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# **The Lessons of Desert Fox: A Preliminary Analysis**

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**This is a rough draft of a work in progress. The author would appreciate comments, and will revise this paper extensively, as further damage assessment data become available.**

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We need to take a hard look at the lessons of Desert Fox. There is no doubt that the operation achieved some important successes. The strikes did degrade some important aspects of Iraqi capabilities. They demonstrated that the US and Britain were willing to use major amounts of force to maintain containment and the UN sanctions. While Gulf allies like Qatar and Saudi Arabia limited their direct support for US operations, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Oman provided close cooperation. Simultaneously, the US proved that it could launch major attacks from sea-based forces in the Gulf and bombers based in Diego Garcia, and that its capabilities were not tied to the support of any given combination of Southern Gulf states. The US and Britain took no losses of either men or equipment during major operation, and most of their strikes using precision-guided weapons seem to have had considerably greater accuracy and reliability in Desert Storm. Furthermore, the US and Britain also proved that they could strike at key leadership targets anywhere in Iraq, while producing minimal civilian casualties and collateral damage.

The US and Britain have since been aided by the self-destructiveness of Saddam Hussein. The fact that Saddam and other members of the Iraq elite responded to Desert Fox by attacking other Arab leaders like King Fahd and President Mubarak, and that Iraq stormed out of the Arab League Foreign Ministers' meeting on January 24, ensured that the US and Britain would face only a limited political backlash from Desert Fox.

At the same time, miscalculations by the enemy are not something that US planners can count on, the future status of Iraqi disarmament remains as uncertain as ever, Saddam is still in power, and the Security Council remains divided. Desert Fox seems likely to prove to be just one more engagement in the nearly decade-long process of containing Saddam Hussein.

Political and military claims have been made for Desert Fox that may be exaggerated as those damage claims that imply that it was a triumph of military effectiveness. The revised damage assessment data for Desert Fox shows that cruise missiles and precision air strikes hit their targets with remarkable accuracy. They show that physical damage was often greater than expected, and that collateral damage was remarkably low. At the strategic level, however, the reality may prove to be different. It is not clear that the strikes have had their desired political and strategic effects.

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In fact, Desert Fox seems to be a warning that we need to pay more attention to the political dimension of war, and that our focus on the “revolution in military affairs” (RMA) and Joint Vision 2010 puts too much emphasis on conventional war fighting at the cost of strategic and grand strategic priorities. The issue is not whether Desert Fox was a failure; rather, whether its successes at the tactical level were matched by equal success in the battle for perceptions, and by proper planning to use military force to achieve policy-level objectives.

## **The Heritage of the Gulf War**

To put these issues in perspective, it is important to look back to the time of the Gulf War. There is always a tendency to act on the lessons of the last war, particularly when it is a great military victory. We won Desert Storm with decisiveness, with astounding effectiveness, and with almost no losses. Our victory validated much of our weaponry and military technology in terms of the value of precision weapons, advanced fire control and sensor systems, and the ability to operate deep into a heavily defended battlefield. Our only major limits were in technical warfighting capability proving to be our targeting capability; battle management; command, control, communications and computers; intelligence; strategic reconnaissance (C<sup>4</sup>I/SR), and battle damage assessment.

The US approach to the “revolution in military affairs” has become, in many ways, an attempt to react to the lessons of that victory by trying to repeat it. US planners postulate a future in which extremely advanced precision guided weapons and smart area munitions interact with greatly improved targeting capability; battle management; command, control, communications and computers; intelligence; strategic reconnaissance (C<sup>4</sup>I/SR), and battle damage assessment capabilities. They seek to create a world in which US forces can target almost instantly; kill with extreme lethality all over the battlefield during night and day; survive through stealth, maneuver, and superior ranges of engagement; and shift tactics and focus of maneuver to dominate the enemy’s decision-making cycle with high speed on the basis of nearly perfect real-time battlefield awareness and battle damage assessment.

Similarly, the emphasis that Joint Vision 2010, the planning doctrine of the Joint Chiefs, places on joint warfare, and reshaping the role of each military service to produce integrated and synergistic results is partly a product of Desert Storm. The war exposed serious problems in the coordination of the Navy and Air Force in managing large-scale air combat, and managing the proper integration of fixed wing aircraft, rotary wing aircraft, and artillery. It showed the need for far better coordination in the intelligence community, and in the communications systems of the National Command Authority. At the same time, it showed just how synergistic the right blend of land and air power could be, and the value of C<sup>4</sup>I/SR systems that cut across service lines and the branches within the services.

## **The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Gulf War**

The “revolution” in military affairs and Joint Vision 2010 have set some important goals for improving our military forces, but they have also had important limits. They pay lip service to problems like civil wars, urban warfare, low intensity conflict, peace keeping and other primarily political conflicts, but usually only lip service. There is very little discussion of problems like containment or “wars,” where the battle of perceptions, and political reactions are far more important than the number of enemy casualties. It is often assumed that the US will “get inside” an opponent’s *military* decision-making cycle, but little attention is given to the risk an opponent will take inside the US political decision-making cycle and win the war of perceptions.

Much of the supporting discussion and analysis behind the RMA and Joint Vision 2010 assumes that future wars will take place against a large, well-equipped conventional enemy in an almost purely military conflict, and that the grand strategic purpose of a conflict will be to destroy that enemy’s forces in the field. We had such an enemy in the Kuwait Theater of Operations during the Gulf War. Our task was to kill an exposed army in the field, defeat an enemy air force that actively engaged us, and suppress or destroy their air defenses. We did so with great efficiency even in 1991. We destroyed between 35-40% of their major deployed land and air combat equipment.

Even in Desert Storm, we quickly came up against the limits of the vision of the future that the RMA and Joint Vision 2010 have made their major focus. We did not encounter the military frustrations of the Cold War, Korea, Vietnam, Lebanon, Somalia, or Yugoslavia. We were able to decisively defeat the enemy in the field and reoccupy Kuwait without further challenge. Nevertheless, decisive tactical victory did not prove to be a substitute for the political mastery of war.

At the same time, our lack of grand strategy proved frustrating at a different level. We had no clear grand strategic objective during the Gulf War beyond liberating Kuwait. We had no clear goal for conflict termination beyond inflicting damage. We could never establish the facts we needed in order to know the political impact of our war fighting on Saddam's troops, the security of his regime, and the stability of Iraq. The end result has been to lock us into nearly a decade of containment and then to finally force us to accept the fact that containment is not adequate without an effort to replace Saddam.

We faced severe problems in translating our military victory into terms that decision-makers could use to make strategic decisions. We had severe problems in understanding the true impact of our strikes, and we failed to provide decision-makers with the kind of battle damage assessment data they needed to make political and strategic decisions. Table One is adapted from the intelligence volume of the USAF Gulf War Airpower Survey, and shows that we consistently exaggerated our tactical success. As a result, the President, Secretary of Defense, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs had a grossly exaggerated picture of the damage done to Iraqi forces at the time they decided to call a cease-fire.

We failed in several important aspects of our strategic campaign. The Gulf War Airpower Survey shows that the entire Coalition flew 117,833 sorties and the US flew 101,370. As Table Two shows, the US flew 42,240 offensive sorties out of this total, largely delivering unguided ordnance or "dumb" bombs. It also launched around 333 cruise missiles, of which 282 were SLCMs. The vast majority of the offensive sorties were either air defense suppression (4,900) or against ground troops (23,430), and these were the most effective. Another 7,200 were



uncategorized but struck largely at tactical targets. The rest of the strikes included the cruise missiles strikes, 3,790 air sorties against military strategic targets, and 2,830 sorties against civil strategic targets. The US flew around 200 strategic sorties against centers of government, 1,500 against command and control facilities, 540 against POL facilities, 975 against military industrial targets, and 970 against nuclear, chemical, and biological targets.

Many of our strategic cruise missile strikes and air sorties had considerable tactical success, particularly in striking major fixed command and control facilities, bridges and major road facilities, and POL facilities. Most of the strategic strikes listed in Table One, however, had much more limited success. Our strikes against the government may have weakened and disrupted Iraq's command structure, but they never paralyzed it. Our strikes on military industrial targets did considerable damage, but many key targets were never located and others had little lasting effect. Our sorties against nuclear, chemical, and biological targets were a failure. We did not identify over 80% of the actual Iraqi facilities, our most successful strike against nuclear facilities was an accidental hit by a diversionary strike against an uncategorized target, we hit no major missile or biological warfare site, and over 95% of Saddam's biological and chemical weapons and missile forces survived until the end of the war. We also flew around 1,460 sorties in a fruitless Scud hunt which never scored one confirmed hit against a Scud missile or missile launcher.

Table One

The Size of Iraqi Forces in the KTO Killed During the Ground War:  
Differences Between the USCENTCOM and GWAPS Estimates

<u>Source</u>	<u>Tanks</u>	<u>APCs</u>	<u>Artillery</u>	
Iraqi Forces as of January 15, 1991 (Imagery Estimate)	3,475	3,080	2,475	
USCENTCOM Estimate of Total Losses in War	3,847	1,450	2,917	
Percent of January 15, 1991 Force "Killed" At End of Desert Storm	111%	47%	118%	
GWAPS Estimate of Total Destroyed and Abandoned of All Kinds During Air and Land Phases of the War based on March 1, 1991 Post-War Imagery	2,633	1,668	2,196	
<i>Percent of January 15, 1991 Force "Killed"</i>		75.8%	54.2%	88.8%
GWAPS Estimate of Iraqi Losses During Entire War as % of USCENTCOM Estimate	68%	115%	75%	
-----				
USCENTCOM Estimate of Losses during Ground War (March 1, 1991)				
Killed by ground forces	1,708	297	1,112	
Killed by air forces	<u>451</u>	<u>224</u>	<u>353</u>	
Total	2,159	521	1,465	
Gulf War Air Power Survey Estimate of Losses During Ground War (1993)				
Total destroyed or abandoned as a result of land and air action during ground war	1,245	739	1,044	
GWAPS Estimate of Iraqi Losses During Ground War as % of USCENTCOM Estimate	58%	142%	71%	
-----				
GWAPS Estimate of Total Surviving Equipment at the End of the War (March 1, 1991 Imagery)	842	1,412	279	
Percent surviving of January 15, 1991 force	24.2%	45.8%	11.2%	

Source: USCENTCOM briefing aid, "Equipment Destruction in KTO," USCENTCOM J-2, March 1, 1991; Eliot Cohen, ed., Gulf War Air Power Survey, Volume II, Part II, pp. 260-262; Department of Defense, Conduct of the Persian Gulf War: Final Report, Department of Defense, April, 1992, p. 411.

Table Two – Part OneUN Coalition Air Strikes by Mission During Desert Storm

<u>Type of Mission or Target</u>	<u>Number of Strikes Flown</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
Strategic - Largely Civilian		
Leadership	260	0.6
Electric Power	280	0.6
Oil/Refinery/Fuel	540	1.3
Telecoms/C <sup>4</sup>	580	1.4
LOCs	<u>1,170</u>	<u>2.8</u>
Total	2,830	6.7
Strategic - Largely Military		
Military Industry	970	2.3
Nuc/Chem/Bio	990	2.3
Scuds	1,460	3.5
Naval Targets	<u>370</u>	<u>0.9</u>
Total	3,790	9.0
Counter-Air		
Airfields	2,990	7.0
Air Defense (KARI)	630	1.5
Surface-to-Air Missiles	<u>1,370</u>	<u>3.2</u>
Total	4,990	11.8
Against Iraqi Ground Forces	23,430	55.5
Total Categorized by Mission	35,040	82.3
Uncategorized (Largely against ground forces)	7,200	17.1
Total	42,240	100%

Note: Some statistics ignore the unallocated sorties and produce different figures. There are unexplained errors in the source material, which talk about a total of 35,018 allocate sorties, 5,660 of which could not be categorized.

Source: Adapted by the author from data in Eliot A. Cohen, Gulf War Air Power Survey: Volume II, Part II, p. 148.

Table Two – Part TwoKey Munitions Used by US Aircraft in the KTO

<u>Munitions Type</u>	<u>Air Force</u>	<u>Navy</u>	<u>Marine Corps</u>	<u>Army</u>	<u>Total</u>	
					<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Unguided General Purpose Bombs</u>						
Mk-82 (500 pounds)	59,884	10,941	6,828	-	77,683	35%
Mark-83 (1,000 pounds)	-	10,125	8,893	-	19,081	9%
Mark-84 (2,000 pounds)	10,467	971	751	-	12,289	6%
Mark-117 (B-52)	<u>43,435</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	-	<u>43,435</u>	<u>20%</u>
	113,786	22,037	16,472		152,488	69%
<u>Unguided Special Purpose Bombs</u>						
CBU-52 fragmentation bomb **	17,831	-	-	-	17,831	8%
CBU-87 combined effects munition	10,035	-	-	-	10,035	5%
CBU-89/78 Gator***	1,105	148	61	-	1,314	0.6%
Mk-20 Rockeye **	<u>5,345</u>	<u>6,814</u>	<u>15,828</u>	-	<u>27,987</u>	<u>13%</u>
	34,316	6,962	15,889		57,167	26%
<u>Laser Guided Bombs</u>						
GBU-12 (laser Mk-82)	4,086	-	-	-	4,086	2%
<u>Air-to-Surface Missiles</u>						
AGM-114 Hellfire	-	30	159	2,879	3,065	1.4%
AGM-65 Maverick	5,255	-	41	-	5,296	2.4%
BGM--71 TOW	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>283</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>283</u>	<u>0.01%</u>
	5,255	30	483	2,879	8,644	4%
<u>Total Munitions of All Types</u>	125,999	28,673	32,404	2,879	222,385	100%
(% of Total)	57%	13%	15%	1%	100%	

\*Does not include other types of laser-guided and special purpose bombs and air-to-surface missiles used largely outside of theater. Percentages are rounded and may not total 100%. Data for TOW include missiles used by both Navy and Marine Corps.

\*\*Primarily targeted on artillery

\*\*\*Primarily targeted on armor

Source: Adapted from Thomas A. Keaney and Eliot A. Cohen, Gulf War Air Power Survey: Summary Report, pp. 103.

## **The Limits of the Revolution in Military Affairs and Joint Vision 2010**

It is worth noting that we did not find out the full extent of the shortcomings in the strategic bombing effort in the Gulf War until nearly half a decade after the war, when we discovered the true scale of Iraq's biological and chemical programs. This is a warning that the kind of precision strikes called for in the RMA can be blind and stupid in political and strategic terms, even if US forces are fully successful in terms of destroying an exposed ground force and regular air force and suppressing air defenses. It is also a warning that even the most successful effort to kill exposed tanks and airplanes, win air-to-air combat, and destroy hangers and exposed ground-based air defenses is no guarantee of what will happen if we are fighting a guerilla or unconventional war, or a limited war where the political impact of the battle is more important than casualties and equipment losses.

The RMA has good answers to many tactical problems, but no clear answers as to what the importance is of any given political and economic target. It postulates a solution to knowing the contents of given buildings and facilities and their importance, with no guarantee of a feasible solution. It has no real solution to dispersion, hiding behind civilians and in civilian facilities, skillful deception, riding out attacks passively, and wars which are primarily political in character.

The RMA, however, is only part of the problem. "Joint Vision 2010" is now based on force plans to use the RMA to substitute for a lack of adequate force numbers, the real-world inefficiency and uncertainty of war, and adequate defense spending and to do so by a giant committee of military services who are privately competing desperately for money. Like the RMA, far too much of the planning for "Joint Vision 2010" ignores unconventional warfare, most of the political and grand strategic dimension of war, and the real-world problems in going beyond attacks on exposed regular military forces.

## **Enter Desert Fox**

So much for the background; what about Desert Fox? It did not represent a war, but rather what an earlier era might have called a "police action." It lasted less than four days, and had

limited intensity. The Pentagon reported on December 21st, 1998 that 415 cruise missiles were fired during the campaign, including 325 Tomahawks fired by U.S. Navy forces and 90 heavier cruise missiles deployed from Air Force B-52s. These firings drew down on a pre-Desert Fox inventory of 2,500 SLCMs (1,725 Block III and 849 Block IV) and 239 CALCMs, 198 with 3,000-pound warheads and 41 with 2,000-pound warheads.

The offensive also involved 650 aircraft missions, including 32 sorties by 12 British Tornado fighter-bombers. Iraq says its gunners shot down more than 100 Tomahawks. In addition to the cruise missiles, there were undisclosed numbers of laser-guided bombs and other ordnance. In their first use against a real target, two B-1s bombed a large military complex near Baghdad. No sorties were flown during daytime, a pattern established early in Desert Storm. Not a single U.S. or British casualty was reported after about 70 hours of intensive air strikes involving 650 sorties against nearly 100 targets.

British forces flew 32-50 sorties with Tornado GR1 fighters from Kuwait. During the fourth night of attacks, for example, 12 Tornados flew 24 missions, attacking a large military airfield and a complex near the city of Al Kut in southern Iraq. Also, four Tornados were en route to Iraq to bomb Republican Guard positions when the stand-down order reached British forces based in Kuwait. During previous sorties, British forces struck the Tallil air base in southwestern Iraq. He said the fighters were recalled.

To put these numbers of strikes in perspective, Table Three shows that Desert Storm (January 16-February 28, 1991) involved a total of 2,400 aircraft (1,800 US). Coalition forces flew a total of 118,000 sorties, 42,000 of which were offensive, against 777 fixed targets. They dropped about 162,000 unguided dumb bombs and used 9,500 smart weapons. Desert Fox used a total of a little over 1,000 cruise missile and airstrikes against 100 targets. Its total scale was only marginally higher than Deliberate Force, the US intervention in Bosnia in 1995.

Table ThreeDesert Storm, Deliberate Force, and Desert Fox

	<u>Desert Storm</u>	<u>Deliberate Force</u>	<u>Desert Fox</u>
	Gulf War	Bosnia	Iraq
	1/16-2/28/91	8/29-14/9/95	12/16-12/20/98
<u>Total Aircraft</u>	2400	300	213+
US	1800	200+	201+
<u>Total Munitions Used</u>			
Cruise Missiles	333	23	425+ (90 CLCM) 425 SLCM)
Guided Smart Weapons	9500	700	90%+
Unguided "Dumb" Weapons	162,000	1,025	600 pieces of ordnance?
<u>Total Strikes</u>	42,600	-	1,075-1,165
Air	42,000		300 night sorties
<u>Targets/Strikes</u>			
Weapons of Mass Destruction	32/9670	-	11/-
Command & Control	163/1500	-	20/-
Leadership/Government	45/200	-	19/-
POL	28/540	-	1/-
Missiles	61/1,460	-	11/-
SAM/IADS	120/1,730	-	32/-
Military Industry	25/975	-	1/-

***The Non-Battle of Perceptions***

One basic lesson of Desert Fox emerges from these statistics. Like most of the 240 odd US military interventions since 1945, Desert Fox was not a war in the sense that its goal was to destroy the enemy. It was a limited series of strikes over a limited period. As such, its goals had to be primarily political in character, and the battle for global political perceptions before, during, and after Desert Fox was inherently far more important than the details of the military action. The political character of war is a lesson as old as Sun Tsu, and one which Clausewitz repeated in his warnings about "perfect war." The defining issue in the use of force is never how many targets of what character were struck with what level of damage. The issue is always what was the political and strategic impact on the enemy.

### ***Strikes Without Adequate Political Preparation***

In regard to the battle of perceptions, Desert Fox took place under highly adverse political conditions of precisely the kind that illustrate the critical importance of the political dimension of warfare. First, the timing came as a surprise to much of the world and public opinion. Second, it came in the middle of a major domestic political crisis in the US, and with the President confronting an impeachment debate and vote in the House of Representatives.

Desert Fox reacted to the fourth major crisis between UNSCOM and Iraq since the late fall of 1997. Force had been avoided in November 1997 and February 1998. The US and Britain had been in the process of launching a similar series of strikes in mid-November, 1998, when Iraq appeared to accept the terms of the UN.

On November 14, 1998, Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Annan that appeared to accept the UN's terms. It stated that the Iraqi leadership had, "decided to resume working with the Special Commission and the IAEA and to allow them to perform their normal duties... not out of fear of the aggressive American campaign and the threat to commit a new aggression against Iraq, but as an expression of our feeling of responsibility and in response to your appeal and those of our friends. The objective of Iraq is to end the suffering of its embargoed people and to see the implementation of paragraph 22 of Security Council Resolution 687 as a first step for lifting the other sanctions." A series of Iraqi clarifications to this letter led the US and Britain to halt military action.

Aziz's letter rapidly proved to be one more Iraqi political maneuver in the "war of sanctions." Iraq did not comply with its promises. It did not provide any meaningful response to a UN request on November 20, 1998, for 12 documents describing Iraq's missile, chemical, biological, and nuclear programs and it began to block "challenge" inspections. Iraq did, however, give the appearance of being willing to comply. It made repeated charges that UNSCOM was the tool of the US and Britain, and operating unfairly, and claimed it would complex a fair regime.



It was scarcely a surprise to the world, however, when Ambassador Richard Butler, the head of UNSCOM, submitted a new report criticizing Iraqi compliance to Secretary-General Annan on December 15. What the world was not prepared for was that the report strongly implied that the UNSCOM could no longer carry out its mission.

Butler's report stated that Iraq had submitted only one of 12 requested documents, and had blocked UNSCOM during four inspection attempts. "Iraq's conduct ensured that no progress was able to be made in either the fields of disarmament or account for its prohibited weapons programs. Iraq did not provide the full cooperation it promised on Nov. 14, 1998...Iraq initiated new forms of restrictions upon the commission's activities...Finally, in the light of this experience, that is, the absence of full cooperation by Iraq, it must regrettably be recorded again that the commission is not able to conduct the substantive disarmament work mandated to it by the Security Council and thus, to give the council the assurances it requires with respect to Iraq's prohibited weapons programs."

The report also said that:

- The one set of documents that Iraq did provide did not contain the information sought by UNSCOM. It said that UNSCOM was prevented from questioning graduate students about biological arms research, although this type of research had been conducted at universities.
- On December 10 UNSCOM was blocked from entering the ruling Baath party offices because the inspection team chose not to meet conditions imposed by the Iraqis. Iraqi officials had insisted that only four inspectors would be allowed to enter, and that they would have to declare what it was they were looking for.
- UNSCOM was barred on November 26 from a military base of the People's Mujahedeen, an Iranian opposition group.
- On December 13, a Baghdad-based chemical monitoring team was prevented from inspecting a warehouse on the grounds that it was the Moslem Sabbath.
- Inspectors entered a fourth sensitive site that Iraq said contained the former headquarters of its Special Security Organization. The building had been emptied of its contents and Iraq would not disclose their new location.

- Access was granted to a small team to visit a fifth site at the Military Industrialization Corporation, but “this site, too, had been prepared to avoid any disclosure of relevant materials.”
- Iraq delayed UNSCOM’s work by issuing new restrictions since the inspections resumed in mid-November, and that this made it impossible for inspectors to determine if Baghdad eliminated its weapons of mass destruction, a key requirement for the lifting of sanctions.

The Butler report was a strong indication that diplomatic efforts had failed. It came at a time, however, when most of the world had no clear idea of what had gone on in Iraq, and when the International Atomic Energy Agency had said that Iraq has provided “the necessary level of cooperation” to its inspectors, and that only a few questions relating to Iraq’s past atomic program remain.

It came at a point in time where the US and Britain had to take almost immediate military action to avoid either having to strike during the Islamic holiday of Ramadan, or to wait nearly a month and risk further political paralysis because of the fears of their Gulf allies and the opposition of key Security Council members like Russia, China, and France. This timing gave a US and British action a highly unilateral character, particularly in the Arab world where Iraq had been conducting a day-by-day campaign against UNSCOM, the US, and Britain.

At a minimum, the entire US national security structure should have been used to conduct an intensive global information campaign tailored to make all of the facts clear, explain US policy and military action, deal with Iraq’s charges, and counter attacks on UNSCOM – which included a series of new charges that the US had used UNSCOM to spy on Iraq. In practice, the US efforts were too little, too late, and oriented at an American domestic political audience. Key press statements and conferences were delayed and poorly structured. Little attention was paid to responding to Iraqi and Arab statements, and to media and political statements outside the US.

### ***The Problem of Goals and Objectives***

The US never communicated clear objectives for launching Desert Fox. The President and senior US officials did make it clear that they felt that Butler’s report had shown that Iraq would

not allow UNSCOM and the IAEA to carry out their mission effectively, and that they expected the operation to “degrade” Iraq’s capability to proliferate, rather than destroy it. President Clinton explained the background to Desert Fox in a speech on December 16<sup>th</sup>, but this speech provided far more details on why UNSCOM had encountered obstacles that it could not overcome than it did on what Desert Fox was really intended to achieve.

... I have decided, with the unanimous recommendation of my national security team, to use force in Iraq, why we have to act now, and what we aim to accomplish. Six weeks ago, Saddam Hussein announced that he would no longer cooperate with the UN weapons inspectors called UNSCOM. They are highly professional experts from dozens of countries. Their job is to oversee the elimination of Iraq's capability, to retain, create and use weapons of mass destruction, and to verify that Iraq does not attempt to rebuild that capability. The inspectors undertook this mission first 7 1/2 years ago, at the end of the gulf war when Iraq agreed to declare and destroy its arsenal as a condition of the cease-fire.

...The UN Security Council voted 15-to-0 to condemn Saddam's actions and to demand that he immediately come into compliance. Eight Arab nations; Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman, warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility for the consequences of defying the UN. When Saddam still failed to comply, we prepared to act militarily. It was only then at the last possible moment that Iraq backed down. It pledged to the UN that it had made, and I quote, "a clear and unconditional decision to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors." I decided then to call off the attack with our airplanes already in the air because Saddam had given in to our demands. I concluded then that the right thing to do was to use restraint and give Saddam one last chance to prove his willingness to cooperate.

I made it very clear at that time what unconditional cooperation meant, based on existing UN resolutions and Iraq's own commitments. And along with Prime Minister Blair of Great Britain, I made it equally clear that if Saddam failed to cooperate fully, we would be prepared to act without delay, diplomacy or warning. Now over the past three weeks, the UN weapons inspectors have carried out their plan for testing Iraq's cooperation. The testing period ended this weekend and last night UNSCOM's chairman, Richard Butler, reported the results to UN Secretary General Annan. The conclusions are stark, sobering and profoundly disturbing.

In four out of the five categories set forth, Iraq has failed to cooperate. Indeed, it actually has placed new restrictions on the inspections. Here are some of the particulars.

Iraq repeatedly blocked UNSCOM from inspecting suspect sites. For example, it shut off access to the headquarters of its ruling party and said it will deny access to the party's other offices, even though UN resolutions make no exception for them and UNSCOM has inspected them in the past.

Iraq repeatedly restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence. For example, Iraq obstructed UNSCOM's effort to photograph bombs related to its chemical weapons program. It tried to stop an UNSCOM biological weapons team from videotaping a site and photocopying documents and prevented Iraqi personnel from answering UNSCOM's questions.

Prior to the inspection of another site, Iraq actually emptied out the building, removing not just documents but even the furniture and the equipment. Iraq has failed to turn over virtually all the documents requested by the inspectors; indeed we know that Iraq ordered the destruction of weapons-related documents in anticipation of an UNSCOM inspection.

So Iraq has abused its final chance. As the UNSCOM report concludes, and again I quote: "Iraq's conduct insured that no progress was able to made in the fields of disarmament. In light of this experience, and in the absence of full cooperation by Iraq, it must regrettably be recorded again that the commission is not able to conduct the work mandated to it by the Security Council, with respect to Iraq's prohibited weapons program.

In short, the inspectors are saying that even if they could stay in Iraq, their work would be a sham. Saddam's deception has defeated their effectiveness. Instead of the inspectors disarming Saddam, Saddam has disarmed the inspectors.

This situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere. The international community gave Saddam one last chance to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors. Saddam has failed to seize the chance. And so we had to act, and act now.

Let me explain why. First, without a strong inspection system Iraq would be free to retain and again to rebuild its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs. In months, not years. Second, if Saddam can cripple the weapons inspection systems and get away with it, he would conclude that the International Community, led by the United States, has simply lost its will. He will surmise that he has free rein to rebuild his arsenal of destruction and someday, make no mistake, he will use it again as he has in the past. Third, in halting our air strikes in November, I gave Saddam a chance, not a license. If we turn our backs on his defiance, the credibility of US power as a check against Saddam will be destroyed. We will not only have allowed Saddam to shatter the inspection system that controls his weapons of mass destruction program, we also will have fatally undercut the fear of force that stopped Saddam from acting to gain domination in the region.

That is why, on the unanimous recommendation of my national security team, including the Vice President, Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of State and the national security adviser, I have ordered a strong sustained series of air strikes against Iraq. They are designed to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors. At the same time we are delivering a powerful message to Saddam. If you act recklessly you will pay a heavy price.

We acted today because in the judgment of my military advisers a swift response would provide the most surprise and the least opportunity for Saddam to prepare. If we had delayed for even a matter of days from Chairman Butler's report, we would have given Saddam more time to disperse his forces and protect his weapons.

Also, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan begins this weekend. For us to initiate military action during Ramadan would be profoundly offensive to the Muslim world and therefore would damage our relations with Arab countries and the progress we have made in the Middle East. That is something we wanted very much to avoid without giving Iraq a month's head start to prepare for potential action against it.

Finally, our allies including Prime Minister Tony Blair of Great Britain, concur that now is the time to start. I hope Saddam will come into cooperation with the inspection system now, and comply with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions. But we have to be prepared that he will not. And we must deal with the very real danger he poses. So we will pursue a long-term strategy to contain Iraq and its weapons of mass destruction and work toward the day when Iraq is a government worthy of its people.

First, we must be prepared to use force again if Saddam takes threatening action, such as trying to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction or other delivery systems threatening his neighbors, challenging allied aircraft over Iraq, or moving against his own Kurdish citizens. The credible threat to use force, and, when necessary, the actual use of force, is the surest way to contain Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program, curtail his aggression and prevent another gulf war.

Second, as long as Iraq remains out of compliance we will work with the International Community to maintain and enforce economic sanctions. Sanctions have cost Saddam more than \$120 billion, resources that would have been used to rebuild his military. The sanction system allows Iraq to sell oil or food or medicine or other humanitarian supplies for the Iraqi people. We have no quarrel with them.

But without the sanctions we would see the oil for food program become oil for tanks, resulting in a greater threat to Iraq's neighbors and less food for its people. The hard fact is that so long as Saddam remains in power, he threatens the well-being of his people, the peace of this region, the security of the world.

The best way to end that threat, once and for all, is with the new Iraqi Government, a government ready to live in peace with its neighbors, a government that respects the rights of its people.

Bringing change in Baghdad will take time and effort. We will strengthen our engagement with the full range of Iraqi opposition forces and work with them effectively and prudently.

The decision to use force is never cost free. Whenever American forces are placed in harm's way we risk the loss of life. And while our strikes are focused on Iraq's military capabilities, there will be unintended Iraqi casualties. Indeed in the past Saddam has intentionally placed Iraqi civilians in harm's way in a cynical bid to sway international

opinion. We must be prepared for these realities. At the same time Saddam should have absolutely no doubt if he lashes out at his neighbors, we will respond forcefully.

Heavy as they are, the cost of action must be weighed against the price of inaction. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far greater threat in the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people. And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them and he will use them. Because we are acting today it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future.

Let me close by addressing one other issue. Saddam Hussein and the other enemies of peace may have thought that the serious debate currently before the House of Representatives would distract Americans or weaken our resolve to face him down. But once more the United States has proven that although we are never eager to use force, when we must act in America's vital interests, we will do so.

Every statement the President made about Saddam Hussein and his regime was true. At the same time, the speech did not explain what Britain and the US really hoped to achieve by launching Desert Fox, what the desired outcome was in terms of UNSCOM and efforts to disarm Iraq, what message the allies were trying to send to Iraq and the Arab world, and policy goals the US sought to achieve in terms of weakening Iraq's capability to proliferate.

The speech focused more on punishment than policy, and implied that Desert Fox could do more to weaken Iraq's capability to proliferate than was the case. President Clinton and senior US officials did go on to attempt to explain the political context behind Desert Fox, and the British government conducted a highly active campaign to win the political battle and battle of perceptions. Nevertheless, the US did not make its case effectively, and scarcely exercised the "information dominance" that is supposed to be part of the RMA. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that much of the world, and most of the Arab world, had little understanding of US objectives.

Some ambiguity was desirable. It became clear during Desert Fox that one of its major objectives was to destabilize Iraq and support the policy of "containment plus replacement" that the President had openly endorsed after calling off the strikes in mid-November. This scarcely was the policy of the UN Security Council and it made no sense for the US to op. At the same time, the US did little to describe other specific goals for Desert Fox, or to create the climate for a

successful political and strategic end-game. The US statements came perilously close to saying that the US and Britain would punish until Ramadan began. The US political and strategic message talked in broad and highly moralistic terms. The specifics had all of the same vagueness as US policy in Lebanon in the early 1980s, during most of the Bosnia crisis, and in Somalia.

### ***Impeachment and the Credibility Crisis***

Equally important, the US did a poor job of handling the massive credibility problem created by the impeachment proceedings, and it compounded the problem by mishandling key aspects of its battle damage assessment reporting. There is little doubt that Desert Fox was launched purely for military and strategic reasons, not to bolster President Clinton's position. If this had not been the case, that fact would almost certainly have leaked out of the White House in a matter of hours or days, and done the President far more harm than good. The US national security decision-making process involves too many people, too many of which are Republicans or place their loyalty to the country over the Presidency, to keep such policy choices secret.

Nevertheless, the timing of Desert Fox coincided with an impeachment debate in the House of Representatives that made it appear to many, including Senate Republican Leader Trent Lott, that President Clinton had launched the strikes to distract attention from the impeachment debate. Lott stated publicly that, "While I have been assured by administration officials that there is no connection with the impeachment process in the House of Representatives, I cannot support this military action in the Persian Gulf at this time. Both the timing and the policy are subject to question."

It is important to note that other Republicans took a different view. Defense Secretary William Cohen, a former Republican Senator, responded by saying: "I am prepared to place 30 years of public service on the line to say the only factor that was important in this decision was what was in the American people's best interests." Outgoing House Speaker Newt Gingrich said he would support what the President's senior advisers recommended. The top two Democrats in Congress also supported Desert Fox. Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle and House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt issued a joint statement that, "Saddam Hussein should make no mistake

that despite domestic political differences in the United States, the American people and Congress stand firmly behind the defense of our nation's vital interests.”

Nevertheless, much of the world came to believe (and often still believes) that President Clinton acted at least partly out of domestic political motives. This impression was compounded by the lack of clearly stated US political and strategic objectives that tied Desert Fox to goals the world could understand, and by the haphazard and confused public information campaign that followed.

### ***Political Warfare: The US Government Effort to Brief Desert Fox***

It is fair to argue that few US military actions will take place during an impeachment debate. At the same time, few wars are popular. Korea, Vietnam, Beirut, and Somalia are all case examples that the battle for perceptions is extremely difficult and that military action can occur in a hostile political climate. Tying American strategy to the illusion that military action will only occur for vital strategic objectives and with the full support of the American people, ignores the very nature of war. Waiting for a threat to become “vital” and create public support by force major, precludes effective action to contain problems while only limited amounts of force are required.

The following analysis of US briefings and statements on Desert Fox covers only part of a highly diverse battle of perceptions. Even so, it is clear that much of the US government effort was poorly timed, and lacked adequate political and policy content. Far too often, there was little back up and depth to explain US actions. While the Secretaries of State and Defense made some good individual policy statements during the days that followed, they were reactive rather than part of any coherent effort to set the political and strategic context. Thus, there was no political cohesive campaign to support Desert Fox.

The Presidential and White House statements, issued after the start of Desert Fox, were normally weakly structured and lagged the debate in the rest of the world by half a day. The National Security Council did a poor job of trying to conduct the “information warfare” necessary



to support Desert Fox. The Department of Defense, Department of State, and the intelligence community were not ready to support US military action with detailed briefings, background material, and other documentation.

By default, the daily background briefings the Department of Defense gave at the Pentagon became the primary substantive official source of information during Desert Fox. These briefings, however, were largely military in character and often mirror-imaged the kind of reporting that the Joint Information Bureau in Saudi Arabia had provided during the Gulf War. They did little to clarify or support US political objectives. They had a tendency to provide something approaching an apolitical and astrategic “Nintendo” view of warfare, and the media came to focus heavily on the number and type of targets, strikes, and battle damage assessment.

The Department of Defense’s approach to “information dominance” might have been acceptable (a) if the rest of the national security community had conducted a massive battle for world opinion and perceptions, and (b) if the Pentagon briefings had not been conducted in a manner than raised credibility problems of their own.

A review of the transcripts of the briefings given by the Secretary and senior officers, indicates that the actual narrative content of the individual briefing was usually quite good. The fault did not lie in what various defense officials and military officers said, as much as in the failure to educate the media in how the US would report on a conflict before Desert Fox, and in the timing, distribution of material, and handling of the data on battle damage assessment, during the operation.

One key issue that was painfully obvious to anyone watching media and policy reactions in the rest of the world, was that the timing of US policy statements and briefings created a major problem. These briefs lagged nearly half a day behind the pace of events in the theater, and were often parochial and domestic in character. Democracies must be responsible to their citizens, but superpowers must deal with both the world and the realities imposed by its time zone. The Department of Defense often gave the impression it was trying to brief a flat earth whose edges were bounded by the Capital Beltway.

These problems were compounded by the structure of the Pentagon briefings. They sometimes came relatively late in the day to impact even on US media. More importantly, they were structured so that the most senior official present gave the initial briefing, generally discussing US actions in broad term, and then dealt with questions by the press. This is a very open and traditionally American approach to dealing with the media, but it has a strategic price tag.

In virtually every case, the briefings by senior officials and officers consumed all of the time available for coverage by radio and television – a problem that was compounded by the fact that many briefings did not begin exactly on schedule, and that the media did not have enough warning about timing and content to know whether given sections were worth covering.

Furthermore, the press conference format used by the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs had the same parochial character as most similar White House and State Department briefings. A small cadre of US professional journalists asked broad questions, most of which were directed at maximizing media exposure to an American audience. The end result is that reading the transcripts of what went on during Desert Fox becomes a highly internecine and “in-house” character.

It was only after the seniors spoke that lower ranking military officers began to get into the details of the military campaign, strikes, and battle damage assessments. Virtually every television and radio network either went off the air before or shortly after these briefings began. They too had a press conference format where little organized written material or other briefing aids were distributed. Most commercial wire services only carried limited excerpts of the briefings, many of which were highlighted in ways that were out of context and incorrect. In many cases, journalists and commentators followed with press reports that were equally incorrect.

As the following analysis makes painfully clear, these problems were compounded by the fact that the Department of Defense had not prepared the media to deal with the battle damage assessment that it had made the heart of its briefings, and then panicked during a time when it

already had a massive credibility problem due to the start of Desert Fox coinciding with the start of the impeachment proceedings in the House.

Several key lessons emerge from this experience:

- First, develop a clear strategy for the political and strategic aspects of information dominance before a conflict begins.
- Second, time media coverage to talk to the world, and tailor the content speak to a regional and world audience, not simply to a domestic one.
- Third, don't attempt "spin control" centered around briefings when you don't even know if you'll have coverage. Get the key messages out first, then blitz the media with hard copy and briefings in real-time.
- Finally, educate the media in the technical aspects of the conflict and as to US, allied, and threat capabilities. You must choose your communications strategy very clearly with the understanding that short and near-term credibility are critical. You must also explain complex concepts like Battle Damage Assessment before, during, and after the conflict.

## **The Military Aspects of Desert Fox: Military Objectives and Targeting**

The battle for perceptions is only part of the story. Equally important questions arise as to what Desert Fox was really supposed to accomplish, how targets were chosen, what criteria of military success were used, what strategy existed for conflict termination, and what vision of Post-Desert Fox strategy was being pursued.

