issued on September 21st. It provided for a presidential system composed of the RCC, the Cabinet, and National Assembly. But the B'athists, already highly organized, began to infiltrate every aspect of Iraqi political life.

Also in 1968, Bakr appointed Saddam Hussein the B'ath party's deputy secretary general. His main area of responsibility was the control of Iraq's "Byzantine" state security apparatus. Saddam plunged into his duties with vigor, using Hitler's Gestapo and Stalin's NKVD as models. His agents sought out subversion, conducted internal and external espionage, and performed thousands of assassinations. His particular favorite was a creation of his own, the "Makhbarat" (Informers). This agency comprised a sort of "watchdog" group. Its mission was to check up on the loyalty of all other security personnel as well as ordinary police officers. The Makhbarat prowled through every town and village, listening for any unguarded word and snatching traitors off the streets at any hour of the day or night. Saddam was given a free hand, and disposed of the party's enemies by means of mass executions by firing-squad and public hangings. No one was safe. Among his victims were the minister of defense, several generals, many other army officers, and the majority of Iraq's outlawed communist party. The actual numbers involved will never be known, as Saddam wisely kept few written records of his "security" activities.

The B'ath were now firmly established and turned to the complicated issue of Kurdish rights. Even before the B'ath Party achieved power, the Kurdish question had been discussed at several levels. However, in late 1968, fighting between Kurds and Iraqi army troops began once again and escalated to full-scale war. With military aid provided by Iran, the Kurds were able to pose a serious threat to Iraqi sovereignty. By early 1970, negotiations between the B'ath leaders, the Kurdish leader Mulla Mustafa al-Barzani, and the leaders of the Kurdish Democratic Party were under way. The government agreed to officially recognize the Kurds as a "national" group entitled to autonomous self-rule. This was to eventually lead to the establishment of a provincial administrative council and an assembly to deal with Kurdish affairs. The "March Manifesto" was proclaimed in 1970, to take effect in 1974, once the actual area in which the Kurds formed the majority of the population was established by a special census.

It came as no surprise when in April 1972, Iraq and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship. The two nations agreed to cooperate on political, economic, and military issues and, of course, the Soviet Union also agreed to supply Iraq with arms. Behind the scenes, there was a bit more haggling. To strengthen its grip on Iraq and avoid Soviet interference in its internal politics, the B'ath party agreed to take two important steps. First, the conflict between it and the "Iraqi Communist Party" (ICP), which had arisen after the 1958 revolution, was reconciled. Second, the "National Progressive Front" was established to provide legitimacy for the regime by a show public tolerance of other political parties. Since the "March Manifesto" had established a basis for settlement of the Kurdish problem, Kurdish political parties were willing to participate in the "National Progressive Front". The ICP also showed interest. A "Charter for National Action", prepared by the B'ath Party, was published in the press for public discussion as a basis for cooperation between all Iraqi political parties.

In 1974, negotiations with al-Barzani and the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) failed. The census promised in the "March Manifesto" had not occurred, and the KDP refused to accept the B'athist definition of the Kurdish area, which excluded, oil-rich, Kirkuk. Nevertheless, on March 11th, the B'ath regime proceeded to implement its own plan for Kurdish self-rule, establishing a provincial council and an assembly, in cooperation with Kurdish leaders opposed to al-Barzani. The Kurdish war began within a few days, with Al-Barzani assuming that he would receive support from the Shah of Iran. Iraq pre-empted this by opening negotiations with the Shah over Iranian use of the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Sure enough, all assistance to the Kurds ended the day negotiations began. By June of 1975, an agreement was reached between Iraq and Iran, and the Kurdish war was virtually over. With the Kurds on a back burner, the B'ath now turned on the communists. Relations with them deteriorated after 1975, culminating in mass arrests. By 1979 most ICP leaders had left the country. Other opposition parties were forced underground as well.

The "Ten Years" War

Saddam was now the real power in the country and made it official by assuming the presidency when Al-Bakr resigned from the job in 1979. He then proceeded to make himself chairman of the "Revolutionary Command Council", prime minister, and assorted other things. He used his extensive secret-police establishment to suppress internal opposition, and took the first steps in the development of the vast personality cult that has marked his rule ever since. His primary goals as president seem to have been to supplant Egypt as leader of the Arab world and to achieve hegemony over the Persian Gulf. In this light, the invasion of Iran in September, 1980 was inevitable. A brief combat history of the war is contained in the chapter on "Iran", and I will not waste space here presenting all that again. A cursory study of the equipment making up the Iraqi arsenal just before the opening of hostilities may be informative, however, as it was upon this arsenal that Saddam based his confidence in invading Iran.

