

# **“Meeting between Saddam and His Security Council Regarding the Iraqi Biological and Nuclear Weapons Program”**



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**Saddam Hussein:** How can you be sure that the information on the chemical file with the Iraqis is solid and that Ekeus will not be able to create a problem over this file and use it as an excuse to say that the biological file was settled in 1993, but when pressure was again used on the Iraqis they revealed new information? So this will not prevent it from becoming a precedent, making it easy for the listener to believe Ekeus if he raises any new issues concerning all the programs. He [Ekeus] has room to maneuver. Let us now listen to Amir [Rashid].

**Amir Rashid:** Sir, regarding the biological file, we have a defense plan and I will give Your Excellency the full picture. There were several speculations on its success; some said 70 percent and others 50 percent, depending on the sections. We actually defended it. But right now, Sir, Ekeus is concentrating his efforts on the biological issue. The Special Commission is concentrating on the biological file. Meanwhile, time is passing. This allowed them within a few weeks to obtain and verify information that our story is not genuine -- [Interrupted]

**Saddam:** Yes, once the Committee settles the biological file it will go to another issue.

**Amir:** No, Sir, allow me to say that the file had a basis [foundation]. The missile and chemical files no longer have any basis of any value. The biological file had a basis that made it easy to suspect and concentrate on knowing everything about it. But if someone did not have any basis, he can concentrate all he wants and still not come out with any result.

In the biological field, he [Ekeus] now has a solid ground against us, actually. The biological file has now been adopted by the Security Council members. I regret to say that we are responsible for what happened on this issue. We wanted to succeed. We succeeded in some sections when we went to Russia and convinced the Russians on certain creative calculations.

**Saddam:** What would you say if the Russians said you are revealing new information?

**Amir:** Yes, I will answer this soon, may God preserve and protect you, Sir. So what do I say? Sir, with the existence of our story, there is no hope to remove the technical obstacle to the implementation of Paragraph 22. The Security Council members now are unanimous with Ekeus on this subject.

Let us go back to the subject. The hardships raised by Your Excellency, Sir, are, without exaggeration, consuming us day and night. They disturb us, confuse us, and even affect our main job. This subject, Sir, calls for the involvement of everyone. It is a loss, a loss. It is possible to come out with a positive result and with a higher percentage; say, 70 or 80 percent. We may have to sit down with you, Sir, to calculate it and arrange it, God willing. Without this, Sir, the possibility of coming out with any result on Paragraph 22 is nil. This is what I would like to say, Sir.

**Saddam:** Yes, Comrade Tariq [Aziz]?

**Tariq Aziz:** Sir, Lieutenant General Amir raised a point during the 10 April debate in the Security Council and the questions that we gave to the Council members, which they did not raise. Let us suppose for the sake of argument that there is no biological file in the whole story.

In other words, there is no biological file in Ekeus' work. Ekeus submitted his report on the chemical missiles and the monitoring, and the IAEA submitted its report on the nuclear aspect.

Let me say again that I rarely use the word sure, but I now say that I am 99.9 percent sure that the French and the Russians were presenting their plan on the basis of this report. Why was the Ekeus report not discussed thoroughly, and why were the questions not raised? This is for two reasons. First, bad luck. On the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> [of April], the Security Council agenda was very heavy. I mean, when they met in the morning to hear the Ekeus report -- [Interrupted]

**Saddam:** It could have been deliberate.

**Tariq Aziz:** No, Sir, as I said last time, work in the Security Council is so packed that some files are not given sufficient time. But, when there is insistence for more time, the French, the Russians, and the Chinese say the debate can be continued the following week. Ekeus came and presented his report. They said, "We heard it, and we will discuss it tomorrow." The discussion the following day was also short. The other thing that confused the Ekeus report was the draft resolution that was to be discussed at the same time. The third thing, which was the most important, was the frustration of Russia and France over the biological file because of a big gap, due to which they could not proceed with it. It was for this reason that they did not raise the questions. [Time Stamp: 05:30]

Lt. Gen. Amir will recall that they raised similar questions we had submitted in the past. I mean, in March and January. In the past, we always educate them and then tell them "Ask Ekeus this and that question." They do not ask him the questions exactly as submitted to them, but they do ask him. They ask and bombard Ekeus with questions, and he is compelled to answer.

The existence of a big gap in the biological file made the Russians and the French say, "There is no need to proceed, as the time will come for these questions." But is there anything left threatening security and stability? So long as there is this big gap, the French consider this issue as ruled out. Once the big gap is resolved the question will be raised. Therefore, I say that had there not been a biological file, everything that is left in the previous files, such as the points raised by Ekeus, would not have constituted a major obstacle.

