Key: UM = Unidentified Male Speaker

Translator comments, clarifications, and additions are italicized in brackets

[*Time Stamp: 00:08*]

[Inaudible, people are arriving and greeting each other.]

Saddam Hussein: Oh, he likes treason and to exploit opportunities, such a mentality—go ahead and read for us, Hamid. Until what time?

Hamid Hammadi: Sir, until 8:30 AM.

Saddam Hussein: 8:30 AM. That might go in the direction you want.

Sa'dun Hammadi: Sir, this is not the most harmful thing. Practically speaking, the Soviet Union

is the one that caused us a lot of harm.

Saddam Hussein: Starting with the mobilization in one direction—

Sa'dun Hammadi: From the beginning—

Saddam Hussein: To an incomplete situation, as if he is playing a role. He tricked us; it is a

trick!

Sa'dun Hammadi: In the meeting, [Soviet President Mikhail] Gorbachev said, "please, don't think we're here to fool you or trap you." Anyway, whatever the intention, it is practically the same.

Saddam Hussein: It led us to the same result, because we mobilized our people and army in one direction and we switched them to a different direction in the middle of this transformation [inaudible]. Anyway, let us hope for the best!

All: God willing.

UM1: That is true, but our decision was not wrong as far as our citizen—

Saddam Hussein: I believe that the people of this country will completely understand our situation. We accepted everything those who tried to mediate between us and the enemy wanted [pause] and even more.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: The public position was too much.

Sa'dun Hammadi: Regarding our withdrawal from the border with Iran—

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: In order to avoid the last phase of the conspiracy, we need to withdraw from the borders.

Saddam Hussein: Read for us, Hamid.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: Damn them! We are going to fight them from house to house.

All: God willing.

Hamid Hammadi: Summary of the situation in sectors of the 1st and 2nd Corps, until 08:30 AM on February 24, 1991.

1st Corps: At 02:00 AM on February 24, they heard helicopters and armored units in the direction of Al-Saffari area, in the 45th Division's sector.

Saddam Hussein: This is the right wing of the 1st Corps?

Hamid Hammadi: Two, we called the commander of the 1st Corps to inquire about the situation in the sector. He mentioned that the situation is normal, except for helicopter movements in the sector of the 45th Division. This is currently being dealt with.

Three, 3rd Corps: [reported that] at 05:15 AM, on February 24, the enemy initiated heavy artillery fire with advancement.

Saddam Hussein: What time?

Hamid Hammadi: At 05:15 AM on February 24, the enemy initiated heavy artillery bombing with advancing of the armored troops in the two sectors of—

Saddam Hussein: Where is the summary that is marked on the map?

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: The one you have.

Hamid Hammadi: For both the enemy and our sectors, Sir, we do not have the last update marked on the map, yet.

Saddam Hussein: Do you update it up to the minute?

Hamid Hammadi: No, Sir, we have not yet—

Saddam Hussein: Just use the old one.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir, the old one—I will bring the map now.

Saddam Hussein: Yes.

Hamid Hammadi: With the advancement of armor units into the sectors of the 7th and 14th Infantry Divisions, they were engaged and—

[*Time Stamp: 4:56*]

Saddam Hussein: This is the far right wing of the 1st Corps and the far left wing of the 3rd Corps and the other corps in between; this is out of Kuwait Province. This is on the shore and is to extend out of the shore inside Kuwait Province.

Hamid Hammadi: They [the 7th and 14th Infantry Divisions] were engaged and the enemy's armored units stopped. At 08:10 AM, the enemy mobilized tanks between the 14th and 426th Infantry Brigades of the 14th Division; the Corps' course of action was that the Mobilization Commander issued an order for the 3rd Armored Division, to position them on the line to handle the situation.

Saddam Hussein: Yes.

Hamid Hammadi: There was heavy artillery bombing on Failaka Island. At 08:43 AM, the enemy was able to defeat the 1st Regiment of the 14th Infantry Brigade, and conducted troops dropping by helicopters at the Regiment post. The enemy was still reinforced in the same direction of the 14th Division of the 3rd Corps. The following is the Corps' course of action: Moving part of the covering troops of the 3rd Armored Division to conduct [*inaudible*], Staff Lieutenant General Sultan was called by phone regarding the situation, and he stated that information about the situation would be sent later.

