

306621SS

C0072

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03a. Report	Case Number 306621SS Re: report to Congress on Iraq (37 pp.)	02/10/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Records Management, White House Office of (WHORM)
Series: Subject File - C.F.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.: C0072
File Location: 287965SS to 365241

Document Declassified
(Document Follows)
 By RA (NLGB) on 9/26/02

Date Closed: 12/20/2002	OA/ID Number: 00002-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0099-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-1908-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #: 98-0099-F/1(17.00)	MR Case #:
AR Disposition: Released in Full	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date: 1/18/2000	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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SECRET ATTACHMENT

~~SECRET~~
C.F.

306621SS
0620 09072

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
02.10.92
92 FEB 10 09:42

February 10, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK *RG*
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *B*
SUBJECT: Report to Congress on Iraq

Purpose

To transmit to four congressional committees a report on Iraqi military capabilities.

Background

You are required by Public Law 101-513 to report to four committees of Congress on the status of Iraqi military capabilities. State has prepared the report (Tab B) which has inter-agency clearance.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A transmitting the report to four committees of Congress.

Attachments

Tab A Transmittal Letters
Tab B Report to Congress

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 12958
JG P, 5/10/00
CASE No. 98-0099-F

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET ATTACHMENT
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

*Noted:
SW 1/16*

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Under cover of this letter I am transmitting to the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs the report on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability required by section 586J(b) of the Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 101-513).

This interim assessment of Iraq's offensive military capability and its effect on the Middle East balance of power includes an assessment of Iraq's power projection capability, the prospects for another sustained conflict with Iran, joint Iraqi-Jordanian cooperation, the threat Iraq's arms transfer activities pose to U.S. allies in the Middle East, and the potential extension of Iraq's political-military influence into Africa and Latin America.

The report unfortunately cannot be produced in an unclassified form. I recommend to your attention, however, the January 22, 1992, testimony on Iraqi unconventional weapons capabilities by Robert Gates before the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Dante B. Fascell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

To the Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee : 2-12-92 (9:56 a)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

*Noted:
S.M. McCo.*

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,



The Honorable Jamie L. Whitten
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

To the Chairman, House Appropriations Committee: 2-12-92 (10:05a)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

*Noted:
ShmM.6.*

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Sincerely,



The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

To the Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee: 2-12-92 (10:10a)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

*Noted:
Shu.Ho.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,



The Honorable Claiborne Pell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

To the Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee: 2-12-92 (10:16a)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

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House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

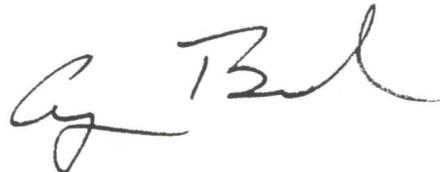
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The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
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United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Under cover of this letter I am transmitting to the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs the report on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability required by section 586J(b) of the Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 101-513).

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Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03b. Report	Case Number 306621SS Re: report to the Congress as Required by Public Law 101-513 on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability [FOIA exemptions redacted] (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1) , (b)(3)	8

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Records Management, White House Office of (WHORM)
Series: Subject File - C.F.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.: CO072
File Location: 287965SS to 365241

Document Declassified
(Document Follows)
 By SCS on 3/6/14

Date Closed: 12/20/2002	OA/ID Number: 00002-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0099-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-1908-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #: 98-0099-F/1(17.01)	MR Case #: 2008-0917-MR (546)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Full
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 5/30/2013

RESTRICTION CODES

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~~SECRET~~ (b)(3)
DECL:OADR



Report to the Congress
as Required by Public Law 101-513
on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability

This interim assessment of Iraq's offensive military capability and its effect on the Middle East balance of power has been prepared pursuant to Public Law 101-513. It includes an assessment of Iraq's power projection capability, the prospects for another sustained conflict with Iran, joint Iraqi-Jordanian military cooperation, the threat Iraq's arms transfer activities pose to United States allies in the Middle East, and the extension of Iraq's political-military influence into Africa and Latin America. (U)

