

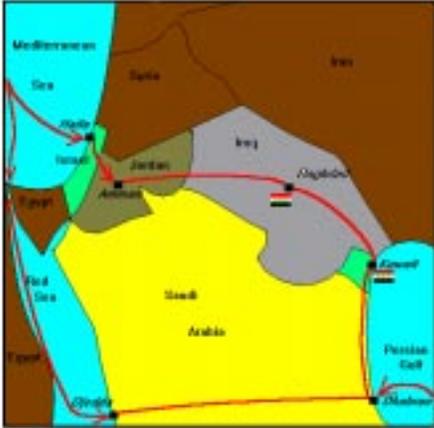
The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis[©]

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The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis



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Area Map

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Instructions to the Game Master

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis is a simulation that involves two teams playing Iraq and the U.S. respectively. At the very least, each team must involve three people, but four or five is better. With enough players, it is possible to play two or three simulations provided the teams cannot observe each others' actions and outcomes.

Experience shows that play will last fifteen to twenty turns of about five minutes each. With the introduction, organization, and debriefing periods, you may expect the simulation to take about two hours and a half. It can also be done in two one-and-a-quarter hour periods with an intermission during which each team can do strategy planning but is forbidden to contact the other side to conduct diplomacy.

You should begin with a ten minute introduction during which you will summarize the situation (gathered from the enclosed documents) and the rules of play. It is essential that the players understand well all technical aspects of the simulation (turns, available moves, etc). For that reason, it may be useful to conduct this introduction, select the team members, and distribute the confidential documents at the end of a class meeting and to hold the simulation during the next class meeting. The students will thus have enough time to assimilate the technical aspects and to start formulating their policy.

The simulation should start with a ten-to fifteen minute organization and planning period during which the team members will select their officers (chairperson, and ambassador) and will try to agree on objectives and strategy.

It is essential to respect time limits and constraints on the diplomatic exchanges. In particular, an ambassador must present any offer or threat to the *entire* other team. You should absolutely avoid the situation where the two ambassadors talk between themselves and present their respective teams with the product of their private negotiation or where the two teams speak directly to each other. If an intermission must take place, it is best to end it with a U.S. turn so that the next period can begin with diplomacy.

The simulation should be followed by a class discussion focusing on how each side perceived the other side's intents and strategy. If a large scale escalation took place, it is most likely attributable to "maximin thinking": *assuming the worst*, each side does the best it can which is generally an escalation. Attempts at negotiation will usually be hampered by a difficulty in communicating clearly and briefly. Misunderstandings are a great source and justification of hawkish behavior. If escalation does take place, it will be useful to understand how the hawks prevailed upon the doves.

A critical moment of the simulation comes when either side seriously contemplates a nuclear strike or retaliation. Is this preceded by adequate threats? Does it promote diplomacy?

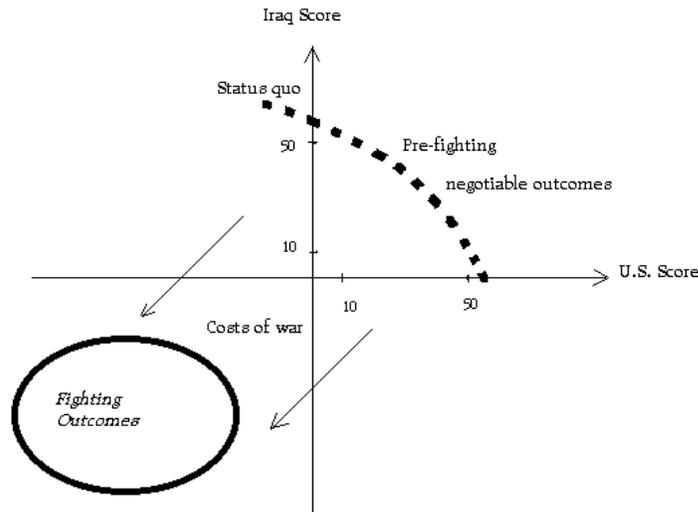
The simulation is based on an extremely adversarial initial setting. The Iraqi team is under tremendous pressure to keep Kuwait and its nuclear arsenal while the U.S. team is under similar pressure to free Kuwait and eliminate the Iraqi nuclear arsenal. Whatever the outcome, the two teams should be reminded of this extreme opposition to quiet any resentment for perceived failures on either side. Note that one of the best outcomes of the

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crisis is when there has been no nuclear first use, little fighting or air strikes, and when the a deal is made whereby Iraq surrenders either Kuwait or its nuclear arsenal and keeps the other.

