

	ISGQ-2003-M0004932 (in progress)
	[TC: Male 1's name is later mentioned to be Amir]
Male 1	<p>And I dealt with this subject as realistically as I could. Sir, That was the political part of my general observations. On the technical part, they were in fact very well prepared. We always kept in mind your recommendations in the meeting before the trip, and that the technical talks might turn into a tool to prolong the embargo, and that there are still some unresolved issues that we explained to the minister.</p> <p>Our men were prepared very well and professionally. In fact, if it weren't for the instructions and the highly efficient effort that preceded the delegation trip, it would have been possible for the technical talks to be used as a way to affect Iraq negatively. So therefore the ball is in the Iraqi court now and not the special commission.</p> <p>About the way they prepared documents and the front that was before them, we would agree on something with them but they'd leave for a couple of hours and come back with a different opinion. So it was very clear that there were parties in the background supporting them, possibly part of the special commission or from outside. They made it clear for us that they contacted all the countries and concerned parties, and that they even hired experts and specialists to prepare them two or three months before coming. So we had some experts in front of us with a strong and clear presence.</p> <p>On the organization part, we laid a plan before going there on how to lead the negotiations in a way that doesn't cause problems; in fact we had a lot of meetings with our Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. And as per your directions before we left that we should bring up the unresolved points of 715 as much as possible before discussing future issues of 715. On that subject and without being sidetracked, we lead negotiations with the special committee as a result of our detailed preparation.</p> <p>There were big meetings at the beginning where both the special committee and us discussed where they stand and there were a big number of attendees. After that we split into five groups. At first they didn't agree on the operations group but after that they did. There were meetings between him and me. I noticed that he was scared or intimidated so I decided that the best thing to do is to sit down and talk to him. I had a two-hour meeting with him almost on daily basis. His people would brief him and my people would brief me. He attended with his people and I attended with my people. Later we suggested a format that we thought was good to embarrass the bad people who were annoying our people. They even stopped the negotiations at some points.</p> <p>During the biological discussions, the special committee left the negotiations claiming that the Iraqis weren't cooperative and their information was false. He and I decided to have a mutual briefing. Both groups would sit down in the meeting and we would comment and decide on the issues. That was a huge success that helped lessen some of the bad things and made us accomplish some things.</p> <p>On the nuclear negotiation we faced some difficulties and we threatened to leave and head back to Iraq. But they backed down and the issue was resolved.</p>

	<p>The Iraqi side was leading the negotiations on the organizational side. Ekeus played a role in making this easy. We gave him and some others good prestige in front of his people so he can feel good and valuable. The American guy leading the special committee operations was exactly what we thought of him, positive and moderate. The American assistant to the president of the special committee was bad, which is also what we expected him to be and he stayed like that.</p> <p>So that was the general atmosphere sir. He generally, for general issues before starting on the specific issues, did not want to give the media positive statements. He explained it to me, he mentioned the oil market and kept emphasizing the oil market. Said he didn't want to destabilize the oil market by mentioning that we are negotiating.</p>
Male 2	The American stand in the Security Council about the statement and the Chinese suggestion, the Americans were talking about the same thing even if the terms they used were different...
Male 3	They don't want to point to...
Male 2	Something positive.
Male 1	Sir, the instructions that we had were no media and no statements. They called me lots of times, and then the Arafat issue came up [laughs]... so in fact we worked quietly.
Male 2	the Arafat thing helped you...
Male 1	Indeed sir
Male 2	It didn't let the bad media...
Male 1	And even if the Security Council met in the middle of our meetings to be briefed about it, he asked about the statement, I told him I didn't have one. He said that he prepared a three-page statement; it didn't have anything bad. He said that any statement about positive negotiations will bring the price of oil down, and if we state that the negotiations were negative then the price of oil will go up. He said he's concerned about the oil. Finally at the press conference I said but we agreed and signed a mutual statement...
Male 2	You should have told him why not start a company the two of you... [Laughter]... oil company to control the oil prices and benefit from it. The problem is that we didn't educate the Iraqis, they're not educated and we don't want them to learn anything.
Male 3	That's the... [Laughter]
Male 1	Sir, even we asked for a mutual press conference, and I told him that we agreed and signed a statement; negotiations might cause problems in the oil market and give certain impressions.
Male 2	Ask him how [Unintelligible]... from our oil. In the statement you make sure not to hurt the oil market, that's the most important problem.
Male 1	But sir, his statements were in fact conservative. I remember that our statement in the press conference was carried and translated right away. His statement took about a day and a half to two days to be analyzed by the media because it wasn't so clear about some issues [Laughter]. The media carried mine within two hours and it was about 30 minutes long. His took two days to be broadcast by the media.