Overall Military Prospects

Iraq still has some capabilities to launch limited conventional attacks on Jordan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Iraq will not be able to defeat Iran, Turkey or Syria militarily for the indefinite future. Iraq nevertheless could hold major population centers in the region at risk if it succeeds in retaining operational ballistic missiles with CW or BW warheads despite UN sanctions. (S/ (b)(3))

Iraq's behavior in obstructing, concealing, and misrepresenting its weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile programs to the UN Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency raises serious concern over Iraq's longer-term ambitions. Consequently, we conclude that Saddam Hussein's intent in subverting UN Security Council Resolution 687 represents a policy aimed at retaining a capability for producing weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, and ballistic missiles. Saddam probably believes he can outlast the UN inspection regime and resume work on his programs once the UN has substantially reduced its presence. (S/ (b)(3))

For a full examination of the political context, see National Intelligence Estimate 36.2-91 (September 1991): Iraq's Saddam Hussein: Prospects for Survival Over the Next Year. (S/ (b)(3))

~~SECRET~~ (b)(3)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2008-0917-MR
SLS 5/30/13

Power Projection Capabilities

Iraq has the following offensive ground and air assets at its disposal. Its offensive naval assets are negligible. (S/ (b)(3))

Ground Forces. There are now 30-odd understrength divisions (compared with 70 full-strength in January 1991); this includes seven Republican Guard divisions and amounts to a total strength of some 300,000-500,000 men (i.e. roughly half the size of Iraq's forces in July 1990). The heavy equipment presently available (over 2000 tanks and over 3000 armored vehicles) would be sufficient for around 10 armored or mechanized divisions. Most of this equipment is in Guard units; other armored and mechanized divisions now consist mainly of infantry units. (S/ (b)(3))

Many of these divisions are deployed in the north; five of the seven Guard divisions are around Baghdad and a few regular Army divisions are in the south. The regular Army is deployed to combat insurgent operations in the north and south, as well to guard the border with Iran. The Republican Guard is concentrated around Baghdad to keep Saddam's most loyal forces at hand. It also serves as a central reserve, able to dispatch forces to other areas for internal security duties or to meet any threat from Iran as required. (S/ (b)(3))

Saddam appears to be rebuilding and reconstituting the ground forces in ways that maximize their political reliability without detracting from their long-term military effectiveness. Although he is reducing the size of the Army, he is consolidating understrength Guard units into fewer but stronger units, at the expense of regular Army units. Guard headquarters and divisions are being garrisoned in the Baghdad area, regular Army units mostly far from the capital. (S/ (b)(3))

Air Forces. Iraq's tactical airpower capability has been seriously reduced by losses of pilots and aircraft during the war, the absence of training to maintain proficiency, the degradation of command and control facilities, and the destruction of airfield and maintenance facilities. Some reconstruction is under way, and Baghdad maintains almost all surviving combat aircraft at its least damaged operating bases. (S/ (b)(3))

Some 330 operational fighters and fighter-bombers remain from Iraq's prewar inventory. Iran still holds over 100 Iraqi combat aircraft and is not likely to return them. The Iraqi combat helicopter force survived almost intact and currently is helping suppress the Shia and Kurdish rebellions. Moderate levels of helicopter activity could be supported by the remaining helicopter maintenance facilities and pilots and ground personnel. (S/ (b)(3))

Prospects for War with Iran

The likelihood of full-scale conflict with Iran in the near term is low, though skirmishing and accidental small-scale military encounters remain likely. Neither Iran nor Iraq has the offensive capability to defeat the other militarily. Both are determined to develop and field weapons of mass destruction, and future conflicts could be particularly lethal. (S/ (b)(3))

Iraqi-Iranian tensions have been endemic throughout this century. At present, Saddam remains concerned over Iranian support for the Iraqi opposition, and hopes to lessen this support by pursuing improved relations with Tehran. In addition, Saddam would like to reduce his isolation, bring about the release of POWs, and gain the return to Iraq of military planes safehavened in Iran. Tehran, however, is conducting a more assertive policy toward Baghdad, including support for Shia dissidents in southern Iraq. Bilateral relations are likely to remain strained. Iran seeks a comprehensive settlement of its war with Iraq on the basis of UNSCR 598 and is reluctant to give up sources of pressure on Iraq. (S/ (b)(3))

