

ISGQ-2003-M0005967 (in progress)

Male1 I issued the orders and told them not only you should prevent them but you should strike them and shoot them. You want to have a plane destroyed. We have a thorough plan for our air defenses to fight them whenever they attack us especially in the North along parallel line 32 and north of parallel line 36. But in the south the skies are open. I told them to man their gun batteries and open fire not for the purpose of shooting them down but to prevent them from attacking. This is the first part. The second part concerns our security. We know that members of the inspection team are of various nationalities. One of those members could be an American agent. This is one issue, but to have an American agent from the hostile country is further aggression to the 1st Gulf War. This is a country that is fighting us, and yet we give it a chance to collect information about us in order to hurt us? How do they do that? They have AWACS planes, excuse me, U-2 planes which have sorties daily. If they are threatening to carry an operation it will target Baghdad more than other sites. They claim the planes are Saudi but in effect are operated by Americans. They are under the impression that Iraq has missiles on wheels which are being moved around in the desert. If this is true, the U-2 can photograph it. The United Nations inspection committees are present here per official agreements and possess all the information. America is an aggressor. The military planes gather information for America. UN controls are non-existent, and their only control is to search for banned weapons, and the technical operations it is undertaking are for that purpose. In order to have peace of mind, we accept the use of Chinese, French, Russian or any other planes but we will not accept American planes. On the other hand, the Americans and the British are our enemy. Therefore, we will not accept to have Americans and British people to implement the United Nation's resolutions. They can send inspectors from members of the Security Council countries but not Americans and British. The first clause we have decided upon. The second and third clauses are open for discussions. We hope at this stage we do not adopt damaging interventions. Our plan is to resist and neutralize the Americans. The plans do not include other countries. These two clauses are related to the resolutions of the United Nations. You might say that the timing is not good, but in fact all these inspectors are collecting information for the Americans free of charge. America can send U-2's but their planes could be shot down. They might be able to take photos on one flight and shoot it down on the next flight. Even if the plane is next to our borders we can send our fighters to shoot at it and force it to flee irrespective from which country they are approaching. But they not fly over us all the time and take detailed photographs free of charge. Their intelligence are capable of receiving a phone call informing them that Izzat has entered house number one over three over one hundred twenty. Immediately, since they have photographs, they can identify the house and strike it with a missile without going back to any other source. The information collected by the U-2 is being updated daily. Anyone can work as a double agent. He will tell them my name is Mohammad Ibn Salah and my address is Al-Mansour number 6 over whatever, and they will tell him go and watch this street

and that house whose neighbors are called so and so. The operation is not a small matter. They have sifted Iraq for information because Iraq to them is a tightly closed box. This is the information I possess. Other information that they want to know is how this Saddam Hussein moves around. What are the streets that lead to Sector 14. What would be the reaction of the battalion there and the immediate retaliatory reaction if an operation is launched at night. What is the size of the tank division present there. What is their defensive cover, is it a wall, a stream or a river. Can they cross them at night or in daytime. This might not be of concern to you because you are not aware of these details. I know every step they take and for what purpose. Why is it necessary for the British and the Americans to be members of the inspection committees? Shall we escalate the battle and continue holding it based on their reactions? In other words take a counter step for every step they take. Or shall we launch two battles which are independent of each other. One battle now and another in a month or two. These are series of matters I am presenting you with, except for the first paragraph which we should discuss because the public opinion will consider it an Iraqi escalation. However, our reaction to aggression should not be considered escalation. People will not consider our reaction is escalation or something new, they will understand it or accept it. These two countries, are they going to act at any cost? They are supposed to deploy 1000 planes, and if they face our fire they are susceptible to be shot down. Are they ready for this or not? We will see. If they are ready for such action we too are ready to confront them. Our calculations are not new. You try to follow up on executing and supervising this aspect because their capabilities are not up to those of other administrative capabilities such as the infantry and the armored divisions. It requires continuous follow up and supervision. I have discussed this matter with them step by step. Training has been going on for a year, no more like to years. How do we maneuver and the requirements of maneuvers. How do we involve the civil sector and other sectors? How do they use resources other than what they possess? They hit, they run, they burn and they maneuver from one place to another at night. The two strongest battalions were under my command. Two years ago I assigned them to the army and the Guards. The missiles and other resources became designated to maneuvering in order to confront a situation such as the present.