There is something, Sir, which you know from a distance, and we all know, too, as it contains the answer to the question: will anything be raised after three or six months from now on the chemical or missile file? Sir, since 1993, July 1993, when the leadership was instructed to cooperate technically with Ekeus and the technical committees, these people did a hell of a job. This is how I describe it. Ekeus did not miss a single thing, a lie, or data without raising it, and they discussed it with him and resolved them. Therefore, as Lt. Gen. Amir said in his conclusion, Ekeus' capacity for maneuvering, creating excuses, and raising new issues in the three files is now over. He does not have anything left.

It is now the missiles. His team came to look for missiles. In 1993, they spent a whole month and also brought a plane with them. Some 100 people spent one whole month in the western desert to look for missiles on the basis of information provided by the Pentagon. They only

found rodents during that whole month. They went to Jasim [*not further identified*], and do you know what he said? He said, “We took them to a school at the airport. We had problems as we had to pass through the presidential lounges.” They said, “There are missiles in this school.” They entered and did not find anything. They dug and searched to no avail. What does he [*Ekeus*] say now? He says there are still 20 missiles. He said this hundreds of times. The biological file is still open, Sir. It has not been closed. They came in 1991 and 1992 and, inspected the al-Hakam and al-Salman installations, took swipes, but found nothing.

They came the second time, took swipes and also found nothing. Now, their eyes are wide open on the biological file. I mean, the Russians, the French, and some Security Council members, including the Germans. Lt. Gen. Amir and Dr. Riyadh al-Qaysi [*Iraq's Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs*] went and met with the Germans. Did the Germans raise any serious questions on the missile, chemical, or nuclear files with you, this, even though the Germans are deeply involved in the Special Commission's work? In other words, the second effort after the American effort in the Special Commission, Sir, is the German effort. It is clear that these files are about to be settled.

I do not want to ask whether we should trust or not trust Ekeus. Regarding the point raised by comrade al-Sahhaf that we paid a heavy price for playing by the rules of the game. Well, we worked from July 1993, six months in the year 1993 and 12 months in 1994. These are 18 months and four months in the year 1995. In 22 months all the technicians, all the scientists, and all the administrators in the Special Commission, including the supporting diplomatic effort, led to this result. [*Time Stamp: 10:31*]

We are not saying that there wasn't any work for him [*Ekeus*] to come again and open a new gap. There has been intensive and thorough work. It also became known to the impartial members of the Security Council. Therefore, I said that if we resolved the biological file issue—let us see how long it will take and how it will be tackled—the French and the Russians would table their plan. Their plan would, of course, be discussed by the Americans who would nitpick, saying there is a point here and a point there, but we will ask for serious discussions.

On these serious discussions, Lt. Gen. Amir said something, which I do not agree with. He said that France is [*of the same mindset as*] Ekeus. Yes, in the biological file, France is Ekeus. But let us again produce from the Foreign Ministry's archives the speech by the French ambassador on the Security Council in January. What did he say? He said, “It is unrealistic to look for perfection. It is not possible to reach a 100 percent result in any field. The main task of Ekeus and the Special Commission is that Iraq must not be left with banned weapons, which could pose a threat to security and stability in the region,” he said. This is a program, Sir. This is France's viewpoint. Ekeus' viewpoint differs here. Ekeus wants to reach the 100 percent result. This is his desire at the behest of the United States, and due to his own cowardice. As a person, he is a coward. He is not one of those international figures that say, “I am convinced, and this is where I stop.”

For this reason, when I ask him a question, he gives me an answer. But when he goes there [*to the Security Council*] he maneuvers with his answers. But right now, he is under pressure by the Russians and the French due to a big gap in the biological field; a big gap.

I support what the comrade foreign minister said. We played by the rules of the game, and we paid the price, Sir. We paid the price. In 1991, our weapons were destroyed. We destroyed the whole nuclear program, and they also destroyed it. We also destroyed the missiles with our hands and their hands. The main factories were destroyed.

There is only very little left of the rules of the game. So it is not in our interest to leave the rules now. This departure from the rules of the game should have taken place at the time when we did not make these sacrifices and did not carry out such intensive technical, political, and diplomatic work, and with this level of international understanding. There remained only small things.

On the biological subject, let the comrades give us in a technical session what had existed and how much time they expected was needed to accomplish it. Your Excellency gave one year in 1995. You asked that in your question.