In the late 1970's Iraq's army consisted of approximately 160,000 men, organized into four armored divisions, four infantry divisions, and two mechanized divisions. The Republican Guard consisted of one mechanized brigade, two infantry brigades and one "Special Forces" brigade. The Iraqi "Special Forces", unlike their Western counterparts, had no specific training in unconventional warfare, and owed their elite status primarily to their political reliability. Iraqi weapons included the following (approximately):

150 T-62 (more on order), 1200 T-54/T-55, 50 T-34, 60 (French) AMX-30, and 100 PT-76 tanks
 1,800 APC's (Including BTR-40/-50/-60/-152, and OT-62)
 100 BMP-1 ICV's
 700 Artillery Pieces (Including 75, 85, 100, 122, 130, and 152mm guns/howitzers), 100 120mm Mortars
 64 122mm BM-21 Multiple Rocket Launchers, and 40 "Frog-7" and "Scud-B" SSM's
 200 Sagger and SS-11 ATGM's
 800 Anti-Aircraft guns (Including towed 23, 37, 57, 85, and 100mm types), ZSU-23/4's, ZSU-57/2's, and
 SA-7 SAM's

The Iran-Iraq War continued, at various levels of intensity, until 1988, when both sides accepted a cease-fire that ended the actual fighting. But, it was not until 1990 that Iraq and Iran finally agreed to settle their differences and carry out the terms of UN Resolution 598 which re-established conditions as they existed in June of 1975.

Aftermath

The Iraqi's had killed over a million Iranians and prevented Iran from exporting its fundamentalist revolution to the rest of the Arab world by force. Inside Iran, the Islamic Republic lost confidence and began a reign of terror aimed at stifling dissidents. Thousands of Iranians, including women and children were summarily executed, torturing prisoners became a common practice, and basic human rights were diligently ignored. Khomeini's revolutionary vision proved both intellectually and philosophically barren. Even today, the struggle between progressives and conservatives in Iran continues to be fierce, bloodstained, and one-sided.

The effect on Iraq and the Iraqis was completely different. Saddam emerged as a victor (at least to his own people). In order to put a good face on things and reward his people for their sacrifices, there was an outward show of liberalization, quick demobilization, a general amnesty, and a good deal of government spending on economic recovery programs. Saddam's control had become even more absolute, the B'ath party even more secure. The Iraqi police state continued to regiment, spy upon, torture, and imprison its citizens. Saddam was assured of future dominance among his Persian Gulf neighbors. After all, had he not saved them from Khomeinism?

Iraq's use of chemical weapons against Iranian troops, at first tentatively in 1982, then systematically from 1984, brought back a weapon that has been shunned for a generation. This fact did not become widely known, however, until 1988, when Saddam ordered the massacre of thousands of Kurdish men, women, and children by the use of lethal poison gas sprayed from low-flying aircraft. The international community condemned this act as a crime against humanity, but it was already too late. Though the use of chemical weapons has been universally repudiated, Saddam Hussein has used them repeatedly, and has gotten away with it... so far. A terrible precedent has been set, the consequences of which can only be imagined.

Desert Shield - Desert Storm

The war with Iran now over, Saddam was forced to grapple with a war debt estimated at more than US\$80 billion, more than half of which was owed to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Saddam took it for granted that this debt would be forgiven by these countries, seeing as how he had been fighting to save them from revolution. He even expected them to finance his reconstruction program in a way similar to the "Marshall Plan" after WWII. To his surprise, he found that not only did the gulf countries refuse to forgive the debt, but they went so far as to increase their OPEC oil production quotas, resulting in a drop in oil prices that considerably reduced Iraq's income. He was able to coerce OPEC into raising oil prices, but any confidence he held in his neighbors' gratitude was gone. He now realized that the quickest route to economic solvency was to eliminate Iraq's war debt and add Kuwait's oil revenues to his own by annexing Kuwait and possibly a large chunk of Saudi Arabia.

To this end, he raised the issue of a long standing border dispute with Kuwait over several small islands in the Gulf and claimed that Kuwait was "slant" drilling into Iraqi territory, thereby "stealing" Iraqi oil. He demanded that Kuwait turn over these islands and cede a large slice of disputed oil-rich territory to him. When Kuwait not only failed to comply, but called on the US for assistance, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait on August 2nd, 1990. On the same day, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 660, condemning the invasion and demanding Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwaiti territory. On August 6th, the Security Council passed another resolution, number 661, imposing economic sanctions on Iraq. As Saddam showed no sign of compliance, the US, in conjunction with its allies, decided the invasion was a threat to Western interests. They further decided that the status quo ante-bellum must be re-established. US troops began arriving in Saudi Arabia on August 9th. On August 28th, Iraq declared that Kuwait had become its 19th province. The US now organized a 28-member coalition, including several Middle Eastern states. The coalition mobilized sufficient military and political support to enforce the Security Council's sanctions, including the use of force. Air operations commenced on January 17th, 1991. Land operations began, hesitantly at first, on February 24th. On April 7th, 1991, after a disastrous one hundred-hour battle, Iraq accepted the UN Security Council resolutions.

