"Transcript of a Meeting between Saddam Hussein and the Armed Forces General Command"

Summary: This document is a transcript of a meeting between Saddam Hussein and the Armed Forces General Command focusing on the Iran-Iraq War and Iraqi regional affairs. In the meeting, Saddam Hussein also discusses the Arab-Israeli conflict and the importance of nuclear weapons for Israel's deterrence capability.

Document Date: 22 November 1980

CRRC Record Number: SH-SHTP-D-000-856

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

Page 2 PDF

Top Secret

General Military Intelligence Director: The 1st Brigade of the 81st Division is present there, and if it is still the same arrangement they had prior to the beginning of the operations, I mean before the war started, the 81st Armored Division was distributed as follows: one brigade in Kailan area, one brigade toward Sarbil-e-Zahab and the other brigade in Islamabad. The division was supported by some units from the 77th Infantry Division and it is the one that carried out these attacks.

President Leader: (On the phone with the Minister of Information)
Yes…hello…Connect me with him…Hello…God bless you…When? I haven't seen him… yes...yes...Ha? Yes, I called them in the morning because my stomach was hurting and I was afraid that it is the same pain as in the past. Then we stopped by their school, that's all…I didn't go anywhere to be back from it…Yes...yes…there is nothing else. Welcome.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: I have also been sick for the last four days since the day of the meeting.

President Leader: Huh? They told me that you have a cold.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Although it is a cold, it crippled me completely.

President Leader: This is because of old age.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: True, Sir.

President Leader: Why do human beings deny this fact, huh? (He then addresses the Army Chief of Staff and says), what do you have about today's situation?

Army Chief of Staff: The situation of the 12th Armored Division is good. Our helicopters were unable to function because of the weather conditions.

President Leader: Didn't they calculate their losses?

Army Chief of Staff: 12 dead as observed with the naked eye.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: However, the quantity of seized weapons indicates that their losses are nearly five times greater than that. Moreover, the weapons seem to belong to the injured who were evacuated.

Army Chief of Staff: It seems like they were unable to evacuate their dead people in the dark, since the battle took place at night. Therefore, they gave priority to evacuating the wounded, and that is normal during war. It seems that these are weapons that the wounded left at the battlefield, in addition to the weapons of the dead, which included one mortar gun, one machine gun, and 12 rifles—same as the number of the dead.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: The total is over 60 pieces of weapons.

Political Guidance Office Director: This number was not mentioned in the report; rather, it was mentioned as a large number of weapons.

General Military Intelligence Director: It has been mentioned in the morning situation report that they were two medium machine guns type (Brno).

Army Chief of Staff: I believe they will return to the area to evacuate their dead people. Also, I instructed the commander of the air force and air defense to prevent the enemy's aircraft and helicopters from attacking our troops there—especially when they are still in the reorganization phase and fear that the enemy will exploit this situation. As for the artillery shelling, it is ongoing over the entire area.

President Leader: It seems that the weather conditions had served them on this day.

Army Chief of Staff: Yes, Sir. The bad weather conditions this day had prevented us and them, as well, from flying. When we inquired about the situation this morning, they said that there is artillery shelling by mortars only. So, I told them that the mortars are not always effective, and this is a normal situation.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Their losses in weapons and equipment are as follows: 2 Browning anti-air machine guns, 2 medium machine guns, 2 light machine guns, 6 RPG launchers, 21 GC rifles, 4 Brno rifles, 2 60 mm mortar guns, Doshka machine gun, 2 rocket launching bases, 1 anti-tank gun, and 3 signal equipment.

Army Chief of Staff: I believe that their casualties are not less than 36-40 wounded who were evacuated, and 12 dead.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: I look at the Brno rifle as an indication of the presence of Kurds among them. I mean, from the tribes.

Army Chief of Staff: Proof of the presence of tribes [*fighting*] with them is the Brno rifle, which proves the presence of irregular troops.

President Leader: It seems that they had Kurds with them because they [*Kurds*] believe in the Brno rifle more than any other weapon.

General Military Intelligence Director: That is to benefit from its range, as this rifle is distinguished by its long range, Sir.

Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army for Operations: From the range and sound as well.

President Leader: And he is comfortable with it.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Yes, Sir.

General Military Intelligence Director: As a matter of fact, the Brno rifle is more useful for defense.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: As for our people, they respect the Vicars machine gun, in particular (The Arabs are meant here), and they describe its firing as shrills. It really sounds like shrills and its sound is completely different from any other machine gun.

General Military Intelligence Director: Usually, the defender requires range, while the attacker requires heavy fire. However, this rifle does not provide heavy fire; rather, a Kalashnikov would.

President Leader: What is the situation of the Al-Khaffajiyah force now?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sir, I called the brother, the Corps Commander a while ago and I learned that he went there, to the division. It looks as if they have completed all preparations today and it is possible that they will begin the operation tonight or at the break of dawn tomorrow. However, the Corps Operations Chief of Staff is not fully clear on the exact timing. All he knows is that they will begin the operation, but as far as the exact time, he is awaiting the return of the Corps Commander to his post in order to learn from him the final information and inform us, although they have allocated a few mine flails for them and a number of helicopters and other additional things.

President Leader: It looks like the big bubbles began surfacing among the members of the Iranian leadership.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: They cannot conceal contradiction. Sir, Abu-`Ammar [*Yasir Arafat*] arrived today. Didn't they inform Your Excellency of that?

President Leader: Yes, indeed they informed me of that while I was on my way here today.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Also, Waldheim's envoy arrived as well, accompanied by Dr. `Ismat Kittani.

President Leader: Is Abu-`Ammar suggesting that the summit be deferred?

Mr. Tariq Aziz: I don't know about that, Sir, as I have not met with him yet. He is accompanied by comrade Na'im Haddad right now.

President Leader: He is a bluffer.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: He is evading politics.

President Leader: This is dodging itself. Otherwise, why is he touring now to postpone the summit? What he is trying to achieve by his tours is wasting time until he can achieve what he wants, which is not to hold this summit.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: I inquired about those accompanying him on this visit and they told me none [*were accompanying*] except for his bodyguards.

President Leader: Yes. The purpose of all this is dodging because he is a bluffer.

As for us, we can delay him until the summit (His Excellency laughs). We shall ask him when we meet with him if the reason for his visit is to evade attending. If the answer is yes, we will tell him that we can claim that we didn't see him now, rather until two days from this date.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sir, I heard in one of the newscasts yesterday that Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi addressed a snappy criticism to `Abd-al-Halim Khaddam [*Former Syrian Vice President*].

Head of the Diwan: They met yesterday.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: They met during a meeting that was supposed to last one hour.