The US and Britain had several possible objectives, none of which were mutually exclusive:

- Create a climate that would force Iraq to comply with the UN Security Council Resolutions by showing that they could inflict unacceptable levels of damage.
- Show Iraq that the consequences of provocative and non-compliant action would be so costly that it could not maintain the sanctions crisis at a point requiring high levels of US and British forward deployment, and would not risk forcing the US and Britain to rush forces back into the Gulf region at regular levels.
- Use the narrow window of opportunity, provided by Iraq's efforts to block UNSCOM, to seriously degrade its capability to proliferate and/or its conventional warfighting capabilities.
- Demonstrate US determination to enforce containment to Iraq, our regional allies, and the rest of the world, while proving our willingness to use substantial elements of force.
- Reinforce deterrence by proving the ability to strike targets Saddam's regime regarded as important, without US and allied losses and serious collateral damage.
- Demonstrate the ability to protect Kuwait, the Gulf, and the Kurds. Prove US resolve to our Gulf allies.
- Destroy as much of Iraq's capability to proliferate as possible.
- Leave Iraq open and vulnerable by destroying critical aspects of its air defense and command and control system.
- Support a strategy of replacing the regime by degrading the regime's command and control structure and key elements of its internal security structure.
- Provide a possible incentive for the Iraqi military and security forces to overthrow Saddam Hussein.

In practice, much of the outcome of Desert Fox was determined by its targeting plan before the US and British strikes began. The word “degrade” proved to be open ended, and the US either did not have a disarmament or reinforced containment strategy, or left them remarkably vague. The US and Britain did not choose to target the major weapons of the Iraqi army, virtually all of its combat aircraft, and most of its actual air defense weapons. As a result, most of the Iraqi order of battle remains almost exactly the same after the US and British strikes as it did before Desert Fox.

Although UNSCOM and proliferation were the catalyst for Desert Fox, most strikes were directed against other targets. The US and Britain did target major Iraqi missile production facilities. However, they did not target most targets relating to weapons of mass destruction. They did not strike major dual-use facilities, that could be used for the production of chemical and biological weapons, because of their political sensitivity and the risk of collateral damage. It had no way to target dispersed missiles, and production equipment and weapons for missiles, and chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. It did strike at concealment sites, but only to punish – not because it believed there was equipment and weaponry present.

The US and Britain launched their strikes at a wide mix targets which seem to have been designed to largely to punish the regime for its failure to comply with the terms of the UN Security Council resolutions, and to threaten and destabilize the regime. The major target sets included:

- Surface-to-air missile (SAM) and integrated air defense system (IADS) facilities;
- Command and control facilities, including TV and radio transmitters and jammers. The headquarters of the Directorate of Military Intelligence, Special Security Organization (SSO) Special Republican Guards (SRG) and targets like the relay station at Al Rumaylah is believed to have been targeted.
- Weapons of mass destruction, security facilities, including Special Republican Guards barracks and headquarters buildings.

- Weapons of mass destruction industry and production facilities, including ones at Al Kindi, Al Karama, and Iba al Haytham. These included Iraq's major final-stage missile fabrication plant in the Baghdad area, an engine facility, missile simulation center, and RPV facility (believed to be dedicated to delivering biological weapons).
- Republican Guards and regular army headquarters and facilities, including corps and division headquarters.
- Airfields, including the attack helicopter forces used against the Kurds in the North and Shi'ite rebels in the south.
- A refinery used to make the product smuggled illegally out of Iraq through the Gulf – normally through Iranian waters. This is the Basra PLL facility which shipped product via the Shatt al-Arab.

Although the television coverage of Desert Fox focused almost solely on the nighttime skyline of Baghdad, these aim points for the target sets were distributed widely throughout Iraq. Typical sites included:

- *Baghdad: Directorate of Military Intelligence, Special Republican Guard barracks, Republican Guard headquarters, TV station, Communications center, Air Defense Center, Special Security Organization, Baath Party headquarters, Intelligence Service, Al Karama and Al Kindi missile research and development facilities, Baghdad Museum of Natural History, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, Al Mustansiriya University*
- *Tikrit: Al Sahra Airfield, Republican Guard headquarters, Al Bakr air base*
- *Mosul: Missile research and development facility, air base, two army bases, Republican Guard headquarters*

- *Taji: military air base, missile design and production facility*
- *Samarra: Air defense sites*
- *Jabul Makhul: Presidential palace that covers 10 square miles and includes 90 structures, suspected nuclear/chemical weapons site, Republican Guard headquarters*
- *Al Qurnah: Communications-related sites*
- *Ash Shuaybah: Radar site*
- *Ash Rumaylah: Communications-related site*
- *Al Kut: Airfield, military complex*
- *Ibn Al Haytham: missile storage facility in southern Iraq*
- *Basra: Oil refinery*

Given this mix of targets and locations, several things are clear: First, Desert Fox was never intended to achieve its objectives by inflicting the kind of military damage postulated in the RMA and Joint Vision 2010. From the start, it had to be a political battle where the primary goal was to alter Iraqi perceptions and actions, rather than destroy enemy forces and capabilities. As such, the battle for perceptions inevitably became at least as important as the detailed outcome of the strikes.

Second, the ability to limit collateral damage was given high priority -- as was the ability to limit US and British losses. This created political conditions with a major limiting effect on military operations.

Third, large numbers of target sets placed severe limits on what could be accomplished before Ramada was well underway, and precluded a high degree of concentration on a few critical aspects of Iraqi capabilities.

Finally, all of these factors emphasized the political and grand strategic nature of Desert Fox. While it could be (and was) described in tactical and military terms, it was anything but the kind of war normally discussed in US descriptions of the RMA and Joint Vision 2010.

All of these issues become clearer through a historical examination of Desert Fox and its immediate aftermath. This does not mean that Desert Fox was a failure, but that time and time again the US could have done better. Furthermore, it becomes steadily more apparent that targeting execution, damage assessment, and reaction, require that as much or more attention be given to the political and strategic aspects of the decision-making cycle, as to tactical considerations.

## **Reporting and Damage Assessment on December 17th**

Desert Fox began with more than 200 cruise missile strikes and more than 70 Navy aircraft sorties. The first US cruise missile and air strikes hit Iraq just before 1 a.m. (2200 GMT on Dec 16). Sirens in Baghdad sound the all-clear at 6:40 a.m. (0340 GMT) after raids lasting about six hours. The first wave of attacks involved cruise missiles, followed by bombing raids by attack aircraft, including F-14 and F-18 fighter aircraft, and EA-6B aircraft with HARM high speed anti-radiation missiles from the USS Enterprise.

The US struck first at headquarters and barracks for the intelligence services, Special Republican Guards, and Republican Guards. It attempted to target and kill personnel in military intelligence, the Special Security Organization, and Special Republican Guards, during the first night. After that time it assumed that most facilities would have limited manning, although evidence surfaced later that some of the facilities were occupied.

By the morning of December 17, Desert Fox had launched much more serious attacks on Iraq than any strikes since the Gulf War. In June 1993, the United States fired 23 cruise missiles at Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad in retaliation for an alleged plot to assassinate former President Bush. In September 1996, 27 cruise missiles were launched against military targets in southern Iraq in retaliation for the movement of Iraqi troops against Kurds in northern Iraq.



Fighters and bombers at bases in Bahrain, Kuwait, and Oman, joined in the campaign by the evening of December 17<sup>th</sup>. They involved F-16 and A-10 fighters in Kuwait and four B-1s from Oman. They include four B-1 bombers in Oman, the first time those advanced aircraft have joined in a combat operation. The 60 F-16 and F-15 fighters in Saudi Arabia remain grounded, although Saudi Arabia permits refueling and AWACS flights. Saudi Arabia had repeatedly refused to permit the US to launch attacks on Iraq from its soil since October, 1997.

The Pentagon began its first formal briefings on Desert Fox the afternoon of December 17<sup>th</sup>. Until this time, the media had largely been dominated by television coverage of explosions seen from the top of the Ministry of Information building in Baghdad, Arab and European reactions (many hostile), and speculation by retired military and military analysts. Once again, giving up this kind of time window is scarcely “information dominance.”

Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen began the briefing by stating that:

Our early assessment of the military action against Iraq shows that our forces are performing well. There have been no American casualties and we are achieving good coverage of our targets. As a result, we are advancing our goal of containing Saddam Hussein. We're diminishing his ability to attack his neighbors, either conventionally or with weapons of mass destruction. And since Iraq has now prevented the United Nations inspectors from doing their job, we have to resort to military action to continue to contain him.

Our targets include Iraq's air defense system, its command and control system, airfields and other military infrastructure and facilities. One thing should be absolutely clear—we are concentrating on military targets. We are not attacking the people of Iraq and we have no desire to increase the suffering that Saddam Hussein has imposed on his people.

...As I indicated, we're going to continue to contain him. Containment has worked to this point. He has been unable to seriously reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction program and rebuild his military. He's been contained from going north, in the south as well. He has been in a box.

He's had two objectives for some time now. One objective is to get rid of the inspectors. The second objective is to get rid of the sanctions. He has felt all along that he could frustrate, deny, obstruct, in any way deprive the inspectors from carrying out their obligations, and also seek support in changing their effectiveness, either their

professionalism or their leadership. Secondly, he is looking for “a comprehensive review that will lead to a lifting of the sanctions” so that he will have relief from both of the burdens that he currently is faced with.

We intend to keep the sanctions in place. We intend to keep our forces on the ready. In the event he seeks to reconstitute again or threaten his neighbors, we will be prepared to take military action once again. So we intend to continue the containment policy.

Secretary Cohen provided a number of important further insights into US policy during the question and answer session which emphasized the military goals of Desert Fox, and particularly attacks on Iraq’s ability to proliferate:

Saddam Hussein has claimed for eight years that he has no chemical weapons, that he has no biological agents. Only when confronted with facts as he retreated and admitted that he had been lying. So we don’t take him at his word that he has none. If we did, we’d have no concern about striking any of the facilities for fear of releasing any sort of poisonous gasses. Since we don’t take him at his word, we try to be very careful and scrutinizing in terms of which facilities we would target with the idea that there might be some sort of poisonous gas that could be released threatening the lives of innocent people. We’ve been very scrupulous in looking at those targets and trying to minimize any possibility of that.

...There are a number of facilities that could probably be characterized as dual use facilities. They may have civilian activities on certain floors and inappropriate activities on others. We have been careful in our targeting to try to limit it to military types of targets that would minimize the potential for harm to innocent civilians.

The goal is not to destabilize the regime. The goal, as I’ve indicated, is to decrease and diminish his capacity to threaten his neighbors and to either deliver weapons of mass destruction and hopefully be able to hit some of the facilities that would put him in a position to be making them. We have no illusions of how difficult it is in terms of the biological certainly, or even indeed the chemical, but we intend to focus on the military aspects of his regime.

According to Mr. Butler, Saddam Hussein had effectively emasculated UNSCOM and that they were on the ground but not able to do their job. It would be my hope, that following this operation, that Saddam Hussein would see the wisdom of finally complying by allowing UNSCOM to return and do its job. Failing that, we intend to maintain our forces as I’ve indicated. Failing that, we intend to continue the containment strategy. And should he either threaten his neighbors or try to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction program, we are prepared to take action again.

It is interesting to note that senior US officials said on background that the strikes would probably leave the United States with little ability to closely monitor Iraq's capability to develop chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and that the attack will almost certainly mean the end of the 7-year-old UN weapons inspection program in Iraq. This will force the United States to maintain a large military presence in the Gulf region for at least several more years. They also said that while the strikes would degrade Iraq's programs to make poison gas and nuclear weapons, its weapons programs would continue and perhaps accelerate after the attacks end.

General Shelton showed enlarged photographs of the military intelligence headquarters and Republican Guard barracks in the Baghdad area. The aerial pictures showed intact buildings before the raids and rubble afterward. He summarized the actual course of the fighting, but noted it was too early to provide any real details:

While I will not discuss any specific targets at this time, I can say that last night U.S. forces struck more than 50 separate targets, including attacks against targets outlined by Secretary Cohen which included weapons of mass destruction sites and WMD security sites and security forces, Saddam's integrated air defense and airfields and the command and control infrastructure that supports Saddam's military and his regime....

We have a considerable amount of data coming back in. Much of it is as successful or more successful than this was. Some of it not quite as successful. But as you know, additional strike operations are underway even as we speak ...

Looking back on these statements, the Cohen and Shelton briefings reflected a serious and useful effort to deal with charges that the US was reacting to the impeachment crisis and not to UNSCOM's problems. At the same time, they were essentially military in character. They were not backed by similar White House, National Security Council, and State Department briefings. As a result, the US efforts during the critical first day of Desert Fox lacked political depth and the proper detail to justifying US actions.

## **Desert Fox as of December 18th**

The first major problems in communicating the military details of Desert Fox began to surface on the afternoon of Friday, December 18<sup>th</sup>, when detailed damage assessments were released during a Pentagon Press conference. It is important to note that these briefings again

came well over 12 hours after world media coverage began of the night sky in Baghdad. They differed sharply from the briefings held in Desert Storm in that there was no major US briefing effort in the theater of operations.

### ***The Strengths and Weaknesses of the US Briefings***

General Henry Shelton, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, provided an overview of Desert Fox in which he stated that more cruise missiles had been launched during the first two days of the air campaign than the 290 that had been used in all of Desert Storm. He stated that the targets included military command centers, missile factories, television, radio transmitters and jammers, bases of elite Republican Guard units in Baghdad and Tikrit, air defenses, headquarters and the barracks and equipment of the Special Republican Guards and State Security Organization, the headquarters of the Military Intelligence, and units that help Iraq build, protect and use weapons of mass destruction. Missiles and bombers also struck airfields and an oil refinery in the southern Iraq city of Basra, which was being used for oil exports in violation of UN sanctions.

He was careful to avoid exaggerating success, "We have had some very good success with our strikes, but not all of them have gone exactly as planned." General Shelton and Secretary Cohen also provided a realistic and important definition of what "degrade" meant by defining the goals of Desert Fox:

Q: General Shelton, you've used the word "degrade" to talk about the objective of this operation, but degrade is a relative term. Degrade to what? What's the picture you want to see when the dust finally settles, whenever it does?

Gen. Shelton: We said to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors and to degrade his WMD capabilities which include delivery systems, his ability to manufacture long range missiles, his facilities that he could possibly use to weaponize chemicals, etc. Degrade means that we want to in whatever period of time we intend to use to carry out this operation, to bring down his capabilities as much as we possibly can. We realize that you can't destroy it in all cases, and certainly when you talk about the chemical and biological systems, you've got a lot of dual use facilities that range from things that manufacture legitimate medicines to milk to you name it—all types of hospitals. We obviously have not gone out to those types of facilities and...

Q: Do you have any definition of degrade?

Gen. Shelton: ...So you can't destroy it, but you can bring it down.

Q: To what level though, sir?

Gen. Shelton: To the level that... The level will be determined from what your start point is; we know what he had. I think you can see from the R&D facility he has, his ability now to conduct research and development for longer range missiles has been degraded. Has it been destroyed? He's got two plants over there that he could possibly use, so we haven't destroyed his total capability right now, but we certainly have reduced his assets.

Q:...Iraq has been very adept at playing a shell game with their chemical and biological weapons. UNSCOM inspectors would show up at a building and find that everything had been moved. While our sophisticated weaponry is very good at striking buildings, are there any guarantees that what you intend to hit is inside? And do you have any indication that you're being successful at hitting not just buildings, but those things that actually contribute to the production and concealment or distribution of his chemical and biological weapons?

Secretary Cohen: The Chairman has already indicated that we have indeed targeted missile fabrication plants, facilities that make weapons. Those have been hit and those have been destroyed—in some cases a building completely wiped out; in other cases partially destroyed. Yes, we can target those facilities which can pose a threat to the region and have done so.

Admiral Thomas Wilson, Director of Intelligence for the Joint Staff, Vice Admiral Fry, the Director for Operations, then reported that Iraq had yet to fire any surface-to-air missiles at the attacking aircraft. One reason was Iraqi reluctance to expose hard-to-replace military equipment to attack; another was the destruction of air defense radar systems during the first phases of the strike. Wilson stated that Iraq's southern air defense system “has been degraded.... It has not been completely destroyed.” Wilson showed charts indicating only a handful of targets were judged to have been destroyed. Others registered light, moderate, or severe damage, with some misses and many still being assessed using reconnaissance photos. Vice Admiral Scott Fry, Director of Operations, added that, “If there is any surprise it's the complete lack of response” by Iraqi forces.

Admiral Wilson provided a list of the targets that had been hit to date, statistics on the strikes per target, and the summary of battle damage assessment shown in Table Four. He also provided a description of the damage assessment effort to date:

I would like to emphasize that the operations are ongoing. We are very oriented in our assessment methodologies at looking at targets which are the targets for future strikes, and in particular looking at targets which threaten the air crews which are flying out of the Gulf and the neighboring states. So we don't have all the assessments complete. It will be days or perhaps even weeks before we have a complete assessment, so what I am passing on is very preliminary data.

We had very robust efforts against the surface-to-air missiles systems and the integrated air defense systems that we call the military IADS in the southern part of Iraq. This was to create access for the aircraft flying north, and in fact to create access even for the cruise missiles so that we increase the probability of those reaching their targets as well.

Our assessment is that the southern Iraq air defense system has been degraded and has largely proven to be ineffective against the strikes which have been conducted to date. It is not completely destroyed. We're still very wary of the capability of the systems down there, especially the mobile surface-to-air missile systems. But we have not had SAMs fired at the aircraft to our knowledge. There hasn't been a lot of AAA fired as you've seen on television, and of course that's especially true in the area of Baghdad.

We're going after command and control targets. As indicated earlier, the radio and TV transmitters are part of that command and control set. They have been severely damaged. It's important not only to know that some of these transmitters are used to broadcast, but also to jam incoming radio and TV signals, for example, Voice of Iraq and things like that. So it is important to helping us get certain kinds of messages in as well, should we choose to do that.

We've also gone heavily after security headquarters, military intelligence, and command and control sites, as well as alternate command and control sites and leadership sites. They have been attacked and damaged, and as I said, the assessments are incomplete.

There's a very extensive security apparatus which Baghdad has used to try to protect its weapons of mass destruction program, to move these things, hide these things from UNSCOM, as you indicated earlier in this press conference. One of the goals was to degrade in particular the special Republican Guard which is integral to helping move those systems around and keep the Iraqi apparatus one step ahead of UNSCOM as they've tried to conduct, in particular, the interference of inspections which are so important to validating where they actually stand in their WMD development programs.

We've also hit a number of WMD industry, weapons of mass destruction industry and production programs, primarily oriented at the missile programs, the research and development capability that will allow Iraq to develop these systems for the future and to make and improve upon the systems that he currently has, especially to give them more accuracy, longer range, better electronics, and things like that.

We're targeting Republican Guard facilities, especially the division and corps headquarters. The Republican Guard is the element of the Iraqi armed forces that creates or presents the greatest threat to his neighbors, and is also important for the security operations around Baghdad and to go against, for example UNSCOM and help this hide mechanism.

Certain airfields have been attacked, primarily ones that have attack helicopters which he uses to go after the Kurdish and Shia minorities in the north and south respectively, and we've already discussed the single economic target that was attacked, which was the Basra POL (petroleum oil lubricant) facility, which is important to his illegal export of gas and oil.... It is a refinery from which they put stuff out via the Shatt al Arab.

This just goes through the target sets to date. As I indicated, we still have a lot of assessment in progress. Some of the SAMs are very mobile, even the strategic SAMs have been relocated frequently, so we certainly have not hit all of them. We're assessing the damage. Some have been destroyed; there's been moderate damage and severe damage to others. As I've indicated or said earlier, the southern sector certainly has been degraded and we have created the access for the pilots flying to the north, and also in addition to the damage to the SA-2 and SA-3 sites, which I mentioned earlier, we did significant damage to a very large missile repair facility (at Taji). It was hit by CALCMs from B-52s last night.

Eighteen command and control facilities have been hit to date, or have been attacked to date. You can see we are halfway through the assessment process. We mentioned earlier the radio and TV transmitters and jammers. Clearly we've gone after the security apparatus in Baghdad, the special security organization and intelligence facilities which conduct collection and repressive operations against the people, as well as cueing the SRG, the Special Republican Guard about how they can avoid UNSCOM inspectors. And we believe we've had a fair degree of success; in fact, you saw the military intelligence headquarters yesterday.

We've attacked to date 19 weapons of mass destruction security details. These are largely the Special Republican Guard headquarters buildings and the barracks buildings for the various brigades and battalions. It's a 30,000 strong organization. They operate throughout the country. We've attacked primarily in the Baghdad and Tikrit areas.

Eleven WMD industry and production facilities have been attacked. We have information on Al Kindi, Al Karama, and even Al Hatham. Moderate to light damage, but we did go after key aim points that we think were important to the long term research and development of the missile industry. We have a lot more assessment work to do on this particular target set. At this time we're concentrating on the military targets because of force protection.

Eight Republican Guard facilities have been hit. We've only assessed on four of them. You can see the damage reports. Imagery does confirm severe and moderate damage on both Republican Guard corps headquarters and a couple of division headquarters.

And we've attacked five airfields looking primarily to go after attack helicopters, as well as the L-29 aircraft which we have reports are being converted to unmanned aerial vehicles that could potentially be used to conduct reconnaissance operations or even delivery of weapons of mass destruction... The Al Sava airfield up north of Baghdad (is) an L-29 base...The maintenance hangars were targeted—very good precision ordnance delivery here. TLAMs through the roof of both of the hangars. Didn't collapse the buildings but we believe severely damaged or destroyed all the equipment that was inside.

...The a Special Republican Guard barracks facility in the city of Tikrit in north central Iraq. You saw some other Special Republican Guard facilities yesterday. These are, as I said, very key elements that have been used to thwart UNSCOM and protect these weapons of mass destruction—hide them, move them, deny access to the records. We attacked the headquarters building which is right here. There were four barracks buildings here, four barracks buildings right here. Most of those have been destroyed or damaged. One is left standing. Another barracks over here which was attacked by Tomahawk land attack missiles .... We do not have casualty estimates or any precise casualty figures for any of the barracks or the headquarters elements that were attacked...the Saddam International Military Barracks North which is in the Baghdad area...we had mixed success. This barracks was fairly well destroyed and damaged. The headquarters building, ... Tomahawk land attack missile right here, destroyed half the building. We have another crater here which did not destroy this building, and all of the facilities which were targeted, for example, were not successfully targeted in this particular photograph.

Finally, I'd like to go into a little bit more detail on this Ibn al Haytham missile research and development center which General Shelton was discussing. This is a facility which manufactures a shorter range and allowed ballistic missile, but all the technology which is in this facility is useful in developing the longer range versions that could be used to conduct longer range attacks against Saddam's neighbors. These buildings right here were welding, final fabrication and important buildings for the manufacture of these weapons and the equipment, as well as the building right here which is associated with the missile development. You can see it has been fairly well destroyed, all three of these buildings, and damage to this one right here...General Shelton mentioned this very large final assembly building here. It was a critical aim point, and essentially there's not much left standing. That entire building has been destroyed. As well, there was light damage to the computer center which they use for research, development, modeling, simulations, things like that.

Vice Admiral Fry, who had just joined the Joint Staff as J-3 from a position as commander of the Eisenhower battle group in the Gulf then, provided a similar briefing on the operational aspects of Desert Fox. He provided extensive detail on various aspects of the operations, and made two key points about power projection and operations:

On the first night of the operation that fell to the Enterprise battle group who remains in the theater with her Aegis destroyers and other escorts. The Carl Vincent battle group is



closing on the Straits of Hormuz as we speak, and will begin her transit this evening. She is bringing two additional cruisers and more destroyers. Additionally, we've begun to flow the maritime pre-positioned force, some units of that, towards the Gulf.

...as the Chairman said earlier, land-based air was integrated into the second night of strikes. U.S. Air Force aircraft already in the theater as well as our British allies. These are the kinds of CONUS crisis response forces that will begin flowing at the 48 hour point where we are right now. These begin to provide General Zinni with the additional capability to provide for the force protection of his force in the theater. It also provides added capability as we march down the road to achieving the military objectives... those forces will begin loading today....These are the ground forces that we've had in the theater and we will also start flowing headquarters, some more brigade elements into the theater as well as some combat search and rescue and more helicopter capability. ...So as the 24 and 48 hour and 72 hour forces that have been on alert begin to flow, there will be a steady buildup of capability in the region for the CINC's effort."

Table FourDescription of Targets and Battle Damage Assessment Released on Friday, December 18, 1998**Target Numbers and Description**

- Total of 83 facilities.
- 27 surface-to-air missile (SAM) and integrated air defense system (IADS) facilities. These include numerous targets in the Southern Sector. Damage is reported to SA-2 and SA-3 sites, and a repair facility is severely damaged.
- 18 command and control facilities, including TV and radio transmitters and jammers. The headquarters of the Directorate of Military Intelligence, Special Security Organization (SSO) and Special Republican Guards (SRG) suffered severe damage.
- 19 weapons of mass destruction to security facilities, including severe damage to most Special Republican Guards barracks and headquarters buildings.
- 11 weapons of mass destruction industry and production facilities, including facilities at Al Kindi, Al Karama, and Iba al Haytham.
- 8 Republican Guards and regular army headquarters and facilities, including corps and division headquarters.

**Battle Damage Assessment**

Target Type	<u>WMD</u> <u>Security</u>	<u>WMD</u> <u>Industry</u>	<u>SAMS/</u> <u>IADS</u>	<u>C2</u>	<u>Rep</u> <u>Guards</u>	<u>Industry</u>	<u>Total</u>
Target Numbers	19	11	27	18	8	1	83 (100%)
No Damage	1	0	8	2	0	-	11 (13%)
Light	4	2	1	0	1	-	8 (10%)
Moderate	9	1	1	2	2	-	15 (18%)
Severe	1	0	2	5	1	-	9 (11%)
Destroyed	2	0	1	5	0	-	8 (10%)
Being Assessed	2	8	14	4	4	-	32 (36%)

Source: Adapted by Anthony H. Cordesman from material provided by the Department of Defense, OSD(Public Affairs), December 19, 1999

### ***The Mechanics of “Information Dominance***

The Defense Department briefings on the 18<sup>th</sup>, provided a great deal of useful military information in support of Desert Fox. They also clearly made a deliberate effort to achieve credibility by setting forth the US view of military action with a minimum of exaggeration and “spin.” Once again, however, the briefings did little to explain the choice of targets and their importance, the political context of the fighting, and the strategic objectives of Desert Fox.

The briefings spoke to an American audience and lagged nearly half a day behind the Middle East and the Arab world. They made no attempt to respond to the comments of Arab leaders or the media in the region of Desert Fox. The fact that they reported largely on past events without attempting to shape opinions for the coming days, meant that the US “engagement” or “information warfare” campaign was badly out of synchronization with events in the region.

Problems in the timing of US statements were partly offset by the fact that the British equivalents were very aggressive in their timing and content -- a fact that caused some private resentment in US officials who felt that Britain was taking the credit for an American-led effort, but forgot that Prime Minister Blair had to brief his people on their schedule, not America's. The fact remained, however, that the US gave Iraq and many of its Arab critics a nearly 12 hour advantage in a real-time world.

This situation was made worse by the fact that US and foreign television had spent much of the previous night covering the skyline of Baghdad. This coverage often gave the impression that civil targets were under attack. The wire services did not provide more than limited excerpts, and nothing was put on the Internet for a matter of days. This situation was made even worse by the fact that White House and National Security press statements and briefings were not made widely available, and focused more on domestic political issues than influencing world opinion. A review of the US Information Agency (USIA) reporting shows that the USIA was not given timely support in terms of detailed briefings and background materials during this, or any other point in Desert Fox.

Most of the world never saw much more than brief excerpts of the Department of Defense's press conferences, if that. No text or photos and only a few briefing aids were issued at the time of the briefings. Much of the Arab, European, and Asia media had to operate in a virtual vacuum in understanding the US view of events during their key coverage periods, as did many governments in shaping their public reactions. A review of the content of key European, Gulf and Arab news media shows that many reports reacted by taking the Iraqi view, or a "Pan-Arab" view, at least partly because of time differences. (A partial chronology of such statements can be found in the history of Desert Fox on CSIS.ORG).

### *Dealing with the Problem of Education*

The US and Britain were engaged in a battle of perceptions that forced them to deal with four very complicated issues: Proliferation, the history of Iraq's violations of the UN Security Council resolutions, the complex reasons why UNSCOM could no longer function the hardships imposed on the Iraqi people after the Gulf War, and the backlash from the paralysis of the Arab-Israeli peace process. It became apparent almost immediately that much of the reporting and foreign comment on Desert Fox reflected widespread ignorance on the nature of these issues and their history. Quite often, the resulting reporting was negative or ignored the facts. The US can scarcely force reporters and foreign decision-makers to research the background of the key issues surrounding its military action, but it can provide detailed background and issue papers on it. It did not make such material available and failed to try to educate the region and the world in the details of the threat.

As result, the lessons of Desert Fox include several additional lessons about how to shape the information warfare aspects of US military action.

- The world is round – not, flat. Any attempt "information" dominance must take account of the resulting time differences, must look forward as well as backwards.

- The US must fully monitor the media in the region of combat and the rest of the world and react accordingly. It must be prepared to counter hostile political and military statements immediately, and correct errors in reporting.
- The US needs an inter-agency approach that ensures the full text of all major US policy and background statements are available as soon as possible, preferably from multiple US government sources to ensure maximum access.
- Press briefings in the Pentagon are no substitute for a full-scale military information campaign. An information campaign must also involve a major briefing and information effort in the theater of operations. Any US engagement strategy must deal with these issues.
- The Internet must be used comprehensively in real time, and the US Information Agency needs dedicated support by other members of the US national security information to ensure that it has a full range of supporting material in real-time that can support the information efforts of individual government departments with real depth.

### ***Battle Damage Assessment: Sound Bites Bite Back***

A weakness in the initial US information campaign for Desert Fox came in the form of the charts that provided summary statistics on battle damage assessment without fully explaining them. It was the data in these charts that grabbed headlines, rather than the carefully balanced statements of senior US officials and officers. They gave the media simplistic “punch-line” or “sound bite” statistics which encouraged it to cease reporting in any depth.

As Table Four shows, these charts summarized the results of its first-stage battle damage assessments in sound bite and Nintendo terms. They reported that 89 targets had been struck. It estimated that 8 had been destroyed completely, including an Iraqi air defense site; 10 were severely damaged, including the Iraqi military intelligence headquarters; 18 were moderately damaged; 8 were lightly damaged, and 12 had not been damaged at all. They indicated that the

Defense Department had no damage assessments yet for 33 other targets, including the Basra refinery and several facilities believed to have been used for the production of chemical and biological weapons.

At this point, the failure to plan an effective information campaign began to create major problems. The detailed statistics in Table Four represent considerable real-world success and the kind of honesty that should have bolstered US credibility. Taken out of context, however, they indicated that the US was achieving low levels of serious damage.

The impact on much of the media was almost as explosive as the impact of the US strikes on Iraq. Few reporters understood that the data summarized in Table Four were first stage damage assessments made before full photo coverage was available (stage two damage assessment or any assessment of activity and signals intelligence (stage three)). They did not understand that light and moderate damage often were perfectly adequate to register as political damage, that there was no intention to go beyond light damage to targets like airfields, and that moderate damage was often considered very severe by peace time standards. They also did not understand that restrikes were in progress.

As a result, much of the media reacted with negative coverage. The US had already fired over \$400 million worth of ordnance, and it was far from clear that it was having a major impact. Even allowing for all of the uncertainties, the US often seemed to be blowing up buildings without a clear picture of the probable impact, and the overall level of damage did seem particularly impressive.

## **Desert Fox as of December 19th**

Ramadan began on the night of December 18<sup>th</sup>, when Moslems in the Arabian Peninsula sighted the new moon and proclaimed the start of Ramadan. This came as American and British forces launched sustained missile attacks and bombardment against Iraq for a third night. US officials were keenly sensitive to the potential political complications of going on with Desert Fox, although there has been surprisingly little reaction to date from either Arab governments or the “street.” In response, President Clinton delivered a videotaped Ramadan message, one of the

few messages that any top level US official had directed specifically at the region where Desert Fox was taking place:

Thank you for this opportunity to address America's friends throughout the Arab and the entire Islamic world. I want to explain why we have taken military action against Saddam Hussein, and why we believe this action is in the interests of the Iraqi people and all the people of the Middle East.

Saddam has ruled through a reign of terror against his own people and disregard for the peace of the region. His war against Iran cost at least half a million lives over 10 years. He gassed Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq. In 1990, his troops invaded Kuwait, executing those who resisted, looting the country, spilling tens of millions of gallons of oil into the Gulf, firing missiles at Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Israel and Qatar. He massacred thousands of his own people in an uprising in 1991. As a condition for the Gulf War cease-fire, Iraq agreed to disclose and to destroy its weapons of mass destruction, and to demonstrate its willingness to live at peace with its neighbors. Iraq could have ended economic sanctions and isolation long ago by meeting these simple obligations. Instead, it has spent nearly eight years defying them. Saddam has failed to disclose information about his weapons arsenal. He has threatened his neighbors and refused to account for hundreds of Kuwaitis still missing from 1991.

Each time Saddam has provoked a crisis, we've tried hard to find a peaceful solution, consulting our friends in the Arab world and working through the United Nations. A month ago, we joined the other 14 members of the UN Security Council in demanding that Saddam come into compliance immediately. We supported what Iraq said it wanted—a comprehensive review of its compliance after it resumed full cooperation with the UN weapons inspectors. And we were gratified when eight Arab nations—Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE and Oman—warned that Iraq would bear the blame—

Iraq alone would bear the blame for the consequences of defying the UN. Now, I canceled a military strike when, at the last moment, Saddam promised to cooperate unconditionally with the inspectors. But this month, he broke his promises—again, and again defied the UN. So we had to act. Saddam simply must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons.

America understands that Saddam's first victims are his own people. That is why we exempted food and medicine when sanctions were imposed on Iraq. That is why, since 1991, we have offered to allow Iraq to sell its oil and use the proceeds to pay for humanitarian supplies. For five years, Saddam rejected that offer while building lavish palaces for himself and diverting resources to his military.

Finally, in 1996, Saddam allowed the oil-for-food program to take effect. Since then, the UN has delivered nearly \$3 billion worth of food and medicine to the Iraqi people every year. Without the watchful eye of the UN, we would soon see the oil-for-food

program become oil for tanks, leading to less food for the Iraqi people and more danger for Iraq's neighbors. No decision to use force is easy, especially at a time when I'm working so hard to build peace in the Middle East and to strengthen our own relations with the Arab world. My visit to Gaza last week reflected my deep commitment to the peace process. I will never forget the warm welcome I received from the Palestinian people, eager to shape their own future at last. Let me also state my deep respect for the holy month of Ramadan. In the days ahead, I hope all Muslims will consider America's sincere desire to work with all people in the Middle East to build peace. We have the most profound admiration for Islam. Our dispute is with a leader who threatens Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

As the crescent moon rises, and the ninth month begins,

Muslim-Americans—and all Americans—wish you the blessings of faith and friendship. May our prayers for a better world soon be answered. Ramadan Kareem.

This message was well crafted and Defense Secretary William Cohen provided an important qualification as to the timing of Desert Fox with a statement that, "We are sensitive to the beginning of Ramadan ... but the military operation is paramount now and we will continue to carry it out. There is no fixed end time. We have set very specific targets that we intend to attack and when those missions are completed then the mission will end. Until that occurs, we have to keep at least some flexibility. We may have to go back and strike some targets." In practice, however, the Arab media were so caught up in the impeachment process, and in covering developments in the Gulf, that these statements came too late to have a major impact or to reach most of the Arab world.

### ***The Problem of Goals and Objectives***

The US continued to have problems with communicating. Most Administration officials were still deeply involved in the politics of the impeachment proceedings and the Congress focused largely on domestic issues. As a result, the Department of Defense briefing again became the focus of US information efforts. The briefing began at 2:00 p.m., about 20 hours behind the beginning of the strikes on Iraq the previous night, and after most media in the region had ceased to report.

By this time, British officials had already shown images of hits by British forces against Republican Guard installations in southern Iraq. Prime Minister Tony Blair had said that the



Guards were targeted because they guard Saddam Hussein: “keep him in office, have their own system of repression, and of course have been instrumental in putting together the means of concealing the weapons of mass destruction.” George Robertson, Britain's defense secretary, had said in a similar press conference that US and British attacks, including strikes by British Tornado jets, had hit 100 military and industrial targets, and had caused "substantial damage" to Iraq's biological and chemical weapons programs and to the Republican Guards.

Secretary Cohen cited “substantial” success in degrading Iraq’s “command and control” systems—systems and networks devoted to communications, intelligence, propaganda and security:

Saddam may rebuild, and attempt to rebuild, some of this military infrastructure in the future, just as he has replaced many facilities, including lavish palaces, after Desert Storm. But we have diminished his ability to threaten his neighbors with both conventional and nonconventional weapons. The policy of containment has been successful...We will keep our forces in place as they’ve been in place for a number of years now. We will be at the ready should he try to reconstitute those facilities or pose a threat to the region. We’ll be prepared to act again in the future.

General Shelton provided details on three targets in Iraq's military production infrastructure, showing photographs of buildings with large holes where bombs crashed through the roofs. The first was a missile repair facility at Taji, which the Iraqis used to repair all their surface-to-air missiles and to develop ballistic missiles.

We aimed at five buildings. Three sustained very severe damage, one sustained moderate damage and one was damaged lightly. He won't be doing any more refurbishment or facility work there for quite some time. The second was the Zaafaraniyah facility, 13 miles (20 km) southwest of Baghdad, where Iraq makes components and designs machine tools. Two buildings were targeted and -- both were completely destroyed. At the third site at Shahiyat, a facility where the Iraqis test liquid engines for rockets and missiles, the United States aimed at two buildings and a test stand. Both buildings sustained very severe damage and the test stand was completely destroyed.

The US reported that Desert Fox was striking most of the targets that the US felt Saddam holds the most dear. These targets included nine missile research and development facilities, 20 out of 21 of Iraq's command and control facilities, and 18 out of 19 targets associated with the

protection of Iraq's programs to develop weapons of mass destruction. They also reported that American and British forces had now struck 100 targets, and that the latest attacks included strikes by F-16 and F-15 fighters, as well as British Tornado fighters, based in Kuwait and supported by aerial tankers and AWACS.

The US reported that 17 missiles attacked Baghdad and B-1 bombers, based in Oman, had flown into Iraq on their first combat missions. US and British forces had struck barracks and headquarters of six divisions of the Republican Guard, seven or eight of Mr. Hussein's presidential palaces, and the headquarters of the Baath Party in Baghdad (badly damaging it), and an oil refinery near Basra, that was producing products smuggled through Iranian waters to provide funds for the Iraqi regime.

The outline also updated the targeting briefing, which had now expanded to cover 100 targets:

- 32 surface-to-air missile (SAM) and integrated air defense system (IADS) facilities. These include numerous targets in the Southern Sector. Damage is reported to SA-2 and SA-3 sites, and a repair facility was severely damaged.
- 20 command and control facilities, including TV and radio transmitters and jammers. The headquarters of the Directorate of Military Intelligence, Special Security Organization (SSO) and Special Republican Guards (SRG) suffered severe damage. The relay station at Al Rumaylah is believed to have been destroyed, partially cutting off the communications to Iraq's forces in the south. Saddam Hussein had, however, divided the country up into four regions before the strikes, with contingency orders in case communications were severed.
- 19 weapons of mass destruction security facilities, including severe damage to most Special Republican Guards barracks and headquarters buildings. Some Special Republican Guards barracks as destroyed, possibly with the occupants in them. Buildings hold a maximum of 400 personnel. There are 30,000 Special Republican Guards. At least four barracks in Baghdad and the barracks at Tikrit were hit.
- 11 weapons of mass destruction industry and production facilities, including facilities at Al Kindi, Al Karama, and Iba al Haytham. They include Iraq's major final-stage missile fabrication plant in the Baghdad area, plus an engine facility and light damage to the missile simulation center. They also include an RPV facility believed to be dedicated to delivering biological weapons south of Baghdad.

- 9 Republican Guards and regular army headquarters and facilities, including corps and division headquarters. The strikes hit the headquarters and C2 facilities of 3 heavy and 1 infantry division in the Baghdad area, including the Baghdad division. They also hit the Adnan division in the north (opposed to the Kurds) and Medina division in the south.
- 9 airfields, including the attack helicopter forces used against the Kurds in the North and Shi'ite rebels in the south. Targets also include L-29 aircraft being converted for use as RPVs, for either reconnaissance use or possible delivery of biological and chemical weapons at al-Sara airfield north of Baghdad.
- 1 refinery used to make the product smuggled illegally out of Iraq through the Gulf – normally through Iranian waters. This is the Basra PLL facility which shipped product via the Shatt al-Arab.