Male 2 My Master. We had a plan to face the crisis of the embargo in whatever way we can without waging a battle. We expected the timing would force us to pay a higher price than the one we paid. We were expecting to face an international confrontation greater than the present confrontation. It seems now that we are embarking on a crisis which we anticipated.

Male 1 Get me a cigarette

Male 2 Presently, 90% of the world countries support us but later on there might be different developments, and the equations might change. Every week or two weeks we should check the changes of these equations. However, to start with, I would like to congratulate you on Arbil. It was a great

action, an exemplary action. Other than your opinion and mine even the Military agreed it was a great action. The objective we put were achieved 100% as if you had created as if you had written them. We see that our Iraqi people, our Iraqi Kurds, the Syrians, the Turks the Iranians and all the Arabs as well as the cowardly enemy were stunned by the achievement of the Iraqi army in Arbil despite the land and air embargos and other embargos. It is really a glorious action. This action gave confidence, drive and momentum to our revolutionary movement of physical and psychological nature. Nothing comes close to it. This created a turning point in our journey of endurance, confrontation and defiance. Regarding your letter, I suggest we throw out the Americans and the British. This way the Security Council they realize that we have not accepted the prevailing situation.

(TC: The next 30 seconds consist of mumbled words). I realize that your letter was practical and workable, but after we saw the international reaction to your letter I suggest we do not confuse the issues but to capitalize on this reaction. Even the British reacted favorable. We should develop our battle by entering the South and involving more troops, improving our plans under your guidance so that we keep them scared. We should inflict more losses on them by increasing the number of battalions and using ambushes. We should hit them from inside our territory to demonstrate to keep the scared of Iraq. Even if they advance, we can make them retreat once, two or even three times. We have more tangible and spiritual strength than they do, especially that they do not have a justifiable national cause. This is not like the first war when the American people and the American companies said that it was a justifiable national cause because Kuwait and Saudi Arabia bore the costs. If the skirmishes between us continued, we will launch a heavy strike the British and American public will cool down. But now let us exploit the subject, the isolated American aggression. The third stage, my master, if they go on with their aggression, and I hope they would, we would show the countries of the UN that we are a country that faced aggression from one country only, and the Security Council would not be able to disregard this aggression. We will justify this plan in front of God, our people and the International community. If the American aggression does not come to a halt then we will completely sever our relations with the United Nations, in the event the aggression continues and they are not able to stop it. After a certain period of time, lets say one week, we should submit a complaint to the Security Council so they can hold a meeting. Submit another complain to the Secretary General of the UN which is a complaint to 180 countries. It is one country complaining against another country whose aggression is unfair and illegal, then whatever decision they take let them take it. This will be the preface for the day we sever our relations with the UN. We will issue a statement telling them that on such and such dates we requested such and such while our people are dying from bombardments. We are the ones who are dying, not you. The matter of timing is not an issue because it will be decided upon by us. For now we go to the international community so that we shake them.

(TC:2 mins. blank tape)

Male 3 My honorable President, I support what my comrade the vice president said and I say that six months after the raid and not two years your honor was talking about the way to lift the embargo. The council was aware and understood the strategic analyses of the situation through their profound awareness of the true intentions of the enemy. Your policy was based on analyzing the results of the operation. But recently, during the past two years, in 1995, I can say that this has become a reality and we have become convinced of our thoughts. I can now imagine how crises are created. I say the crisis started with Ekeus. We were forced to create a crisis with Ekeus who is supported by 15 countries of the Security Council. Yes, he used to come here and raise havoc and demand to enter the Presidential Palace, which we rejected, at a time when there weren't even two world countries who said that Iraq was right.

Male 4 (Interjecting), But all the Iraqi people are with us.

Male 3 Our escalation plan will confuse America because this situation will have nothing to do with the resolutions of the United Nations, and there will be one to support her. In reality this is a blessing.

(TC: the next 30 seconds consist of mumbles words.)

Today, in four...or few hours, it is very clear, despite our intelligence source...

TC: The next 3 minutes 50 seconds the tape is blank.

TC: The next minute consists of mumbling about smoking.

Male 5 The British are planning to present a draft resolution to condemn Iraq.