Summary of the 7th Corps situation until 09:30 AM on February 14. At 08:10 AM, seven helicopters and several [*personnel*] carriers were seen advancing towards the posts of 434th Infantry Brigade, 26th Infantry Division and they were engaged—

Saddam Hussein: I need to see it. Where is 26th Infantry Division? Where is the map of the situation? Bring the map.

Hamid Hammadi: And a number of carriers are advancing towards the posts of the 434th Infantry Brigade, 26th Infantry Division. They were engaged from a distance and no changes in the Corps sector. The 3rd Corps, on—

Saddam Hussein: Where is this [information]? Have you read in the beginning?

Hamid Hammadi: The 7th [*Corps*], Sir.

Saddam Hussein: The 7th [Corps], which is?

Hamid Hammadi: The 7th [*Corps*], which is outside the borders in the direction of the Saudi Arabia.

Saddam Hussein: That means, it [the 7th Corps] is behind the 1st Corps advanced toward Kuwait; the 1st [Corps] is the furthest of the wing, after that would be the 7th Corps, after that is the real action. Read for us, Amjad?

Amjad: The 7th Corps reported seeing seven helicopters and several carriers advancing toward the posts of the 431st Infantry Brigade, 26th Infantry Division. It was engaged from a far distance and no changes were made in the Corps sector.

The 3rd Corps: at 09:10 AM, reports that the enemy is still advancing through the posts of the 1st Regiment, the 14th Infantry Brigade—the 14th Infantry Division. It is possible the enemy is aiming at Al-'Abbas Air Base and the Corps continues engagement and intervention measures.

Saddam Hussein: Fine. So where is Al-'Abbas Air Base? Where is the regiment covering the troops and Al-'Abbas Air Base? What does he mean? [Said mockingly, referring to the far distance between the base and the troops.]

Hamid Hammadi: Sir, there is a base in the south called Salim Base.

Saddam Hussein: Is it in front of our troops? So how is it close to our troops [said annoyingly]? [Inaudible] is it in front of our troops? In the first post it was in front of our troops. What is this?

Amjad: This is the primary and most recent map, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: Which primary map?

Amjad: The recent map that the intelligence director gave to you.

Hamid Hammadi: This is the Saudi [map].

Saddam Hussein: It is showing the status of the enemy's sectors.

[*Time Stamp 10:07*]

The 3rd Corps: at 09:10 AM, the enemy is still advancing through the posts of the 1st Regiment, 14th Infantry Brigade, and it is possible the enemy is aiming to attack Al-'Abbas Air Base and the Corps continues to engage [*the enemy*]. At 09:20 AM, the enemy executed an airdrop using helicopters between post 608 and post 618, in the area of Al-Salman, the 7th Corps' sector.

Saddam Hussein: This is Saudi Arabia?

Amjad: Yes, Sir. This is in Saudi Arabia.

Saddam Hussein: Where is the battle now? Every minute you say Saudi Arabia, where is your border? Okay—

Amjad: At 09:45 AM —

Saddam Hussein: [pointing at a map] The 7th Corps is behind the 1st Corps, and the entire right wing is outside the borders of the [inaudible] governorate. This is the 3rd Corps, this is the 29th Infantry Division, this is the 14th Infantry Division, and this is the 11th Infantry Division. Which infantry regiment did he tell you?

Amjad: The 14th Infantry Regiment... the 14th Division.

Saddam Hussein: They are here and this is behind our defense post.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes.

Saddam Hussein: This is the 14th -- part of our defense post, 14? That means they have penetrated this way—

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir

Saddam Hussein: Now it is clear [referring to connecting the information to locations on the map]. Yes.

Amjad: At 09:45 AM, Staff Lieutenant. General Sultan Hashim called and explained—

Saddam Hussein: What time was it, please?

Amjad: 09:45 AM. Lieutenant General Sultan Hashim called and stated the following:

First, the enemy's attack on the sector of the 29th Infantry Division failed.

Saddam Hussein: Next.

Amjad: [Second,] the enemy was able to defeat the 1st Regiment, 14th Infantry Brigade—

Saddam Hussein: The enemy was able to what?

