

**CSIS**

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**For Updates see CSIS.ORG, "Military Balance")**

# **The Status of Iraqi Land Forces and Security/Intelligence Forces: A Guesstimate**

***Guesstimate of Redeployments and Damage to Date  
Shown in Bold. Key Elements that May Be Involved  
in the Battle of Baghdad are Shown in Bold Italics***

***Note: No data on independent formations of Commando Units  
(Up to 10) and Special Forces Brigades (up to 3) Available***

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## Summary

There are strong indications that Iraqi forces have split up to fight by brigade, and that the remaining elements of the Republican Guards are making major adjustments to defend Baghdad in small movements designed to minimize damage from the air. Some five Republican guards divisions are said to have elements fighting in the south. Two: The Al Madina and Baghdad Divisions are said to be crippled and to have lost well over 80% of their effectiveness.

On April 5, Lt. General Michael Moseley, Combined Force Air Component Commander, described the status of Iraqi forces as follows from his HQ in Saudi Arabia:

"Republican Guard units outside of Baghdad are now dead...we're not softening them up, were killing them." Moseley said there are still Republican Guard soldiers around "they are not 100 percent killed," but they are not operating in division formations or units anymore. "There are still some of them out there...we haven't killed all of them but the ones that are still around are walking with a bit of a limp."

Moseley said the Iraqi military has been seriously degraded, "the Iraqi defense" in terms of formations "doesn't exist any more." To date the Iraqi air force has not flown. "The airfields are still there" but "they are not flyable...we have killed a lot of them and done a lot of surface damage." If the Iraqis were able to get something in the air Moseley said it would not have a "strategic impact" since the coalition has air superiority. Moseley said he felt that a lot of the Iraqi air force members have, "made a calculation in their mind that they will not survive."

USCENTCOM sources estimated on April 6 that the remaining four divisions of the Republican Guard had lost at least 50% of their effectiveness. The USCENTCOM briefing on the morning of April 7th announced that the Republican Guard units in the vicinity of Baghdad had been reduced to approximately 30% of their original strength, and General Myers stated at the Pentagon briefing on the same day that their original main battle tank strength had been reduced to the low dozens.

On April 8, Pentagon sources reported that elements of three divisions were fighting in small units scattered at the fringes of Baghdad. Of the 850 tanks the Republican Guards forces started with, they now had 19. Of the 550 artillery pieces, they now had 40. On April 9<sup>th</sup>, the Pentagon briefing announced that only one-bridge of the Republican Guard in the north was still intact, and that there were elements of 10 regular divisions – largely static but moving away from the Green Line near the Kurdish Security Zone.

In steps that are very unusual for Iraq, Republican Guards units are reported to have been reinforced by elements of forces from the regular army, many from units that suffered major losses in the fighting in the south.

There now is no meaningful order of battle available for Iraqi land forces. The Republican Guard has taken a massive hammering at every level, and is now scattered and deploying somewhat erratically at the brigade level.

The regular army does seem to be dispersed but has been largely static in the north. As of April 4,, it still acted as a buffer between the Kurds and Kirkuk – not a problem from the US perspective – but some elements were pulling away from the Kurdish areas and towards Mosul or the Mosul-Tikrit-Baghdad area. If elements are reinforcing Baghdad, it is not clear what elements are involved or how large they are.

The regular army has no cohesive structure in the south, although substantial elements of the pre-war Corps are still; fighting or present in the area between the Tigris and Euphrates. They include elements of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> armored divisions. These forces have taken very serious damage from the air, but no damage estimates exist.

The following estimates are highly uncertain and many of the forces involved are in motion.

## **1. Regular Army and Republican Guards in the North:**

**Regular Army Forces in Northern Iraq: Was 2 Mechanized; 6 Infantry Divisions. Probably has lost most major facilities and some 50-65% of effectiveness.**

**The 1<sup>st</sup> Corps is headquartered at Kirkuk and the 5<sup>th</sup> Corps at Mosul.** They normally guard the Turkish border area and deploy on the edge of the Kurdish enclave, and guard the oilfields in the north. They have a total of 8 divisions, but only two are heavy mechanized divisions.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities of both Corps, and division/brigade headquarters hit hard from the air.**

**The 1<sup>st</sup> Corps: 1 Mechanized Division; 3 Infantry Divisions.** It has its headquarters at Khaleed Camp (al Rashid Command Center) in Kirkuk City. It includes the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division headquartered at Alrabee, the 5<sup>th</sup> Mechanized division headquartered at Shuwan, the 8<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered at Shuwan, and the 38<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered at Quader Karam.

- **They have been under significant air attack and recently under limited pressure because of US deployments in the north.**
- **Some units have retreated away from positions near Kirkuk and the Kurdish**

**Security Zone towards Mosul and Mosul-Tikrit Road.**

- **Probable loss of 20-30% of effectiveness.**

**The 5<sup>th</sup> Corps: 1 Mechanized Division; 3 Infantry Divisions.** It has its headquarters at Alsalamia Camp (Amouria Command Center) in Mosul. It has units defending the border area with Syria and Turkey as well as covering other parts of the north. It includes the 1<sup>st</sup> Mechanized Division headquartered at Makhmur, the 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered at Bashiqa Maonten, the 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered at Alton Kopri Castle, and the 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered near the Saddam Dam and Mosul.