"This Is CNN!"

The Persian Gulf War of 1990-1991, was probably the most "covered" conflict in journalistic history. At the same time, the Coalition command was careful not to allow correspondents more access to actual events than was absolutely necessary. You could sense the ghost of Vietnam in carefully prepared news conferences, perfectly controlled interviews, and sanitized "Photo-Ops". It was clear that General Schwarzkopf was determined not to allow the Coalition command to be crucified by the "liberal" press as it had in Vietnam. In many ways, however, the Persian Gulf conflict was "The War That CNN Built". The world was treated to round-the-clock coverage of every possible aspect of the war that was allowed. The faces of CNN correspondents, Peter Arnett, John Holliman, Wolf Blitzer, and Bernard Shaw became as familiar as family members to most Americans.

The actual prosecution of the war has been reported by so many people that I feel rather shy about adding my bit to the total, but I cannot pass over such an important event without mentioning some salient points. At first glance, the balance of forces in the Gulf appeared fairly close. The "Coalition" fielded about 695,000 troops, including ten US divisions, as compared to 540,000 Iraqis, in just over forty divisions deployed in the battle area. Included in the coalition total were large contingents from Egypt, the UK, France, Syria, Pakistan, and 145,000 troops from the various Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, The U.A.E., Bahrain, and Kuwait itself, as well as smaller contingents from Bangladesh, Morocco, and even some smaller African countries. In addition, the Coalition could call on more than 1,695 combat aircraft as opposed to 665 Iraqis, which would, in the end, be decisive.

The air-war began during the night of January 16-17th, 1991 with the launching of the first of 290 "Tomahawk" cruise missiles launched from ships in the Persian Gulf during the war. By 0230 (local time) over seven hundred Coalition aircraft were sweeping

toward their targets. These were primarily Iraqi air-defense facilities and air bases, command, control, and communication centers. During the first twenty-four hours, US Forces alone flew over 1,000 sorties. Among the most difficult and vital of these was a mission flown by eight US AH-64 "Apaches" of the 101st Airborne Division.

These aircraft slipped across the Saudi-Iraqi border at dangerously low altitude, flying at high speed with no lights! At 0238 Hours, they fired their "Hellfire" missiles at two Iraqi early-warning radar stations deep in the Arabian Desert. These were followed by clusters of 70mm rockets and 30mm automatic-cannon shells. The Coalition now had a radar-free corridor through which strike aircraft could pass without detection on their way to Iraqi targets. The pattern had been set for the Coalition air offensive; few losses, massive destruction of enemy troops, equipment, and other resources, and total and complete air supremacy.

The Mother of All Battles

The battle for Khafji on January 31st, 1991, is often cited as the beginning of the ground phase of Desert Storm. In actuality, it was more of a prelude to the main action. This is not to belittle the efforts of the Saudi's, Qatari's, and US Marines engaged. An Iraqi "probing" attack made up of several hundred armored vehicles and several thousand men found themselves in a lively twelve-hour firefight, in which the Marines and their allies established a tactical dominance which set the tone for every engagement that followed. But, General Schwarzkopf was determined not to be stampeded into prematurely tipping his hand, and refrained from following up on this initial victory. The troops' blood was up and they, both the Americans and their allies, were encouraged by their success and, as always, "Victory is a potent medicine."

By February 23rd, with Iraqi attention concentrated on the Kuwait-Saudi Border, General Schwarzkopf ordered a sweeping flanking movement around the Iraqi right, spearheaded by the French Legionnaires, the British 1st Armored Division (the "Desert Rats" of WWII fame), and the main body of the US armored force supported by air-mobile operations along the Euphrates. This was combined with a direct assault in Kuwait by the Marines and other Coalition forces in a classic, "Hold 'em by the nose, and Kick 'em in the ass" operation, sometimes known as a "single envelopment". Thousands of Iraqi prisoners fell into the hands of Coalition troops as the "holding" force drove toward Kuwait City and the "flanking" force turned East along the Euphrates slamming into the weakly held Iraqi right, to prevent their escape. Over twenty-one Iraqi divisions were already "in the bag".

By the 27th, Kuwait City was liberated and the remaining Iraqi Republican Guard troops were surrounded. Desperate one-sided tank battles ensued. The desert was littered with thousands of smashed and burning Iraqi vehicles. Endless columns of demoralized, and largely unguarded, Iraqi troops staggered, thankfully, toward captivity. Their thankfulness, it seems, arising from the fact that few had tasted either food or water for weeks. The massive coalition air offensive had made any attempt to move supplies to forward positions certain suicide. President Bush called for a unilateral end to offensive military action. The "Mother of All Battles" had become the "Mother of All Drive-By-Shootings". General Schwarzkopf led the Coalition Command in a collective sigh-of-relief.