	<p>In general he wants to achieve progress with us. At the end of the meeting we asked him a question, we asked how positive was the meeting and the positive attitude and methods of the Iraqi side. This document that we signed in your opinion and the methods that were used, so how long will it take. He said trust me, he calls me 'Amir by the way because Americans like to simplify things, so he said 'Amir it will take a year and a half. Meaning this agreement that we signed together and the mutual report takes a year and half. I asked him why. The cooperation and respect show by the Iraqi side will accomplish it. He agreed.</p> <p>We also used phone calls on the operations side. We had Brigadier General Husam on operations with Eckhard from their side, or him and me, to solve problems and not use official letters except for policies. That way we could resolve problems and not let the bad people use them against Iraq. He agreed and some issues were resolved.</p> <p>Sir, now we come to accomplished work. Your directions and those of the gentlemen here were to address unresolved issues. The special committee has to address our concerns. The way we see it, we did our part from Resolution 687. It is not enough for you to tell us that you have points to address; you have to say that these are the only points. You have to state that if Iraq addressed these points then it complied with 687. So don't tell us about the important or crucial points, we already rejected that, you need to state that Iraq has complied with 687 except for the following. That was the most important issue in the negotiation. It was to be expected that they came prepared for that, they had a...</p>
Male 2	List
Male 1	<p>In short, they had about 103 or 106 issues when it came to chemicals. They consider all our stands zero when it comes to biological, and a little better with missiles. They were trying to make things impossible for us. So we talked to Ekeus, who was a positive man. I told him that I would make you The Minister of Military Information; give you access to all the files. Here are your own questions, how long do you think it's going to take you to answer them? And not only do you have to answer them, you have to do it truthfully. Meaning you have to provide supporting documents, facts and numbers. Companies' names, activities and dates...etc. So we did convince him that it would take several years and not several months. So we started working on this subject. What's in front of you, sir, in the report is that we agreed on very points that are very limited. And on the technical side these points only represent a small fraction of what they learned from their visits and inspection teams. Simple information that's not even considered political can be resolved and we can answer them.</p> <p>Some parts we kept as a negotiating card, they wanted more accurate information on other parts, and we resolved a lot of other issues. The report in front of you sir, is what is left and not what was discussed, and that's the form that we requested, what we had to do to comply with 687.</p> <p>About the companies. As you know, sir, on missiles for example, we have contacts with around 400 to 460 company. The network is very big and the</p>

contracts are numerous. After negotiating, they were only interested in six companies. We only have to mention the name of the company, what country, main content meaning the materials that we bought, and if possible the year of supplying them. We don't have to provide any documents or contract information or even sub-contracts. So the number came down to six.

On the chemical side, it was 23 companies. None for biological and two or three companies for nuclear. So it was down to a few companies with very little information available to the Iraqis and without any supporting documents. So we ended the subject of supporting documents.

On the advanced experts subject, following your instructions, we used the full argument and we gave them a choice. If you keep pressing the issue then we'll stop and leave, and that will complicate things. So they backed down. But on the chemical side they still want to meet with some experts to ask some questions, that's another issue. But when it comes to names, history and what they do... etc, we delayed the whole thing. They're completely cooperating with us on the experts' subject, except on the nuclear, there are three experts. I think we can resolve the issue and discuss it. They're under arrest in Germany. Some of them were interrogated and released; one is still being held and leaked some information to the media and about his dealing with Iraq. We can deal with this issue.

In short sir, what is left is very limited and we can deal with it and resolve it. The idea is to send Ekeus before....

