

# **“Transcripts from Three Audio Files of a Meeting of the General Command of the Armed Forces”**



**Document Date:** 24 March 1988

**CRRC Record Number:** SH-AFGC-D-000-731

SH-AFGC-D-000-731

**Key: Translator comments, clarifications, and additions are italicized in brackets.  
Classification markings and parentheses are from the original Arabic document.**

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It was inspected by the higher committee.

[signature]

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "H. Saleh", written over a horizontal line.

Retired Staff Major General Hazem Saleh

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Downloading of the tapes

From the Meetings of the General Command of the Armed Forces  
And  
Conversations with Mr. President, the Commander in Chief (may God protect him)

At  
The Armed Command of the Forces General  
Second Committee

1. Retired Staff Major General Hazem Saleh Dawood al-Janabi — Chairman of the Committee
2. Staff Major General Subhi Mahmud al-Nu'aimi - Member
3. Staff Major General Munir Muhammad 'Ali Jasim - Member
4. Staff Major General Salman Hamed 'Abdallah - Member
5. Retired Staff Major General Tariq 'Inad al-Shimmari - Member
6. Retired Staff Major General 'Adel Mahumd Mazhur - Member
7. Retired Staff Major General 'Abd Al-Mun'im Muhyi al-Din - Member
8. Brigadier General 'Abd Al-Rahman Mahdi Saleh – Member
9. Staff Brigadier General Ghadanfar Mahdi Jasim - Member
10. Pilot Brigadier General Muhammad Isma'il Mustafa – Member
11. Captain Nuhad Zaki Ahmad al-Duri – Representative of the Military Security Department

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Tape Number 1

Date of the Tape: March 24, 1988

Attendants

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Notes:

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Tape Number 2

Date of the Tape: March 24, 1988

Attendants

- 1- Staff General [*4-star*] - Pilot, Mr. 'Adnan Khayrallah - Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces, Minister of Defense.
- 2- Dr. Engineer 'Amer Hammudi al-Sa'di-Chairman of the Military Industries Committee
- 3- Staff Lieutenant General Hussein Rashid - Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations
- 4- Brigadier General Hussein Kamil – Military Industries Supervisor
- 5- Staff Major General Al-Hakam Hassan 'Ali - Director of Army Aviation
- 6- Brigadier General Khalid - From the Military Industries Commission

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**Minister of Defense:** In my assessment, they (the Iranians) will not end the war, because many psychological tests are being conducted on them, and if they do not witness the deaths of many [people] right in front of their own eyes, they will not surrender. Despite the losses that we inflict on them, they continue [fighting] because the Iranian women keep giving birth and [the men] are continuously sent into battle. There [is no sorrow for what] they lose. One of the goals of the Iranian regime is to set Iran back 50 years into the past, undoing all that the Shah of Iran had accomplished. At one of the regional conferences, our friend Tariq Aziz was speaking and I asked him for permission to speak. And, I said, "You didn't hear it from me, but show me any modern revolution that has taken place this century such as the one that occurred in Iran in 1975. For four years (1975-1979), all the world leaders visited the Shah and enjoyed his hospitality for 7 to 10 days for the 2000<sup>th</sup> remembrance of the Revolution of Cyrus the Great [*Cyrus the Great captured Babylon, and declared himself King of Babylon, Sumer and Akkad, which included the land that is modern day Iraq.*]

We carry out demonstrations here; a group throws bricks at gas stations or burns them down, and another group attacks banks. The American Chief of Staff of the Army comes and visits his Iranian counterpart telling him to leave this issue alone and that the army should not interfere with it.

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The Shah packed his bags and left, but no one gave him shelter. Then Khomeini arrived in Tehran via Paris, aboard an Air France plane. And naturally, when a person wants to create theatrics, he will be subject to a thousand (1000) questions with big question marks. So, I believe that these people, under a Soviet-American agreement, want to take from the Iranian excess (output) and perhaps a portion of the Iraqi excess (output), in order to give it to the Soviets. In these circumstances, considering the Soviet petroleum situation in Siberia, or what they currently have there, their goal is to gnaw at the Iranian armed force, its economy, and its men, in order to make it weak enough so that a medium-sized force could attack it. Their tanks and their Air Force had been destroyed. Everything the Shah had built, in terms of technology, we had destroyed during the 8 years of war — refineries, power plants, and factories. If they do not make any changes, then they will become like a 75-year-old man, with nothing to do in life — who hates everyone who walks about on two legs. That is why they will hold on to power. We had started building up in 1974 and the first plan had been put in place for the years 1975-1980. Jacques Chirac officially said, "The plan which Iraq is putting together in order to build its country will lead to a second 5 year plan; Iraq [*is coming from*] among the third world countries, to the status of a developed country." If we look at what has been achieved and what was put on hold because of the war, and if it had achieved its goal in 1980, and then finished the plan of 1985, then we would have seen Iraq emerge from the status of being a third world country.