**Saddam:** Question?

**Tariq Aziz:** Yes. According to my initial readings of the study before we came to Your Excellency, when Lt. Gen. Husayn, Lt. Gen. Amir, and I came to see your Excellency, I don't think that this file would have taken a very long time if we presented it. It will not last a very long time. There will be a political battle, of course, and, I am not saying that there will not be a political battle.

Let us not forget that the Americans and the British will continue to exploit this point on human rights and the biological issue. But do the others view things similarly? No, they don't. The others are convinced. I tell you now if you sit down with the French Foreign Minister you will find him convinced that Iraq no longer has anything that obstructs the implementation of Paragraph 22. He would say you have a problem facing you, so why don't you resolve it? Why didn't they allow the technicians to meet with Lt. Gen. Amir in New York? This was because the French and Russian technicians supported the Special Commission's conclusions on the biological file.

What will Lt. Gen. Amir tell them? He would tell them the mobs [*of people*], and I don't know what, had removed them and distributed them among the hospitals. They would tell him, "Thank you, we are not convinced." So they avoided him. Didn't they used to meet with you before, Comrade Amir?

[*Time Stamp: 15:40*]

**Amir:** All the ambassadors met with me.

**Tariq Aziz:** If the ambassador meets with you, why doesn't the technician meet with you? The French ambassador comes to me at any time I ask him. He comes out of the Security Council meeting, and we meet. Every time I asked him to see you, he did. But they are not convinced of what you say.

**Amir:** They are not convinced?

**Tariq Aziz:** And before we went to New York, they sent us a memo through Jordan, and they told Ahmad al-Azzawi directly, "Your story is not convincing." And now you want to go back the second time and repeat the same story? They will listen [*laughing*].

They used to listen to us, and when we explained the other issues that Ekeus raised, such as the U.S. suspicions of the missiles, were the Russians with them, or were your talks baseless? The Iraqi reports are correct because they are indeed correct. But they are not convinced of this story. They say, "You have something. Go ahead and resolve it, and then come to us and take all the support you want."

**Saddam:** Yes, Lieutenant General Husayn [*Kamil*]?

**Lt. Gen. Husayn Kamil:** Thank you, Sir. I did not want to speak so openly were it not for Your Excellency's raising and explaining the issue, and the statement by Tariq that we produced biological weapons. We did not explain all we have. They can raise that against us now or after one year or two, three issues on the subject of the missiles. One is the place. The second is our work, which they don't know, on the subject of the missiles. Sir, this is my job, and I know it very well. I have been at it for some time, and it is not easy. The issues are much more dangerous than what they know. And I will explain them to you now.

On the subject of the chemical file, which we believe they will raise, we think that the biological file is the only problem. No, Sir, I believe that they have full details on the rockets, as well, if they want to raise them, as I said, because we have not finished with it.

It is possible, Sir, that they have a problem that is a great deal bigger than the biological file: the types of weapons, the materials we imported, the product which we told them about, and the degree of their use. All of that was not correct, and all of them do not know [*that*]. We did not say that we used them against Iran, and we did not declare the amount of chemical weapons we produced. We also did not say anything about the actual type of chemical weapons and the important materials.

Therefore, Sir, if they want to raise problems, the biological field will not be an excuse. No, Sir, I differ and I must be frank with you; I differ completely on this subject. They want one section after another. At present, they have not pressured us, and we did not announce it. Sir, I will go back and say it is better for us to decide whether to announce or not to announce it.

On the nuclear file, Sir, I mean on the biological file, we also differ with them, not only on the 17 tons; no, we have a well-known quantity. We have teams, a team working in the same direction, while the other [*team*] does not know. How could they not know, if they wanted? There are means for knowing that. We have materials that we imported from the United States, and they know their quantity. We also have materials imported from Europe, and they know their quantity, also. Therefore, Sir, if someone wants to create a problem, we have to be careful to find out: does he want to make peace or create a new relationship quietly? No, Sir, I differ here.

On the nuclear file, Sir, are we saying that we disclosed everything? No, we have undeclared problems in the nuclear field, and I believe that they know them. Some teams work, and no one knows some of them. Sir, I am sorry for speaking so clearly. Everything is over. But, did they know? No, Sir, they did not know; not all the methods, not all the means, not all the scientists, and not all the places.

