

“Saddam Hussein and the Revolutionary Command Council Discussing the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait and the Expected U.S. Attack”



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[Discussion taking place in the background, "Let me kiss you," "Praise be to God"]

Saddam: But why has it not been useful to us, 'Amir?

'Amir: Why, Sir?

Saddam: It has not been useful. Remember we talked about it?

'Amir: Yes, Sir.

Saddam: It looks like God is the protector and not iron [*weapons*]. So Dr. Sa'doun, what about this greeting [*Saddam is laughing*], it made a [*inaudible*] for us [*Saddam is laughing loud and hard*], huh? [*Inaudible*] blame it all on Dr. Sa'doun who could not intervene for us against the Americans, right? Kamil Yasin was not here. We told him that his British folks did not finish the task.

[Background talk and loud laughter]

Saddam: Kamil Yasin jokes and [*inaudible*]. How is the [*Ba'ath*] Party, Comrade Sa'di?

Sa'di: Everything is fine, Sir.

Saddam: Well, we see zealous people [*inaudible*] in the streets, yeah!

Izzat al-Duri: [*Inaudible*]. All these flags used to [*inaudible*] people and they [*inaudible*].

Sa'di: People were not [*inaudible*]. They came and asked for forgiveness.

Izzat al-Duri: No, they were not [*inaudible*] like this.

Sa'di: Sir, I went out around three o'clock in the morning and they stopped me maybe ten times before I arrived here.

Saddam: Yesterday, I was about to come to you but I was with the command members. You must be tired, why don't you leave since you came here early?

UM1: No, Sir. On the other hand, [*inaudible*].

Saddam: If you all come early, I will ask the command members to excuse me so I can come and see you.

[Phone is ringing in the background]

Saddam: This is it.

UM2: Sir, in emergency situations, we notified [*inaudible, voices overlapping*].

Saddam: Hello.

UM2: We told them to join if anything happens [*the phone is still ringing*]. And by coincidence, I realized that even the people who were not on duty also joined.

UM3: [*Inaudible*], Sir.

Saddam: No, but this is good; as long as [*inaudible*].

[*Someone in the background says, "God willing"*]

Izzat al-Duri: The battle is not [*inaudible*] yet.

Saddam: Yesterday, when they started, we went to the garden. The people of al-‘Awja were running here and there. I said [*inaudible*] and I almost ran with them. Hmm?

[*All laugh*]

Izzat al-Duri: [*Inaudible*].

UM3: Not in al-‘Awja but nearby al-‘Awja.

Saddam: Huh?

UM3: I say it was not in al-‘Awja city but nearby al-‘Awja.

Tariq ‘Aziz: Yes.

Saddam: Yes, but they were attacked heavily.

Tariq ‘Aziz: [*Inaudible*] on the city.

UM1: Twenty-seven [*Iraqi*] aircraft were lost, the French lost five aircraft.

Izzat al-Duri: Four.

UM1: Four?

UM3: Did the French participate?

UM1: Yes.

[*Inaudible, individuals responding in the background*]

UM3: Our friends should have -- [*Interrupted*]

Tariq 'Aziz: No, they said they participated in bombing Kuwait.

Izzat al-Duri: [*Inaudible*].

UM2: [*Inaudible*] said the Saudis and the British, and the Kuwaitis and the British.

UM1: So that the Saudis pretend to be good people.

Saddam: Who?

UM1: The Saudis.

Saddam: Yes.

UM1: They supposedly joined the fight. I am positive they did not even -- [*Interrupted*]

Tariq 'Aziz: If the Saudis saw how big the fire -- [*Interrupted*]

UM1: The Americans.

Saddam: The Americans stated that 150 Saudi aircraft participated.

Izzat al-Duri: Yes, Saudi Arabia joined the fight.

UM3: [*Inaudible*].

Saddam: They have downed a good number of the cruise missiles so far.

UM3: Yes Sir, the cruise missiles are not hard to stop.

Saddam: Yes, and they are not fast.

UM3: By the ground anti-missiles and other guns.

[*Time Stamp: 04:55*]

Saddam: Right, but they require skillful and precise shooters. Those young men at the lake who have good eyes and good training they downed three or four of them in that area.

UM3: It is not high or fast.

Saddam: Its speed is 800 [*km/h*] or a little bit less than 800, less than the aircraft's speed. I was not aware of this.

UM3: You can hit it with the machine gun.

Saddam: With the machine gun you can hit it directly.

UM1: Sir, there are five or six that are not *[inaudible]*.

Saddam: From ours?

UM1: Yes. So I told them comrade *[inaudible, voices overlapping]*.

Saddam: *[Inaudible]* the Military Industrialization Commission *[inaudible]*.

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

UM1: Isn't it nine or five?

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

Saddam: You should not destroy any weapon that you find, because *[inaudible]* we are looking for samples that will be immediately...