Male 6 It will not pass.

Male 5 It will not pass but the pressure is immense.

Male 7 It will not pass.

Male 6 It will not pass because of the French position

Male 7 To condemn us for what?

Male 5 For our move on Arbil.

Male 6 The French have legally proven, and they are the fathers of international law, that the move is not in violation of the UN resolution.

Male 5 We have approached the non-aligned countries and have formulated a form of a communiqué objecting against the aggression on Iraq, but they are going to kill

the attempt...

Male 6 (Interjecting) We should file a complaint and advise the honorable President accordingly.

Male 7 We should file a complaint

Male 6 Just for Notification of the non-aligned countries, the Arab League... (TC mumbling- too many people talking at the same time)

Male 7 The complaint should go the secretary of the United Nations therefore why shouldn't we draft one. Now when we finish this meeting we would do it.

Male 5 We should take into account how it would impact resolution 6888 and if we do not coordinate with a number of countries...

Male 6 (Interjecting)The French are the drafters of 688

Male 7 (Interjecting) It will not pass

Male 5 The French are the drafters of 688. It is a French resolution

Male 7 This is True

Male 6 They say that the return of the forces to Kurdistan is not a violation of its resolution

Male 5 How about the other half of the resolution? The second half of the resolution is important.

Male 7 What is it?

Male 5 It says that the Iraqi army and the Iraqi government cannot be present because of human rights and the rights of people there.

Male 7 The conclusion of the French resolution confirms that the presence of the Iraqi forces in Kurdistan does not violate UN resolutions.

Male 5 I am afraid now that there are similarities between the terms used by the French and the Americans regarding human rights.

Male 6 Is there a new communiqué?

Male 5 France expresses its concern over the developments in Iraq. In a letter Du Charet sent to Tareq Aziz, France confirmed the necessity to continue withdrawing the forces as per the announcement of the Iraqi authorities. Du Charet and the international community stress the importance of providing livelihood and

security to the civilians, and also talks between the Iraqi government.....(Silence)

Male 8 Honorable President, the remark of comrade Samir that the Americans don't want escalation, I think this is not going to happen. The Americans in these circumstances, the election period launched this operation on purpose. Even radio broadcasts confirmed that had it not been for the elections Clinton would not have launched this operation, or else they would have acted through the United Nations and other means without using a military strike. Now they are waiting for our reaction because they don't want further escalation or military strike. They might use the UN or put obstacles or create disturbances if they are up to such acts.. They will not launch another military strike unless we did something provocative. This is my opinion.

Male 1 Today's news cost money but tomorrow's news are free of charge. So on the 12th the news will become clearer. The end result is going to be the same. When we cancelled the embargo they immediately executed the embargo. We shall strike them and they will strike back.

Male 9 There will be escalation

Male10 Despite their stupidity their military action was limited. The action is considered to be a limited one consisting of 13 targets and 27 missiles. But it was not like last time when they fired 40 missiles on Al-Nidaa and destroyed it completely.

Male 1 Did they reveal the number?

Male10 Yes, they said 27 missiles, eight of which hit the target, eight or more were far from the target and the rest hit targets of no value. Total number of martyrs 2, according to the air defense command.

Male 1 How many martyrs the General Command announced?

Male 9 Five (interjection)

Male10 True, at first there were two

Male 1 Among them was an infant

Male 9 They do not know but all of them are civilians.

Male 1 All civilians and among them an infant.

Male 9 I told the press responsible person there are discrepancies in the military bulletins.

Male10 Had they not enlarged the embargo area, their strike would have been considered limited even in its targets. The cruise is known to you. When using the cruise you have to chose a target and then hit it with 40 missiles to destroy it.

Male 9 One or two missiles will affect civilians but not a military camp.

Male 1 One time I was told this missile was developed. Has been developed?

Male 9 Yes

Male 1 It seems they want to test it. Whenever they develop something they want to test it.

Male10 There have been some failures. There have been mechanical troubles in their air defenses. Some missiles hit the target but don't explode.

Male 1 May be it loses its technical capability.

Male10 According to my knowledge the cruise missile if it does not identify its target it falls down and does not explode. There is no missile that explodes outside its target. We have collected this information when they hit the Hotel al-Rashid,. The missile missed the target, fell down and burned. The fact that the missile identifies its target it explodes when it hits it. This is its advantage.