Almost inevitably, important questions occurred during the briefing about the objectives of Desert Fox and what the US was trying to accomplish. The press also raised questions about the linkages between Desert Fox, the halt of effective UNSCOM activity, and the counter-proliferation impact of US strikes. The following quotes illustrate the character of these questions, and the problems the US faced in providing answers:

Q: Mr. Secretary, you said we have diminished his ability to threaten his neighbors. That was always the stated goal. Is there a target document or something somewhere which says we must diminish it by such and such a percent, or by so many years of retarding...

Secretary Cohen: We don't talk in terms of percentage or years. We look at the targets that those facilities, that compose, and do pose, a threat to the region. We act accordingly. But we don't do it in terms of...

Q:...vague formulation and deliberately thrown in... I'm not asking you to get more specific, but is there somewhere an understanding of what these vague terms mean operationally? To diminish, to degrade. What does this mean?

Secretary Cohen: As I indicated yesterday, this is a very large country with facilities spread throughout a country the size of the State of California. We have selected those targets which pose the greatest risk to the region, both from a chemical and biological and, indeed, even potentially nuclear capability, and the means to deliver them. We believe that we have inflicted substantial damage upon his capability to do so.

Q: Once the air strikes end, Mr. Secretary, the inevitable question will arise, what next? You, the President, and today Prime Minister Tony Blair talked about this policy of containment. Just how do you envision this policy of containment being enforced, and to what extent will that involve the U.S. military?

Secretary Cohen: The policy of containment will continue the same way it has continued in the past. The policy of containment has been successful. He has been contained from moving in the north or the south.

He has been contained in terms of rebuilding his military capability to the best that we can determine, to the level it was prior to the Persian Gulf War.

What we intend to do is to make sure that that containment policy stays in place and that he comply with those Security Council resolutions. We will keep our forces in place as they've been in place for a number of years now. We will be at the ready should he try to reconstitute those facilities or pose a threat to the region. We'll be prepared to act again in the future.

Q:...without inspectors inside Iraq, will the U.S. military role be increased? Will additional forces or activity on the part of the U.S. military be required?

Secretary Cohen: We will have sufficient forces in place to take whatever action will be necessary.

Q: Mr. Secretary, you offered one qualitative measure, one on the missile R&D program. Do you have any other qualitative measures from this campaign, how far you've pushed back him rebuilding command and control, air defense, chem/bio production? Any other qualitative measures?

Secretary Cohen: I think it's too early to tell at this point. We've tried to show through some of these photographs the facilities that have been substantially diminished and degraded and in some cases destroyed in order to indicate that it may take a year or longer to rebuild them. That would pertain also to his missile production facility and several others.

Q: Is what we've achieved here, with all due respect, simply halting Saddam for a year?

Secretary Cohen: A year or more is what it would take to rebuild any of these facilities. And I wouldn't want to minimize the impact of the containment policy. It will be much more difficult for him with the containment policy still in place to rebuild any sooner, and it may take him much longer.

Q: Mr. Secretary, are you even going after his chemical and bio research, development and production facilities? The industrial base you talk about, you've still got the delivery means... You talked about sustaining, for mainly delivery means. Are you going after the R&D and the manufacturing...

Secretary Cohen: I thought we'd indicated consistently in the past that it's very difficult to try to target biological facilities, manufacturing facilities, since it could take place in a room the size of this one right here under the roof of any building. What we have tried to focus upon

are the means to deliver them to the extent that we have specific information on facilities that are dedicated solely to that objective. We tried to take that into account.

Q: UNSCOM did destroy those facilities which were solely dedicated to the military effort, but they chose not to destroy those buildings which had a civilian purpose, as statutory medicines, a pharmaceutical plant, a brewery, and so on, on the grounds that they had dual purpose. Why are you destroying them?

Secretary Cohen: I don't believe UNSCOM ever took the position that they destroyed all of the facilities that were capable of manufacturing chemical weapons.

Q: The ones that were dedicated solely to the manufacture of chemical weapons.

Secretary Cohen: I don't even believe they were in a position to make that determination in a country the size of Iraq. You may be right on that; I don't believe that to be the case.

Q: My question is, are you going after dual purpose facilities which could be converted to the manufacture of chemical or biological weapons? If not, why not?

Secretary Cohen: I indicated yesterday that we did not target those facilities that are dual use capable because of the concern that we have for the amount of damage to innocent civilians.

Q: Mr. Secretary if you target them at night, why would they have anybody there?

Q: You said that the object of these raids is not to destabilize, not to destabilize Saddam Hussein's regime, and yet these strikes against the Republican Guard are likely to result in that. Do you still say it's not an object of the raids, and do you expect or hope that it will destabilize?

Secretary Cohen: I've indicated the goal was to degrade his military capacity or capability of threatening his neighbors conventionally or with weapons of mass destruction. To the extent that we attack those forces who are in charge and help him either conceal, move, transport, and maintain these weapons of mass destruction programs, and that can have the consequence of degrading his forces and his stability, but our objective is to go after the capability itself. That could be the consequence.

Q: Do you expect that it will do that?

Secretary Cohen: That remains to be seen.

Questions also began to surface regarding the impact of Desert Fox in attempting to destabilize the regime:

Q: There are reports coming out of southern Iraq of uprisings, disturbances, roads being blocked, possible Shiite uprisings down there, possible involvement of military forces down there. Can you tell us what you know about that?

Secretary Cohen: I don't have any information to that effect.

Q: General?

General Shelton: I don't have any additional information. I've heard only what I've seen in the press.

Inevitably, questions also surfaced relating to the vote to impeach the President in the House,

Q: The Commander in Chief has been impeached. I understand you're going to be over at the White House a little bit later. What's your feeling?

Secretary Cohen: Well, he's the Commander in Chief, and we're going to continue to act accordingly. We're going to carry out this mission and he is going to make the determination as to when it's complete, and he will continue to function as Commander in Chief.

Once again, these exchanges did much to communicate the military nature of Desert Fox, but they are warning of what happens when the strategic and political message are not given equal importance. They also clearly illustrate the paramount importance of the political nature of modern warfare, the problems created by failing to recognize that fact and set clear public objectives from the outset, and the acute sensitivity of US military operations to media coverage.

### ***The Growing Problem of Battle Damage Assessment***

Part of the problem was that all of the briefers were now forced to react to the largely negative press reaction of the battle damage statistics that the Department had provided the previous day. Rather than focus on the policy side of Desert Fox, the core of Secretary Cohen's briefing consisted of the following statement:

From the beginning of this operation we've been careful to set realistic goals. We've also been careful not to either overstate or exaggerate the results as our intelligence analysts study the very preliminary data. However, I want to stress that this military action is substantial. It is inflicting significant damage on the seven target categories that we have selected. These are as follows:

- Iraq's air defense system.

- The command and control system that Saddam Hussein uses to direct his military and to repress his people.
- The security forces and facilities to protect and hide his efforts to develop or maintain the deadly chemical and biological weapons. These are the forces that have worked to prevent the United Nations inspectors from doing their jobs.
- The industrial base that Saddam Hussein uses to sustain and deliver his deadly weapons.
- His military infrastructure, including the elite Republican Guard forces, that pose the biggest threat to his neighbors and protect his weapons of mass destruction programs.
- The airfields and refinery that produces oil products that Iraq smuggles in violation of economic sanctions.

I'd like to focus on two areas where our strikes have substantially degraded Saddam Hussein's warfighting capability. The first is Iraq's ability to deliver deadly weapons. We estimate that Saddam's missile program has been set back by at least a year.

I'd like to offer just another word pertaining to descriptions of damage done. When we talk about moderate damage inflicted, I think it has to be kept in mind in terms of its comparison. When the Federal Building in Oklahoma City was bombed, the initial photographs, satellite photography that had taken place, described that damage as being moderate. I think we all understand how much damage was in fact done to that building, even though it was described as moderate at that time.

The elimination of the ability to deliver these deadly weapons is one of the jobs that Saddam's security forces prevented the UN inspectors from performing. So the second area where the damage has been substantial is the command and control system. This network of communications, intelligence, propaganda and security service headquarters has been significantly damaged.

Saddam may rebuild and attempt to rebuild some of this military infrastructure in the future, just as he has replaced many facilities including lavish palaces after DESERT STORM. But we have diminished his ability to threaten his neighbors with both conventional and non-conventional weapons.

General Shelton was also forced to spend most of his portion of the briefing providing a tutorial on battle damage assessment to make up for the lack of previous efforts to briefing the media, and the lack of written back up material at the press briefing on the previous day. General Shelton stated that:

...we are very pleased with the results of the operation thus far. In the primary areas of concern, facilities that support Saddam's weapons of mass destruction capabilities, his command and control, and the security forces associated with these weapons, we have had significant success in our air strikes. However, it does appear that we've got to do a better job of translating the arcane science of battle damage assessment into plain English, so that you can all relay the information more effectively to the public. So the burden is on us. The burden is to make a complex subject more understandable.

...I believe the numbers themselves are clearer today because we've had additional time to conduct our assessments. Let me take just a moment here to give you a flavor of what we call battle damage assessment. This first photograph is of the electronics plant. Here you can see three different impacts. The one on the left, our analysts assess as moderately damaged. The one here on the bottom, we assessed as destroyed, and I think you can see why. Basically it's been rubbled. The last one, on the upper right, you can see the crater near the corner of this building...our analysts assessed this impact as having produced light damage.

But to put this in perspective, I'll show you some other facilities where we saw explosions outside of buildings that were much smaller than the explosions caused by this weapon. I'm sure you recognize these as our two embassies—the one in Tanzania and the one in Kenya. As you can see when you have a chance to get a different angle or a ground view, your sense of damage can be quite different. Our analysts classified this damage as light to moderate when all they had was overhead imagery to go by.

Again, here's the Taji missile repair facility. It contains a series of buildings, but we only went after selected targets within the compound based on intelligence as to which ones had elements that were critical to the process. This one was assessed as moderate damage, as was this one. This one was assessed as severe damage, and so on.

My point is, none of these buildings within this compound were assessed as destroyed, not even one. Our analysts are appropriately very conservative in their initial assessments, as I think you would agree in this particular facility. But in my view, this facility will not be useable for Saddam's efforts to maintain or improve his missile capabilities in the years ahead.

I'd also like to point out, as you can see, many of the buildings in this facility appear to be undamaged, and the reason for that is because they were not targeted. We only went after specific buildings within the compound. Again, ones that were related to our mission objectives. I'll leave the rest of the details to Admiral Wilson. To sum up, I am very pleased with the results of our strikes. The plan is being executed with precision and success. Before we take your questions, let me update you for just a second on the status of our operation right now.

The Secretary and General Shelton were dealing with a major problem in the battle of perceptions, and this was clearly reflected in some of the questions by the media:



Q: Secretary Cohen, you seem to be a bit on the defensive today about the portrayal of the results of the bombing campaign so far. Are you presenting a more rosy picture today in order to call a halt to the campaign you have to be able to say you met your objectives?

Secretary Cohen: Not at all, Jamie. What we have always been concerned about is that our objectives be realistic, and that our success be as direct and open as possible. No exaggerations. By the same token, we don't want to see any understatement of what we've been able to achieve. Some have characterized moderate damage as somehow being less than successful.

What we've tried to point out is, when we make these preliminary assessments, what looks either to be light or moderate, cannot be calibrated in terms of a normal understanding. It can be and will be shown, I believe, to be much more severe.

The reason I mentioned the Oklahoma City bombing was that the satellite photography initially said that was moderate. That building was functionally destroyed. When we look at these types of targets and you see a hole in the roof, that doesn't necessarily describe what has taken place under that roof.

So we will have refinements of the collection of the photographs coming in the next few days and perhaps even few weeks. It will become clearer. What we do not want to have is a misperception that somehow this has been understated or overstated. We want to give as direct and as accurate a portrayal as possible.

Most television and radio coverage ceased at this point in the briefing, which meant that Admiral Wilson's effort to provide a third and largely unseen tutorial on battle damage assessment went largely unseen, as did his update on the figures provided the previous day. He also provided a clearer picture of US goals in attacking given targets.

Admiral Wilson: We certainly struck the same areas and some of the same facilities and kinds of facilities during the Persian Gulf War. In some cases we would have facilities that are repaired, some new facilities, and things like that. I really haven't gone back and examined the entire target base now compared to what it was during the Gulf War.

Q: How many Republican Guard facilities have you hit overall?

Admiral Wilson: They're on one of these charts, and we'll come up with them here in just a second. You can also probably tell by the different size charts that we're stretching out our ability to...

Q: Colors. (Laughter)

Admiral Wilson: We wanted to try and color code them for you so you can see the more important severe and moderate damage. But the SAMs and integrated air defense system battle damage assessment continues. Once again, I really would like to strongly emphasize that these are supporting targets. There really is no long term need to hit SAMs or integrated air defense for the sake of hitting integrated air defense systems. These systems are important to suppress, degrade, or in some cases destroy to support the strike. We have a lot of assessment ongoing. These are mobile targets. They get up and move sometimes every 12-24 hours. It's a little bit of a pea in the shell game. But the main thing about the SAMs and integrated air defense system is that to date, fortunately, and gladly, we have been able to fly in the system and not been successfully engaged by any of the Iraq air defense systems.

...We have continued the battle damage assessment work which is even now still in what I would call preliminary stages. Because, frankly, the operation is not even over, and we're still doing battle damage assessment.

You can see we have gotten more information on these targets and upgraded in some cases the level of damage to moderate or severe, depending upon the kind of information that we got. It says assessment in progress, that's because maybe some of these have finished phase one or even into phase two BDA. It hardly ever finishes, because we go back for weeks and months in a third phase assessment to try to get all the details about weapons impacts, locations, performance, things like that.

Admiral Wilson: Let me go on, and I want to do a little bit more on this battle damage assessment business. I've been doing this a long time, about 30 years in naval and joint intelligence. I've seen a lot of strikes carried out over the years. We've gotten certainly more precision in our inventory. We do a lot of very detailed work by doctrine and by tactics, techniques and procedures in this battle damage assessment.

We are still in phase one, which is physical damage assessments, which you can observe through imagery or visual observations. We go into phase two in which we try to get more information, different sources to confirm, different look angles to see if things appear differently on the next day with different light conditions. So this is a very delicate process. We certainly don't want to fool ourselves about how much damage we've done, so we're conservative. Then we usually learn more in phase two. Sometimes the damage assessments get worse. Most often with precision ordnance we find they get better as indicated in the briefing this morning. Phase three, functional damage assessments, are something that take longer because we really are trying to make a detailed estimate about the function of a system or a facility or something larger than just a single aim point.

This is the picture the Chairman showed you. Generally speaking when a quarter of a building, 25 percent of a building is destroyed or damaged, we call that moderate damage, 15-45 percent. Less than 15 percent is light damage. Zero, of course, is if you miss it. Then it goes on up to severe damage, 45-75. And essentially destroyed is when more than

75 percent of the building is essentially damaged. In this case, this is severe bordering on destroyed. Essentially half of this building here was dropped, and probably the other half is not functionally useable because of the fragmentation damage and things like that.

...We will ultimately do a functional damage assessment of this facility, and then a functional damage assessment of the overall impact on ballistic missile development. We're not at that point yet.

Q: How long will it be before that's done?

Admiral Wilson: Probably weeks. Days to weeks certainly. I also would make the point as the Chairman did, we don't aim at every building in a facility. These weapons are very precise, and they're also relatively expensive. We try to make every one of them count, so we aim for key parts of the facility that we think are the most important to break the production link or the R&D link or whatever, and that's what we've done here. I won't go into a lot of detail about exactly which those are.

Q: Admiral, a two-part question if I may, please. First, have you determined that he has any operational Scuds and have you tried to take them out?

Secondly, what do you use for your imagery? We assume satellites, but are you using U-2s and other types of recce aircraft including low flying recce aircraft?

Admiral Wilson: We're using all sources of imagery. This is what we call imagery derived product here. Both U-2s, tactical recce, I'm sure in the south where we're flying. Those are all sources. We have always believed that he may have a few Scuds hidden. We have seen no indication of him trying to use them. We certainly would try to take them out if he did.

This is the picture of the Taji missile repair facility....This is a repair facility for SA-2s, SA-3s, the radars that support those missile systems, and has a lot of the technology which is applicable to a ballistic missile program, and we believe it will be a long time before the Taji repair facility is operational again, if they choose to rebuild it, even though we probably have no building which meets the destroyed description in terms of physical damage assessment.

This is an interesting photo for a couple of reasons. This is probably the first damage done by B-1s in a combat situation against a Republican Guard barracks in the Al Kut area. These were not precision guided ordnance. It was the old way, although it's hard to beat a lot of bombs, sometimes. This pilot walked a stick of bombs across this barracks facility in the, I think it's the Al Nidah Division, but I need to check for sure on that.

Interesting because you can get the four physical damage descriptions on the same photograph. Light damage to this barracks here, at least from the top. We don't see the structure collapsed or falling down or any of those kinds of things. This is moderate

damage on this one right here. The end of it is pretty well destroyed. Frankly, I would probably kick that up into the severe. This is certainly severe, a bomb hit right in it and cut the barracks building in half. This one here is completely destroyed.

Which brings me to another point. We assess that the overall damage to this particular section of barracks is severe damage, but I really don't think they're very usable right now for housing or troop support.

Q: Were they manned at the time?

Admiral Wilson: We don't know for sure.

Q:...surprise in this particular hit?

Admiral Wilson: I think this strike was conducted about as quickly as could be ever done in the scenarios we've faced in Iraq in the last few years.

Q: Was this the first night?

Admiral Wilson: That was not the first night.

Q: How many troops are normally in those barracks? Admiral Wilson: I think it's around 80 per building? Forty to 60 per building.

Q: How many buildings there?

Admiral Wilson: There were probably a dozen or more there. Then there are other parts of the facility.

Q: How big is the area?

Admiral Wilson: I don't have the answer to that question right now, and I'm ready to move on to the Secretariat here. This is downtown Baghdad. This is an example of precision strike, and hopefully some precision intelligence. We believe that this section of the building housed an important command and control capability, and we were concerned about collateral damage over here—a girls school. This building was attacked in downtown Baghdad by Tomahawk land attack missiles. You can see they impacted at these three points here in the wing that we targeted of this building. Did what is described as moderate damage. May in fact, when we get done, be severe. But it is a good example of both the precision that we use in trying to target these facilities as well as the care that we go in trying to prevent collateral damage.

The final photograph I have today is another of the WMD targets that was successfully struck. This is a graphite building here and a final assembly building, I think. Right, Steve?

This supports the liquid engine production for their ballistic missile program, both the short range systems and potentially for the future.

We targeted these two buildings and another test launch stand which is off of this frame of imagery. It was also destroyed. These two buildings are certainly considered to be at least severely, moderately to severely, damaged in terms of a physical damage description, but I believe that they're, in terms of functionality, they're not capable of performing their mission.

Q: Which missiles?

Admiral Wilson: That was a TLAM target. That's at a facility called Al Rafah, Iraq. It is right in, southwest, or south of Baghdad, just south of Baghdad. It's an industrial complex.

Q: Does he use liquid engines for his newer type Scuds and longer range? Or is he still using solids?

Admiral Wilson: Certainly Scuds are a liquid engine. Most countries in the world which are developing Scuds or SCUD-like technology including, for example, the No Dong's produced by North Korea, are liquid engine technology, and we think that is the part of his program, Saddam's, that was the furthest developed.

Q: What signs do you have of movement by the Republican Guard? And specifically, by encouraging revolt, does that force Saddam Hussein to concentrate his forces and make them better targets for us? Admiral Wilson: For the most part, the movement by the Republican Guard appears to be defensive dispersal, first in garrison. Following that, out of garrison and even into urban areas. Urban areas are a good spot to disperse because we certainly have collateral damage on our minds as we conduct strikes. We don't want to have collateral damage against Iraqi civilians. And it, of course, makes them more available to suppress any rebellions which could occur, although, I don't have evidence that that is occurring.

Q: When you talk about missile production, you keep saying short range which are around, but potentially longer range.

Admiral Wilson: Right.

Q: Let's say these attacks weren't going on and they wanted to convert these to longer range missiles. How long would it take them to actually do that?

Admiral Wilson: It would probably be a couple of years that they would be able to move into a successful, longer range program, and the targets that we struck, we believe, will have delayed that progress by at least a year or more, based on the early assessments, and we will continue to make those functional battle damage assessments about that program.

Q: ...prolonged the couple of years that it would have taken them anyway.

Admiral Wilson: At least a year.

Q: Regarding the numbers that you went through earlier and the way that they changed, to give an example, the SAM sites. Yesterday there were eight that were undamaged, today there were zero. Did those numbers change because of restrikes or because of reanalysis of the results of the strikes?

Admiral Wilson: Some of both. You saw some more totals on there. So it's some of both. And trying to balance the checkbook—exactly how many of which, I really don't know.

Q: Yesterday I think there was a sheet specifically relating to weapons of mass destruction sites. Was there no—when you were doing the presentation did I miss something or...

Admiral Wilson: The categories were the same, with weapons of mass destruction/industry and weapons of mass destruction/security.

Q: Were they doing any long range rocket work at this facility? Or to the best of your knowledge were they doing work there that they were allowed to do under the Gulf War cease-fire accord? And this was purely preemptive?

Admiral Wilson: I believe the answer is both. They were doing work on a short range system and they had designs to develop the R&D and the capability to rapidly produce good long range missiles in the future. So in that case it was somewhat preemptive.

Q: Having designs is one thing and doing it is something else.

Admiral Wilson: And doing the computer modeling, the electronics development, the liquid engine propulsion development and refinement, the bending of the steel and metal—I believe the techniques and the capability to make longer range missiles and to improve their skills in that regard was clearly underway in these facilities, yes.

Q: Another missile, maybe it was a different part of that same Taji missile facility, you have the fabrication thing, you have final assembly. You showed us a computer center that didn't look like it had been - it might have been hit a little bit, but not much. Did you go back and get that? Is that where they have supercomputers?

Admiral Wilson: I don't recall specific phase two work being done on that facility. I did have a picture of a facility called Ibn al Haytham, and we had two destroyed buildings that you'll recall on that, and another large building that was intact. We got another angle view of that yesterday in phase two that showed essentially the side blown out of that, the other side blown out that had been in shadows.

### ***The Battle Damage Assessment Data Provided on December 19th***

The primary message that the media did pick up was the message on Admiral Wilson's new briefing charts. The data on these charts is summarized in Table Five, and they show that the Department of Defense now claimed that it had confirmed damage to 70 of 100 targets, and that 46% of all targets had been hit hard during the last few days. At the same time, many targets suffered only limited hits and this led to explanations that the US was not seeking severe damage to all targets. They compared "moderate" damage to the damage done to the Federal Building in Oklahoma.

Admiral Wilson was careful to qualify the data in charts during a press question:

Q: Can you give us your assessment of the overall extent of damage inflicted so far on the targets you've selected?

Admiral Wilson: I think the boards we put up there spoke for themselves. I would like to emphasize, we are very, very early in the overall assessment of these. When we do battle damage assessment we have three tiers or three phases—phase one, phase two, phase three. We are essentially in phase one on a relatively small percentage of the target set. So we have a lot more work to do, and it will be awhile before we determine the overall impact.

Q: Up until now how would you gauge the...

A: Once again, the damage assessment included only rough first stage assessments.

If this message had been the one reported fully in the world's media, the end result might have been to develop more realistic expectations regarding the strengths and weaknesses of military action. An examination of video tapes of the full briefings, the reporting on battle damage assessment, and the charts used by the Department of Defense, provides a convincing picture of an effort to provide honest data and to educate the media in its true meaning. Much of the content is selective in the sense that it only reports good news or supports the viewpoint of the Department, but this is often a key to political success in warfare. It is interesting to speculate as to what would have happened if the Department had stuck with these efforts, made hard copies available to press reporters and Defense Link on a near, real-time basis.

In practice, however, most media had no idea of the full content of what the Department was trying to say at the time it said it. The media reacted with a new series of largely critical

reports centering around the battle damage statistics. As becomes clear shortly, the Department seems to have panicked, and rushed out new types of battle damage assessment designed to show its success with serious consequences for its credibility.

Table Five

Damage Assessment as of 0800 EST on December 19, 1998

Target Type	<u>WMD Security</u>	<u>WMD Industry</u>	<u>SAMS/ IADS</u>	<u>C2</u>	<u>Rep Guards</u>	<u>Refinery</u>	<u>Airfield</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Target Numbers	18	11	32	20	9	1	6	100	(100%)
No Damage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	(0%)
Light	5	4	4	2	1	1	1	18	(10%)
Moderate	6	5	4	4	5	0	4	28	(28%)
Severe	5	1	5	4	3	0	0	18	(18%)
Destroyed	2	0	1	7	0	0	0	10	(10%)
Being Assessed	0	1	18	3	0	0	1	23	(23%)

## **Desert Fox Terminates on the Night of December 19<sup>th</sup> Without a Clear Conflict Termination Strategy**

Desert Fox formally ended at 6:00 p.m. (EST) on the night of December 19<sup>th</sup>, with a short statement by President Clinton:

On Wednesday, I ordered our Armed Forces to strike military and strategic targets in Iraq. They were joined by British forces. That operation is now complete, in accordance with our 70-hour plan. My national security team has just briefed me on the results. They are preliminary, but let me say just a few words about why we acted, what we have achieved, and where we want to go.

We began with this basic proposition: Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to develop nuclear arms, poison gas, biological weapons, or the means to deliver them. He has used such weapons before against soldiers and civilians, including his own people. We have no doubt that if left unchecked he would do so again.

Saddam must not be prepared to defy the will—be permitted—excuse me—to defy the will of the international community. Without a firm response he would have been



emboldened to do that again and again. For seven and a half years now, the United Nations weapons inspectors have done a truly remarkable job in forcing Saddam to disclose and destroy weapons and missiles he insisted he did not have. But over the past year, Saddam has repeatedly sought to cripple the inspections system. Each time, through intensive diplomatic efforts backed by the threat of military action, Saddam has backed down. When he did so last month, I made it absolutely clear that if he did not give UNSCOM full cooperation this time, we would act swiftly and without further delay.

For three weeks, the inspectors tested Saddam's commitment to cooperate. They repeatedly ran into roadblocks and restrictions, some of them new. As their Chairman, Richard Butler, concluded in his report to the United Nations on Tuesday, the inspectors no longer were able to do their job. So far as I was concerned, Saddam's days of cheat and retreat were over. Our objectives in this military action were clear: to degrade Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program and related delivery systems, as well as his capacity to attack his neighbors. It will take some time to make a detailed assessment of our operation, but based on the briefing I've just received, I am confident we have achieved our mission. We have inflicted significant damage on Saddam's weapons of mass destruction programs, on the command structures that direct and protect that capability, and on his military and security infrastructure. In a short while, Secretary Cohen and General Shelton will give you a more detailed analysis from the Pentagon.

So long as Saddam remains in power he will remain a threat to his people, his region and the world. With our allies, we must pursue a strategy to contain him and to constrain his weapons of mass destruction program, while working toward the day Iraq has a government willing to live at peace with its people and with its neighbors. Let me describe the elements of that strategy going forward. First, we will maintain a strong military presence in the area, and we will remain ready to use it if Saddam tries to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction, strikes out at his neighbors, challenges allied aircraft, or moves against the Kurds. We also will continue to enforce no-fly zones in the North, and from the southern suburbs of Baghdad to the Kuwaiti border. Second, we will sustain what have been among the most extensive sanctions in UN history. To date, they have cost Saddam more than \$120 billion, resources that otherwise would have gone toward rebuilding his military. At the same time, we will support a continuation of the oil-for-food program, which generates more than \$10 billion a year for food, medicine and other critical humanitarian supplies for the Iraqi people. We will insist that Iraq's oil be used for food, not tanks.

Third, we would welcome the return of UNSCOM and the International Atomic Energy Agency back into Iraq to pursue their mandate from the United Nations—provided that Iraq first takes concrete, affirmative and demonstrable actions to show that it will fully cooperate with the inspectors. But if UNSCOM is not allowed to resume its work on a regular basis, we will remain vigilant and prepared to use force if we see that Iraq is rebuilding its weapons programs.

Now, over the long-term the best way to end the threat that Saddam poses to his own people in the region is for Iraq to have a different government. We will intensify our engagement with the Iraqi opposition groups, prudently and effectively. We will work with Radio Free Iraq, to help news and information flow freely to the country. And we will stand ready to help a new leadership in Baghdad that abides by its international commitments and respects the rights of its own people. We hope it will return Iraq to its rightful place in the community of nations.

This statement did more to declare victory, than to explain Desert Fox and US policy, although it did help to make some US objectives clear. Clinton said the United States would maintain its military forces in the region, keep Iraq under the pressure of comprehensive economic sanctions, continue to enforce the “no-fly” zones in northern and southern Iraq, and work more intensively with the Iraqi opposition to try to change the Iraqi government. He again called for a new government in Iraq. “So long as Saddam remains in power, he will remain a threat to his people, his region and the world. With our allies we must pursue a strategy to contain him and to constrain his weapons of mass destruction program.”

### ***The Pentagon Briefs the End of Desert Fox***

The President’s statement was followed by short press conference at the Pentagon by Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Shelton,

Secretary Cohen: Good evening.

On Wednesday when U.S. and British forces launched strikes against Iraq, I stated that we were pursuing clear military goals. And as President Clinton has announced, we’ve achieved those goals. We’ve degraded Saddam Hussein’s ability to deliver chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

We’ve diminished his ability to wage war against his neighbors. Our forces attacked about 100 targets over four nights, following a plan that was developed and had been developed and refined over the past year. We concentrated on military targets and we worked very hard to keep civilian casualties as low as possible.

Our goal was to weaken Iraq’s military power, not to hurt Iraq’s people. Since Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the United States and other countries have enforced the UN Security Council resolutions to contain Iraq from attacking its neighbors and from using weapons of mass destruction. That containment policy continues. We will maintain a strong, ready force in the Gulf to respond to any contingency. We will ensure that

economic sanctions on Iraq stay in effect until Iraq complies with the Security Council resolutions and mandates. Saddam Hussein chose confrontation over cooperation. There's no pleasure to be had when a brutal dictator chooses to pit his people against the entire international community. Our quarrel is not with the Iraqi people. The United States has led in supporting the oil for food program, which ensures that the money from the sale of Iraq's oil goes for food and other humanitarian needs and not for weapons or palaces.

We've taken great care to minimize casualties among innocent civilians in our strikes. I find no joy in watching a people in a land so long and rich in history endure deprivation from sanctions or suffering from attacks. To the extent that there are civilian casualties, only Saddam and his brutally destructive regime are to blame.

We gave our forces a very difficult job to do... to execute. And they performed it with great speed and also with great skill. There were no U.S. or British casualties, but as we all know, our armed forces put themselves in harm's way every single day. And I would like to remember this evening that two days into her current six month deployment, the USS ENTERPRISE sustained casualties when two aircraft collided during their carrier qualifications. That night, Lieutenant Commander Kurt Barich, Lieutenant Commander Meredith Loughran, Lieutenant Brendan Duffy and Lieutenant Charles Woodard gave their lives in defense of their country....

General Shelton followed the Secretary with a similar message:

...The military objectives of this operation as outlined earlier by the President were clearly spelled out and approved by President Clinton. As the President's principal military advisor, I am confident that the carefully planned and superbly executed combat operations of the past four days have degraded Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction programs, his ability to deliver weapons and his ability to militarily threaten the security of this strategically important Persian Gulf region. Gen. Zinni made the same assessment.

...During the course of DESERT FOX, American and British war planes flew more than 650 strike and strike support sorties. Our ships launched more than 325 Tomahawk cruise missiles and U.S. Air Force B-52s launched more than 90 cruise missiles. In all, we attacked almost 100 targets, all related to our overall mission objectives.

...Now that Operation DESERT FOX is over, we will carefully evaluate the forces we need to keep in place in the region to keep an eye on Saddam. Make no mistake about it, we will maintain a significant capability there to defend our national interests and the security of the region as we have for many years.

Many of the key details regarding the US view of the effectiveness of Desert Fox emerged in the questions and answers that followed. Like much of the public record relating to Desert Fox,

the resulting exchanges illustrate both the need to constantly emphasize the political and strategic dimension of any conflict, and to have a supporting strategy for “information dominance.”

Q: Mr. Secretary, you have said that these raids have degraded Saddam’s ability to deliver weapons of mass destruction, but apparently, they haven’t done much to harm his ability to make such weapons. How would you answer that criticism? And how did you decide ahead of time that 70 hours would accomplish your goals?

A: Let me answer the second part first. This has been the plan from the very beginning. This is essentially the same plan we had in preparation and were prepared to execute last February. It is the same plan we prepared to execute in November. So that has been the plan from the beginning to achieve the goals that we set for ourselves.

With respect to the manufacture of chemical and biological agents, as I’ve indicated time and time again, our goal was to diminish his capacity to deliver such chemicals or biological or even nuclear weapons and to strike those facilities we could identify that possibly solely produced them. But we were always conscious of the fact that you could have a facility inside of a hospital or a fertilizer plant, a dual use facility, and we took that into account in seeking to balance the need to reduce his capacity to pose a threat to the region and at the same time, not engaging in the wholesale destruction of the Iraqi people.

Q: Do you plan to try to convince the UN to send the UNSCOM inspectors back in or is that now a dead issue after the air strikes?

A: It’s not at all a dead issue. As a matter of fact, Saddam Hussein will have the burden of demonstrating in some affirmative fashion that he is prepared to allow the inspectors to come back in to be effective.

We are not going to simply go through the motions once again where he is able to obstruct their ability to carry out their mission. And so, he must demonstrate a willingness to allow the inspectors to come back and to complete their job. And barring that, we intend to maintain the containment policy which continues to keep the sanctions in place. We’ll continue our military as we have been, in place and ready to take action, if it becomes necessary.

Q: If the UNSCOM inspectors are not allowed back in, will there be further air strikes?

A: We are prepared to carry out such air strikes, but we intend to maintain the containment policy and also to make sure that he doesn’t threaten the region again. So we’ll have our own intelligence observations and make the kind of determination that would lead us to the obvious conclusions.

Q: You use the [word] diminish to describe—

A: Degrade.

Q: "Diminish" to describe the damage done to the conventional capability. What is diminish in your words versus destroy, eliminate?

A: It's less than what he had before and we think significantly less than what was available before in terms of his capacity to move against his neighbors. We've looked at his Republican Elite Guard, so to speak. We have damaged in substantial fashion, their facilities, some of their housing. We have destroyed his missile production capability, at least, in the factory that we targeted. So there is a significant degradation in our judgment of that.

Q: ...like, Republican Guard tanks that survived the Gulf War?

A: He still has armor and that could pose a threat to the region, but that's the reason we have our own forces there.

Q: Do you intend to keep the crisis response force flowing to the Gulf or have you put that on hold?

A: I think we are in consultation with Gen. Zinni about the need to do that right now. And we'll act upon his recommendation. If he thinks it's still necessary to do that, we will continue it. If he believes he has satisfactory forces in place, then we will take that into account and make a decision.

Q: On UNSCOM, if I might, have you decided what you will require from Saddam by way of an earnest [gesture] of his good faith, should he welcome UNSCOM back in?

A: I think that will remain to be determined. I think we'll have to give that some great thought given his past behavior.

Q: How would you characterize, based on the battle damage assessment that you've seen so far... how would you characterize the overall success rate of these four days of strikes? Did you accomplish absolutely everything you wanted? Did you come close? How would you characterize it?

A: We've tried to indicate on several occasions in the past few days, it's too early to make such a definitive assessment. We are satisfied that the mission has been successfully accomplished. No mission can be 100% perfect. We've understood that. Everyone understands that. We think that under the circumstances, that we were quite successful and we're satisfied with that.

Q: Mr. Secretary, is it a victory for Saddam that the inspectors are now out and they have said they're not coming back? Hasn't he won a victory there?

A: Not at all. To have inspectors on the ground who are in effect, there in appearance only, and have been precluded from carrying out their mandate, means that you give the appearance of compliance while carrying on your weapons of mass destruction program. I think that is not acceptable and frankly, the action we took because he refused to let them do their job... we had to do ours. And I would say this is not—we did not seek a military option. It was a last resort only. We came to the last resort.

Q: Isn't he better off without them there?

A: I don't think he's better off without them there, given the fact that there has been some significant damage done to his infrastructure. And he is not going to be able to reconstitute easily or quickly because we intend to keep the sanctions in place.

Q: About five hours ago or so, the assessment wasn't nearly done and planes were in the air. How can you possibly have assessed what those planes did?

A: I leave that to Gen. Zinni, who has made that judgment and to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

Q: Secretary Cohen, regarding the inspectors, in addition to the UNSCOM inspectors, who call themselves in effect, the IA—International Atomic Energy Agency Inspectors, have also been required to leave Iraq and it's believed by some they also may not be able to return. And those inspectors were widely considered effective. I mean, is that a price you're going to have to pay, now having done what you've done?

A: Saddam will have to make a determination as to whether or not he's prepared to fully cooperate with those inspectors as well. To the extent that they remain outside of Iraq, there will be no chance of closing any files in the future. And so, the sanctions, again, will continue to remain in place. So he does not benefit from keeping them out, and he does not benefit from keeping the UNSCOM team out either.

Q: He benefits in terms of an ease[ing] in developing a nuclear program.

A: Well, we are going to continue to watch him very closely. We have—we will make every effort to compensate for the lack of those inspectors. But by the same token, he is going to be precluded from getting relief from the sanctions and that is very important to him. He wanted to get the inspectors out and get relief from the sanctions. He may have gotten the inspectors out at least temporarily. He will not get relief from the sanctions.

Q: Do you think it's just a matter of time before the United States will have to conduct another such operation against Iraq?

A: Wouldn't want to speculate on that. We're prepared to conduct future military operations, but that will depend upon Saddam's actions. Q: Gen. Shelton, were today's

strikes the proving—the point that allows you to say enough, we’ve accomplished our goals? Were they key today, to your judgment?

Gen. Shelton: We certainly wanted to carry out today’s strikes because they were key to the objectives that we set out for the strike. But the majority today were directed against Republican Guard units, which were restrikes of the same units, different types of units within the same. But as you know, if you look at a Republican Guard division, it’s spread out over a great distance. It has a lot of stuff. And so these strikes went against them.

Q: Did you go for armor and people and soldiers today?

A: We went after command and control.

Q: How many divisions of the Republican Guard were targeted overall through the whole thing?

A: Four.

Q: Given the fact that it became obvious after the first night that the Republican Guard and the Special Republican Guard were being targeted, how successful can you be? I mean, didn’t they essentially run for the hills, even though there aren’t a lot of hills there?

A: On a lot of the targets that we went after, that related to command and control, both the Special Republican Guards and the Republican Guards were hit very early in terms of their command and control with Tomahawks.

Q: So you basically are trying to create an office, so when they come back to the office, there’s nothing left. There’s no telephones, no communication, but you may not have killed many people in those strikes because—

A: There were quite a few the first night that were housing, barracks and headquarters.

Q: ...in the barracks... (inaudible)

A: By design to hit those first.

Q: Why the emphasis on the Ba’ath party headquarters, which you struck repeatedly? Is there a subbasement there? I mean, is there something other than the political message it sends?

A: As well as... are being tied into the management for the apparatus for controlling the weapons of mass destruction program, which they are tied into.

Q: Were you, in a sense, sending a direct message because that was a site where UN inspectors had been denied access. Is that the reason that building was put on the target list?

A: That was already on the target, even before they denied the access, as part of an overall plan of things that if, in fact, they did not... you know, we've been looking at this plan back before—on November the 15<sup>th</sup> when the President decided not to go. And then recently when they did not allow access, we made the decision to leave [it] on the target list.

Q: Is there any reason to believe that Saddam Hussein's hold on power is less secure today than it was four days ago?

A: There has been - as you asked today I believe—early today about a potential uprising. I don't know how serious that is. We certainly struck at a lot of his security apparatus, things that are key to controlling his weapons of mass destruction. But they also are key to his own protection and security. It's kind of a dual mission that they have. And so, how effective that is we'll find out over the long term, I think.

Q: Do you know more about these activities in the South than you did before? You said earlier, that... A: No.

Q: But you do have indications that there's some chaos or activity down there—

A: We've always known that, in that particular region, that that's been where a lot of the concern was. And we know that he moved some units in that area, which appear to be, as a result... are trying to make sure you didn't have an uprising. But to what extent, we're not sure, right?