Prospects for Military Cooperation with Jordan

Jordan is the major transit point for international trade with Iraq. Its stated policy is to enforce UN sanctions; most commerce with Iraq has been consistent with UN sanctions. Jordan has recently implemented new measures to further tighten the border but more needs to be done to ensure full compliance. There are indications that Iraq perceives this interference to be reaching unacceptable levels, and that it may threaten to cut off Jordan's petroleum supply. At present Jordan has no practical alternative to Iraqi oil. Any Iraqi threat must take into account Jordan's ability to shut down legal transit trade. Amman understands that any resumption of military cooperation could cause irreparable damage to its relations with the West, especially with the United States, and with Iraq's opponents, particularly Saudi Arabia. (S)

Prospects for Iraqi Arms Transfers

Iraq could attempt to transfer undeclared missiles or weapons of mass destruction components to other countries to protect them from discovery by UN inspection teams. This scenario is plausible only where a cooperative relationship already exists. There are no relationships that fully fit the criteria. Iraq is unlikely to entrust critical components to Jordan, much less to sympathetic but distant regimes in Sudan or Yemen. (S/ (b)(3))

In the longer term, Iraqi transfers of conventional and unconventional weapons, or co-development programs with ambitious Arab regimes, are possible but unlikely in any significant scale. If military production resumes, Baghdad could sell arms to the lesser Arab and African states. A potentially more insidious threat would be the transfer of Iraqi technical expertise in nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons development to Middle East countries which have not progressed as far, but this also is unlikely in the foreseeable future. (S/ (b)(3))

Prospects for Extension of Iraqi Political-Military Influence into Africa and Latin America

Baghdad is in no position to have substantial political or military influence in Latin America or Sub-Saharan Africa, though Saddam will continue to lobby countries in both regions for support against UN sanctions, especially in the Non-aligned Movement where Baghdad has attempted, off and on since the 1970s, to carve out a leadership position for itself. While Saddam enjoys considerable popular support in the Maghreb, particularly inside Tunisia and Algeria, Baghdad's actual influence over the governments of the Maghreb remains extremely limited. (S/ (b)(3))

If and when Iraq again flaunts its weapons capabilities, some African Arab nationalist elements may well look to Iraq as a successful symbol of military-technical progress in the face of determined Western opposition. Some African countries such as Mauritania have in the past been willing to engage in low-level military cooperation with Iraq in exchange for military supplies. Nevertheless, most incumbent governments in the Maghreb and the Horn will eschew further political-military cooperation, particularly if Saddam Hussein remains in power. (S/ (b)(3))

DRAFT TRANSMITTAL LETTER

*S. Rademaker
reviewed these
letters.*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

SENATE AND HOUSE

Under cover of this letter I am transmitting to the Committees on
~~APPROPRIATIONS, AND THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, AND THE HOUSE COMMITTEE~~
~~Foreign Relations~~ the report on Iraq's Offensive Military
SECTION 586J (b) OF THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS EXPORT
Capability as required by Public Law 101-513). FINANCING AND RELATED
PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS
ACT, 1991

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Claiborne Pell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate

WASHDC 20510

(IDENTICAL LETTERS TO HCFR, BOTH
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES)

DRAFT TRANSMITTAL LETTER

Dear Mr. Chairman:

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This interim assessment of Iraq's offensive military capability and its effect on the Middle East balance of power includes an assessment of Iraq's power projection capability, the prospects for another sustained conflict with Iran, joint Iraqi-Jordanian cooperation, the threat Iraq's arms transfer activities pose to U.S. allies in the Middle East, and the potential extension of Iraq's political-military influence into Africa and Latin America.

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Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate

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Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate

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The Honorable Dante Fascell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives

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Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
House of Representatives

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Dear Mr. Chairman:

SENATE AND HOUSE

Under cover of this letter I am transmitting to the Committees on ~~Foreign Relations~~ ^{APPROPRIATIONS, AND THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, AND THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS} the report on Iraq's Offensive Military ^{SECTION 586J (b) OF THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1991} Capability ^{as} required by ^{Public Law 101-513}.