President Leader: A bilateral meeting.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: Why?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: I have no idea. This is what I heard on the news. I learned also that the meeting took place at the airline office at the Sheraton Hotel, although there is an office for the airline at the same hotel.

President Leader: He was not supposed to meet with this despicable person!

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: But. Sir, from the way the news was worded, it sounds as if the aforesaid is the one who is adamant about this meeting.

President Leader: Yes, adamant, this is always their habit.

Their intent is to maneuver with the reactionary countries [*regimes*] and instill fear in them that their relations with Iraq are still ongoing and not severed. (His Excellency changes the topic saying) It seems as if there is no action or activity at the General Command of the Armed Forces now (his Excellency laughs).

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: On the contrary, Sir, we are busy now preparing the studies.

President Leader: Yes.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sir, we were supposed to go out with some brothers to visit some of the divisions' sectors. However, the minister wishes that we stay here to study the issue of our attack on Abadan.

President Leader: Did the Comrade, Minister of Defense stop by here this morning?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: No, Sir, but he called us from his office.

President Leader: Yes, I think he should not bother himself.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Yes, Sir, although he is in his office now.

President Leader: What is today's date?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: 11/22/1980.

President Leader: It looks like the Iranians have become less stringent recently than they have been in the past.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: It seems as if some entity has advised them of the necessity for political maneuvering. Therefore, they are trying to make their acceptance of the 1975 agreements appear to be a compromise on their part, although there is a letter or a report submitted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, following the meeting with the deputy minister and the Algerian ambassador, where the ambassador asked him about Iraq's comments on their stance, which he considered friendly, etcetera... As if trying to establish good relations, which is supposed to always be their attitude. Yet, their position [*the Iranians*'] remains as is, where they say a few phrases that give the impression of being our friends and harboring love for us, while their official stance is still harmful to us.

President Leader: I think you should call the Algerian ambassador or entrust the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Yes, Sir. Also, there is one aspect of the statement they issued stating that, "We call upon Iraq and Iran to negotiate according to the 1975 agreement." Considering that they have no right to say that, because they are not a mediating party responsible for that. Algeria's role as the arbitrator in the 1975 agreement ended at the time that the agreement was announced, although this was mentioned in the text of the agreement where it says, "In case of disagreement during the implementation of the agreement, but not after…" But, for them to play the arbitrator's role after five years is out of the question. Besides, the agreement is null. Therefore, they could have said, "The two countries have to resolve their differences by peaceful means or any other venue," which is something any country can say. Yet, to define a certain language means they are taking a position in favor of Iran.

President Leader: Call for the Algerian ambassador tomorrow.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Yes.

President Leader: And tell him that if they want our comments, here they are. Also, tell him that their announcement was extremely bad. Afterward, their media became better, but their diplomacy became deceitful.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: What is the status on Yasser Arafat's Abu-`Ammar plane?

President Leader: What?

Head of the Diwan: Sir, Damascus International Airport called Baghdad International Airport to ask them whether there is a private plane that will be taking off from Baghdad to Damascus, while there are no planes to fly from Baghdad International Airport, currently. All our planes fly from Amman.

President Leader: This is a deceitful maneuver.

Head of the Diwan: Exactly, Sir.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Careless.

President Leader: The Syrians are a big headache.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: The Iraqi-Jordanian coalition scares Syria.

President Leader: Very much.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Especially that their situation is shaky.

President Leader: While when they were in an alliance or the entire world was forming alliances, we did not care. Furthermore, we never, at any time, feared any alliance whether the U.S. joined in alliance with the Soviet Union or China, or if Syria joined in alliance with the entire world.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sir, perhaps you overheard that Al-Sadat called Hafez Assad and Chadli Bendjedid, and Chadli Bendjedid called Muammar Gaddafi and then later Gaddafi called Hafez Assad.

Army Chief of Staff: That is what the newscasts reported today.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Besides, the coalitions of the Syrian regime are all for inside bluffing. In other words, they play tricks on each other.

President Leader: It is true that they are bluffing and that is why no one trusts the other, and it seems like the consolidated [*Arab*] union project has been set aside at an early stage before its anticipated timeframe.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: (Addressing the Head of the Diwan saying) Tariq, I passed through Abu-Al-Nawwas Street, and just before I turned toward the hanging bridge, I saw very old homes there that were occupied by poor families and they were in a pitiful condition. Therefore, I find it proper that we look into finding residential lots to distribute to them free of charge and force the original owners of those homes to demolish them and build new, good homes instead.

Head of the Diwan: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Sir, I believe they are owned by those same poor families.

President Leader: Huh?

Head of the Diwan: And they are waiting to own them, Sir.

President Leader: I inquired into this and I was assured that they are rented to them and not their property. Therefore, the tenant will be given a residential lot.

Head of the Diwan: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: And force the original owner to rebuild them because they are located on a key [*main*] street.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: And if he cannot rebuild them, he should sell them.

President Leader: He should build them according to the Arab Islamic design, and if he does not have the means to build them, all we have to do is buy them for what they are worth.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: I say to instruct the [*Ministry of*] Tourism to buy them because they are in a beautiful area, Sir.

President Leader: We should not extort the property from its owner without a valid reason. Therefore, we should ask him to rebuild it along the guidelines of the Arab Islamic style. He should do that.

Head of the Diwan: Yes.

President Leader: And if they do not have the means to fulfill this requirement, all we have to do is appraise it, pay them the price, and we own it.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: This area is located at the neck of the Tigris River, which is the most beautiful area along the river bank.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Especially since there is a group of buildings with apartments overlooking a vast part of Baghdad because they are above the ground level and have a view.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: That is true.

President Leader: It seems that Syria, as usual, made a big fuss and threatened. However, it will eventually participate in this summit. This is what our Minister of Foreign Affairs said. We know these bluffers very well by now. In the past eight months, rather, the past year or so, we have become well acquainted with their character.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: But, Sir, one of Syria's demands was honored, although it should have not been considered, which is postponing the conference time until the 1100 hour of this day for negotiation purposes and to reconsider a potential rescheduling of the summit. This means that giving them this opportunity is viewed as recognizing that the others have the intention to push back, whereas the 16 states had no intention to reschedule.

President Leader: (Addressing the Head of the Diwan saying) and Tariq.

Head of the Diwan: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: Sometimes we receive information that so and so, from a certain embassy, had offered us such weapons, and so on.

Or as if someone is saying that he is willing to provide us with such and such, etcetera...That is why there must be a set language for all of our representatives [*missions*] abroad. Thus, anyone who offers his willingness to supply Iraq with military equipment, weapons, etcetera...-There is no need to preoccupy us with this. First, we are supposed to have all the details about the nature of such weapons, type, quantity, timeframe of armament and its particular scheduling, as well as pricing and guarantees, etcetera...