Amjad: To defeat the 1st Regiment.

Saddam Hussein: This is the infantry brigade number.

Amjad: 14.

Saddam Hussein: Which regiment?

Amjad: The 1st Regiment of the 14th Infantry Brigade of the 14th Division.

Saddam Hussein: It must be the right wing, since it is closer to the base.

Amjad: [*The enemy*] was trying to advance toward Al-'Abbas Air Base. All appropriate measures were taken to stop the enemy.

Third, Failaka Island remains under the control of our troops.

Saddam Hussein: They [the enemy] claimed that it was captured at 09:00

Fourth, the situation is good and under control.

Saddam Hussein: Those [*troops*] have to reinforce the shoulders [*of the battlefield*] here immediately; this shoulder, if it remained in their positions along with the brigade in depth, it will enclose and capture all of them.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: How many do you think are there?

Taha Yasin Ramadan: More than one regiment.

Saddam Hussein: I think they have more than one combat unit, [they have] tanks and [inaudible] that are performing some acrobatic maneuvers that make you think they are—yes.

If what Sultan is saying is accurate so far, I consider the enemy's attack a failure. If what he is saying is true it is because our troops get confused sometimes at night, but once it is daylight and

the defense position is complete, and even if only 20 percent is left, I doubt the enemy could penetrate the post.

Taha Yasin Ramadan: This [the enemy]—cannot surround them at this point, because they cannot—

Saddam Hussein: They will not give up the location. This is the brigade in depth; this means they cannot surround them from this direction, because they would confront the brigade.

This is the 6^{th} Armored Brigade; the enemy assault forces will immediately counterattack them, nothing to worry about so far.

[*Time Stamp 15:22*]

Taha Muhi al-Din: There has not been an amphibious landing so far?

Taha Yasin: My opinion is if this lasts any longer, then there is a possibility for another landing.

Saddam Hussein: They assigned a junior unit.

Taha Yasin Ramadan: That must mean they are not coming back.

Saddam Hussein: As far as the amphibious landing, if they use the same strategy, the one I gave them five days ago, to destroy all naval bases and all places that can be used for landing and are easy to reach. All of it needs to be destroyed by fire, in order to make a dark cloud above the troops from the other side, like a natural shield, because I mentioned to them the possibility of an attack.

Hamid Hammadi: Regarding the wells, I think they burned 190.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: Maybe 200. They are saying the aircrafts are disabled due to the dust and the smog. Sir, I think they failed, because they have yet to announce anything.

'Ali Hasan Al-Majid: All what it takes is tanks roll to stir up dust. I think, Sir, they really failed because they have not announced anything; had they have something to announce they would have.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: If they thought they would achieve a quick victory, then they would have announced it; they would hold a media conference.

'Ali Hasan Al-Majid: They are evil.

Saddam Hussein: They are going to attack by land. Good! They will be defeated.

All: God willing.

Saddam Hussein: This is the 3rd and this is the 4th, the 21st and this is the 16th.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: They have announced the status of Failaka since last night, right? They must have something in store.

Taha Yasin Ramadan: It should not be a problem.

Saddam Hussein: Regarding Failaka, three days ago I was with the Minister of Defense asking him how we can withdraw.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: These are good locations to withdraw from.

Saddam Hussein: He told me it would be difficult at this time to withdraw with one ferry in service; it would be hard to transfer their equipment. They have one mechanized infantry regiment and a naval brigade.

Taha Yasin Ramadan: The naval brigade will fight along with them.

Saddam Hussein: The units are locked there.

Taha Yasin Ramadan: It is the first shock.

Saddam Hussein: If this is the initial shock and what Sultan told me is correct, then the attack has failed.

Hamid Hammadi: Our folks can take the first shock, just as they did in the Iranian War.

Saddam Hussein: This is a damn shock. We are between two political situations. Neither one has been decided on, yet. It contradicts all expectations.

Hamid Hammadi: Well, if you--

Saddam Hussein: When did Comrade Tariq [*Tariq Aziz*] arrive?

Taha Yasin Ramadan: He has not arrived yet.