- **They have been under significant air attack and recently under limited pressure because of US deployments in the north. Probable loss of 20-30% of effectiveness.**
- **Believed to have had some units retreat towards Tikrit and possibly Baghdad. Some elements may be involved in the battle near Baghdad International Airport. Status unknown.**

**The Northern or 1<sup>st</sup> Corps of the Republican Guards: Had 1 Armored and 1 Infantry Division plus other forces. Probably has lost all major fixed facilities and at least 50-70% of effectiveness for forces still in north. Elements moved south have probably lost at least 70-85% of their effectiveness. The US estimated on April 8th that the Republican Guards forces had only 19 tanks of the 850 they started with, and 40 of 550 artillery pieces.**

The Republican Guard had some 60,000 to 70,000 men at the start of the war. It was under the supervision of Qusay Hussein and commanded by Staff General Ibrahim Abdel Satter Muhammed al Tikriti. It had a total of two more corps, with seven division equivalents:

*The Northern Corps* normally is in reserve to act to defend against Iran and Turkey, operate against the Kurds, and defend the greater Baghdad area and Tikrit. It is headquartered in Tikrit and in the Al Rashedia area of Baghdad (allah Akbar Command Center).

- **Most of the Adnan Mechanized Division seems to have left the Mosul-Tikrit area and to have moved south. It split by brigade, with one brigade protecting Tikrit, but with most defending northern Baghdad. Said to have lost some 70-80% or more of its effectiveness because of combat and air strikes, and most of armor. Mixed unit with unusually high number of Shi'ites.**

## **2. Regular Army and Republican Guards in the East:**

**Regular Army Forces in Eastern Iraq: 1 Armored, 2 Infantry Divisions: Probably has lost most major facilities and some 10% of effectiveness. Elements may be retreating towards Baghdad or the Baghdad-al Kut Road.**

The **2<sup>nd</sup> Corps** is headquartered at the Mansouria Alabal Camp (Al Yarmouk Command Center) in Deyala, and is deployed east of Baghdad to defend against Iran or any attack by Iranian-backed Iraqi opposition forces. It includes the 3<sup>rd</sup> Armored Division headquartered at Jalawia, the 15<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered at Amerli, and the 34<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered near Khanaqin.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities of Corps, and division/brigade headquarters hit hard from the air. Some equipment and unit elements abandoned.**

## **3. Special Republican Guards In Baghdad/Tikrit: Probably has lost most major prewar fixed facilities and at least 40-60% of effectiveness.**

### **Special Republican Guards: 4 Brigades/14 Battalions**

*The Special Republican Guards or Al-Haris al-Jamhuri al-Khas* The Special Republican Guards was well equipped and well trained by Iraqi standards before being slammed by 14 days of air and cruise missile attacks, but anything but combat experienced. Many elements are light forces and security oriented. The various intelligence and security services like the SSO can also add only small elements of regular forces to them.

The main headquarters has been at Al-Nisoor Square in Baghdad and it probably has a total active strength of about 12,000 to 15,000, but some sources claim it can mobilize to 20,000 to 25,000. It is the only force stationed in central Baghdad and in the Republican Palace, although these are also brigades of the Special Security Service (SSO), the Iraqi Intelligence Service (IIS), and secret police in the city. British intelligence reports that it has played a role in securing WMD warheads and maintains control of a few launchers.

**The First Brigade** is a relatively light defensive force that headquartered at Hayy Al-Qadisiyeh in Baghdad and has five battalions, including ones stationed in the

Republican palace and at Saddam International Airport. Additional battalions, including plain-clothes units, are assigned to protect Saddam while he is in transit, and are assigned to guard other palaces and facilities. According to Jane's, only two battalions – the fifth and eight -- are really trained as forces fully suitable for street fighting **Probably has lost most major facilities and some 10-20% of effectiveness.**

- The First Battalion protects Saddam in movement.
- The Second Battalion deploys men on foot to guard Saddam's farms and places near Baghdad's Saddam International Airport.
- The Fifth Battalion is based inside the Republican Palace and guards it and the National Assembly. It guards the Presidential House in the palace compound and has training from the SSO. Elements travel with Saddam at all times and is commanded by friends and relatives of Saddam.
- The Seventh Battalion provides plain cloths bodyguards and protects Saddam's private residences in Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, Fallujah, Jebel Makhool, and other locations.
- ***The Eighth Battalion protected Baghdad's Saddam International Airport. It is unclear it engaged the US 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division when it seized the airport on April 4<sup>th</sup>. It may have taken serious losses as of April 5<sup>th</sup>.***

**The Second Brigade** is normally headquartered at the Al Rashid military base, and has combat experience elements outside Baghdad and in the Mosul area. ***Three battalions – the 11th, 14th, and 15th seem reasonably well suited for urban fighting, but some may have moved towards Tikrit. It is unclear whether any engaged the US 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division when it seized the airport on April 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> or the 1<sup>st</sup> Marine Division on the fighting of 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup>. It may have taken serious losses as of April 5<sup>th</sup>.***

- The Fourth Battalion is a significant combat unit that protects Saddam's palace in Makhool in the Bayji area that is north of Baghdad.
- The Sixth Battalion protects the palaces in the Mosul area.
- **The Eleventh Battalion guards the approaches to Baghdad from the direction of Taji.**

- **The Fourteenth Battalion guards the approaches to Baghdad from the direction of Salam Pak and Kut.**
- **The Fifteenth Battalion is part of the western defenses of Baghdad.**

**The Third Brigade** is headquartered at Taji and has four combat battalions to defend Taji and the approaches to Baghdad. The Third Battalion is particularly strong, but all of these forces may have already been hit hard from the air. **Probably has lost most major facilities and some 10-20% of effectiveness.**

- The Third Battalion is a rapid reaction combat force.
- The Ninth Battalion protects the palaces and road approaches in the Tharthar area.
- The Tenth Battalion is a combat unit in Taji that protects Baghdad from the direction of the north and northwest.
- The Twelfth Battalion reinforces the defense of Baghdad in the direction of Taji.