[TC: minute 16:05 to minute 19:20 is unintelligible]

At the same time, during his talks with Mr. Prime Minister there will be an agreement on a form to carry out the future inspection plan. Our point of view is that on December 1st, he should inform the Security Council to carry out Section 22. Meaning that if you are convinced that that Iraq complied with Resolution 687 and agreed on the operational form to carry out the future inspection, then you are supposed to announce to the Security Council [Unintelligible] section 22. His answer was, and this is the main dispute and will be discussed with Mr. Prime Minister next week, I need to give myself some time to confirm the actual start of the future inspections before I can let the Security Council know about section 22. So I asked him what the stages are and what the perspective is, write it down so Mr. Tarik can prepare the information before the debate. This is what he said: The continuous inspection stage is preceded by two stages. He called them the information collection stage and the building of trust stage. The two stages are intertwined and not consecutive. The information collection stage is when we announce according to our understanding of the future inspection plan what facilities are to be monitored.

We confirmed with them some of the points shown in the report. For example, biological is about 10 sites, missiles about 23 sites, excuse me, nuclear is 23 sites and missiles is less. Chemical is also in several sites. And of course not the whole site is monitored, just the parts with dual usage.

Male 2	Fifty?
Male 1	At the initial stage it's 59. But after he eliminates the suspected sites and things settle a little it will be 39 sites. Also the monitoring type, is it going to be by visit or camera. How many times a year will they visit it, once, twice, three times, it has to be determined. He will make a file and give a copy to the general manager or the site manager and he will keep a copy. The file will be called "Facility Attachment" and it's an information file.
Male 2	What time will he visit?
Male 1	I will get to the timing sir. He says we have to create a specific section, one that both him and me know. But we have to do it so we can eliminate it later. For example I say...
Male 2	Does he eliminate it later? He is going to state that it's for a specific period and then it's over...
Male 1	Yes sir, documented. As expected, because he still isn't familiar with all the monitoring details...
Male 2	So this whole period he is not familiar...
Male 1	Sir for monitoring purposes not inspection purposes. He says it's possible to monitor just a section, or even just a machine in the whole factory
Male 2	Up until now, their expenses are considered a debt that we have to pay correct? Their trips and their monitoring?
Male 1	Yes sir.
Male 2	After this stage starts, just like other international agreements, their expenses will be our responsibility too?
Male 3	Yes
Male 2	Why?
Male 3	Because the decisions...
Male 2	No, there's something international. We moved to another stage. The other stage should be at their expense not Iraq's
Male 3	It has it's own resolution sir, it's...
Male 2	Still, the decision is that we go back to normal after resolution 687 is fulfilled. The normal thing is for us to be just like the rest of the world. The UN pays for these kinds of activities. Because when the UN pays for this activity, instead of using 20 teams, it will take into consideration the expenses and use two teams instead. Instead of coming to monitor 39 sites it will try to only see the important things and eliminate what it can.
Male 3	Sir, the UN does not have monitoring. It has the International Atomic Energy Agency. That agency is part of the UN and the countries that contribute to it, meaning they pay fees. Chemical, biological and missiles don't have UN agencies. The first one is this special committee that was formed especially for Iraq. There are agreements between two groups, they decide about spending and each one takes care of their expenses. Meaning there's nothing in the UN budget...
Male 2	Anyway, keep these points of view about this decision in your mind
Male 3	We will discuss it sir, but it doesn't have priority at the expense of other issues
Male 2	Also this is at the expense of other issues because this goal is continuous; it may go on for decades, so why would we incur the expense