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Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate

(IDENTICAL LETTERS TO HCFA + BOTH APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES)

TO: BYRD, ROBERT C
ET AL

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 10 FEB 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
CONGRESSIONAL

MILITARY POSTURE

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REPORT TO CONGRESS ON IRAQ

ACTION: TRANSFERRED TO WH FILES DUE DATE: 31 JAN 92 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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RIEDEL
ROSTOW

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 12958
JGP, 5/10/00
CASE No. 98-0099-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGLM CLOSED BY: NSWTL *[Signature]* DOC 4 OF 4

TO: BYRD, ROBERT C
ET AL

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 10 FEB 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
CONGRESSIONAL

MILITARY POSTURE

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REPORT TO CONGRESS ON IRAQ

ACTION: PRES SGD LTRS

DUE DATE: 31 JAN 92

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

~~FILES: PA~~

NSCP:

CODES:

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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

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NSC CHRON
PONEMAN
RIEDEL
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JGP, 5/10/00
CASE NO. 98-0099-F

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DOC 4 OF 4

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 HAASS	Z 92012817 PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT
002 SCOWCROFT	Z 92020412 FOR DECISION
003 PRESIDENT	Z 92021009 FOR SIGNATURE
004	X 92021311 PRES SGD LTRS
004	X 92021411 TRANSFERRED TO WH FILES

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: PEARSON, W

DOC DATE: 28 JAN 92
SOURCE REF: 9201359

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
CONGRESSIONAL

MILITARY POSTURE

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: TRANSMITTAL OF ASSESSMENT OF IRAQI MILITARY CAPABILITY

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT DUE DATE: 31 JAN 92 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION
HAASS

FOR CONCURRENCE
JONES
LAMPLEY
PILLING
RIEDEL
ROSTOW

FOR INFO
GORDON
HULL
PAVITT

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PER E.O. 12958
JGA, 5/10/00
CASE No. 98-0099-F

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03c. Report	Case Number 306621SS Re: report to the Congress as Required by Public Law 101-513 on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability [FOIA exemptions redacted] (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b) (1) , (b)(3)	8

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Records Management, White House Office of (WHORM)
Series: Subject File - C.F.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.: CO072
File Location: 287965SS to 365241

Document Declassified
(Document Follows)
 By SCS on 3/6/14

Date Closed: 12/20/2002	OA/ID Number: 00002-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0099-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-1908-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #: 98-0099-F/1(17.02)	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

~~SECRET~~ / (b)(3)
DECL:OADR



Report to the Congress
as Required by Public Law 101-513
on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability

This interim assessment of Iraq's offensive military capability and its effect on the Middle East balance of power has been prepared pursuant to Public Law 101-513. It includes an assessment of Iraq's power projection capability, the prospects for another sustained conflict with Iran, joint Iraqi-Jordanian military cooperation, the threat Iraq's arms transfer activities pose to United States allies in the Middle East, and the extension of Iraq's political-military influence into Africa and Latin America. (U)

Overall Military Prospects

Iraq still has some capabilities to launch limited conventional attacks on Jordan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Iraq will not be able to defeat Iran, Turkey or Syria militarily for the indefinite future. Iraq nevertheless could hold major population centers in the region at risk if it succeeds in retaining operational ballistic missiles with CW or BW warheads despite UN sanctions. (S/ (b)(3))

Iraq's behavior in obstructing, concealing, and misrepresenting its weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile programs to the UN Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency raises serious concern over Iraq's longer-term ambitions. Consequently, we conclude that Saddam Hussein's intent in subverting UN Security Council Resolution 687 represents a policy aimed at retaining a capability for producing weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, and ballistic missiles. Saddam probably believes he can outlast the UN inspection regime and resume work on his programs once the UN has substantially reduced its presence. (S/ (b)(3))

For a full examination of the political context, see National Intelligence Estimate 36.2-91 (September 1991): Iraq's Saddam Hussein: Prospects for Survival Over the Next Year. (S/ (b)(3))