Frankly, yes, some activities were discovered. Even when we are here and Your Excellency is aware that the biological file is the same, [*but*] no, Sir, the biological file is the least [*important*] and, I am sorry to say, the most insignificant. We must begin to talk with them, Sir, because the 17 tons are not the problem, but the thousands of tons here and the thousands of tons there—and where did they go? How they were produced, and how they were used? Really, Sir, we must be frank so that the resolution will be straightforward, and not biological in the afternoon, missiles the following morning, and nuclear the day after. [*Time Stamp: 21:07*]

What Mr. Tariq said about the French is correct. But he also said other things, which were discussed by Ekeus. Ekeus is not a good man in the Security Council. You say, “What made you think that the Iraqi Army did not do this or that?” The French Ambassador in the Security Council said that. Sir, we are not impressed that he made that statement. The French, Sir, are tricky, really tricky.

Sir, I would like to go back to this subject: do we have to reveal everything, or do we continue with the silence? Sir, if the meeting took this line, I must say that it is in our interest not to reveal anything. It is not only out of fear of revealing the scientific technology we have acquired, or concealing it for some future action, no. But the game, Sir, has taken too much time. It is now clear to many officials in the states that deal compulsorily with the United States, that they support Iraq and say that Iraq has responded adequately; in other words, we have not concealed anything.

Should there be any question [*from the inspection team*], admit that we once produced biological weapons, but that was a long time ago. Fine, we produced weapons, used this, added that, and had a product, fine. [*But*] the 17 tons are gone.

But, Sir, when do you think this problem will end? In order for them to say that we admitted it, let us set aside all our previous problems and all our non-admissions of the missiles, the nuclear file, the chemical file, and let us talk about the biological file. How much time, Sir, do we need?

Sir, we discussed it, and Dr. Amir actually made good calculations. When can we contest this problem and say that we have finished and that Iraq has admitted and offered?

He [*Ekeus*] is the same man, Sir. He inspected the biological file and al-Hakam factory. He did not leave anything unchecked. We told them that they have not left an air-conditioning unit, a water pipe, or a sewage pipe unearthed. Everything was checked. And he [*Ekeus*] created the biological file, which is strongly being raised anew.

The nuclear file, Sir, was defeated outside Iraq. Some of them know the details of our work.

They went to the north in the past. In order to handle the matter properly, Sir, we must hold firmly. Why, Sir? Because they can extend the time in which we admit everything for another five years without a solution. For five years, he [*Ekeus*] was inspecting, verifying, matching, and asking the driver how long it took him, and so on. He involved us with Iran, saying you used nuclear weapons against them. Ekeus will raise the whole story against us if he remains strong and the US stand remains strong. All this will disappear even if we obtained some type of missiles. I believe that he will not change the position of states [*ambiguous*]. But right now, Sir, I am convinced that neither Russia nor France have development. France is very far behind. The Russian position could be much better.

As far as sympathies, Lt. Gen. Amir says that they do not want to reply. The French companies, which we are negotiating with now on precious contracts, are nervous. They did not come to us, and we were annoyed. They express their desire on every subject but in a nervous manner. This did not begin today. We began with them, Sir, since the first days after the aggression. After the anarchy, we established a link with the French. Up to this day, we have not witnessed the slightest change among the French.

To be honest with you, Sir, I don't trust them. I don't have confidence in the French under their present position. There might be a change after the elections. But, under the present conditions, I find them further than China, although China is already very far. They appear in the Security Council to say sometimes yes and sometimes no. In my opinion, Sir, they [the French] have different phases, and they possibly coordinate with America and the world. Indeed, Sir, whenever a problem arises we find them with a different face; thus, resolving the problem becomes more difficult than when it started. The settlement of any problem raised becomes more difficult than when it began. If we differ on a machine, several other machines appear.

Going back to dealing with the Special Commission, Ekeus, the international situation, which is not normal, and on the question of admitting the biological file, let us ask the specialists. We can imagine Ekeus holding on to the 17 tons and saying that we made this and that, and all the details we have. How long would it take to close this file? [*Time Stamp: 26:08*]

It would not be closed in one year, Sir. This is the biological file alone. Fine, the closure will take a year, and he will find out about how we produced and brought these missiles and ask: "Are these yours?" We have accepted many things. But are these facts? He accepted them as facts and the files are closed and the five machines or [*inaudible*].

No, Sir, let us be frank with Your Excellency. He can outbid us in all topics despite the efforts exerted by our people. It is one of the most difficult matters. But, if he has anything to raise against us, he can do it. Our problems, Sir, will continue even if we admitted. As long as we do not admit, it will be plotting, Sir, in my opinion, because it is not correct, and we cannot say that it is correct that we admit the biological file. He could raise the items we bought from the United States against us—materials for the chemical weapons. Just this one, the biological file, Sir, is very small.