In a half dozen simulations held so far, only one did not produce some form of nuclear attack, and none were settled during the first few turns. There is usually a patent lack of diplomacy. Embassadors are instructed to deliver threats, but rarely any realistic settlement offers.

If scores are well kept by the two sides, the following figure will be instructive:



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U.S. Instructions

The Situation

It is the late Summer of 1990. Saddam Hussein has just invaded and annexed Kuwait. And a few days later, it has launched and detonated, deep in the Kuwaiti desert, a nuclear tipped intermediate range missile, thus declaring itself a member of the nuclear weapons club. Israeli intelligence has uncovered evidence that Iraq bought an estimated *five* nuclear warheads¹ from a renegade military source in Soviet Kazakhstan. And with the help of French and German engineers, it has perfected the guidance system on its Scud missiles, thus acquiring the capability to strike targets accurately hundreds of miles from Baghdad. Even more troublesome, the same intelligence sources point to a plot to smuggle one Iraqi nuclear warheads into a large American city (Operation code named Sodom).

You have been selected as a member of the Crisis Team of the National Security Council. Your mission is to plan and implement strategy. You have the personal trust of the President and you carry the hopes of the nation and its military forces for a quick and peaceful resolution of the crisis. Your highest priorities are to recover Kuwait, to prevent further Iraqi expansion, and to achieve Iraqi nuclear disarmament. Nuclear *first use* by the U.S. would be a terrible international embarrassment, and heavy damage to U.S. armed forces could only be justified by a complete success on other fronts.

The material described in the enclosed documents is confidential and can only be shared with members of your team. Disclosure of some capabilities may be highly valuable to the other side.

¹Assumed to have a one hundred kiloton yield, 5 to 10 times the Hiroshima explosion.

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The Geographic and Political Environment

The area map included in this package describes the essential features of the geographic environment of the crisis. The bordering states of Iran and Syria are assumed to be neutral since they equally dislike the two protagonists, while Egypt is too far away to be directly involved. Jordan is friendly to Iraq and will not invite the U.S. or Israel into its territory, but it is too weak to defend itself. Saudi Arabia is friendly to the U.S. but it is unable to assume its own defense. Israel is your closest ally in the region and has already invited you to use the port of Haifa as a staging point for an invasion of Iraq through Jordan. This option, however, involves the high political cost of violating the territory of independent Jordan under the sole pretense that it has sided with Iraq, unless Iraqi forces first invade Amman.

The invasion routes available to the two sides are depicted in red on the Area Map. Arrows indicate one-way routes: Iraq is not expected to be invited in or to force its way into Haifa (Israel), and its naval resources are no match for the U.S. navy which can bring troops into the region via three different routes: from Diego Garcia via the Persian Gulf into Dhahran (Saudi Arabia), and from Europe via the Mediterranean Sea directly into Haifa, or through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea into Djedda (Saudi Arabia). Because of numerous intelligence assets and the extensive coverage of the crisis by CNN, both sides are completely aware of the other side's actual moves whether in progress or concluded. Therefore, at the end of each turn by one side, its actual moves are announced to the other side.

The international community has expressed hostility to the Iraqi move into Kuwait, but it is up to the U.S. as leader of the opposition to the Iraqi move into Kuwait to initiate military options.

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Mode of Operations

As a team, you will operate by majority vote. Failure to reach a majority on any of the options available to you within the allotted time will be interpreted as a *pass* and will result in no use of your military, nuclear, and diplomatic assets. You should designate a chairperson to organize your debates and break possible ties, and an ambassador to represent your team and deliver threats and offers to your opponent.

After an initial period during which you will become familiar with the enclosed documents, and will organize your team and debate your general objectives and strategy, the crisis will unfold by turns of *five to ten minutes* each in the following and repeating order:²

(1) a U.S. turn (5 min) during which the U.S. team can make military or nuclear moves, but cannot communicate with its opponent.

(2) an Iraqi turn (5 min) during which the Iraqi team can make military or nuclear moves, but cannot communicate with its opponent.

(3) a diplomacy turn (10 min) during which each side can express or accept offers and make threats *through its ambassador*, or sign a settlement specifying the final terms, but can make no military or nuclear moves.

A move that takes a turn is completed within the turn it is ordered. No U.S. move takes place during an Iraqi (or diplomacy) turn, and conversely. For instance, if the U.S. orders a battle force to sail to the Persian Gulf and land there, it does sail during the U.S. turn but does not land during the following diplomacy or Iraqi turns. It will only do so at the next U.S. turn.

The options available to each side at each turn, conditional on the situation reached, are listed separately. You may make any threats or offers of settlement that you deem appropriate during a diplomatic turn. A settlement *when signed by all members of both teams* ends the crisis. It must stipulate all economic, military, and political terms.