Saddam Hussein: What do you mean he has not arrived? They advertised it in the newspaper.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: Maybe it has been announced for security reasons, as he would arrive through Amman as a trick.

Hamid Hammadi: That is when he left the Soviet Union.

Saddam Hussein: He [Tariq Aziz] left at night?

Hamid Hammadi: He left in the afternoon.

Saddam Hussein: In the afternoon. Look it up in the newspaper: "Tariq Aziz arrives in

Baghdad."

[*Time Stamp 20:16*]

Where is the guy that brings tea? Drink your tea before it turns cold.

Taha Yasin Ramadan: Gorbachev may not have made a statement following the attack!

Saddam Hussein: Regarding the first letter I sent him, do you still have it?

Hamid Hammadi: Yes

Saddam Hussein: Please read it and read his response. This was all done tonight.

Hamid Hammadi: "Mr. Gorbachev, the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

We trusted you and we have placed Iraq's honor and the dignity of the Iraqi Armed Forces in this trust. Therefore, we have agreed on your peace proposal, which you had provided to us in spite of all [the] fiscal and mental severity facing the Iraqi fighter. This circumstance we are facing is not easy, especially when the other side did not respond either way. Even though we will keep our promise, Mr. President, we do know that the Americans, especially their president, have no honor and we do not trust them; therefore, we are working only with your peace proposal. We agreed to it because of our strong trust only in you and the Soviet Union.

The situation now is getting worse. The Americans send their threats and are planning to deceive Iraq. The way they presented their statement and threats, it seems they have no respect for the Soviet Union's position. We do not hear your specific, clear response countering their pathetic statements and threats. Our nation and army are confused. We are asking ourselves, "Which one is more significant: the Soviet Union's proposal or the Americans' threats?" Either way, we need to clear up this issue, in order to prevent the Americans from deceiving our armed forces and our people, by your reply to this letter. We thank you for your response.

Greetings to you and to the people of the Soviet Union,

Saddam Hussein."

Saddam Hussein: What time did you receive the letter?

Hamid Hammadi: Sir, I received it around 6:00 PM. We delivered it to the Russian Ambassador around 10:00 PM.

Saddam Hussein: See why I was worried the last two days? I know how they react.

Hamid Hammadi: Through the Soviet Ambassador—

Saddam Hussein: I made a statement in the name of Comrade Izzat in order to advise the naval forces. Since the communication means are [*inaudible*]. You made your call to [*pause*] the Russian Ambassador, what did you accomplish with him?

Hamid Hammadi: I visited the Russian Ambassador at seven pm and I asked him to do his best to get us an answer through our Ministry of Foreign Affairs as soon as possible. The answer arrived at 04:30 AM or around 05:00.

Saddam Hussein: I received the answer at 4:15 AM. I did not know the answer. I mean, about the attack. Go ahead.

[*Time Stamp 24:22*]

Hamid Hammadi: "Dear Mr. President Saddam Hussein,

We thank you for your personal letter showing your concerns about the situation that is getting more complicated despite our joint efforts to implement the procedures for a peaceful solution for the dispute. I would like to point out [inaudible] your decisions to agree on a peaceful solution were an extraordinarily important step and changed the entire situation. After we received your letter indicating you have approved the [peace] project we had arranged with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tariq Aziz, here in Moscow, and that it will be approved by the Iraqi government, we quickly took the following steps to implement this project's terms: During the last 24 hours we made two long phone calls. The first one was with the American President, George Bush, followed by the leaders of Britain, Germany, Italy, France, and Japan. In fact, I was personally busy all day engaging in these discussions summarized in the following: [inaudible] postponed for a few months, created a new particular situation with exceptional [inaudible] as far as how important it is to find a peaceful solution for the problem. We called on the international coalition to use this opportunity to stop the bloodshed. For the sake of a fast solution for the mentioned peace proposal, we requested holding an exceptional session of the Security Council of the United Nations where the issues of the ceasefire supervision and monitoring and the forces' withdrawal will be discussed in the same manner as the other issues.

At this time, the United Nations members are meeting in New York, discussing the situation. I should say that, in most cases, the reactions to this information are positive, and the efforts made to reach a peaceful solution to this situation are greatly appreciated.