Head of the Diwan: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: Until it is confirmed to all and finalized to a certain degree, and then tell us about it, because war dealers and war profiteers will knock on our doors all day long and occupy us for no need and of no avail, since this is their day and their best opportunity right now.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: Yes, Sir, if they have the opportunity. I have looked carefully into it.

President Leader: Tariq, it seems that the Libyan Public Works Minister, who is visiting Cuba currently, had offered to buy Cuban exports without any limitation. In addition to that, he offered to double the work contracts. The main purpose behind this visit is to ask Cuba to go against Iraq and aid Iran. The Cubans said that they refused this request when Iran came directly to them with this request. They believed they are capable of buying all people with money.

Mr. Izzat Ibrahim, Deputy Revolutionary Command Council President: And they are lavishly giving away money!

President Leader: Tell me, did any of those (bloody) weapon dealers come forward to offer his weapons?

Army Chief of Staff: Sir, when those individuals come forward with their offers, they exaggerate about their capabilities (they make everything sound so sweet) [*the exact translation of this saying is, "They let the river water run as if it were honey"*]. Yet, when we call upon them to furnish what they have promised, they waste time with poor excuses such as going to inquire about a particular issue and coming back with the precise answer, etcetera...And so on. Therefore, we have not yet received anything they promised. For example, the Greek guy who sent us a letter promising to provide us with 20 thousand 155 mm gun shells and 5 thousand 175 mm gun shells, after we agreed to his offer, we asked him to give us just their codes or names, and prepare the related contract. He has not, however, provided us with it.

President Leader: Even though the communication with Greece was through the government.

Army Chief of Staff: After that, we put aside the code and we settled for presenting a contract to be signed by him. Yet, he kept delaying by giving lame excuses such as the company will prepare it tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, and so on. Up to this date, this transaction has not been finalized and we have not yet received the contract to be signed.

President Leader: I called the Minister of Oil a while ago to ask him whether we have allocated Iraqi oil for them, so that we can cancel it. There is no need for such courteous behavior.

Army Chief of Staff: Yes.

Revolutionary Command Council Deputy Director: But, we have to make sure, first, if we are falling behind in terms of following up.

Minister of Defense: Sir, the Greeks have sent us many letters in this regard from the first day of the war.

President Leader: Yes, but where are they?

Army Chief of Staff: But where are they? They do not exist.

Minister of Defense: What I am concerned about is that this operation becomes the excuse they use to destroy our relationship with them.

President Leader: But how long do we have to be patient with this?

Army Chief of Staff: If they send the contract right now, we would sign it immediately, although their ambassador in Baghdad alleged that he called them and they are studying the contract there, etcetera... And so on, and so forth of excuses.

President Leader: (His Excellency picks up the phone that is ringing saying) Hello…God help you, Muhammad, how are you? Welcome. Perhaps the Comrade, the Minister of Defense, Abu-Qahtan asked to talk to you.

Minister of Defense: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: Through the palace operator.

Army Chief of Staff: There was the idea of entrusting one of the Jordanian ambassadors to buy us ammunition from South Korea. However, this attempt turned out to be useless. Also, we learned that the Yugoslavs called for our ambassador there to meet with him, and I believe that the minister talked to them about that and said they will contact their government to inform us of the outcome later on.

However, we have not received yet their response. Moreover, the Bulgarians, during the visit of Comrade Na'im Haddad there, made contracts for some things that are doable, and although they are fractional, they are saying the road is not safe now, and they are trying to identify another road. They might send them via Ras al-Rajaa Al-Saleh or delay them for some time.

President Leader: (A phone call between His Excellency and the Minister of Oil) Hello…May God help you, how are you...May God bless you…What is the status of the oil shipments that you have…? Who is getting the first shipment…? The Turks followed by France… And who is getting the next shipment? The Yugoslavs then the Romanians, after that the Spanish followed by the Italians…? Okay, no problem with this order…You mean, the first shipment left today…Now, the oil is already in the pipes, but what are the financial gains we will have from this now? This will be allocated to Staff General `Abd-al-Jabbar Shanshal and the surplus will be allocated to us...Yes, well done! God willing, tomorrow...Have you talked to the Greeks? Those bluffers! Have you allocated a share of the oil for them? Have you told them that…? I don't see why we should not inform them of this.

Minister of Defense: (A verbal interjection by His Excellency saying) Sir, I say that we allocate a share for them.

President Leader: I say that you request a meeting with their ambassador to tell them that life is about interests and we are in a state of war. Besides, why would we provide them with oil? They did not provide us with the weapons and ammunitions that we asked them for and we will not provide them with oil. Therefore, they have to present what they have, as we have not received any of the things they promised to offer during the war since the first week.

They have always stated that they are ready, but as soon as the war continued, they began lagging in fulfilling their promise. So, why are we going after them, and why should we when we're going after nothing?! Thus, you have to hand us a list of the military equipment that you can provide us with in order for us to provide you with our oil list. Tell him this, "Give me your list so I can give you mine." Tell him that he knows well that in on black market oil can be sold for twice its prevailing price. So, why should we sell it to you if we can sell it for on black market rate in order to buy our weapons and equipment needed from any other country? If they provide us with weapons, our oil will reach them, isn't that right? Yes, that is right. We should not be bashful when we implement such a thing, and the same thing applies to the Indians, if they don't supply us with ammunition for the 130 mm gun.

Army Chief of Staff: 155 mm from Greece and 130 mm from India, knowing that the Indians have a plant to produce this type of ammunition, in addition to the stock they have.

President Leader: If the Indians do not supply us with this ammunition, we will not supply them with Iraqi oil. We will contact Saudi Arabia in order to cancel their share and send it to another party.

Minister of Defense: Sir, the Kuwaitis announced today that we have allocated their share, which requires that we contact Kuwait immediately for the same purpose.

Mr. Tariq Aziz: I have previously sent a letter to our ambassador in India telling him to give my regards to the deputy minister and inquire from him about the status of that issue. He replied that he went to him to get his response, and the deputy told him that they cannot deliver them [*the ammunitions*] right now, --

-- and if they want to deliver them to us they will not be in the same quantities we requested. Your Excellency has ordered that I follow-up on the matter; hence, I suggest pressuring them more with the oil issue, especially when they have not complied with the delivery principle. In other words, if they want to bargain with us on this issue, and as long as they want to do that, they leave us with nothing but to bargain with them as well.