Male 9 If it falls it does not explode. (Inaudible)

Male10 When they hit the bridge the missile did not explode because it missed the target. It fell but did not explode.

Male 9 If the cruise missile does not identify its target it does not explode. Some of them have technical discrepancy because they can identify their target and yet do not explode.

Male 1 They give the missile indication of a similar target, such as a certain building that is unique. When it does not hit the target it falls in the perimeter of the indications. Earlier, the cruise could identify a target from a distance of 20 kilometers but could focus on that target during the final approach. Now they have developed the cruise to focus on the target from a distance of 5 kilometers. This way it avoids air defenses for the first distance of 20 kilometers. It engages the air defenses only the last 5 kilometers.

Male 9 It has a picture inside it and has a computer program. The camera holds has a picture of the target and when the picture is identified by the computer, the missile then identifies its target. It has a preset course.

Male10 It is not an effective weapon and it is cheap.

Male 9 It is cheap of the human losses. To be precise in hitting a target from a long distance is not practical.

- Male 1 They have been continuously developing it for 6 years. They came and threw it and we get to explode it.
- Male 9 The other day my honorable comrade I dug information from old editions of the Herald Tribune,...
- Male 1 Excuse me let me go back to the cruise topic with the comrades. Regarding the cruise, yesterday I issued some orders, and day before yesterday I issued the fundamentals.
- Male10 There is a committee in the congress responsible for fiscal control which conducts studies for the Congress on military affairs, or the economies of the military affairs. After years of research they presented a report about the 1st Gulf war. The gist of the report is that the weapons they describe as developed which the Pentagon has ordered from private industries for billions of dollars, do not have better effectiveness than the old weapons which were stored in the US army depots and the ones previously used. The conclusion was that this was unnecessary spending. They claimed they had a smart bomb which will serve the objective but the report said the objective was not met.
- Male 1 The new report claims that they extended its range and made the warhead smaller. In order to have a better impact they made the warhead smaller but with greater exploding power. They have also made it penetrate a surface to a certain depth and then explode. This will compensate for the destructive power of the old warhead. This is only used for fortified sites. It has no effect on surface targets. If they target radar or a gun battery this warhead will not explode upon impact. It penetrates the ground and then explodes which leaves the targets intact. The weapon industries do not have the practical military knowledge. They only deal with one aspect, such as shelters, fortified buildings etc. Their timing devices might cause the warhead to explode in the first floor or the second floor.(TC: Silence and whispering lasting one minute.
- Male 1 My comrades the conclusion is that we agreed we will execute our decision regarding lifting the embargo and the marked lines and fight from there. The other parts of our march should be ready in our minds including the bigger issue which consists of lifting the embargo. As for the timings, we should be ready in our minds and agree on them in due course. At the same time we will put a big plan. The brains of others should stay alert to contribute to any step we will discuss. (TC: Here the tape is inaudible, but a reference is made to Tariq Aziz on the subject of presenting a complaint.) The complaint should be geared at raising the discussion of the subject of the North at an international level. We should make sure that the complaint does not backfire.
- Male 9 We will file a complaint and hold discussions at the UN.
- Male 1 We have previously discussed this topic and agreed to file the complaint to the

Secretary General and not the Security General.

Male 9 They are going to discuss it in the Security General any how, as Mohammad said the British have presented a draft resolution condemning. us

Male 1 To condemn us

Male 9 They will present the draft and start the discussions. Of course, the discussions will not be official, unless a resolution is adopted, and in my opinion this is not going to happen. There are two types of discussions: One, we do not ask for an official session as comrade Mohammad said, but we present a complaint which will go to the Secretary General; but we do not ask for an official assembly so that we take a stand, and inform the Arab League accordingly.

Male11 Honorable Leader, we should present a complaint because logging an official stand at the United Nations requires that the country choose the subject it raises. You remember your honor that each time there was a Turkish intrusion you ordered we present a complaint to the UN. Now we have a record at the United Nations that allows the Iraqi government to present a claim at any time it chooses. This makes our legal stance very strong regarding the incursions in the North and the no-fly zones. Per your orders we have recorded each incident and now possess heaps of documents and lists

Male 1 We should keep the legal grounds alive, especially when it comes to the subject of compensations.

