

	ISGQ-2003-M0004669
Male 1	<p>If the diplomatic task is going to take time, we should continue even if we do not agree. At this point, when we suspend UN resolutions, we need to look for the other matters that we need to consider and take into account.</p> <p>During this period of time, I think we should look at the possibilities that this effort and the way mentioned by comrade Tariq is going to result in... whether the Russians and the French answered, or even if they give us a negative response [Inaudible].</p> <p>We should be prepared psychologically, meaning, in terms of what to do next time. As if we were to decide about this resolution today, it should take time.</p> <p>We should take advantage of this time to achieve our diplomatic tasks. I agree with the issue of the three machines, like Ekeus is saying, if it's going to help close the missiles file, it's an experience. The chemical issue is an experience. And the biological issue should be discussed with the Russians and the French during this month, in order to understand their position [Inaudible]. And we should tell them, truly, if this does not take place, here is our position. I believe even if they have a different position, we could propose this issue to both parties. Even if the position is negative, and there was a confrontation on our side. They won't be enthusiastic with the Americans and other members of the Security Council, if we surprise them and the others and tell them "Look, you have not agreed on this, so here is our position on all the resolutions that you implemented". We should exert this effort, even if their position is negative. I mean, before they fight us with other means. And the war comes in different ways.</p> <p>In conclusion, I say that we should follow both directions. And we must stress on getting ourselves ready from now on, of course with instructions from your Highness, on all fronts, by providing us with help through popular channels, and by any means such as technical and security means. Because in about two to three months maximum, the alarms will sound off.</p> <p>Meanwhile, at the same time, we should follow the steps that Comrade Tariq mentioned. We should follow the three paragraphs dealing with: machines, chemicals and, from there, the transition to the biological.</p> <p>And any relationship or movement from the Arabs and non-Arabs, I believe we should not put much weight on it... I mean today, the 16th, it was decided that Indonesia would become a member in the Security Council. It's not important, even if it didn't happen, because they will</p>

	<p>not be able to pass a resolution. We cannot tell them, if this doesn't happen, we'll do such and such. What are you going to do in the Security Council? The influential parties are known. We should possibly still give them some importance, of course it would be less than France and Russia, but still somewhat important.</p> <p>Thank you Mr. President.</p>
Saddam	Comrade 'Ali
Male2	<p>Thank you Mr. President,</p> <p>I apologize for having to talk again. But during the procedure of the meeting, we were expecting to hear from the technical colleagues, and later on we could tackle the political matters, as long as this is the procedure of the meeting.</p> <p>First, action is required in every way, I mean diplomatic action, but more than what's been decided, especially with Egypt. I think that our action towards Egypt is not enough. We should move now, as we planned to do with Arab countries, and we should make a move with the members of the Security Council, and on those whom we called our friends. How are they our friends? To this day, their jet fighters are above us, and when the situation allows it they hit us. So how could they be our friends? We called them our friends, that's it.</p> <p>There are no guarantees in world politics. When the others use the veto power, they go along. There are no guarantees that they will fight with us, or in our place, unless they have an interest with us. This is why I want an explanation from the colleagues about these questions through their experience in dealing with this issue from the technical and political aspects. Guarantees! What will he give you? What guarantees? He swore with his honor, and his honor turned out to be not so good [Laughs]. So there are no guarantees</p>
Tariq	He introduced a document and then changed his mind...
Male 2	<p>The second point, Mr. President.</p> <p>We have to take into consideration... we have been this way every day, every year, every month... I mean our people will say: "You people, are knowledgeable, and understanding, so how come...?"</p> <p>Mr. President, if it goes on until the year 96... this issue is very dangerous. I mean our people will not accept things to stay this way, they might get divided...</p>
Saddam	Our people. I would like to explain something to you. Our people, and any people in the world, when they experience a crisis, need to hear