Tariq 'Aziz: Except for the mines, Sir, *[inaudible]*.

Saddam: Is it true that Comrade Hamid called?

UM1: Anything. They do not even want the locations *[inaudible]*.

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

Saddam: *[Inaudible]* the Military Industrialization Commission and military engineering *[inaudible]* the Military Industrialization Commission.

UM3: This is what they call the beginning of the war of the 8th of March and the traps.

[Several attendees answer, "Booby traps."]

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

UM4: It was the cluster bomb used on the train.

UM3: The train that was coming from Basra, Sir.

Tariq 'Aziz: Yes, it was a cluster bomb.

UM3: A mine was hit on its rail.

Saddam: A cluster bomb is an old weapon now. We have a much more advanced type of it and

we used it a long time ago in the war. It is for you.

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

UM3: Sir, the spirits are high and people said -- *[Interrupted]*

Izzat al-Duri: It was useful to us.

UM3: A lot, very much.

Izzat al-Duri: God loves us.

UM3: God loves us very much.

UM2: In their opinion, it was an unsuccessful strike compared with *[inaudible]* their situation and such a strike is considered *[inaudible]* the weapons and -- *[Interrupted]*

Saddam: Well, the useless technology and people who have no cause, what else but the American comes and – *[Interrupted]*

Tariq ‘Aziz: And breaks into...

Saddam: And breaks into the country to implement the appropriate level theoretically in order to achieve the practical results. Why?

Izzat al-Duri: I think by tomorrow the effect will be greater *[inaudible]*.

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

Izzat al-Duri: I did not believe it when they said the 27 *[aircraft]*.

Tariq ‘Aziz: The number is actually good and I am happy about it.

Saddam: If it's 10 out of 27, I think it is a good number.

Tariq ‘Aziz: Yes.

UM2: Sir, but what *[inaudible]*?

Saddam: Did you all find out about the pilots?

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

Tariq ‘Aziz: *[Inaudible]*, two Americans and one British so far.

UM2: The British had five thousand pounds *[sterling]* in order to be smuggled *[inaudible]*.

UM3: The American?

UM2: The British.

Saddam: Maybe the pilots that were downed last night will come forward and surrender.

UM3: Sir, I called the [*Ba'ath*] Party Organization in the cities, because a number of aircraft fell in those areas, and so I told them to tour the villages and look for them.

Izzat al-Duri: But if there are any, they will be easy to see by the Republican Guards!

[*Inaudible discussion in the background*]

Saddam: Did you see them falling?

UM3: I saw that Sir.

Izzat al-Duri: Me too, it was nearby. [*Inaudible*].

Saddam: This is strange, this war does not have the same frightening factor on people compared to the way the Americans tried to aggrandize [*the conflict*] amongst the public.

Izzat al-Duri: It is the U.S. tactic of war.

Saddam: Yes. Any news about the Arabs? Any demonstrations?

UM2: Sir, they are protesting. In Jordan, they attacked the Egyptian ambassador's house, and they are protesting in Tunisia and Algeria.

UM1: We have started in the morning but did not -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: We need to instigate the believers in today's statement.

UM1: Yes, indeed.

UM3: The Arabs and Muslims.

Saddam: It is time to instigate believers for fighting.

UM2: Even though I am sure it will happen, because of the group's conference three days ago -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: Yes.

UM2: [*Continuing*] and one of the targets -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: But in such an extensive way?

[Time Stamp: 09:55]

[Inaudible discussion in the background]

Izzat al-Duri: [Inaudible] long time ago, from the time [inaudible].

Saddam: Hmm.

Izzat al-Duri: [Inaudible] and you told me this is going to [inaudible]. As long as there is a conspiracy against Iraq, he is going to fight us.

Tariq ‘Aziz: By God, it is not his decision.

UM3: It is not his decision.

Izzat al-Duri: Yes, but [inaudible].

Saddam: Let me explain to you comrades. Until now, their ground forces have nothing in particular, as it was mentioned in the statement.

Izzat al-Duri: They have not caused us any problem as of yet.

Saddam: However, I want to make sure, Hamid.

Hamid: Yes, Sir.

Saddam: Contact General ‘Alaa for me so that the comrades can be updated about the latest [events].

Hamid: Yes, Sir.

Saddam: They might study the results of the airstrikes that took place the last couple of days and analyze the practical and psychological effects resulting from the strikes. Based on this, they will take their ground step [invasion]. Or, similar to our analysis mentioned in yesterday’s message... that was not broadcast last night, which is good that it was not broadcast last night. Comrade Latif announced it in the morning.

Latif: Yes, Sir, [inaudible] all correspondents.

Saddam: So -- [Interrupted]

Izzat al-Duri: The situation became more intense after the strike.

Saddam: More intense.

Izzat al-Duri: [*Inaudible*].