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Therefore, Iraq is an inspiration to neighboring countries, especially to those of the Arab world, for its unique experiment in using the socialist model that it has established. The Democratic Yemeni Republic should not take the approach of demanding Iraq's head, because they know what would happen afterward. All the information that you receive dealing with questions related to missiles and as to whether they were made in Iraq or if they had been modified, this is because the Israelis lose their balance [*get frightened*] whenever Iraq is mentioned - and I know that, from 1980 to 1983, the Israelis seemed to be ill at ease and that every seven to ten days the Israeli leader would always speak about Iraq, its capabilities, and the needed consideration.

**Deputy Chief of the Army for Operations, Staff Lieutenant General Hussein Rashid:** Sir, the mullahs love to live, and that is why they keep sending over those lowlifes (rabble). That is why it is necessary that we constantly modify our weapons.

**Minister of Defense:** We should pursue everything that puts us in a better position. Once, `Abd al-Muhsin al-Kuraishi told me that `Abd al-Aziz Bin S'ud is among the ranks of very sly Arabs with many ideas. When `Abd al-Aziz Bin S'ud took over the Peninsula after fighting against the opposition, he gathered 20 to 30 of the (opposition) and allotted these people with a very comfortable guesthouse.

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And, you all know, what the Bedouin people own [*the quality of life of the Bedouin*]? So, he said to them, "My brothers, it is in our interest that you do not leave this location until the time is right, God willing, and that you trust in God." He then started to supply them with magnificent clothing, food, perfumes, as well as people to serve them. He let them live a very comfortable life, where meals were delivered to them three times a day. This lifestyle of theirs continued for roughly two years. After two years, he summoned them, talked to them, and apologized to them, saying, "All that has been done was for the welfare of the country; the previous situation required this precautionary measure that you stay here, that you receive good treatment and be pampered, and that you do not leave. Now the cause for these conditions has been eliminated. So, we apologize to you. This is your country; here is some money and you are free to go. "They were then dropped off at an intersection so that they could go back to their homes. One of them returned and asked to be sent back to the prison of Bin S'ud. The driver asked, "Where are you from?" He said, "We are among the ones that Bin S'ud slaughtered with a bar of soap [*killed with kindness*]". The driver said, "How did Bin S'ud slaughter you?" They explained to the driver what happened and said, "How will I be able to live now? I am going back to the prison of Bin S'ud. So, we can be slaughtered with a bar of his soap and we can slaughter him with a rocket. As long as the end result is the same before history and before us, and when the challenge presents itself, we will be ready for it, God willing."

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**Brigadier General Khalid:** Today the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs delivered a harsh criticism against Jacques Chirac.

**Minister of Defense:** France is a NATO member. However, its membership is for observation purposes, and is not mandatory. If the Soviets and the Americans ever join together, it will erode the European landscape - now we have figured out Europe. France considers itself to be the strongest European country and the most independent from the rest. This is a message sent out as a shot in the dark by Chirac's men, and the responses were anticipated. All of these were merely tests [*in regard to the situation*].

**Brigadier General Hussein Kamil – Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, to be honest, my personal point of view is that the war will stop when Iraq becomes capable of deeply harming the Iranians at the front lines - and not only at the front lines. Iraq has already harmed Iran at the front lines, quite a long time ago. Harming the enemy in locations deep inside Iran and in its cities [*is a way to*] reach the Milalis in Tehran, who do not see, do not hear, who are secluded in rooms, and do not care about the thousands who die there.

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As for us, we are smaller in area and smaller in terms of population and land. We are concerned for a single person who dies without justification. We execute people when they go astray, but our people are very precious to us and we try to protect them and we strive to help them live happily. The ability to harm Iran deep inside, in their main cities, as well as on the battlefield, is what is required of us.

⊗ [End of Side One]

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Currently, Iraq is considered the top country, in terms of production.

**Minister of Defense:** For that reason, they feel this is a bad omen. Your mortar production reached 40 thousand. This number is large and, today when you addressed this to President Leader.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** No, sir ... this is daily.

**Minister of Defense:** When we get supplies from China, the provisioning is for one to two years, that is, half a million or a quarter million bombs. So, if it were at 40 thousand per day, what would the monthly number be?

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission – Dr. Engineer `Amer Hammudi al-Sa'di:** One and a quarter million.

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**Minister of Defense:** Yes. Therefore, the number will be about 15 million in one year.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, there is a possibility that the number will be 50 thousand.