**The Fourth Brigade** is motorized and is located at Al Harithiyeh and Al Quadisiyeh, and defends the southern outskirts of Baghdad. It has two regiments with T-72 tanks and BMP-1 and BMP-2 armored fighting vehicles. Its Armor Command (Fourth Armored Brigade) is the only heavy war-fighting element in the SRG. It has T-72s, BMP-1 and BMP-2s, and has two armored regiments. The First (Adnan) Regiment is located at the Abu- Ghraib Camp, and the Second Regiment is located near the Al-Makasib village. They provide armored forces to defend the major entrance points to the city.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air, as well as weapons and equipment in unit. No damage assessment**

There is also an intelligence bureau and an **Air Defense Command** with two regiments and three independent batteries, The First Regiment defends the International Airport and has elements near Tharthar Lake and Radwaniyah. The Second Regiment defends key locations in Baghdad. The batteries cover key locations near Door, Tikrit, and Kirkuk.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air, as well as weapons and equipment in unit. No damage assessment**

## **4. Regular Army and Republican Guards in the South:**

**Regular Army Forces in Southern Iraq: 2 Armored, 1 Mechanized, 3 Infantry Divisions: Probably has lost most major facilities and some 70-80% of effectiveness.**

The Army has two corps that play a major role in securing Shi'ite areas and suppressing Shi'ite dissidents. They have a total of six divisions and two are heavy armored divisions:

**Central South: The 4<sup>th</sup> Corps: 1 armored, and 2 Infantry Divisions.** It is normally headquartered at Al Amara, and defends the border with Iran. It included the:

- **10<sup>th</sup> Armored Division, normally headquartered near Al Teab and Al Amarra. Engaged the Marines near Al Kut on April 7<sup>th</sup>.**
- **14<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered south of Al Amara. Bypassed early in war and hit heavily from the air. Extensive desertions. Planned to be attacked by US and British forces on April 9<sup>th</sup>.**
- **18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered near Al Amara and Al Musharah. Bypassed early in war and hit heavily from the air. Extensive desertions. Planned to be attacked by US and British forces on April 9<sup>th</sup>.**
- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit from the air, as well as armor and equipment in moving units. May be retreating in front of Marine force with elements retreating west of Al Kut and east of al Hillah and some still near Kerbala/An Najaf.**
- **Corps probably has lost 65-75% of effectiveness.**

**Far South: The 3<sup>rd</sup> Corps: 1 armored, 1 Mechanized, and 1 Infantry Division.** It is headquartered in the Nasseria area, and is normally positioned near the Kuwaiti border. It includes the 6<sup>th</sup> Armored Division headquartered near Majnoon and Al Nashwa, the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered at Al Nasseria, and the 51<sup>st</sup> Mechanized Division headquartered at Zubair.

**All of these divisions were broken up before the final stages of the dash to Baghdad. The 51<sup>st</sup> collapsed during the first days of the fighting near Basra, the 11<sup>th</sup> during the fight for Nasiryah, and the 6<sup>th</sup> seems to have collapsed north**

- **51<sup>st</sup> Mechanized Division largely gave up with remnants destroyed in fighting at Basra.**

- **11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division badly hurt by fighting at An Nassiryah. Some elements still fighting**
- **6<sup>th</sup> Armored Division seems to have clashed with Marine elements. Hit hard from air. Location and status unknown.**
- **Corps probably has lost 65-85% of effectiveness.**

## **The Republican Guards**

*The Southern or 2nd Corps of the Republican Guards* helped defend against Iran in the south, as well as any US- led attack, and acts as a deterrent force to suppress any Shi'ite uprising. It is commanded by Major General Mahmoud Ali al Lihaiyby. *The US estimated on April 8th that the Republican Guards forces had only 19 tanks of the 850 they started with, and 40 of 550 artillery pieces.*

Marines were able to seize the Republican Guards Second Corps (South Corps) headquarters at Salman Pak during the fighting on 5-6 April. Marines of the 3rd Battalion, 7th Marines overran the headquarters of the Republican Guard's Second Corps some 20 miles southeast of Baghdad along the Tigris River. This Corps Headquarters was the key facility the Republican guards used to support operations defending the southern and eastern parts of the city before the war.

Regardless of whether it had a terrorist training camp, it also was long suspected to be a key area for any storage of chemical weapons that might be used in defense of the city. The fact that a relatively small element of the Marines could use an artillery barrage, and air strikes by planes and helicopters, to drive into the complex using tanks and night vision systems is a tribute to the Marines but also assign that the Republican Guards really have lost the ability to defend the southern part of the city and could not maintain any kind of organized perimeter defense.

The Southern Corps forces include:

- **The Medina or al Madina al Munawara Armored Division, a very heavy division with up to 20,000 men and some 270 tanks. It was normally located at as-Suwayrah but became the major force challenging the advance of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Mechanized Division up from the area around Kerbala, and may have sent elements to stiffen the resistance of regular forces and irregulars near An Najaf.**

**It had three brigades: 2<sup>nd</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Armored and 14<sup>th</sup> Mechanized. Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air, as well as armor and equipment in unit. \*U.S. Army soldiers captured the headquarters of the Division in Suwayrah, about 35 miles southeast of Baghdad, on 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> April. Two tank companies and an infantry company of the 3rd Infantry Division**

rolled through the headquarters unopposed and quickly took over the entire base. It appeared that the Republican Guard defenses had completely collapsed. Estimated to have lost at least 85% or more of effectiveness, and most of armor, but some elements still engaging 3<sup>rd</sup> Mechanized in Baghdad.