Hamid: There has been a rumor that the letter was written yesterday and was aired this morning.

UM2: The Security Council convened.

Saddam: So they will continue fighting. I suggest, if the Security Council held a meeting and asked for ceasefire, we will not reject the decision but we will not agree, because it is now the turn of Saudi Arabia. It is now Saudi Arabia's turn and the war has started. Anything is possible.

'Alaa: Sir, we are listening.

Saddam: I just wanted a clarification, please. I want you to make sure that the ground forces learned about the information that came from you; they did not get in contact with...

'Alaa: Sir, no clashes, but there is bombardment over the 3rd Corps and 3rd Division, and the 31st Division of the 7th Corps.

Saddam: Is it the artillery?

'Alaa: No, Sir, airstrike.

Saddam: Yes, so it is only an airstrike.

'Alaa: Yes, Sir, only an airstrike.

Saddam: I wish the airstrikes would start there just to ease the bombardment of economic targets.

'Alaa: Sir, airstrikes are not concentrated [*over a long period of time*] but just in and out; go in, bomb, and leave. They focus on the troops of the 3rd Corps, in particular, and the 31st Division of the 7th Corps, positioned to the right of Hafr al-Batin, in this area, Sir.

Saddam: So, they are aiming at it. If they have plans, I mean with today's bombardment, they might attack the 7th wing at night.

'Alaa: Sir, it is possible.

Saddam: [*Inaudible*]

'Alaa: Sir, when Your Excellency first mentioned -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: Or they might remedy -- [*Interrupted*]

‘Alaa: We were told that some of the ground troops were getting close.

Saddam: Yes.

‘Alaa: To the 7th [*Corps*], across from them.

Saddam: Across.

‘Alaa: And then stopped and started bombarding.

Saddam: So their artillery must be far outside the range.

‘Alaa: Sir, for sure far away, but I believe our people used missiles [*inaudible*].

Saddam: Against them?

‘Alaa: Sir, the ones I have told you about: the report they received supposedly stated that missiles were coming from the west side.

Saddam: Yes.

‘Alaa: While they came from the right [*east*] side.

Saddam: Well, this was what they believed.

‘Alaa: There was artillery fire, and missile launches too.

Saddam: [*Inaudible*].

‘Alaa: And I have the status after Your Excellency left [*inaudible*].

Saddam: Are they committing a large number of our aircraft as an estimate?

‘Alaa: Yes, Sir and I will tell you why. In case the airports are hit with the cluster bombs, like al-Junaiba Airport, Ali Airport in al-Nasiriyyah, and [*inaudible*] al-Shu’ayba Base are under attack. The aircraft will be able to take off unless [*inaudible*].

Saddam: Well, I am comfortable with that. Let them close all these places, but once these missiles are launched...

‘Alaa: And Abu ‘Ubayda Base -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: And save our air force for...

UM2: The appropriate time.

‘Alaa: Abu ‘Ubayda [*inaudible*].

Saddam: ‘Alaa.

‘Alaa: Yes, Sir.

Saddam: The divisions that we previously created to repair the airports and handle the cluster bombs?

‘Alaa: Sir, they moved to the location.

Saddam: They are there and supposedly are functioning?

[*Loud background noises*]

‘Alaa: Sir, they said that the ground forces divisions are working.

Saddam: Because in terms of the alarm...

‘Alaa: Yes, Sir.

Saddam: ...we told them that, either over the phone, concentrations [*voices overlapping*] from the bases or once the raids start, you should come immediately to your positions. So this has a very precise mechanism.

‘Alaa: They were informed.

[*Time Stamp: 14:52*]

Saddam: Great, I just want you to double check with the air force commander.

‘Alaa: About this matter?

Saddam: Yes, ask him about the divisions that handle the fission bombs and airports, are they still there and functioning properly?

‘Alaa: Yes, Sir.

Saddam: Let me know what he says.

‘Alaa: Yes, Sir.

‘Adil: But we need, Sir, a strike [*inaudible*] carriers -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: Aircraft carriers.

UM2: The ground attack.

‘Adil: No, no. A part of the psychological war now, if we strike one of the American naval forces -- *[Interrupted]*

Saddam: Right, ‘Adil, but as you know, the pilot needs to know at least the location of his target.

UM3: That is what should happen.

Saddam: He should not search for it.

‘Adil: Yes, yes.

Saddam: Otherwise, they will hit him.

‘Adil: Yes.

UM3: Sir, besides their naval fleet is equipped with special units for air defense.

[Inaudible background discussions about the ground attack and psychological warfare]

Saddam: Just like what we agreed upon before, we have to be cool and calm. We have to maintain our vital assets and demonstrate how to use such vital assets to mount a severe blow against them. But today, and for your knowledge, we will launch missile attacks against Tel Aviv and the main cities of Israel today.

‘Adil: Conventional missiles?