President Leader: We will bargain with whomever wants to bargain with us. We are not bound to them in anything; therefore, we can allocate their shares of oil to others. It is better than allocating it to them, those dogs who have no shame. So long as someone did not feel embarrassed toward you, there is nothing that forces you to be embarrassed toward them, and what is the reason for that? We deal with dignity and honesty, while those people behave toward us in this shameful manner, and it seems that most of those people who we are dealing with currently are like that.

Minister of Defense: Once the war ends, they will come back as friends. Isn't it necessary to put friendship to the test?

The Deputy [Izzat Ibrahim]: We rushed to be their friends during their difficult times (we became friends with them when they were going through difficulty), especially Indira Gandhi.

Minister of Defense: Yes, as she did not treat us the same way we did (it seems like she doesn't appreciate things).

President Leader: Indira Gandhi has no shame. She is shameless!

The Deputy: Remember, Sir, when I said, in the past not now, that she is blatant?! I mean, two or three years ago.

President Leader: Yes, I know her very well. She is blatant!

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sir, one time they asked her, "Do you control the army?" She denied saying that she does not control it, and the proof is that, according to her, she cannot even change her military escort. But after a short pause, she resumed talking…yet, she can fire the army generals.

Army Chief of Staff: Although the only ones who supplied us with everything we asked for as soon as we contacted them are…

President Leader: The Yugoslavs.

Army Chief of Staff: Yes, the Yugoslavs. They loaded it and sent it immediately. However, I believe that we can insist on them more.

President Leader: I have asked Comrade Taha Al-Jizrawi to call for their ambassador, the Indian ambassador, to discuss the matter with him.

End

[*Please note that this is another section of this document. The page number of the source document starts at "61" here.*]

As for the entire sector of the 9th Armored Division with all its units, they are controlled from the heights in front of them and next to the enemy. Moreover, the sectors of its brigades are all surrounded by orchards. This brigade [*unspecified*], in particular, is being subject to the enemy's infiltration activities. Therefore, it requires also reorganization of its units in a way that ensures its control over the opening located on both of its sides, because it is completely associated with occupying the defensive positions specific to the 8th Mechanized Infantry Brigade and the 20th Mechanized Infantry Brigade. This procedure will secure them control of rafting around Al-Ahwaz.

Thus, in light of that, they should be rearranged if these three brigades operate under the command of one division headquarters. Then we told the corps commander that these three brigades in the front have no reserve in the back to handle emergency situations. We stayed at the sector of the 9th Armored Brigade until 1400, but since transportation takes more than three hours we had to leave the sector of the aforementioned division and return with the company of the 5th Mechanized Division Commander. As for other actions, like the Army Chief of Staff said, "They are going quite well and there are no complaints about other matters there." As far as supplying water, I believe it represents the main dilemma for them because they are still being supplied with water from Basra. All front brigades are being supplied from there, with the exception of the 20th Infantry Brigade which gets water from the Al-Karkha River.

Minister of Defense: Near the Karun?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: I mean from the Karun.

Military Movement Director: And they have equipment to filter the water as well as a number of artesian wells that they dug near the villages. They mentioned that they found a system to filter the water.

Minister of Defense: What do they do there? Why didn't they establish regular points to filter and distribute water in a safe location?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: If they were in it.

Minister of Defense: Huh?

Military Movement Director: Sir, there are artesian wells in the area.

Minister of Defense: Yes.

Military Movement Director: The Iranians left them after they destroyed them, with the exception of one well, and our units believe that it is possibly poisoned.

President Leader: Did they do water analysis?

Military Movement Director: Yes, Sir, there are wells in Hamid Camp as well.

Minister of Defense: You mean if the well is in a safe location within this concaved area (pointing to the map), it is possible to erect water filtration equipment there to become the water distribution point.

President Leader: We are not villagers who drink cats' water.

Military Movement Director: They began digging now an artesian well and it is about to be done.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: When they dig a source of water, they should protect it.

Minister of Defense: Well, it is possible to send them ten pieces of equipment specifically for digging wells, to dig ten artesian wells simultaneously.

Military Movement Director: Sir, they are digging an artesian well right now, and I believe that all capacities of the governorate are at their disposal. Therefore, they are in good shape when it comes to this issue.

Minister of Defense: You mean moving for a distance of 80 kilometers is not justified at all especially for this 1st Regiment (pointing at the map).

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: The 1st Regiment of the 15th Mechanized Infantry Brigade.

Minister of Defense: What is this force whose wing rests on the river? Is it the 20th Mechanized Infantry Brigade?

Military Movement Director: This is the 2nd Regiment of the 20th Mechanized Infantry Brigade.

Minister of Defense: Next to it here, along this crossing in the Al-Salman area, it is possible to build a location for water filtration and distribution, where all the troops located there can drink.

Military Movement Director: Sir, this location is under constant enemy artillery shelling and in particular this regiment. All their mortars and artillery are assembled near this area, Sir.

Minister of Defense: Isn't this a river? Isn't it possible to draw water from this river? It would be the best location for water filtration.

Military Movement Director: Yes, Sir, that is possible.

Planning Director: And it is possible to bridge it, also.

Minister of Defense: What?

Planning Director: Since it is the closest target to the other side.

Military Movement Director: They have told us that they will resolve this problem within a short period of time.

President Leader: I am afraid they cannot imagine the presence of a filtration unit that can be moved and sent to them quickly.

Military Movement Director: They have engineering battalions, Sir.

Minister of Defense: After Your Excellency rests, we can go into the details of this problem and reach the best solution for it as soon as Your Excellency orders this.

President Leader: Yes, I agree.

Minister of Defense: And we have plenty of time to discuss this matter.

President Leader: Yes. I wanted to know the lesson you have learned, Staff General 'Abd-al-Jabbar Al-Asadi, from this trip. I mean, what are the main lessons that we might be missing?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sir, there are no lessons that you are missing; however, the only main lesson that we have learned is that the troops believe now that their fighting mission had ended as soon as they occupied their defensive positions. I have talked with the Division Commander about this and asked him how he would proceed if we asked him, through the corps, of course, to carry out an offensive operation against Al-Ahwaz, and how he would implement the plan. What are the calculations he put in place for that? What units would he need in addition to what he already has? In all honesty he said and admitted to me that he has not thought about this until now, although we had previously talked to him about this subject. He told me then that if we could allocate one brigade to him from outside his current resources, he could occupy Al-Ahwaz.

When I reminded him of that, he responded that the picture is different now because the enemy's force before the battlefront of the division is about one division (additional). Also, there is a strong defensive position in front of the city that consists of a line of trees, then a barrier followed by a group from Al-Kur, and then the city edge. This gives an impression that we clearly did not maintain the same fervor of the first week of the war.