- The Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu Khuth Nusser) Infantry Division has some 10,000 men and close to 190 tanks. It is normally deployed at Al Husseinia-al Kutt and helps protect Tikrit. A brigade element shifted west to reinforce the Al Madina Division and defend against Marine advance towards Al Hillah from Nasiriyah. Elements of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Motorized Brigade are reported to have fought against US 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division forces at Hindyah on March 31, Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air, as well as armor and equipment in unit. Estimated to have lost at least 50% or more of effectiveness by April 6<sup>th</sup>, and most of armor by April 7<sup>th</sup>.
- The 2<sup>nd</sup> Baghdad Infantry Division, normally at Maqloob Maontin-Mosul, moved into the Al Kut area and is fought US Marine forces. Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air, as well as armor and equipment in unit. It seems to have lost some 85% or more its effectiveness and most of armor. Surviving elements retreated in front of 1 MEF to Baghdad.
- The Hamurabi Mechanized Division (Brigade) moved out of the al-Taji area, to defend the west of Baghdad, but elements engaged the 3<sup>rd</sup> US army Infantry Division Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air, as well as armor and equipment in unit. Estimated to have lost at least 70-85% or more of effectiveness by April 6<sup>th</sup> and most of armor.
- The Al Nida (Al Nedaa) Armored Division, normally near Bagubah, dispersed and major elements moved in the south and in the southeast area between Baghdad and Al Kut, well below Baghdad. These forces were hit hard on April; 3<sup>rd</sup> and lost much of their effectiveness. Brigade-sized elements may still survive in the Baghdad area. Said to have lost some 70-85% or more of its effectiveness because of combat and air strikes, and most of armor.
- The Al Abed (Al Abid) Infantry Division at Kirkuk- Khalid Camp. It seems to have moved south and may have split by brigade. Said to have lost some 50-70% or more of its effectiveness because of combat and air strikes, and most of armor.

## 5. Military Intelligence and Security Forces

Iraq has extensive military intelligence and internal security forces. They include”

**The Military Intelligence Service (MIS), or Al Estikhbarat al Askariyya**, has a 3,000- 6,000-man element with a major complex in the Aladhamia area of Baghdad. It also has a base at the Al Rashid Camp, and sectoral commands in Kirkuk, Mosul, and Basra, plus a special regional command for Baghdad.

- **The Special Branch of the MIS is organized to carry out covert operations, infiltrate opposition movements, and provide internal security operations within the military. Its Unit 999 penetrates deeply into the Kurdish enclave.**
- There is an Opposition Battalion organized to operate in various elements of the Iraqi opposition. The First Battalion covers Iran, the Second covers Saudi Arabia, the Third covers Israel, the Fourth covers Turkey, and the Fifth is a specialized unit for riverine and mine operations.
- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

**The Military Security Service, or al Amn al Askariyya (Askari)** is a 6,000 man force that operates throughout the armed forces and, reports directly to the Presidential Palace, and deals with subversion within the military forces. The MIS runs parallel internal security operations. British intelligence reports that it was established as an independent entity in 1992, its function is to detect disturbances in the military. The *Amn* was initially headquartered in the Bataween district of Baghdad. In 1990 *Amn* moved to a new headquarters in the Al Baladiat area of the city, with the Bataween building becoming the agency's main prison.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

## 6. Popular Mobilization Forces

It is unlikely that Iraq can mobilize the Iraqi people in mass, even in “loyal” areas, but Iraq probably can mobilize significant elements to supplement its military forces, and it *may* be able to use them to create serious problems in terms of urban warfare.

These popular forces include an unknown number of Ba'ath Party loyalists. Almost all of these loyalists and officials are required to receive reserve military training, and many have had annual field training for some time.

Saddam has a significant tribal base, including his own al-Bu Nasser tribe, and citizens

from the towns of Tikrit, Dur, Sharqat, Huwayja, Bayji, Samarra and Ramadi. They are located in what Ibrahim al-Marashi calls the Sunni Arab Triangle. Other major Sunni tribes and families that have a record of loyalty to the regime, and which play a key role in the intelligence and security forces, include the Dulaym, the Jubur (mixed Shi'a/Sunni) and the 'Ubayd tribes. There are also loyalist factions in the Duri and Samarra families. Some tribes, like the Jubur (Juburi) seem to have received arms and there are convincing reports of rising gun sales. Many of these tribal elements now live in Iraqi cities.

### **Fedayeen Saddam (Saddam's Men of Sacrifice):**

A force of up to 25,000-30,000-men, which was formed by Uday in 1995. Most are young men who border on a youth gang, with thugs of age 16 and up, but they are placed under a real Lt. General. All are urban and the force is centered in Baghdad. British intelligence reports that Saddam's Martyrs are composed of young militia press ganged from regions known to be loyal to Saddam. It was founded by Saddam's son Uday in 1995, and started out as a force of some 10,000- 15,000. In September 1996 Uday was removed from command of the *Fedayeen*. Uday's removal may have stemmed from an incident in March 1996 when Uday transferred sophisticated weapons from Republican Guards to the *Saddam Fedayeen* without Saddam's knowledge. Control passed to Qusay, further consolidating his responsibility for the Iraqi security apparatus. According to reports, control of Saddam Hussein's personal militia was later passed back to his eldest son, Uday.