	<p>from the leadership a position that designs a process with an end result.</p> <p>It's true for any people with a similar situation. The Iraqi people are a terrifying people, and a great people, generous in their sacrifice. But like all the people of other nations, it is their right, and we can't just tell the people to be patient. They need to see and hear results that they consider logical. For the people to sacrifice more, you need to tell them that within six months, this change will happen if we take this stand. They will stick by you. They will then become more and more patient, they will be hungry and get hungrier, but they will say that after six months there will be an end to all this and things will change.</p> <p>When the UN Security Council passed a resolution, we informed our people and told them that, if we take these steps, we will put the Americans in bad situation. And with a joint effort with our friends, we will encourage them to make the effort. With this, we will propose our case strongly to the Security Council. Our case was proposed, but the way it was proposed resembles a thunder. Whenever they multiply with the existence of clouds and water inside those clouds – some experts from the countryside that observe this say whenever the thunder increases, it aborts, the clouds push the clouds that are supposed to turn into thunder, so instead of causing water to fall we hear a lot of thunder, but without a lot of rain.</p> <p>Our situation is very similar to this example. Our case was introduced without concrete results that will lead the Iraqi people to a new living standard and away from the miserable life that they are beginning to live.</p> <p>And after the explanation of the resolution to them, their reaction was furious and they stood firmly, as it was witnessed and spoken about by everyone according to what they saw and felt.</p> <p>And during this time, I purposely... I have activities, but I didn't want to say anything, what do I say? Do I explain The UN Resolution? The comrades have done a good job at it. So I should tell the Iraqis what position we should take. It is true that we have a position, but an old one. But I need to consult with my comrades to review this position and turn it into a timeline and into actions. That way I can explain to the Iraqis. But if I just explain to them I won't be adding anything new.</p> <p>I used to ask the people I met, how are you? How are things? What do you think? All those I asked agree that the Iraqis, this time, are united about this matter.</p> <p>And at the same time, they said, and it wasn't unexpected that the</p>
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	<p>Iraqis, unlike what was expected, look forward to rallying behind the leadership, not the opposite.</p> <p>But I also understand the psychology of nations. If this cloud discharges in a strong way, what will happen later on? What is the position that the Iraqis will agree on to get them to a new standard? The leadership must take a clear and understandable position that goes through the same channels in rejecting the latest UN resolutions. I do not have anything to add to it, it should follow the same directions, and went through the same session. This position is from the leadership, and from there it goes to other levels for explanation. Rally the people around it and it becomes ready for implementation, I mean.</p> <p>But about the details on how to deal with this diplomatically, it is to launch the last arrow in the diplomatic frame, hoping that it will divert us from confrontation. Is it reasonable for one of the Iraqis to say, “Well, if we had exerted the effort, perhaps something good would have happened?” This “perhaps,” even if it covers a small area in a big battle of this kind, deserves some effort from the leadership.</p> <p>The people will put up with this but they need a clear position. Now after the operation of mobilizing the people against the resolution, I must inform the people about the timing, the horizon that we are looking at, that will give us new opportunity. After it was realized that all the previous efforts were in vain and the Iraqis rejected their results. So we must make new concrete and noticeable efforts that will give the Iraqis hope in their life during their sacrifice. And they are ready to sacrifice more. And this is the focus of what we are in.</p> <p>Yes comrade ‘Ali</p>
Male 2	<p>Thank you Sir.</p> <p>So, Mr. President, as the deputy and comrade Tariq suggested, I mean, we must put an end to this subject. We should consult with the Russians about the biological issue, just like you said.</p> <p>We know that the Americans are our number one enemy and the British are the ones helping and supporting them. When we tell them this time that we will stand against and suspend the new resolutions, we can start informing our people.</p> <p>When our representative goes there, whether it’s comrade Tariq or anybody, and gives us a weak hope about this issue, we mobilize our people. And before we do this, we should mobilize at the high levels of the government and party so that they know that we are serious about</p>

	<p>this.</p> <p>I heard this from you, Sir, more than three years ago. There are three parties at war with us and prohibiting us from flying beyond the certain lines. They are the Americans, the French, and the British. If there is a confrontation this time, god forbid, it will take place between us the Americans and the British. In my opinion, the French will not participate. The fact that France will not participate will oblige her to withdraw her forces and to leave 32 parallel. If France leaves, our situation will become better than our situation is today. So we should count on God and proceed in this direction and consult with the Russians. And when the political opportunity allows, we can talk with the French... We will ask them about their policy concerning this biological issue. As permanent members in the Security Council, they are a part of the biological issue.</p> <p>So we have to rely on god, and talk to them in that direction. If they give us their word that their position will be strong, we'll do this as Professor Tariq suggested, we propose it to your Excellency, and we will introduce it back to them under the condition that it doesn't go on for too long, the continuing of the embargo... because, Mr. President, an enormous load, I mean, the load of rejecting the resolution, was truly expressed by the government media and the party on your birthday, Sir. But could this load continue? We must see how much people can bear and then give them half of that. The load our people are carrying is more than what we had hoped. Our people are good but this is becoming costly the way it is.</p> <p>This way, we should count on God in this direction. And what you said Mr. President helped me a lot in some issues.</p> <p>Thank you Mr. President.</p>
Saddam	Mr. Deputy
Male 3	<p>We fought around July 17th or 30th during the first days of the revolution, not just because we are Iraqis and want to build Iraq, but more so because we are nationalists. Iraq is feared to lead the Arab nation in its unity and its independence, stability, and the investment of its wealth. And to this day they fight us because of it. I urge everyone not to put down the capabilities of the Arab nation.</p> <p>Is it... Can we... I believe that gathering the abilities of the Arab nation... comes for technical reason... if it was for principal reasons it would come before the Russians, the French, and the Chinese in such situation...</p>