**Minister of Defense:** I am certain if the President Leader mentions this number on television, then several parties will express their views and say that the President of Iraq is exaggerating because of the pressures of the war.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** They will consider it to be mere propaganda.

**Minister of Defense:** Because, for one and a half to two years, China is under official contract to supply us with approximately 1/5 or 1/6 of this number — in about two years. And, then in one month, we produce more than 15 million.

**Minister of Defense:** We were able to manufacture the fuses.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, we manufacture a quantity, but it is little. And, now we have been asked to strengthen the capability. We produce them, however, in small quantities, and we modify the ones that are available in order to produce the impact fuses and the aerial burst for aircraft bombs, cannons, mortar, and rockets. All of this, God willing, will end in 1988.

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We will be in an excellent position. And you may remember, Sir, the munitions for the 155 mm cannons. The numbers were 300 million Iraqi dinars, taking between 7-8 years to finish the 300 thousands bomb in a year-long project, and 300 million dinars. That means we have spent one billion dollars to start the project after 7 - 8 years. We are now contracted along a similar line for perhaps – even more than 300 bombs. However, I do not wish to exaggerate too much. We will operate this line with approximately 6 million dollars, not dinars, and this line will start within 6 or 4 months, God willing. Currently this is not only an effort, but with the help of God, glory and praise to Him, this project will be made easy for us. We got this line fully operational mechanically for approximately 5 - 6 million, whereas France requested one billion dollars from us with an operational start date after 7 - 8 years. This line will now start in 5 months at most and maybe less. And, we have planned for this line to be functional with 5 - 6 million dollars to produce the 155 mm munitions. We also set up another line similar to it, but it cost us about 30 - 35 million dollars. Here is a new offer that we got and examined, and we thought it was good price. Therefore, we bought it. The price was 6 million dollars and it will produce the 155 mm munitions within the next few months. All of this is made possible due to the effort of all the workers.

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**Minister of Defense:** Four bombs were in place.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** No, they said they were aircraft bombs.

**Brigadier General Khalid:** There was a report from the military intelligence stating that they conducted an experiment and were only able to produce four bombs per day. So, in this battle we were able to produce 160 bombs each day?

**Minister of Defense:** What is the size, please?

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission:** Five hundred.

**Speaker:** I do not think any country can do that, except for the Americans and the Soviet Union, both of which are easily able to reach these numbers.

**Brigadier General Khalid:** I mean this is filling, not production, because we adopted last year's strategy after we saw a report that was published in a British magazine about a suggested strike on our installations. We received more than one signal making us responsible if a strike against us occurs. And what is its effect on us? They wrote an article where they said that Baghdad is planting the seeds of tragedy and they suggested launching a strike.

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**Minister of Defense:** The manufacturing issue is an open message for all parties benefiting from the continuation of the war regarding their military production, including our friends, the French. The Soviets or the Chinese, who are said to be two petroleum producing countries, are the exceptions. So the losses belong to the Islamic world or the Arab states, [who say], "Let's take their oil for a very insignificant price." But then the value of the dollar goes down, while these countries buy aircraft, cannons, bombs, ammunition, equipment, etc... They will undertake vigorous activity in order to arm and provide equipment for the fighting forces and for the others who want the war to continue, because they benefit from [its continuance]. They do not want this, although they pretend that they want the war to stop immediately and they seek to stop the flow of weapons to the warring parties. The Soviets want the war to continue in order to fulfill their obligations (wheat and technology), and so do the French because each transaction brings them several billion dollars. China also wants it to continue because both sides [Iran and Iraq] buy from it. It is the same when it comes to other military equipment from Britain, Bulgaria, and Romania. They all benefit from it. I have said this to our brothers in the armed forces and in my personal relationships. I said this is unbelievable; it is like a dream.

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**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, in the future we will say it.

**Minister of Defense:** Truthfully, when the number 40 thousand was mentioned by the Mr. President or perhaps you [*Military Industries Supervisor*], I went to the Logistics Department and said, "40 thousand must be the numbers for either the weekly or monthly production. But, 40 thousand in a day would be difficult [*to achieve*]." This is historic, and history will show great respect to every noble touch of expertise, and to everyone who built this great structure from his own location. And when the Mr. President spoke, may God keep both you and him well, I was surprised when he pointed for me to [*go to*] the microphone. A situation like this, at such an unusual gathering, requires a person to collect his thoughts, and it is only with difficulty that a person is able to collect himself. One of Britain's prime ministers once said, "Never has a civilization grown in the Mesopotamian countries without becoming tyrannical toward the other civilizations; therefore, don't allow another civilization to grow in Mesopotamia." In his meetings, the Mr. President, may God bless him, confirmed the depth of the culture, the historical authenticity, and confirmed our history and its relation to our present situation, as well as the outlook for the future through these facts. They studied history, and they have professors in their universities. Some of these professors, for example, are studying in British, French, and German universities, and they would like to obtain their doctorate degrees in Arabic.