President Leader: For attacking...That is clear, of course, because the front that we controlled when we attacked with this army was not small.

Military Movement Director: No one can realize the spaciousness of this front, except for those who actually travel it.

Minister of Defense: What Staff Colonel Miyassar Al-Jibouri means is that although he travelled this distance by car, he felt...

President Leader: Tired.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sure enough, we travelled a long distance along this road yesterday and it took us three hours, although the road was fine.

President Leader: I believe that you have noticed that, for a while now and since the early days of the war, I have been unusually adamant about the necessity of carrying out nighttime attacks. However, this has not been done yet, except for few raids, patrols, and night ambushes. These are the activities that we have focused on all the time.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: And we have stressed that, Sir.

President Leader: Now that the enemy woke up from the shock and we gave him two full months so far --

-- and its adjacent units have strengthened their positions with additional troops, and it had ample opportunity to study our capabilities and the distribution of our troops; therefore, attacking it has become tough now and might cause us serious casualties. Therefore, we have only three points out of all our plans. The first point is the one related to the Bisharib edge, the eastern bank of the Karun River. If we were to discuss this point, we must study the size of the expected losses there and the benefits that we would reap, taking into consideration the adequate opportunity that the enemy had to prepare his defenses and strengthen his units, even after his defeat in Al-Muhammara, where the crossing operation took place at the beginning and before the enemy got to improve his situation. Nevertheless, when we realized that this crossing operation became complicated, I did not insist much on the operation for fear that our troops were tired; thus, we did not insist more than needed to avoid negatively impacting the morale of our troops. Therefore, this point should be studied.

The other point is our situation in Dezful. Discussing this point might lead us to a better situation than our current one. It would, at least, avoid the evil of using the base and will take us to a location that might be better. All of that can be done with negotiation. The other point after Dezful is reaching the area of Masjed Soleyman with the armor, destroying the wells there, and then returning from there to the starting point of the troops. Meaning, we will not stay there; but rather, our action there is limited to destroying the wells only until the enemy returns to his previous situation like porters in Al-Shurjah after destroying their oil wells there, provided that the destruction has been done in a technical way that makes their repair and restoration last ten years. This way, we take them back to their old days like porters, (carrying bags on their backs). All of these three points are open for discussion so we don't find ourselves forced to pay an expensive price, because surrounding Abadan is linked to the other one, the issue of Khosro abad. So, these are points to think about, discuss, and analyze.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Today, we should ask the commander of the 5th Mechanized Division to think seriously --

-- about carrying out an air assault against one of the enemy's artillery positions, because it [*the artillery*] is very effective in inflicting casualties upon our troops, or in impacting their morale. The state of a soldier who stays in his shelter all day and all night while being subject to heavy artillery shelling will certainly be bad, not to mention the shaking of his morale, or at the very least, his morale will be low because the shelling is continuous day and night.

President Leader: In all our arrangements that we will be discussing after your field tour, we have to reach the conclusion that we will replace all the positions that will ensure the best security to our troops with the alternate positions, whether it is in the front or the back, and in all operations locations, while considering, of course, the morale aspect. We have to know whether we can achieve that from any of the positions that will inflict more losses on the enemy than they would if we were to be present at our current defensive position. This should be done for all divisions. For example, the division in charge of the Dezful Sector, its artillery cannot, based on range, hit the city except after advancing to rover positions in the front and that includes the 180mm guns as well.

Army Chief of Staff: Sir, I believe that the city is located within the range of the 180mm guns from their current positions.

President Leader: Yes, only the 180 mm gun.

Army Chief of Staff: Yes, only.

President Leader: But the 180 mm guns, with their limited number of ammunition 1400 shells only, minus what we have previously used, cannot do anything effective (I mean, what do you want me to do)?

Army Chief of Staff: And that is true, too.

President Leader: We might reach a situation that will make Dezful pay the price, or Dezful-Andimeshk Base. Accordingly, the enemy must constantly feel that he pays a higher price for staying than we pay. If the enemy feels that we are paying the same price or more, time will be in this case completely on his side. Isn't that true?

Army Chief of Staff: Hence, we should organize our situation today in a way that we make the enemy losses bigger.

President Leader: And the issue of destroying the wells is one of the issues pressuring him. This means we should calculate in a way that allows us to know the magnitude of losses there (and this will be the final song) [*meaning "and then we will be happily singing"*], as the colloquial proverb says. After that, the enemy's card will take a dive, and he will not be able to acquire the weapons and ammunition needed because the countries manufacturing weapons and ammunitions will stop supplying him, after he becomes destroyed economically when we destroy his wells completely. Once we destroy them fully, everything will be over. Then we can withdraw from any area we want and to any other area we desire, except for those areas which we would like to keep forever, we will do whatever we want there.

Minister of Defense: Sir, if the information is accurate about Masjed Soleyman and the size of force there, whether there are troops or not -- [*interrupted*]

General Military Intelligence Director: There is no force there, Sir.

Minister of Defense: So, the best method of destruction is to carry out an air assault by helicopters at a selected time and prearranged preparations, especially preparing explosive powder inside the shells. All that needs to be done after that is to place these shells at the top of the oil fields. That is all.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: Then the force will ignite them and return with its aircraft.

Minister of Defense: The force will return with its aircraft, provided that the photography aircraft take accurate pictures of the area first, and then return.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: I have come across recent and very accurate maps of the area at a scale of 1/50,000, and they are Iranian maps.

President Leader: Abu-`Ali, they will not be able to do any of the things we have mentioned during this air assault, because the true destruction can only be achieved when the executing force stays there for a full 48 hours, at least. Moreover, the force cannot be less than a full armored division, or perhaps two armored divisions that will not be assigned with any other side mission, and focus only on protecting themselves during the advancement and reaching the final goal, on the condition that they will bring with them a group of oil engineers trained on the use of destruction charges. After that, we begin to destroy the first well, then the second, and the third and so on until we destroy all oil fields there (we will leave no oil fields for them). After that, we reassemble the force and give instructions for its return to its starting points.

Minister of Defense: That is possible, Sir, but will the crossing be in their direction from Al-Ahwaz or Dezful?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: From Al-Ahwaz, Sir, and it is possible to be from Al-Tahiri.

General Military Intelligence Director: And this area is the middle between Al-Ahwaz and Dezful, and centered in the east direction.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Yet, unfortunately, the Masjed Soleyman area is far, Sir.

President Leader: Where is it?

Military Movement Director: Sir, this is Al-Ahwaz, and this is Dezful, and it is closer to Al-Ahwaz than it is to Dezful.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: But it is possible to be in their direction.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: But the oil fields' area is vast and it is not only around the city.