²Of course, each team can debate its options and strategy at all times.

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Authorization for U.S. nuclear strikes, the success or failure of Operation Sodom, and any further instructions are handled by the Game Master who can also call an end to the crisis at any time.

The game master will keep track of all moves made by either side and of time elapsed. Status sheets, summarizing the current situation, will be made available to each side during diplomacy turns.

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Iraqi Nuclear Options

Of the estimated five nuclear warheads acquired by Iraq from a renegade Soviet general, one was used as a warning shot to the international community, and your intelligence sources suggest that one is involved in an attempted smuggling into a large U.S. city (Operation Sodom). Iraq is therefore left with *three* nuclear tipped missiles that can reach almost anywhere within the Middle East. Its military is expected to have pre-programmed the following important targets into the missile guidance systems, thus making them usable instantly:³ A nuclear strike on any of the following targets would make it inoperable and would inflict heavy casualties on any U.S. force there.

- Dhahran: an important Saudi port on the Persian Gulf and a most likely entry point for U.S. invasion forces.

- Djedda: an important Saudi port on the Red Sea and a second possible entry point for U.S. invasion forces, although farther away from Kuwait.

- Haifa: a major Israeli port and third possible entry point for U.S. invasion forces. However, since Haifa is a major Israeli city, an actual strike would involve tremendous collateral damage to its civilian population. This enormous cost could be partly blamed on your poor performance. However, such a development is almost certain to bring retaliation in kind by Israel, possibly on Baghdad. This could have strong deterrent effects on the Iraqi side.

- Kuwait: the object of the crisis and a valid entry point for a U.S. invasion.

- Amman: a city friendly to Iraq that it could sacrifice to inflict heavy damage on U.S. forces.

Should Operation Sodom be successful, Iraq may find itself with a nuclear weapon planted in the middle of an American city within a few turns. However, the chances of failure of Operation Sodom are significant since the ship that (probably) carries it might be intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard and the weapon uncovered by inspection. But the only sure way of destroying the Sodom warhead is to obtain information on its location directly from Iraq either by negotiation or by a swift invasion of Baghdad in order to seize the Iraqi leadership.

³Other targets could be identified but are considered unlikely to be approved by Saddam Hussein. In particular, a strike on Tel-Aviv is almost certain to bring an Israeli retaliation on Baghdad, and Jerusalem is off limits because of its Palestinian population.

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Iraqi Conventional Military Options

Iraqi Republican Guard divisions are poised for an invasion of the oil-rich North-East corner of Saudi Arabia. If unopposed by U.S. forces, its army could capture all of Saudi Arabia within a few turns.

Iraq has several conventional military options:⁴

- From Kuwait, Iraq could reach and capture Dhahran. The U.S. would be unable to land invasion forces through the Persian Gulf. Control of the oil fields surrounding Dhahran and the easy access to the oil rich Emirates nearby would constitute a formidable bargaining chip for Iraq.

- From Dhahran, Iraq can reach and capture Djedda in one turn. In that case, Iraq would control the holy sites of Mecca and Medina, and would effectively control all of Saudi Arabia and its immense oil resources.

- Iraq may send "friendly" forces into the Jordanian city of Amman to assist in its defense. Such an Iraqi move would provide a welcome diplomatic justification for a U.S. led move into Jordan on its way to Baghdad.

- When they defend a site against a U.S. battle force, Iraqi forces are destroyed in one turn but do inflict heavy casualties on their opponent. The U.S. can then occupy the disputed site *at its next turn* regardless of any Iraqi attempt to defend it further.

⁴The option to *withdraw* a force from a site (except Baghdad) is always available if warranted.

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U.S. Strategic Options

- The U.S. has a quasi-unlimited stockpile of nuclear weapons of all kinds and modes of delivery. But nuclear *first use* on any scale by the U.S. would be extremely unpalatable from the international and domestic political viewpoints. However, a nuclear *retaliation* is conceivable. Any U.S. nuclear strike *must* be authorized by the President (played by the game master). Only nuclear threats and retaliations are therefore available and should be treated very cautiously.⁵

- The U.S. is assumed to have moved its carrier forces into the Persian Gulf, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Red Sea. Starting on the first turn, the U.S. enjoys complete air superiority over Iraq and can conduct highly punishing air strikes on Iraqi military and industrial targets.

⁵A threat of nuclear retaliation over Baghdad in response to a nuclear attack of U.S. military forces is conceivable. But its implementation might not be authorized by the President.