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There are some people [*in foreign countries*] who study the history of the Arabs or the history of Islam while we can't even find sources available for us here. They, in certain areas, know more than what most Iraqis know about the formulation of Iraq and the Iraqi people. These are the facts that we have before us. They know there is a pure mineral that had some corrosion and erosion due to nature and now with gentle treatment, this mineral will regain its original luster and shine [*metaphorically speaking, Iraq has been through hardships but is now returning to glory*]. This is Iraq throughout history; whenever a good and effective government comes to power, it flourishes. Not only will it flourish, but it will flourish in an exceptional way. I label this exceptional case in what we have of radars and equipment that enables us to hear people who are thousands of miles away and who have superseded us by approximately 50 years of civilization.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, you see it [*the status of having an advanced civilization*] will return through installations. Yes, this is a situation that chokes them up [*the other civilizations*], where an advanced and courageous industry has begun in Baghdad.

**Brigadier General Khalid:** In reality, it is a sort of concealed threat against us, in order to force us to stop.

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**Minister of Defense:** Five days before the arrival of the Hussein rocket, a high level Israeli official stated, Israel will not wait for a tragedy to strike. This means that we must hit the manufacturing facilities of the Hussein rocket.”

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, now we have gone beyond their abilities and capacities. I think war has many benefits, which are achieved by active people. When people are active, the outcome will be great. When people are inactive, the outcome is poor. I think that Iraqis are active people due to the availability of all the requirements for being active people. It is true that Iraq borders several underdeveloped and divided countries, but if we can all get together then we will have good results. The Iraqis are working, and I have good examples of young men who are working; they are very joyful and astonishing examples. Others will not be able to accomplish the same in the same amount of time or with the same amount of money. However, we admonish the army, because they are not using all of the potential that they have.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu 'Ali, this is the witness of your brothers and mine, for they are present. One of the matters, which even came up in the last meeting with the President Leader, in which I asked you directly — and, the Air Force commander was there... I said, "I want the coordinates of the mortar for the target." As for your brothers in the Air Force, an airplane is not like a cannon, it needs daily maintenance and daily preparation.

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Even before the aircraft, there comes the human being which sits inside the (supersonic) jets, which are the (the standard of air fusion). In the world there are (3) sorties that he is allowed to take. During the fourth sortie they consider him to be (sluggish) because afterwards they strapped him in with the safety [*harness*] and with the release [*parachute*]. His eyes are on the one [*aircraft*] above and on the formation counting every fracture of a second. You know that when he climbs to the highest target in order to avoid being hit by the (Strela) rockets, he releases the (afterburner) and enters (supersonic) mode, which is in the range of 15 to 16 kilometers per minute. So, when he says (release now) with the third one, and then if he is late, the bomb will be (overshot) and about 500 meters away from the target.

**Army Aviation Director:** Five Kilometers, Sir.

**Minister of Defense:** Sorry, five kilometers. So now he has become a bundle of nerves.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Yes, he is human also; so he is afraid.

**Minister of Defense:** Fear, precision, and the other affecting conditions [*add up*], and then [*they add up even more when*] returning at night, via a helicopter during bad weather conditions. During the past two days, I was in Kirkuk, and the one who works during the night has to sleep during the day.

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And, during the day sometimes the gyroscope is 5 degrees off and he has to regulate it. We would like not to have a time interval between one bomb and the other at the battlefield. You are with us and you are aware of these things. And sometimes we look at the one bomb that we have as if it is a dream when it comes down and explodes on the ground. We and the brothers in the Air Force send you a copy of the targets that we are after and they get it done. I believe the large volume of this type of ammunition will bring results. If we are lucky of having good intelligence, good weather conditions, or maybe the enemy will give us with a good chance, the answer will be a strike with ten or 20 bombs. The Chief of Staff of the Army spoke passionately with me about the Air Force; they do not feel safe except when flying over this mountain range. Therefore, we asked for permission from the President Leader, and we formed a committee there similar to the Revolutionary Court, whose decision cannot be appealed. It consists of a representative from the Air Force, and they will respect his views, another from the military intelligence, and a representative from the general command. The committee will prioritize the targets, excluding abandoned targets. The technical equipment will inform us that in a certain location the outcome is not conclusive and additional waves [*of attacks*] are needed. And so, we take care of them one after the other. In my opinion, if it were not for these blessed strikes they would have continued their attack.

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**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, we operate with a mind of a fighter, as if we are in the front.