He [*Ekeus*] said that we admitted to the different types of weapons. We did not admit to them. We said that we tried to discuss them, but the fact is, it is not possible, Sir, under our present



situation, to say that this is not correct. No, it is better to say that it is correct because the time to end the problem with Iraq will be a long one. This is how I see it, regrettably, Sir, but this is the fact [*of the matter*]. Thank you.

**Saddam:** Comrade Taha [*Yasin Ramadan*].

**Taha Yasin Ramadan:** I have a question, Sir, which your Excellency raised a while ago, but I will raise it once again in a different manner because the presence of the comrades is essentially to answer queries so that we can get the full picture.

I am with those who ask, “When we change our method of dealing, is it better for all or some members of the Security Council to be against us in this change?” Certainly, it is not in our interest when we change our program to see that all the [*Security*] Council members are united against us. I mean, in my opinion, that should be avoided.

If the initial cost of this is one, two, or three months, I mean, a few months, we can bear it. But if there is no prospect or time limit, and there is the possibility of its extending with no guarantee, there must be two stands. I wash my hands of the American and British positions. I will not consider them at all. If there is a prospect to achieve this picture, there must be two positions even in what is left of this year, which is long. In my opinion, it is wrong to waste time, even if our position is not convincing. We must stand on our feet when we want to change the current method of dealing so that there will be the possibility for pressure and influence.

Let us consider the present situation or the game, as the brothers called it, and in which we continued for 22 months; it will not be much if it continued for 24 or 25 months. We should take the present situation and consider the four files as finished, and that this small issue will not unite the states against us. Even if there are currently small issues, they should not let other states stand against us.

Let us go back to the biological file. Time depends on how we deal with the other files because we heard in the Ekeus speech that...

[*Audio is Blank from 30:57-31:12*]

**Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri:** I also said at that session that we must find another way to deal not with America, but our friends first. We call them friends although they are not friends in the true sense of the word. They were produced by a conflict of interests in the international arena or a conflict between their interests and the interests of America and its allies. This is what made them stand by our side the way they are standing now. Now they have grand interests, I mean, all the countries standing by our side whether they are permanent or nonpermanent members [*of the UN Security Council*].

They accurately balance their loss and profit by escalating or decreasing their anti-U.S. position. However, we have still not invested in this situation. I mean, we have not tested our friends to see how far they would go in supporting us while serving their interests; that is, to what extent they would stand against America in defending their interests with regard to the issue of the

embargo imposed on Iraq. We have not tested them. We are dealing with them with the same sensitivity with which we are dealing with America, our basic and major enemy.

The transformation took place more than a year ago. It was a large transformation in the position of France, Russia, China, and other known countries which are now at the Security Council. These are Brazil, Nigeria, Indonesia, and even the other countries Comrade Tariq mentioned like Germany and Italy. We should exchange views with them now and speak to them all through direct meeting and at the highest level possible. We should tell them, “We have reached an absolute conviction. What is your opinion? We do not even ask your opinion about this issue which we are going to tell you. We have an absolute conviction that America will not stop at a limit at which it will agree to lift the embargo imposed on Iraq because it wants the head of Iraq. It wants to erase Iraq from the map. We have reached this conviction.”

We will explain to them our experiences with figures over the past five years. We will tell them what we did and what America did and how much they helped us. We will tell them that there is a limit at which we must stop and cannot cooperate anymore. True, there are problems between us and Ekeus and the Security Council, but what we have given and the position we have reached now is at a rock-bottom level. We cannot endure more, and our people have unanimously rejected this policy.

If no serious change takes place within the next few months or days in dealing with Iraq positively at the Security Council, we will abandon our commitment to the Security Council. Let what will happen then happen. Nothing worse than what has already happened will happen. What is present continues to exist unless the leadership reaches in an in-depth discussion [*sentence incomplete as heard*].

First, our conviction is that the majority of the leadership members and the majority of those interested—or maybe I should not say interested because all the Iraqis are interested—the majority of those working in this field, the field of the conflict and relationship with the Security Council and our political and diplomatic work on this issue, are certain that the issue of America and Ekeus, America and its entourage, America and its allies will continue to create technical problems. America will never allow this game to be played according to its purely technical rules and say everything is over and Iraq has done its work. America's strength and intelligence - - England and its strength and intelligence -- and its domination of the international community and its prestige and the world's fear of it -- the Russians and world are trembling [*sentence incomplete*]. [*Time Stamp: 37:02*]

China was the giant which disagreed with America whether justly or unjustly. No issue America abandons [*inaudible*]. Now China is trembling in front of America. Will America, which enjoys all its strength and domination, not produce technical paragraphs and present them to the Council in this fragile manner as the Council members are discussing things? It will continue to raise chemical and biological issues and missile and other issues. The day will come when it will persuade Russia, China, and France of the need to keep a certain resolution -- I do not memorize the number of resolutions, Sir. I am referring to the resolution that speaks about the North, humanity, and the issue of the North in its Paragraph 22. [*It will say*] this is a basic issue because this regime is a regime of criminals, and it is not humanitarian, and it is destroying mankind.