### ***Talk Shows, Timing, and Conflict Termination***

The US never stated exactly why it terminated Desert Fox when it did, other than the obvious issue of Ramadan. The closest thing to an explanation on record seems to be an answer that General Zinni gave during a press conference on January 8, 1999, which implies that conflict termination has already been decided upon and the issue was how many strikes could be crammed in before the deadline.

Q: General Zinni, going back now to the end of DESERT FOX, can you just reconstruct for us what made you decide to cut it off at that 70-hour point? What did you see that made you say that's enough, that's sufficient? And why did you decide not to recommend to carry it on further?



A: We looked at the critical targets and the critical elements as we knew them. We had targets we needed to restrike right up to the last night. I really looked hard at the restrikes and the initial reports we had back. I felt at that point on the first cut we had achieved what we had set out to do. We had a degree of success that we could ascertain at that point that met our requirements. I didn't see the need to go on beyond that. Going on beyond that we would have put, you know, more bombs on targets we had already hit. We had known by then, obviously, that there was dispersal that had occurred, as I mentioned. There was more dispersal going on during the daylight hours. We were not in a position where we were going to get much more effect unless we began to change the way we did it and add additional assets and really begin to change the mission. I thought I wanted to, obviously wanted to, stay within the parameters of the mission.

So when asked that night as to whether we needed to go beyond that, I felt that we didn't, given the mission we had, and the military tasks, and what we'd achieved.

As for a conflict termination strategy, the US did relatively little to implement such a strategy for Desert Fox, in part because key officials had to focus on the aftermath of the impeachment. As was the case with Desert Storm, the US did not seize the opportunity to try to shape perceptions of the policy impact of the fighting or to communicate clear goals for the future. Instead, US officials pursued a talk show strategy which inevitably meant that the issues surrounding Desert Fox became mixed with impeachment, which often took first place in the resulting media coverage.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright did give an interview stating that Desert Fox was a "successfully accomplished mission." She did not, however, define any US policy towards UNSCOM and she acknowledged that the threat posed by Iraq's chemical and biological weapons capability could not be completely erased. "Obviously it is very hard to say that everything that he has in weapons of mass destruction has been destroyed, but his capability of threatening his neighbors and delivering (weapons) has been severely degraded. She warned that the US might have to strike at Iraq again if Saddam Hussein rebuilds his country's weapons of mass destruction capability. "We reserve the right to use force again" She reinforced the President's statement that U.S. strategy against Iraq was shifting toward overturning Saddam's regime. "We would like to see a different regime. That is what we are going to be working towards by more active support of the various opposition groups." She did not explain what Desert Fox might or might not have done to achieve that goal.

Secretary Cohen repeated many aspects of his previous assessments of the impact of Desert Fox in several television interviews. He warned that the Iraqis might try to rebuild the facilities but the United States would keep a watchful eye. In the process, he made once of the few concrete declarations of what US policy would be in the future, largely in terms of containment: “We are going to be in the region, we are going to maintain our military capability, we are going to continue the sanctions and watch to make sure that he doesn't pose a threat to his neighbors or try to reconstitute these programs. The burden of proof really is on Saddam. He is going to continue to live with the restrictions. He will still have a no-fly zone and a no-drive zone. We will continue the maritime interdiction operations.”

In short, the problem was not so much that US officials did anything wrong, or did not state a policy, but rather that what they said was largely topical and reactive and did support a clear conflict termination strategy. Further, the use of talk shows and question and answer forums meant that much of what they said was buried by media coverage of other events and by the difficulty in tracking what US officials were saying as reporters skipped from one topic to another. An examination of wire service coverage, Arab press coverage, and newspaper reporting indicates that many reporters simply were not aware of what the US was trying to say.

As a result, another lesson of Desert Fox is the need for a clear conflict termination strategy to support US policy and strategic goals, to make US statements clearly in a forum the world can recognize as authoritative, and provide a near-real time record of what is said in areas like the Internet, which the media can access. A talk show strategy is not a conflict termination strategy.

### ***Playing Against a Weak Hand: The Iraqi Collateral Damage Response Effort Folds***

Fortunately, the Iraqis showed few signs of an effective post conflict political strategy. Their main initial reaction was an abortive attempt to win sympathy by focusing on collateral damage. The Iraqis claimed early in Desert Fox there were as many as a dozen deaths at a

university in a northern Iraqi province, and at least a handful of deaths from the bombing of a major oil field in Basra in the south.

The general command of Iraq's armed forces claimed that strikes targeted presidential sites, civil establishments, government offices, colleges, students' dormitories, factories, refineries and some military units on the second day of Desert Fox, but it did not elaborate. Iraqi officials then said a mass funeral had been held for 68 people killed in and around Baghdad in the bombing raids. Vice President Tariq Ramadan stated there were 10 times more casualties among civilians than in military ranks but did not cite any figures. Iraq's ambassador to the UN, Nizar Hamdoon, claimed that British and US attacks had killed or wounded thousands of people. "There has been enormous damage, mainly to the civilian infrastructure and to human life. I am told the casualties are in thousands, in terms of people who were killed or wounded, but we don't have any final figures."

US officials did confirm that they tried to kill large numbers of the Special Republican Guard, which provides crucial support, protection and muscle for Saddam Hussein. Neither US nor Iraqi officials, however, then gave an estimate yesterday of Iraqi military losses. In Baghdad, life went on as normal. Reporters did not see high collateral damage of the kind Iraqi tried to claim. Instead, they saw heavy damage to several buildings where elements of the Iraqi security and military establishments were housed.

Shortly after Desert Fox was over, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz stated on December 21<sup>st</sup> that four days of US and British air strikes had killed 62 military personnel dead and wounded 180. Aziz did not give details of civilian casualties but said they were "much, much more" than those in the military. He also said that Clinton and Blair had boasted about the damage that the strikes had inflicted on Iraq's elite Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard, but that only 38 were killed and 100 wounded from the two guards corps, plus 24 soldiers from regular army and air defense units were killed and 80 wounded.

Aziz claimed that the US and Britain had committed "an unjustified crime" in carrying out the raids. He said the air attacks had taken place in daylight as well as at night because the United

States and Britain wanted to wind up their assault quickly to avoid causing greater hostility in the Arab world. He complains of a US-British conspiracy to destabilize the Iraqi government and to finance "terrorist" acts. "The aggression has not stopped, it is continuous," and that Prime Minister Tony Blair had "turned Britain into a tail of the fox which is in Washington." As for Blair's statement about putting Saddam "back in his cage" with the air raids, Aziz says that, "This is the old rhetoric of a liar."

Aziz condemned chief UN arms inspector Richard Butler and said that the inspection process ended when London and Washington began the air strikes. "The moment America and Britain launched missiles against Iraq they killed UNSCOM. I cannot give them another life." He called Butler "a cheap pawn in the hands of the Americans."

The problem with these Iraqi efforts was that the media continued to see few real signs of collateral damage, and the Iraqi government refused to provide access to the damage done to targets of actual importance to the regime. Iraqi efforts to use Desert Fox to reinforce the "martyrdom" strategy that it had used in dealing with UN sanctions and oil for food did get some coverage, but not the coverage Iraq expected. While there were "burn shots" on Arab and global television, the coverage was limited, and sympathy emerged for the Iraqi regime.

Ironically, at least some media coverage was impressed by the gap between a leak that had emerged out of the Pentagon that the US estimated such strikes would produce up to 10,000 Iraqi casualties, and the fact such casualties were almost minimal. It is interesting to note that pre-war warnings about "worse cases" can be highly useful during and after an actual military engagement. The reaction was somewhat similar to the reactions during the Gulf War, when pre-War estimates of US casualties proved to be inflated by several orders of magnitude, and after the Gulf War, when early estimates of massive Iraqi casualties proved equally false. "Worst case" warnings and estimates may be devastating when they prove true. In most real world cases, however, they may actually prove to be a useful form of information warfare.

General Shelton put much of the collateral damage issue into perspective during the readiness hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee 6<sup>th</sup>, 1999:

We all know the Iraqis like to exaggerate and falsify the collateral damage. They have not shown any significant collateral damage at this point. There have been very few reports of civilian casualties and none that have been demonstrated by the Iraqis.

By mid-January, even Iraq had largely given up on its collateral damage effort. It did provide some additional statistics, but these drew little attention even in the Gulf. Iraq's main concentration was back to oil for food, ending sanctions, UNSCOM and the Security Council: the lack of support from other Arab leaders, and the new series of air and air defense exchanges in the no-fly zones.

## **Assessing Desert Fox and the “New Math” of BDA on December 21<sup>st</sup>**

The US provided its first detailed post-conflict assessment of Desert Fox at a Department of Defense press conference at 2:30 PM on December 21<sup>st</sup>. This was close to two days after Desert Fox had ended. Some of this timing was dictated by both the need to provide a final assessment of its military effect, and the desire to have General Zinni provide much of the briefing. The practical result, however, was that the US made little use of a critical 40 hour period – something that should scarcely be a model for future efforts at conflict termination.

### ***The Summary Briefing and Press Conference on December 21st***

A detailed examination of the transcript of the press conference on December 21<sup>st</sup> provides one of the best pictures to date of the UYS view of the military impact of Desert Fox. It also shows that US officials recognized that they had a serious problem with the media's reaction to their battle damage assessments – an issue that became critical as a result of the new battle damage assessment the US provided that day. At the same time, excerpts from the briefing show the confusion in the media regarding US goals and objectives. The extent to which General Zinni had to attempt to make US policies clear during the question and answer parts of the press conference is a warning of the uncertain job the US had done in communicating its political and strategic message.

Secretary Cohen began the briefing by declaring victory, and repeating the themes he had raised at previous briefings:

Good afternoon. Operation DESERT FOX was a highly successful operation. U.S. and British forces degraded Iraq's capability to use weapons of mass destruction in two important ways.

First, we estimate that we delayed Iraq's development of ballistic missiles by at least a year. This is going to make it more difficult for Iraq to use deadly chemical and biological weapons against its neighbors.

Second, we diminished Iraq's overall capability to direct and protect its weapons of mass destruction program. And we also diminished Iraq's ability to attack its neighbors by severely damaging the Iraqi military command and control system.

At the same time, Secretary Cohen made it clear that victory did not mean that Iraq had been "contained," could not respond militarily, could not proliferate, could not force the US forward to deploy large numbers of forces in the Gulf, and could not push the US into new surge deployments.

Q: Mr. Secretary, can we just ask, have you frozen the buildup in the Gulf for the time being until after the New Year?

Secretary Cohen: It's a question we have under advisement right now. It's one of the issues that General Zinni and I will be talking [about] with the Chairman and others as we go through the day and tomorrow.

Q: And do you stand ready perhaps to launch more raids even during Ramadan if he threatens his neighbors?

Secretary Cohen: As I've indicated before, should he pose a threat to his neighbors, we're prepared to act.

General Anthony Zinni provided a considerably more substantive picture of Desert Fox, and the best balance assessment of its goals, objectives, and success to date -- although much of what he said became buried in the backlash over the introduction of a entirely new US approach to reporting on battle damage assessment:

As you know, we suffered no casualties. Even in peacetime, exercises of this scale can be dangerous and can be very, very trying. To do this without any casualties in the environment our forces faced was truly remarkable.

The operation involved over 30,000 troops, and 10,000 more outside of our area of responsibility who supported and alerted from bases virtually around the world. We flew over 600 sorties in four days. Over 300 of those were night strike sorties. Over 300 aircraft were involved in strike and support roles. Over 600 pieces of ordnance and 90 cruise missiles were delivered by these aircraft. Over 40 ships performed strike and support roles with ten of them launching over 300 TLAM missiles. Thousands of ground troops deployed to protect Kuwait and to respond to any counteraction. Hundreds of our Special Operations Forces troops also deployed to carry out their assigned missions.

Numerous U.S. and British service and joint headquarters provided superb command and control, support, and detailed planning that helped ensure the success of this mission. We also received support from our friends in the region for which I am very grateful.

Every conceivable effort was made to ensure the safety of our people and the preventing of civilian casualties while accomplishing this mission.

Before I respond to your questions, let me say something about battle damage assessment because I know that's been a topic up here. I'd like to make a few points and then refer to some of the graphics.

First of all, the battle damage assessment is still ongoing and will probably take a few more days before we fully can make an assessment as to what the results are, but generally, we are very pleased and feel we accomplished what we set out to do.

Second, I'd like to explain a little bit about what our analysts go through in making these battle damage assessments. In that business, they're encouraged to be as negative as possible, or to be in a position not to tell the boss what he wants to hear, but if anything, to be more conservative in their estimates. I think that's for obvious reasons. A decision whether to restrike, a decision to continue on a mission that's dependent upon the previous one, lives could be at stake, so it is up to them to ensure that we have a clear understanding of what we actually did on the ground and to make no assumptions. So BDA is by nature from the analysts conservative.

Third, there's a qualitative estimate to BDAs as well as a quantitative estimate. That qualitative estimate is determined by the intent that I give to a given target set. Let me give you an example.

If I say that we intend to disrupt his communications or his air defenses for a period of time, the level of effort or the number of targets destroyed may be much lower. And some sort of quantitative judgment may say, "by God, General, you didn't accomplish as much as you did in other target sets." But we achieved what I intended to do—disruption while

we were conducting the attack or some sort of interference long enough for us to accomplish the mission.

Fourth, the other point I'd like to make is about individual targets versus the total target set. Certain targets are more important than others, and you might seek a degree of destruction or disruption beyond what you would on other lesser important targets. That means you might restrike, you might put [out] more ordnance. So in judging these things,

It's difficult to make a purely quantitative analysis and use a basis such as numbers of targets destroyed in determining success. It has to be measured against the intent and the commander's intent as to what he had attempted to achieve.

I'd like to go over a few of the photos we have out there to show you some examples of the results we've recently gotten in. This is Talil airfield. I think you can see clearly that the bunker complexes, the maintenance shelters were destroyed. The ability for the planes to come back and receive the degree of maintenance they need—the home is gone.

The next photo I'd like to show you is of the Ministry of Defense in downtown Baghdad. Again, I think you can clearly see where we have struck and the effects we've had.

Next is the Ba'ath headquarters. You can see the holes in the roof. Here again, [shows] our ability to render the building unusable. You might look at something like this and one of our analysts might say this is moderate or light damage, but I guarantee you, nobody's working this morning in Ba'ath Party headquarters.

Next are a couple of our communications targets. This is a jamming station in Tikrit. Again, here our intent was to disrupt the ability to command and control. And one of the repeater stations in Basra in the south.

Finally, one of the division headquarters in Taji. This is Republican Guard.

I'd like to show you the results as we have them now. I emphasize again that the battle damage assessment is still ongoing, but for those who like numbers, we have compiled it to the minute. If I had to put a score sheet up, which I am reluctant to do—but I will because I know in some ways that's the way we get focused on BDA—we successfully hit 85 percent of our targets, as we know it now. And fully successful in terms that I'm completely satisfied that we had the results gained at 74 percent.

Now that doesn't mean we're going to find out more in terms of our assessment in intelligence that we've done greater damage. In some cases we might not ever know. We know that we were effective in that a piece of a communications system, an air defense system didn't come up and engage us. We may look at that through an aerial photograph and not see any visible damage, but one bomblet could have gone through the radar and rendered it inoperable. For some reason it didn't engage, and the disruption was



effective—either through the lack of attempt to use it or through our efforts to temporarily disrupt it. So in some cases we may never know, but the end result was achieved.

With that, I'd be glad to take your questions.

Q: General, a two-part question if I may. One, what's the percentage cut between successful and fully successful? Would 73 percent have been successful or...

General Zinni: We didn't measure it in terms of target numbers. When I say 74 percent successful, I'm telling you that in 74 percent of those targets I am fully confident right now, today, that I achieved what I went out to do in the fullest sense. That doesn't mean there hasn't been partial success in others. That doesn't mean we will find out from further assessment that we met that fully successful. This is kind of a point in time.

Q: The second part of the question, there have been no statistics yet of damage to the Republican Guard, lead Guard. Reports coming out of Baghdad say 68 killed. Do you have any idea of how many were killed in the raids?

General Zinni: No, I do not have any numbers of casualties. We do know, however, Republican Guard infrastructure, barracks, command and control, we can tell from the likes of photos like we have here that we have significantly destroyed, disrupted those facilities.

Q:...Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz that the United States was targeting civilian targets such as schools, hospitals, private homes, government buildings, that sort of thing?

General Zinni: We absolutely do not target those types of things. We take every care to ensure that civilian casualties are prevented to the best of our ability [for] every target that we engaged. We were convinced that we did all the planning and all the technical work to ensure to the best of our abilities that there would be no collateral or civilian damage.

Q: Did you hit any civilian targets by accident?

General Zinni: Not that we know of.

Q: And just a brief follow-up, could you give us any idea what this operation cost? Cruise missiles are very expensive.

General Zinni: I think it's too early for us to make that assessment. We'll begin that process, determine costs... As you can imagine, we've had other things on our mind right now, but we'll, in the aftermath...

Q: Did you use over half a billion dollars worth of cruise missiles?

General Zinni: I really don't know. I couldn't make that call right now. I gave you the rough numbers as to what we used, and you can do the math, but right now we're not in the mode of counting dollars just yet.

Q:...that it won and that all the United States did was bomb empty buildings where they had already moved things out of.

General Zinni: I would just say to that that a lot of infrastructure was obviously destroyed. I would say to you that after eight years, you can just look at the Iraqi military and see the degradation, inability to modernize, the readiness rates. There are a lot of troops and a lot of headquarters that have no place to go home to and have lost a lot of the ability to command and control and a lot of equipment. I don't know how you measure that as a victory in any way. I think our friends in the region and others clearly look at what happened to Iraq and realize that Saddam suffered a defeat.

Q: General, a number of America's friends—Russia and France—are beginning to talk quietly about wanting to circumvent the sanctions against Iraq. Should they try to do that and send ships openly into Iraq, will American ships stop them? Shoot them? What is your policy going to be if some of our allies say we don't think the sanctions ought to be there and we're going to run them?

General Zinni: I don't want to get into a hypothetical situation. At this moment we're enforcing UN resolutions and UN sanctions.

Q: Can I follow up on that same issue of oil? You did strike an oil target. Was it just an oil loading station? I don't know. But the damage was fairly light. Would you consider striking more forcefully against their oil export infrastructure?

General Zinni: The oil facility we struck in the south was one that was used for illegal gas [and] oil smuggling. We intentionally did it in such a way to disrupt the flow, but not cause any environmental damage. We did not want to do what Saddam did. You're not going to see burning oil fields. You're not going to see oil spills into the water. We very selectively and very precisely went after a point in that target that accomplished our goal.

Q: General, can you tell us how long U.S. forces are going to have to contain Saddam, since this seems to be the emphasis on the policy now. Are U.S. forces pretty much a permanent presence in the Persian Gulf?

General Zinni: U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, based on all those leaders I speak to, are a force of stability in the region. I don't think anyone has a crystal ball and can predict when Saddam will go away. He is still a threat. I think those in the region view him as a threat. And those in the region appreciate us being there, providing a counter and a deterrence to that threat. I can't predict how long that would be, but our vital interests, I think, require our presence and, with the support of our allies, our ability to deter Saddam.

Q: General, when will you know if this mission has been effective, and how will you judge that effectiveness?

General Zinni: I would tell you right now that I'm convinced that it was effective, and I'm convinced that it achieved our objectives.

I think from here on out what we'll find out is we will add more support for that judgment. But again, in my view as the commander and with the mission I was given and the measures of effectiveness that I determined would achieve that mission, I'm satisfied we were successful.

Q: What is your batting average with the, say, previous strikes—DESERT STORM, Korea, World War II? Any idea?

General Zinni: [Based on] our initial look, if I think I understand your question, about ordnance effect and on target, we are very, very pleased. They've exceeded all previous ones that I know about. This is a first, quick, rough look. But in terms of equipment and technology performance, we're very happy.

Q: This would be the most accurate air war the U.S. has ever conducted?

General Zinni: I would like to see more analysis before I make that statement, but off the top of my head, I think we've achieved results that maybe exceed what has happened before. Overall, there might be specific systems that...

Q: General, there are still a lot of questions about the timing of the attack vis-a-vis the submission of Richard Butler's report to the United Nations. Can you flesh out a little bit your thinking on why the need to strike so quickly?

General Zinni: I think it was clear that if he did not comply, if Saddam did not comply—and it was clear non-compliance, and I think the report of Richard Butler and the removal of his UNSCOM team could not have been more clear—that there were no more options. In November, I think the right decision was made when reluctantly we had to pull back, but his hands were up, he said he would comply. I think the President went the last mile. After Butler's report was done and UNSCOM was no longer able to do its mission and left, then I think an immediate response was called for.

Q: What did you prevent by striking so quickly? Did you prevent a widespread dispersal of forces and potential chemical/biological equipment?

General Zinni: I think from a military perspective that's exactly right. We prevented his ability to prepare, to set SAM ambushes, to disperse his forces, to do a number of things that would have made our mission more difficult. Obviously, I think, the resolve that was shown on a political level to react as we said we would was another factor.

Q: Secretary Cohen has said that he believes the missile program's been set back about a year. Can you tell us your assessment of how far, how much, how long it would take him to rebuild the command and control or reestablish the Republican Guard barracks that you have wiped out?

Secondly, if he tries to do that, since you've now linked those things to his ability to protect and deliver WMD, will you strike again if you see that he is trying to rebuild those?

General Zinni: First of all, I think the decision to conduct any other operations or strike again would be the President's, obviously. We are prepared, if necessary, to do that. I can't make a judgment on how long it would take him to reestablish those capabilities. I think with the sanctions on and what we've seen in his ability to reconstitute forces and modernize, it's going to be extremely difficult. Those estimates of a year to me seem probably right, although I have no way of measuring exactly how long it would take.

Q: Have you seen any signs that Saddam's grip of power has been weakened at all? Any military units of his not answering the telephone when they're called? Things like that?

General Zinni: I would just say I think all of you know that he divided up the country into four sectors. The people he put in charge, the mission he gave them would tell you that was not done. Since he didn't react to us at all for some military reason, if I were to make a judgment, I would say that was for internal control, and I would point to that one very open and obvious move on his part as maybe an indication he lacks confidence in his own ability to continue to ruthlessly rule.

Q: General, did the Iraqis at any time strike back, except for using AAA? And is there anything going on in the south of Iraq right now in the way of troop movements by the Iraqis? We've heard some reports.

General Zinni: To answer the second part of your question first, I have not seen any reports of troop movements in the south. There have been some minor movements that basically look like, again, their counterinsurgency, what they've been doing, those types of operations. The only thing we received, that we confirmed, was heavy anti-aircraft fire. We had some reports of SAM firings, I think one or two. As we further investigated those, we couldn't confirm those, and I would say I'd discount those.

Q: Just to follow, is he rebuilding anything that you've hit so far that you know about?

General Zinni: No. I don't know of anything that [he] is rebuilding or significantly attempting to reestablish.

Q: A question about the Republican Guard. How many divisions of the six did you all target? And how do you translate attacking the infrastructure into their combat effectiveness vis-a-vis Kuwait?

General Zinni: Well, I would say that first of all, understand the role of the Republican Guard. They are obviously the elite forces. They normally lead the attacks or certainly “bolster,” and I would put that in quotes, the regular army who may have to be encouraged to attack by being directly behind them. They are the most significant, most loyal, most ruthless of his forces.

In terms of did our bombing do damage? I think equipment loss, I think headquarters loss, command and control loss. It’s pretty tough if you’re a troop in the field. You’ve got no place to go home to at night, and you see the level of damage that you see in these photos. That has to be fairly demoralizing.

I think you know, we put leaflets on the regular army telling them they were not the target. As long as they stayed put, they wouldn’t be the target. I think clearly they understand the elite status of the Republican Guard—extra pay, extra care—used to enforce discipline on the regular army, and I think seeing the effect on the Republican Guard might be even encouraging to the regular army.

Q: You don’t have any figures on casualties to the Republican Guard...

Q:...before the bombs fell? Did most of those troops evacuate before the bombs fell?

Q:...but Tariq Aziz gave the following figures for the total of Republican Guards and Special Republican Guards. Thirty-eight martyred, as he said, and 100 wounded. Is there any way that those you think are accurate?

General Zinni: I have no way of telling.

Q: Didn’t you, though, intend to kill thousands of those Republican Guard troops?

General Zinni: Our intention was to attack the infrastructure of the Republican Guard. There was dispersal immediately before. We did see some. I can’t tell you how much we saw. We are not in the business of body counting. We have not gone about that or made any attempt to make that part of the figures here. I feel [about] the kinds of things we went after, equipment and infrastructure, we were highly successful.

Q: Can you go back to the whole issue of equipment in a little more detail? And talk about where, how many tanks, APCs you destroyed. Did you actually destroy also missile inventories, artillery, bombs? What ordnance and delivery systems did you really hit?

General Zinni: Obviously, I think you know we went after missile production and missile repair facilities. We went after surface-to-air missile sites. In terms of getting down to individual pieces of equipment, my being able to tell you how many APCs or tanks or FROG missiles or whatever, we don’t have that yet. That’s part of the sort of more granular assessment that we will have to do. We may never know exactly.

Q: Certainly. But if UNSCOM has said that there's unaccounted inventories of missiles, artillery shells, bombs that they believe are filled with possibly chemical and biological material, did you hit any weapons depots or weapons sites where you believe there was chemical and biological material?

General Zinni: None that we know of. But again, I think you point out the reason why it was important to keep UNSCOM in operation and with full access. The only way we know is through UNSCOM.

Q: You said that seeing the effects on the Republican Guard might be even encouraging to the regular army.

General Zinni: Yes.

Q: Did you have that in mind when you went after the Republican Guards? Can you elaborate a little bit on what you're hoping the regular army might do?

General Zinni: Clearly, our mission was as has been stated—to degrade his WMD capability and diminish his ability to threaten his friends. Part of that meant the targeting of the Republican Guard. There are a number of regular army divisions in the south that could react very quickly toward the Kuwaiti border. Our intent, our clear intent, was to prevent them from reacting. That comes under the diminished ability to threaten his neighbors.

If motivation to do that might have come from the Republican Guard, by doing that simultaneously it again falls to that second part of our mission, the diminishment.

Q: For how many hours were the Iraqis dispersing before the first missiles struck?

General Zinni: I don't have the exact figures. A few hours before. I think once they saw the UNSCOM team coming out they were beginning to react.

Q: That was the trigger for the dispersal, you figure?

General Zinni: I believe that probably was.

Q: General, can you expand a little bit more on your thoughts of why there was an utter lack of resistance from the Iraqis?

Q: Getting back to the first question. Did this seem to be a deliberate strategy for them to just hunker down and take the blow? Can you explain that a little bit?

General Zinni: No. As a matter of fact, I've been asked before what surprised me the most in these four days, and I will tell you it was the complete lack of resistance in any form.

I would hesitate to make a judgment why other than to say I think that the Iraqi military is fully aware what could happen if they reacted in any way. Obviously if you turn on a radar or react in any way, we're prepared to handle that.

Q: General, President Clinton and Secretary Albright said they'd redouble their efforts to help the Iraqi opposition. Do you still see the opposition as not viable?

General Zinni: I think there are two elements that to me are encouraging. One is that we obviously are supporting and maintaining the territorial integrity of Iraq. I think that's key in anything we do. I think the very careful way we're going about it now to vet these groups and make sure they meet the criteria, to me, I definitely would support that approach. I had concern initially because there are lots of groups out there, some not viable. But I think if we take this care and these announced policy parts to this, I think it's the correct course.

Q: You mentioned a couple of minutes ago counterinsurgency activity in the south related to the question about supporting opposition. What sort of activity are you seeing down there in terms of uprisings? How significant is it? What do you see in the way of putting these down? Also in the area of Baghdad, the suburbs of Baghdad, I'm hearing.

General Zinni: In terms of the latter, I have no knowledge of anything in the area of Baghdad. We've heard rumors and reports, but nothing I would or could confirm. In terms of the south, there's been ongoing counterinsurgency operations against the marsh Arabs, the Shiites. And there are units dedicated to this. They've been continuing. We believe during the four days of the strike—I think there was mention of some movement down there. In our determination, that movement was continuation or specifically geared to counter anything that might be brewing. We have no specific information of anything major occurring other than the normal counterinsurgency operations that occur down there. And I hate to even use the word normal, because they're pretty brutal.

Q: Did you see Shiite activity step up during the course of the strikes? Did you see disturbances increase during the strikes? Do you think they're looking to the United States for backing at this stage?

General Zinni: We didn't see anything. There were some reports actually in the open media that I saw of that, but we saw nothing specifically, and nothing more than the normal.

Q: Can you help us define what the triggers would be for a restrike of Iraq? The rules of the game have changed now that UNSCOM is no longer there. What is it that you will look at, and what is it that you would define as grounds to hit again?

General Zinni: I can only speak from a military point of view. My only immediate restrike that under the rules of engagement I would be authorized to do is if he takes some action toward our forces that are enforcing the sanctions: the no fly zones, the maritime intercept

operations, those forces. Within the rules of engagement that I have, and my forces have, we can react. Beyond that or above that, obviously that's not my decision.

Q: Can you tell us about how many B-1 missions, their effectiveness, and the overall ratio of guided bombs to dumb bombs that you estimate you used?

General Zinni: I would have to get you the direct statistics. I was very pleased with the performance of the B-1. We gave them specific targets that we felt they were best suited for. We're very happy with their performance that we received. I think you saw a photo of one set of barracks that they attacked in the past. If not, we'll make sure we get that for you.

Q: Wasn't the number of precision weapons and the percentage of those unprecedented in this operation?

General Zinni: I'm not sure of that, Jamie. I would have to go back and check.

Q: With the exception of the B-1, it's almost exclusively precision weapons—either satellite or laser guided bombs?

General Zinni: There was a large number of PGMs. I would have to go back. I don't have right with me the exact numbers, but I think we have a packet afterwards that we can provide...

Q: Aside from the B-1s? Did any new system or new tactics make its combat debut in this operation? Did you use any new weapons that haven't been used in combat before?

General Zinni: Not off the top of my head that I know of. I think everything else had been used before.

Q: General, why four days? Why not longer?

General Zinni: We weren't hung up on time or days. I think obviously you understand we were, there's a sensitivity to Ramadan, but that wasn't the judgment. At the end of the third day and going into the fourth day, I was asked if I felt our objectives were achieved or could be achieved. I felt I needed the fourth night. Part way through that I was asked again, and informed the Chairman that I was satisfied that we had achieved the objectives as I saw them. I saw no need to go into the fifth day. I was not in any way hindered from asking for a fifth day or going into a fifth day. We had planned this operation so that we could not only respond to different counteractions that might happen, but that we could sustain it if need be. So there was no magic to the fourth day.

Q: Do you see this as something that will be happening once a year, eight months from now? We're talking about how we've set programs back about a year.



General Zinni: Again, I'm not prescient enough to comment on what might happen. I think Saddam might have learned from this, and if he's smart, he wouldn't want to see a repeat.

Q: General Shelton said he wasn't targeting Saddam. Can you explain why you don't target Saddam in an operation like this? And I thought since the Gulf War you had the kind of bombs that could penetrate into bunkers and so forth and get him if you knew where he was at. Can you address that?

General Zinni: The answer to your first question is obviously, we don't target individual leaders. Secondly, one of our target sets is command and control. Obviously if he happened to be in a command and control facility that we were targeting, fine. Could we go get bunkers if we knew where they were or they were part of the command and control structure? Do we have the ability? Certainly. We have the technology to do that. But we were not targeting Saddam directly or specifically or individually.

Q: There's a report that his sister's house was struck. Is that accurate?

General Zinni: We didn't target his sister's house, so I have no way of knowing...

Q: Given the fact that intelligence is always an iffy business perhaps at best, why did you take dual use facilities off the table in Iraq, but yet you had previously already struck a dual use facility in the Sudan. What's the difference between the two cases?

General Zinni: I think in this case when we looked at facilities that we would strike, a number of factors came into play: obviously, things like collateral damage, our ability to get to these facilities, how much we knew about them. I think also in terms of what the dual use might be, and how assured we were that the second part of the dual use was in play.

You can make the case that almost any kind of, maybe a milk factory, again, could be a chemical factory or whatever. So I think we tried to be very selective. We tried to make the point on this, we tried to hit targets that we were very certain of.

In terms of the facility in Khartoum that we struck, again, I think we've been through this a number of times. Clearly we felt there was a connection, there was clear evidence, and in that case despite what might have been dual use, there was more than convincing evidence that it was used for the production of at least the precursor of chemical weapons.

Q: General, following up on the BDA for a second. In terms of Tomahawks. They used basically a figure of 85 percent in the past in terms of success rate. How did this stack up, one? And secondly, when you look at your chart here, IADS and surface-to-air missiles, it looks like the most number of misses. I was wondering why, if you could tell us if that's true for both...

General Zinni: On the first question, we far exceeded the 85 percent. We were very pleased. I won't give you an exact figure, and obviously we're still doing analysis. But we were extremely pleased on the TLAM performance and the low percentage of failures that we might have had.

In terms of the IADS, I would go back again and say you have to go back to what our objective was. In terms of IADS and SAMs, it was to disrupt. And when you say disrupt, it means we don't want him to be able to communicate, to use the integrated system, to connect the radar with the missile, to be able to fire accurately. The level of effort, the ordnance we need, then is a lot lower.

So if we're able to take a shot and it puts his head down, knock out one repeater out of four or five, you achieve disruption for the time you need. So you'll see a low level here, and it will seem inconsistent with me saying we achieved our results, but I would say that successfully, we had no SAMs fired for whatever reason, and we were able to get to our targets with a high degree of success and lack of interruption.

Q: Did you destroy any Scuds at all? And did you use the GBU-28, the 5,000 pound bomb at all?

General Zinni: The answer to the second one is no. And the Scuds, I have no knowledge that we have destroyed any Scuds.

Q: You mentioned that the Special Forces were involved. Now that operations are over can you give us some idea of what they may be doing and tell us were any U.S. troops on the ground in Iraq over the past week?

General Zinni: There are a number of things that Special Operations Forces do. Obviously, I'm not going to get into all of them. I will give you some examples, though. They do work with our allies in the region. They provide a degree of connectivity, liaison connection with U.S. forces and coalition forces. I think all of you know we've had an ongoing INTRINSIC ACTION in Kuwait. They provide our coalition support teams, and they have a number of other missions that they support.

Also SOF, as part of that, has PSYOPS—psychological operations. You know we dropped leaflets, three million in fact. Part of their responsibility is the development of those themes to be recommended, and then obviously the production and distribution of those.

Q: Earlier this year you talked about if you ever were to strike Iraq you would strike those tools that kept Saddam in power. To what extent have you diminished his power base?

General Zinni: First of all, I want to be clear that in this operation we had the degrade/diminish tasking. That's what we went after. For me to determine whether we achieved, as a side effect, diminishment of those things he holds dear or regime stability or

whatever, that wasn't an objective. I hope we contributed to it. And we may measure that we have and see indications of that in the future. I don't have any specifically that I could determine, but that wasn't an objective of this operation.

Q: Do you think it shows that?

General Zinni: I'm satisfied that the objectives of this operation were what they should have been.

Q: General, one of the criticisms that came out of the Gulf War was the lack of timely support from the intelligence community in providing imagery and dissemination. Can you contrast this operation with that in terms of the performance of the CIA and the National Reconnaissance Office?

General Zinni: I think I had tremendous intelligence support, and I think I can say that in several respects. One is the integration of all the intelligence effort. All the agencies were truly one in this operation. I felt that all my intelligence needs and requirements, my essential elements of information that I needed were serviced extremely well. The BDA that we've talked so much about has been rapid; it's been responsive; it's been well analyzed. I have seen no seams in the intelligence community in terms of differences of opinion. Maybe where we see things a little bit differently, they've worked very hard to understand why. The cooperation has been superb, and as a commander I could not have asked for better. I think the ongoing intelligence effort we have out there over Iraq obviously has been very significant, so this day-to-day gathering of intelligence from all our sources has paid off in this targeting.

Q: General, the threat of...

Q: General, there was dispersal ahead of time. In fact if you were watching your TVs at home, you had the sense before the missiles even struck that everybody knew about it. Did you intend for there to be some early warning so there would be less loss of life as you went about your primary mission?

General Zinni: We did not intend any early warning, but by the same token, we obviously selected and planned our targets carefully to minimize as much as possible any collateral or civilian damage or casualties.

Q: One of the ways Iraq can threaten its neighbors and also put down insurrections is a sizeable amount of helicopter gunships. I know you targeted those a little bit. How much success did you have?

General Zinni: We feel we had a great deal of success. We actually found some of the places where they were hiding the helicopters, and we were able to target those, we feel, successfully also.

Q: What degree of degradation would you say?

General Zinni: It's still ongoing. We still have a few more assessments to come in on several of the helicopter targets that we hit. Again, not only airfields, but several places where they were attempting to hide them.

Several things are striking about Zinni's briefing. First, the press repeatedly pushed the commander for clarification of policy issues that should have been provided days earlier by the White House and National Security Council. Second, the military content of Zinni's comments provided a balanced picture of military developments, with all the proper qualifications. There is no question that it was structured to support the US view of Desert Fox; that is the duty of any serving officer or official. It did, however, provide the important qualifications that make statements credible, and it had depth in explaining US objectives and successes in areas directly related to the strategic and political message the US was trying to communicate.

### ***The British Perspective on the Military Aspects of Desert Fox***

British officials held a somewhat similar press conference by Air Marshall John Day (Director of Operations at the Ministry of Defense) and Dr. Edgar Buckley (Assistant Under Secretary of Defense (Home and Overseas) in London on the next day. Defense Secretary George Robertson followed up on December 23<sup>rd</sup> by saying that Britain would prove that four nights of air strikes had hit hard at Iraq's military capability while military chiefs said most attacks had struck their targets. He was reacting to reports from Iraq suggesting its military infrastructure had escaped relatively undamaged, and he told a news conference: "We know that we have done considerable damage to the war machine of Iraq. Increasingly in the next few days evidence will be brought forward from the battle damage assessments to show that is absolutely correct. While life appears to be going around as normal inside Iraq, inside the military structures there has been immense damage and the impact has been very considerable indeed."

Robertson spoke with German Defense Minister Rudolph Scharping standing beside him. Robertson went on to say that Iraq had only shown Western correspondents what it wanted them to see, and that the lack of overt damage in Baghdad showed how successful the allied attacks had been in limiting civilian casualties. "We set out to minimize collateral damage and to focus

our attacks on the military machine. I appreciate very much the constraints on the media caused by the Iraqi government propaganda machine...those members of the press who are laboring in Iraq just now cannot possibly see the damage that we have done."

He said 12 cruise missiles had hit the interior of the headquarters of the ruling Ba'ath Party, which United Nations weapons inspectors had been prevented from visiting, but that a passer-by on the street in Baghdad would not notice any great damage to it at all. Day added later, "That (the party HQ) was one of the mechanisms by which Saddam controlled his chemical and biological weapons program...he will not be able to do that ever again because of the damage that was caused," Robertson said. Those close to Saddam will realize that we have the ability and the will to target the regime, as distinct from the Iraqi people." Scharping dismissed Iraq's claims in broad terms saying, "Every dictator will say that he won...that is the nature of dictatorship."

Air Marshal John Day then reported that initial assessments showed that 74 percent of the 111 attacks on key Iraqi installations had knocked out the facilities concerned. Fifteen percent had missed their targets and 11 percent appeared to have caused only slight damage, said Day, who was briefing reporters only on British action during the U.S.-led aerial bombardment of Iraq. Day showed a series of photos of damage to key installations. One showed the hangar at Tallil Airfield, which Britain says held remotely piloted aircraft designed to deliver biological and chemical bombs, with large areas of its roof destroyed and debris littering the ground nearby. Another showed the Taji steel fabrication plant, with two buildings destroyed that were believed to be used to make components for nuclear programs, but the rest of the plant intact.

### ***The "New Math" of Damage Claims on December 21st***

By the time the British gave their briefing, however, they already had to deal with backlash from the battle damage assessment portions of the briefings the Department of Defense had given on December 21<sup>st</sup>. The Department had issued new charts on battle damage assessment that made dramatic revisions in the format it used for describing bomb damage. The new format did make US military action seem far more successful, but it did so with little explanation and in ways that immediately raised major credibility problems.