**Minister of Defense:** Yes, you live the situation.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Had we operated at a lesser degree, our enthusiasm would not have reached this level and our production would not have been at this magnitude. We continue with the production and continue to improve upon it. We believe in the importance of utilizing the firing ability, including the Air Force and all kinds of firing, because a human can be killed by a small piece of shrapnel or by a bullet. Now, this is the [*same*] human who achieved the unattainable, Sir, he will collapse in moments as a result of continuous bombing. We excel in our firing ability and the Iranians excel in the number of people, but at the end of the [*combat*] firing wins over [*amounts of*] people. Therefore, if the combat fire hit them directly it will kill them. For this, Sir, our enthusiasm and reaction come from believing in that, as we are fighting. Though we are not fighting on the actual front, we simply did not have the honor to participate. However, we believe that we conduct our work with the same mindset and feeling of a warrior who is on the front.

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**Minister of Defense:** The most important thing in combat is to deliver all the means to inflict death to as many of the enemy as possible into the hands of your brothers. This is what I consider the combat front.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** However, Sir, the one who faces combat fire directly is different than the one who is far from it.

**Minister of Defense:** It has been a while since I went to the north. But yesterday I noticed while I was in the plane that (Sayed Sadiq) was below us and the sun was diagonal. We lived this situation yesterday, and when the army aviation director mentioned it, I said, "I was in Sayed Sadiq and the region of Halabja — [*covered*] in darkness." I told him, "Leave the division's sector and go and inspect the region". He said, "Yes." I saw it, but we did not have ground equipment in the region, which would direct the pilot to either go up or go down. And, being unable to see each other, he was worried about dropping a load on our own people because the [*amount of ground covered in an*] error of even a split minute may be dangerous, because he entered the area and exited from it within 6 seconds. But, thank God, thanks to the effort of our people, we were able to overcome this dilemma.

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**Military Industries Supervisor:** God willing, Iraqi weapons will be that which ends this war.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali [*Hussein Kamil*], you need a helicopter in the northern region.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, God willing, [*we can deal with that*] after we finish with the issues that we have.

**Minister of Defense:** Because a helicopter has sustainability and good armament.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, we feel and live the battle conditions. This is what makes us act quickly. Helicopters, and their importance, and specific weapons and their importance, well, these are things that we are working on, God willing.

**Minister of Defense:** God willing, because our helicopter's armament is weak, even if it related to the 20 mm cannon.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** The Army Aviation Director does not tell Your Excellency about the things that we have done.

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Tape Number: 3

Date of Tape: March 24 1988

Attendants

1. General, Staff Pilot 'Adnan Khayrallah – Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces, Minister of Defense.
2. Staff Lieutenant General Nizar `Abd al-Karim al-Khazraji – Army Chief of Staff of the Army
3. Brigadier General Hussein Kamil – Military Industries Supervisor
4. Dr. `Amer Hammudi al-Sa'di – Chairman of the Military Industries Commission
5. Staff Major General, Pilot Al-Hakam Hasan 'Ali – Army Aviation Director
6. Brigadier General, Dr. Fa'iz `Abdallah Shahin – Al-Muthana Establishment Director

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**Military Industries Supervisor (Brigadier General Hussein Kamil):** We have met with the Army Aviation director more than once, and we have heard nothing from him, nor have you, Your Excellency, except for the preparations and the arrangements that we made for him.

**Army Aviation Director:** No, I swear, we did not do that.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** His Excellency, the Minister, has no knowledge of this.

**Army Aviation Director:** No, he knows about the cluster bombs issue.

**Minister of Defense:** So, why don't you use the cluster bombs? This is the time.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** We made all cluster bombs and systems for you and for the Air Force.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali, inform me so that we should not burden him in its protection.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** I swear, I believe, Sir. (Laughter)

**Army Aviation Director:** Abu-'Ali, my aircraft are finished.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Now, how are you going to mount the 122 mm missile onto a helicopter? This type should be sent to helicopters.

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**Army Aviation Director:** Abu-'Ali, I met with the Chief of Staff of the Army one day in Al-Sulaymaniyah and we watched the *Victory Battle* film. In that film I saw the R35 guided missile.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Along with the systems also. We have made many things for the Army Aviation. Our people love to work with Army Aviation and have no problem doing so. The Army Aviation cooperates with us, but they do not say what have they done for us? What have they manufactured for us?

**Minister of Defense:** No, I swear Abu-'Ali, they gave us the complete picture of it. But in order to avoid over-burdening him, Hakam (Staff Major General Al-Hakam Hasan 'Ali) kept it away from us.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** That is possible... (Laughter) By God, Sir, today we have bothered you and have taken much of your time.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali, we are very happy with what we have heard.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** We are ready for everything that you ask of us.