H. Norman Schwarzkopf

During his years of service, H. Norman Schwarzkopf commanded army units of various sizes from platoon to corps level. He served two combat tours in Vietnam and later was designated Deputy Commander of the Joint Task Force in charge of the Grenada student rescue operation. In his capacity as Commander of Operations in the Gulf War, he coordinated the efforts of all Coalition forces from August, 1990 through August, 1991, when he retired from military service. Since his retirement, General Schwarzkopf has published an autobiography; It Doesn't Take A Hero, and has participated in six television specials. He is currently working as a consultant with NBC.

He earned his Bachelor of Science degree at the United States Military Academy, West Point and his Master's Degree in Missile Engineering at the University of Southern California. He holds several honorary doctorates in Public Service and Leadership studies from leading universities as well. His many military awards include: three Silver Stars, (including one for personally leading a panicked platoon out of a minefield), Distinguished Service medals from the Department of Defense, the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, and the Coast Guard, two Purple Hearts, the Congressional Gold Medal, the Presidential Medal of Freedom and numerous foreign decorations.

To me, his personality is best described by his reaction to a query by a news reporter at a briefing during the Gulf War, on February 27th, 1991. The reporter asked whether the general might be overestimating the danger of Iraqi barriers facing his forces, particularly that of the various Iraqi minefields. General Schwarzkopf sort of lunged forward, looming over the man with a menacing expression. "Have you ever been in a minefield?" he asked testily. The cowed reporter timidly answered, "No. I haven't." "Well, I have!" the general growled. And that was that!

The Gulf War was the greatest and most unexpected military disaster since the fall of France in 1940. It not only destroyed most of the Iraqi armed forces, but also severely damaged the country's infrastructure, including all public services to major Iraqi cities and towns. An enforced embargo has limited Iraqi oil exports and prevented many foreign products from entering the country. Saddam continues to rebuild his military forces in spite of the pitiful state of the Iraqi economy and the suffering of many Iraqi citizens. Saddam's policy seems to be the deliberate starvation of his own people and the withering of his population by disease, in the hope that Western nations will break their own embargo out of misguided pity. In effect, he is holding his own people hostage. This brutal policy may well work in the end.

The humiliating Iraqi defeat also encouraged Kurds and Shiites to renew their resistance to B'athist subjugation. The subsequent withdrawal of Coalition forces allowed the Iraqi regime to suppress both the Shiite and Kurdish rebellions. Action against the Kurds was so fierce, and Iraqi atrocities so fiendish, that thousands of Kurds were forced to flee into nearby Turkey. Many of these died from hunger or disease either on their way to, or in, hopelessly crowded refugee camps. Western intervention finally allowed the surviving Kurds to return to their homes, but words like "human rights" and "democracy" remain meaningless in Iraq. Saddam continues to insinuate himself into every Mid-East controversy. Inconsistent American policy toward Iraq and political dithering in the years since

the war's end have allowed Saddam, and the B'athists to maintain their fearsome grip on Iraq and the Iraqi people. The murders, the torture, the suffering of the innocent, and the endless lies continue...

Estimated Iraqi Losses in the Gulf War

36 fixed-wing aircraft in air-to-air engagements
6 helicopters in air-to-air engagements
68 fixed- and 13 rotary-wing aircraft destroyed on the ground
137 Iraqi aircraft flown to Iran
3,700 of 4,280 battle tanks (86%)
2,400 of 2,870 assorted other armored vehicles (84%)
2,600 of 3,110 assorted artillery pieces (84%)
19 naval vessels sunk, 6 damaged
42 divisions rendered combat-ineffective
71,204 Iraqi prisoners of war
(Numbers reported by US Central Command, March 7, 1991.)

Gulf War Psychological Operations

A postscript by Major Daryl Nichols (US Army)

During the hundred-hour Desert Storm "ground war", the one image repeated again and again on CNN was that of tired and shocked Iraqi soldiers, hands in the air, surrendering in tens of thousands. But what few people realized was that many of these soldiers were victims of US Psychological Operations or "Psy-Ops". How our Psy-Ops soldiers were able to accomplish this makes for an interesting story.

First, we had to get our message across. The situation in which the Iraqis found themselves had left them fully primed and thoroughly vulnerable to psychological "attack", whether by radio, loudspeaker, or leaflet bombardment. Arab brotherhood was the one theme used against them, pointing out the fact that many coalition troops were fellow Arabs and fellow Muslims. Others were their acute fear of allied air power and a gnawing sense of betrayal by their leaders. A total of 29 million leaflets were dropped on Iraqi positions, reaching approximately 98% of their soldiers, with a specific message. The message was, "Surrender, while you can!"