At the same time, President Bush still insists on honoring the American party's request, and he is not willing to agree to our proposal. The American President claims he is doing this because he believes Iraq is carrying out environmental terrorism, blowing up the oil refining installations in Kuwait, as well as burning the oil fields. Tariq Aziz was clever in his statement at the press conference when he condemned the Americans' accusations against Iraq. He was prepared to clarify Iraq's position along with a meeting in the UN non-alignment committee. This is what we are dealing with now. The United Sates can ignore what they don't like in a peaceful solution through the Security Council, and the Americans [can] begin land operations against Iraqi forces in the Gulf. We are taking the toughest procedures to avoid such a turning point of events, and it is still difficult to say whether these procedures are going to be successful.

I believe, under these circumstances, that it would be useful and important to announce, openly and clearly, your decision to withdraw all your forces from Kuwait to their locations on August 1, 1990 without delay or reservation. I also believe in this regard it is possible to address a letter to President Bush directly. It is very clear that, at this intense moment, we need a fast solution to end this important situation without argument. My suggestion is that it is very important for Iraq to withdraw its forces from the land. All of this will be discussed in the UN session. A number of nations are expecting that 21 days for the withdrawal of forces to be a long time. This is the timeframe we agreed on. These nations believe this delay is intentional. I suggest that you mention in your statements another timeframe for the withdrawal of forces of 9–10 days. Without doubt, this will create a different impression for Iraq and won't present any special difficulties. I replied to your letter promptly because I know how important this time is. We are

following the situation carefully to avoid any other alternatives, because from the beginning our goal is to protect lives and the honor of the Iraqis and the other Arab nations in the Gulf region.

Sincerely,

Mikhail Gorbachev

02/24/1991"

Saddam Hussein: He still did not answer the question. It is all talk!

[*Time Stamp: 30:15*]

Hamid Hammadi: Mr. President responded to this letter and I delivered it to the Russian Ambassador at 7:00 AM.

Saddam Hussein: I wrote the letter at 6:30 AM. At this time I had not heard the news of the attack. Therefore, you need to go to the Russian Ambassador and confirm with him the time and the date of my letter. Have him send a cable to Moscow explaining to them that when I wrote this letter I was not yet aware of the attack. Many things will depend on that in the future. We do not want them to say, when things settle down in the future, God willing, that this assurance came to us after the attack.

Hamid Hammadi: "In the name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful, to Mr. President Gorbachev, with respect.

I received your response letter around 5:00, 6:00am Baghdad time on 02/24/91. I was very satisfied with its contents and I would like to offer my special thanks for all your hard work in this matter, because any help you offer us during this transition period would make the withdrawal faster, and we will use it to shorten the time, not lengthen it. Mr. President Gorbachev, we carry out our commitments if we make them, and the concern that President Bush and his allies express is nothing but a matter of not trusting us, they do not believe we will abide by what we say, and they are revealing their bad conscience, which is loaded with lies and deceptions. Bush's hands are loaded with bloodshed and the killing of innocent people....Now everything has become clear. Finally, I wish you all the luck with your agenda, because your agenda is to help peace, which is the opposite of what Bush, his mercenaries, or his friends are doing. Peace [be] upon you,

Saddam Hussein 6:30 AM, Baghdad time."

Saddam Hussein: When we are in a war, important documents must have two copies in two different locations. What if this location is bombed or burned?

Hamid Hammadi: Sir, I have a file cabinet and a safe.

Saddam Hussein: They are still in the same location. What I want you to do is to have two copies in two different locations.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: You must have at least two copies for such materials. You should send one to the Office of the Presidency and have another with you.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: [Reading a headline.] "Tariq Aziz has returned to Baghdad."

UM1: Sir, we sent him at two in the morning [inaudible]—pardon me, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: You see, I told you. I have read all the newspapers, including the ads.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: That was to trick them, but he arrived via Amman, Jordan.

Taha Yasin Ramadan: When he arrives, we will send someone for him.

Saddam Hussein: Did they broadcast the speech?

UM1: Yes, Sir, they did broadcast the speech.

Saddam Hussein: How about the interpretation of the [*Qur'anic*] verse, was it the same? Read the speech to the comrades, because it was broadcast on the radio.