**Minister of Defense:** Our great appreciation goes to all men of the organization. God willing, we wish them success and peace. God willing, we will reward you with that which you ask for and that which is possible. Blessings be upon you. You did not fall behind. God willing, this and even more will move forward peacefully. We have nothing [to deal with] for the other brothers. God willing and let us rely on God.

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**Military Industries Supervisor:** God willing, we will receive [*things*] in a few days.

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission (Dr. Engineer 'Amer Hammudi al-Sa'di):** Sir, in regard to the Hussein contract, the General Command needs to [*be able to*] spend it because the amount is quite large.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** If Your Excellency would look at the installation now, [*you would see that*] we have no space for storage, except for these small things and spaces between the machines. The boxes are now piling higher than the machines. We have a huge quantity of these boxes.

**Minister of Defense:** We will search for a suitable location for them.

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission:** Yes, Sir, we are in a need of that.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Not good [*news*], but we have now sent a person to China and another person to Bulgaria. He will buy all of the available fuses and will send them to us and the Yugoslavians. We will only be self-reliant when our lines start operating.

**Minister of Defense:** Has China pulled back during this period?

**Military Industries Supervisor:** They sent us one of the 82 fuses. It was defective. Now we sent a delegation over there [*to China*].

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Whatever we can get [*from them*] we will take. I do not know if the error was deliberate or not. The notch that is in [*this fuse*] is different.

**Minister of Defense:** By God, they are serious.

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission:** They proposed to [*offer*] us more than one million of the 82 [*type*] and the 86 [*type*]; half-a-million [*of the one*] and half-a-million [*of the other*].

**Military Industries Supervisor:** New now. Even the contracts that we signed for are more than what we need until 1988. However, some delay occurs in the supply. Otherwise, this is more than what we need.

**Minister of Defense:** This is a political strategy. They are malicious.

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission:** Yes, they want payment in arrears, and unless we pay they will not supply us with what we have requested.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** They know this. They know that we have started manufacturing and they gave us defective ones [*fuses*], in order to force us to ask them for the ammunition. But now let's do it very quickly so we can save, although our signed contracts are much more than what we need for [*the year*] 1988.

**Minister of Defense:** I have confirmation that we are sending them 40 million each month.

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**Military Industries Supervisor:** To China?

**Minister of Defense:** Yes, to China.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** We sent them 600 million at one time, it was signed for.

**Minister of Defense:** They came a few days ago and said that they will not leave without taking some. So, I wrote to the President Leader and said to His Excellency that they were supposed to go back two weeks ago and yet they remain in the hope that they will obtain something. They will not leave here empty-handed, and this is impossible.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** I think that this has something to do with the fuse issue.

**Minister of Defense:** What did you do?

**Military Industries Supervisor:** They made them from left to right or from right to left. This way we were not able to duplicate [*the fuses*] and repair them. We sent for them and they saw [*what we are saying*]. Now we have a group that went to China. We have 40 thousand from Bulgaria. We sent an airplane for that and it has the new kind of fuses.

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**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission:** Now they make them here.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Yes. There is no problem. They saw it and they saw that we have lots of contracts.

**Minister of Defense:** I believe the approvals are in place. They are only looking at the rockets.

**Army Aviation Director:** I have nothing other than this study.

**Minister of Defense:** Do you mean this cluster bomb?

**Army Aviation Director:** That is the only one [*topic*] remaining.

**Minister of Defense:** Without the container?

(Unclear words)

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission:** We had thought to go through the Soviet Union, and they told us to do whatever we want.

**Chief of Staff of the Army:** Dr. 'Amer al-Sa'di, frankly, if they do not manufacture them for us, then we will end up spending as much as if you were working on them. The idea was to conduct an experiment on them in the heights of the Abu-Ghrayb region.

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We will launch them by cannons at a distance. Now we have 4 airplanes and we can launch them to a distance of 200-300 meters.

**Minister of Defense:** Doctor, we have no problem with it.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** We have no problem with it. The issue of the bases is the only one. You had an objection on the explosion so we told them that this explosion is the maximum of what could be expected from an explosion.

**Minister of Defense:** (Unclear words).

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, it does not exist. There is no jurisdiction. After that, we received a letter from the General Command asking us to form an Industries committee. We told them that they have been manufactured and that the results are not acceptable.

**Minister of Defense:** They took the specifications from overseas and said that they already had it, if it is not exactly the same then it is 75% the same.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** No, Sir. They are the same features. They resemble each other and do not differ from each other, not even one centimeter.