One of the most effective tactics involved the dropping of leaflets on an Iraqi unit and informing them that they would be "saturation" bombed by B-52s sometime in the next twenty-four hours, and that their only escape from certain death was to surrender. They responded eagerly. In fact, Iraqi soldiers were so eager to surrender, that one group insisted on doing so to a handful of unarmed journalists! Unsure of what to do, the journalists told them to throw away their weapons and just sit and wait, in the open desert, for American soldiers to come for them. They did!

The Iraqis also made use of Psychological Operations during the Gulf War, but with considerably less effect. In one radio broadcast "Baghdad Betty" told American soldiers that, while they were risking their lives for Saudi Arabia, their wives and girlfriends were sleeping with Tom Cruise, Tom Selleck and Bart Simpson! Needless to say, the primary effect of this broadcast on American troops was to add a little well needed humor to their day, rather than fill them with anger over their loved ones' "animated" infidelity.

FOREIGN WEAPONS

SK-105 - AS; 180mm ASTROS II, 300mm ASTROS II, EE-9 Cascavel, EE-11 Urutu - BR; 155mm GHN-45, Type 59, Type 69, YW531 - CH; OT-64 - CZ; 155mm GCT/AUF, AML-H60/90, ERC-90, AMX/Roland SAM - FR; Roland SAM - GE, 155mm G5 - SA; Chieftan, "Milan" ATGM - UK; 106mm M40 RcR, 155mm M109, M113 - US; All other foreign weapons - RU

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT

INFANTRY DIVISION: 1980+

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 30, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Infantry Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(B)/Truck
"Special Forces" Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/APC
Engineer Company: 3xTL3 Engineer/Truck
Tank Company: 3xT-54
Recon Company: 3xJeep/LMG[R]
Anti-Tank Company: 3x107mm B-11 RcR/Gaz-69 or 106mm M40 RcR/Jeep

Infantry Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
"Special Forces" Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/APC, 3x"Special Forces" Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company
Tank Regiment: 1xT-54 (HQ), 3xTank Company
Recon Battalion: 3xRecon Company
Artillery Battalion(A): 3x122mm D30(3)/Truck
Artillery Battalion(B): 3x130mm M46(3)/Truck
Mortar Battalion: 2x120mm M43(3)/Truck
Anti-Tank Battalion: 3x100mm M44 ATG/Truck
Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 1x57mm S60/Truck, 3x23mm ZU-23-2/Truck or 37mm M39/Truck

Infantry Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Battalion, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xAnti-Tank Company
Artillery Brigade: 3xArtillery Battalion(A), 1xArtillery Battalion(B), 1x122mm BM-21(12)

Infantry Division: 3xInfantry Brigade, 1x"Special Forces" Battalion, 1xTank Regiment, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xAnti-Tank Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xMortar Battalion

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units, or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)
Artillery Battalion: 3x152mm M37(3)/Truck or 155mm M114(3)/Truck
Rocket Battalion: 3x180mm ASTROSII(6) or 3x300mm ASTROSII(6)
SAM Battery: 1xSA-2, SA-3, SA-6, SA-8, or Roland (Static)
SAM Battery (1990+): 1xSA-9, SA-13, or AMX/Roland
Anti-Tank Company: 3xBRDM-2/AT-3
Independent Tank Battalion: 1xChieftan Mk5 or M60A1 (HQ), 12xChieftan Mk5 or M60A1
Heavy Mortar Battalion: 3x160mm M160(3), 3x240mm M240(3), or 2x160mm/T-55 Mortar(3)
Anti-Tank Squadron: 4xBO105, SA342M "Gazelle", or Mi-24 "Hind D"
Transport Flight: 2xMi-6, Mi-8, or Mi-17

Notes: 1) By 1982, Infantry Brigades may contain four Infantry Battalions instead of three.
2) Tank "Regiments" are actually battalion-sized units.
3) T-54's may be replaced by T-55's, Type 59's, or Type 69's.
4) APC's may be M-113's, BTR-152's or BTR-60's.
5) One stand in each Infantry Brigade may contain an attached "SA-7" team(MP).
6) Gaz-69's or Jeeps may be replaced by "Land Rovers".
7) By 1991 the number of Infantry Divisions in the Iraqi Army had expanded to twenty-seven.
8) Trucks may be replaced by APC's at double point cost.