Male 4	Sir may I please? The issues that they want right now are extremely simple compared to what we have paid as a country so far. First the embargo, destroying some of our abilities, our money, and giving up some very important activities. Sir, we have to cut this short and discuss with you the important things that are unresolved with them. And at the same time we have to come up with the right policy to stop them from coming in contact with our experts...
Male 2	These are other details. How to get rid of our experts, how to isolate the activity that they are monitoring, etc...
Male 4	At first, he will come to our factories and say I will visually monitor this activity and I might come and visit it again later. I'm going to set up a camera to monitor this activity from this site. In my opinion sir, we need to be clear about this. When he decides that a site has three machines he wants to monitor with a camera, it means it's over, that's his monitoring. Using cameras to monitor is easier than his own personal monitoring that allows him to have contact with out people, that's how espionage is done and people get recruited.
Male 3	When we decide what machines he will monitor using surveillance cameras, I think we should move them all and put them in one location. And we should carefully choose our people to maintain these machines. That way we can rid our sites of their movements. But we shouldn't rush; he might get greedy and want more machines
Male 2	Our administrative form can be talked about with them so we don't reveal all our cards
Male 4	We still have two issues sir. Very simple. What the doctor said about the experts. They're held in Germany. They have detailed knowledge of our weaponry. So we should go and give the information that they gave already
Male 2	So we know what information they...
Male 4	Yes sir. [Unintelligible] we have a company called H and H...
Male 2	Don't rush in your decision about them. It has more future impacts than present. And it has a moral perception that's deep... get me a cigarette...
Male 1	About the two stage sir. The information collection stage, when he collects information about a main facility he comes back to visit it once or twice to make sure the information he has is still current. He estimates a period of six months for both stages. Our answer to him was that six months is too long, why do you need six months to keep continuous monitoring. He said it's so that the things that we agreed on for ways to implement future monitoring plans can be carried out calmly and cooperatively. But sir, if there are doubts, then even after six months or even a year, the Iraqi side could for example maybe stop cooperating.
Male 2	When there's an agreement, we go back to the terms as a reference not interpretation
Male 1	Exactly sir
Male 2	Specific terms should be the reference
Male 1	If there's a dispute, you have rights and work forms to lift the embargo, so we considered the six months an unfair and unjustified request, and it was left to be discussed later.

Male 3	After the agreement we met with the Nonaligned Nations group. Their response was very positive. [Unintelligible] William attended the meeting and they commended the negotiations in general. They also said that they want to discuss the timetable for lifting the embargo. This accomplishment in continuing the talks is useful. They said they want to tell Ekeus to set a timetable to lift the embargo and that they will support us, and hoped that we continue on the positive direction that we're on now. In fact, the Chinese were very responsive, more than usual
Male 2	China's last position is very good
Male 1	Sir, the French...
Male 2	The French also improved, compared to where they were
Male 1	He said the embargo is unjustified, not only do I call for the embargo to be lifted, the embargo itself is unjustified
Male 2	The Chinese?
Male 1	Yes the Chinese
Male 2	Because they were wary to begin with
Male 1	Yes sir
Male 3	The Chinese have always said that the embargo is not the way to solve problems
Male 1	The French asked to meet us with their delegation, as I understood from Nizar Hamdun, maybe as a sign of respect to the Iraqi delegation.
Male 4	What we accomplished and the warm welcome we received was surprising. He said he appreciated the meeting and our accomplishments and said that he will tell the French government about our position...
Male 2	You mean the French?
Male 1	Yes sir. He said that he heard positive results from Ekeus but he didn't have the details that I provided him with. And I even gave him a reserved picture. He also said that he will send my brief to the French government right away before Ekeus who was supposed to be leaving to France that same night to brief the French government.
Male 3	His brief in France was positive sir. The spokesman for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that Ekeus had told them the talks were positive
Male 2	The French statement is a step forward; they want to affect public opinion
Male 1	Even the French ambassador said that we should remain optimistic and ask you to keep the positive and constructive atmosphere, and to also indulge Ekeus. Meaning I will inform the French government, I don't remember his exact words, but he meant to indulge and respect Ekeus so he can also give us a positive attitude. It was a response that I wasn't expecting. The general atmosphere was very positive and our position strong within your guidance. But the bad people still play a role. Ekeus now represents the moderates, there are people better than him, Eckhard the American, is better. I witnessed their questions about the biological and chemical first hand, and for some time I felt that we weren't going to accomplish anything or that we were just going to leave. The possibility of an attack was high as far as I could tell. He wants to start the cameras, and he will discuss it with Mr. Deputy so I hope we can resolve the issue. The issue turned political. And when they asked us in the

	press conference about the cameras, I told them that the official Iraqi position is based on our position on the future sites, and the unresolved issues should be solved.
Male 2	Now, in the forms that we agreed on in the mutual report, this issue has become partial and lost a lot of its political form. And God willing, when I come back I will discuss it with the Iraqi leaders so it can be solved one way or another. Over the phone yesterday, Ekeus stresses this issue.