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U.S. Conventional Military Options

The U.S. is assumed to have moved its carrier forces into the naval staging areas (Mediterranean and Red Seas on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf on the other), which are prerequisites to any other conventional military move, including air strikes, which are thus available on the first U.S. turn. But, in order to conduct an invasion, whatever its objectives are, the U.S. needs to ship at least one of *two* main battle forces from Europe and America aboard ships in Italy and at Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean. Only then will such forces be able to land, *on the next U.S. turn*, at their respective destinations, ***provided the ports are free of Iraqi forces and have not been utterly destroyed by a nuclear strike***. The force from Europe can only land on the Western shores (Haifa or Djedda) and the force from America can only land on the Eastern shores (Kuwait or Dhahran).

On the first turn, therefore, the U.S. has two actual options (other than passing) and may exercise any or both:

- Order one or both of its battle forces to board ship and sail to the area;⁶
- Initiate punishing air strikes against Iraq.

On subsequent turns, the U.S. actual options increase or decrease depending on various factors as follows:⁷

- Battle forces *once arrived* can land and secure the access ports of Dhahran, Djedda, or Haifa. The force from Diego Garcia can only land in Dhahran (or in Kuwait should Iraq vacate it). The force from Europe can only land in Djedda or Haifa, *but not in both* (a force cannot divide itself or sail around Arabia). However, a port that has been destroyed by an Iraqi nuclear strike or that is occupied by Iraqi forces cannot be used for landing by a U.S. battle force.

Once landed, battle forces can move along invasion routes (in red on the Area Map) from one node to the next.⁸ If the destination is not occupied by Iraqi forces, they can immediately seize it. Otherwise, they need to fight their way into it (success is guaranteed). Fighting Iraqi forces entrenched in a port or city, or suffering an Iraqi nuclear strike, involves high human costs that must be factored into the decision. Kuwait (at the beginning) and Baghdad (always) are assumed defended by Iraqi troops.

- The seizure of Baghdad by U.S. forces or a full scale nuclear attack of Iraq, should they occur, end the crisis with the destruction of all remaining Iraqi nuclear assets. But a single nuclear strike against Baghdad does not end the game unless *all* Iraqi nuclear assets have been expended.

⁶The sail order for the force from Europe need not specify whether it is intended for a landing in Djedda or Haifa.

⁷The option to retreat is always available.

⁸Although a nuclear strike on a port permanently prevents a landing there, it does not prevent land forces to pass through since they are assumed to have enough space around it to avoid destroyed or radioactive points.

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Perceived Iraqi Priorities

Highest: preserving territorial and political integrity of Iraq.

Next highest: holding on to its nuclear capability and the Kuwaiti conquest.

Medium high: expanding its conquest to part or all of Saudi Arabia.

Plusses: humiliating the U.S. or Israel. Destroying U.S. or Israeli cities or forces.

Minuses: destruction from U.S. air strikes.

Greatest fear: a nuclear attack on Baghdad. A full scale U.S. nuclear retaliation on Iraq.

Assessment: the Iraqi team is under the strongest pressure from Saddam Hussein to achieve at least the next highest priorities. Failing on the highest priorities means certain death by firing squad.

U.S. Priorities

Highest: preventing nuclear warfare and further Iraqi expansion. Full recovery of Kuwait.

Next highest: obtaining Iraqi nuclear disarmament, preventing heavy damage to U.S. military forces.

Medium high: eliminating the Iraqi leadership by the conquest of Baghdad.

Plusses: destroying Iraqi military and industrial assets by air strikes.

Minuses: time which means, among other things, a disruption of the oil trade. A continuing crisis is a political thorn that the President cannot afford in view of upcoming elections. Violating Jordanian territory in order to reach Baghdad (unless Iraqi forces first occupy it). Destruction of oil fields.

Greatest fear: a nuclear blast in a U.S. or Israeli city.

Assessment: early commitments and deployments followed by a combination of threats and diplomacy will have the best chances of winning domestic political approval. But pressure will increase to resolve the crisis as time goes by.

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Rules for Appraisal of U.S. Performance

*This sheet is confidential and cannot
be shown to the Iraqi team*

Per Turn:

Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, Dhahran, or Djedda	– 1 points (each city)
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Per Occurrence:

Iraqi nuclear attack on U.S. force	– 100 point
Iraqi nuclear attack on Haifa	– 100 points
Iraqi nuclear attack on New York	– 1000 points
U.S. casualties in conventional attack	– 10 points
U.S. violation of independent Jordan	– 10 points

At Settlement:

Liberation of Kuwait	+ 20 points
Elimination of Iraqi nuclear arsenal	+ 10 points (per unused warhead)
Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, Dhahran, or Djedda	– 10 points (each city)
U.S. occupation of Baghdad (in addition)	+ 10 points