ARMORED AND MECHANIZED DIVISIONS: 1980+

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 30, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Mechanized Infantry Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/APC
"Special Forces" Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/APC
Engineer Company: 2xTL3 Engineer/BTR-50, 1xAVLB
Tank Company: 3xT-54
Recon Company: 3xBRDM-2[R], PT-76[R], EE-9 "Cascavel"[R], AML-H90[R], or AML-H60[R]
Light Tank Company: 3xPT-76[R]
Anti-Tank Company: 3x"Steyr" SK-105

Mechanized Regiment: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/APC, 3xInfantry Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
"Special Forces" Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/APC, 3x"Special Forces" Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company
Tank Regiment: 1xT-54 (HQ), 3xTank Company
Recon Battalion: 2xRecon Company, 1xLight Tank Company
Artillery Battalion(A): 3x122mm D30(3)/Truck
Artillery Battalion(B): 3x130mm M46(3)/Truck
Artillery Battalion(C): 3x122mm 2S1/122(3)
Mortar Battalion: 2x120mm M43(3)/Truck
Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3x57mm S60/Truck, 6xZSU-57/2

Mechanized Brig: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 3xMechanized Regiment, 1xTank Regiment, 1xEngineer Company, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 1xRecon Company
Armored Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xMechanized Regiment, 3xTank Regiment, 1xEngineer Company, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 1xRecon Company
Artillery Brigade: 3xArtillery Battalion(A), 1xArtillery Battalion(B), 1xArtillery Battalion(C), 1x122mm BM-21(12)

Mechanized Div: 2xMechanized Brigade, 1xArmored Brigade, 1x"Special Forces" Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xMortar Battalion
Armored Division: 1xMechanized Brigade, 2xArmored Brigade, 1x"Special Forces" Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xMortar Battalion

Available Support Units: (See Infantry Division Above.)

Notes: 1) "Regiments" are actually battalion-sized units.
2) T-54's may be replaced by T-55's, Type 59's, or Type 69's.
3) Armored Divisions may substitute T-62's for other Tanks.
4) APC's may be M113, MTLB, YW531, OT-64, EE-11, BTR-50, BTR-152, or BTR-60.
5) Armored Divisions may substitute BMP-1's for other APC's
6) One stand in each Mechanized Battalion may contain an attached "SA-7" team(MP).

- 7) By 1991, the Iraqi Army contained three Mechanized Divisions and four Armored Divisions.
8) By 1986, Armored and Mechanized Divisions may substitute ZSU-23/4's for other Anti-Aircraft guns.

"REPUBLICAN GUARD" INFANTRY DIVISION: 1990+

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 20, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 35%

Infantry Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/Truck
 "Special Forces" Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/APC
 Engineer Company: 3xTL3 Engineer/Truck
 Tank Company: 3xT-55A or T-62
 Recon Company: 3xBRDM-2[R], ERC-90[R], PT-76[R] or 3xEE-9[R]
 Anti-Tank Company: 3xJeep/Milan or 106mm M40 RcR/Jeep

Infantry Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
 "Special Forces" Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/APC, 3x"Special Forces" Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company
 Armored Regiment: 1xT-55A or T-62 (HQ), 3xTank Company
 Recon Battalion: 3xRecon Company
 Artillery Battalion(A): 3x155mm G5(3)/Truck or 155mm GHN-45/Truck
 Artillery Battalion(B): 3x152mm 2S3(3) or 155mm M109A1
 Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3x57mm S60/Truck, 6xZSU-23/4, 1xSA-9

Infantry Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Battalion, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company

Armored Brigade: 2-3xArmored Regiment

Artillery Brigade: 2xArtillery Battalion(A), 1xArtillery Battalion(B), 1x122mm BM-21(12)

Infantry Division: 2-3xInfantry Brigade, 1x"Special Forces" Battalion, 1xArmored Brigade, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion

Available Support Units: (See Infantry Division above.)

- Notes: 1) "Republican Guard" divisions are better equipped and more politically reliable but do not have superior quality troops.
 2) One stand in each Infantry Battalion may contain an attached "SA-7" team(MP).
 3) There were four "Republican Guard" Infantry Divisions in the Gulf War.

"REPUBLICAN GUARD" ARMORED AND MECHANIZED DIVISIONS: 1990+

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 20, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 35%

Mechanized Infantry Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/APC, 1xAGS-17/APC
 "Special Forces" Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/APC
 Engineer Company: 2xTL3 Engineer/YW531, 1xAVLB
 Tank Company: 3xT-72B or T-72G
 Recon Company: 3xERC-90[R], PT-76[R], EE-9 "Cascavel"[R]
 Light Tank Company: 3xPT-76[R]
 Anti-Tank Company: 3x"Steyr" SK-105

Mechanized Regiment: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/APC, 3xInfantry Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
 "Special Forces" Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/APC, 3x"Special Forces" Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company
 Armored Regiment: 1xT-72 (HQ), 3xTank Company
 Artillery Battalion(A): 3x155mm G5(3)/Truck or 155mm GHN-45/Truck
 Artillery Battalion(B): 3x152mm 2S3(3) or 155mm GCT/AUF-1(3)
 Rocket Battalion: 3x122mm BM-21(12)
 Recon Battalion: 2xRecon Company, 1xLight Tank Company
 Mortar Battalion: 2x120mm M43(3)/Truck
 Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3x57mm S60/Truck, 6xZSU-57/2