Saddam: Yes, conventional missiles. We will use the same type of *[war]*heads against the ones they are using.

UM1: Yes.

Saddam: So that the battle will be a bit exciting. This is the fight, we do not care about two hundred aircraft more or two hundred aircraft less, and then why would Israel maintain its strength? Let us involve Israel in the fight, let see if they are up to it.

‘Adil: Your Excellency, we have attacked targets in Saudi Arabia and...

Saddam: And some of the Saudi refineries... after that, we will attack the Saudi cities.

[Background noise of individuals stirring sugar in tea cups]

‘Adil: Why after that? Why not -- *[Interrupted]*

Saddam: Let us concentrate on Israel, let us break the bone of America's daughter [*Israel*], let the entire West roar and relay the deaths that will occur.

‘**Adil:** Yes, yes.

Saddam: And after that, we will divide and alternate our attacks; we will mount attacks against Israel, and then mount attacks against Saudi Arabia. Is that so or not?

UM2: Oh, yes -- [*Interrupted*]

[*Several participants speak simultaneously*]

Saddam: Riyadh, Jeddah, I mean all the cities within our missiles range, we will attack them, with the exception of Holy Mecca and Medina, we do not want to launch any missiles on these sites.

[*Inaudible discussion in the background*]

UM3: The other day there was a program on television [*inaudible, Saddam clearing his throat*] from the city, asking about her opinion of the aggression [*inaudible*]. She said, “We do not want to fight with Iraq. Every day we go to [*inaudible*] and seek his protection and he won’t let us [*inaudible*].”

Saddam: The Saudi?

UM3: Yes, the Saudi.

‘**Adil:** Our missile bases are safe, God willing, Your Excellency.

Saddam: All of them are safe.

‘**Adil:** But Israel -- [*Interrupted*]

UM2: How many times they have announced that they have attacked the bases?

Saddam: Is it not the long-range missiles?

‘**Adil:** Yes, yes.

Saddam: These long range missiles, we have exposed them to their viewing for an entire month. They looked at them, photographed them, and when I guessed that war was inevitable, I sent for the missiles’ man and told him, “I do not want to leave any missile out without knowing their location,” and I agreed with him on how to distribute the missiles. He placed them, and not even one single missile was hit during all these raids.

‘**Adil:** [*Inaudible*].

Saddam: But now they will attack using all of their power.

‘**Adil:** God willing.

Saddam: And we will start... tomorrow morning. If I knew that you have strong nerves I would have waited two, three, four days and then give the order to launch.

[Several participants speak simultaneously]

UM2: No, according to the plan.

UM3: *[Inaudible]*. What happened? If tomorrow -- *[Interrupted]*

Saddam: So now, we will attack them tonight, God willing.

[Time Stamp: 19:48]

Izzat al-Duri: Military targets?

Saddam: Well, you know the big *[inaudible]* and all Israeli cities are targets. They have fixed main targets, government quarters, main factories, etcetera, but this is going to take place.

Izzat al-Duri: We will hit the targets with missiles.

Saddam: We will also say -- *[Interrupted]*

‘**Adil:** We will announce official targets, Sir.

Izzat al-Duri: Targets, yes.

‘**Adil:** And if the missiles fall on residential areas, it will become normal.

Saddam: This will be normal. They will also reciprocate by attacking us with missiles. They have missiles.

[Someone is clearing his throat]

Izzat al-Duri: They have cruise missiles.

UM3: No, they have a different kind.

Saddam: They have Pershing missiles.

[Several speakers talk simultaneously saying they do not have Pershing, but Ariha/Jericho missiles. They agree on Ariha.]

Saddam: Pershing, they have Pershing.

UM3: They get them from America.

Saddam: Let them have Pershing.

‘**Adil:** They have had Pershing for a long time.

Izzat al-Duri: Pershing is American.

‘**Adil:** I do not think the Pershing has the range to reach Baghdad [*inaudible*].

Izzat al-Duri: Pershing has a range of 520 [*unit of measurement not provided*].

[*Speakers are commenting on the Pershing missiles*]

Saddam: Pershing has the range to reach al-Habbaniyah.

‘**Adil:** Yes, to Fallujah and Habaniyah.

Saddam: But perhaps the Ariha can reach. They [*the Americans*] must have given them [*the Israelis*] some missiles lately. Yeah.

Izzat al-Duri: Who [*inaudible*] from Saudi Arabia?

Saddam: Abu-Ahmad [‘*Adil*], this is not worth talking about!

‘**Adil:** [*Inaudible*].

Izzat al-Duri: No, I meant the people.

‘**Adil:** Because of the agreements and contracts.

Izzat al-Duri: People and the government are causing chaos in Saudi Arabia, just like what we used to do in Iran.

Saddam: Yeah.

Izzat al-Duri: Today, you have attacked us, your forces have attacked us today, attacked Baghdad, and also another city so and so, and you have sided with the infidels.