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Iraqi Instructions

The Situation

It is the late Summer of 1990. Iraq has just invaded and annexed Kuwait. And a few days later, it has launched and detonated, deep in the Kuwaiti desert, a nuclear tipped intermediate range missile, thus declaring itself a member of the nuclear weapons club. Iraqi intelligence was able to buy *five* nuclear warheads⁹ from a renegade military source in Soviet Kazakhstan. And with the help of French and German engineers, the Iraqi military perfected the guidance system on its Scud missiles, thus acquiring the capability to strike targets accurately hundreds of miles from Baghdad. In addition, Iraqi intelligence is now implementing a plot to smuggle by boat one of the remaining four nuclear warheads into the U.S. city of New York.

You have been personally chosen by Saddam Hussein himself as a member of the Crisis Team of the High Revolutionary Council. Your mission is to plan and implement strategy. You are elated by the honor bestowed upon you but you remain fearful of the possible consequences of failure such as life imprisonment or death by hanging in front of the troops for treason. Success, however, will bring you the personal embrace of your beloved leader, especially if you expand Iraqi influence in the Persian Gulf region. Your highest priorities are to preserve the integrity of the Iraqi regime and territory and to hold on to its nuclear capability and Kuwaiti conquest.

The material described in the enclosed documents is confidential and can only be shared with members of your team. Disclosure of some capabilities may be highly valuable to the other side.

⁹With an announced yield of one hundred kilotons, 5 to 10 times the Hiroshima explosion.

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The Geographic and Political Environment

The area map included in this package describes the essential features of the geographic environment of the crisis. The bordering states of Iran and Syria are assumed to be neutral since they equally dislike the two protagonists, while Egypt is too far away to be directly involved. Jordan is friendly to Iraq and will not invite the U.S. or Israel into its territory, but it is too weak to defend itself. Saudi Arabia is friendly to the U.S. but it is unable to assume its own defense. Israel is the closest ally of the U.S. in the region and has already invited it to use the port of Haifa as a staging point for an invasion of Iraq through Jordan. This option, however, involves the high political cost of violating the territory of independent Jordan under the sole pretense that it has sided with Iraq, unless Iraqi forces first invade Amman.

The invasion routes available to the two sides are depicted in red on the Area Map. Arrows indicate one-way routes: Iraq is not expected to be invited in or to force its way into Haifa (Israel), and its naval resources are no match for the U.S. navy which can bring troops into the region via three different routes: from Diego Garcia via the Persian Gulf into Dhahran (Saudi Arabia), and from Europe via the Mediterranean Sea directly into Haifa, or through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea into Djedda (Saudi Arabia). Because of numerous intelligence assets and the extensive coverage of the crisis by CNN, both sides are completely aware of the other side's actual moves whether in progress or concluded. Therefore, at the end of each turn by one side, its actual moves are announced to the other side.

The international community has expressed hostility to the Iraqi move into Kuwait, but it is up to the U.S. as leader of the opposition to the Iraqi move into Kuwait to initiate the military options should Iraq maintain its occupation of Kuwait..

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Mode of Operations

As a team, you will operate by majority vote. Failure to reach a majority on any of the options available to you within the allotted time (five to ten minutes) will be interpreted as a *pass* and will result in no use of your military, nuclear, and diplomatic assets. You should designate a chairperson to organize your debates and break possible ties, and an ambassador to represent your team and deliver threats and offers to your opponent.¹⁰

After an initial period during which you will become familiar with the enclosed documents, and will organize your team and debate your general objectives and strategy, the crisis will unfold by turns of *five to ten minutes* each in the following and repeating order:¹¹

(1) a U.S. turn (5 min) during which the U.S. team can make military or nuclear moves, but cannot communicate with its opponent.

(2) an Iraqi turn (5 min) during which the Iraqi team can make military or nuclear moves, but cannot communicate with its opponent.

(3) a diplomacy turn (10 min) during which each side can express or accept offers and make threats *through its ambassador*, or sign a settlement specifying the final terms, but can make no military or nuclear moves.

A move that takes a turn is completed within the turn it is ordered. No U.S. move takes place during an Iraqi (or diplomacy) turn, and conversely. For instance, if the U.S. orders a battle force to sail to the Persian Gulf and land there, it does sail during the U.S. turn but does not land during the following Iraqi or diplomacy turns. It will only do so at the next U.S. turn.

The options available to each side at each turn, conditional on the situation reached, are listed separately. You may make any threats or offers of settlement that you deem appropriate during a diplomatic turn. A settlement *when signed by all members of both teams* ends the crisis. It must stipulate all economic and political terms.

