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# **The Changing Iraqi Order of Battle: A Guesstimate**

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We do not have a clear picture of how the Iraqi order of battle is changing. All we know at this point is that elements of the Adnan Division of the Republican Guards are moving south, that many Iraqi forces are dispersing outside of their peacetime locations and buildings, and that Iraq is building up two rings of defenses of Baghdad while strengthening its forces in other cities.

In broad terms, however, the Iraqi forces now seem to have the follow rough order of battle.

## **In the North:**

### **Regular Army Forces in Northern Iraq: 2 Mechanized; 6 Infantry Divisions**

**The 1st Corps is headquartered at Kirkuk and the 5th Corps at Mosul.** They 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.

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

**The 5th Corps: 1 Mech 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 1st Mechanized Division headquartered at Makhmur, the 4th 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.

### **The Northern or 1st Corps of the Republican Guards: 1 Armored and 1 Infantry Division**

*This corps* can 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).

The 1st Adnan Mechanized Division seems to have left Mosul and to be moving south. This leaves the Al Nida (Al Nedaa) Armored Division near Bagubah, the 2nd Baghdad Infantry Division at Maqloob Maontin-Mosul, and the Al Abed (Al Abid) Infantry Division at Kirkuk- Khalid Camp.

## **In the East:**

### **Regular Army Forces in Eastern Iraq: 1 Armored, 2 Infantry Divisions**

**The 2nd 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 15th Infantry Division headquartered at Amerli, and the 34<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered near Khanaqin

## **In Baghdad/Tikrit**

### **Republican Guards: 1 Mechanized Division**

The 1<sup>st</sup> Adnan Mechanized Division seems to have left Mosul and to be moving south

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

*The Special Republican Guards or Al-Haris al-Jamhuri al-Khas* The Special Republican Guards add four brigades, which are located largely within the Baghdad area organized to defend the regime. The Special Republican Guard has four infantry/motorized brigades with 14 battalions, an armored brigade, and an air defense command with elements to secure Baghdad's ground-based air defenses against any coup attempt. It is headed by Qusay Hussein, and its formal commander is Major general Kheir-Allah Wahees Omar al-Nassiri. Major General Namig Hassan coordinates operations between the special Republican Guards and Republican Guards. The main headquarters is at Al-Nisoor square in Baghdad.

It serves as a praetorian guard, protecting Presidential sites and escorting Saddam Hussein on travels within Iraq. It 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 headquartered at Hayy Al-Qadisiyeh in Baghdad and has five battalions, including ones stationed in the Republican palace and at Saddam The Military 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:

- 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. Falojua, Jebel Makhool, and other locations.
- The Eighth Battalion protects Baghdad's Saddam International Airport.

*The Second Brigade* is headquartered at the Al Rashid military base, and has combat experience elements outside Baghdad and in the Mosul area.

- The Fourth Battalion is a significant combat unit that protects Saddam's palace in Makhool in the Beiji 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 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.

The *Armor Command* (Fourth Armored Brigade) 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.

· There is also an intelligence bureau and a,

· *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.

## **In the South:**

### **Regular Army Forces in Southern Iraq: 2 Armored, 1 Mechanized, 3 Infantry Divisions**

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 headquartered at Al Amara, and defends the border with Iran. It includes the 10<sup>th</sup> Armored Division headquartered near Al Teab and Al Amarra, the 14<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division

headquartered south of Al Amara, and the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division headquartered near Al Amara and Al Musharah.

**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 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 Naserria, and the 51<sup>st</sup> Mechanized Division headquartered at Zubair. These forces might retreat into the so-called Sunni triangle in the Baghdad area in the event of a US-British attack

## **The Republican Guards**

The Republican Guard has some 60,000 to 70,000 men. It is under the supervision of Qusay Hussein and is commanded by Staff General Ibrahim Abdel Satter Muhammed al Tikriti. It adds two more corps, with seven divisions, to this list:

· ***The Southern or 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps of the Republican Guards*** is headquartered at Al Hafreia (Alsuwera Camp) and the Al Fateh al Mubin Command Center. It helps 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 Lihaiyb.

**Central South: The al Madina al Munawara Armored Division** is located at as-Suwayrah and plays a key role in defending the outer Baghdad area. It has three brigades: 2<sup>nd</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Armored and 14<sup>th</sup> Mechanized. It is the Special Republican Guards, however, that provide protection and defense within the city.

**The Southern Corps other forces** include the Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu Khuth Nusser) Infantry Division at Al Husseinia-al Kutt, the Hamurabi Mechanized Division in the al-Taji area.

## **The “Stiffeners:” Military Intelligence and Special Security Forces that Can be Used to Help Preserve Loyalty and Protect the Regime**

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.

British intelligence reports that its main functions are ensuring the loyalty of the army's

officer corps and gathering military intelligence from abroad. But it is also involved in foreign operations, including assassinations.

The heads of Al-Istikhbarat al-Askariyya have not been immediate relatives of Saddam. Saddam appointed, Sabir 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duri as head during the 1991 Gulf War. After the Gulf War he was replaced by Wafiq Jasim al-Samarrai. After Samarrai, Muhammad Nimah al-Tikriti headed Al-Istikhbarat al-Askariyya in early 1992 then in late 1992 Fanar Zibin Hassan al- Tikriti was appointed to this post.

These shifting appointments are part of Saddam's policy of balancing security positions. By constantly shifting the directors of these agencies, no one can establish a base in a security organization for a substantial period of time. No one becomes powerful enough to challenge the President

**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.

The Secret Police also has a number of additional facilities and office buildings. *Amn* maintains a presence in every town and village, with personnel stationed in civilian police stations across Iraq -- normally the "ordinary" police are on the ground floor and the Secret Police on the second floor. The Security branch is responsible for monitoring and countering dissent within Amn, and the Military Brigade provides rapid intervention para-military capabilities - the Brigade commander was executed in August 1996 for alleged involvement in a coup attempt. *Amn* is currently headed by Staff Major General Taha al Ahababi, who previously headed the Military Security Service and served as the head of the secret service section of the *Mukhabarat*. As with many other senior Iraqi leaders, he is a native of Saddam's home town of Tikrit.

## **Iraq's Capability for Popular Mobilization**

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 Samarrai 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.

In addition, there are a number of popular forces that the regime might use:

**Fedayeen Saddam (Saddam's Men of Sacrifice):** A force of up to 30,000-40,000 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.

**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.

**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.

**Jerusalem or Al Quds Brigades:** This 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.

**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.

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