~~SECRET~~ / (b)(3)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2008-0917-MR
SLS 5/30/13

Power Projection Capabilities

Iraq has the following offensive ground and air assets at its disposal. Its offensive naval assets are negligible. (S/ (b)(3))

Ground Forces. There are now 30-odd understrength divisions (compared with 70 full-strength in January 1991); this includes seven Republican Guard divisions and amounts to a total strength of some 300,000-500,000 men (i.e. roughly half the size of Iraq's forces in July 1990). The heavy equipment presently available (over 2000 tanks and over 3000 armored vehicles) would be sufficient for around 10 armored or mechanized divisions. Most of this equipment is in Guard units; other armored and mechanized divisions now consist mainly of infantry units. (S/ (b)(3))

Many of these divisions are deployed in the north; five of the seven Guard divisions are around Baghdad and a few regular Army divisions are in the south. The regular Army is deployed to combat insurgent operations in the north and south, as well to guard the border with Iran. The Republican Guard is concentrated around Baghdad to keep Saddam's most loyal forces at hand. It also serves as a central reserve, able to dispatch forces to other areas for internal security duties or to meet any threat from Iran as required. (S/ (b)(3))

Saddam appears to be rebuilding and reconstituting the ground forces in ways that maximize their political reliability without detracting from their long-term military effectiveness. Although he is reducing the size of the Army, he is consolidating understrength Guard units into fewer but stronger units, at the expense of regular Army units. Guard headquarters and divisions are being garrisoned in the Baghdad area, regular Army units mostly far from the capital. (S/ (b)(3))

Air Forces, Iraq's tactical airpower capability has been seriously reduced by losses of pilots and aircraft during the war, the absence of training to maintain proficiency, the degradation of command and control facilities, and the destruction of airfield and maintenance facilities. Some reconstruction is under way, and Baghdad maintains almost all surviving combat aircraft at its least damaged operating bases. (S/ (b)(3))

Some 330 operational fighters and fighter-bombers remain from Iraq's prewar inventory. Iran still holds over 100 Iraqi combat aircraft and is not likely to return them. The Iraqi combat helicopter force survived almost intact and currently is helping suppress the Shia and Kurdish rebellions. Moderate levels of helicopter activity could be supported by the remaining helicopter maintenance facilities and pilots and ground personnel. (S/ (b)(3))

Prospects for War with Iran

The likelihood of full-scale conflict with Iran in the near term is low, though skirmishing and accidental small-scale military encounters remain likely. Neither Iran nor Iraq has the offensive capability to defeat the other militarily. Both are determined to develop and field weapons of mass destruction, and future conflicts could be particularly lethal. (S/ (b)(3))

Iraqi-Iranian tensions have been endemic throughout this century. At present, Saddam remains concerned over Iranian support for the Iraqi opposition, and hopes to lessen this support by pursuing improved relations with Tehran. In addition, Saddam would like to reduce his isolation, bring about the release of POWs, and gain the return to Iraq of military planes safehavened in Iran. Tehran, however, is conducting a more assertive policy toward Baghdad, including support for Shia dissidents in southern Iraq. Bilateral relations are likely to remain strained. Iran seeks a comprehensive settlement of its war with Iraq on the basis of UNSCR 598 and is reluctant to give up sources of pressure on Iraq. (S/ (b)(3))

Prospects for Military Cooperation with Jordan

Jordan is the major transit point for international trade with Iraq. Its stated policy is to enforce UN sanctions; most commerce with Iraq has been consistent with UN sanctions. Jordan has recently implemented new measures to further tighten the border but more needs to be done to ensure full compliance. There are indications that Iraq perceives this interference to be reaching unacceptable levels, and that it may threaten to cut off Jordan's petroleum supply. At present Jordan has no practical alternative to Iraqi oil. Any Iraqi threat must take into account Jordan's ability to shut down legal transit trade. Amman understands that any resumption of military cooperation could cause irreparable damage to its relations with the West, especially with the United States, and with Iraq's opponents, particularly Saudi Arabia. (S)