¹⁰direct talks between members of opposing teams is prohibited. Only ambassadors can deliver messages and bring back responses.

¹¹Of course, each team can debate its options and strategy at all times.

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Israeli retaliation, authorization for U.S. nuclear strikes, the success or failure of Operation Sodom, and any further instructions from Saddam Hussein or the President of the U.S. are handled by the game master who can also call an end to the crisis at any time. The game master will also keep track of the moves made by either side and of time elapsed.

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Iraqi Nuclear Options

Of the five nuclear warheads acquired at great expense from a renegade Soviet general, one was used as a warning shot to the international community, one is currently aboard a Greek ship headed for the port of New York (code name Operation Sodom), and one is kept by Saddam Hussein as a last bargaining chip. You are therefore left with *two* nuclear tipped missiles that can reach almost anywhere within the Middle East. Your military has pre-programmed all the important targets into the missile guidance systems, thus making them usable instantly.¹² A nuclear strike on any of the following targets would make it inoperable and would inflict heavy casualties on any U.S. force there.¹³

- Dhahran: an important Saudi port on the Persian Gulf and a most likely entry point for U.S. invasion forces.

- Djedda: an important Saudi port on the Red Sea and a second possible entry point for U.S. invasion forces, although farther away from Kuwait.

- Haifa: a major Israeli port and third possible entry point for U.S. invasion forces. Moreover, since Haifa is a major Israeli city, an actual strike would involve tremendous collateral damage to its civilian population, something your beloved leader might approve of. However, such a development is almost certain to bring retaliation in kind by Israel, possibly on Baghdad. This could have unfortunate effects on your leader's appraisal of your performance.

- Kuwait: the object of the crisis and a valid entry point for a U.S. invasion.

- Amman: a friendly city that could be sacrificed to inflict heavy damage on U.S. forces.

Saddam Hussein may, at any time, decide to release a third nuclear warhead to your control. In addition, should Operation Sodom be successful, you may have a nuclear weapon planted in the middle of America's biggest city within a few weeks. However, the chances of failure are significant since the ship may be intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard and the weapon may be uncovered by inspection.

¹²Other targets could be identified but are considered unlikely to be approved by Saddam Hussein. In particular, a strike on Tel-Aviv is almost certain to bring an Israeli retaliation on Baghdad, and Jerusalem is off limits because of its Palestinian population.

¹³Although it would not entirely destroy it, so that it can still fight and win against your conventional forces.

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You may use the nuclear weapons under your control without interference from Saddam provided they are used on a pre-programmed target. You may not unilaterally destroy them or use them on any other target.

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Iraqi Conventional Military Options

Iraqi Republican Guard divisions are poised for an invasion of the oil-rich North-East corner of Saudi Arabia. If unopposed by U.S. forces, its army could capture all of Saudi Arabia within a few turns.

Iraq has several conventional military options:¹⁴

- From Kuwait, Iraq could reach and capture Dhahran. The U.S. would be unable to land invasion forces through the Persian Gulf. Control of the oil fields surrounding Dhahran and the easy access to the oil rich Emirates nearby would constitute a formidable bargaining chip for Iraq.

- From Dhahran, Iraq can reach and capture Djedda in one turn. In that case, Iraq would control the holy sites of Mecca and Medina, and would effectively control all of Saudi Arabia and its immense oil resources.

- *If* the U.S. lands forces in Haifa, *then* Iraq may send "friendly" forces into the Jordanian city of Amman to assist in its defense (Saddam Hussein would not approve the move otherwise). But such an Iraqi move could provide a welcome diplomatic justification for a U.S. led move into Jordan on its way to Baghdad.

- When they defend a site against a U.S. battle force, Iraqi forces are destroyed in one turn but do inflict heavy casualties on their opponent. The site can be occupied by the U.S. *on its next turn* regardless of any Iraqi attempt to defend it further.

- Iraqi forces are almost unlimited in numbers so that moving from one node to another does not imply a surrender of the node being departed. The surrender of a node, if desired, must be *announced* by Iraq.

¹⁴The option to *withdraw* a force from a site (except Baghdad) is always available if warranted.

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U.S. Strategic Options

- The U.S. has a quasi-unlimited stockpile of nuclear weapons of all kinds and modes of delivery. But nuclear *first use* on any scale by the U.S. would be extremely unpalatable from the international and domestic political viewpoints. However, a nuclear *retaliation* is conceivable. Any U.S. nuclear strike must be authorized by the President (played by the Game Master). Only nuclear threats and retaliations, therefore, seem to be available to the U.S. team, but they should nevertheless be treated very cautiously.