[*Time Stamp 36:12*]

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Mr. President. I will read it.

In the name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful,

"Ye dislike it. But possible ye dislike a thing which is good for you, and ye love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knoweth, and ye know not" 2:216 Al-Baqara [Our'anic verse]

To the great people of Iraq, the courageous Armed Forces, for honorable and faithful people everywhere. When the Security Council was preparing to hold a meeting to discuss the Russian peace initiative, which we agreed on, the betrayers, Bush, the despicable, along with the traitor and coward [Saudi king] Fahd, along with those who agreed and planned this awful crime. Those cowards and traitors excelled over those who mastered deception, betrayal and treason—

Saddam Hussein: Those who what?

Hamid Hammadi: [Resuming] mastered deception, betrayal and treason after they abandoned all roads to good humanity. This morning they betrayed us with an extensive ground attack on our forces, and revealed their intentions to the naïve. They betrayed those who signed with them on the dreaded Security Council resolution prior to the military assault, thinking they are defending international legitimacy. They betrayed everybody, but God is greater than all, and capable of anything. He will punish and shame them for their betrayal—

Saddam Hussein: God can—

Hamid Hammadi: From the beginning, the evil worked on that path of hostility and immorality to harm the people of Iraq and disgrace what they stand for. Eventually, they will realize what they are doing is against the will of God. God will end their evil, aimed at our faithful people. They will realize that the great people of Iraq and its armed forces are not what they anticipated. We are calling on the Iraqi people to fight them with all their means and experience. Fight them, Iraqis, with your belief in God; fight them for every honored woman and innocent child and with all the meaning of manhood and military values that you bear. Fight them and when you defeat them, you will achieve the greatest conquest. If you triumph in this war, you will be rewarded with dignity and honor. Otherwise-God forbid-if our enemy achieves their goal, it will be a shameful Iraqi defeat. It would leave you men, the nation of Iraq, and humanity in eternal darkness. Oh, men! Fight them, as they do not possess the values that make them manlier, more courageous, and more capable than you are. With the engagement, man to man, the supremacy of weaponry would be absent, and would leave the immoral for you to shape into real men. The only thing left to determine the final fate is the faith of the believers and the bravery of the patriotic. Fight them fiercely, as God called upon the believers to battle the infidels mercilessly. Your families, the people of Iraq and of the world are watching you today. Your conduct may encourage people to please God by following His path and honoring the people and the nation. Fight them, as men who believe should. They are the masses of infidels, hypocrites, and betrayers and you are the masses of believers, steadfast and faithful. Fight them, and victory, dignity and honor, will be yours. God is Great! God is Great! God is Great! Victory is great, by the grace of God.

[*Time Stamp: 41:00*]

Saddam Hussein: Tell me, what did you do with [inaudible]? Go ahead, Comrade Taha—

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: Sir, in fact, this is the last stage of the conspiracy and they are executing it. We were concerned about this before, but we are calmer now. I am talking about myself, personally. I am calmer now than before.

Because the Soviet Union's efforts were late—what I mean is—if this proposal had started earlier, it would have been better. God willing, they will be serious in their efforts, because it came in the last round. Most vital is the determination of our people and our Armed Forces. It is more important than the pressure of the Soviet Union or any other party involved. I am confident that the Iraqi intention and attempts for peace have put us in a stronger position to fight until the end. As they say, "welcome death." Each Iraqi is suffering from the economy, among other things, but now they have an obligation and duty to fight to the end.

This is my estimation. The people's position is now stronger than it was a month ago or two weeks ago. We now know the conspiracy is not only to free Kuwait, but also to occupy Iraq, remove the regime and destroy everything we have worked for. Yesterday, they raided the outskirts of Baghdad and the residential districts in the Al-Hadi area. They attacked homes, including my house, as well as farms. It became obvious; we are starting a sort of punishment. Concerning Al-Hadi district's situation, I believe—

Saddam Hussein: I want to go sit there [referring to a chair in the room].

[*Time stamp: 45:11*]

UM2: Concerning the situation with the military—

Saddam Hussein: One of the escorts needs to move the microphone—put it on top of this. Where are those papers?

UM5: Sir, this is the new situation report...