The deputy commander is Staff Lieutenant General Mezahem Saab Al Hassan Al-Tikriti. The unit reports directly to the Presidential Palace, rather than through the army command, and is responsible for patrol of borders and controlling or facilitating smuggling. They are supposed to help protect the President and Uday, and carry out much of the police's dirty work. The *Fedayeen Saddam* include a special unit known as the death squadron, whose masked members perform certain executions, including in victims' homes. The *Fedayeen* operate completely outside the law, above and outside political and legal structures.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

**Lions of Saddam (Eshbal or Ashbal Saddam):** A Hitler Youth- like paramilitary training structure for ages 10-16. No one knows how real this force is, or what role it might play in combat, but it cannot be totally dismissed. Young men are often loyal and all have Saddam as the leader during their entire lives.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

**National Defense Battalions:** (Kurdish Jash or Militia Forces): Although it is scarcely the most loyal force, there are still elements of what used to be a massive force of some 100,000 men in 250 battalions. There are still 1,000 man elements from two tribes with ties to Saddam, and which may have much to fear if the other Kurds take over: the Zibar and Herki.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

**Popular Army, or Jerusalem or Al Quds Brigades:** This Popular Army is intended to be a mass volunteer force, and has female as well as male units. Iraq claims as many as 7 million members, but even a nominal 1 million may be unrealistic. It is usually dismissed as a showpiece force used for propaganda purposes, but may have youth and other elements that would be loyal to Saddam in some areas. At least some of its members have been given rifles, mortars, RPGs, and light automatic weapons in largely Sunni areas.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

**Youth (Civil Defense) Force:** There are reports that a so-called youth army was formed in 1999 to defend the cities, supposedly out of youths ages 12-17. It is unclear that such a force exists, but some Iraqi media coverage does show youths and adults being training and possibly armed for such a role.

**Great Retaliation Force:** Once again, this force may be more a matter of propaganda than real. It was supposedly formed in November 1999 under Qusay to deal with the problem of the Kurdish threat and to limit any entry into non-Kurdish areas, but many reports indicate that this is a military contingency force using regular army units and Republican Guards, and has only limited armed popular forces – including some Christian Arabs.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

There are other popular forces like the various tribal militias. These are less disciplined and well structured, but they cannot be ignored, both in terms of urban warfare and rear area security.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

## 8. Other Paramilitary Forces

There are other popular forces like the various tribal militias. These are less disciplined and well-structured, but they cannot be ignored, both in terms of urban warfare and rear area security. It is at least possible that some men might also join in the last defense from the paramilitary forces. These include:

### **National Police**

Some 40,000 personnel that have elements of paramilitary forces with light weapons and light armored vehicles.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

### **Frontier Guard**

30,000-man mobile force, largely equipped with cross-country trucks.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

## 9. Security Services that Support the Armed Forces and Help to Ensure Their Loyalty

It is dangerous to assume that US and British forces can count on uprisings, defections, and being treated as liberators. This may well happen in some areas, but Iraq has a 100,000-man security service and a 40,000-man police force which can help maintain loyalty and be used both to fight on their own and compel Iraqi civilians to do so.

### **The Presidential Secretariat:**

The Presidential Secretariat has around 100 staff, which are drawn from the security agencies. The Secretariat is responsible for Saddam's personal security, as well as defense, security and intelligence issues. It is overseen by Saddam's personal secretary, Lieutenant General Abid Hamid Mahmud. Mahmud is Saddam's distant cousin and is the sheikh of both the Al-Bu-Nasir and Al-Khattab tribes. Mahmud is regarded by some as the real number two figure in the Iraqi leadership. He controls all access to Saddam - possibly with the exception of Qusay and Uday Hussein - and has the ability to override government decisions.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

### **The National Security Council (*Al-Majlis Al-Amn Al-Qawni*):**

Is headed by Saddam Hussein but usually chaired by his son Qusay Hussein, it oversees the work of all other security agencies. Membership in Majlis Al-Amn Al-Qawni includes

chosen people from the;

- Iraqi Army
- Special Security Service
- General Intelligence Directorate
- Military Intelligence
- General Security Service
- Office of the Presidential Palace
- 

*The Majlis Al-Amn Al-Qawni, is headquartered at the Presidential Palace in Baghdad, and meets on a weekly basis. It has a Special Operations Room in the Presidential Palace, and some reports indicate it controls a small brigade that works closely with the Special Republican Guard or has direct control over an element of the Special Republican Guard.*

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**
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### **Special Security Committee**

Qusay Hussein is the deputy chairman of the Special Security Committee of the Iraqi National Security Council that was created in 1996 as part of the President's office. The Committee membership includes:

- Tahir Jalil Habbush al-Tikriti, the director of the Public Security Directorate
- Dahham al-Tikriti, Director of the Iraqi Intelligence Service –Al Mukhabarat
- Abid Hamid Mahmud, the president's personal secretary.
- Faris 'Abd-al-Hamid al-'Ani, the director general of the Presidential office

*This special body also includes representatives of the Republican Guard. The Committee is supported by over 2,000 staff. The staff is drawn from the Republican Guard, or the Special Guard, and the intelligence services.* Their main task has been to prevent the United Nations inspectors from uncovering information, documents, and equipment connected with weapons of mass destruction. They are recruited for this specific mission and chosen from the most efficient and loyal units.