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[Pages 31-37 of the Arabic document are missing. The page before is page 30 of the Arabic document and this one is page 38]

**Minister of Defense:** After that, we have to work according to them [*unspecified since the page before is missing*]. This is in regard to munitions. They did not tell us that this American aircraft had a cannon, with a load capacity of 3 tons and that its ammunition is assembled in a clip, containing 200 rounds, and that it is capable of firing the ammunitions using the artillery. It can also use thermal [*sensing*]. It would be able to strike all the vehicles that are on the roads. If the task is to go after one camp, tents, and the piles of ammunition, then it will be able to cause a lot of damage with minimal effort. When the army aviation is guided properly, it is able to execute excellently with good results.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** We have the launchers, and we have been able to manufacture them and we know that they are explosive. We strike this river with this type well and systematically, and according to this context and actions, it [*either "the aviation" or "the ammunition"*] might work out very well.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali, please conduct an examination; it is within your capabilities, and test it out in the H-3 [*Ramadi*] region.

(Unclear words)

**Minister of Defense:** Sometimes, for example, during combat in the north, our soldiers want to strike with this weapon but are unable to do so. During combat, they are unable to ignite the fuse, and neither can they do this [*an airstrike cannot be done either*].

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**Military Industries Supervisor:** Up until now, orders have not been received - up until yesterday.

**Chief of Staff of the Army:** I sent it yesterday, Abu 'Ali.

**Chairman of the Military Industries Commission:** I wish you came and visited the installations.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Even if they did come, there is an officer present.

**Minister of Defense:** The tanks are barely able to move, and there is someone there to direct.

**Army Aviation Director:** Sir, we worked together with the group.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Whoever fired says that he manufactured (laughter)

**Army Aviation Director:** No, we did not manufacture anything. We are not capable of manufacturing anything.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** This shows that you are sensitive.

**Army Aviation Director:** Sir, they manufactured a lot. We went to visit their exhibition and we told them that we had binoculars. They told us to send it to them and we did. They were able to manufacture one just like it.

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We have some remarks in regards to it. He said, "As it is every time." We said, "No, we have a binocular that we paid for and it will receive it. When the binocular arrives, we will give it to you in order for you to compare it with what you have produced."

**Military Industries Supervisor:** The first production will definitely have some remarks, but the situation makes one calculate.

**Minister of Defense:** That is true. The binocular costs approximately 2000 dinars.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** By God, Sir, I have no idea about the issue; we did not consider it.

**Minister of Defense:** One like this, how much does it cost?

**Al-Muthanna Installation General Manager, Dr. Fa'iz `Abdallah Shahin:** This is in the past.

**Minister of Defense:** But Doctor, let's assume that this is for the first fifty or for the first one hundred. So, if the production is like this, why was there no contract signed with you, so that you may produce 5 thousand for them.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Its price is on an annual basis. Its cost will be reduced because we will make the lenses. We signed a contract to produce the lenses rather than import them.

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**Army Aviation Director:** Sir, we bought about 1.5 million.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** We used this million completely incorrectly to manufacture them. And we'll add to it another amount.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali, I am telling you we need binoculars for the helicopters and we need binoculars for the snipers.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, we supplied them with that.

**Minister of Defense:** We need more. If we receive 4 every month, when they are set in the direction of the enemy in a smaller size so the [*Iraqi*] soldier can see them [*the Iranians*] running across the highest point while they are convinced that nobody can see them or shoot them.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, truthfully in principle we want them, and the orders are not available. So we remain limited.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali, I am telling you that all the tanks need it. The commander of the tank needs a telescope, and so does the gunner dealing with the canon and the machine gun.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, any samples we manufacture are similar to them.

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**Minister of Defense:** Every tank and [*troop*] carrier needs a binocular, because they reach it [*unspecified*] and it strikes them. But, if it is seen on the open field at a distance of one kilometer, then it could engage and make it possible to operate the tank as if it were daytime. Otherwise, he would not be able to lift his head and engage the tank on the screen, seeing the enemy at a distance of 1 kilometer only. Whereas now, when approached, they conduct hand to hand combat if they are within 200 meters of the location. They cannot even do that unless they are right next to each other. But, when the gunner sees him at night, the monitoring person will be able to deal with the night as if it were daytime through the binocular.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** By God, Sir, they wasted the time. I wish they asked for this [*before*] when the manufacturing necessities had been available in large quantities, (which was the case) for 7 or 8 months. Despite this, we will work on this, God willing.

**Minister of Defense:** A subject that receives feedback (notes) is normal; there is nothing wrong with that.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, we currently benefit from it in development.

**Minister of Defense:** Why? Those producing now, didn't they establish one or two signs? The Santorini tank, I think is 9 signs and so is the Hunter aircraft. They watch the substance and they substitute it with another substance and so on.

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**Minister of Defense:** The pilot is able to operate the Ilyushin and abroad, and whatever information he can get is beneficial. We have it in this form, this is an example, we give you the old one, you maintain it and return it to us and we will end up with the next generation and so on.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** There is a benefit in this, Sir.