Saddam Hussein: One of you needs to explain the situation [*One person agrees*.] Please read for us, bring the map— [*Tape stops*.] Is it marked?

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Mr. President. The 14th Infantry Division arrived at this holding line with the tank

Battalion . In addition, advancing the 95th Brigade of the 3rd Corps toward—

Saddam Hussein: That means the 3rd Regiment is part of the covering troops?

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Mr. President, one of these isolated ones. Here, Sir, the enemy force is estimated to be an armored brigade. Sir, at first they were stationed in front of the covering troops, now they are three kilometers away from the covering troops.

Saddam Hussein: They withdrew!

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Mr. President. Regarding Bobian and Failaka Islands, we had communication with them until eleven, but then we lost them.

Saddam Hussein: Communication stopped at 11:00 AM. Did they report anything prior to the communication loss? It could be technical problems with their communication device.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Mr. President, they were under heavy artillery fire and we had communication with them until 11:00 AM.

UM2: Here is the 7th Division and the 14th Division. They think the main attack will occur in this area—

Saddam Hussein: Because it is the shortest way to the city.

UM2: Yes, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: Yes, read us the situation.

Hamid Hammadi: Summary of the situation until 11:15 AM, the 3rd Corps. At 10:30 AM, the enemy was capable of eliminating the 3rd Regiment, 14th Infantry Brigade.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: The 3rd Regiment, 18th Brigade.

Hamid Hammadi: 3rd Battalion, 14th Infantry Brigade and they turned toward the 2nd Regiment, 14th Infantry Brigade.

Saddam Hussein: [Looking at a map.] Is the 2nd Regiment to your left?

Hamid Hammadi: Sir, this is the 1st Regiment, 18th Brigade.

Saddam Hussein: No, this is the division. There is a division between every two points.

[*Time Stamp 50:38*]

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir. This is the regiment. This is the 14th Brigade and this is the 426th Brigade.

Saddam Hussein: It is a regiment; he is talking about a regiment and not division.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir. This is the regiment and this is the 426th Brigade.

Saddam Hussein: Repeat it.

Hamid Hammadi: The enemy was able to eliminate the 3rd Regiment, 14th Infantry Brigade, and 14th Division and then turn toward the 2nd Regiment, 14th Infantry Brigade. This battle is taking place now at the 14th Infantry Brigade post. One company from the 3rd Regiment of the Brigade is fighting with the brigade. [Inaudible] the same time, they heard screaming and noise in front of 18th Infantry Division coming from Al-Wafrah area direction, the dividing borders with the 8th Infantry Division.

Saddam Hussein: Where are these troops located? Here is the division, here is the brigade and here is the brigade over there in depth, or maybe 10 kilometers or maybe a kilometer for each.

Hamid Hammadi: The 1st Corps, in the phone call at 11:00 AM with Staff Lieutenant General Ibrahim, Commander of the 1st Corps, stated the following:

1st Corps Commander: the enemy's aircrafts are still raiding the 45th Division's sector. Helicopters are attempting to destroy all locations; they are trying to perform an air landing to confuse our formations and the division command. Until now, they have not been capable of securing a foothold. There are heavy air raid attacks on the 54th Infantry Division's sector.

Saddam Hussein: Which one is it, the 45th Division? Or do you mean 54th Division? ['*Abd is heard trying to find the location*] 'Abd, look at the map, there are columns; between every two columns, there is a number at the end.

'Abd: Yes, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: At the end, in depth. [*On the map*] inside the lines of the 45 which division is that one?

Hamid Hammadi: Sir, it is 26th, 46th, 31st, 25th, 20th, 34th, 16th, 21st, 3rd, 4th and 7th.

Saddam Hussein: No, I think it is the same corps, the 1st. Look in the depth; this is what they are targeting beyond the Kuwait Province borders.

UM2: From Al-Najaf.

Saddam Hussein: To try to block the road from there. Yes.

Hamid Hammadi: There are heavy raids on the 54th Infantry Division's sector. The situation is well under control. 3rd Corps [*reported that*] at 11:00 AM, the enemy's armor reached the covering troops of 18th Division, 3rd Regiment, 95th Brigade.

[*Time Stamp 55:05*]

Saddam Hussein: Which corps?