During the strikes, the Department of Defense had issued the data shown earlier in Tables Four and Five. These tables indicated that a maximum of 28% of the targets had been destroyed or severely damaged as of the morning of December 19<sup>th</sup>, and a maximum of 56% had “moderate,” “severe,” and “destroyed” levels of damage. It is important to understand that the data in Table Five was supposed to reflect the combat situation as of 8:00 AM in the morning on December 19<sup>th</sup>, and that President Clinton had announced the Desert Fox had ended before 6:00 PM on December 19<sup>th</sup>. This leaves a period of 10 hours between the damage assessment that went into Table Five and the end of the war, and most strikes had actually ended by the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> in Iraq because the US and Britain carried out most strikes at night. There were additional strikes, and the battle damage assessment data in Table Five was preliminary. Nevertheless, any dramatic new claims had to create a credibility problem, particularly in the context of the impeachment process and the prior problems in the exaggerated victory claims made at the end of Desert Storm.

Figures One to Three show an astounding rise in overall effectiveness between the damage assessments published on December 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, and the new type of assessment published on December 21<sup>st</sup>. The US almost certainly did improve our performance in the final strikes of the war, but leaping from conservative reporting of 28% destroyed and severe damage on the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup>, to 74% highly effective strikes on the 21<sup>st</sup>, virtually defied credibility. It also involved some minor statistical slight of hand, since these new percentages are only based on the strikes actually executed and not the total numbers of strikes planned. The percentages drop to an 83% hit rate and 72.5% highly successful strike rate *if* the full target base is considered.

To claim 85% hit rate and that 74% of all strikes were highly effective was to play with words. The US also failed to provide a meaningful definition of what a statement that “85% hit rate and that 74% of all strikes were highly effective” really meant. The criteria used in Table Six not only cannot be reconciled with the reporting in Tables Two and Three, they seem use definitions and methods of analysis that would turn virtually every military operation into success. Such data essentially say that any military action is successful. If you hit at all, you succeed.

Looking back, the Department of Defense seems to have first rushed into copying the battle damage assessment approach to briefing that USCENTCOM used during Desert Storm without bothering to consider that the objective had nothing to do with destroying 50% of Iraq's ground forces in the Kuwaiti Theater of Operations and preparing the world for the political impact of a ground invasion of Iraq. It then tried to "spin" its way into more favorable press reporting on December 21<sup>st</sup>. In doing so, it overreacted to the fact the media did not understand the Department's previous battle damage claims, and had given them unfavorable coverage.

The end result was a new math that created a completing different damage category called "confirmed damage." This category now included both light to moderate damage, and the impact on US battle damage assessment claims is shown in Table Six, along with the words that the Pentagon used to summarize the level of success in attacking each category. The US also reduced Desert Fox to a simple punch-line, or sound bite, under conditions where this was the last thing it needed to do. The Department's briefing aids claimed an 85% hit rate and that 74% of all strikes were highly effective.

These data were issued at the same time that General Zinni and other Pentagon officials were cautioning that full bomb-damage-assessment could take months, that pictures are often deceiving and that Iraq may have to be attacked again, but the new data raised massive and immediate problems about their credibility. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that much of the world found it hard to take these claims seriously. Most reporters are neither statisticians or systems analysts, but they could intuitively understand the sudden changes taking place in US battle damage assessments that are displayed in mathematical terms in Figures One to Three. The problem was not that the Department of Defense lied; its numbers were almost certainly correct. The problem was that it created a much more serious credibility problem than the one it was attempting to solve – which by this time already had been largely solved by the fact the media had had a four day crash course in battle damage assessment.

Interestingly enough, Russia responded by issuing its own damage claims. General Valentin Korabelnikov, the head of Russia's GRU military intelligence agency, estimates that

every fifth missile fired on Iraq from December 16-20 had failed to hit its target. "The strikes were not as effective as the Pentagon said. The destruction of several civilian sites, which have had nothing to do with military installations or possible centers where weapons of mass destruction could be designed or produced, testifies to this." Korabelnikov reported on the results of an early intelligence survey of Operation Desert Fox at a meeting of defense ministers of the post-Soviet Commonwealth of Independent states in Moscow. Russian Defense Minister Marshal Igor Sergeyev had addressed the meeting earlier on Monday, and called on the CIS armed forces to cooperate more closely because the United States, with the bombing of Iraq, had become "unpredictable."

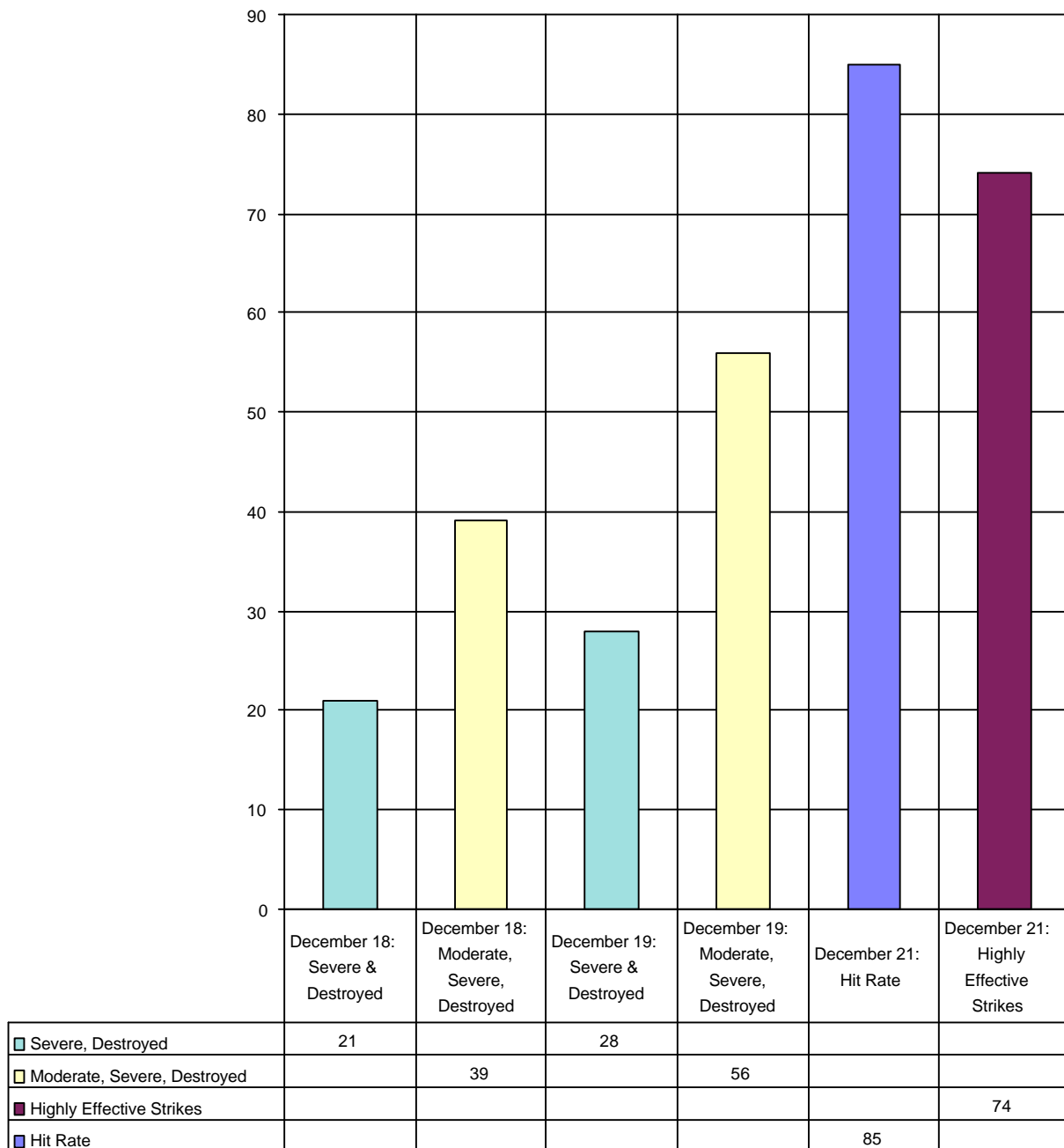
One obvious lesson of this experience is not to change definitions and reporting methods without extensive explanation, to avoid doing-so in mid-crisis, and to consider the credibility problems enforced by outside issues like the impeachment issues. The broader issue, however, is whether US political and strategic objectives are really served by a Nintendo or sports cast approach to war. Reducing Desert Fox to inept statistical sound bites simplified it to the point where much of the narrative content of General Zinni's briefing was ignored, along with most of the political and strategic mission. In fact, the briefings were strikingly similar to the worst oversimplifications during Desert Storm.

It may be unfair to blame the mentality surrounding the RMA for what happened, but it simply isn't clear why reporting on the toys is a high priority during a largely political conflict. At best, it forces a rush to judgment that can later prove to be highly embarrassing for reasons that have little to do with US policy objectives. At worst, it distracts from the messages the US should communicate and creates a major credibility problem. The kind of BDA dispute the US got into during Desert Fox should never have happened in the first place. Such data play an important role in helping the world understand the implications and nature of a conflict after it is over, and once the US has full confidence in the data and can provide a full supporting explanation. The message, however, should always link military action to desired political and strategic results. It should not be, "He who uses the best toys wins."



Table SixDesert Fox Damage Assessment as of 1400 on December 21, 1998

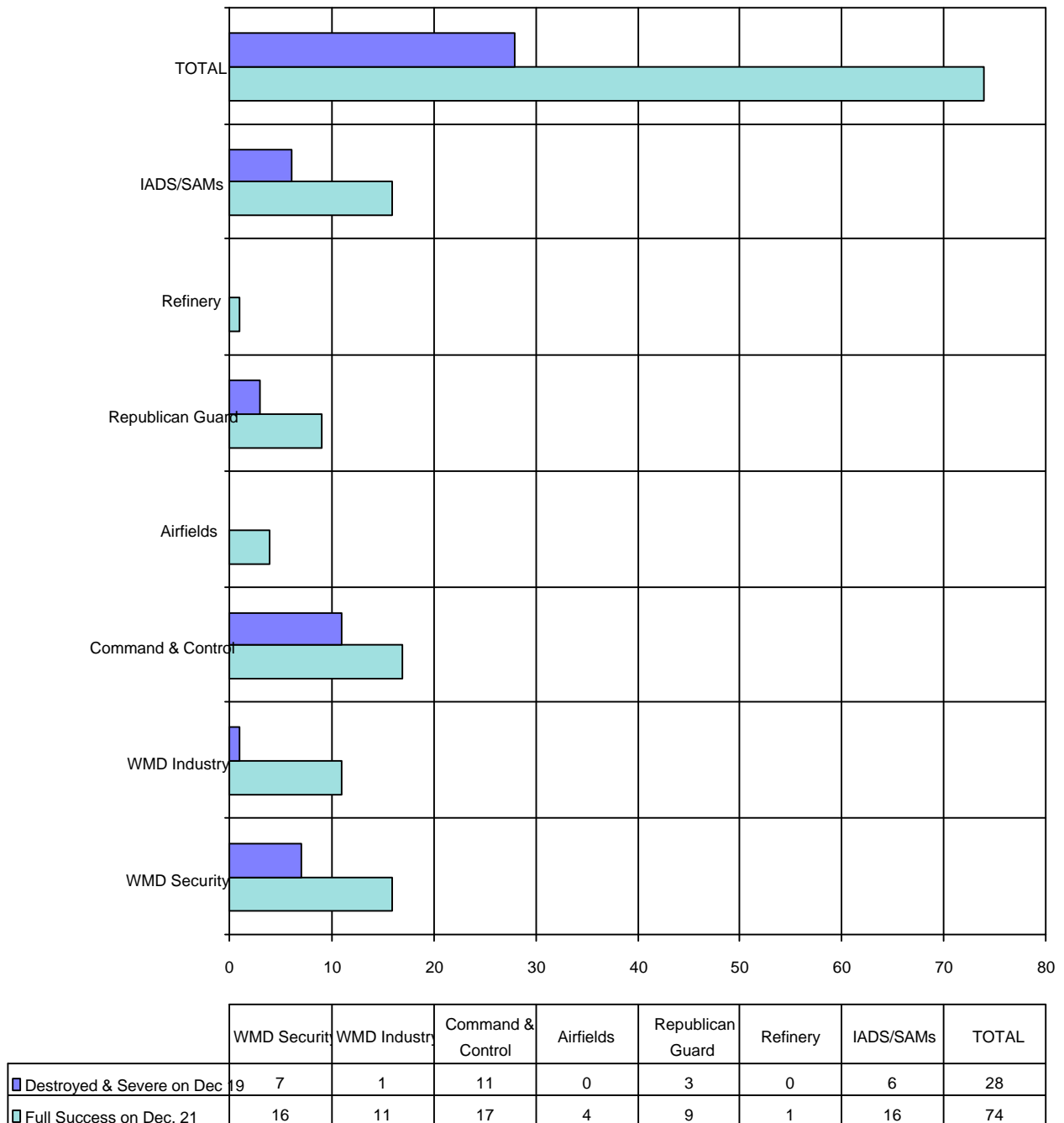
<u>Target Set</u>	<u>Targets – Planned/Executed</u>		<u>Impacts – Hit/Missed</u>		<u>Success – Full/Partial</u>	
<u>Weapons of Mass</u>						
<u>Destruction/Security</u> (Attack the Iraq leadership's security apparatus. Degrade national command and control system.)	18	18	18	0	16	2
<u>Weapons of Mass</u>						
<u>Destruction/Missile Industry</u> (Degrade/delay WMD program and key enabling technologies. Ability to produce ballistic missiles delayed one year.)	12	12	12	0	11	1
<u>Command and Control</u> (Attack strategic center of gravity; degrade national command and control system. High value regime C2 targets attacked. Capability to command and control WMD, security and operational military forces severely degraded.)	21	20	18	2	17	1
<u>Airfields</u> (Destroy high value assets difficult for Iraq to replace. Degrade helicopter Capability.)	6	6	5	1	4	1
<u>Republican Guard</u> (Degrade capability to reinforce security efforts or move forces north or south. Ability to use RFGC in strike against Kuwait degraded.)	9	9	9	0	9	0
<u>Refinery</u> (Deny Saddam revenues from illegal oil exports.)	1	1	1	0	1	0
<u>Integrated Air Defense System</u>	19	18	13	5	8	5
<u>Surface-to-Air Missile</u> (Set conditions for air operations, degrade Iraq's air defense system. Critical IADS nodes and strategic SAM fire direction centers below 33° north degraded.)	16	16	9	5	8	1
TOTAL	102	100	85	13	74	11

Figure OneVictory in Desert Fox: What a Difference a Change in Definitions Makes in Less Than a Day

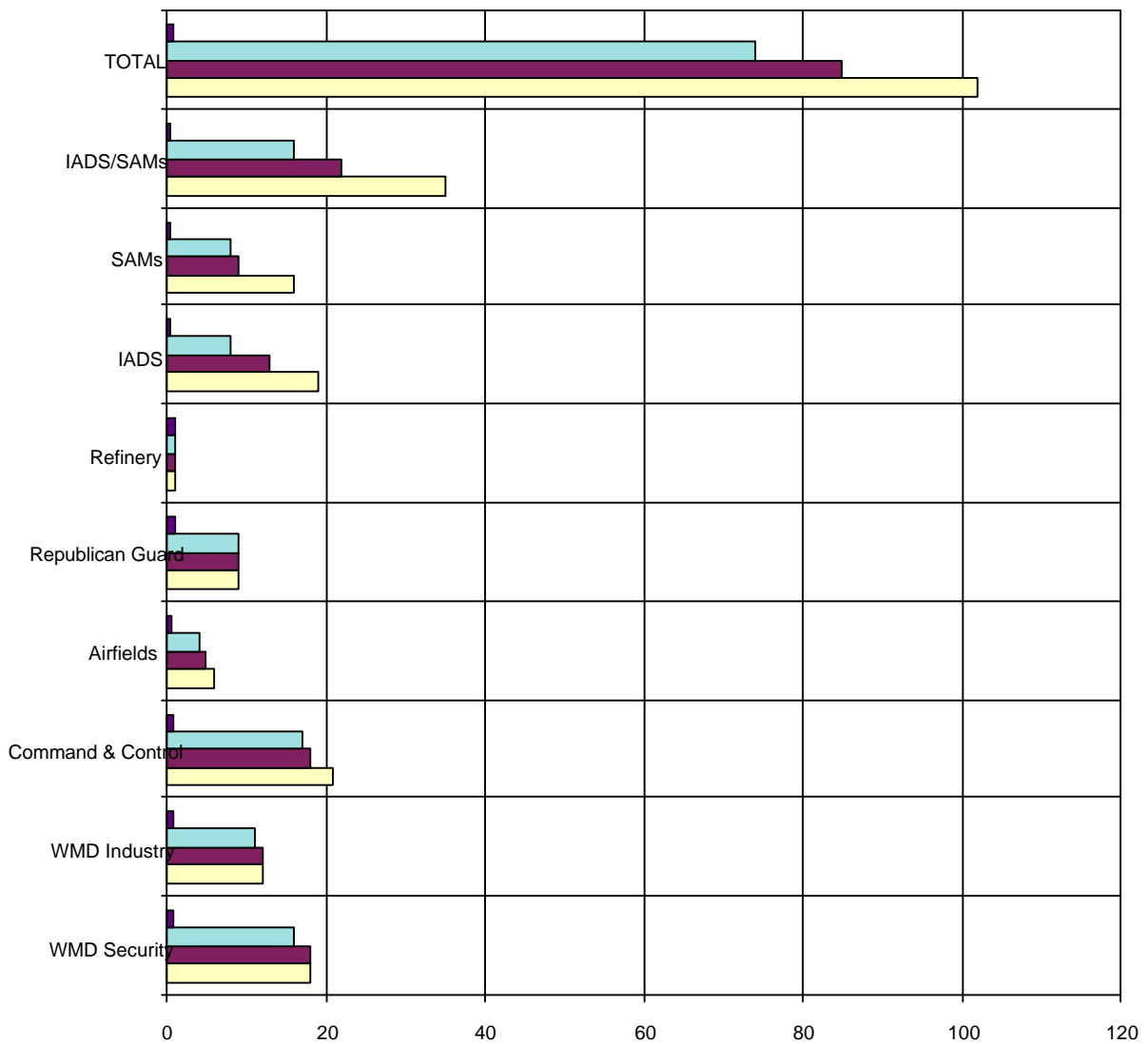
Source: Adapted by Anthony H. Cordesman from data provided by OSD Public Affairs on the days shown.

Figure Two

Victory in Desert Fox: Destroyed and Severe Damage on December 19 versus Full Success on December 21



Source: Adapted by Anthony H. Cordesman from data provided by OSD Public Affairs on the days shown.

.Figure ThreeVictory in Desert Fox: Success by Category of Target Announced on December 21

	WMD Security	WMD Industry	Command Control	Airfields	Republican Guard	Refinery	IADS	SAMs	IADS/SAM	TOTAL
■ Success as a % of Planned	89%	92%	81%	67.00%	100%	100%	42%	50%	46%	83%
■ Full Success	16	11	17	4	9	1	8	8	16	74
■ Hits	18	12	18	5	9	1	13	9	22	85
■ Targets Planned	18	12	21	6	9	1	19	16	35	102

Source: Adapted by Anthony H. Cordesman from data provided by OSD Public Affairs on the days shown.

### ***The Unsettled Issue of Weapons Effectiveness***

There are other problems with the numbers the Department of Defense issued on the 21<sup>st</sup>. They raise unanswerable questions about the effectiveness of given weapons and related targeting, command and control, sensor, and battle management systems. Desert Fox involved over 600 sorties in four days. Over 300 of those were night strike sorties. Over 300 aircraft were involved in strike and support roles. Over 600 pieces of ordnance and 90 cruise missiles were delivered by these aircraft. Over 40 ships performed strike and support roles with ten of them launching over 300 TLAM missiles. This is a total of over 1,000 strikes using cruise missiles, precision-guided munitions, and bombs.

The US claimed that 73 out of the 96 targets reported sustained some damage, but did not provide data on weapons effectiveness except on a limited background basis. The clearest link between strikes and weapons effectiveness now on the record seems to be the comments of Air Marshall Day during a British press conference on December 22<sup>nd</sup>, when he attempted to explain the new US figures in the midst of a storm of press questions about their credibility. Day stated:

What these statistics mean is that 15% of the weapons missed their intended target. This could be for a variety of reasons, for example, a technical failure or, in the case of manned bomber attacks, the wrong target being identified and hit. Target misidentification has only happened in attacks on military complexes, so a military target has been struck but it was not the intended target. 11% of the attacks appear to have received only light damage. This means that we think that the target may still be operational. Subsequent more detailed battle damage assessment may however show that the damage was in fact severe enough to degrade or even destroy the target's operational capability.

The Department of Defense did provide follow-up briefings on a background basis that claimed more than 90% of all SLCM strikes "hit their targets." This is a striking number, given the fact that the Tomahawk had averaged successful launch rate of about 60% during Desert Storm, and about 60% of the missiles fired then did serious damage to their targets. It means that Desert Fox went from a damage rate of 36%, which is far different from a severe damage or kill rate even if the target is valid, to a success rate of 90% plus. Senior US officials also stated that the air-launched CALM had become a highly lethal and accurate weapon, a major shift in comparison with its almost universal failure during Desert Storm, but did not provide details. No

data were made available on the effectiveness of the air dropped guided and unguided munitions, but they presumably included B-1B strikes with bombs that did comparatively limited damage per round.

As a result, it is still almost impossible to know what Desert Fox did not reveal about the effectiveness of US weapons and C<sup>3</sup>I/SR systems, and their impact on the Revolution in Military Affairs and Joint Vision 2010. The US fired something on the order of three-quarters of a billion dollars worth of ordnance in Desert Fox, if the total costs are calculated to include the RDT&E costs (the Pentagon usually conveniently omits from its cost estimates). It planned to hit 102 targets, executed strikes against 100, and hit 85. It fired something on the order of 415 cruise missiles and hit 85 targets, an average of 5 missiles per target hit. It flew 650 sorties, an average of 7.6 sorties per target hit, and fired over 600 pieces of air ordnance. If one uses the total of 1,065 for missiles and sorties/ordnance, the number is 12.5 weapons per target struck. In the real world, this is very good performance for the level of activity involved, but it is scarcely the “perfect war” implied by the Pentagon statistics.

## **Damage Assessment and Strategic Impact by Target Set**

It is equally difficult to know what Desert Fox does or does not reveal about the US ability to create a target list that achieves key individual political and strategic objectives, to destroy or damage them, and then to accurately assess the resulting effects. Regardless of the physical damage the US and Britain did or did not achieve, Desert Fox was a limited military exchange in which the impact of strikes on Iraqi behavior was generally more important than damage per se. In the other cases, the issue was not whether the US and Britain could destroy a given Iraqi capability, but rather whether a limited number of strikes achieve enough damage in a given area to have a major impact on that Iraqi capability.

The Department of Defense has gradually issued claims that imply Desert Fox was often more effective than it reported on December 21<sup>st</sup>. In a number of these cases, however, it is far from clear that the Desert Fox had the claimed impact, and whether Desert Fox led to given changes in Iraqi behavior or these occurred for internal reasons, at least partly independent of the

targeting and strikes that took place between December 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>. These uncertainties become far clearer when the claims to date are analyzed by target set. In each case, uncertainties arise that not only raise questions about Desert Fox, but about the apolitical and anti-strategic character of the RMA and Joint Vision 2010.

### ***Concealment Sites for Weapons of Mass Destruction***

An examination of the strikes on “concealment sites” for weapons of mass destruction indicates that such strikes were probably intended more to intimidate and destabilize the regime than to actually limit Iraq’s ability to proliferate. As a result, they may often have been something of an empty gesture in military terms, although they maintain political importance. The past quotes from various briefings have shown that senior US officials felt few of these facilities had extensive stocks of weapons or critical equipment. Much of the key weapons and equipment were probably dispersed to unknown locations, and even hard equipment and weapons in facilities often survives the destruction of the building.

### ***Counterproliferation, Intimidation, or Destabilization***

The US never clearly tied its battle damage assessment strikes on “concealment sites” for weapons of mass destruction to efforts to intimidate and/or destabilize the Iraqi regime – nor is there any reason that the US should make such an effort public. It is important to note, however, that the US clearly had this objective in mind.

General Zinni gave a follow-up press conference regarding Desert Fox on January 8, 1999, in which he stated:

We are looking at reports that certain senior leadership targets that were hit, that there were senior leadership members in there who were part of the casualty lists, especially in the special security organizations and in the Republican Guard. Again, we’re still in an attempt to confirm those reports as to who they are, what positions they held, verify names that we’re getting. I won’t go into that in any more detail than that.

In the aftermath of DESERT FOX we’ve seen a number of unusual things internally that I think clearly demonstrate that he was shaken and the regime was shaken. We have

seen executions in the south, one division, in particular, lost its commander and several others.

I mentioned before that he broke his country into four sectors, put some very ruthless people in charge. In the south, “Chemical” Ali [Ali Hasan Al-Majid] who is famous for putting the chemicals on the Kurds in the north at Halabja and also for ruthlessly punishing the Shias in the south. It looks like he may have been behind some of these executions, and there might be still some going on. Military ranks and civilians also.

We have seen and heard reports of problems elsewhere in the country. Again, I can’t put a measure on this and tell you that they’re significant, not significant, but there’s a number of reports coming to this effect.

Probably the most remarkable thing in my mind was the Army Day speech by Saddam. I think that was clear evidence of his isolation. The language he used, his attack on all the other leaders in the region I think showed a degree of desperation that we hadn’t seen before. To us, that speech was shocking. If there was any attributed propaganda victory afterwards, certainly it didn’t work in terms of the other leaders in the region for him to react that way. And I think we’re seeing from the AOR, the area of responsibility, media and the reaction of the leaders in the region that they bristle at this particular attack on them.

Q: General, what’s the basis of the reporting that some of the top leaders... Is it that they’re not showing up at meetings? Is it that they’re not showing up on television? How solid is this information?

A: We don’t know. I mean we have seen those reports with obviously the evidence that there’s some leaders that seem to be missing. I have no particular confirmation as to what this means, whether they have been excluded, purged, or off about some other business, or what might be going on.

But again, we’re seeing a lot of these kinds of things happen, some of which we’re unsure what they mean. But there’s enough out there that’s sort of circumstantial evidence and some hard evidence like the executions, that there is a degree of internal control problems and unrest. And again, the speech on the 5<sup>th</sup>, and what he did was remarkable in our eyes.

Q: You say Saddam is shaken by this, but would you be willing to draw the judgment that his hold on power has been a lesson that he is less secure in his control of the Iraqi regime than he was before these strikes?

A: I would be reluctant to make a judgment as to how much control he may have lost or how shaken he is. I would, I do believe personally that he is shaken. I don’t think you would have heard the words in that speech;



I don't think you would have seen these actions that he's taken to put these ruthless guys in charge, to create an overlay command and control organization over the existing one if he trusted it. It's obvious that that organization was not done for any military purpose, certainly no reaction to DESERT FOX or anything that we've done.

So I think there are signs there that there is a degree of loss of control, and he is shaken. Now to what degree that is and how significant it is, I couldn't make that judgment.

There is no way to distinguish how much of strikes on concealment facilities contributed to this assessment, versus strikes on command and control facilities, and the Republican Guards. It is clear, however, that attacking empty concealment facilities has little purpose. Furthermore, the inability to know exactly what mix of targets alters regime behavior seems to be an uncertainty that no one can ever fully resolve without transparent knowledge of the enemy's perceptions. This, in itself, may be an important lesson as to the limits of the RMA and Joint Vision 2010. Intelligence analysts and targeteers can guess and make predictions about political behavior. They cannot know.

### ***Physical Damage to Concealment Sites and the "Empty Building" Problem***

These uncertainties are compounded by other problems that make it difficult to determine what Desert Fox did or did not do. The US has said it chose the concealment of 18 targets. As is the case with all such target data, it never stated how many targets existed and what percentage were struck – although US officials did say later that the US examined a total of over 2,600 possible Iraqi targets before it choose the 102 targets used for planning in Desert Fox.

Tables Four through Six show that only seven concealment targets were destroyed or had severe damage on December 19<sup>th</sup>, but that the Pentagon claimed full success against 16 targets on December 21st. These success claims seem strange, given the fact that General Zinni stated at the same press conference that the Special Republican Guards, Republican Guards, and other Iraqis began dispersing before the US started Desert Fox:

Q: For how many hours were the Iraqis dispersing before the first missiles struck?

General Zinni: I don't have the exact figures. A few hours before. I think once they saw the UNSCOM team coming out they were beginning to react.

Q: That was the trigger for the dispersal, you figure?

General Zinni: I believe that it probably was.

General Zinni amplified these comments during a press conference on January 8, 1999, in ways which illustrate the kind of uncertainties that even the most precise strikes raise, regardless of how successful they may be.

Q: Can we return briefly to the empty buildings or the non-empty buildings?

A: Yes.

Q: As you've looked at the number of targets that you destroyed, you obviously had a calculation that some of them would be empty. Is there a way to quantify in percentages or something most of the buildings now that you thought might have been empty actually had stuff in them, they weren't as clever as we thought? How do we...

A: I can say that we had several buildings, especially the ones we hit on the first night, that didn't have the opportunity to disperse valuable pieces of machinery and equipment. Other buildings obviously hit later on or moved rapidly when they had the first indication, and again, I think I mentioned before, probably UNSCOM's departure might have been the trigger that did begin dispersal, some were in the process. Others hit later on that moved a good deal of equipment out, was dispersed out, and then so was not affected.

Q: There were quite a few of the targets that were still empty buildings.

A: If I had to give you a number I would say that there was something in all the buildings. Obviously they prioritized what they had to get out. I would say in half the buildings they either didn't get it out, or they didn't get enough out of what we would consider the critical pieces of equipment.

I think I mentioned before, you can look at this in whole numbers. I mean I can tell you we had 100 targets, and I can tell you, take the WMD, the command and control, the most significant targets. We struck and damaged significantly 85 percent of those. But what does that mean?

Within those target sets there were what we call target elements that are critical. You went after this building for a special reason. Maybe there was a test facility within the building. Maybe there was a wind tunnel. Maybe there was a special piece of machinery or equipment. To get that critical piece of equipment then made the effect greater in our

mind. It was not only the damage to the building and the infrastructure and how long it would take to replace that. But now you've got a one and only one unique piece of equipment necessary for missile development. As we're beginning to see those effects come in, we've upped our estimate because of the success we're getting and the confirmation of those kinds of results.

These comments illustrate a key military problem in many of the target sets in Desert Fox: How do you assign a value to the target? Destroying enemy forces, key lines of communication, and key command and control facilities has a clear impact on enemy warfighting capabilities. Attacking targets that *may* have an impact on enemy behavior creates far more uncertainties. What is the value of a "concealment site?" How do you distinguish one intelligence or security headquarter from another, and what level of damage matters? How do you distinguish, intimidate, and deter from irritate and provoke?

These questions and uncertainties are as old as the history of strategic bombing, and the steady improvement in military capability to target and destroy has not answered any of them. In fact, the questions are just as difficult to answer if the buildings are full as if they are empty. They were not answered in the strategic bombing effort in the Gulf War, they were not answered in this aspect of Desert Fox, and they remain a basic challenge to much of the thinking that goes into the "revolution in military affairs" and Joint Vision.

### ***Weapons of Mass Destruction Industrial Targets***

As the previous analysis has shown, US officials made it clear that Desert Fox only targeted a limited number of targets involving the production of weapons of mass destruction. The only aspect of this target set where the US claimed to have inflicted serious damage was on the missile production facilities. Secretary Cohen and General Shelton made this point at their briefings on December 19<sup>th</sup>, as did General Zinni on the 21<sup>st</sup>. General Shelton provided additional data during the readiness hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1999 He said the strikes have delayed Iraq's ballistic missile program by one to two years and that critical production components have been destroyed.

### ***Strikes on Missile Production Facilities***

General Zinni provided a detailed description of the damage to the missile plant during his follow-up press conference on Desert Fox on January 8, 1999:

We have upped our estimate on the time it would take Saddam to repair the damages from Desert Fox from one to two years. The basis for this is as we've done more analysis we found that in some of the structures we struck, these were not empty buildings as some people reported. In some cases, especially in the first night's strikes, he didn't have the opportunity to disperse critical equipment within. Obviously in other buildings there was evidence of dispersal, and not all equipment but some was hit.

In this equipment now that we're seeing that was struck and severely damaged, we're seeing some unique pieces of equipment necessary for his missile development program. Things like test stands and other kinds of test facilities, special kinds of presses and equipment that he would have to go external to get and were one of a kind again.

In addition to that we're seeing some of the structural damage that was far more severe than obviously we initially saw from maybe a hole in the building, but then finally [we found] the penetration [was] much deeper, structural damage beyond repair to some of the critical facilities.

It is obvious from these descriptions that Desert Fox did attempt to focus on one critical node in the Iraqi process of proliferation, and achieved major physical damage. The question of exactly how long it will delay Iraqi missile production is one that only time can answer. *A warning about both the inherent limits to the targeting and damage assessment capabilities of the RMA, and the limits of any counterproliferation campaign.*

### ***Strikes on Iraqi RPV Facilities***

Some key equipment may have been dispersed before the strikes or have been too sheltered to destroy. Hits at RPVs sites like the L29 unmanned aerial vehicle program suspected of carrying biological weapons may have hit targets dedicated to reconnaissance drones and not the delivery of weapons of mass destruction. There were at least 12 targets. Only one was destroyed or had severe damage on December 19, Yet, the Pentagon claimed full success against 11 targets on December 21.

### *Surviving Chemical and Biological Capabilities*

President Clinton, Secretary Albright, and Secretary Cohen warned from the outset that the US would not target many of Iraq's chemical and biological warfare capabilities, and would not take the risk of targeting many dual use facilities. Avoiding strikes on major dual-use facilities and sites with a high probability of storing biological and chemical weapons meant, however, that many key industrial facilities were left intact. So did US inability to target dispersed Iraqi chemical and biological weapons.

As General Zinni stated on December 21<sup>st</sup>, the US and British strikes left substantial Iraqi resources intact:

Q: ...UNSCOM has said that there's unaccounted inventories of missiles, artillery shells, bombs that they believe are filled with possibly chemical and biological material, did you hit any weapons depots or weapons sites where you believe there was chemical and biological material?

General Zinni: None that we know of. But again, I think you point out the reason why it was important to keep UNSCOM in operation and with full access. The only way we know is through UNSCOM.

Q: Did you destroy any Scuds at all? And did you use the GBU-28, the 5,000-pound bomb at all?

General Zinni: The answer to the second one is no. And the Scuds, I have no knowledge that we have destroyed any Scuds.

Secretary Cohen provided further background during his late afternoon press conference on military readiness and pay issues on December 21<sup>st</sup>:

Q: One more on Iraq, if you will. I know you've talked about this a lot, but we've heard about targeting the security and the control apparatus for weapons of mass destruction, and we've heard about targeting the means of delivering them. But there do not seem to be any targets that were actually weapons of mass destruction, production facilities. That's probably because you don't where they are. Am I correct in thinking that?

Secretary Cohen: That's the reason why UNSCOM was important to be on the ground. We have consistently for the past several years indicated that UNSCOM must be allowed to carry out its mandate. They are the best means we have of determining on the ground

whether or not such facilities are being used either for fertilizer production or for poison weapon production. When Saddam Hussein effectively barred them from carrying out their job, we had to take an alternative course of action, and that was to degrade as best we could his capacity to deliver them. So we did not try to specifically target either factories that might be producing petrochemicals for fertilizer or for drugs or other types of non-weaponized use. So we're hoping that Saddam Hussein will see the wisdom of allowing the inspectors back to do their job because he'll never find relief from those sanctions until such time as he does so.

### ***Counterproliferation and Strategic Bombing***

Time will tell whether or not Desert Fox delayed Iraqi missile production by six months, a year, or two years. It will also determine whether such calculations are possible even with a very limited target set with a known purpose. In broader terms, Desert Fox raises just as many questions about the ability of strategic bombing to deal with counterproliferation as Desert Storm.

Does a counterproliferation campaign that only focuses on missiles really deter or delay, or does it drive an opponent into asymmetric warfare using unconventional means of delivery? Is it possible to destroy dispersed chemical and biological weapons and production assets with any effectiveness? What recovery times exist given the fact that intellectual capital inevitably survives? Does a limited series of strikes simply force an enemy to improve concealment and protection, making the problem worse in the long run? At what point are dual-use facilities acceptable targets, and how effective can such a targeting program be? What is the risk of creating massive collateral damage – with all of the inevitable political backlash – and then not blocking proliferation effectively? At what point is an enemy driven into launch under attack or launch on warning?

These questions are unimportant in total war with perfect intelligence, perfect targeting, and perfect ability to destroy – assumptions that seem to be made in some of the discussions of the RMA, counterproliferation programs, and Joint Vision 2010. Simulation after simulation has shown, however, that they are extremely unrealistic in real life, as has US experience in Desert Storm and Desert Fox. This does not mean that degrading enemy capabilities to proliferate is not

a good thing. It does mean that we are experimenting with a new and critical aspect of warfare where we simply do not as yet know what we are doing.

### ***Command and Control Facilities***

Unquestionably, Desert Fox did do serious damage to some of Iraq's command and control facilities, and probably destroyed significant amounts of imported equipment that cannot be fully replaced until Iraq has access to military imports. This damage led Air Marshall Day to claim on December 22<sup>nd</sup>:

We have severely disrupted his senior level command and control network. These targets are particularly important because Saddam is afraid of a coup by his officers and makes all decisions himself. He therefore relies on an effective command and control system to pass his instructions to his commanders, and we assess that he will now be finding it far harder to control his military and his internal security forces as a result of the damage which we have inflicted.

General Shelton said during the readiness hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee on January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1999, that some key command and control facilities were hit, and "highly visible symbols of the regime were destroyed.

Once again, however, there is good reason to question the overall level of success the Department of Defense reported in the BDA statistics it issued on December 21<sup>st</sup>. A total of 21 targets were selected. A total of 11 were said to have been destroyed or had severe damage on December 19. Yet, the Pentagon claimed full success against 17 targets on December 21. This is a sudden rise from 52% success to 81% success, assuming that hitting these targets really matters.

General Zinni described the impact of strikes on command and control facilities in more modest terms during the same briefing:

Q:...that it won and that all the United States did was bomb empty buildings where they had already moved things out of.

General Zinni: I would just say to that that a lot of infrastructure was obviously destroyed. I would say to you that after eight years, you can just look at the Iraqi military and see the degradation, inability to modernize, the readiness rates. There are a lot of troops and a lot of headquarters that have no place to go home to and have lost a lot of the ability to

command and control and a lot of equipment. I don't know how you measure that as a victory in any way. I think our friends in the region and others clearly look at what happened to Iraq and realize that Saddam suffered a defeat.

General Zinni provided further details during a press conference on December 23<sup>rd</sup>. He warned that Iraq could quickly rebuild the military command and communication systems, which were hit during the US and British strikes. The US also provided background briefs that indicated that Saddam had divided Iraq into four major sectors, which he placed under trusted political lieutenants in preparation for possible US and British strikes. In October 1998, these lieutenants were given the authority to take command over their sectors if US and British strikes severed the command links with Baghdad, and their authority bypassed the normal chain of command.

- The Northern Command, which included the Iraqi 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Corps, was given to Staff General Izzat Ibrahim, a long-term supporter of Saddam who had been the subject of an assassination attempt a month earlier.
- The Southern Command was given control of the Iraqi 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Corps and the Iraqi Navy, and was placed under Staff General Hasan al-Majid – one of Saddam's most ruthless lieutenants and a key figure in both Iraq's chemical weapons programs and persecution of its Kurds and Shi'ites.
- The Central Euphrates Command was given control over the Shi'ite areas in the southern-central part of Iraq and placed under Mohammed Hamzah al-Zubaidi, a Ba'ath Party leader. Zubaidi was not given formal command of any major forces, but was given responsibility for ensuring that no Shi'ite unrest broke out, and had the support of two Republican Guards divisions in the area (which seem to be under the control of Qusay Hussein).
- Finally, the Central Region Command around Baghdad was put directly under the command of Staff General Sultan Hashim Ahmad, who was given command of the Iraqi 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps. This effectively put all of the troops in the Baghdad area directly under the authority of Saddam Hussein, since, he already had de facto direct command over the Republican Guards and Special Republican Guards units in the area, and Ahmad reported directly to him.