- The U.S. is assumed to have its carrier forces in the Persian Gulf, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Red Sea. Starting on the first turn, the U.S. therefore enjoys complete air superiority over Iraq and can conduct highly punishing air strikes on Iraqi military and industrial targets.

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U.S. Conventional Military Options

The U.S. is assumed to have moved its carrier forces into the naval staging areas (Mediterranean and Red Seas on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf on the other), which are prerequisites to any other conventional military move, including air strikes, which are thus available on the first U.S. turn.

But, in order to conduct an invasion, whatever its objectives are, the U.S. needs to ship at least one of *two* main battle forces from Europe and America from Italy and the Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean. Only then will such forces be able to land, *on the next U.S. turn*, at their respective destinations, provided the ports are free of Iraqi forces and have not been utterly destroyed by a nuclear strike.

On the first turn, therefore, the U.S. has two actual options (other than passing) and may exercise any or both:

- Order one or both of its battle forces to board ship and sail to the area;¹⁵
- Initiate punishing air strikes against Iraq.

On subsequent turns, the U.S. actual options increase or decrease depending on various factors as follows:¹⁶

- Battle forces *once arrived* can land and secure the access ports of Dhahran, Djedda, or Haifa. The force from Diego Garcia can only land in Dhahran (or in Kuwait should Iraq vacate it). The force from Europe can only land in Djedda or Haifa, *but not in both* (a force cannot divide itself or sail around Arabia). However, a port that has been destroyed by an Iraqi nuclear strike or that is occupied by Iraqi forces cannot be used for landing by a U.S. battle force.

Once landed, battle forces can move along invasion routes (in red on the Area Map) from one node to the next.¹⁷ If the destination is not occupied by Iraqi forces, they can immediately seize it. Otherwise, they need to fight their way into it (success is guaranteed). Fighting Iraqi forces entrenched in a port or city, or suffering an Iraqi nuclear strike, involves high human costs that must be factored into the decision. Kuwait (at the beginning) and Baghdad (always) are assumed defended by Iraqi troops.

- The seizure of Baghdad by U.S. forces or a full scale nuclear attack of Iraq, should they occur, end the crisis with the destruction of all remaining Iraqi nuclear assets. But a single nuclear strike against Baghdad does not end the game unless *all* Iraqi nuclear assets have been expended.

¹⁵The sail order for the force from Europe need not specify whether it is intended for a landing in Djedda or Haifa.

¹⁶The option to retreat is always available.

¹⁷Although a nuclear strike on a port permanently prevents a landing there, it does not prevent land forces to pass through since they are assumed to have enough space around it to avoid destroyed or radioactive points.

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Iraqi Priorities

Highest: preserving territorial and political integrity of Iraq.

Next highest: holding on to its nuclear capability and the Kuwaiti conquest.

Medium high: expanding its conquest to part or all of Saudi Arabia.

Plusses: humiliating the U.S. or Israel. Destroying U.S. or Israeli cities or forces.

Minuses: destruction from U.S. air strikes.

Greatest fear: a nuclear attack on Baghdad. A full scale U.S. nuclear retaliation on Iraq.

Assessment: the Iraqi team is under the strongest pressure from Saddam Hussein to achieve at least the next highest priorities. Failing on both of the highest priorities means certain death by firing squad.

Perceived U.S. Priorities

Highest: preventing nuclear warfare and further Iraqi expansion. Full recovery of Kuwait.

Next highest: obtaining Iraqi nuclear disarmament, preventing heavy damage to U.S. military forces.

Medium high: eliminating the Iraqi leadership by the conquest of Baghdad.

Plusses: destroying Iraqi military and industrial assets by air strikes.

Minuses: time which means, among other things, a disruption of the oil trade. A continuing crisis is a political thorn that the President cannot afford in view of upcoming elections. Violating Jordanian territory in order to reach Baghdad (unless Iraqi forces first occupy it).

Greatest fear: a nuclear blast in a U.S. or Israeli city.

Assessment: early commitments and deployments followed by a combination of threats and diplomacy will have the best chances of winning domestic political approval. But pressure will increase to resolve the crisis as time goes by.

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis

Rules for Appraisal of Iraqi Performance

*This sheet is confidential and cannot
be shown to the U.S. team*

Per Turn:

Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, Dhahran, or Djedda	+ 1 points (each city)
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Per Occurrence:

Iraqi nuclear attack on U.S. force	+ 10 point
Iraqi nuclear attack on Haifa (in addition)	+ 10 points
Iraqi nuclear attack on New York	+ 50 points
U.S. air strike	- 1 point
U.S. or Israeli nuclear attack on Baghdad	- 100 points
U.S. capture of Baghdad	- 100 points
U.S. full scale nuclear attack on Iraq	- 1000 points

At Settlement:

Keeping Kuwait, Dhahran, or Djedda	+ 20 points (each city)
Keeping nuclear arsenal	+ 10 points (per unused warhead)

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis

Rules for Operation Sodom

There are two case where Operation Sodom will be successful and immediately announced to both parties, *unless it has already failed* (see below):

- (1) After U.S. troops occupy Amman (Jordan);
- (2) After any U.S. nuclear retaliation on Baghdad.