Saddam: I see.

Izzat al-Duri: And we will attack the following cities, and we will count 30 or 40 cities for them, saying these cities are subject to bombing today. We will attack and create chaos. They are

strong, and they can withstand casualties.

‘**Adil:** By God, as long as we are going to strike them, we might as well let this strike be chaotic. I mean we should attack them and let the strike be more intense [*inaudible, voices overlapping*].

UM2: Our divisions are ready. These divisions repair airports only. Their main duty is to repair airports if the enemy uses [*inaudible*] bombs.

Saddam: Did you not take into consideration that the cluster bombs must be handled?

UM2: They have, Sir, the units to handle the bombs that are active there. All of the air bases’ personnel have these units. These bombs, Sir, have various detonating timings. They also maintain these bombs from time to time to detonate at different timings. The bomb units handle them and not the divisions that Your Excellency has mentioned, in terms of repairing the airports [*runways*] when there have holes. These units are ready; however, such capability has not been used yet as we have not needed it, because they have not used penetration bombs that penetrate deep holes on the runways.

Saddam: Fine, God willing. We should focus our attacks on several cities, and after that we will announce the idea that you have mentioned. I mean, we will target several cities.

UM2: So that we give them a guide -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: Give them a guide, this way they can see it, and they see the level [*another speaker is interjecting at the same time but is inaudible*], then we say we did not say that, we launch our missiles and perhaps they will harm some people. However, Saudi rulers wanted that, they will have it. But if their people want to blame someone, they can blame their rulers.

‘**Adil:** They are the aggressors. [*The sound of teaspoons; inaudible*].

Saddam: And we will feel comfortable that way. I really do not recall how many cities are there, but there a number of cities that [*our*] missiles could reach.

UM2: Do they reach Riyadh, Sir?

Saddam: Yes, they reach Riyadh.

Izzat al-Duri: Yes, they can reach Kuwait.

Saddam: We know their whereabouts throughout Iraq, and we are working on them [*attack them*] from several locations.

Izzat al-Duri: [*Inaudible*].

UM3: Oh yes, By God.

Saddam: Damn them.

[Speakers speak in the background; however, they are far from the microphone. Voices are inaudible]

Saddam: You see.

Izzat al-Duri: They think that the American [*security*] umbrella will protect them.

UM4: The brothers always say that life [*inaudible*]; life in Baghdad is normal.

UM5: [*Regarding*] The tour of the President and visit to the institution, I have sent for the correspondent -- [*Interrupted*]

[Time Stamp: 24:50]

Saddam: I went to a hospital that had patients etcetera, but I was worried that they would misconstrue my trip to the hospital and say that one of the command members or so and so went to the hospital and they believe that -- [*Interrupted*]

[Blank audio from 25:05 to 32:59]

UM5: We are living a normal life, and that shows when Mr. President came to visit the radio and television stations -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: They saw me?

UM5: Yes, Sir, they saw you.

Saddam: Are they foreigners?

UM5: Yes, foreigners.

‘Adil: He said, “I saw President Saddam Hussein with the Minister of Information.”

UM5: I broadcast this message and told him [*unspecified*] to broadcast it since I used to work in the media department. He said it will be broadcast on the radio and television, showing that their life and schedules are normal, and they started supervising the counter media. So that created a great psychological effect on the outside.

‘Adil: Well, the areas we toured seemed to be normal.

UM5: But the visit made a nice impression.

Saddam: As you know our fight now is by air.

‘Adil: Excellent!

Saddam: They bombed their [*unspecified*] headquarters. But, thank God, it was all in the countryside. So we passed by them, as you know our battle is entirely an air battle now.

‘Adil: Air defense.

Saddam: Air defense. So we passed by them, passed by the palace, and we noticed that they attacked the area.

‘Adil: The wing?

Saddam: Everything, I mean everything is fine.

UM5: But [*inaudible*], I swear that we will make a shrine out of the palace. [*Inaudible*] we will turn its ruins like Babel’s, and a designated area for all visitors. We say this is the headquarters of president -- [*Interrupted*]

UM3: A small missile [*inaudible*] left there, as if -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: Who is that?

UM5: Qaddafi.

Saddam: By God, Qaddafi does not... he wishes to engage in such a battle.

UM5: Yes.

Izzat al-Duri: [*Inaudible*] 30% of the palace, because the palace does not have transmission equipment that can detect the missiles or aircraft by radar.

Saddam: I believe they have [*inaudible*] his plan.

Izzat al-Duri: They have [*inaudible*] his plan.

Saddam: The palace -- [*Interrupted*]

Izzat al-Duri: Any place that does not have -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: We protected the palace against the cruise missiles. The iron protection may have helped them more somehow, and this may have been a lesson from God to us that shows that the Lord is protecting us and there is no need to seek protection. The other places that we did not protect were all hit.

