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Supplement 3 January 1986

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# Near East and South Asia Review

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# Articles

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Iran-Iraq: Prospects for an Iranian Offensive in the South

The buildup of men and materiel in Iran's southern sector indicates Tehran is contemplating a major offensive around Al Basrah. If Iran should launch such an attack in the near future, we believe there is a less-than-even chance it can succeed in reaching its objectives. Weaknesses in Iraq's leadership and its defensive posture, however, could give the Iranians an opportunity to achieve a breakthrough.

The southern front offers advantages to Iran largely because the terrain and weather in the area limit Iraq's capabilities more than Iran's. The marshes and rivers in the south slow and sometimes stop the movement of the mechanized vehicles Iraq depends upon for its counterattacks. Also, if Iran attacks during the spring (as it has in the past), the rain, wind, and low cloud ceilings normal for that region and season will hinder Iraqi air support. The open plain of the central region, on the other hand, offers Iran's infantry no immediate objective or protection from counterattacks by Iraqi armor. The mountainous terrain in the north aids Iraq's defense, although it gives some advantge to infantry—the mainstay of Iran's forces—over armor.

#### Iran's Objectives

Iran's strategic objective would be to capture enough territory and inflict enough casualties to break Iraqi morale, achieve a psychological victory, and sustain domestic Iranian support for the war. Iran's minimum tactical objective would be to establish a foothold and then quickly expand it to the Tigris River, capturing the strip of land between Al Qurnah and Qalat Salih. After consolidating its positions in preparation for Iraqi counterattacks, Iran could cut the main highway to Al Basrah through direct and indirect fire from the east bank of the Tigris. Iran has launched major offensives in the marshes in each of the past two years. In the late winter of 1984, after a series of brigrade-size feints in the central sector, Iranian forces attacked from the far eastern side of the marshes. Uncoordinated and insufficiently supported Iranian assaults and Iraq's use of chemical warfare led to Iran's defeat, although the Iranians captured the northern Majnoon Island. In March 1985, Iran used this island as a starting point to attack again and established a bridgehead on the western side of the marshes before being pushed back. Only the lack of cooperation between Revolutionary Guard and Army forces and Iraq's use of chemical weapons prevented an Iraqi defeat.

#### **Iranian Preparations**

Iran has been preparing since October 1985 for an offensive north of Al Basrah. As of early December the Iranians had concentrated six regular Army divisions and at least 11 Revolutionary Guard divisions in the area. Iran also is stockpiling the equipment needed for an offensive.

The Iranians are in good positions from which to attack. Numerous small attacks since May 1985 have gradually given Iran almost total control of the Al Hawizah marsh. Iran's lines are much closer to the Iraqi defenses than they were at the start of its failed offensive in March 1985. Iran now can move men more quickly across the marsh.

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Iran claims to be deploying to the front large numbers of the Basij, the lightly trained reserve force attached to the Revolutionary Guard. Since October 1985 there have been regular announcements on the mobilization of reserve units. The Basij units would be essential for an

# Estimated Manpower and Equipment-Southern Front, December 1985

essential for an Iranian offensive.		Iraq	Iran	25 <b>X</b> 1
	A 1 1 1 1	2 200		25X1
	Armored vehicles a	2,200	500	20/(1
	Artillery Personnel	1,050	200	,
	a Operational vehicles	orces currently being m		ţ
				25X1
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	concentrating ma	River precludes the ny of their forces a		
	there.		н	25 <b>X</b> 1
	Iranian Problems			
	for success. In pa coordination betw units limit the Ira	ortcomings that re rticular, logistic pr yeen Army and Re unians' ability to co ufficient fire support	oblems and poor volutionary Guard onduct sustained	25X1
	Ir northern sector in planned by the A quickly fell apart artillery support. preparations, the	an's medium-size September 1985, rmy and Revolutio because of ineffec Despite over six m Iranians could not	offensive in the which was jointly onary Guard, tive air and onths of coordinate their	25X1
	Des	ss their forces at constructions increased a forale and bad lead	as losses mounted,	25X1 25X1 25X1
<b>Balance of Forces</b> Iraq has a significant advantage in firepower on the southern front. Baghdad has many more tanks and artillery pieces as well as large stocks of ammunition.	eventually merge significantly allevi	ze the Revolutiona it with the regular ate these problems	military will not	25X1
Iraq also has a proven chemical warfare capability,	next several mont	ns.		25 <b>X</b> 1
which it has used successfully in the past against massed Iranian forces.		forms, fuel, and m		25 <b>X</b> 1
Much of Iraq's apparent superiority, however, is negated by the tactical requirements of fighting in the		ver 20 percent of it	s heavy weapons	25X1
south. Baghdad must spread its units along the entire front, while Iran can mass its forces to achieve local superiority. Additionally, the narrowness of the area	to battle losses and			

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year. Although much of this equipment would not be necessary for a southern offensive, the lack of artillery and other heavy weapons would inhibit Iran's ability to exploit the opportunities provided by its infantry. If Iran established a bridgehead, it would have to move this type of equipment forward to defeat what would certainly be a heavily armed Iraqi counterattack.