There are two cases where Operation Sodom will fail and be immediately announced to both parties:

- (1) If Iraqi troops occupy Djedda;
- (2) If Iraq uses at least two nuclear weapons.

Otherwise, Operation Sodom will remain undecided to the end.

In addition, Saddam Hussein will release the third nuclear warhead should the first two be used.

Rules for U.S. Presidential Nuclear Authorization

The President will *not authorize any* nuclear strike on Iraq before or after a first single nuclear attack by Iraq, whether or not it involves U.S. or Israeli civilian casualties.

The President *will authorize* retaliation after a second (or double) Iraqi nuclear attack by a single nuclear strike on Baghdad. He will deny a full scale nuclear attack on Iraq.

The President *will authorize* retaliation after a nuclear attack on New York City with a single nuclear strike on Baghdad or a full scale nuclear strike on Iraq, depending on the request.

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis

Rules for Israeli Nuclear Retaliation

If Iraq conducts a nuclear strike on Haifa, Israel will:

- (1) retaliate over Baghdad if no U.S. forces were present in Haifa at the time of the attack;
- (2) not retaliate if U.S. troops were present in Haifa at the time of the attack.

Additional Saddam Hussein Instructions

If Operation Sodom has failed, Saddam will authorize a withdrawal from Kuwait once U.S. forces have reached Dhahran. He will not agree to surrender other nuclear weapons but will accept the territorial status quo ante.

If Operation Sodom succeeds, Saddam will refuse to surrender Kuwait or any other nuclear weapon. He will agree to exchange Sodom for a complete U.S. withdrawal and recognition of his conquest.

Saddam will release the third nuclear weapon to his team's control once the first two have been used.

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis

Settlement Agreement

Any settlement implies the total cessation of military activity, including air and nuclear strikes. Iraqi military control of Saudi cities and Kuwait implies economic and political control. Military withdrawal must therefore be stipulated in "Other terms" if not already achieved. Items to be determined are:

Territorial and Political Integrity of Iraq: Agreed Denied

Restoration of Full Kuwaiti Independence: Agreed Denied

Preservation of Iraqi Nuclear Capability: Agreed Denied

Establishment of an Economic Embargo: Agreed Denied

Other Items (specify):

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis

Iraqi Nuclear Status

Nuclear Weapon #1:

Available Used

Nuclear Weapon #2:

Available Used

Nuclear Weapon #3:

Not Available until Saddam Hussein releases it

Nuclear Weapon #4
(Operation Sodom):

Not Available Available Used

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis

U.S. Order Sheet

TURN #_____

Conventional Military

East Battle Force:

- Sail Land: Dhahran Kuwait
 Move to: Kuwait Baghdad Djedda

West Battle Force:

- Sail Land: Djedda Haifa
 Move to: Amman Baghdad Dhahran Kuwait

Strategic

- Conduct Air Strike

Nuclear (Need presidential authorization)

- Baghdad (single warhead)
 Full Scale (multiple warheads over main Iraqi cities)

Iraqi Order Sheet

TURN # _____

Conventional Military

Dhahran (Arabia): Move to Withdraw

Djedda (Arabia): Move to Withdraw

Kuwait (Kuwait): Move to Withdraw

Amman (Jordan): Move to Withdraw (*Available only if U.S. forces land in Haifa*)

Nuclear strike

Dhahran (Arabia)

Djedda (Arabia)

Haifa (Israel)

Amman (Jordan)

New York (U.S.) *conditional on success of Operation Sodom*

The Persian Gulf Missile Crisis

Status Sheet

TURN # _____

Cities and Ports

Amman (Jordan): Open Iraqi U.S.

Dhahran (Arabia): Open Iraqi U.S. Port destroyed

Djedda (Arabia): Open Iraqi U.S. Port destroyed

Haifa (Israel): Open U.S. Port destroyed

Kuwait (Kuwait): Open Iraqi U.S.

East U.S. Force: Home Sailing Dhahran

(Attacking) Kuwait Djedda baghdad

West U.S. Force: Home Sailing Djedda Haifa

(Attacking) Amman Baghdad Djedda Kuwait