Prospects for Iraqi Arms Transfers

Iraq could attempt to transfer undeclared missiles or weapons of mass destruction components to other countries to protect them from discovery by UN inspection teams. This scenario is plausible only where a cooperative relationship already exists. There are no relationships that fully fit the criteria. Iraq is unlikely to entrust critical components to Jordan, much less to sympathetic but distant regimes in Sudan or Yemen. (S/ (b)(3))

In the longer term, Iraqi transfers of conventional and unconventional weapons, or co-development programs with ambitious Arab regimes, are possible but unlikely in any significant scale. If military production resumes, Baghdad could sell arms to the lesser Arab and African states. A potentially more insidious threat would be the transfer of Iraqi technical expertise in nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons development to Middle East countries which have not progressed as far, but this also is unlikely in the foreseeable future. (S/ (b) (3))

Prospects for Extension of Iraqi Political-Military Influence into Africa and Latin America

Baghdad is in no position to have substantial political or military influence in Latin America or Sub-Saharan Africa, though Saddam will continue to lobby countries in both regions for support against UN sanctions, especially in the Non-aligned Movement where Baghdad has attempted, off and on since the 1970s, to carve out a leadership position for itself. While Saddam enjoys considerable popular support in the Maghreb, particularly inside Tunisia and Algeria, Baghdad's actual influence over the governments of the Maghreb remains extremely limited. (S/ (b) (3))

If and when Iraq again flaunts its weapons capabilities, some African Arab nationalist elements may well look to Iraq as a successful symbol of military-technical progress in the face of determined Western opposition. Some African countries such as Mauritania have in the past been willing to engage in low-level military cooperation with Iraq in exchange for military supplies. Nevertheless, most incumbent governments in the Maghreb and the Horn will eschew further political-military cooperation, particularly if Saddam Hussein remains in power. (S/ (b) (3))

Rpt to Congress on
Imag. Mil Capability

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: B

LOG # 0620

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SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

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Ken Hill	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>A</u>
Bill Sittmann	<u>2</u>	<u>W</u>	
Jon Howe	<u>3</u>	<u>W</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>	<u>APNSA Has</u>	<u>Seen</u>
Bill Sittmann			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>AWW 9/10</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Skinner Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

W comment Done

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4 JAN 92 11: 23

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**National Security Council
The White House**

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Ken Hill	_____	_____	_____
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A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Skinner Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS * Pres sqd. yesterday +
Rpt ~~was~~ delivered to

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS: Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Under cover of this letter I am transmitting to the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs the report on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability required by section 586J(b) of the Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 101-513).

This interim assessment of Iraq's offensive military capability and its effect on the Middle East balance of power includes an assessment of Iraq's power projection capability, the prospects for another sustained conflict with Iran, joint Iraqi-Jordanian cooperation, the threat Iraq's arms transfer activities pose to U.S. allies in the Middle East, and the potential extension of Iraq's political-military influence into Africa and Latin America.

The report unfortunately cannot be produced in an unclassified form. I recommend to your attention, however, the January 22, 1992, testimony on Iraqi unconventional weapons capabilities by Robert Gates before the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Dante B. Fascell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

To the Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee: 2-12-92 (9:56 a)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

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Sincerely,



The Honorable Jamie L. Whitten
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

To the Chairman, House Appropriations Committee: 2-12-92 (10:05a)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

*Noted:
JLW:6.*

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

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WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,



The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

To the Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee: 2-12-92 (10:10 a)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

*Noted:
Sh. H. K.*

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

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WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,



The Honorable Claiborne Pell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

To the Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee: 2-12-92 (10:16Z)

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET NOFORN ATTACHMENT

*Noted:
M.M.C.*

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

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Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Whitten', written in a cursive style.

The Honorable Jamie L. Whitten
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

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United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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Sincerely,



The Honorable Claiborne Pell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
G 2. 10. 92
92 FEB 10 A 9: 42

February 10, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK *RG*
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *B*
SUBJECT: Report to Congress on Iraq

Purpose

To transmit to four congressional committees a report on Iraqi military capabilities.

Background

You are required by Public Law 101-513 to report to four committees of Congress on the status of Iraqi military capabilities. State has prepared the report (Tab B) which has inter-agency clearance.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A transmitting the report to four committees of Congress.