Saddam does seem to have moved elements of the Republican Guards into positions designed to secure key lines of communications in the north and south during Desert Fox, and to have deployed other elements to reinforce the security of Baghdad. Both White House and USCENTCOM officials also indicated after Desert Fox, that Hasan al-Majid had purged elements



of the regular forces in the Iraqi 3<sup>rd</sup> Corps. Also, that there had been arrests and executions in at least one regular army division in the Corps (the 11<sup>th</sup>), as well as of Shi'ite civilians.

As for the strikes on TV stations and jammers, the strikes did knock out Shabab (Youth) Television, an Iraqi station owned by President Saddam Hussein's son Uday, and Iraq's satellite television station on the first nights of the attack. Shabab resumed broadcasting only nine days after it was hit, however, although Iraq's satellite television station remained for some time longer.

Degrading enemy command and control capabilities almost certainly has intrinsic merit. It can deter and intimidate as well as limit enemy operations. Desert Storm showed that attacking command and control capabilities continuously during a prolonged conflict, can have a major impact on warfighting. Desert Fox, however, involved limited number of strikes and had much less impact. Iraq could restore basic command functions relatively quickly, and some elements of the intelligence services and Special Republican Guards seem to have relocated before the attacks began. In any such limited encounter, recovery is virtually certain and the issue becomes one of the extent to which strikes and damage producing desirable lasting changes in enemy perceptions and behavior.

Once again, basic issues arise. How do you identify and value targets? How do you determine the required damage and assess it? How do you determine the political and behavioral aspects of such strikes? Experience shows that virtually any serious set of strikes will encourage the paranoid tendencies of this Iraqi regime. In fact, it has spent the last 20 years demonstrating that it will suddenly reorganize Iraq's command structure and purge on the basis of suspicion – “execute the usual suspects.” The problem is tying Iraqi behavior to any specific damage the US did or did not inflict during Desert Fox, and the strikes during Desert Fox may have been given credit for more political impact than they really had. It is also disturbing that Iraq had given contingency plans to its forces to deal with a loss of command authority that might have triggered Iraqi military action if they had been implemented. One needs to be very careful about striking at C<sup>4</sup>I in a “launch -on-warning country.”

Does this mean we should not attack leadership and command and control targets? Scarcely? Does this mean we do not know exactly what we are doing, and still have only a vague idea of how to attack the enemy's decision-making loop? Damn right!

### ***Republican Guards Headquarters***

The US reported significant damage to the Iraqi Republican Guards. Although it never indicated how much of the total force it had targeted, it claimed on December 21<sup>st</sup> that 9 such targets were planned and 9 were hit. These claims presents the usual problems in terms of credibility because the US had said a total of only 3 targets were destroyed or had severe damage on December 19, but claimed full success against all 9 targets on December 21.

The data the US has made public does not make it possible to resolve these issues or to clearly distinguish the effect of hitting the Republican Guards from the impact of strikes on concealment sites, the Special Republican Guards, and command and control facilities that may be related. Hitting the division and corps headquarters of the Republican Guard probably did, however, damage large amounts of imported equipment that cannot be fully replaced until Iraq has access to military imports. It also seems to have produced some casualties.

The problem lies in trying to estimate the importance of such strikes. Army units are designed to operate away from their peacetime headquarters. Iraq is a very authoritarian country, but it does not need fixed facilities to execute personal authority down to the major combat unit level. The Guards basic command functions almost certainly proved relatively easy to replace. The largest buildings of the Special Republican Guards also have only about 400-600 personnel. The average buildings have 200. Assuming that the US had perfect success, all buildings were fully occupied, and all the occupants were killed on the first night, this would still have produced a maximum of 2,600 casualties out of force of 30,000.

General Zinni made several of these caveats regarding this aspect of the damage to both the Republican Guards and Special Republican Guards during his press conference on December 21<sup>st</sup>:

Q: A question about the Republican Guard. How many divisions of the six did you all target? And how do you translate attacking the infrastructure into their combat effectiveness vis-a-vis Kuwait?

General Zinni: Well, I would say that first of all, understand the role of the Republican Guard. They are obviously the elite forces. They normally lead the attacks or certainly “bolster,” and I would put that in quotes, the regular army who may have to be encouraged to attack by being directly behind them. They are the most significant, most loyal, most ruthless of his forces.

In terms of “did our bombing do damage?” I think equipment loss, I think headquarters loss, command and control loss. It’s pretty tough if you’re a troop in the field. You’ve got no place to go home to at night, and you see the level of damage that you see in these photos. That has to be fairly demoralizing...

Q: You don’t have any figures on casualties to the Republican Guard...before the bombs fell? Did most of those troops evacuate before the bombs fell? Tariq Aziz gave the following figures for the total of Republican Guards and Special Republican Guards. Thirty-eight martyred, as he said, and 100 wounded. Is there any way that those you think are accurate?

General Zinni: I have no way of telling.

Q: Didn’t you, though, intend to kill thousands of those Republican Guard troops?

General Zinni: Our intention was to attack the infrastructure of the Republican Guard. There was dispersal immediately before. We did see some. I can’t tell you how much we saw. We are not in the business of body counting. We have not gone about that or made any attempt to make that part of the figures here. I feel [about] the kinds of things we went after, equipment and infrastructure, we were highly successful.”

Q: Can you go back to the whole issue of equipment in a little more detail? And talk about where, how many tanks, APCs you destroyed. Did you actually destroy also missile inventories, artillery, and bombs? What ordnance and delivery systems did you really hit?

General Zinni: Obviously, I think you know we went after missile production and missile repair facilities. We went after surface-to-air missile sites. In terms of getting down to individual pieces of equipment, my being able to tell you how many APCs or tanks or FROG missiles or whatever, we don’t have that yet. That’s part of the sort of more granular assessment that we will have to do. We may never know exactly.

General Zinni provided more detail with time, and increasingly linked his discussions to the evidence relating to Iraq’s political instability. He provided the following details at a press conference on January 8<sup>th</sup>:

...General Zinni, I know there's been discussion of casualties. I don't have a figure for you. We have some bits and pieces of reports that we feel are solid, but nowhere in our mind paint the full picture. We have reports that range from 600 to 2,000, for example, in the Republican Guard. I can't confirm the validity of those reports. I can't tell you whether it's more like 600 or more like 2,000. Again, we stay very conservative. We only look at those intelligence reports that we can confirm and validate.

We are looking at reports that certain senior leadership targets that were hit, that there were senior leadership members in there who were part of the casualty lists, especially in the special security organizations and in the Republican Guard. Again, we're still in an attempt to confirm those reports as to who they are, what positions they held, verify names that we're getting. I won't go into that in any more detail than that.

In the aftermath of DESERT FOX we've seen a number of unusual things internally that I think clearly demonstrate that he was shaken and the regime was shaken. We have seen executions in the south, one division, in particular, lost its commander and several others. I mentioned before that he broke his country into four sectors, put some very ruthless people in charge. In the south, "Chemical" Ali [Ali Hasan Al-Majid] who is famous for putting the chemicals on the Kurds in the north at Halabja and also for ruthlessly punishing the Shias in the south. It looks like he may have been behind some of these executions, and there might be still some going on. Military ranks and civilians also.

We have seen and heard reports of problems elsewhere in the country. Again, I can't put a measure on this and tell you that they're significant, not significant, but there's a number of reports coming to this effect.

Probably the most remarkable thing in my mind was the Army Day speech by Saddam. I think that was clear evidence of his isolation. The language he used, his attack on all the other leaders in the region I think showed a degree of desperation that we hadn't seen before. To us, that speech was shocking. If there was any attributed propaganda victory afterwards, certainly it didn't work in terms of the other leaders in the region for him to react that way. And I think we're seeing from the AOR, the area of responsibility, media and the reaction of the leaders in the region that they bristle at this particular attack on them.

Q: What about the loyalty of his troops? You say there have been these executions. Are they in response to any signs of refusal to obey orders? Is there any sign that the Republican Guards are being sent to quell some disturbance but refusing to go? Anything like that?

A: I think we're seeing, especially in the case of the executions in the one division in the south, the indications, the reports that we're getting, is that was as a result of not obeying orders. And it may have been because of this command structure that he overlaid on the existing military structure—these ruthless four that he's put in charge and the way he

divided it up and superseded the military command structure. I think there's some confusion in the ranks, and there's some disgruntlement with how this is done and who they answer to.

I think obviously we have seen Republican Guards and others move around in the country which, by our judgment, looks like moves for internal security reasons also.

I can't, again, give you a feel for how serious this is, how extensive it is, but we are certainly seeing these kinds of signs that there are problems.

Q:...he did not follow to get that execution...

A: I do not. I do not know what order or the exact motivation or reason behind it.

Q: General, when you say 600 to 2,000 casualties, are you talking dead or dead and injured?

A: Again, it's a mix. Some of the reporting we see from all kinds of sources, they say dead. In some we see just casualties. So I can't tell you what that is. In most of the reports, these are reporting dead. Now we obviously have seen some unit reporting. We obviously have some indication, anecdotal reporting of funeral processions and things like that in the area. We have no way of... We look at exactly the hard figures we have, but we have no way of being able to estimate from that what the total figures might be—what we're not seeing—and to validate some of these reports that are coming from all sorts of sources to judge whether they're inflated or not. So I can't give you an answer. They're mixed. Some say dead, some say dead and wounded.

Q: In terms of the execution, are we talking execution of regular army, air force...

A: Regular army.

Q: General, on the casualty issue, I wanted to get a sense, were deaths of Republican Guard units or soldiers, were those among your measures of success? The numbers of soldiers killed among the barracks and...

A: No. I think I told you before, we weren't measuring success or after a goal or a number. Obviously, we do the estimates on what might happen. That's situationally dependent. I mean if there's total surprise, if they're in the barracks. But our real target was after infrastructure. By that I mean command and control, headquarters, equipment, that sort of thing. So the casualties were not a direct objective of the attack.

Q: Since you're going to be subject to criticism by analysts who say, oh, 2,000, there's 60,000 Republican Guards possibly. How could you have degraded the Republican Guard unit if you only possibly killed a small number?

A: Well, my answer to that would be—I mean there are some brigades and divisions right now that are operating out of tents. They don't have barracks to go back to. They don't have a headquarters. They don't have the com equipment. We've seen derelict tanks and APCs and other things being pulled away. They have com problems because we hit communications nodes. They're still being given missions for internal security and other things that they have to execute under some very tough situations. To replace all that and to reestablish that kind of capability within the Republican Guards critical to the security of the regime, you know, will take quite awhile. So I think they have been degraded. Again, what our mission was.

Q: General, what's the basis of the reporting that some of the top leaders... Is it that they're not showing up at meetings? Is it that they're not showing up on television? How solid is this information?

A: We don't know. I mean we have seen those reports with obviously the evidence that there's some leaders that seem to be missing. I have no particular confirmation as to what this means, whether they have been excluded, purged, or off about some other business, or what might be going on.

But again, we're seeing a lot of these kinds of things happen, some of which we're unsure what they mean. But there's enough out there that's sort of circumstantial evidence and some hard evidence like the executions, that there is a degree of internal control problems and unrest. And again, the speech on the 5<sup>th</sup>, and what he did was remarkable in our eyes.

Q: Did you have some information that specific units, other than the ones in the south, may have questioned loyalty as far as their views towards Saddam?

A: No.

Q: What's your understanding of the situation with that division in the south? Is that an insurrection? Was that, were these people executed for incompetence? Was this in support of something with the Shias there?

A: I'll tell you. My best take on it is that they resented the orders they received, they resented who gave them the orders...

Q: What orders?

A: I'm not sure, as I said before, what specifically the reason was, but it looked like in effect there were two chains of command. One that reports to Chemical Ali, ruthless, directly back to Saddam, obviously for internal control. And it seemed to have conflicted with the normal army chain of command, so I think you have a problem with loyalty and confusion and probably to some degree a resentment, but I don't want to speculate beyond that.

Q: Do you think that was limited to a single commander or small group of commanders, or do you think it was widespread among the troops?

A: We're hearing things that it's beyond just the one incident...that there were others. But we don't have anything specific that I can give you, other units or other incidents beyond that.

We've also heard there have been some executions of civilians in the region, and obviously a series of executions have been reported going back even to November when Saddam's son was in the region and in charge of some of these with the security services.

Q: How many executions...

A: I don't have a specific number. And again, some of these aren't even, some of the reports aren't even mentioning numbers. On the division, we heard it was the division commander and some of his staff, but I didn't get a specific number.

Q: You say Saddam is shaken by this, but would you be willing to draw the judgment that his hold on power has been a lesson that he is less secure in his control of the Iraqi regime than he was before these strikes?

A: I would be reluctant to make a judgment as to how much control he may have lost or how shaken he is. I would, I do believe personally that he is shaken. I don't think you would have heard the words in that speech; I don't think you would have seen these actions that he's taken to put these ruthless guys in charge, to create an overlay command and control organization over the existing one if he trusted it. It's obvious that that organization was not done for any military purpose, certainly no reaction to DESERT FOX or anything that we've done. So I think there are signs there that there is a degree of loss of control, and he is shaken. Now to what degree that is and how significant it is, I couldn't make that judgment.

Q: Is there any evidence that these executions were in any way in response to a coup attempt?

A: No.

Q: What kind of events inside Iraq would indicate to you that Saddam's hold on power is beginning to slip?

A: I think the kinds of things I'd look for—I would follow the special security services, the Special Republican Guards, the Republican Guards themselves, look at their activities. They're responsible for regime security and maintenance of regime control and power. What we see them do, where they go. I would look to any signs of disloyalty or breaking ranks in the regular army in the military. I would look for signs that key leaders that may not be supportive of Saddam's policy suddenly disappear from the scene, or we get

reports of executions or jailings or whatever. I think I would look for, in places where there's been traditional dissident activity in the south, in the north, that that might increase, that there might be a degree or encouragement, might be acts of sabotage. I think those are the kinds of things you could possibly see that show a greater degree of loss of control.

Q: During DESERT FOX you did not target the regular army at all. In fact, you gave them propaganda leaflets saying we're only after the friends of the regime. Does the regular army, in your judgment, have the military capability? Should it have the motivation to do so, to take on the Republican Guards, to take on Saddam and actually topple him?

A: Obviously we were after two things. One was to keep the regular army out and the other was to minimize any civilian casualties, which, by the way, was a measure of success, and we felt very confident in that we achieved that. The regular army outnumbered the Republican Guards. They're not as well equipped, not as well trained, not as well manned. I think the Regular Army has a problem, too, not only of the quality of the Republican Guard, although smaller, it's also the pressure that's put on them. It's obviously, the Special Republican Guard, the security services, the welfare of their own families. There are many ways, many subliminal ways I think that threats are conveyed to anybody in the regular army that would mean to uprise.

Physically, in terms of raw numbers—tanks and all that—the capability is there. The ability to pull that all together and to have the qualitative edge and then to ensure loyalty throughout the ranks and not the pressures from threats to family members and other things that happen from secret police, Mukhabarat or others, that's a different question.

General Zinni provided additional information on January 12<sup>th</sup>. He said that unconfirmed reports now estimated Republican Guard casualties at 600 to 2,000, including senior leaders:

We're trying to confirm those reports as to who they were and what positions they held. The strikes damaged the guard's infrastructure, command and control, yet they're still being given internal security missions that they'll have to execute under some tough conditions/ There are some brigades and divisions right now that are operating out of tents. They don't have barracks to go back to. They don't have a headquarters or [communications] equipment. They have communications problems because we hit communications nodes. To replace all that and re-establish that kind of capability within the Republican Guards - - critical to the security of the regime—will take quite awhile.

The problem with such comments is that they evidently rely heavily on human intelligence from the Iraqi opposition, a source that is not always reliable. They also raise serious questions about cause and effect. Saddam Hussein has repeatedly cracked down on Iraqi military units without any need for a Desert Fox. It is not clear what connection exists between strikes on either



Republican Guards and command and control facilities, and any problems in the regular army 3<sup>rd</sup> Corps and 11<sup>th</sup> Division in the South. Furthermore, Ali Hasan Al-Majid has launched brutal crackdowns virtually everywhere he has gone, whether they were needed or not.

In short, it makes sense to strike at the key elements of an enemy military machine, particularly when they are critical to the regime. This does not, however, mean that we can no the best place to use limited strikes or assess the military, political, and strategic damage that results with any precision. The RMA and Joint Vision 2010 may give the US a unique edge in destroying things. It is not clear that they give it any particular way of determining how to alter perceptions and destroy loyalty.

### ***Air Bases and Air Base Facilities***

The strikes on Iraqi air bases were largely symbolic and the UK and US concentrated on striking at attack helicopters and related facilities which were used in supporting the suppression of the Kurds and Shi'ites. The damage done was negligible, and it is unclear that helicopters were the right target. Iraq has used artillery firebases and mobile land forces in most of the fighting since the initial uprisings in 1991. There were 6 targets planned and five were hit. A total of 0 were said to have been destroyed or had severe damage on December 19, Yet, the Pentagon claimed full success against 4 targets on December 21.

This may be a case where intelligence failed to accurately assess the importance of the target in the first place, and where token damage and pure symbolism is defined as military victory. It is also interesting to note how cautious General Zinni was in describing the degree of success against these targets:

Q: One of the ways Iraq can threaten its neighbors and also put down insurrections is a sizeable amount of helicopter gunships. I know you targeted those a little bit. How much success did you have?

General Zinni: We feel we had a great deal of success. We actually found some of the places where they were hiding the helicopters, and we were able to target those, we feel, successfully also.

Q: What degree of degradation would you say?

General Zinni: It's still ongoing. We still have a few more assessments to come in on several of the helicopter targets that we hit. Again, not only airfields, but also several places where they were attempting to hide them.

No public mention of the Desert Fox strikes on Iraqi airfields seems to have been made after December 21<sup>st</sup>. By early January 1999, it was clear that Saddam Hussein was using his air force actively to challenge the US and British aircraft flying in the no fly zones. General Zinni described the situation as follows in his press conference on Operation South Watch on January 25, 1999:

General Zinni: Let me make a few statements to begin with and maybe address some of the points that I think you may bring up.

Since Desert Fox, we've had over 70 no-fly zone violations with well over 100 Iraqi aircraft involved, and there's been almost 20 incidents of missile firings at our planes, AAA firings and radar illuminations in that same period of time.

What we're seeing now is an increase in frequency, intensity, [and] coordination of their entire air defense system against our planes flying in both the north and the south.

We are seeing, for example, almost three times the number of surface-to-air missile batteries in the southern area, and movement of these surface-to-air missile batteries on occasion, which obviously makes it more difficult for our flyers to know where they are and where the threat may be posed.

You all know, I believe, that the anti-air defense system is composed not only of aircraft, fighters that would come down and engage planes, but also the surface-to-air missiles, AAA batteries, radars, early warning means, and communications. It's evident to us that this entire system has been centrally controlled and turned on to oppose our enforcement of the no-fly zone sanctions, both north and south.

We have seen this degree of coordination in fairly sophisticated ways since Desert Fox. On several occasions we've seen packages of airplanes, two and three per flight coming down in coordinated fashion, working in cooperation with surface-to-air missile batteries, trying to lure us down into what has become known as SAMbushes. We have obviously detected early warning systems, optical guidance means being used obviously to prevent turning on radars, which would make targeting for us much easier.

This has been a clear indication that this is orchestrated and obviously is part of the declared objective by the Iraqi leaders to violate the no-fly zone sanctions and to shoot down our planes that are patrolling these zones.

We responded within our rules of engagement by defending ourselves and attacking this air defense system.

Today we had five violations of the no-fly zone in the south and one in the north by a total of 12 Iraqi fighters; plus, we had radar illumination of our aircraft in the north and also AAA fire detected by our aircraft in the north. We responded with attacks in the north and the south. These attacks were against missile batteries, radars, early warning systems, communications, both in the north and in the south—not the same systems in the north and south, but included in both attacks.

Q: Let me follow up, if I may. You talked about, I believe, over 70 violations involving Iraqi aircraft.

A: Yes.

Q: Yet none of these targets today were aimed against the aircraft. Do you have any plan to take out his planes on the ground?

And one other formal question on that is, we've fired air-to-air missiles several times at these planes and haven't hit anything. Are the missiles faulty? They're very expensive. What's going on?

A: I think what you're saying, is maybe lack of the will to engage by these Iraqi pilots. They obviously come down, tuck their nose in, and then race home. Our ability to engage them, obviously, would had to have been at very long range.

Remember, I mentioned that in some cases these planes have attempted to lure us into missile engagement zones where there's heavy surface-to-air missile fire that we could draw. We obviously don't fall for this sort of bait or lure, and we have engaged him at longer ranges because we know he won't close in any further to engage us before he races back north or south of the line.

Q: General Zinni...

Q:...take the planes out on the ground? There was one last part of the question.

A: I think a decision to take the campaign to something like that, is a policy decision and not within my purview.

Q: General, what's he do? What's his strategy? What's behind this? Is he trying to increase his support in the Arab nations by having incidences frequently? Is he trying to get a hold of a couple of American pilots perhaps as trophies? What do you think he's doing, and what do you think is the remedy? What's the strategy to counter...

A: I think, first of all, clearly, he wants to shoot down an American airplane. Whether he wants a pilot to parade in Baghdad, what his purpose is, who the target audience is for this act, is it the so-called Arab street? He obviously has not succeeded in convincing Arab leaders in the region to support him. They obviously feel that he's been responsible for everything that's happened. That's come out in statements they've made. He's much more isolated. A question could be made as to whether these are becoming acts of desperation. What's the cure for all of this? A post-Saddam regime, in my view.

Ever since Israel's astounding success in the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1967, the US has been confronted with the problem of destroying sheltered enemy airpower on the ground. During the more than three decades that have followed, the US had pursued one solution after another, as has every other major military power in the world. Even so, the US and Britain rapidly reached the point of diminishing returns in the Gulf War: Attacking empty shelters and damaging rapidly repairable inactive air bases, was not an effective use of air assets.

Desert Fox did not test this aspect of US capability, and significant advances have taken place in many aspects of US strike power. It is important to note, however, that the decision to not attempt to destroy Iraqi airpower reflected practical realities that have already surfaced in Bosnia and may occur in many other conflicts. Once again, the "revolution in military affairs" and Joint Vision 2010, tend to assume wars close enough to total war so that the US can afford the military and political costs of destroying enemy capabilities, rather than allowing most to ride out an attack. The real world issue may be what kind of limited attack, if any, can do more than force an enemy to pause or ride out a military exchange? If the answer is 500-1,500 sorties or strikes, we are a long way from where we want to be? If there is no clear answer, we have more than a passing problem.

### ***Integrated Air Defense System and Surface-to-Air Missiles***

Desert Fox almost certainly damaged some of Iraq air defense command, control, warning structure in the south, and Iraqi surface-to-air missile capabilities. Even in Desert Storm, however, that main purpose of such strikes was suppression and not destroying the enemy's movable weapons, radars, and deeply sheltered command and control facilities. There are simply too many

constantly changing aim points for such a campaign to destroy enemy forces efficient, and most air defense weapons remain intact.

The US was generally careful to make these points, but some of the British claims gave a misleading impression. Prime Minister Tony Blair's office released claims on December 21<sup>st</sup> that the attacks had left the Iraqi air defense system “in ruins” and Saddam Hussein weakened. “We believe the damage that has been inflicted in the last few days has left Saddam (Hussein) very weak and vulnerable.”

Similarly, Air Marshall Day stated during a press conference on December 22<sup>nd</sup>:

The air defense systems of radars, control centers and communication facilities, in southern Iraq, has been severely damaged. Moreover, major damage inflicted upon his missile repair facilities has reduced his capability to maintain and upgrade air defense missile systems. Provided that sanctions remain in place, this would take years to reconstitute, unless he sacrifices air defense capability elsewhere in Iraq. This will make it even more difficult for Saddam to resist air attacks in future and so weakens his ability to threaten his neighbors.

Such claims proved to have little substance. To begin with, Iraq had over 100 major radar/command sites, several hundred major surface-to-air fire units and several thousand anti-aircraft guns. In fact, the Department of Defense claimed less success against these targets than any other. Desert Fox planned to strike 19 Integrated Air Defense System (IADS) targets and only 13 were hit. The US claimed full success against only 8 targets on December 21, a success rate of 42% against the targets planned. There were 16 SAM targets planned and 9 were hit. The Pentagon claimed full success against 8 targets on December 21, a success rate of 50%.

If one looks at the total number of both IADS and SAM targets reported on December 21<sup>st</sup>, and ignores comparisons with the previous damage assessments, there were 35 targets planned, 22 were hit, and 16 were highly successful strikes. This is a rate of 46% success even by the new math introduced on December 21<sup>st</sup>. If one does consider the damage report on December 19<sup>th</sup>, the success rate for destroyed and severe damage was only 17%. How did it more than double in the final hours of the war?

General Zinni put the degree of US and British success in a far more modest and realistic perspective during his press conference on December 21<sup>st</sup>:

Q: General, ...when you look at your chart here, IADS and surface-to-air missiles, it looks like the most number of misses. I was wondering why, if you could tell us if that's true for both?

General Zinni: In terms of the IADS, I would go back again and say you have to go back to what our objective was. In terms of IADS and SAMs, it was to disrupt. And when you say disrupt, it means we don't want him to be able to communicate, to use the integrated system, to connect the radar with the missile, to be able to fire accurately. The level of effort, the ordnance we need, then is a lot lower.

So if we're able to take a shot and it puts his head down, knock out one repeater out of four or five, you achieve disruption for the time you need. So you'll see a low level here, and it will seem inconsistent with me saying we achieved our results, but I would say that successfully. We had no SAMs fired for whatever reason, and we were able to get to our targets with a high degree of success and lack of interruption.

It also soon became clear that not only had most of Iraq's air defense system survived, but that it was to make aggressive use of both this system and its air force to try and challenge US and British forces, in the no-fly zones. General Zinni described the situation as follows in a briefing on January 6<sup>th</sup>:

On the no-fly zone violations, we have seen since the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December, when Saddam has declared the no-fly zones invalid, over 40 violations. Now what we consider a violation is an individual act, not an individual airplane. Say, some of these were multiple airplane intrusions. They range from racing down and tucking their nose in and running back, to attempting multiple plane kinds of tactical maneuvers against our forces, trying to work in cooperation with surface-to-air missile systems on the ground.

We have made adjustments to all of this. Obviously we've made, and I won't go into detail for obvious reasons, but we've made adjustments to tactics, we've made adjustments to how we package our forces, the procedures we use. We have all the confidence in our superiority not only technically, but in our pilot skills and everything else.

Obviously any time we fly into Iraqi airspace, and this goes for the past seven to eight years, whether it's in the north or the south, we treat it as flying into a potentially hazardous situation. We have flown over 140,000 sorties in that time, both in the north and in the south, and never do our pilots go in unprepared for any eventuality.

We have focused our intelligence much more on the kinds of tactics we're seeing and approaches he's using. I think clearly he's trying to lure us into a possible shoot-down situation, and we're taking every measure to prevent that and have made adjustments, as I said, to ensure that that wouldn't happen.

Q: Does that imply you expect the duration of these cat and mouse, in and out incursions to be fairly long term?

A: The reason is that as we fly into there, we want to make sure we have a robust capability in this area, and coverage. We always go in with those kinds of airplanes covering our packages. We want to do this now with more. The SAMs in the area are moving around. There's more surface-to-air missile activity. So prudence calls for us to provide additional capabilities to counter that with deep strike.

General Zinni provided more background in his update on Operation Southern Watch of January 25:

General Zinni. Since DESERT FOX, we've had over 70 no-fly zone violations with well over 100 Iraqi aircraft involved, and there's been almost 20 incidents of missile firings at our planes, AAA firings and radar illuminations in that same period of time.

What we're seeing now is an increase in frequency, intensity, [and] coordination of their entire air defense system against our planes flying in both the north and the south. We are seeing, for example, almost three times the number of surface-to-air missile batteries in the southern area, and movement of these surface-to-air missile batteries on occasion, which obviously makes it more difficult for our flyers to know where they are and where the threat may be posed.

You all know, I believe, that the anti-air defense system is composed not only of aircraft, fighters that would come down and engage planes, but also the surface-to-air missiles, AAA batteries, radars, early warning means, and communications. It's evident to us that this entire system has been centrally controlled and turned on to oppose our enforcement of the no-fly zone sanctions, both north and south.

We have seen this degree of coordination in fairly sophisticated ways since Desert Fox. On several occasions we've seen packages of airplanes, two and three per flight coming down in coordinated fashion, working in cooperation with surface-to-air missile batteries, trying to lure us down into what has become known as SAMbushes. We have obviously detected early warning systems, optical guidance means being used obviously to prevent turning on radars, which would make targeting for us much easier.

Q: ... we have been told by senior defense officials that if this continues there would not be a tit for tat response, but a response going in and taking out much of his air defense

system, airfields, and what have you. Is that in the works? Is that imminent? And how long will we be patient?

A: I wouldn't get in, obviously, into any planning or discussion of any plans. I would say that if you look at this in its total, this would not have been a tit for tat response if you're on the other end. Since Desert Fox and since he's chosen to engage us in this manner, he's lost considerable portions of his air defense system. Now I would tell you right up front that he has a very robust system, with a lot of redundancy and the ability to repair or to replace to an extent. That extent may be getting strained now, and I don't think he's in a position that he could continue to sustain these losses at these rates with his lack of success.

...Remember, I mentioned that in some cases these planes have attempted to lure us into missile engagement zones where there's heavy surface-to-air missile fire that we could draw. We obviously don't fall for this sort of bait or lure, and we have engaged him at longer ranges because we know he won't close in any further to engage us before he races back north or south of the line.

Q: General, you said initially, I think, that there were three times as many SAM batteries in the southern zone. Did you mean three times as many since DESERT...

A: Yes.

Q: Is that not a violation of the southern no-fly zone? How come we're allowing them to remain there?

A: These are violations, and of course they have been moved around. They have on occasion engaged us and illuminated us, and we have engaged them. There were closer to three times. There's less now. And that's a result of the violations of the no-fly zone.

Q: What other weapon systems have you seen the Iraqis move into the southern zone, especially around Basra?

A: We've had reports of a buildup of some missile systems that could be ground missile systems. We've had reports, again, that have been in the open media of potential armor movement. We have not see anything that we feel poses a direct threat to us or to Kuwait. But there's been some activity and some buildup on the ground side.

Q: General, there have been now more than about two dozen of these incidents where U.S. aircraft have dropped missiles or bombs on air defense sites. What degradation to the system have these caused?

A: I don't want to get into specifics because we get into intelligence sources. We know we have damaged his air defense system. We know there are missile systems that he's lost, radars that he's lost, and other attendant parts of this overall air defense system—



communication facilities, etc. Some of these have been replaced; some of these have been moved around. Obviously, during DESERT FOX we hit a missile repair facility for these types of missiles, and we know we did significant damage there.

We are still in the process of assessing his overall capabilities and what damage we've done and his ability to reconstitute and repair. We are seeing certain things that are encouraging for us. I would not like to go into detail, again because of intelligence sources.

Q: General Zinni, today the provocation in the south was the incursion by Iraqi aircraft in the southern no-fly zone, and the response was an attack against surface-to-air missiles on the ground. Is that in any sense a preemptive strike? Is that in any way preemptive in the sense that it's not—you didn't chase the planes back over the no-fly zone?

A: Again, I would say that we viewed the entire air defense system as the threat, and we do [so] for good reason. This entire system, we have seen, in a coordinated fashion directly threaten our planes, where missile batteries and planes in coordination have engaged in some sort of tactic to lure us in. We've obviously detected the early warning and communication and coordination procedures. So we have taken the view that this entire air defense system is a threat to us—not picked out specific things like those airplanes on this given day, that battery at this given moment, because the whole system, again, has threatened us.

Unlike cases previous to DESERT FOX, where we may have seen isolated incidents where maybe a single battery or an air defense sector or even a gunner that might have been a little trigger happy that day fired at us, this is obviously, and it's been declared to be, a coordinated, centralized effort, north and south, with their entire air defense system.

Q: Is there still a no-drive zone in the south? And have you seen a movement of SAM sites into residential areas?

A: We have seen some SAM sites near residential areas and other civilian kinds of areas like commercial areas and that sort of thing. Is there still a no-drive zone in the south? Yes, there is. There is a no-drive zone and a no-drive sanction that is in place.

This is scarcely the description of a crippled system. In fact, the most important claim Desert Fox may be able to make relating to this target set may be the one that General Shelton made on January 5<sup>th</sup>, during readiness hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee. He noted that a large surface-to-air missile facility was destroyed he felt would take years to rebuild. "That will impact on [Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's] air defense sustainability because that's where he repaired all of his missiles and radars." This facility seems to have been struck, however, not

because it was viewed as critical to Iraq's air defenses, but because it was co-located with Iraq's surface-to-surface missile facilities.

In any case, events soon made it clear that Desert Fox had neither suppressed Iraqi air defense activity nor the Iraqi air force, and that Iraq was still prepared to threaten its neighbors. As Table Seven shows, Desert Fox became the prelude to a long low-level air defense war that destroyed up to 20% of Iraq's remaining major surface-to-air missile fire units by mid-February, but which also involved more than 90 Iraqi violations of the no flyzones by mid-February, and forced U.S. and British strikes on more than 40 Iraqi air defense sites.

Once again, we are dealing with a classic problem. The suppression of surface-to-air defenses has been a critical tactical challenge since the first deployment of the SA-2, and a major real-world warfighting problem since Viet Nam. Even since the Bekaa Valley campaign of 1982, the answer has been suppression and not destruction. US efforts to create dedicated black programs for destruction have raised as many questions as answers, and high profile programs like long-loiter and radiation homing RPVs have presented major program development problems.

Desert Fox showed that the US has significantly improved its suppression capability. The aftermath may force the US to test destruction capability. As is the case with air bases, however, the real world issue may be what kind of limited attack, if any, can do more than force an enemy to pause or ride out a military exchange? If the answer is 500-1,500 sorties or strikes, we are a long way from where we want to be? If there is no clear answer other than the long air defense war summarized in Table Seven, then we have more than a passing problem.

Table NineThe Air Defense War After Desert Fox

- 98-12-22: British Defense Secretary George Robertson gives a press briefing to show that the strikes had seriously damaged Iraq's military. He tells a news conference that, "We know that we have done considerable damage to the war machine of Iraq. Increasingly in the next few days evidence will be brought forward from the battle damage assessments to show that is absolutely correct. While life appears to be going around as normal inside Iraq, inside the military structures there has been immense damage and the impact has been very considerable indeed."
- Air Marshal John Day, Director of Operations in the Ministry of Defense, says initial assessments showed that 74 percent of the 111 attacks on key Iraqi installations had knocked out the facilities concerned. Fifteen percent had missed their targets and 11 percent appeared to have caused only slight damage, said Day, who was briefing reporters only on British action during the U.S.-led aerial bombardment of Iraq. Day produces a series of slides showing damage to key installations. One shows the hangar at Tallil Airfield, which he says housed pilotless aircraft, designed to deliver biological and chemical bombs, and large areas of its roof are destroyed and debris litters the ground. Another photo shows the Taji steel fabrication plant, and two buildings believed to be used to make components for nuclear programs are shown to be destroyed. "We set out to minimize collateral damage and to focus our attacks on the military machine. I appreciate very much the constraints on the media caused by the Iraqi government propaganda machine...those members of the press who are laboring in Iraq just now cannot possibly see the damage that we have done." He says 12 Cruise missiles had hit the interior of the headquarters of the ruling Ba'ath Party, which had been closed to UNSCOM inspectors, but that a passer-by on the street might not notice great damage. "That (the party HQ) was one of the mechanisms by which Saddam controlled his chemical and biological weapons program...he will not be able to do that ever again because of the damage that was caused. Those close to Saddam will realize that we have the ability and the will to target the regime, as distinct from the Iraqi people."
- Iran reports that two stray cruise missiles from the U.S.-British attack on Iraq hit Khorramshahr, about 25 miles east of the Iraqi city of Basra. The first cruise missile struck the city, a port with major oil facilities, on Thursday. Iran does not say when the second missile struck the city. The first missile landed in the city center and damaged several houses but did not cause any casualties.
- 12-23-98: Secretary Cohen arrives in Kuwait. He later announces that the US will keep enough U.S. troops and equipment in the region to be able to renew military attacks on Baghdad if Iraq threatens U.S. allies in the region. "To the extent that we determine that he is in fact going to pose a threat to the region again, then we're prepared to take action. We have the ability to react very quickly so we're satisfied that our day-to-day force is adequate." Officials traveling with Cohen say the number of U.S. troops in the Gulf region will drop to between 21,000 to 22,000 from a peak of 29,900 during the strikes. They state that many of the heavy bombers and other aircraft used in the strikes are returning to the US, including all six B-1B bombers, 12 tank-killer A-10s, 10 KC-10 tankers and 12 of 15 giant B-52 bombers. They also say that the forces being withdrawn will remain on alert and can return to the Gulf on 72 hour's notice.
- General Zinni says that Iraq can quickly rebuild its military command and communication systems, which were hit during the U.S. and British strikes. He says that President Hussein most feared a revolt in his own ranks, and moved Iraqi ground troops into four widely separated sectors where he placed loyal and lieutenants in charge. Zinni reports, however, that there are no signs of an imminent overthrow of Saddam. U.S. intelligence analysts saw troop movements which were monitored from satellites and U-2 spy planes, and concluded that Saddam's main aim was to avert any uprising from within once the British and American strikes began. "That decentralization was done so they ensured they had control," and "to prevent plotting," Zinni said. "I think it was done more for internal reasons and internal military problems they thought they might have than for any military preparations they had for us."
- Iraqi Trade Minister Mohammed Mehdi Saleh said on Wednesday he expected "terrorist activities" against the United States to increase as a result of its policy toward Iraq, but says that Iraq would not be behind, or support such attacks. "When the United States is helping terrorist activities against Iraq, then this will enhance terrorist activities against the United States," Saleh said, referring to a bill in the U.S. Congress allocating nearly \$100 million to Iraqi opposition groups. It is not a threat, it is a consequence of their policy....by adopting aggressive policy against Iraq and against Arab people and against Moslems, and by using sanctions as a means of destroying

this society and by using military aggression..." Saleh also states that the oil-for-food deal with the United Nations was a failure and called for the immediate lifting of sanctions. "It is not a system that can be used for the future. It has failed."

- The official Iraqi News Agency reports that three children were killed and 20 people wounded in the southern province of Wasit as a result of the U.S-British strikes. These casualties are in addition to 62 soldiers and an unspecified number of civilians that Iraq had said were killed earlier.
  - The Iraqi army claims Western warplanes violated its airspace twice but it does not report any exchanges of fire.
  - France announces that its military aircraft will soon resume flights to enforce the no-fly zone over southern Iraq suspended during Desert Fox. The French daily Liberation reports that French planes flying over southern Iraq had helped to prepare the strikes, and that film and electronic intelligence gathered by French Mirage F1CR reconnaissance aircraft were provided to the USAF Force until December 16, when French participation in the monitoring mission was suspended.
- 98-12-24: Saddam Hussein calls US and British leaders "enemies of God" in a Christmas speech and calls on believers to fight their "continued aggression." "The criminal aggressors in America and Britain as well as Zionism and those in their shadow...launched their criminal aggression...not only against the dignified people of Iraq but also against humanity and mankind at large." He declares the U.S. and British attacks are contrary to the principles of Jesus and the principles of Islam because they continued into Ramadan. "...it has become clear to us all, the believers in God and his prophets...that the rulers of America and Britain, along with Zionism, that they are the enemies of God.... face up to these criminals...who continue the aggression against Iraq."
- 98-12-26: Iraq says its air defenses fire at British planes attacking a post in southern Iraq. An Iraqi military spokesman says that, "At 11:25 (0825 GMT) this morning formations of enemy planes...attacked one of our air defense positions which confronted them and forced them to drop their load indiscriminately." The spokesman does not explain where the incident took place, but says that the planes were flying from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, violated the Iraqi airspace at 9:15 a.m. (0615 GMT), but flew outside the range of anti-aircraft guns. Iraq claims that this is the third straight days that Western planes violated Iraq's southern airspace but does not report any exchange of fire.
- The northern no fly zone was imposed in 1991 and the southern zone in 1992. A total of approximately 45 planes normally patrol the northern no zone as part of Operation Northern Watch and are based at Incirlik Air Base in southern Turkey. The southern no-fly zone stretches from the border line with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Jordan to the 33rd parallel just south of Baghdad. The northern no-fly zone is above the 36th parallel. The United States flies up to ten types of planes, including USAF E-3A AWACS, electronic warfare planes F-16 and F-15 jets, Marine Corps EA-6Bs, and Army UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters and USAF HH-60 Night Hawk helicopters used for search and rescue missions. Turkey flies F-4 and F-16 fighters and The UK flies Tornado fighters and aerial refueling planes. Operation Southern Watch is conducted by U.S. and British planes based in Saudi Arabia and U.S. Navy aircraft aboard carriers in the Gulf area.
  - Vice President Taha Yasin Ramadan says on the Qatari al-Jazeera satellite television station that Iraq will now fire at Western planes patrolling a no-fly zone in southern Iraq. "We say it clearly, any violations of our air space can not but be confronted by Iraqi fire." He also reiterates that UNSCOM will never be allowed back. "Now, and after the aggression...the issue of the Special Commission and its inspections is finished and that is final."
- 98-12-28: An Iraqi military spokesman says that, "Iraq air defenses have probably shot down a hostile Western plane and a search for the wreckage of the plane and its pilot is going on...in order to provide its pilot an opportunity to infiltrate if he is alive or give its agents an opportunity to bring back his body if he is dead." Iraqi also claims its forces fired at US or British aircraft coming from Turkey, and that four Iraqi soldiers were killed and seven injured when the planes fired missiles at its air defense positions. U.S. officials confirm an incident and that Iraq had launched missiles at planes patrolling the northern a no-fly zone.
- 98-12-29: Iraq warns that its aircraft are flying in the "no-fly zones" and its anti-aircraft batteries will fire on US and British planes. Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan, is asked by Associated Press Television News whether Iraq was flying aircraft in "no-fly" zones, and says, "We are doing it right now. Iraqi planes in effect are flying in a normal manner in Iraqi airspace. The so-called air exclusion zones exist only in the sick imagination of the British and American administrations. "Our observation posts and concerned forces in the field have confirmed that they shot down a plane/ Iraq does not recognize these no-fly zones...and we will continue to resist such violations."