Tariq Aziz: Did they use aircraft-dropped bombs or missiles?

Saddam: Well, Abu-Ziyad [*Tariq Aziz*], we have not analyzed it as of yet.

Tariq Aziz: Because the National Command Headquarters was hit by a cruise missile.

Saddam: The National Command [*Headquarters*] was also hit?

Tariq Aziz: It was hit by one missile while the other one fell in the street.

[*Several participants speak simultaneously*]

Saddam: Right, all missiles are two types: some that you launch from a very far distance, such as a cruise [*missile*], or from an aircraft that is positioned outside the range of missiles toward the targets.

Dr. Sa'doun: The [*inaudible*] compound, Mr. President, was hit by two missiles, between my house and the house of Comrade Latif. It was not until yesterday that I was able to get my family out after I went there, not until yesterday night.

UM4: I left there around nine o'clock.

Izzat al-Duri: Did it explode?

UM4: Yes, and [*inaudible*] hit, got in the car and left.

Tariq Aziz: The windows were broken.

Dr. Sa'doun: Yes.

Saddam: Thank God for everything.

[*All repeat together, "Thank God."*]

[*Time Stamp: 37:05*]

Izzat al-Duri: Saudis and Kuwaitis were all [*inaudible*].

Saddam: We gave all of them shelter there.

Izzat al-Duri: We let them live in it.

Dr. Sa'doun: I have three points, Sir.

Saddam: Yes.

Dr. Sa'doun: First, to me it seems that these [*radio*] stations are active, such as Monte Carlo and Voice of America; I mean they are confusing people. The real bombardment is not affecting

people as much as listening to this media and so on. I am not sure whether we have the capability now or not. At the beginning, we were jamming them [*the radio stations*] but now, if we [*inaudible*].

Saddam: Well, [*inaudible*] Comrade Latif.

Dr. Sa'doun: The other point -- [*Interrupted*]

Latif: We are jamming Voice of America. From five o'clock in the morning, I [*inaudible*]. At three o'clock we start the jamming, alternating from one place to another. But, Sir, there is one possibility. In case my media is hit, I will keep my electronic defense system working, so that we can continue broadcasting. What is my priority, jamming or [*inaudible*]?

[*Several participants respond simultaneously*]

Latif: Yes, the media should be working to the last minute.

Saddam: But I want you to keep something as an alternative and not broadcast from it, so they will not be able to discover it. This would be something to use as a last resort. As you know, they are much more advanced as far as technology, and as soon as they see broadcasting equipment, they will track them and target them with missiles.

Latif: The latest is the vehicles, for which I set up a central connection [*communication method*], so that they will not [*inaudible*]. I placed them in Basra, 'Amara, Kut, Baghdad, Mosul, Kirkuk, al-Muthanna, Babel, and in al-Ramadi. They all broadcast from Baghdad, and they receive and send out. I mean -- [*Interrupted*]

UM4: Reinforcements.

Latif: Reinforcements—the central one is in Baghdad. So I kept this as a last option.

Saddam: Hmm.

Latif: Once there is nothing, we sit in this vehicle, etcetera. We [*inaudible*] the stations and their power [*inaudible*]. They have high capabilities and called the [*inaudible*] station. [*Inaudible*] mass pressure and they are set in a place as they are small and not too big; they are the size of [*inaudible*]. The second phase is after the [*inaudible*] -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: But be careful, and I hope that you will not need to use it, or things do not escalate to the point where we are required to use it. But if you must, just keep it in a mobile position.

Latif: The vehicles?

Saddam: Yes.

Latif: But this is hard, Sir.

Saddam: They will spot it for you. No, it will be in operating mode.

Latif: Because I need three days to set up the vehicle, remove its aerials [*antennae*], and so on. But we were able to make the camouflage.

Saddam: Spotting... spotting... electronic spotting [*several participants speak simultaneously*]... electronic spotting based on frequency showing that such and such is in this location.

Latif: I will try, Sir, God willing; I will try.

Saddam: Just study it with Lieutenant General ‘Amir.

Latif: Yes, Sir.

Izzat al-Duri: Move it to [*inaudible*].

Saddam: Your technicians will come, Lieutenant General ‘Amir will sit, and you will explain to him how we can spot these stations. He will tell you what he knows.

Latif: Sir, we [*inaudible*] when he was with us as Your Excellency ordered -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: Yes, but act immediately so that when you have a full picture, you know what to do in case you need to act on the situation.

Latif: This is the plan that we drew two or three months ago. I explain the situation to the technician and ask for his opinion, as I am not a technician, but this is what I know based on my long experience. So he gives his guidance, and I promise Your Excellency to review the plan and implement any changes to it.

Saddam: Yes, comrade.