Therefore, let us add a paragraph if this is not achieved in five, six, two, or three years. If America is forced to implement [Paragraph] 22, it will add this paragraph and say that funds under this paragraph should be spent this way. The Russians and French will then come and say that this is a humanitarian and legal issue, and there is nothing wrong with it. They would then say, "You must accept this resolution or this approach."

In my view, our people still have this high morale and good psychological mood before things get out of our hands. The good things will get out of our hands and will then [inaudible]. This means our fight will be strong. It is not a fight because we do not want to fight others. We want to express the truth, which is supported by God. We want to express our freedom, which is supported by God. We want to express our personal rights, which are supported by God. We want to express all the principles God supports. God is stronger than America and the entire globe. We do not want to amass armies and go to fight America. We refuse to cancel all our decisions with which we complied with the Security Council. We will tell our friends and meet with the Russians and tell them, "We have reached this limit in our convictions, understanding, and determination. We will make such a decision if things at the Security Council continue to take this course. You are friends, and this is a legitimate right which you understand deep inside yourselves, but for considerations pertaining to international politics and relations with America, and perhaps because you think Iraq can continue bleeding for another two or three years in this manner, we [inaudible] lift the embargo. This means you [Russians] are not giving much attention to this issue. We want a serious and effective position from you in this direction. We want you to support our position." Let them answer us in whatever fashion they want. We should tell this to the French, Chinese, and all other countries we reach, and the Arab front. We should say this to all the countries we can reach -- Jordan, Egypt, the UAE, Qatar, and all countries, except for Saudi Arabia.

It is also possible to issue a national Iraqi statement by the historic Iraqi leadership announcing this to the Arab nations and calling on the people of Saudi Arabia and the Arab people in Kuwait to strongly stand by our side on this issue. We will also undertake strong official, diplomatic, and popular mobilization of efforts for this purpose on the level of the country, the Arab homeland, and the whole world. We will take such a position if we do not reach a full and documented agreement, as some comrades said, between us and the French, Russians, and Chinese—the three big ones—and other allies.

The agreement is: if this issue is solved or if we pledge to solve it, the embargo will be lifted next month. This means Paragraph 22 will then be implemented. If America rejects this through its veto or disapproval, you will then implement it. America will then be rebelling against the spirit of the Security Council resolutions. [Time Stamp: 42:42]

If they agree on this, we will seriously look into the biological file. We will solve it. If they say, "No, we cannot, and this is not possible, and we need to see what we can do," then we will adopt another position. This is my opinion. Before we adopt another position, we need time to work for this mobilization and these contacts to the maximum [degree] and in an open manner so that the whole world will know that we will take a stand if the Security Council does not respond to us.

**Saddam:** If it does not respond?

**Izzat al-Duri:** Yes, if it does not respond to us. This is my opinion, Mr. President.

**Saddam:** Comrade Mizban [*Khadr Hadi*]?

**Mizban Khadr Hadi:** Leader President, from my reading of the Foreign Ministry's cables, I did not see pressure on Ekeus by the Security Council member states and even our friends. On the contrary, they always underscore the need to implement the Security Council's resolutions.

With regard to the rules of the game, and there are many, I believe that, on the basis of my analysis, they are concentrating on the economic aspect. It is possible that from the economic aspect they can issue something, but they will lose, God willing, thanks to your presence.

Mr. President, an analysis of the position of the European states and the Security Council shows that a discussion was held on Resolution 678 and particularly Resolution 715. A large discussion was held on Resolution 715 in the hope that the embargo will be lifted one day or one month after our approval of this resolution. Discussions continued and they raised the issue of recognizing Kuwait and the Kuwaiti borders. Discussions continued. We recognized 715 and then Kuwait and then the borders. We did not get any result.

In my view, there is nothing on the horizon even if we did everything. They want to play the game according to other rules. They concentrated on the economic aspect. As Comrade Vice President [*Izzat Ibrahim*] noted, will they discuss the issue of lifting the embargo imposed on Iraq if we accept the new proposed issue?