Mechanized Brig: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 2xMechanized Regiment, 2xTank Regiment, 1xEngineer Company, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 1xRecon Company

Armored Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xMechanized Regiment, 3xArmored Regiment, 1xEngineer Company, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 1xRecon Company

Artillery Brigade: 2xArtillery Battalion(A), 1xArtillery Battalion(B)

Rocket Brigade: 3xRocket Battalion

Mechanized Div: 2xMechanized Brigade, 1xArmored Brigade, 1x"Special Forces" Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xRocket Brigade

Armored Division: 1xMechanized Brigade, 2xArmored Brigade, 1x"Special Forces" Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xRocket Brigade

Available Support Units: (See Infantry Division Above.)

- Notes:
- 1) "Regiments" are actually battalion-sized units.
 - 2) APC's may be M113, MTLB, YW531, BMP-1, or BMP-2.
 - 3) One stand in each Mechanized Battalion may contain an attached "SA-7" team(MP).
 - 4) There were two "Republican Guard" Armored Divisions and One "Republican Guard" Mechanized Division in the Gulf War.

TACTICAL NOTES

The enormous wealth of wargaming possibilities arising from the Iran-Iraq war has already been discussed in the "Iran" section. The possibilities of the 1990-1991 Persian Gulf War are a different story, however. That war, as it was actually fought, lends itself only to sterile, one sided, unexciting scenarios with poor entertainment value. The Coalition forces, especially the Americans, will almost invariably win, no matter what the odds. But one of the advantages of Micro-Armour - The Game is that you can experiment with historical "what-if" situations.

You can improve the Iraqi's chances by increasing their "cohesion" or decreasing that of their Coalition opponents. Try experimenting with an American Army still shackled to the old peacetime "draft", a policy that may have served in the days of "Mass Armies" and confrontational "East-West" politics, but reveals itself as cumbersome and archaic in the post "Cold War" era.

This will severely handicap the Americans, but makes for more balanced gaming situations. If nothing else, it points out the tremendous advantages accruing to an "all volunteer" force in a "high tech" combat environment. For the most part, the combat forces of the US, UK, France, and several other members of the Coalition were well trained, highly motivated, "mature" individuals working as a team in an atmosphere of professional pride and technical excellence. Pitting them against a mass of conscripts, led by a megalomaniacal military amateur allows few opportunities for balanced competition among equals. We recommend that you take the opportunity to be creative, experiment with broad "what-if" possibilities, and have fun!

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

As of August 16th, 2002, Iraq and Russia were close to signing a US\$40 billion economic cooperation plan, a deal that could put Moscow at odds with the United States as it considers a military attack against Baghdad. The statement by Ambassador Abbas Khalaf came amid indications that Russia, despite its strong support for the post-September 11th anti-terrorism coalition, is maintaining or improving ties with Iran and North Korea, which together with Iraq are the countries President Bush has labeled the "axis of evil."

Washington is trying to rally support for a possible invasion of Iraq, which the United States accuses of supporting terrorism and of building weapons of mass destruction. But many US allies are resisting the push. German and US officials confirmed that the US ambassador to Berlin, Dan Coats, had questioned German officials about Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's opposition to attacking Iraq, an indication that Schroeder has irked Washington. Russia, a longtime ally of Iraq, has forcefully warned against a possible US invasion. Many opponents argue that an invasion cannot be justified without firm proof that the regime of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein is developing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Chancellor Schroeder has said he would not send troops to what he called an "adventure" in Iraq, and Canadian Defense Minister John McCallum said it was "very unlikely" Canada would participate unless Bush provided stronger evidence of an Iraqi threat. It appears the use of lethal gas to kill thousands of helpless Kurds does not constitute "strong evidence" in either the German or Canadian view.

The pending Russia-Iraq economic deal is likely to be seen by Washington as another blow to its efforts to marshal backing for an attack. White House spokeswoman, Claire Buchan, said only "We're confident that Russia understands its obligations under United Nations Security Council resolutions and that they'll abide by them." Moscow has supported lifting the UN sanctions, hoping that would allow Baghdad to start paying off its billion-dollar Soviet-era debt and help expand trade.

On August 20th, 2002, A group of Iraqi dissidents slipped past German police lines and occupied the Iraqi Embassy in Berlin. Two embassy guards were injured, apparently by "pepper" spray, and there is serious doubt whether the Iraqi's are armed with anything more lethal than that. The takeover was in protest over German refusal to participate in any effort to depose Saddam, especially President Bush's supposed plan to attack Iraq. The plot thickens...