Dr. Sa’doun: [*Inaudible*] the [*oil*] loading facilities in Saudi Arabia, if they are hit [*inaudible*] this will have a material and morale effect; the facilities are located in Dhahran and the northern area, the coastal oil facilities.

Saddam: We have begun with the oil. We know how much oil will drown the entire Gulf region; we will set it on fire, but this is among the targets, I mean, among the targets we have set, just give us some leeway.

[*Time Stamp: 41:51*]

Dr. Sa’doun: The third point is that if we address a call to the government employees, to be recalled to their duties, [*inaudible*]. For example, today they are not working. In order to be back to normal life [*inaudible*].

Saddam: But we have to take into consideration one aspect -- *[Interrupted]*

Tariq Aziz: Not today, Sir, not today.

Saddam: One aspect with regard to the *[government]* employees' situation, especially in regard to some of them who are located in the center of Baghdad and those who occupy sensitive positions. You know Iraqis have big mouths; when they see that the minister is not at his post and they are still at work, this will affect their psyche, I mean this will affect *[inaudible]*.

[Several participants speak simultaneously]

Dr. Sa'doun: Even the minister -- *[Interrupted]*

Tariq Aziz: *[Inaudible]*. Some people have families and children, if you give them *[voices overlapping]*.

Dr. Sa'doun: That is fine one day or...

Tariq Aziz: Three or four days and let them settle *[inaudible]*.

Dr. Sa'doun: Two days.

Saddam: That would be easy -- *[Interrupted]*

[Several participants speak simultaneously]

Dr. Sa'doun: This way nothing will affect the bread production, garbage collection, with other services, I mean.

Tariq Aziz: Three or four days will be fine. Let them ease their psyche.

Izzat al-Duri: Three or four days, and some of them might *[inaudible]* while others -- *[Interrupted]*

[Several participants speak simultaneously]

Tariq Aziz: Sir, if we detect fear among the public, it is one of the mass attack probabilities.

Saddam: Yes.

Tariq Aziz: And not from the... so, when people are reassured that there is nothing of this sort they will feel more reassured, because a matter such as when an aircraft launches a missile it does not affect people and those living in Baghdad, as they experienced this before. Aircraft have previously hit Baghdad with missiles, so let them settle psychologically for four or five days. Even a week will be fine.

UM5: Sir, the presidential order that we received stipulated that the authorized minister shall assess the need for -- *[Interrupted]*

Saddam: The staff that he needs to keep momentum.

UM5: *[Inaudible]*.

Saddam: Continue running the state with the fewest possible employees. The minister shall draw the schedule.

[Several participants speak simultaneously]

UM5: *[Continuing]* Saying we did it, alternative headquarters. From the ministry's perspective, the alternative headquarters are the ones that can run the ministry's affairs, so that affairs will not be stopped by the employees based on the need and the minister's assessment. So in my opinion -- *[Interrupted]*

Dr. Sa'doun: The other point, Mr. President, *[inaudible]* I remember we did it with Iran. In our media propaganda, we must not be limited to the issuing of an official statement. In addition to the two statements, we must broadcast the news when a *[Coalition]* aircraft is downed. This way, and until the statement is issued, citizens hear the news between one statement and another, because several statements may be issued every day.

Saddam: Several statements.

Dr. Sa'doun: No, one or two statements at the present. Citizens should not wait until such an hour for the statement to be issued. Whenever anything happens it must be announced.

Saddam: Turn on the television and listen.

Tariq Aziz: *[Inaudible]*.

Dr. Sa'doun: During the war with Iran, I remember Your Excellency *[inaudible]*. This way, citizens continue to hear the news.

Saddam: They continue listening to the radio.

Dr. Sa'doun: Yes.

Izzat al-Duri: The faith related issues.

Saddam: Anything else?

Tariq Aziz: Your Excellency has tasked me with writing a letter to the Pope.

Saddam: Right, to the Pope.

Tariq Aziz: Yes, I did it and I sent it with Comrade 'Amir. [*Inaudible*].

Saddam: Did you send it to him?

Tariq Aziz: Here is the letter if you would like to see it now.

Saddam: Read it for us.

Tariq Aziz: I made it brief, Sir.

Saddam: But it will be sent after the current events.

Tariq Aziz: Yes, we mentioned them.

Saddam: We should mention and say that although the war has started here, we thank you for your feelings for us, etcetera, and this way.