	<p>I fear more than what America fears, that the Arabs will split and divide between Saudi Arabia and us. The Arab situation is ready in a positive way more than it was before.</p> <p>In the Security Council, they found people to encourage them positively against Iraq. There are things encouraging them to have less negative stands against those who have negative stands against Iraq. The ones that are still very stubborn are Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for the reasons I mentioned, which is that America is very greedy and convinced that it will do something that will lead to the collapse of the regime. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are following this direction also. Even Kuwait was involved in that direction... they thought that America might leave in two years, or ten years.</p> <p>America will not leave. When we invaded them, America was not absent. But Saudi Arabia and Kuwait believe that Iraq is finished. The situation with the remaining Arab countries is much better; their position hadn't changed but their understanding of the development that took place at the Security Council and at the international level is much better. So we shouldn't neglect the issue of preparing the Arab nation to support us officially or...</p> <p>The second point, Mr. President, is about the Iraqis. Why did the Iraqis take this great stand?</p> <p>I believe for two reasons: The first reason is that they had an uprising against the insult. When the resolution was explained the way it was, and the bad part became clear, the Iraqis revolted. This was a strong uprising.</p> <p>The second reason is they wanted a substitute, because they revolted against the evil. And the substitute in their mind was the lifting of the embargo. This means that they wanted Section 22. And they understand that Section 22 is one of our rights that we should be able to do with as we please. It is not an American resolution, if we are unable to move, the issue of Section 22 will remain distant, this uprising might weaken...</p>
Saddam	Comrade Foreign Minister.
Foreign Minister	<p>Mr. President, the leader,</p> <p>I want to propose some points and details that will be complementary, which I believe are very important in supporting the issue.</p>

	<p>To get rid of any excuses, to remove any worries or questions in the minds of our local people, we should talk clearly and in detail about what was required of us in all the resolutions and what we implemented. We tell our people, the Arabs, and the foreigners.</p> <p>We already prepared it in great detail, Sir. Every resolution and what we implemented, every UN decision and what we did about it. This way, there won't be any blame at the end of this period.</p> <p>This will also expose people at the international and Arab levels.</p> <p>Sir, as far as Arab countries go, nothing big will be achieved, but some of them in the Security Council are saying it would help if you try. So this might be helpful for us.</p> <p>Second, during this time, whether the result is a solution or a confrontation, we need to improve our standing with a number of Arab countries with their current leaders. This will be tactically beneficial for us.</p> <p>I suggest, even when it comes to Saudi Arabia, it is not going to hurt us to say that we are ready to re-establish our relations with them if they stop their policy of harming Iraq. We were the ones who severed it from our side, Mr. President. This also applies to the possibility of seeking aid from the King of Morocco again.</p> <p>Some Arab countries, headed by Tunisia, tried in the last couple of years to improve our relations with Kuwait but they weren't successful. Tunisia implied that it did try but was disappointed. They said that it would be of no use to try and fix things with the Kuwaitis. The Jordanians, Mr. President, tried. We should write down everything in a precise manner and introduce it to you as a proposal, Mr. President, the things that help us and any mobilization in this area.</p> <p>Also, Mr. President, from the economic and industrial point of views, we have Germany and Italy at the Security Council. It is true we shouldn't distribute Iraq's capabilities on a big number of countries...</p>
Saddam:	<p>That's Iraq's ability, to find big interests, but not when it comes to diplomatic activity. The diplomatic activity should be aimed at everyone.</p>
Foreign Minister	<p>Yes, Sir. I mean when it comes to interests. If we have certain things with the Germans and Italians that we can relatively secure, it would benefit us a great deal in the coming period. They're gradually trying to be neutral now, this year and the next. They are part of the European</p>

	<p>Union. And they have, Sir, a big influence within the European Union. We need some small steps with them, even if it was on a small scale, unlike the Russians and the French.</p> <p>Mr. President, we have overcome the impact of resolution 986. I believe that during this period, and until we see what the Russians and the French can do, it maybe helpful for us to give some proposals even if we know that they won't accept them. Meaning, Mr. President, we should get in touch with the Secretary General and prepare the Security Council. We would ask only for the purchase of medicine, for example one million worth of medicine only. Later on, we think about introducing the idea that Iraq already proposed in mid 1993, which we named to the Secretary General "Transitional Program." This will lead us to article 22.</p> <p>So we should introduce several proposals to stop the excuses. So we say we just want medicine. Instead of putting all these restrictions on Iraq, we would like to purchase one million worth of medicine, and here is our money in the International Bank of Settlements.</p> <p>Among other needs, we could perhaps give a proposal to the Secretary General, like you said sir. Since you want transparency, here is a small deal from the market of the United States of America, for this much, under the supervision and with the cooperation between the Secretary General and Iraq. As you ordered sir, we say that we need money for the Hajj and for printing the Holy Koran during the religious campaign, but we need to use our frozen money in Saudi Arabia and America.</p> <p>There is always the possibility that they will reject the proposals, but just the fact that we announce it will help the mobilization.</p> <p>So we should, Mr. President, explain our commitments, and how much we've implemented, and also our initiatives. This way no one would think that there's something Iraq didn't try.</p> <p>Thank you sir.</p>
Saddam	Good night
	<p>[Inaudible, men talking in the background after meeting is over]</p> <p>[Blank from 31:10 until the end of the audio cut]</p>