The work is divided between two sections, each of which has a staff of about 1,000:

- The first section focuses on the daily work of the UN monitoring commission, including sites to be visit and inspected, escorting UN inspectors, preventing them from carrying out their mission effectively.
- The second section conceals documents, equipment, and materials and moves them about from one location to another. Several facilities have been especially built for collecting and hiding such selected material. This section is responsible for material that is imported through "special channels" as part of the program of rebuilding the strategic military arsenal, including chemical and biological weapons as well as missiles and associated technology.
- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities are felt to play some role in Iraq's control of its weapons of mass destruction. Has been hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

### **The Special Protection Apparatus or *Jihaz al-Hamaya al-Khas:* (*Himaya*)**

This is a small unit charged with protecting Presidential Offices, Council of Ministers and the Regional and National Commands of the Ba'ath Party. It is the only organization responsible for providing bodyguards to the very top of the regime. *Approximately 40 personal bodyguards are responsible for Saddam's immediate security. It is commanded by 2-5 men who are "companions" of Saddam or "murafiqin." One element protects Saddam's palaces and homes another protects Saddam's movements. Most are Tikritis or from Saddam's tribe.*

*The exact role of this group relative to the Special Republican Guard and other security services is unclear. Saddam does, however, have a very sophisticated protection system.*

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air over most of country and especially in Baghdad area. No damage assessment**

### **Special Security Service (SSS), Special Security Organization (SSO) or Amn al Khass**

Controlled by Saddam's son, Qusay, who supervises the Special Bureau, the Political Bureau and the Administration Bureau, the agency's own military brigade, and the Special Republican Guard.

*It is an ultra loyal force that has grown from a cadre of around 500 to a force of about 2,000-5,000 men that was established in the mid-1980s. It is recruited from loyal tribes around Tikrit, Hawuija, and Samarra, such as Saddam's own tribe, the Abu Nasr. It is headquartered in Palestine Street in Baghdad. According to most reports, it is the key security force and plays a major role in controlling the actions of the Republican Guard and particularly the Special Republican Guard.* It is also reported to be in charge of the surveillance of General Intelligence, Military Intelligence, Military Security, and General Security. It is the most critical and powerful security agency.

Its Security Bureau has a Special Office, to assure loyalty in the SSS, and there is an Office of Presidential Facilities that guards such facilities through the Jihaz al-Hamaya al-Khas (The Special Protection Apparatus). It is responsible for guarding the Presidential Offices, Council of Ministers, National Council, and Ba'ath Party Regional and National Command of the Ba'ath Party, and provides bodyguards for Iraq's leaders.

The British White Paper of February 3, 2000 stated that the SSO is responsible for

- The security of the President and of presidential facilities;
- Supervising and checking the loyalty of other security services;
- Monitoring government ministries;
- Supervising operations against Iraqi Kurds and Shias; and
- Securing Iraq's most important military industries, including WMD.

It also stated that the Al-Amn al-Khas is nebulous and highly secretive and operates on a functional, rather than a geographical basis. Its military brigade serves as a rapid response unit independent of the military establishment or Special Republican Guard. In the event of a coup attempt from within the regular military or Republican Guard, Special Security can easily call up the Special Republican Guard for reinforcements as this unit is also under its control. There are two key bureaus:

- ***The Security Bureau: The Security Bureau is divided into a Special Office, which monitors the Special Security agency itself to assure loyalty among its members. If necessary, it conducts operations against suspect members. The Office of Presidential Facilities, another unit of the Security Bureau, guards these places through Jihaz al-Hamaya al-Khas (The Special Protection Apparatus). It is charged with protecting the Presidential Offices, Council of Ministers, National Council, and the Regional and National Command of the Ba'ath Party, and is the only unit responsible for providing bodyguards to leaders.***
  
- **The Political Bureau:** The Political Bureau collects and analyses intelligence and prepares operations against "enemies of the state." This unit keeps an extensive file on all Iraqi dissidents or subversives. Under the Political Bureau, the Operations Office implements operations against these "enemies," including arrests, interrogations and executions. Another division is the Public Opinion Office, responsible for collecting and disseminating rumours on behalf of the state.

The operations of Special Security are numerous, particularly in suppressing domestic opposition to the regime. After its creation in 1984, Special Security thwarted a plot of disgruntled army officers, who objected to Saddam's management of the Iran-Iraq War. It pre-empted other coups such as the January 1990 attempt by members of the Jubur tribe to assassinate him.

It played an active role in crushing the March 1991 Shi'a rebellion in the south of Iraq. Along with General Intelligence, Special Security agents infiltrated the Kurdish enclave in the north of Iraq in August 1996, to hunt down operatives of the Iraqi opposition. It serves as the central co-coordinating body between Military-Industrial Commission, Military Intelligence, General Intelligence, and the military in the covert procurement of the necessary components for Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. During the 1991 Gulf War, it was put in charge of concealing SCUD missiles and afterwards in moving and hiding documents from UNSCOM inspections, relating to Iraq's weapons programs.

It is also thought that Special Security is responsible for commercial trade conducted covertly in violation of UN sanctions. It seems to be responsible for arms and WMD component smuggling from abroad and for concealing Iraq's WMD efforts. It was a key target in Desert Fox, is believed to control the weapons of the Chemical Corps, manages recruiting for the Republican Guard, and manages key secure aspects of Iraq's military industries.

It staffs and runs the *National Security Council or al-Majlis al-Amn al-Qawmi*.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence**

**(C3I) facilities hit hard from the air over most of country and especially in Baghdad area. No damage assessment**

### **General Intelligence Directorate (GID) or Iraqi Intelligence Service (IID) or Mukhabarat**

This is the organization Saddam used to take control over the Ba'ath Party and eventually the Iraqi state. It is currently directed by Tahir 'Abd al-Jalil al-Habbush. It provides security in the Ba'ath Party, monitors all organizations, monitors foreign embassies and studies, has counter-espionage elements, and has heavily infiltrated most Iraqi opposition groups. It also conducts operations against Syria, Iran, Kuwait, Jordan, and other states, and could be a key source of operations against US and British forces or direct or proxy covert attacks on the US and Britain.