Now they say in their cables, "You will see that when we put pressure on Iraq, it responds to the Security Council pressures." Recently [*inaudible*] Your Excellency and the comrade technicians, if we recognize, wouldn't they come back with more demands, as Comrade Husayn said? I believe that they will raise other issues that are on their mind.

I do not want to speak much because the comrades spoke about this aspect. There should be a political position by the leadership on the issue of activity. We need to tell them that they still have a monitoring body and nothing new happened to make them object to Iraq's development of the technological or industrial sector. Mr. President, their game has many rules. Therefore, the leadership must take a position in this regard. If we do not take this position, they will continue to raise many issues. They focus their game on the economic aspect to hurt our people at a time when the people have the ability to fight and stand. However, if this continues in the future for more or less than one year, we may not get the result we may get in any confrontation now or in the near future.

I believe this issue needs to be studied deeply and comprehensively by Your Excellency and a balanced decision be issued according to which we can work with friends so that they will not support the Americans when they make a decision on any confrontation with us or participate as they participated in the new resolution. Thank you, Sir.

[Time Stamp: 48:33]

**Saddam:** Comrade Muhammad [*not further identified*].

**Muhammad:** Thank you, President Leader. Actually, Sir, I do not want to repeat what comrade Vice President and comrade Ali [*not further identified*] said about the suffering which has actually started to affect our people. The living conditions have started to gradually affect our people. There is scarcity of food and medicine. The ration card plays a basic role in checking these things, but the fact is that the comrades mentioned this issue and I fully support them in saying that our people are now in need of [*better*] living and medical conditions.

Mr. President, the consensus noted during the latest Security Council's session harmed us greatly. Statements were made by Russia, France, and others that this resolution was adopted in agreement with Iraq. Of course, when the Iraqi leadership's decision was made and became our decision, it became clear to the whole world that the text was not as it was in the past. [*Inaudible conversation by another speaker mentioning the name of Husam Muhammad Amin; former Director General of the National Monitoring Directorate*] I heard this in the news. It was broadcasted by the Monte Carlo radio station and other stations. I mean [*inaudible*] -- [*Interrupted*]

**UM1:** The Security Council president made a statement after meeting with Mr. Tariq [*Aziz*], in which he said it was possible after the amendment [*inaudible*].

**Muhammad:** Yes, Comrade Tariq denied that later.

**UM2:** Yes, the president of the Security Council has authority.

**Tariq Aziz:** A Russian statement said the resolution was issued in agreement with Iraq and cannot be [*inaudible*].

**UM1:** They all said it is in the interest of Iraq to [*inaudible*].

**Muhammad:** The fact I want to underscore—actually, there has been some ambiguity about the statements as [*name indistinct*] said—is that in my view, I do not think it will be in our interest to raise any problem with Ekeus now. I think this will only further complicate things. Ekeus has now won the confidence of the Security Council. If we want to complicate things, we will take a position or make a decision against Ekeus and against the Security Council resolutions. I believe that at this stage, it will not be in our interest to maintain things as they are until the U.S. election campaign. I do not think this will be in our interest at this stage.

Therefore, if the comrade technicians and the Foreign and Information Ministries are certain of these things as one of the comrades said, let this machine be with the other machines, and let us get rid of the problems that remain, in a certain way, an obstacle. Therefore, I think we should deal with this issue wisely and patiently. We really must consider our people's interests at this stage and their suffering.

The other point I would like to stress is that I absolutely support a quick action to improve relations with the Arab countries. I do not think it will be in our interest to keep the current situation as it is at this stage. We will welcome those who respond except for Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, of course. As for the rest, I support contacts with all Arab countries in order to restore relations with them in any acceptable formula. The game is now clear on the international level and in our general situation.

Therefore, it is essential to take quick political and diplomatic action worldwide—that is, in the Arab and foreign countries—in order to at least win their support at this stage and try by all means to break the embargo imposed on our people. Thank you.

[Time Stamp: 54:07]

**UM3:** Sir, there is a very difficult question from which we are suffering. It is a difficult question. We cannot give guarantees. Actually, in our conviction, there are no guarantees for any case. Such rules [*sentence incomplete; noise due to movements of chairs in the room*]. Sir, the question is whether the other files will be closed or opened if we, for example, give up the biological file. This is the question. How will our credibility be affected?

Sir, I will comment on this issue if you allow me. This is the question worrying us. Much will certainly be raised about our credibility, [*inaudible*] and the Security Council regarding other issues. Sir, we are living with these things while talking about this issue.