Attachments

Tab A Transmittal Letters
Tab B Report to Congress

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 12958

*JGA, 5/10/00
CASE No. 98-0099-F*

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET ATTACHMENT
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 11, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE CHAIRMEN OF
THE SENATE AND HOUSE COMMITTEES ON
APPROPRIATIONS, THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN RELATIONS, AND THE HOUSE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

February 11, 1992

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Under cover of this letter I am transmitting to the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs the report on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability required by section 586J(b) of the Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 101-513).

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Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET ATTACHMENT

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0620

**No. 1 Sec Advisor
has seen**

January 29, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: RICHARD N. HAASS

FROM: BRUCE O. RIEDEL *BR*

SUBJECT: Report to Congress on Iraqi Military Capability

The President is required by law to submit a report to four congressional committees on the status of Iraqi military capabilities.

The report (Tab B) was prepared by State and cleared inter-agency.

Concurrences by: Dan Boneman, Ginny Lampley and Nick Rostow

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Transmittal Letters
- Tab B Report to Congress
- Tab ~~B~~ Incoming from State

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 12958
JG P, 5/10/00
Case No. 98-0099-F

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
SECRET ATTACHMENT

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~



9201359
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

0620

January 28, 1992

UNCLASSIFIED with
SECRET/NOFORN attachment

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Transmittal of Assessment of Iraqi Military Capability

Attached for White House approval is a draft report to Congress on Iraq's Offensive Military Capability required by Public Law 101-513. It has received interagency clearance.


W. Robert Pearson
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

Report to the Congress as Required by
Public Law 101-513 on Iraq's Offensive
Military Capability

Draft transmittal letters for the Report
to Congress

UNCLASSIFIED
with SECRET/NOFORN attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 11, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE CHAIRMEN OF
THE SENATE AND HOUSE COMMITTEES ON
APPROPRIATIONS, THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN RELATIONS, AND THE HOUSE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

February 11, 1992

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Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE CLERK
TRACKING SHEET FOR PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

TITLE: REPORT ON IRAQ MILITARY CAPABILITIES

TYPE DOCUMENT:

PROCLAMATION

+ LETTER(S) xmITTING A CLASSIFIED REPORT

EXECUTIVE ORDER

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS/SENATE

MEMORANDUM

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

DECISION MEMORANDUM

SIGNING STATEMENT

DETERMINATION (numbered)

TREATY/CONVENTION/AGREEMENT, etc.

OTHER: _____

RECEIVED: (Advance: 1/192 Time: _____ a.m./p.m.)
In final: 2/10/92 Time: 10:00 (a.m.)/p.m.)

SENT TO CORRESPONDENCE FOR TYPING IN FINAL:

(Advance: 1/192 Time: _____ a.m./p.m.)
In final: 2/10/92 Time: 10:35 (a.m.)/p.m.)

TO PHILLIP D. BRADY'S OFFICE:

(For staffing: 1/192 Time: _____ a.m./p.m.)
In final: 2/10/92 Time: 2:20 a.m. (p.m.)

INFO, INCLUDING STENCIL, TO PRESS OFFICE:

Date: 2/11/92 Time: 10:25 (a.m.)/p.m.)
POSTED: 2/11/92 Time: 5:42 a.m. (p.m.)

* TOO LATE TO DELIVER TODAY.

NOTIFICATIONS:

Jina / 12:40p FEB 12 1992 Each time a message, report, etc., is xmited to the Congress, call OLA -- x2230.
(Person/time) FEB 12 1992 #0620
Merissia / 12:37p NSC, when appropriate -- Desk Officer;
(Person/time) W.H. Situation Room -- x2585.
B.R. / 12:36p FEB 12 1992 BRUCE RIEDEL, NSC, x3552
(Person/time) (Other)

(Person/time)

(Other)

OTHER INFORMATION: REPORT IS CLASSIFIED

Rm. 415 Dirksen, Sen. For. Relations Rm. 119 Dirksen Sen. Appns. - Per Al Jaffold
R.D. # 92 per HARRIS Sen. Security etc.