*It has some 4,000 to 8,000 men, according to source. They are carefully screened to be ultra-loyalists, and now with strong ties to Qusay and a series of internal security Directorates plus Directorate 14 which is in charge of covert operations overseas and might organize any CBRN or "terrorist" attack outside Iraq. They are likely to fight for Saddam in significant numbers in Baghdad, and act as stiffeners that try to force ordinary Iraqis and popular forces to fight for Saddam.*

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air over most of country and especially in Baghdad area. No damage assessment**

### **Key Functions of the Mukhabarat**

British intelligence reports that Al-Mukhabarat is roughly divided into a department responsible for internal operations, coordinated through provincial offices, and another responsible for international operations, conducted from various Iraqi embassies.

Its internal activities include:

- Spying within the Ba'ath Party, as well as other political parties;
- Suppressing Shi'a, Kurdish and other opposition;
- Counter-espionage;
- Targeting threatening individuals and groups inside Iraq;
- Spying on foreign embassies in Iraq and foreigners in Iraq;
- Maintaining an internal network of informants.

Its external activities include

- Spying on Iraqi diplomats abroad;
- Collecting overseas intelligence;
- Supporting terrorist organizations in hostile regimes;
- Conducting sabotage, subversion, and terrorist operations against neighboring countries such as Syria and Iran;
- Murder of opposition elements outside of Iraq;
- Infiltrating Iraqi opposition groups abroad;
- Providing disinformation and exploitation of Arab and other media;
- Maintaining an international network of informants, using popular organizations as well such as the Union of Iraqi Students.

British intelligence reports that Al-Mukhabarat uses intelligence to target Iraqis. It forces Iraqis living abroad to work for Saddam by threatening dire consequences for relatives still inside Iraq. It is reported that an Iraqi cannot work for a foreign firm inside Iraq without also working for Al-Mukhabarat directly or as an informant. This includes those allowed to work with foreign media organizations. All Iraqis working with foreigners have to have a special permit that is not granted unless they work for Al-Mukhabarat. They carry out tests that include approaches to Iraqi officials with false information to see whether they report it to Baghdad or foreigners

Al-Mukhabarat manages Iraqi support of the coordinating operations with the Iranian opposition group, the Mojahedin-e Khalq and National Liberation Army elements based in Iraq. It was the key service to infiltrate the INA and defeat CIA efforts to use it in a coup, and worked with Mas'ud Barzani's Kurdish Democratic Party in planning the Iraqi Army advance into the Kurdish areas in 1996 and its purge of the PUK and INC elements in the Kurdish security zone.

It tracks and sometimes kills students and exiles abroad, and manipulates journalists. It is blamed for the April 1993 Iraqi attempt on President George Bush's life. Its role in assassinations is the reason its headquarters were struck by US cruise missiles in June 1993.

### **Organization of the Mukhabarat**

There are district commands in Basra (South), Mosul (north), Ramadi (West), Karbala (East). It has a light brigade with light armor and heavy weapons. The details of the internal structure of the GID are uncertain. According to work by Ibrahim al-Marashi and Jane's Periscope, it is organized so that the following directorates might have an impact

in ensuring popular loyalty or play some role in wartime in the last ditch defense of Baghdad or in some kind of act of covert attack or terrorism as Saddam nears his fall:

- Directorate 3: Surveillance directs the surveillance of suspected traitors and key personnel.
- ***Directorate 4: Secret Service: Places agents throughout the government in various agencies and is present in virtually every Iraqi embassy and many cover firms overseas. Has offices that deal with each major country in the world.***
- Analyzes signal intelligence from the Al Hadi Project (See below).
- Directorate 5: Counterintelligence: Focuses on foreign intelligence operations like the US and Israel, but also on neighboring countries like Syria.
- Directorate 6: GID security: Handles internal security in the GID.
- Directorate 7: Detention and interrogation.
- Directorate 8: Forensics.
- ***Directorate 14: Special Operations: The unit is located near Salman Pak, about 20 kilometers south of Baghdad. It is responsible for covert operations abroad and is one of the largest elements of the GID. Agents are highly trained, with language and cultural training, and given training in cover attacks ranging from the use of bombs to assassination. Is believed to carry out joint operations against Iran with elements of the People's Mujahideen.***
- Directorate 18: Iranian Affairs.
- Directorates 21 through 26 are responsible for monitoring various regional districts in Iraq.
- ***Directorate 21, the residency located in Baghdad, is in charge of security issues in the capital as well as issuing residence permits to foreigners in Iraq.***
- Directorate 23, the Southern District based in Basra, conducts operations in the south of Iraq.
- Directorate 24, the Northern District, does the same in northern Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan. Based in Mosul, with an office in Kirkuk, it is responsible for infiltrating the opposition in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- Directorate 25, the Western District, is located in Ramadi and maintains a network of informants in Syria and Jordan.