Sir, the observation I make is the following: they have now succeeded in proving our incredibility with regard to the information provided in the biological file. If he wants to say, “The probability that the Security Council or any moderate side even in the Special Commission will say that Iraq has fulfilled its commitments in accordance with Paragraph 22 on closing files is nil,” then, it has become nil. We need to explain the technical aspect of the issue with measured flexibility under guidance in such a way that settles this issue within the shortest possible time.

This, of course, requires a political cover. If we leave it within this framework without a political cover, in terms of notifying our friends in advance or negotiating with Ekeus politically before discussing the technical aspect of the issue, this requires calculation and technical flexibility on our part. When we say everything or something is incorrect, we have ideas that need time to be expressed so that we can address subjects that will give high credibility to our position and also reduce the time [*necessary*] to the minimum. If we talk about everything, this will take us perhaps one or one and a half years. Some of the figures mentioned are absolutely not far from the truth about their possible occurrence. With flexibility on the technical side, I feel that the probability [*of resolving disagreements*] will remain good in exchange for nothing now in terms of cost and influence. Thank you, Sir.

**Saddam:** Lieutenant General Husayn [*Kamil*].

**Husayn Kamil:** Thank you, Sir. A report we submitted last year directly clarified facts. Allow me, Sir, to read paragraphs from it because it has to do with their tricks.

Sir, with regard to the issue of missiles in particular, which is not a deciding factor, let us see what they did. We said that the file of this issue was closed at the end of 1992 and once again in 1993. Sir, in 1992 we destroyed a large plant specialized in manufacturing solid fuel missiles. We also destroyed many components of the liquid fuel missiles. Nevertheless, when the Special Commission felt that the issue of recognizing Kuwait would be resolved, it began to repeat questions and issues in a detailed and provocative manner more than ever before. We, Sir, finished with the issue of missiles, but after recognizing Kuwait, they began to raise it again. Directly after the crisis, the Special Commission adopted more extremist methods and returned to the previous program as if starting again from scratch.

**Saddam:** Bring us tea and milk.

**UM4:** Yes, Sir.

**Husayn Kamil:** As if [*we are*] starting from scratch. [*The Commission*] is asking for supporting documents, concentrating on asking secondary and trivial questions which is all they had left, in order to create pending points and thus achieve a political aim, which is reaching the conclusion that some equipment was imported especially for the previously mentioned program, something that might expose it to destruction. [*Time Stamp: 59:05*]

As for the issue of destruction, it had been resolved earlier in 1992 when a large percentage of the equipment of the industrial base for solid fuel missile engines, all Bilat al-Shuhada plants, was destroyed, as well as secondary machinery at another project for the missile structures after accepting Resolution 715. Sir, in 1993, Ekeus stressed that the issue of destroying any additional machines was over. That was what he said. He told us there would be no destruction of additional machines.

**Saddam:** What year?

**Husayn Kamil:** In 1993. That was after our acceptance of Resolution 715 on the issue of missiles. He said these would only be subjected to monitoring. This is what really happened. However, the Special Commission began to raise the issue of the Chinese radar. We, Sir, brought the Chinese radar very late. We did not even use it for the missiles. It is radar for distant detection. They said it had to do with the missiles, even though we did not use the missiles. Therefore, they destroyed it. We obtained your Excellency's approval, and they destroyed the Chinese radar after we had accepted Resolution 715. All these things, Sir, happened after [*recognizing*] Kuwait. The measure was taken about this as directed by Your Excellency.

Two days ago, the head of the inspection team raised the possibility of demanding the destruction of a number of important and vital machines used in manufacturing parts of the missile engines. This issue, Sir, was closed in 1992. They then raised it again in 1993. After [*recognizing*] Kuwait, we destroyed the Chinese radar. Again, the head of the inspection team came back to us and said it was possible to manufacture parts of liquid fuel missile engines. The solid fuel was over and they returned here to the liquid fuel. This is currently under monitoring pending what the inspection team will present to Ekeus in New York.

We believe that the Special Commission went too far in its behavior. What we discussed above with regard to the missile activity is an example of its position that began in a new form, particularly after our recognition of Kuwait. There are other problems in the chemical and biological fields. We are trying to contain them so that they will not be used as an excuse.

Sir, these are the points. They came to the biological file. Sir, this is the missile's story [*as heard*] before Your Excellency. We, Sir, did this on 18 December 1994. There is a report. It is clear, Sir, that they keep silent for some time, but then return and speak up. Ekeus told us that after accepting Resolution 715, he would not destroy any machine.

Monitoring is over. We all understood that monitoring will replace destruction. When we complain about their destruction of a site, they say, "What shall we do? You have not recognized Resolution 715" [*recording ends abruptly*].

**End of Recording**