Planning Director: That's why it is preferable not to draw the attention to Al-Tahiri, because the Al-Tahiri area is considered the main area to rush from in this direction, to head after that down toward Al-Shadikan. Then, it goes up and slants down in the direction of the Al-Mansouri area, to begin after that going upward. This way, we will avoid crossing the river.

Military Movement Director: The force will certainly bump into one of these roads leading to it.

Planning Director: However, if the crossing is through the Al-Ahwaz area, the operation will be difficult.

Military Movement Director: I did not mean from the city, whether it is Al-Ahwaz or Dezful; rather, I meant any spot we choose outside the city that is north or south of this belt.

Army Chief of Staff: We have to study the matter at the Planning Directorate.

Military Movement Director: However, if it is from the area of Al-Tahiri, the operation will take longer.

President Leader: How far is it from Al-Ahwaz?

Military Movement Director: Sir, it is about 80-100 kilometers away.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: It is 95 kilometers away as a straight line from this direction.

-- But if the advancement is along this road (pointing to the map), the distance will be about 120-130 kilometers, Sir.

Military Movement Director: It is a mountainous area also, Sir.

President Leader: Mountainous?

Military Movement Director: Yes, Sir, although there are two mountain ranges in front of it that limit the movement.

President Leader: And over here (His Excellency is pointing to the map) before the Masjed Soleyman are the major oil fields.

General Military Intelligence Director: Sir, Mr. President Leader, these are Marun oil fields near Al-Ahwaz, and they produce 1,288,000 barrels.

President Leader: Daily?

General Military Intelligence Director: Yes, Sir, daily.

President Leader: That means one third of the overall production of the Iranian oil.

General Military Intelligence Director: Yes, Sir.

Planning Director: How far is it from the Al-Ahwaz area?

General Military Intelligence Director: The field is close to Al-Ahwaz.

Planning Director: It is directly east of Al-Ahwaz.

President Leader: It is about 10-15 kilometers from Al-Ahwaz and all the information is documented on these maps now.

-- Besides, there is another small field close to it.

General Military Intelligence Director: Sir, this is Al-Ahwaz field and this is Marun field.

President Leader: Look at this one and that one, oh, and there are two here.

Minister of Defense: The circumstances force us to go past Al-Ahwaz from the right.

President Leader: This one, this one, and that one are very close. Here are the rest (His Excellency is pointing to the map).

General Military Intelligence Director: Sir, this is Al-Ahwaz field, and this is Marun field.

President Leader: This one, yes…And this is true.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Sir, it is likely that they are pumping the oil to Tehran from these fields.

President Leader: Yes, from here.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Sir, in Masjed Soleyman, there is an area...

President Leader: Is Dehloran area under our control?

General Military Intelligence Director: Dehloran is close, Sir.

President Leader: Naft-e-Shah area.

Planning Director: There are also oil spot areas near Imam Na'ir as well. We have prepared soldiers there.

President Leader: There are numbers here, for example, 40 thousand.

General Military Intelligence Director: Yes, Sir, these numbers are documented by us to indicate the production ceiling for each well separately.

President Leader: But right here, the number is one million...and...

General Military Intelligence Director: Yes, Sir, 1,288,000 barrels.

President Leader: Yes and the total of this and that can be about 1.5 million barrels. Therefore, the damage that we will inflict upon the enemy after destroying these fields will be priceless. It might reach 100 billion dinars.

Minister of Defense: Sir, [*illegible*] seems to be over here.

President Leader: Over here?

Minister of Defense: Yes, Sir. This is 'Abadan.

President Leader: This is the ordeal.

General Military Intelligence Director: All of this.

President Leader: Same thing, [*illegible*].

General Military Intelligence Director: And this is Al-Ahwaz, Sir.

Minister of Defense: What is its scale?

General Military Intelligence Director: This is Al-Ahwaz, Sir.

Minister of Defense: What is its scale?

General Military Intelligence Director: This one has a small scale, it is 1/750,000 or smaller.

President Leader: But, did you find this? This is Al-Ahwaz, isn't it?

General Military Intelligence Director: This is Al-Ahwaz, Sir.

President Leader: And where is this one? Is this in the direction of Masjed Soleyman?

Military Movement Director: It would be preferable if it were to Masjed Soleyman.

Army Chief of Staff: This is to Shaykh Bdair.

General Military Intelligence Director: And to Bandar Mashahr.

President Leader: And this one, did you find it?

General Military Intelligence Director: Yes, Sir.

Military Movement Director: And an explosion took place in it.

General Military Intelligence Director: They exploded it, Sir.

President Leader: This one should…but they should continue moving until they find one of them each day.

Military Movement Director: There are still pipes located underground, especially in `Abadan. I mean, 15 kilometers to the south of 'Abadan, and the same city is still burning to the extent that we cannot even see the city.

This means that there are many companies' pipes covered underground.

President Leader: And these over here are many, as well.

Military Movement Director: And their ends are broken.

President Leader: And if one of us looked at it, he would have discovered it immediately.

Minister of Defense: During the crossing day, I discovered six of them.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: Yes, Sir, it seems like there are six of them here.

President Leader: And these over here are also too many, they can be counted. This means that they are fixed with real lines.

Minister of Defense: These require using a ditch digger.

President Leader: And this one requires to be dug out well.

Military Movement Director: Although its end is broken, Sir.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: The control device for opening and closing it, the one located near Al-Mared and near the village on the left, is broken and out of order.

Minister of Defense: No, not this one. This is it.

Military Movement Director: This one is specific for Al-Ahwaz station.

Minister of Defense: This one is specific for pulling out water from Al-Mared and pouring it.

President Leader: You cannot confirm its type until you dig the ground underneath it.

Planning Director: This one is for oil.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: The proof is that when they dug out its area in Al-Nashwa at a depth greater than one meter, it created the biggest fire so far.

Planning Director: Sir, this happened. When we crossed the head of the bridge, as Staff Colonel Muhammad Saleh Yunis remembers, we found that the exposed pipes are the ones burning. Yet, we found a smaller yellow post there and that's why we ordered digging the area where the yellow post is fixed. We were able to find the main pipe; therefore, we are supposed to continue investigating it more.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: Sir, if only someone can take the Shaykh Bdair route and continue digging along the paved road.

Minister of Defense: And all these pipes will be found.

President Leader: The digging should be transversal in the location and then we will find them.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: They found a pipe exactly all along the paved road until it went under the road. They hit it and exploded it as well.