Iran probably will not be able to replace the past year's losses until the middle of 1986. This, however, will not necessarily prevent Tehran from taking advantage of the rainy season in the south (November through April). Iran has attacked in the past despite shortages of critical equipment. It would, however, make a breakthrough less likely.

#### Iraqi Weaknesses

Political interference in military operations is Iraq's biggest handicap. Iraqi commanders, wary of criticism from Baghdad, probably will continue to react cautiously to Iranian actions. Iraq's unwillingness to take casualties or lose equipment (particularly warplanes) has been evident as Baghdad, after ceding most of the marsh to Iran, has been slow to stop or harass the Iranian buildup. Despite its air superiority, Iraq has not made full use of its airpower to bomb enemy concentrations, causeways, or bridges. Baghdad's timidity could provide the Iranians with an opportunity to push forward quickly and consolidate their gains before an Iraqi counterattack.

The Iraqis also will have to contend with Iranian activities on other fronts, even though Iranian forces in these areas are insufficient to threaten Iraq seriously. In particular, brigade-size attacks in the central sector similar to those of 1984 and Kurdish attacks in the north could draw Iraqi units from the south or at least distract Baghdad's attention from the Al Basrah area.

Finally, Iraqi morale is fragile. Even limited Iranian success in the early part of a battle, particularly if it resulted in high Iraqi casualties, might be enough to demoralize frontline Iraqi troops.

#### Timing

In our judgment, Tehran probably will not attempt a major offensive before March 1986. Despite public

pronouncements of an impending operation, we believe that the Iranian leadership, aware of Iran'	
weaknesses and the risks involved, will wait until i	it
has replaced more of its losses and conducted	
additional training.	he 25X1
current mobilization may be only an exercise to	
improve training, maintain fervor, and heighten In	aqi
anxiety. In the meantime, the Iranians probably w	vill 25 <b>X</b> 1
launch occasional battalion-size attacks to improv	e
their position and contribute to Iraqi war wearing	SS.
Preparations could be completed sooner, however,	and
Iran has sufficient forces in the south to start an	
attack with little warning.	25 <b>X</b> 1

### **Outcome of an Offensive**

We believe Iran has a significant, but less than even, 25X1 chance to secure the narrow strip of land along the Tigris between Al Qurnah and Qalat Salih and to cut the main Baghdad-Al Basrah highway. Such a victory, however, would depend at least as much on Iraqi mistakes and failures as on Iranian efforts.

Iran would increase the likelihood of success if it:

- Took advantage of inclement weather that impedes Iraqi air operations and counterattacks. 25X1
- Expanded its bridgehead from the edge of the marshes across the highway within the first 48 hours of the operation.
- ٠ Brought its available heavy equipment across the marsh before the Iraqi counterattack.

Iraq would contribute to the odds of an Iranian 25X1 success if it:

- Failed to block Iran's concentration of forces or 25X1 their movement across the marshes.
- Failed to mount a timely counterattack.
- Did not use its chemical warfare capability.

25X1 Baghdad's defenses are such that Iran will suffer heavy casualties. If Iran consolidated its initial position along the Tigris, Iraq would also suffer major losses in any attempt to push back the Iranians. 25X1

Iraqi morale would become a critical factor if the Iranians succeeded in gaining a solid foothold on the Tigris. The Iraqis probably would go into a limited

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retreat before counterattacking, and they might not	
counterattack at all if the Iranians established	
defensive berms around their position.	25X1
If Iraq did not drive the Iranians back into the	
marshes, support for President Saddam Husayn's	
regime would erode, while Tehran's resolve to	*
continue the war would be strengthened. In desperation, Iraq might act on its threats to increase	
air and missile attacks against Iranian cities and	٢
economic targets.	25X1
In our judgment, the most likely outcome of an	
Iranian offensive is another Iranian failure similar to	
the one in March 1985. Although Iran probably	
would gain a foothold in the Iraqi lines, we believe	
that Iraqi forces, if they respond quickly, could push the Iranians back within a few days. An Iranian	
debacle would almost certainly follow if:	
• Iran could not reach its objectives quickly.	
<ul> <li>Iraqi warplanes vigorously attacked Iranian bridges and causeways, preventing heavy equipment from</li> </ul>	
reaching the bridgehead.	
• Iraq brought all of its weapons (including chemical	
munitions) to bear on the Iranian position.	25X1
Under these circumstances, an Iranian defeat in	
conjunction with a stepped-up Iraqi propaganda	
campaign could lead to demonstrations in Iran similar	
to those in March 1985. As long as Ayatollah Khomeini is alive, however, Iran will almost certainly	
continue the war.	25X1
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