- Directorate 26, the Eastern District, operates in the Karbala Governate.
- ***Directorate 28: MIO Security: Located at Palestine Street and responsible for the security of the Military Industrial Organization, and overseas security for both the overt operations of the MIO and individuals involved in covert purchasing and probable some aspects of Iraq's WMD programs.***

It has shown it can enforce loyalty in various urban areas with consummate ruthlessness.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air and especially in Baghdad area. No damage assessment**

### **The General Security Services (GSS) or General Security Directorate (GSD) or al-Amn al-Amm**

This is the oldest security service in the country and used to be part of the Ministry of Interior but now is an independent agency that reports directly to the Presidential Palace. ***It has about 8,000 men who monitor daily life in every town and village and has elements in every police station. It is headquartered in the al Baladiat area of Baghdad, and seems to be under the command of Major Mu'tamad Nima al-Tikriti.***

It is the key force monitoring the day-to-day activities and loyalty of ordinary Iraqis. It is also a key force in terms of wiretapping, surveillance, tracking families and foreigners, and watching UN inspectors and virtually all press movements. It hires countless informants, and any media in Iraq will become acquainted with the GSS, either under the cloak of the Ministry of Information, as a helper, or often as a translator or apparent dissident. Many hotels used by foreigners have both GID and GSS staff.

It has, however, played an active paramilitary and covert role in helping to enforce security and run intelligence operations in Kurdish areas, and seems to have played a role in hiding WMD and missile components.

The Al-Amn Al-Aam supports the domestic counter-intelligence work of other agencies. As a policy, Saddam staffs key positions in Al-Amn Al-Aam with his relatives or other close members of his regime. In 1980, Saddam appointed 'Ali Hassan al-Majid, who would later be the architect of the regime's anti-Kurdish campaign, as its director to instill the ideology of the Ba'ath Party into the agency.

Al-Amn al-Aam was given more political intelligence responsibilities during the Iran-Iraq War. When Majid was put in charge of repressing the Kurdish insurrection in 1987, General 'Abdul Rahman al-Duri replaced him until 1991 when Saddam Hussein's half-brother, Sabawi Ibrahim al-Tikriti, (who had served as its deputy director prior to 1991) then became head of this agency.

***In 1991, Saddam Hussein provided it with a paramilitary wing, Quwat al-Tawari, to reinforce law and order, although these units are ultimately under Al Amn al-Khas***

*control. After the 1991 Gulf War, Quwat al-Tawari units were believed to be responsible for hiding Iraqi ballistic missile components. It also operates the notorious Abu Ghuraib prison outside of Baghdad, where many of Iraq's political prisoners are held.*

*Each neighborhood, every office and school every hotel and coffee shop has an officer assigned to cover it and one or more agents in it who report what is said and what is seen. Al-Amn Al-Aam runs a program of provocation where their agent in a coffee house or work place will voice dissident views and report on anyone who agrees with those views. An Al-Amn Al-Aam agent or officer will sometimes approach an Iraqi official pretending to recruit him for some opposition or espionage purpose and then arrest him if he does not report it. They also look for foreigners who might be breaking Iraqi law or seeking to stir up anti-regime feelings among native Iraqis.*

Technically, it is illegal for an Iraqi official or military officer to talk to a foreigner without permission from a security officer.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air over most of country and especially in Baghdad area. No damage assessment**

### **Al Hadi Project or Project 858**

*The Al Hadi Project is the organization responsible for collecting, processing, exploiting and disseminating signals, communications and electronic intelligence. It is a small agency of about 800 that is unlikely to be actively involved in military operations, but which will monitor cell phones, and particularly any signals activity throughout Iraq. Though it reports directly to the Office of the Presidential Palace, Al Hadi is not represented on the National Security Council, and the intelligence it collects is passed on to other agencies for their use.*

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

### **Murafaqin or Companions of Saddam (also called the Special Protection Apparatus (Jihaz al-Himaya al-Khasa in other sources)**

- *A small, tribal, elite group of bodyguards at the Presidential Palace, most of who have some kind of family relationship. Most are members of Saddam's tribe, the al-Bu Nasir. The Special Location Group protects Saddam in all of his homes and his family. The Salih or Mobile Group protects him while moving. Will probably die for Saddam.*
- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

### **The Ministry of Information**

Its operations are fully integrated into Iraqi intelligence operations, including all contacts with the foreign media and press. It has many trained agents that appear in front of TV cameras or are trained to act like independent or semi-opposition voices in dealing with foreign reporters. Combat capability is likely to be non-existent.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

### **The Ba'ath Party or Socialist Arab Resurrection Party or Hizb al-Ba'ath al-'Arab al-Ishtiraki**

This is not a security service as such but uses its large group of members who hold positions in government, the military, virtually every profession and throughout the legal profession, and in communities and most educational institutions to monitor Iraqis, carry out propaganda activities, and use various benefits to tie Iraqis to the regime. It has a security element called the Amn al-Hizb (Party Security), to maintain party loyalty. Some might die to defend Saddam.

- **Headquarters and key command, control, communications, and intelligence (C3I) facilities hit hard from the air. No damage assessment**

### **Emergency Force of the Governates**

Each of the 15 governates still under Saddam's control is reported to have its own light brigade of roughly 1,000 men for internal security missions. It is conceivable that some might flee to Baghdad, believing their survival is a stake.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

### **National Liberation Army or Mojahedin-e Khalq (MKO or MEK)**

A force of Iranians based in Iraq under the command of the People's Mujahideen, which in the past was a violent left-wing Marxist movement in Iran and assassinated US personnel and officers. Its strength is unclear, but it has some 4,000-8,000 personnel, and Iraq has trained and equipped it to use some 250 T-54/T-55, and Chieftain tanks, other armored vehicles, and artillery.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**

### **The Tribal Chief's Bureau or *Maktab al-Shuyukh***

British intelligence reports that this bureau was created after the Gulf war as a vehicle for paying tribal leaders to control their people, spy on possible dissidents and provide arms to loyal tribesmen to suppress opposition. . It is conceivable that some might flee to Baghdad, believing their survival is a stake.

- **Status unknown. No damage assessment.**