Military Movement Director: Because it ends near 'Abadan, Sir. It is hit, and that way the oil is flowing out of it continually. Therefore, we find fires in more than one group of pipes. Also, it seems that even the pipes that are here are not closed, Sir, because, 40 days had gone by and the fires are ongoing. This is not only inside the city, rather to the south of the city, Sir, from the crossing area to the north because this usually happens at the end of each pipe that was hit.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: This means that they didn't close the oil valve yet, and that is why the fires are still burning.

Military Movement Director: But the refinery was not destroyed completely, but only three parts of it.

President Leader: No, oil was stopped from flowing. However, it usually stays in the pipes for a longer period.

Military Movement Director: Yes, Sir, only in them.

President Leader: Of course.

Military Movement Director: And it continues to seep through them.

President Leader: That's why they will continue to burn until the oil inside of them runs out completely.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: And their health will suffer.

President Leader: Yes, of course!

Military Movement Director: Currently, the entire area looks black.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: `Abadan is actually covered by a black cloud.

President Leader: And the entire area is polluted now.

Army Chief of Staff: A part of the pipes has been discovered. As for the rest, you have to study them in order to locate them.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: But they are buried underground.

Military Movement Director: Sir, part of them is buried at various depths and the other part is exposed.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: The exposed pipes are all disconnected and still burning; however, some of them are about to extinguish and they are located in four areas.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Usually, the pipes that are buried underground are the ones that carry the crude oil.

Minister of Defense: But, Sir, they are all close to us.

President Leader: Yes, all but this one and this main line. Look, they are all close to us and I have talked about that in the press conference.

Minister of Defense: And this one is the Aghajari.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: The Aghajari Mountain.

Military Movement Director: Outside the border.

President Leader: I told them that there are other fields.

Minister of Defense: Sir, the ones in Aghajari, we have hit them.

Army Chief of Staff: True, because we hit most refineries with the air force.

President Leader: And (Tehran) refinery is the only one left.

Army Chief of Staff: This one is far, Sir.

President Leader: And Esfahan refinery.

Military Movement Director: And Tabriz.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Tabriz refinery has been destroyed completely, Sir.

President Leader: Well then, the Esfahan and Tehran refineries only.

General Military Intelligence Director: Sir, lately, the enemy increased the production capacity of Esfahan refinery from 100,000 barrels to 200,000 barrels daily.

Military Movement Director: However, the Tabriz refinery was hit by the air force 3-4 times and the last strike was effective.

President Leader: Only the Tehran and Esfahan refineries are left intact. I kept their information with me and I will bring it to the Comrade the Minister of Defense to read the final report and the final investigation in their regard. The information about them from all sources had been independently confirmed by each party; however, just make certain of it.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Sir, the airstrikes against their economic installations were very effective and occurred daily.

President Leader: That is good. Also, it was good against the petrochemicals plant, in addition to other targets.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Sir, our aircraft hit all the plants that they were able to reach, Sir—everything within the range.

President Leader: But the enemy shot down some of our aircraft.

Yet, there are still strategic and vital joints in their industries that are not hit effectively, such as the steel and iron factory.

Army Chief of Staff: And that is in Esfahan also.

General Military Intelligence Director: We have previously mentioned these vital targets to Your Excellency, and they are more than what we have.

President Leader: True, they are more than what we have: the steel and iron factory and the ammunition plant.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: The one located in Tehran.

President Leader: These, of course, remain among the key vital targets. What are the nearby cities which our aircraft can reach, but our small aircraft did not hit yet and neither did the TU aircraft?

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: The city of Kermanshah, Sir. And if you order us, Sir, we will hit it tomorrow!

General Military Intelligence Director: Here is the vital point standing is our way. We made a list of the vital targets, but they are far and deep.

President Leader: Moreover, we have to wait until the pilot returns to interrogate him.

Minister of Defense: Is there a reaction to the Al-Fallujah city bombing?

President Leader: Merely knowing the number of sacrifices brings us a lot of pain.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: The sacrifices were about 100 people.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: I believe that the air force should modify the MiG23 aircraft.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: What type of modification is required?

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: A modification to increase the aircraft bomb load capacity.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Its current capacity is fine, as it carries four tons of bombs.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Oh, pardon me, the aircraft I meant was the interceptor aircraft.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: This is a lightweight aircraft and its capacity does not exceed 500 kilograms.

President Leader: This capacity is adequate. It is a fine aircraft especially for bombing such a small city.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: We have used it in the war, Sir.

Military Movement Director: But its range is short, Mr. President.

President Leader: None of the nearby Iranian cities have escaped our air strikes. We only have the small cities left, the ones in the depth that are mostly in the counties and sub-districts.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Still, we will hit them, Sir.

Military Movement Director: Up until now, we have not hit the city of `Ilam. It is the closest city to us.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: We will hit it tomorrow, God willing!

President Leader: But their air force is striking our cities everyday, which requires training on how to strike their cities, and you are (His Excellency meant the Air Force and Air Defense Commander) authorized in everything related to the cities.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: We will choose 2-3 cities to strike daily.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: These would be specific for the interceptor aircraft.

President Leader: Yes, they are at 500 kilograms capacity. They can go there, drop them, and return quickly.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Yes, you order, Sir.

President Leader: God damn them! They did not even spare the hens with their aircraft strike.

Minister of Defense: God willing, we shall receive the F-1 aircraft.

Army Chief of Staff: Would the range allow a fully loaded aircraft to reach Esfahan?

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: No, Sir, it cannot reach at all when flying at low altitude.

President Leader: It still cannot reach.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Right, Sir, it will not reach.

Minister of Defense: Sir, I have given you the one particular to the Mirage aircraft.

President Leader: How about to Tehran?

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: It will not reach, also.

Minister of Defense: I believe it is still in Your Excellency's room.

President Leader: The one particular to the Mirage 4000?

Minister of Defense: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: This aircraft is out of reach in this war. If these are the prices, it will be for the next war. At this time, if the soldiers rush with a higher fighting spirit (if they throw themselves, Abu-Khalil), they will find themselves facing the sea, with God's help, across the other side, which is 650 kilometers long.

Minister of Defense: Safely, God willing! And after that, we will not allow the armored division's artillery to move back and forth.

Army Chief of Staff: And it will be very sufficient.

Minister of Defense: If they were 14 battalions.

Army Chief of Staff: 23.

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: The last time we did the math, it was determined that they were 14 battalions.

Army Chief of Staff: It cannot be 14 battalions. What's needed is forming many battalions in order to be able to dedicate 4 separate battalions for each division that needs fire support.

Minister of Defense: Abu-Muthanna, do you know the number of the Iranian groups?

General Military Intelligence Director: 4-5 groups.

Army Chief of Staff: Three groups and every group consist of...

General Military Intelligence Director: 5-7 battalions.

Army Chief of Staff: Yes, I know that; yet, what are the types of the guns?