Male 1 But, the base for the wording for the legal base for compensation for our morale and materialistic losses

Male 2 We have already registered...

Male 1 In contrast to what they are suggesting for compensations.

Male 2 So far, we have registered hundreds of billions, Mr. Leaders, in the Arab League and the UN with material evidences.

Male 3 That is helpful

Male 2 Helpful, but the point that the President ordered...now we are working with the countries, Sir. We have filed our objection with these countries, but it might be premature to ask for a discussion at the Security Council...

Male 4 For the Secretary General

Male 2 Yes, for the Secretary General

- Male 1 OK. I have something else. The thing that I have is about the party. The party has weapons with limited range and [Inaudible] single, double triple and quadruple and we have the possibility, the possibility to provide the party with this with [Inaudible] and enter them in their locations and tell officers who shoot airplanes. The pilot that does not have a cause as soon as he sees fire on the inside burning will be in a bad psychological situation. So, the party's ability to maneuver, be present and shoot down is better than the air defense. I want to utilize the party, especially in the south on a wide range in this area. We will provide them with capabilities and we will provide them weapons. We will teach them how to shoot down and how to hit and how to destroy. We will train them on this and let them work. The Air Defense will have other tools, including missiles. It is also possible to provide the party with shelters. Yes.
- Male 5 We should secure the smallest details, because they might hit airplanes. This subject...
- Male 1 We will put them in courses.
- Male 5 Yeah, put them in courses.
- Male 1 to even distinguish the airplanes
- Male 5 And teach them how, because...
- Male 1 Because we can coordinate with them through signaling. Meaning the enemy's airplanes will appear on the radar and by signal we will tell them that this is an enemy airplanes.
- Male 5 That is it Sir.
- Male 1 That is it, the altitude is this so that they will have it exactly in their head, because if they are very high they should not fire at them and wait maybe they will go lower where they can reach them.
- Male 5 The farther they go Sir, the air defenses and the interception airplanes are better
- Male 1 We will start attacking starting with the boarders that were imposed on us from Kuwait to...
- Male 5 Yes
- Male 6 Sir, some of them are very well trained militarily....
- Male 5 They went to courses.
- Male 1 Are they soldiers?

Male 6 Yes Sir.

Male 1 Can we train our comrades by soldiers who were in the war with Iran and the Gulf War on this kind of weapons?

Male 6 Yes

Male 1 Or the people?

Male 5 And the people can participate in the air defenses.

Male 1 Then you should gather them.

Male 6 [Inaudible]

Male 1 The entire subject.

Male 6 [Inaudible]

Male 1 I think we are entering a real battle. Each province, Basra, Misan, Ziqar and Wasit
Male 5 [Inaudible]

Male 1 And the war with Iran [Inaudible]. Each province five teams to tighten it with quadruples and doubles.

Male 6 They should be trained on this. It is easy

Male 1 That is new and we should have a great fire force against problems. [Inaudible] from the air defenses

Male 6 Yes, yes Sir.

Male 1 We should organize something similar. I told the director of intelligence to tell Mas'ud to hand us the airplanes that fall down and [Inaudible].

Male 6 [Inaudible] Mas'ud.

Male 5 Good statement. Through it he attacked the United States of America very harshly.

Male 1 The man became...

Male 5 We published it. Sir, we published it outside and inside. We published it.

Male 6 The foreign minister and the minister of information.

- Male 1 They had high hopes... one of the reasons for not [Inaudible] the no-fly zone in the north, because the area in the north belongs to Mas'ud. So he tells them I do not want it.
- Male 5 Sir, they want to come close to Baghdad and achieve high percentage of conspiracy and attach the center of the struggle. If they come to the Himri...
- Male 1 [Inaudible]
- Male 5 They want what you just said.
- Male 6 The people of the Gulf say that this an isolation of Iraq
- Male 1 Their support [Inaudible]. Comrade Taha, all the information that you have about the north are known
- Male 7 Mr. President, the same information available. Sure in al-Sulymanyya people used to go and return but now they banned their return. In Baghdad...it is there... they go. The other day they went and banned their travel. They told them wait and hopefully you will return in a short period, so they returned to Baghdad. In al-Sulymanyya many people are happy...