On August 22nd, President Bush took another jab at Saddam Hussein, but didn't get much public support from prospective allies, and the Russians challenged his view that the world would benefit if the Iraqi regime was toppled. Their comments underlined the deep-seated opposition that Washington faces in its stand against Iraq. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Trubnikov called the idea of an attack on Iraq "unacceptable," and he said his country did not agree Saddam should be ousted. Even Britain is holding back. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw reiterated that military action remained an option, but told the BBC that the government's policy was to pressure Saddam into allowing the resumption of UN weapons inspections in Iraq.

Many Middle-Eastern nations say it would be foolhardy to start a new war in the region while the Israeli-Palestinian conflict grinds on. In Britain, a recent poll said half the people surveyed did not want the nation's military to participate in an attack on Iraq. (A similar poll taken in Britain on the "Polish" question in 1939 yielded similar results.) Italy said it will allow the use of its airspace but will commit troops to an attack only if it gets proof Saddam is producing nuclear weapons. French President Jacques Chirac has said an attack could only be justified if authorized by the UN Security Council. Jordan, while a close American ally, has critical trade ties with Iraq and opposes a war. King Abdullah II has called for dialogue between the United Nations and Baghdad. Turkish leaders have publicly opposed a war, but the country is in desperate need of foreign loans to recover from a financial crisis and may have little choice but to back any American action. Israel has voiced support for an attack (Surprise!). Israel was hit by thirty-nine Iraqi Scud missiles during the Gulf War, is preparing for the worst, and says it will strike back. In Malaysia, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, increasingly regarded as a moderate Muslim voice, has warned that a US war with Iraq would fuel extremism.

Resupply and Recovery

According to a report dated January 2000, Iraq has been buying military spare parts from Russia through "Front" companies in the United Arab Emirates. The parts were shipped from Dubai to Basra, and included spares for T-72's, BMP's, GHN-45 Howitzers, Mi-8, Mi-24, and Mi-17 Helicopters. A Kuwaiti newspaper, in July of that year, reported that the Iraqi's have been using Russian transmitters capable of jamming global positioning systems and disorienting US and UK aircraft patrolling UN "no-fly" zones over Iraq.

This particular transmitter was invented by scientists at Aviakonversiaya, a Russian military research company, and supplied to Iraq by Vladimir Zhironovsky, a notorious Russian Nationalist. Zhironovsky is a frequent visitor and friend of Saddam Hussein. The Russians deny selling the Iraqi's such a transmitter, though they admit to having designed and built it.

The "Anthrax Airforce"

Interestingly, Iraq has recently developed a large "Unmanned Aerial Vehicle" (UAV) which, according to United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) weapons inspectors, greatly increases Iraq's capability to accurately deliver chemical and biological weapons to otherwise unreachable enemy forces. The UK Secretary of State for Defense, George Robertson, has said that Iraq has developed an "Anthrax Airforce", which he believes will be used if Iraq is invaded. Iraq appears to have developed a "Drone" from a Polish M-18 "Dromadar" crop-spraying aircraft with a 1,000kg payload. Rumors continue to abound...

2002 IRAQI ARSENAL

Vehicles:	1,700+ (T-54/55, T-62, Type 59, Type 69), 250+ T-72, 24+ Chieftans, 300+ (EE-9, AML-90, ERC-90), 3000+ (BMP-1, BMP-2, M-113, BTR-50/-60/-152, OT-64)
AT Weapons:	3,000+ AT-3, AT-4, "Milan", HOT, SS-11, and "Swingfire" ATGM's
Artillery:	1,500+ (Towed 85mm, 100mm, 122mm, 130mm, and 152mm, 155mm GHN-45, 155mm G5 Pieces, 155mm (SP) GCT/AUF-1, 120mm and 160mm Mortars), 250x122mm BM-21, 18xASTROSII
SSMs:	300+SCUD-B, 60xSCUD-C
Anti-Aircraft:	1,800+ (Towed (23mm, 35mm, 40mm, 57mm, 85mm) AA Guns, 100xSP ZSU-57/2, Some ZSU-23/4, I-HAWK, SA-7,
Combat Aircraft:	Fixed Wing: 12xMiG-23/27, 10+Mirage F-1, 20x"Shenyang" F-6/F-7), 12xSu-25, 12xMiG-25/29, 10xMiG-21,
Helicopter:	400+(Mi-24, Gazelle (HOT), Alouette III, Super Frelon), 40xBO105, 35xMi-4, 15xMi-6, 112xMi-17, 78xMi-8
Small Arms:	7.62mm (AK47M, Qadis, and SKS) rifles, 9mm (Sterling and PPS-43) submachineguns, 7.62mm (M72B1, MG34, RPD, and SGM) machineguns, 12.7mm DShk heavy machineguns, and .303" "Bren" light machineguns.

Note: All numbers are approximate. The Iraqi military suffers from chronic shortages of spare parts and technical support personnel.

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