General Military Intelligence Director: 175mm and 130mm.

Army Chief of Staff: Our division's artillery is more powerful than the enemy's division artillery, but they have the artillery groups for the three fronts that have the 175mm, 203.4mm, or 8 inches. Also, they have the tubular launchers, knowing that we have an equal number of the tubular launchers and they also have the 130mm.

Minister of Defense: We should form an independent artillery brigade for each corps.

Army Chief of Staff: On the condition that it will be heavy artillery.

Minister of Defense: When I travelled there, they only presented to us the old heavy artillery that was made 35 years ago.

President Leader: Who are they?

Minister of Defense: The Soviets.

President Leader: I believe we should try to get from them 50 180mm artilleries.

Army Chief of Staff: They refused, Sir, and they even tried to cancel the purchase contract for these 6 artilleries.

President Leader: And the ones that cause damage, we will use them massively against Israel.

Army Chief of Staff: Sir, do you know what they did afterwards? After we agreed on the purchase and we signed the contract, and when I travelled there once again, surprisingly, the aforementioned was sitting in front of me.

President Leader: I believe that whoever makes a move against Israel, before possessing such weapons, they will destroy him with the atomic bomb.

Minister of Defense: Because, Sir, they know very well that this scientific gap began to even out.

President Leader: And they are waiting for the Iraqi Army to strike them, so they will respond by striking Baghdad, this is if they have an atomic bomb and we don't have it. We have already came to this judgment and figured it out about 4-5 years ago. If we didn't have one or more of these bombs, in the next Arab-Israeli war they will...

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Destroy us.

President Leader: And the first striking target will be Baghdad, not Damascus or Amman.

Army Chief of Staff: And up until now.

President Leader: Yes, up until now, and even in the past we expected it. However now, as soon as they sense that the Iraqi Army is moving in that direction, they will strike Baghdad immediately!

Army Chief of Staff: That's why we should be more careful especially after we focused on developing the army, because the job we have accomplished now created many problems for them.

President Leader: They are scared now (his Excellency is referring to the Iranians); they are saying how do you give those people an atomic bomb when they are criminals?! (His Excellency laughs).

Army Chief of Staff: And they expect...They had a press conference about...

President Leader: Yes.

General Military Intelligence Director: The issue of Kermanshah.

President Leader: Yes.

Head of the Diwan: They called for all those accredited to Tehran and transported them to the city of Kermanshah to show them the effects of the Iraqi shelling.

President Leader: So, what's with that? What should we do to it?

Head of the Diwan: We are happy for that!

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: No, not that...Perhaps it has an indication.

Head of the Diwan: Indication of what?

Secretary of the Ministry of Defense: Why an indication…and when the oil fields were sabotaged and...

Head of the Diwan: How do we interpret the destruction of part of Al-Karkh and hitting hospitals and other civilian targets?

Minister of Defense: The purpose of the Iranian's action here is to prepare the public opinion against us.

Army Chief of Staff: Then they rectify and say that they have seized a number of surface-to-surface missiles from the Iraqi armed forces.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Then they say look, here are the results of the Iraqi strikes with these missiles. Thus, their attack of the Iraqi targets using these missiles would be justified and a reaction to the Iraqi strikes.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Sir, we have now hit Sumar.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: I meant that the press conference I had referred to gives us some kind of indication.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Is it that they did not do what they could have done?

Military Movement Director: They need public opinion.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: I am certain now that they are doing everything they can do against us.

President Leader: They did not hesitate to do so, they and their uncles. Besides, they will give them all they can give them except for the atomic bomb, and they will prepare them in one way or another.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Yet, after that, we will select all the important governmental offices in their cities to strike and destroy.

President Leader: Yes.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: With the excuse that they are government establishments or factories, etc...

President Leader: Yes, striking all government establishments as they are military targets.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Excuse me, Sir, I know you are exhausted--

-- but I have to bother you a bit, if you allow me, Sir, to ask about the status of Sharukhi.

President Leader: The missiles issue?

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: No, I am not tired, but I don't want to launch them at the time being.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: And their base, Sir?

President Leader: Yes, I would like to keep them for the right moment that will come one day.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Yes, Sir.

President Leader: The longer we keep them the better it will be, so that if they escalate the situation, we will also escalate it by using them.

Army Chief of Staff: But, we still have some of them so far.

Minister of Defense: Sir, if we look closely into what they will do, we will find it not to exceed one salvo, but our response will be brutal (we will cut them into pieces).

Army Chief of Staff: It is possible that it is a salvo, but I do not believe that they have obtained missiles similar to the R-17 missile. They might obtain missiles similar to the Luna missile, because this weapon is not effective at its far range, etcetera...

President Leader: They might obtain Luna missiles from the Syrians or the Libyans.

Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Operations: Sir, didn't you confirm that the Syrians and the Libyans posses Luna missiles when

you asked about this a couple of days ago? So, of course, the Syrians and the Libyans have Luna Missiles.

Planning Director: And of both types.

Army Chief of Staff: But if they fire the R-17 Missiles, the Soviets will know after confronting the Iranians that the latter obtained the missiles from the Syrians or the Libyans. Thus, there will be a scandal and the international relations between the Soviet Union and both Syria and Libya will be impacted, and tyrants will know about it.

President Leader: No, the scandal that you mentioned will not happen because everything is over with and they have been completely exposed. An Arab, who opposes his Arab brother covertly will also oppose him openly because friendship is [*illegible*], as the popular proverb says. How could an Arab side with the foreigner, against another Arab covertly! If he does that covertly, we will take a stance against him openly. I am not surprised, at all, by the behavior of those people, because when they took this position, they sunk down completely and when a human being sinks, he becomes dangerous to no limit. This can happen even at the social level—this is what we heard. What we actually hear is when a human being sinks down socially, he tries with all his might to become closer to honorable people and ask them for things that contradict their good values. This will definitely make those people feel disgusted with this lowlife person, who tends to cling on more and more to the noble people, who, in turn, will stay away further and further, until they reach a level where a noble person becomes the accused. Now the fallen person begins to insult those decent people and also those respectable women, who run away from him while he remains on the street, although she is truly a dignified woman.

Why does all this happen? There is no justification for that except that those Arabs have become like those socially fallen, like this bunch (His Excellency laughs).

Minister of Defense: Also, verify the accuracy of the information about the enemy's aircraft.

Air Force and Air Defense Commander: Staff Brigadier General ('Abd-al-Juwad Dhannun) told me that the information available to him confirms the downing of enemy aircraft. We will send an aircraft there tomorrow morning to verify that. After it fell at 1630, they sent an ambulance to the area.

[*Illegible handwritten note*]