**Minister of Defense:** Now if you are able to manufacture it, [*then*] the soldier will benefit from it; he would be able to see his enemy from a far distance.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** In the north and in the south he will be able to put it on at night and then pull it back during the day so he does not destroy it. We can also manufacture this in phases, depending on the location. But the cameras have not arrived. He can work with it at night and it can be distributed and placed around the battalion commander.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali, we should give this one to the brigade commander to use it in a central location of the regiments' sectors, saying, "They are coming from the left," and the other one replies, "One minute." Then, he will turn the camera in that direction and engage the enemy with all of the weapons.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** He observes and records on a video tape to be broadcasted and then analyzed so that he can figure out the situation.

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It is also possible for him to send the audio to a person in the rear. It reaches 5 kilometers and sometimes even further. It is located near the commander of the regiment or the commander of the company and they will all move forward. It began recording what we did, which the French did not. It is sent in one moment. We can possibly go back to review it and analyze it at any time. We don't have to chase it in order to get it. The person could be sleeping or not paying a lot of attention [*while*] it is recording and no one knows. The tape is available and indicates what was there, according to the analysis.

**Minister of Defense:** Abu-'Ali, at that time, Dr. Yasir will be working on a plan to show its features and specifications. It is possible that one of the people in session will be the inventor; you give him one as an example and it could be for all the produced segments, complying with all varieties it has, as well as the specifications established by the production group.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, this is important for you to study and to watch.

**Minister of Defense:** At the beginning of the year, the British military attaché sends me a certain type at the Ministry of Defense. I talk with him at length about the defense production and the equipment we have for our advancement in warfare and the military training for all other specializations. He seems very happy, but that does not mean he will make it for you right now.

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**Military Industries Supervisor:** No, Sir, we made it and we want to sell it.

**Minister of Defense:** Yes, and it is possible for us to overcome the defect, God willing.

**Military Industries Supervisor:** I told him about this; we will work on implementing some improvements to it and we will make samples, the same way they do, and we will cancel the imports. Instead of the million dollars that we give them, we will buy a boot factory to make different boots. Boots for the north, boots for the parades, boots for the combat, and another making [*illegible*] for the soldiers. If we wait for the government we will not be able to make anything. The government is not in good shape and cannot deal with these fields. But the private sector can, and all what they need is for us to come forward and give them the approval, saying, "Here is one million dollars, go buy the machines and we will write you a contract." They will realize the need for this and sign the contract and thus we will get rid of the need to import, because it is cheaper and we will guide them as our needs dictate.

**Minister of Defense:** (Unclear words).

**Military Industries Supervisor:** We tell them to build a factory while they have the money, and we will give them a portion of the money to start the factory.

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**Minister of Defense:** By God, Abu-‘Ali, I spoke with you and with the Command, and the other day with the President Leader, (May God preserve him). They all spoke and I asked them, “Is there another spokesman?”

**Military Industries Supervisor:** In every place there is petroleum and it is beneficial.

(Unclear words)

**Military Industries Supervisor:** Sir, this boots and socks manufacturing is for winter and requires protocols and procedures for the sample and supply manager to come to us, and we need to obtain approval from the council to transfer the funds over to the private sector. You want a shoe factory; we will build it according to the specifications and even better. The matter requires funds and afterward we will finish with this problem. We manufacture undershirts and berets.

**Minister of Defense:** When the department of armament and supplies markets such a number for you, that number is justified, because when we achieve these necessities and we receive the bombs, we will put them in warehouses. It is not logical to take aircraft and rockets, and place them among socks, berets and other things.

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No.	Rank	Full Name	Position	Signature
1	Retired Staff Major General	Hazim Salih Dawoud al-Janabi	Chairperson	[signed]
2	Retired Staff Major General	Subhi Mahmoud al-Nu'aيمي	Member	[signed]
3	Retired Staff Major General	Qays Muhammad 'Ali Jasim	Member	[signed]
4	Retired Staff Major General	Salman Hamed ` Abdallah	Member	[signed]
5	Retired Staff Brigadier General	Brigadier Tariq 'Inad al-Shimmari	Member	[signed]
6	Retired Staff Brigadier General	Adel Mahumd Mazhur	Member	[signed]
7	Retired Staff Brigadier General	Abd al-Min'im Muhyi al-Din	Member	[signed]
8	Brigadier General	Abd al-Rahman Mahdi Salih	Member	[signed]
9	Staff Brigadier General	Ghadanfar Mahdi Jasim	Member	[signed]
10	Pilot Brigadier General	Brigadier Muhammad Isma'il Mustafa	Member	[signed]
11	Captain	Nuhad Zakir Ahmad al-Duri	Representative of the Military Security Department	[signed]