- The US says there are no immediate reports of Iraqi aircraft in northern and southern "no-fly" zones and that the US and Britain will continue to enforce the zones. It says there were no flights over the northern "no-fly" zone on December 28th, "strictly due to weather and nothing else." A British Defense Ministry spokesman reports no Iraqi air activity and adds that the UK is ready to take action "should the conditions of the 'no-fly' zones be breached."
  - French Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Anne Gazeau-Secret says France has not ruled out resuming French flights as part of "Operation Southern Watch" She declines comment on Iraqi statements that Baghdad does not recognize the no-fly zones and will treat planes entering Iraqi airspace as invaders. France had grounded its surveillance aircraft in the region on December 16, in anticipation of the US and British strikes on Baghdad in which Britain also participated. The French arm of Operation Southern Watch is based in Saudi Arabia and consists of 175 people, five Mirage 2000-C planes, two Mirage F1-CRs and a tanker aircraft.
  - Turkey renews calls for a peaceful solution to the situation. Defense Minister Ismet Sezgin says, "This is a sensitive situation for Turkey...We are making our warnings for the use of the base with sensitivity." Sezgin says the U.S. planes used the right of self-defense in response to the Iraqi attack and said Ankara was seeking a peaceful solution to the tension. "Iraq also should comply with the UN resolutions. We want our neighbor to return to the international community as soon as possible. The Turkish foreign ministry says, "It is necessary for regional stability to avoid actions that would disturb the implementation of Northern Watch."
- 98-12-30: U.S. planes attack Iraqi targets for the second time after Iraqis fire surface-to-air missiles on British and U.S aircraft flying in Iraq's southern no-fly zone. U.S. Department of Defense spokesman says there are no US or British casualties and that 24 aircraft, including British Tornado and U.S. F-16 fighter jets, had returned safely to base with no damage. The U.S. and British aircraft were conducting a routine patrol at about 1:30 a.m. EST (0630 GMT) when the Iraqis fired between six and eight surface-to-air missiles from a site southwest of Talil in southern Iraq. The British pilots, flying on the same mission with the Americans, detected the Iraqi missiles and the Americans retaliated. A USCENTCOM spokesman says that, "In response to that unprovoked attack, we responded by firing two HARM missiles (anti-radar missiles) and we dropped a number of GBU-12 500 pound (300 kg) precision-guided munitions at approximately 2:15 a.m. Eastern Time (0715 GMT)."
- The British Ministry of Defense issues a statement saying that, at around 06:20 GMT on Wednesday, six Iraqi missiles were fired from a site around 20 miles (30 km) west of Talil at allied aircraft, including British Tornados, patrolling the southern no-fly zone. U.S. F-16 aircraft flying with the Tornados responded by attacking the missile site with anti-radar missiles and laser guided bombs. All coalition aircraft returned safely to base. British Defense Secretary George Robertson warns that Britain will rigorously enforce the no-fly zones despite Iraqi missile attacks and accuses Saddam Hussein of defiance, arrogance and weakness. A US National Security Council spokesman says the No Fly Zone patrols would go on. "This is a key element of our containment policy to prevent (President) Saddam Hussein from using his aircraft to threaten his own people and his neighbors. We will continue to vigorously enforce it and our aircraft will take the necessary precautions to carry out their mission and defend themselves." Iraq says it will continue to fire on Western planes guarding the two no-fly zones, which were established in 1991 to deter the Iraqi army from attacking minority Kurds in the north and Shi'ite Moslems in the south of the country.
  - An Iraqi military spokesman says "Our brave air defenses have fired ground-to-air missiles at hostile (Western planes) formations forcing them to flee after it was almost certainly that one of the planes was shot down. The criminals have once again violated our airspace in the southern region as formations of their hostile planes approached today at 9:24 a.m. local time (0624 GMT)."
- 98-12-31: General Ali Hassan al-Majeed, a member of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council, says, "Heroes of our air defenses have fired missiles and shot down on Wednesday one of the hostile planes flying in Iraq's airspace. We will continue to liberate Iraq's sky from the evil ones who support the most corrupt man in this world, (President Bill) Clinton, and his Arab supporters, the rulers of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia." Majeed was appointed by Saddam as commander of Iraq's southern region when the United States and Britain began a four-day bombing campaign against Iraq on December 17.
- 99-1-1: U.S. defense officials report that Iraq frequently is moving anti-aircraft batteries to make Iraq's estimated 60 surface-to-air missile, or SAM, batteries hard to find and hit. "They are moving their batteries around quite heavily. A concrete building is obviously easier to plan for and to hit than something that is mobile. They are difficult to hit and mobile. They are small targets. ... And you don't always know where they are." U.S. and British patrols and satellites track missile movements between launching sites, but this requires constant monitoring because many batteries are highly mobile. The SA-6 units, used in recent Iraqi attacks, are loaded on a trailer

behind a vehicle and can move in minutes. SA-2s and SA-3 units take several days to disassemble, move, and reassemble.

- Iraqi Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan says, "Iraq will continue its confrontation of hostile planes flying in the so-called no-fly zones in southern and northern Iraq. Iraq does not recognize the two no-fly zones since they were imposed by America and Britain, as it was a unilateral decision taken outside the United Nations Security Council." Ramadan also says the work of UNSCOM and IAEA inspectors is finished: "they have nothing to do in Iraq except spying on Iraq."
  - The Baath Party newspaper al-Thawra says, "Our great people...will achieve victory against the wicked aggressors and it will foil their last failing dreams. Iraq's resistance of the no-fly zones is an act of self-defense and it is legal, just and in line with the Security Council resolutions." The paper quotes a Ministry of Culture and Information statement that the, "The British government would not dare to send its crows to violate Iraq's sovereignty without military and political cover provided by corrupt (U.S. President Bill) Clinton./ The British who claim they are protecting Iraqi people...are the same people who bombed Iraqi tribes in the south and north with chemical weapons during the 1930s and attacked Iraqi soldiers (during the 1991 Gulf War) with weapons enriched with depleted uranium."
  - 99-1-2: Babel calls on Egyptians to overthrow Mubarak. "Egyptians who can not accept such behavior...would reject their shameless ruler who has lost everything, including his self-respect. In order to follow up American hostile policy against Iraq, Mubarak collaborated with Saudi rulers to prevent the Arab meeting." A cartoon shows Mubarak dancing in a female belly dancing costume while Kuwait's rulers and King Fahd stand around him, beating drums and playing music. President Clinton, Secretary Albright and Netanyahu applaud, President Clinton is shown dressed in a cowboy suit with a tie emblazoned with the Star of David.
  - The Iraqi Ministry of Trade claims that, "The hostile American stand towards the Iraqi people is still high and on all levels. The U.S. Representative at Committee 661 is playing an aggressive role and continuing his economic war against the Iraqi people by deliberately impeding the arrival of food, medicine and other humanitarian needs in time to Iraq. This hostile attitude of the American Representative at Committee 661 is added evidence of the intention of U.S. officials to annihilate the Iraqi people by all means."
  - 99-1-3: Saddam Hussein says the "no fly zones are, "not only a stark violation of international laws and norms, especially those of the United Nations, but a stark violation of Security Council resolutions themselves. What they are violating ... is the will of the Arab nation and the will of the Iraqi people... which is determined to fight back with all its courage and bravery. Arabs and just people all over the world are asking what these planes are doing flying in the skies of an independent country, and why have they been violating the air space of this country for eight years without a UN resolution permitting this."
  - Senior Iraqi officials say Iraq will continue to defy the no-fly zones and an Iraqi government newspaper says confrontation with the US and Britain will escalate after a pause over the New Year.
- for January 24th.
- 99-1-4: Iraq asks the UN to replace its American and British staff in Iraq, citing anger from citizens after the U.S.-British bombing raids and says it cannot guarantee the safety such personnel. There are about 14 UN staff members -- one American and 13 Britons out of some 420 UN humanitarian staff in Iraq, including the three northern Kurdish. Diplomats said work to get rid of mines in the north was particularly upsetting to Baghdad, which is seeking to populate the area with non-Kurdish Iraqi citizens.
  - Iraq claims it had defused 58 unexploded bombs dropped during Desert Fox, "The Civil Defense Directorate defused during the latest U.S.-British aggression on Iraq in Baghdad and the governorates 58 unexploded missiles and bombs dropped on government and civil establishments." The Directorate's Chief, Qasim Mohammed Noori, states that 39 of the unexploded bombs were found in Baghdad and the others in the southern provinces of Qadissiya, Wasit, Basra, Dhi Qar and Babil.
  - 99-1-5: Iraq accuses the US of violating international law by maintaining no-fly zones in its northern and southern airspace, and claims that the US and British air strikes in Desert Fox had won support in the Arab world despite criticism from some Arab leaders. An Information Ministry spokesman says, "When the United States announces it will continue to enforce the no-fly zones, it is announcing the continuation of violating the sovereignty and dignity of Iraq's northern and southern skies. Enforcing the so-called no-fly zones is an illegal action, outside UN Security Council resolutions and international legitimacy, and an aggressive action rejected by Iraq and resisted with all

bravery and honor. The American insistence to enforce the no-fly zones at a time when big powers like Russia and China have announced that their imposition took place without consultation at the (UN) Security Council and has no connection with UN resolutions means the United States is persisting in ignoring international will."

- White House spokesman Joe Lockhart says that, "We will continue to enforce the no-fly zones, It's an important part of our containment policy."
  - US Air Force and Navy warplanes fire missiles at four Iraqi MiG-25 fighters over southern Iraq in the third military confrontation in eight days. In two separate incidents some 60 miles and 15 minutes flying time from each other, two pairs of MiG-25s turn their targeting radars on two U.S. Air Force F-15s based in Saudi Arabia and two Navy F-14s from the aircraft carrier Vinson. The first incident, involving two MiGs and the F-15s occurred at about 2:15 a.m. EST (0715 GMT) or about 10:15 a.m. in Iraq, southeast of Baghdad. The second incident involving two other MiGs and the two F-14s from the Vinson occurred about 15 minutes later southwest of Baghdad. The American planes fire a total of six missiles, none of which hit their target. Another Iraqi fighter, a MiG-23, seems to have crashed after fleeing from the southern no-fly zone over southern Iraq. Pentagon spokesman Ken Bacon tells reporters that fighter may have run out of fuel. Bacon says all U.S. planes returned safely. This is the third incident between Iraq and U.S. and British forces in eight days, and the first instance in which U.S. jets have fired on Iraqi warplanes since December. 27, 1992--when a USAF F-16 shot down an Iraq MiG-25. The US says as many as 14 Iraqi jets violated the no-fly zone in eight incidents. Iraq confirmed that there had been a confrontation and said that all of its planes returned safely to bases.
  - Saddam Hussein says in an Army Day broadcast after the air clashes, "Revolt, sons of the great Arab nation ... revolt and unseat those stooges, collaborators, throne dwarfs and cowards. Both you and we are aware that some of the rulers in certain countries in our great Arab nation, together with their fathers and grandfathers, were installed by foreign powers, especially Britain and the United States supported by vicious, racist Zionism."
  - Iraq's Defense Minister General Sultan Hashim Ahmed says, "We were attacked and we had to defend ourselves," Ahmed said. "We shall defend (Iraq) to the death... We will continue to defend ourselves whether the others like it or not." When he is asked about the combat capability of Iraq's army, he says it is in "excellent" shape and that Iraq's air force is in even better shape.
  - Secretary of State Madeleine Albright says, "Some of the actions of Saddam today and his rhetoric calling on people in Arab countries to overthrow the governments that do not support him really show Saddam's increasing isolation and desperation... We intend to enforce the no-fly zones."
  - Gen. Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is asked at a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee, why American missiles and jets do not destroy Iraqi military airfields and jets on the ground. "We have looked at numerous options and have various plans that are available right now. If the president were to see fit to take that type of action, we in fact have these kinds of plans on the shelf."
  - A UN official states that U-2 flights from bases in Saudi Arabia have been halted and that last flight took place before the start of four days of attacks on Iraqi targets by United States and British warplanes and cruise missiles that ended on December 19th. UNSCOM spokesman Ewen Buchanan says, " We have not asked for any U-2 flights. I am not sure what value such flights would be if you can't actually do any inspections on the ground."
  - Iraqi News Agency denies any arrests, "It is clear that (U.S. State Department spokesman) James Rubin could find nothing to cover the failure of their criminal aggression to achieve its evil aim except by issuing these silly and cheap lies which exist only in Rubin's sick imagination."
- 99-1-6: Lt. Gen. Sultan Hashem Ahmed, Iraq's Minister of Defense, says at a ceremony at the monument of the Unknown Soldier in Baghdad, during the 78th anniversary of Iraq's armed forces, that Iraqi air force jets will keep challenging the "no-fly" zones, "We have to defend ourselves. We shall fly in our airspace and defend it until death."
- The British aircraft carrier Invincible, carrying Sea Harrier aircraft and Sea King helicopters departs for the Gulf with the destroyer, the Newcastle, and two supply ships. Britain's Minister for the Armed Forces, Douglas Henderson, says, "This is the clearest possible signal that our efforts to find a way forward on the diplomatic front remain firmly underpinned by a readiness to use military force again, if need be, to keep him (Saddam) contained."
  - Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Vladimir Rakhmanin repeats Russia's long-standing opposition to the no-fly zones and calls for all sides to show restraint. "We're seriously concerned by the new incidents...Our negative view

of these unlawful actions is well known. Sooner or later this issue has to be reviewed in a fundamental way. At this stage, we urge all sides to show restraint."

- 99-1-7: A US F-16 fires missiles at what is believed to be a Roland Iraqi ground missile radar site in the northern no-fly zone after its radar targeted an aircraft policing the exclusion area. The F-16CJ picked up indications it was being targeted by a Roland mobile surface-to-air missile radar. At 3:12 a.m. EST, the F-16 fired a HARM anti-radiation missile then returned safely to base. The radar does not come on-line again and the missile unit is believed to have been hit. The incident is the fourth in 10 days
- Lt. General. Anthony Zinni says Saddam's grip on power seems to be slipping and that he is trying to assert control by repeatedly challenging "no-fly" zones, by executing suspect military and civilian leaders and by attacking Arab leaders. "He's dangerous now. He could become more dangerous." Zinni says Iraq has now violated the no-fly zones at least 40 times in the last few weeks. He says Saddam's efforts to shoot down a IUS or UK plane are "a desperate attempt ... to claim some sort of victory. These are fairly desperate attempts to regain some of that position (in Iraq and the region) that he held before, or thought he held before. We're seeing signs -- and I wouldn't want to overstate what we're seeing or make predictions -- but we are seeing things that indicate that maybe his grip on control and the ruthlessness by which he attempts to maintain control is slipping."
  - Zinni also says that Saddam ordered the executions of military officers he considered traitors during Desert Fox, and has apparently executed civilian leaders in the south since that time. If I were a member of Saddam's inner circle, I'd worry. I do think we see clear signs that his internal control has been affected. I think we see clear signs that he's worried about it. I think we see clear signs that he's doing things that are desperate." When he is asked how long U.S. warplanes can play cat and mouse with Iraqi aircraft, Zinni state that it is up to President Clinton whether to authorize further military action, such as bombing Iraqi airfields. "We do have contingency plans to react if that decision is made."
  - A Pentagon spokesman says that most no-fly incursions have been "cheat-and-retreat actions." The two violations in the southern no-fly zone on January 6, for example, lasted seven minutes and four minutes. Two MiG-21s "darted into the no-fly zone for a very brief period of time and at a time when U.S. aircraft were not in the area. So, as I say, it was timid, cheat and retreat. And that's basically the pattern we're seeing day in and day out."
  - General Zinni says he has no evidence that any schools or hospitals were directly hit during Desert Fox. He is reacting to a preliminary survey by UNICEF, and the World Food Program, which said the attacks flattened an agricultural school in the northern city of Kirkuk, and damaged at least a dozen other schools and hospitals in Baghdad. "We look at our battle damage assessment and we use our intelligence sources and the pictures you see and everything and we have not seen any of this. " Some of this could possibly have been damage from shock effect. We have seen some broken glass and ceiling tiles, and the possibility (is) that that kind of effect might have taken place. We have seen nothing like a quote direct hit -- I mean we would see a direct hit. We've looked very hard through intelligence (data) and haven't seen it, so we haven't seen the proof or evidence for any of this." Zinni estimates that the attacks killed between 800 and 1,200 members of the elite Iraqi Republican Guard, units of which guard President Saddam Hussein as well as Iraq's secret biological and chemical weapons projects.
  - The Gulf Arab states react to Saddam Hussein call for Arabs to revolt against their rulers. Kuwait's Crown Prince and Prime Minister Sheik Saad al-Abdulla says that, "aggressive intents are always present in Saddam Hussein's regime. His attacks against Arab leaders are not new because swears and insults and conspiracies are tools which the Iraqi regime uses against all those who do not follow it." The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Anba says, "Who will heed your invitation you moron? No one except the Iraqi people who must rise one day to step on the red hats of your guards and spit on your statue." Saudi Arabia's al-Riyadh newspaper says that Saddam's speech reflects his "political and intellectual bankruptcy" and that the solution is now the "termination of Saddam. This is the truth over which there is no disagreement. How could this be achieved?...The Iraqi people alone own the future and should act accordingly."
  - The Saudi al-Yawm newspaper says, "The tyrant of Baghdad has started the process of writing the beginning of his end and hammering the last nail in his coffin as the worst ruler Iraq has witnessed in its long history. It will not only increase Baghdad's isolation but will lead to the imminent fall of the regime." The Saudi newspaper Okaz says, "The Arab masses will not respond to those who gamble with their destiny. The regime of Saddam cannot live in a healthy political climate because political stability...means the Iraqi people will wake up to work for their security and stability by lifting that regime off their chests and causing its downfall forever." The UAE's Gulf News says, "There is no reason for the Arab world to fight over whether to hold a summit to discuss Iraq, clearly they must. To keep Saddam from speaking for everyone, the Arab world has to find its own voice."



- The Iraqi Communist Party claims that 81 Iraqis, including 18 military officers, were executed in Baghdad for political or security-related reasons during Desert Fox, and that four officers were convicted under Article 223 of the penal code, which stipulates the death penalty for anyone who attempts to kill the president. "Our party sources inside Iraq have reported that the dictatorial regime carried out in mid-December 1998 a horrific massacre which claimed the lives of tens of political detainees who had been languishing in the cells and dungeons of Abu Gharib Prison in Baghdad. The executed victims...were convicted on political or security-related charges after sham trials in which the accused did not enjoy even the most basic rights." The Statement claims that Colonel Salem Eidan Muhawash and Major Hilal Farhan Naji supervised the killings and that around 2,500 detainees had been killed since 1997 as part of a "prison cleanup campaign."
  - French President Jacques Chirac, states that, "The (U.S.-British) air strikes did not resolve anything so the UN Security Council should regain its full role. The main lesson of this crisis is that no one should weaken the Security Council because it cannot be replaced." He says the goal of the UN should be "to ensure security in the region and give the Iraqi people the means to lead normal lives," and calls for, "a lifting of the international embargo coupled with a strict control of funds Iraq receives from exports. That is the only reasonable solution."
  - Prime Minister Lionel Jospin also criticizes Desert Fox and the air strikes and says France is working on new proposals to solve the crisis and lift sanctions. Jospin says the air strikes showed Washington to be "acting unilaterally and to be at pains to keep up with its ambition of leading the international community. We went from a situation in which...the United Nations was reminding Iraq of its obligations, to a direct confrontation between the Baghdad regime and our American and British friends."
- 99-1-8: General Henry Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says that Desert Fox killed several key advisers and up to 1,600 Republican Guard troops and others, "When you look at some of the intel (intelligence) reporting that has come in, (there are) several key individuals that were right in the upper structure that are no longer available to him, to advise or to lead." He refuses to elaborate but, but says that up to "several times" as many may have injured with almost no damage to civilians. "We know who protects the center of gravity. And so that's who was targeted. I think that Saddam is feeling the pressure, is becoming more desperate." Shelton refuses to name of top or to the source of the intelligence: "I can't, because it relates to the sources that we have and I don't want to reveal that. That would hurt us." Shelton reiterates earlier claims that US and British missiles and bombs had hit 64 out of 66 planned targets and had caused minimum collateral damage to civilian sites.
- General Zinni provides an updated damage assessment for Desert Fox. He says that 600 to 1,600 members of Saddam Hussein's Republican Guard may have been killed, as well as "several key individuals" in his leadership structure. He states that the strikes destroyed key pieces of equipment used to maintain, repair and improve Iraq's missile capability, and that Iraq's program has been put back two years, instead of one. He declines to name the individuals, cite their positions or what their importance might have been. He also states that his estimates of deaths is "based on unconfirmed reporting from a variety of sources," and that "I ... give you a range from about 600 to 1,600 that could have been killed and probably several times that ... that were killed or injured." Zinni says "We struck and damaged significantly" about 85 percent of all targets, and that the U.S. military didn't specifically use intelligence gathered by UNSCOM inspection efforts to select Iraqi targets. Zinni says the recent violations of the no-fly zones and the testing of U.S. and British aircraft are an indication of Saddam's desperation at being hit so hard. "I believe he is shaken."
- 99-1-9: Saddam Hussein praises the Iraqi military forces for their performance in confronting U.S. and British warplanes patrolling Iraqi skies. "The President hailed...the high morale of the air hawks (pilots) and our brave anti-aircraft men." Iraqi air defense commanders pledge to continue their effort to confront U.S. and British warplanes patrolling the No Fly Zones
- British Prime Minister Tony Blair says in Kuwait that, "The only way to deal with Saddam is to make it clear that if he attempts to threaten anybody in this neighborhood, he will be beaten back by force and we will do this again if necessary."
  - Hassan Ibrahim al-Mahdawi, chairman of the legal committee of the Iraqi National Assembly, says a special session that, "The countries who allow America and Britain to use their territories in order to launch their aggression against Iraq should be regarded as hostile states...and they should be punished." Speaker Saadoun Hammadi says, "We reject all UN Security Council resolutions including Resolution 687." An MP "Ibrahim Yousif Turki, says, "Demarcation (of borders between Iraq and Kuwait) is an alien and tyrannical decision...and Iraqi deputies reject it." Hamoudi says this is premature, but that, "The (UN) resolution imposed a savage and illegal demarcation of borders on Iraq...It (demarcation) cut off Iraqi waters and territory and handed them to Kuwait."

- 99-1-11: U.S. fighter jets open fire on an Iraqi missile site after they are targeted by an Iraqi missile site near Mosul while they are patrolling the northern zone. Two F15-E's drop two precision-guided bombs and a U.S. F16-CJ fires a HARM missile. Damage to the Iraqi site is uncertain, but there is no damage to U.S. planes.
- Kuwait puts some of its military units on maximum alert because of Iraqi threats.
- 99-1-12: The sixth clash since December 28 occurs in the no-fly zones. A USAF F-16 fighter plane fires a HARM at an early-warning radar site in northern Iraq's no-fly and returns safely to base in Incirlik. The encounter takes place at 3 a.m. EST, or 11 a.m. Iraqi time, near the city of Mosul in northern Iraq.
- Secretary Cohen, says the US will continue to give enforce the no-fly zones and Iraq would pay a price if it challenges the US and Britain. He declines to say whether repeated Iraqi missile threats against U.S. and British jets, or violations by Iraqi warplanes of the no-fly zones, might lead to wider US attacks.
  - Bulent Ecevit, Turkey's new Prime Minister, says the US has no clear policy for dealing with Iraq, "I don't understand what the United States wants to achieve. They have tactics, but no policy or strategy. On one hand we want Iraq to be more conciliatory with the world, on the other we want the United States to consider and implement more peaceful methods." He states, however, that he does not see any change in the status of a joint U.S.-Turkish airbase used to patrol the northern no-fly zone.
- 99-1-13: U.S. planes flying over Iraq's no-fly zone are illuminated with ground radar and fired upon. The U.S. aircraft respond, score two direct hits on Iraqi air defense batteries near Mosul and return safely to their base at Incirlik. A US spokesman says, "We responded with a series of precision-guided missiles including Harm missiles. We think we had some success with our precision-guided munitions and struck the radar sites." This is the eighth military confrontation since Desert Fox. Iraq possesses over 1,000 surface-to-air missiles.
- An Iraqi spokesman says that several formations of US and British planes entered Iraqi air space at 0951 (0651 GMT). Iraqi air defenses "opened fire on one of those enemy formations and our border observation post saw one of the enemy planes hit. One of these formations approached one of our air defense sites and they were engaged and fired upon by one of our missile units at 1045 (0745 GMT)."
- 99-1-14: About 4:15 a.m. Eastern time, a U.S. F-16CJ jet detects ground radar activity while on patrol northwest of Mosul, in northern Iraq, and fires an anti-radar Harm missile at an air defense site. About 90 minutes later an F-15E warplane fires an AGM-130 laser-guided missile at a suspected surface-to-air missile site. The planes return safely to their base at Incirlik, Turkey. No official assessment is provided of damage to the Iraqi air-defense sites.
- Turkey announces that the US is prepared to send Patriot missiles in case of a major escalation in the air war with Iraq. "It is felt that Patriot missiles could have a useful role to play and the United States has been asked whether such missiles could be brought to Turkey. The U.S. response has been positive."
- 99-1-16: Saddam Hussein denounces UN sanctions for their "mischief and damage" in a speech on eighth anniversary of the outbreak of the Gulf War. "On this day (in 1991), some have committed the crime of striking Baghdad with their missiles. Those evil doers will be defeated and driven to despair." Some 6,000 people march through Baghdad in a government-organized demonstration against the U.S. proposal to Security Council.
- The Iraqi parliament issues a statement stating that Iraq was committed to Kuwait's borders as defined by the Security Council resolution. This counters the article published by Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz.
  - The United States sends a Patriot missile battery to Turkey as a precautionary measure to deal with Iraqi threats made after Operation Desert Fox. Secretary Cohen signs orders deploying units of the 69th Air Defense Artillery Brigade, based near Frankfurt, Germany. At least three Patriot launchers and about 150 soldiers will deploy to Turkey and become part of Operation Northern Watch, conducted from Incirlik Air Base, a Turkish facility near Adana. At present, 38 U.S. aircraft patrol the no-fly zone over northern Iraq, along with British and Turkish forces.
- 99-1-21: Al-Zawra quotes General. Hazim Abdel Razzaq Shihab, the chief of Iraq's missile forces during the Gulf War as saying Iraq fired 93 Scud missiles at Israel and Saudi Arabia during the war. He calls his book Forty-three Missiles on the Zionist Entity. It is published to mark the eighth anniversary of the outbreak of the Gulf War and contains a copy of Saddam Hussein's order to begin firing missiles: "Start, with God's support, the strikes on targets in the criminal Zionist entity as heavily as possible and be careful about the possibility of being detected." Shihab states another 50 missiles were aimed at targets in Saudi Arabia.
- 99-1-23: Kuwaiti government sources say that Iraqi military reinforcements to the south have been normal, although Iraq has moved some military equipment and troops into the south of the country, apparently to deal with internal Moslem

Shi'ite opposition. Foreign Minister Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah says, "Our information is that it is an ordinary (Iraqi) build-up and one has to be cautious towards rumors and reports by news agencies and others. Kuwait is prepared to defend itself and is cooperating with its friends to defend itself... We are supporters of all efforts to lift the suffering of the Iraqi people but within international legality resolutions."

- A UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKON) official says, "There is nothing unusual inside Iraq's 10 km (6.3 miles) of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), and visually it also looks normal (just) north of the DMZ." The UNIKON secures the border between Iraq and Kuwait, and secures the 15-km-wide (9.4 miles) DMZ.
  - Saddam Hussein issues a statement attacking Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. He says they are creating a glut in the oil market and betraying the Arab cause. "Saudi rulers have caused great calamities to the Arab nation and committed aggression against its rights ever since they became a bridge for the foreigner." They have given "America and Zionism knives to pierce the Arab nation with." They have led to increase in OPEC oil quotas "which led to the collapse of oil prices ... inflicting great damage on the interests of member countries, including those of the Saudi people."
  - Iraqi Foreign Minister Mohammed Saeed al-Sahaf says in Cairo that, "There is no military build-up on the Kuwait and Saudi border and these reports are lies." He also says that Iraq demands that the Arab ministers condemn Desert Fox, that, "This is the least Iraq will accept, and that Iraq will demand compensation for the "aggression."
  - Iraqi Speaker of the National Assembly, Saadoun Hammadi, says "The government of Kuwait participated in the recent U.S.- British aggression on Iraq by allowing these forces to use its lands. This is in addition to admissions by its rulers that it (Kuwait) contributed to the cost of this aggression."
  - US fighters, threatened by Iraqi MiGs and anti-aircraft ground fire, drop laser-guided bombs on two surface-to-air missile sites in southern Iraq. Two U.S. F-18 warplanes carry out the attack after Iraqi MiGs violate the no-fly zone. The southern zone stretches from the border with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Jordan to the 33rd parallel just south of Baghdad.
- 99-1-24: The Arab League begins its foreign ministers meeting in Cairo. A draft declaration is prepared by Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Oman which calls on Iraq to recognize Kuwait and put an end to the issue of Kuwaitis considered prisoners of war or missing, and which says the Arab states will work with Security Council to lift sanctions once Iraq implements UN resolutions. Iraqi Foreign Minister Mohammed Saeed al-Sahhaf walks out in apparent anger after the ministers to refuse to denounce Desert Fox as aggression and only express "deep concern at the use of the military option against Iraq." Al-Sahhaf says that the Arab League statement is "a cover for resuming the U.S.-British airstrikes" and claims the ministers have reacted to US pressure and Saudi and Kuwaiti plots.
- A U.S. F-15E launches an AGM-130 missile on an Iraqi SA-3 surface-to-air missile installation in the Northern No Fly Zone after aircraft in the area reported they were illuminated by the Iraqi unit. The missile scored a direct hit and the site is reported to have "suppressed. The incident takes place at 10:45 a.m. Iraqi time, or 6 a.m. EST. The northern no-fly zone is above the 36th parallel. Less than an hour after the first attack, a U.S. Marine EA-6B Prowler and two U.S. Air Force F-16s fire HARMs after their aircraft were illuminated by Iraqi systems. All of the American aircraft return safely to Incirlik.
  - The US says it will soon rotate some of its forces in Kuwait which patrol the southern no-fly, The 104th Fighter Squadron with A-10s will start deployment on the 26<sup>th</sup> and additional F-16s will deploy, bringing the total number of US aircraft almost 200. There are also 12 British Tornados in Kuwait and six in Saudi Arabia.
  - Ahmad Ibrahim Hammash, the governor of Basra, says that Iraq is boosting its air defenses in the south, "We are prepared for all eventualities. The reinforcements are there. They are air defense reinforcements. Everything we can reinforce, we are reinforcing. More than that I cannot say." He says that some aspects of the moves are exceptional, but are a defensive reaction. "We will challenge this aggression, and will continue to challenge it. We will not accept a mandate of anyone upon us. Regarding Kuwait, they are our neighbors. If we wanted to take Kuwait, we could take Kuwait in one night and a day despite the presence of Americans now, or others. We did not threaten anyone, and we will not threaten anyone."
- 99-1-25: Iraqi Culture and Information Minister Humam Abdul-Khaleq Abdul-Ghafur says U.S. and British warplanes attacked two residential quarters in the al-Jumhuriya neighborhood of Basra, "I do not have the exact figure now but I have been told that...tens of people were injured and several were killed, among them children and women

- and at least two residential sites were bombed...We think that this new communiqué by the foreign ministers is a green light to the American and British to attack Iraq again.”
- Mike Huggins, a CNN producer in Basra says local officials told him 11 people were killed and four wounded in one attack. He said the scene was one of widespread devastation, and that he had been to the scene of the attack in a poor residential area of Basra and that there were no Iraqi defense sites in the neighborhood.
  - The US confirms that its planes had attacked targets in the no-fly zone of southern Iraq “as a result of provocation.” Britain says its planes were not involved. The US says the raid took place at about 9:25 a.m. local time/1:25 a.m. EST when U.S. planes responded after four Iraqi MiG planes initiated “threatening activity” and Iraqi air defense systems fired anti-aircraft artillery. It says it no confirmation of any Iraqi casualties and all U. planes returned safely to their bases.
  - USCENTCOM says , “Since Operation Desert Fox, the Iraqi military has been increasing both the pace and severity of no-fly zone violations. Despite repeated warnings, Iraqi actions and intentions pose serious threats to our aircrews and our actions today are an appropriate response to these threats.”
  - The official Iraqi News Agency reports another strike 40 minutes later. It accused the US of targeting “heavily populated areas” and says they hit the village of Abu al-Khaseeb near Basra, the Basra airport, and an oil field. It claims that civil defense teams were ferrying wounded to hospitals and trying to recover bodies from the ruins of buildings. “Planes of the American and British aggressors continue their air raids against residential quarters and economic targets in Basra governorate. The indiscriminate and savage bombings have led to the martyrdom of more civilians, and civil defense units rushed to the sites to search for bodies of martyrs and to rescue the wounded and take them to hospitals. The criminals bombed a number of residential areas at 10.10 a.m. local time (0710 GMT) in the morning in Abu Flus, Basra airport and the northern Rumalia field.”
  - A reporter in Basra said he saw a house that was destroyed and three others that were damaged. He said he was taken to a hospital where he saw severely injured children. Greg Palkot of Fox News reports that he saw civil defense teams searching for people in the rubble. Abdel-Khaliq said at least two residential areas were hit, several people were killed, and dozens were wounded. Cable News Network reports 11 people were killed and four injured.
  - Tariq Aziz condemns the attacks in the southern region of Basra, saying “Iraq holds American and British aggressors and their Kuwaiti and Saudi partners responsible for this cowardly and treacherous aggression. It (Iraq) will continue to challenge the no-fly ban imposed by force in the south and north,” Aziz said the attacks follow the “shameful statement adopted by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and those who collaborate with them during an Arab League meeting held in Cairo and which was welcomed immediately by Washington because it suits its policy.” He says that Saudi Arabia and Kuwait took part in the attack. “Those who allow America and Britain to use their territory and space to kill Iraqis and pay for the aggression do not represent the Arab nation but they serve their masters in Washington and London.”
  - Iran reports that a stray missile fired in U.S.-led attacks landed in Iranian territory. The governor of the city of Abadan in southwestern Iran tells the television that the missile landed inside the oil city but there were no casualties. Iran had protested to Britain and Switzerland, which represents the United States in Iran, after a stray missile landed in Iran's southwestern border city of Khorramshar during Desert Fox. It damaged property, but there was no report of injuries.
  - A spokesman for Operation Northern Watch based at Incirlik air base in Turkey, said that after an Air Force F-15E encountered anti-aircraft artillery fire, two other F-15Es dropped one laser-guided bomb each on the air defense system. The U.S. planes operate from Incirlik. In a separate incident near Mosul, a Marine Corps EA-6B electronic warfare plane fired a missile at an Iraqi surface-to-air missile installation that “posed a threat” to U.S. and allied aircraft. An Air Force F-16CJ plane later attacked a different SA-2 surface-to-air missile site that also was deemed to pose a threat. A spokesman with U.S. Central Command says the American jets fired at an Iraqi surface-to-air missile site and associated air-defense systems north of Basra “in response to Iraqi incursions in the no-fly zone.” He says the U.S. jets were threatened by Iraqi ground artillery and four Iraqi MiGs. All aircraft involved returned safely to their bases..
  - The US reports later that its warplanes attacked three separate anti-aircraft facilities in northern Iraq following two clashes earlier in the day in southern Iraq. A Pentagon spokesman says planes flying a routine surveillance flight over the northern no-fly zone were tracked by ground radar and fired on by surface-to-air missiles and artillery and responded with bombs and missiles. Shortly before 2 p.m. Iraq time (6 a.m. EST) aircraft flying with the Northern

Watch patrols were illuminated by ground radar and fired on. Two U.S. Air Force F-15 fighter planes dropped laser-guided bombs on an anti-aircraft artillery system. Separately, a U.S. Marine Prowler fired a High speed Anti-Radiation Missile (HARM) at a missile site that was threatening the flights and an Air Force F-16 fired a HARM at a different missile site. In addition an Iraqi SAM missile was fired at an F-15. US officials say they have no confirmation of Iraqi casualties. All U.S. planes return safely to their bases.

- Gen. Anthony Zinni says later that, "We have the possibility of one missile that may have been errant...Our targeting and execution of strikes are done in a manner to minimize any civilian casualties or damage to civilian property. No one can guarantee that these strikes will not have errs or we might not have errant ordnance but we do make every possible attempt to make sure this doesn't happen...We deeply regret any civilian casualties regardless of what the cause might be but these exchanges have been initiated by Saddam Hussein." He adds that the US is reviewing intelligence determine if an errant U.S. missile might have caused civilian casualties reported by Iraq.

On January 27, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon admits that an AGM-130 missile launched from an Air Force F-15E strike aircraft U.S. missile fired at air defense targets near the city of Basra on the 25th missed its target by miles and struck a residential area. "It created some damage," spokesman Kenneth Bacon said Tuesday, referring to the errant. "We realize that and we regret any civilian casualties. But this was done in response to a provocative attack against our planes by Saddam Hussein." Iraq has now reported that five civilians were killed, 42 were injured and several homes were destroyed, but Bacon says he cannot confirm the missile killed any civilians. "I don't think I have any independent confirmation whether it did or it didn't." He says that the USAF will continue using the AGM-130 in no-fly zone enforcement missions and describes the weapon as "generally very accurate, but there are many reasons it might miss a target. He would not offer any examples." He also says that, "I think that we are having a grave impact on the Iraqi air defense system, and a grave impact on the number of weapons they have to bring to bear against our planes, and we will continue to do that until the threat goes away."