Hamid Hammadi: The 3rd Corps, Sir.

Saddam Hussein: Islam, where is 18?

Islam: This is the 95th Brigade and this is the 18th Division.

Hamid Hammadi: The enemy is advancing toward Al-'Abdaliyyah, 18th Infantry Brigade in the sector of the 14th Division.

Saddam Hussein: Hamid, your first reading of the Division was wrong. What can you read for me? [Saddam goes over the last part of the reading, making sure the names of divisions and brigades are correct.]

The 18^{th} , 3^{rd} Corps, 95^{th} Brigade. This is our battalion and the enemy advancing to Al-'Abdaliyyah. This is the 14^{th} Division.

Hamid Hammadi: Yes, Sir

Saddam Hussein: Check the 18th Brigade for me.

Hamid Hammadi: The 18th Brigade—Yes, this is the one, Sir—the 422nd Regiment and the 77th Regiment.

Saddam Hussein: Currently, at 11:15 AM, there is no communication with Failaka Island. Yet, we do not consider the enemy to be gaining anything from us. Comrade Taha, continue—

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: Mr. President, I would like to point out something regarding the military statements. The current situation now requires us to keep our statement short and focused. What I mean is that there is no need for a long introduction in our other statements before the campaign. Neither the world nor our people would take them seriously. Honestly, we have to concentrate on brief sentences—verses either from the Qur'an or from a nice phrase, and then get to the point.

Saddam Hussein: Islam, I will write it. Prepare for the situation and I will write.

Islam: Yes, Sir.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: My opinion is that the summary should be fast for the nation and the rest of the world. What I am trying to say is, keep it comprehensible and concise for our people and the world. Other statements were long and we do not need this now—the situation has changed. Due to the importance of foreign media, we are trying to contact our Arab allies to work with us on media campaigns including news and statements. We need a media campaign because the outside media is very powerful—

Saddam Hussein: The campaign will occur after the accomplishments, Comrade Taha.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: Yes, you are right. Everything will be normal with excellent results, God willing—accomplishing this result—this is normal—they are the ones who started—the attack might start at 5:00 tonight.

Saddam Hussein: They started at 2:00 in some locations.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: Then announced it at 3:00, Baghdad time.

Sa'dun Hammadi: The weather is bad—raining and thunderstorms.

Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf: The weather is fine here.

Saddam Hussein: This is not important; they knew the weather situation before they started. Yes, speak, Dr. Sa'dun—

[Time Stamp 1:00:00]

Sa'dun Hammadi: Sir, we have to think about methods to counter the negativity affecting our fighters and our armed forces, which resulted from accepting the withdrawal. I remember that you once talked about—after Al-Muhammarah—and said that there were several and dual reasons for resisting and defeating the repeated Iranian attacks during the battles east of Basra. One of the reasons is that our soldiers started fighting for their honor and not [*inaudible*]. But there is also the fear factor that played a role in making the leaders, commanders, and soldiers stick to their positions. Also, Sir, you mentioned some procedures to the Party comrades behind the troops and the measures they need to take, which is encouraging combat and bravery on one part, and stopping weakness on the other hand. Human nature is like that; it always needs incentive.

Saddam Hussein: Heaven and Hell. [This means that obeying will lead to heaven and disobeying will lead to hell.]

Sa'dun Hammadi: Yes, one time the incentive is magnanimity and eagerness to rush, and another time it is the responsibility and fear when one thinks he will have responsibility even if he withdraws. Therefore, Sir, we have to take several measures at the public and military level and at all aspects to treat this negative psychological state [of mind] that was caused by the political situation. In addition, I hear about army desertions or that some fighters are not returning to their units. So we need to work on all situations and lift up the morale of our armed forces and reinstate their previous state of mind. To do this, many things need to be done by the party and other organizations in all cities, as well as military procedures. We should have good spirits from now on because the action of our comrades in the army is purely academic and military sometimes. Meaning, for example, if the regiment attacking force is bigger than ours, we will sustain the losses of the regiment if we allow it to withdraw. Therefore, Sir, I believe we should have detailed supervision by you regarding the actions—

[*Time stamp: 01:03:30*]

END OF RECORDING