- The AGM-130, the Air Force missile that missed its target Monday in Iraq, is a newly modified weapon with a 2,000-pound, high-explosive warhead. It is equipped with a guidance system that enables the crew of the launching aircraft to watch the missile's path on a television monitor and steer it to its target. It also can be used with automatic weapon guidance.
  - A US spokesman says that the US now has about 240 aircraft, 31 ships and more than 28,000 forces massed in the Gulf region to patrol the northern and southern no-fly zones in Iraq. The are about 28,000 U.S. forces stationed on ships or at bases in the Gulf region which monitor the southern exclusion zone in Iraq. About 200 U.S. aircraft are involved in the operation. The aircraft carrier USS Carl Vinson is in the area, along with a total of 31 ships, of which 16 were combatant vessels and six of those could fire Tomahawk missiles. There were about 45 coalition aircraft and 1,300 U.S., British and Turkish forces at Incirlik Air Base in Turkey, from where U.S. and British forces monitor the northern no-fly zone.
  - Saudi Arabia rejects Iraqi charges that US and British warplanes used its territory as a launch pad for attacks that hit a residential area of the southern Iraqi city of Basra. "These allegations are untrue and unfounded." The official Iraqi News Agency (INA) had said the missile came "from a westerly direction, Saudi Arabia."
  - Gennady Seleznyov, speaker of the State Duma, Russia's lower house of parliament on Monday expressed his outrage to U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright about reports of a new U.S. missile attack on Iraq and said she had no reply. "I told her about (the attack). I said, again peaceful people have been killed. But she said nothing. It seems that she still does not have confirmed information about what has happened there." Deputy Duma Speaker Mikhail Gutseriyev, also a Middle East specialist, tells Itar-Tass that the attack on Basra was "unacceptable and impermissible in a civilized world."
  - Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit says Turkey is preparing proposals to ease the escalating tension between its neighbor Iraq and its NATO ally the United States.
  - Chief Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls says, "This new incident confirms once again what the holy father has said, even in the past few days, that military measures do not resolve problems by themselves. In fact they just make things worse. Pope John Paul II and the Vatican has previously described Desert Fox as a breach of international law, and called the strikes "aggression."
- 99-1-26: Sandy Berger, the president's National Security Adviser, says that American warplanes patrolling the skies over northern and southern Iraq are operating under new guidance that authorizes more aggressive action against Iraqi air defenses. "We're acting here in self-defense and in response to concerted attacks by Saddam Hussein (in response to) a distinct increase in the challenges to enforcement of the no-fly zones". He says that the attacks on

the 25<sup>th</sup> illustrated the more aggressive approach that U.S. military commanders requested, and that President Clinton approved them after Desert Fox. "The president has responded to requests by the military for more expansive rules of engagement. Our pilots understand, and our air force understands, that if there are violations of the no-fly zone, that our response be not simply against the particular source of the violation or source of the threat but our response, as appropriate, will be against any of the air defense systems that we think makes us vulnerable." The Department of Defense had previously refused to confirm the change in approach.

- The Iraqi daily Al-Jumhuriya says, "We maintain our full right to hold the evil aggressors in America and Britain and their partners...in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait fully responsible for this heinous aggression. We say that our Arab masses are called today to revolt against this unjust (aggression)...after those unjust (U.S.) aggressors exceeded their limits... No sooner the deliberation meeting of the Arab foreign ministers ended and the issue of the statement in a suspicious way...than aggression was repeated on Iraq from the lands of Najd and Hujaz (Saudi Arabia)...The collaborators gave a cover for the Americans for aggression on August 10, 1990 and they gave the same justification for aggression today."
  - Pentagon spokesman Ken Bacon confirms that a US missile Iraq exploded in a residential area of Basra. "We have analyzed yesterday's information and found that an AGM-130 (missile) did miss its target and explode in a residential neighborhood several kilometers away from its target. We do not have any independent estimate of casualties or fatalities. I want to repeat that we are not targeting civilians. We are in fact taking every step we can to avoid targeting civilians ... or avoid creating collateral damage in civilian neighborhoods, because we are not attacking the people of Iraq."
  - Iraqis in Abu Fullous mourn their dead after missiles fired by US warplanes hit small village, 25 km (15 miles) south of Basra. Residents say the missile struck the house of Fadl Abbas Mansour, gouged out holes in the roof and moved on into other homes. Two stone-walled houses collapsed and two others were badly damaged. Reporters who visit the village see the 6-foot barrel of the gray missile on the street, minus its nose and tail
  - Members of the Iraqi parliament accuse Saudi Arabia and Kuwait of taking part in Desert Fox and demand an Arab tribunal to try them. Some call for revoking recognition of Kuwait and/or the new border demarcation. Saadoun Hammadi, the speaker of Iraq's Parliament, says, "The Saudi and Kuwaiti regimes have become the head of a venomous snake."
  - The Russian Foreign Ministry says, "Nothing can justify new deaths among the civilian population of Iraq, which has already been bled dry by the hardships of many years of blockade. Russia renews its longstanding criticism of the no-fly zones, "The latest tragic events have confirmed the pressing need for all problems connected with Iraq to be resolved exclusively in a political context, all the more so since the no-fly zones were established unilaterally, without the sanction of the UN Security Council." The statement is issued while Secretary of State Madeleine Albright is in Moscow.
  - U.S. fighter jets are involved in three incidents between 1:25 p.m. and 1:50 p.m. Iraqi time/5:25 a.m. EST and 5:50 a.m. EST (1025 and 1050 GMT) near the city of Mosul in the northern no-fly zone. Iraqi surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft artillery systems targeted aircraft on routine patrols for the fourth consecutive day. All aircraft and crews returned safely to Incirlik. Two violations were also reported in the southern no-fly zone when two Iraqi MiG planes conducted fly into the exclusion area. U.S. and British planes are not patrolling the area at the time and there are no engagements.
  - The US sends 8 more F-16 jets to Kuwait, bringing the number of U.S. aircraft patrolling the Western-imposed no-fly zone in southern Iraq to almost 200, along with 12 British Tornado bombers in Kuwait, and 6 Tornados in Saudi Arabia. A scheduled rotation of A-10s also begins for a three-month deployment at a Kuwaiti desert air base.
  - The official Iranian news agency IRNA reports that a foreign ministry spokesman "condemned the recent attack by American aircraft on Iraq which killed a number of civilians and destroyed residential districts."
- 99-1-27: Iraq's vice president, Taha Yassin Ramadan, says "Iraq will continue to challenge with all its capabilities and means American and British planes which violate our air space. Iraq holds the (UN) Security Council and Arab rulers responsible for the dangers and damage Iraq is facing through these aggressive acts...Iraq will continue dialogue with any Arab government who wants dialogue, within the context of Arab integration, unity and independence."

- Iraq's parliament issues a statement says, "Arab masses who stand against the aggression...are urged to revolt against these (Saudi and Kuwaiti) regimes...The governments of America and Britain and the rulers of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are responsible for the aggression and the human and material losses caused by it."
- The Iraqi newspaper al-Zawra, which is owned by Uday, says the U.S. missile strike near Basra risen to 18. During this cowardly act 18 people met martyrdom and 59 were injured, most of them women and children," said. Seven houses were destroyed and 27 slightly damaged."
- 99-1-28: Gen. Anthony Zinni told the Senate Armed Services Committee that the Clinton administration's strategy of U.S. support for Iraqi opposition groups is ill-conceived and could further destabilize the region. "The last thing we need is another rogue state. Even if we had Saddam gone, by any means, we could end up with 15, 20, 90 groups competing for power. I will be honest. I don't see an opposition group that has the viability to overthrow Saddam at this point...(Such efforts) could further destabilize the area and could be very dangerous. The last thing we need is a disintegrated, fragmented Iraq. Because the effects on the region would be far greater, in my mind, than a contained Saddam...Now Saddam is dangerous. Saddam should go. There's not a doubt in my mind. But it is possible to create a situation that could be worse. And that's my concern. These groups are very fragmented. They have little if any viability to exact a change of regime in and of themselves. Their ability to cooperate is questionable." Zinni says that Iraq had violated no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq more than 70 times since Desert Fox, I think it's clear that Saddam has been a loser and his air defense system has been a loser in these engagements. I would emphasize, though, our pilots are still at risk. This is not an undangerous mission." He says that that Iraq still may have Scud missiles capable of reaching Israel and retains the capability of manufacturing biological and chemical weapons. He says of Desert Fox that, We're seeing more damage -- damage that we were very conservative in estimating until we had more proof or more evidence."
- Ten U.S. F-15 and six F-16 fighter-bombers, two escort "Prowler" radar-jamming aircraft and two AWACS radar and control aircraft as well as four tankers took off on routine patrols in the course of the morning. They attack five targets in northern Iraq after they are been targeted by Iraqi anti-aircraft systems.
- Two F-15 fighter-bombers on a routine patrol of the northern "No-Fly Zone" are targeted by anti-aircraft artillery north of the city of Mosul and attack an Iraqi anti-aircraft battery in northern Iraq with three precision-guided bombs before returning to Incirlik. The incident comes shortly after the base at Incirlik is put on a state of alert on fears of a missile attack from Iraq. Allied sources in Ankara said a U.S. tracking station had picked up a possible launch from northern Iraq in the direction of the Turkish border. But the 'target' disappeared from radar and the alarm was lifted. The Turkish stock market falls by more than three percent on accompanying rumors of an Iraqi missile exploding in the southeastern city of Diyarbakir.
- A statement by the Turkish General Staff said there had been an explosion northeast of Mosul at the time Incirlik was put on alert and that this may have been interpreted as a missile launch. It did not say what caused the blast. Troops at Incirlik don protective gear, the gates are closed and traffic halts Four British Tornado aircraft are at the time of the alert. They returned to the base shortly after the all-clear was given. The battery of Patriot missiles at Incirlik is not readied for action during the alert.
- 99-1-29 The Baath Party newspaper Al-Thawra says, "The Saudi government is a full partner in the conspiracy and aggression on Iraq's leadership and people. This is the truth...We condemn the deviant and deceitful Saudi positions with facts and evidence, and expose how the custodian of the two holy shrines (Saudi King Fahd) conspires against our country, people and leadership... The Al-Saud and Al-Sabah face the harmful consequences of (the conspiracy) which results in the violation of our airspace under the cover of what is called the no-fly zones...continues until today by allowing American and British planes to fly from Saudi bases to violate Iraqi airspace and bomb Iraq and its peaceful people."
- 99-1-30: US fighters attack four Iraqi anti-aircraft missile sites and one surface-to-air missile site near Mosul in the no-fly zone over northern Iraq. US aircraft fire missiles in separate incidents in self-defense between three and 4.30 p.m. Iraqi time (1200-1330 GMT. The first incident takes place shortly after 3 p.m. Iraqi time, when a group of F-15Es drop two GBU-12 munitions on an Iraqi Skyguard surface-to-air missile site after being targeted. A few minutes later, F-15Es dropped two more GBU-12s on an anti-aircraft artillery system and associated radar. A further F-15E attack on an anti-aircraft artillery site occurs close to 3:30 p.m. A U.S. Marine EA-6B Prowler fires a HARM missile at a radar-guided anti-aircraft artillery around 4:30 p.m. Moments later, F-15Es dropped GBU-12s on another anti-aircraft artillery site.
- Iraq states " Twelve hostile formations coming from Turkish air space supported by an early warning plane (AWACS) implemented 22 missions using 17 missiles and bombs. Planes of the aggressors have violated our air

- space in northern Iraq at 1325 p.m. local time (1025 GMT) on January 30. The aggressors returned at 1630 p.m. local time (1330 GMT) by violating our national air space but this time coming from Kuwaiti and Saudi air space. Fourteen hostile formations supported by an early warning plane (AWACS) violated our air space coming from Saudi skies as well as an EC2 plane coming from Kuwaiti skies.”
- Iraq claims to have defused an unexploded cruise missile near Kirkuk. It has previously said that it defused 58 unexploded bombs dropped during Desert Fox. It now claims 18 people were killed and 59 injured in Basra during the AGM-130 strike five days earlier.
  - The Iraqi government newspaper al-Jumhuriya says “We are surprised at what a Saudi source had said that his country was not able to prevent so-called international monitoring of Iraqi airspace. Doesn't this Saudi regime's weakness and loss of will mean that it is in fact under American military occupation? Those who have (political) goals in Iraq and their supporters have prevented Iraq importing weapons and prevented it improving its conventional military abilities while Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran and Turkey were allowed to do so.”
  - The British aircraft carrier HMS Invincible arrives in the to help patrol a no-fly zone over southern Iraq. The destroyer HMS Newcastle and the store ship Fort Austin accompany the Invincible. The duration of Invincible's deployment is not announced, but it is expected to stay until late spring. The carrier has a crew of around 1,200 and its aircraft includes Sea Harrier vertical takeoff and landing jets and Sea King. The Invincible's Harriers will take part in Operation Southern Watch. The helicopters will be involved in enforcing trade sanctions against Iraq, monitoring shipping in and out of Iraqi waters. Twelve British Tornado bombers in Kuwait and six in Saudi Arabia already participate in Operation Southern Watch. Britain also has aerial refueling tankers based in Bahrain.
- 99-1-31: U.S. and British fighters fly patrols from Incirlik. The patrol group includes 20 U.S. F-15 and F-16 fighters, British Tornado jets, AWACS and tankers. A US F-16 based in southern Turkey fires a HARM missile at a radar system north of Mosul at around 3:20 p.m. Iraqi time (1220 GMT). It was a part of a patrol group of more than 20 U.S. F-15 and F-16 fighters, British Tornado jets, AWACS radar and control aircraft and tanker planes had taken off earlier into blue skies above the complex of red-brick buildings set behind wire near the southern Turkish city of Adana. All of the aircraft returned without damage.
- U.S. and British aircraft, including two U.S. Navy F-14s, two FA-18s, one EA-6B, one U.S. Air Force F-16CJ and two British Royal Air Force GR-1 aircraft, attack two Iraqi communications facilities after an Iraqi MiG 23 enters the southern no-fly zone. The attacks occur at about 2:20 a.m. EST and strike an Iraqi communications repeater station in Talil, about 170 miles southeast of Baghdad and a radio relay station in Al Amarah, about 120 miles southeast of Baghdad. The eight American and British aircraft involved in the attack return undamaged
  - Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi, speaking in Switzerland says the US and Britain should stop using force against Iraq and try to create an international consensus on how to end the crisis. “No unilateral action will be helpful. What the American and British governments have done so far has not been quite helpful because it has created more of a gap inside the Security Council. Therefore I believe the international consensus is the most valuable instrument (leading) out of the crisis. I believe there should be a change of policy toward Iraq to be more practical and at the same time to take into consideration the concerns of the...countries in the region.” He says of the patrols over the no-fly zones, “Yes. I believe that is not justified.”
  - The speaker of Iraq's National Assembly, Saadoun Hammadi, is quoted by as saying Saudi Arabia and Kuwait collaborated with the US to “destroy the Iraqi economy.” He says Saudi Arabia's oil policy cost Arab oil producers some \$919 billion in potential revenue over the past 12 years. “These funds went to the economies of the advanced industrialized countries instead of being useful in development programs in these states. The Saudis with this behavior wanted to implement what America wanted.” Several days earlier, Iraqi Oil Minister Amir Muhammed Rasheed announced that Iraq would ask the OPEC to cut Saudi Arabia's 8.0 million barrel per day quota by more than a third in order to raise oil prices.
- 99-2-1: Lieutenant-General Mohammed Abdel-Qader, the Iraqi governor of Nineveh province says he has prayed Iraqi air defense crews would shoot down a plane, “All of us hope that an American plane comes down...We call on God that an American plane, or planes, come down because of the flagrant aggression on our country, our people and national security. In the northern area, there are Iraqi people. Kurds, Arabs and people of different religions living in the area. It is natural that any country exposed to aggression, will challenge the aggression with all its means. Iraq is a country being attacked by America and Britain. There are many civilian places that were hit, the latest in Basra. It is very likely that missiles or bombs will fall upon civilian areas.



- The weekly Iraqi newspaper Nabdh al-Shabab (Pulse of Youth) reports that Saddam has offered a reward of \$14,000 to any Iraqi who shoots down an enemy plane. "In accordance of the leader's order, the Presidential Office will grant 25 million dinars to those who shoot down a hostile plane and 10 million (5,000 dollars) for gunning down a missile." Defense Secretary William Cohen replies, "It reflects just another example of Saddam Hussein flailing out."
- 99-2-2: U.S. warplanes attack and seem to destroy a new anti-ship missile site in southern Iraq that could have threatened shipping in the oil-rich Gulf. The anti-ship missile launchers were deployed in recent weeks on the al-Fao peninsula, which juts into the Gulf at the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Four attack jets from the carrier Carl Vinson in attack a Russian-made CSSC-3 missile battery. The missiles, with a range of about 60 miles (100 km) and a 1,100-pound (500 kg) warhead, were apparently moved within the past week to the coast just southeast of Basra and would have posed a threat to US warships and commercial shipping. The attack takes place about 12:30 p.m. Iraq Time (4:30 a.m. EST/(0930 GMT) and two F-14 and two F/A-18 attack jets launch four laser-guided 500-pound (800 kg) bombs
- Other U.S. jets make at least four bombing strikes against anti-aircraft missile and radar sites in the northern no fly zone after the jets are targeted anti-aircraft artillery sites and a radar associated with an SA-2 surface-to-air missile battery. At 2:20 p.m. Iraqi time (6:20 a.m. EST/1120 GMT), two U.S. F-15Es drop two 500-pound (800 kg) laser-guided bombs on an anti-aircraft artillery battery in response to being targeted by Iraqi radar near the northern town of Mosul. In a second incident about 15 minutes later, a Marine Corps EA-6B electronic warfare plane fires a high-speed anti-radiation, or HARM, missile at an SA-2 missile radar site. In a third incident about five minutes later, an unspecified number of F-15Es drop GBU-12 precision-guided munitions on an anti-aircraft artillery site. Some ten minutes later, F-15Es drop an unspecified number of GBU-12 munitions on another anti-aircraft artillery site. There at least two other attacks by American jets in the area near Mosul. All of the U.S. aircraft returned safely to their bases.
- The official al-Iraq newspaper publishes front-page editorial Iraq saying, "Our decision to prevent the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) from returning and to resist the so-called no-fly zone is irreversible."
- Iraq bans any product carrying a picture of the American flag.
- Turkey's Defense Minister Hikmet Sami Turk says the government is considering changes in rules of engagement for warplanes patrolling the northern no-fly zone. "There is work (going on) now on the rules of engagement. The rules of engagement are to be redefined. Both sides are working on that,." He also says that Turkey will react to any Iraqi move to launch a Scud missile attack on Incirlik.
- An Iraqi military spokesman says that US and British aircraft carried out 26 missions inside Iraq's national air space and attacked a position in Najaf province and a food ration center. "It has been confirmed to us clearly that Saudi pilots have taken part in these formations."
- Saudi state television says, An official Saudi source at the Ministry of Defense and Aviation denied a report issued today....by some news agencies quoting the Iraqi News Agency that Saudi pilots had participated in an air raid on a food distribution center in the Najaf Province in southern Iraq. The source said that the report was totally fabricated and that such a thing was impossible to happen in any form," the television added.
- Kuwaiti Defense Minister and deputy prime minister Sheik Salem Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah, says, "My reaction is Iraq should not disturb its neighbors by threatening them all the time." told reporters.
- 99-2-3: Iraq moves missile launchers from the "no-fly" zones in northern and southern Iraq to central Iraq, where they pose less of a threat. Iraq had added air defense forces to the northern and southern sectors after the four-day U.S. and British bombing campaign in mid-December. It is not clear whether the withdrawal means Iraq reduced its challenge or is changing tactics.
- Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara says to Robin Cook, "The bombing is futile, it only hurts the Iraqi people. Only the Iraqi people are paying the price. After eight years of sanctions, the picture hasn't changed on the ground except more suffering."
- Sheik Mohammad bin Rashid al-Maktoum, the UAE defense minister, expresses strong reservations about US efforts to overthrow Saddam Hussein. The official news agency WAM reports that he said he "considered that any political change in Iraq imposed from outside could lead to the division of (the country) and internal civil war" after meeting with Indyck. The al-Khaleej newspaper says, "It is clear that the United States is seeking to market its policy and positions sometimes by force and sometimes by deception."

- A government statement in Oman says Sultan Qaboos stressed the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries to Indyk, and the need for continuous efforts to help ease United Nations economic sanctions against Iraq and to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people.
- A senior Foreign Ministry official in Qatar says, "It is an internal matter for Iraq. We would prefer this matter should be left to the Iraqi people to decide whether they want a change or not or whom they want as their leader. Any outside interference will not be in the best interest of anybody."
- 99-2-7: Saddam Hussein praises Iraq's air defense troops. "I salute your effort to defend the sovereignty of great Iraq. It's an irony when the Americans say they are defending themselves while they make an...aggression on Iraq and air defense sites as if they are flying over Washington's skies, not Iraq's." The Iraqi News Agency reports that Saddam met with Defense Minister Sultan Hashim Ahmed and senior air defense commanders involved in recent battles with US and British warplanes over Iraq, and also said that he was proud that Iraq could confront the most advanced military technology in the world.
- 99-2-9: Iraq claims that the US and UK flew 21 sorties in the Northern No-Fly Zone and, "At 1240 today (0940 GMT), hostile formations approached one of our air defenses. Our brave air defense fighters fired at this formation and primary data indicate that one of the hostile planes was shot... the aircraft left our southern national airspace at 1305...heading back to the dens of evil that they came from." A Pentagon spokesman says, "I have every evidence that that absolutely did not occur. There have been no strikes taken by US aircraft in the north or the south in the past four or five days." The British Ministry of Defense says all British planes had returned safely from their missions.
- British Defense Secretary Robertson arrives in Saudi Arabia and meets with Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan bin Abdul-Aziz and senior army officials.
- 99-2-10: U.S. aircraft fire weapons at two air defense sites in Iraq after encountering Iraqi violations in the southern "no-fly" zone. The incident took place at about 4 a.m. EST (0900 GMT) and was in response to Iraqi Mig-23s and MiG-25s flying in the southern exclusion zone. US pilots fired precision guided bombs at air defense sites near Talil, about 170 miles (274 km) southeast of Baghdad, and an air defense radar site near an-Najaf, about 100 miles (160 km) south of the capital. No coalition aircraft are damaged.
- Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz is head an Iraqi delegation to visit Turkey to discuss relations. Last month Iraq has asked Turkey's new prime minister Ecevit to stop U.S. and British jets from using an air base at Incirlik.
- 99-2-11 U.S. forces strike at least seven Iraqi air defense targets in both the northern and southern no-fly zones ranging from Iraqi missile communication sites to radar sites. In the attacks in the north, U.S. planes bomb two communications sites, two surface-to-air missile systems and an Iraqi radar site near the northern town of Mosul. The attacks in the southern no-fly zone occurred in response to violations by Iraqi MiG-23 planes in the exclusion zone at about 10:45 a.m. EST (1545 GMT), several hours after the clashes in the north. The targets included radar sites and associated facilities near Al Habbariyah, about 135 miles (220 km) southwest of Baghdad, and near Al Amarah, about 170 miles (270 km) southeast of Baghdad. A Pentagon spokesman says, "In all cases, U.S. aircraft returned safely to their bases. We go to extreme measures to ensure that as we attack these targets we do so in a way that minimizes the risk to the civilian population." Doubleday said. The spokesman adds that U.S. and British attacks since December had had a "grave impact" on Iraq's air defense system: "We believe we have been effective in hitting the targets threatening coalition forces and our intention is that as long as they (Iraq) continue these provocative actions we will continue to respond." There have now been more than 90 no-fly zone violations since Operation Desert Fox and more than 70 incidents involving Iraqi surface-to-air missiles, anti-aircraft artillery and target-tracking radar illuminations' against U.S. and British planes. US and British forces have responded by attacking more than 37 targets.
- Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz says that Iraq would continue to challenge the no-fly zones "no matter what the sacrifices and consequences are."
- Iraq says at least two people are killed in the attacks and several were injured. "They launched eight missiles and bombs against our air defense positions in the southeastern region, wounding a number of civilians."
- 99-2-12: A US Air Force F-15E drops one GBU-12 precision-guided bomb on an Iraqi anti-aircraft artillery site Friday after the jet was fired on in the third clash in the no fly zones three days. The attack takes place over northern Iraq occurred at 1:30 p.m. local time (5:30 a.m. EST) north of Mosul, 250 miles north of Baghdad. The official Iraqi News Agency says one civilian is killed and another injured. The F-15E is not damaged and returned safely to

base. Three pairs of Iraqi planes, including MiG-23s and Mirage jet fighters, violate the no-fly zone without incident.

- 99-2-13: The official daily Al-Jumhuriya recalls the Gulf War, "Today we remember details of that heinous crime, just as we have counted scores of similar crimes before and after it associated with the crime of the embargo. Iraqis reaffirm their intention to challenge all forms of aggression... The Ameriya Shelter, with its sorrowful memories... reminds us of the mean and treacherous aggression which killed the dreams and bright futures of 421 innocents....In memory of the martyrs of Ameriya, we describe how their smooth bodies were incinerated by bombs of criminal America." Al-Qadissiya says, "America is using sanctions to starve and kill the innocent. But in the end it will taste nothing but disappointment when Iraq and all humanity reap the fruits of our struggle, and our sacrifices are rewarded with victory."
- U.S. military jets attack two Iraqi defense sites in southern no-fly zone on Saturday, including one that fired on coalition aircraft patrolling the area. No U.S. aircraft are damaged and all return safely to their bases. U.S. Navy F/A-18s and F-14s attacked an Iraqi missile site on the country's southern Faw peninsula in the Gulf at about 8 a.m. EST (1300 GMT) because the presence of the missiles violated the terms of the southern no-fly zone. An anti-missile site in the same area had been attacked by US fighters aircraft on Feb. 2nd, with the Pentagon saying it could have threatened shipping in the oil-rich Gulf. At the time, it said American aircraft destroyed a Russian-made CSSC-3 "Seersucker" anti-ship missile battery. About 30 minutes after the attack on the Faw peninsula, U.S. Air Force F-15Es dropped bombs on Iraqi air defense sites near Tallil, about 170 miles (272 km) southeast of Baghdad. The bombing comes after the Iraqis fired anti-aircraft artillery at the Western coalition aircraft patrolling the southern no-fly zone.
- An Iraqi military spokesman says of the US attacks, "They committed another crime...when their hostile formations attacked a civilian installation in Dhiqar province (Nasiriya) killing three citizens and injuring many others. At 1505 local time (1205 GMT) fourteen hostile formations...coming from Saudi and Kuwaiti skies violated our national airspace and implemented 34 missions." Iraq claims the planes also bombed a fishing jetty in Faw and a residential quarter, The spokesman says U.S. or British planes flew over the southern provinces of Meisan (Amarah), Dhiqar, Najaf and Basra and returned to their bases at 1635 (0135 GMT).
- Iraq's Culture and Information Minister Humam Abdul-Khaleq Abdul-Ghafur says, "We will continue protecting our borders and airspace and we are defending our country and skies."
- Iraq claims hundreds of people visited the al-Amiriya shelter on the anniversary of the Gulf War attack to mourn those who died. Iraq claims the victims included 52 children and 261 women.
- 99-2-14: The British Sunday Telegraph claims that Russia has signed a \$160 million deal to reinforce Iraq's air defenses and upgrade its MiG fighters, and that the agreements were signed in Moscow on Jan. 13 and 14 after a visit to the Russian capital by Ahmed Murtada Ahmed Khalil, Iraq's Transport and Communications Minister. Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov denies the report and says Russia is strictly meeting by its commitments to UN. The Telegraph had claimed the decision to give Iraqi President Saddam Hussein military help was approved by Russian Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov on Dec. 7 in violation of the United Nations arms embargo on Iraq.
- Iraqi television says it is quoting President Saddam Hussein and senior leaders in making threats that Iraq could attack US and British bases in the Gulf used to launch air strikes against Iraq. "We, by help from God and support from the sons of our glorious Arab nation, including true and sincere nationals ... in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, have the ability to attack the soldiers and means of aggression from whatever region. Once again ... we draw the attention of the rulers of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and tell them you are getting involved now in a vicious and aggressive war that the people of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have no interest in...We warn the rulers of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and tell them 'you are now involved in an aggressive war which the peoples of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have no interest in, but America and Zionism do...If you are helpless and you have no desire for the aggression, we are able to target sources and means of aggression, and from anywhere it is launched, after relying on God and the support of our Arab nation"
- 99-2-15: The government newspaper al-Jumhuriya repeats Iraq's threats in a front- page editorial, "We warn the rulers of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait against allowing the warplanes of the American and British aggressors to violate our airspace and we are able, after relying on God...to minimize and harm the bases of aggression. The rulers of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait should understand and read carefully what is inside the lines of the Iraqi leadership's statement (on Sunday.)"

- The Baath party newspaper al-Thawra says, "Iraq has the legitimate right to defend its sovereignty and national airspace. What is being launched by the United States and Britain against Iraq is an act of aggression."
  - Turkish Foreign Minister Ismail Cem says Turkey will not rescind permission it has given the United States to base its planes at the Incirlik air base. "We shall greet (Aziz) with the good will and warmth that suits a host. But everyone should know that our policies will not change because of a visit." Turkish officials are expected to ask Iraq not to harbor Turkish Kurdish rebels.
  - U.S. fighters strike at Iraqi defense sites on two separate occasions. An antiaircraft artillery site north of Mosul fires upon two F-15E's, which is some 250 miles north of Baghdad. One F-15E drops a 500-pound bomb on the site. The fighter planes return undamaged to Incirlik. The incident occurs about 11:26 a.m. Iraqi time. In another incident, an U.S. fighter launches a missile at an Iraqi radar site that targets it about an hour later. U.S. National Security Adviser Samuel Berger says, "As they've challenged the no-fly zones, we've responded against their air defense system."
  - An Iraqi spokesman says Iraqi air defenses engaged Western warplanes coming from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in the south. "At 0940 local time (0640 GMT) 21 formations supported by early warning planes AWACS and E2C ... violated our national airspace ... coming from Saudi and Kuwaiti skies...These formations returned to their evil bases in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia at 1140 local time (0840 GMT) after implementing 42 missions and flew over the provinces of Dhiqar (Nissariya), Meisan (Amarah) and Basra (in southern Iraq)." He claims five civilians were killed and 22 were injured when U.S. planes attacked sites in the southern no-fly zone, and that "evil aggressors carried out today ... 42 aggressive sorties against the souls and properties of Iraqi people...Our air defense weapons fired at the these aggressive planes which bombed both civil and military sites. The bombing resulted in the martyrdom of five civilians."
  - Iraq also says that fighters coming from Turkey violated Iraqi space in the north and that the planes came in two waves and conducted 23 sorties. The first wave came at 1000 local time (2 a.m. EST) (0700 GMT) and more US planes entered Iraqi territory from Turkey in the north at 11:40 a.m. Iraqi time. It claims Iraqi air defenses opened fire but reported no damage or casualties.
  - Iraq later claims that at least 32 people have been killed in the series of attacks.
  - The strikes coincide with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz's visit to Turkey, and his meeting with Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit to voice displeasure at Turkey for allowing U.S. and British forces the use of Incirlik. Aziz, who traveled to Turkey through the Iraqi Kurdish areas, questioned the validity of the no-fly zones. "They claim they are protecting the Kurds from Iraqi government," he said. "Then how can an Iraqi deputy prime minister travel so easily?"
  - Iraqi Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan says Iraq will attack the Turkish base at Incirlik if the jets continue to patrol the skies over Iraq. Ramadan speaks in an interview with Radio Monte Carlo. And says that "if the Turkish base continues attacking Iraq it will certainly be (targeted) like other bases" in the Gulf." He speaks just hours after Aziz holds talks with Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit in Ankara.
  - US National Security Adviser Sandy Berger warns Iraq not to attack Turkey and other regional states, "It would be extraordinarily counterproductive for the Iraqis to take such a measure because we would respond ... strongly and firmly." Secretary of State Madeleine Albright says "We have made very clear that were there any attacks on our forces or on neighboring countries that our response would be swift and sure."
  - The Russian government again denies a Sunday Telegraph report that Russia signed a \$160 million deal to strengthen Iraq's air defenses and upgrade squadrons of MiG fighters in mid-January after a visit to Moscow by Ahmed Khalil, Iraq's Transport and Communications Minister. "The fabrications in the British media have clearly been initiated by those who try to cast a shadow on Russia's policy for political settlement of the Iraqi problem."
- 99-2-16: Iraq again warns neighboring states that they will pay a high price for basing US and British warplanes that patrol the no-fly zones. In Ankara, Deputy Iraqi Prime Minister Tariq Aziz says, "The U.S. and British planes are killing Iraqis, are destroying Iraqi property and this is not acceptable. A Turkish airbase should not be used by the Americans and British to hurt Iraqis." al-Jumhuriya says, "Time has run out for American and British aggressors and those supporting them. They shall pay a heavy price. We will tell them (Saudi Arabia and Kuwaiti rulers) and their evil masters the United States and Britain that their continuous aggression on Iraq and its airspace will be confronted strongly. It is too late now for the American and British aggressors and their evil supporters and they

will pay a dear price.” Al-Qadissiya, the Iraqi military newspaper says that it “must be made clear and obvious to them that ... the price for their ongoing aggression will be very high.”

- Al-Riyadh newspaper, which has close ties to the Saudi government, rejects Iraqi threats to attack Saudi bases used by to patrol no-fly zones. It asks in an editorial how Iraq could attack bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait if its forces were unable to hit even one aircraft in breaching Iraq's air space. “He is definitely living moments of self-defeat which could force him to take revenge from those around him as a result of...losing confidence even in those who are close to him.” Al-Nadwa, another Saudi newspaper, says the only way to deal with Saddam is by “cutting the head off the snake. Instead of trying to digest the facts in an objective manner which may help it out of the swamp..., we find him insisting on distributing threats right and left in a campaign aimed at preventing any attempt by Arab states to lift the suffering from the Iraqi people.” Okaz says. “The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia... does not need to respond to the Iraqi regime's claims on the lie that U.S. and British planes use its territory as a launching pad...The response to these threats will be decisive and the kingdom will not shy from taking any measure to protect its territory and people and has the power to deal the Iraqi regime a new lesson...”

### ***Industrial Targets: The Basra Oil Refinery***

The Basra facility, that the US and UK struck at during Desert Fox, was Iraq's third-largest and was able to handle up to 126,000 barrels of crude oil a day before the attacks. This is equal to 36 percent of Iraq's total refinery capacity of 350,000 barrels per day. It is an important facility, and would have been fairly easy to cripple for an extended period of time, if the US had chosen to do so. In practice, the strikes during Desert Fox only hit the pipeline used for loading ships with oil. This kind of limited damage seems unlikely to do much to stop Saddam, particularly since most of Iraq's smuggling effort moves by land through the Kurdish areas in the north to Turkey.

The BDA the US issued on this target set presented the usual problems. It went from zero severe damage" on December 19<sup>th</sup>, to full success on December 21<sup>st</sup>. In this case, however, the target base was so limited that virtually *any* hit would have been described as fully success. In fact, General Shelton claimed on January 6th that the strikes had knocked out a refinery that supplies about 30 percent of Hussein's illegal oil exports.

The narrative in General Zinni's brief on December 21st described the impact of these strikes in terms that seem far more realistic:

Q: Can I follow up on that same issue of oil? You did strike an oil target. Was it just an oil loading station? I don't know. But the damage was fairly light. Would you consider striking more forcefully against their oil export infrastructure?

General Zinni: The oil facility we struck in the south was one that was used for illegal gas [and] oil smuggling. We intentionally did it in such a way to disrupt the flow, but not cause any environmental damage. We did not want to do what Saddam did. You're not going to see burning oil fields. You're not going to see oil spills into the water. We very selectively and very precisely went after a point in that target that accomplished our goal.

General Zinni provided further details in a press conference on December 24<sup>th</sup>. He made it clear that Iraq might use other refineries to smuggle oil in violation of UN sanctions while the refinery at Basra was being repaired:

We wanted to incapacitate it so it couldn't be used for him (Saddam) to gain financing to support his military or weapons of mass destruction program. The damage we did is repairable. We're not trying to fool ourselves into thinking we obliterated this. If we did, it probably would have caused collateral damage that we didn't feel was appropriate, or would have been environmentally damaging. In the short-term, he would probably try to find some other way to do the illegal export, and then work to repair it. If the Iranians enforce their end, which they seem to be doing in some degree...and we're able to tighten it up and cut the sources and make it more difficult, I think that hurts him (Saddam) more in the long-run.

Once again, Desert Fox raises a classic problem in strategic bombing. What industrial targets are critical? What levels of damage really matter? How do such attacks change enemy behavior? It is far from clear that we really have any better answers than we had in 1939. Our ability to destroy such targets has vastly improved, but we are also dealing with far more industrialized societies with a larger and more diverse target mix, and with very different recovery capabilities. We also face major real-world political limits on the ability to inflict collateral damage. What campaign really matters? Are symbolic attacks more intimidating than provocative? Who knows?

## **The Lessons of Desert Fox**

To go back to the points made at the introduction to this analysis, Desert Fox did achieve important successes. The strikes did degrade some important aspects of Iraqi capabilities. They demonstrated that the US and Britain were willing to use major amounts of force to maintain containment and the UN sanctions. The US proved both that it still had important allies in the Gulf and that it could launch major attacks from sea-based forces in the Gulf, and bombers based in Diego Garcia, and that its capabilities were not tied to the support of any given combination of Southern Gulf states. The US and Britain took no losses of either men or equipment during and major operation, and most of their strikes, using precision-guided weapons, seem to have had considerably greater accuracy and reliability in Desert Storm. Furthermore, the US and Britain proved that they could strike at key leadership targets anywhere in Iraq, while producing minimal civilian casualties and collateral damage.

The US has also profited from the fact that Saddam Hussein has again proved to be a remarkably self-destructive opponent. He has provided unwilling to exploit the opportunities offered him by China, France, and Russia, and has needlessly alienated key members of the Security Council. Rather than focus on the US and Britain, he has attacked other Arab states for not supporting Iraq. On January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1999, Saddam Hussein made an Army Day broadcast in which, “Revolt, sons of the great Arab nation ... revolt and unseat those stooges, collaborators, throne dwarfs and cowards. Both you and we are aware that some of the rulers in certain countries in our great Arab nation, together with their fathers and grandfathers, were installed by foreign powers, especially Britain and the United States supported by vicious, racist Zionism.” Since then Iraq has repeatedly attacked other Arab leaders as “dwarfs” and worse. It has stormed out of an Arab League Foreign Ministers meeting, and the Iraqi National Assembly has threatened to withdraw its recognition of Kuwait or at least the new Iraqi-Kuwaiti border. He seems to have overreacted to the US and British “replacement” policy with new internal security measures and purges, some of which may or may not be related to Desert Fox.

The US cannot, however, rely on the “tactics of mistake.” Saddam may often be self-destructive, but he also often exploits divisions in the West and the Arab world, and his willingness to exploit the suffering of his own people can sometimes be as effective as any of the military technology in the “revolution in military affairs” It is also interesting to consider the summary score card shown in Table Eight and how Desert Fox has so far succeeded in achieving the objectives the US could have chosen in launching the strikes:

Seen from this perspective, Desert Fox is a warning of just how difficult it is to fight highly political wars where the battle for perception and political influence is more important than the military exchange rate. It is a warning that we still have no clear answer to most of the critical questions surround strategic and interdiction bombing. It is a warning that the political, strategic, and grand strategic dimensions of warfare remain critical, and that neither the “revolution in military affairs” or Joint Vision 2010 are adequate approaches to the future.



Table EightDesert Fox: Possible US Objectives and Resulting Impact

<u>Objective</u>	<u>Success</u>
Create a climate that would force Iraq to comply with the UN Security Council Resolutions by showing that they could inflicting unacceptable levels of damage.	Little to none
Show Iraq that the consequences of provocative and non-compliant action would be so costly that it would not maintain the sanctions crisis at a level requiring high levels of US and British forward deployment, and would not risk forcing the US and Britain to rush forces back into the Gulf region at regular levels.	Little to none
Use the narrow window of opportunity, provided by Iraq's efforts to block UNSCOM, to seriously degrade its capability to proliferate.	Limited to moderate
Use the narrow window of opportunity provided by Iraq's efforts to block UNSCOM to seriously degrade its conventional warfighting capabilities.	Limited
Demonstrate US determination to enforce containment to Iraq, our regional allies, and the rest of the world, and to prove our willingness to use substantial elements of force.	Moderate to high
Reinforce deterrence by proving the ability to strike targets Saddam's regime regarded as important without US and allied losses and serious collateral damage.	Moderate to high
Demonstrate the ability to protect Kuwait, the Gulf, and the Kurds.	Limited to moderate
Leave Iraq open and vulnerable by destroying critical aspects of its air defense and command and control system.	Limited
Support a strategy of replacing the regime by degrading the regime's command and control structure and key elements of its internal security structure.	Little to limited
Provide a possible incentive for the Iraqi military and security forces to overthrow Saddam Hussein.	Limited?