Tariq Aziz: I read the letter that you sent to me on January 15, 1991, and, because I was busy with issues that you know of, under these circumstances I was not able to answer your message until today—we will mention today's date—and after the U.S. led military attack took place against Iraq. As you know, since the beginning of the Gulf crisis, we called for an open dialogue and deep political [*inaudible*] of the region's issues, in order to reach a just, comprehensive, and permanent peace throughout the region, putting an end to the Palestinian people's crisis, in particular, that has been going on for decades, recovering their occupied land, and achieving their legitimate wish of establishing freedom, sovereignty, and independence. As you know, the President of the United States of America, who represents [*inaudible*] million, the role of evil, is the one who refused the idea of dialogue, and refused to work seriously and honestly in order to find solutions for the region's issues, because he [*Bush*] and his Zionist criminal allies and other greedy evil friends of capitalist countries are extremely avid and mean to keep unjust control of the region and plunder the wealth of its people. The President of the United States raised the tone of war, gathered his forces in the holy Arab and Islamic territories, which is an unprecedented case excepted for Abraha al-Habashi [*from Ethiopia*] who tried to invade al-Ka'bah [*Mecca*] 1400 years ago, but God put a curse on him and exterminated his army by sending Ababil birds to attack them.

[*Time Stamp: 47:35*]

Saddam: 1500 years ago.

Tariq Aziz: More than 1400 years ago.

Saddam: 1500 years ago.

Tariq Aziz: Yes, so God put a curse on him and exterminated his army when He [*God*] sent

down Ababil birds to attack him with Sijjeal stones as it was mentioned in the Holy Quran.
When he -- [*Interrupted*]

Saddam: Struck him with.

Tariq Aziz: That struck him.

Saddam: Yes, [*with stones*] from Sijjeal.

Tariq Aziz: With stones from Sijjeal. And when the President of the United States called for a dialogue, he acted in an extremely arrogant manner. Also, [*in*] the meeting that took place between the U.S. Secretary of State and our Minister of Foreign Affairs in Geneva, the goal of the President of the United States was to justify the war against Iraq. The United States President refused our suggestion to continue the dialogue, and he is now committing his villainous crime by attacking our people and homeland. We appreciate your call for dialogue and peace, and this is the first duty of the believer and the first duty of a religious man. We like to emphasize to you the essence of our position. We are calling for peace, dialogue, and coexistence, which was in the Lord's Holy Book; "O mankind! Lo! We have created you from male and female and have made you nations and tribes, that ye may know one another, Lo!, the noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, in the best in conduct." God Almighty has spoken the truth. [*Surat al-Hijraat, Verse 13*]. At the same time, we are people calling for justice as our Lord ordered us to struggle for our right and justice whatever the sacrifices may be. Therefore, we are engaging in this honorable war to defend our country, sovereignty, and rights.

Dr. Sa'doun: People calling for rights?

Tariq Aziz: People calling for rights, yes. And here we are engaging in this honorable war to defend our country, sovereignty, and rights, and we are defending our holy possessions. May God grant us victory. He who God may grant victory shall not be defeated. God ordered us to struggle for the sake of right and we are complying with the word of God when he said: "Warfare is ordered for you, that it is hateful unto you; but it may happen that ye hate a thing which is good for you, and it may happen that ye love a thing which is bad for you." God Almighty has spoken the truth. [*Surat al-Baqara, Verse 216*]. Finally, I am asking you to please continue your effort with all the believers, and all peace and justice callers, to condemn the arrogant American aggression and any greedy evil that is involved in it, so that the banner of rights, justice and peace rises high, not only in Iraq and the Arab world, but also in the entire world that greedy capitalism and unjust imperialism want to subjugate to their evil will. Peace be upon you.

Saddam: Zionism.

Tariq Aziz: The greedy capitalism and imperialism.

Saddam: That is what?

Tariq Aziz: The unjust imperialism.

Saddam: And expansionist Zionism.

Tariq Aziz: And expansionist Zionism.

Saddam: The aggressive.

Tariq Aziz: The expansionist.

Saddam: The aggressive expansionist.

Izza al-Duri: Racist Zionism.

Saddam: Racist expansionist.

Tariq Aziz: Yes.

Saddam: Good.

Tariq Aziz: As for the signature, should we put the servant believer of God, Saddam Hussein, or just Saddam Hussein?

Saddam: Just Saddam Hussein.

Tariq Aziz: We shall broadcast it on the radio because he broadcasted it on the radio and then handed it over to their ambassador in Baghdad. Their ambassador is here.

Saddam: Do not broadcast it on the radio at this time.

Tariq Aziz: No.

Saddam: Do not.

Izzat al-Duri: Just deliver it.

Saddam: Just deliver it.

Tariq Aziz: I will deliver it to the ambassador.

Saddam: Because it may send a wrong message to citizens who may interpret it as a defeat at this time.

Tariq Aziz: Then we will just deliver it.

Saddam: Deliver it.

Tariq Aziz: But we will say it is not signed because the President is busy and so on, but this is an official copy.

Saddam: Bring it so I can sign it.

Tariq Aziz: No, this is just regular paper, Sir, *[inaudible]* but it is considered official, because he did not send us an officially signed letter.

Saddam: Fine.

Tariq Aziz: Our communications with the outside world have stopped.

Saddam: What is left for the world outside?

Tariq Aziz: No, we still have communications. Today, I sent different types of instructions to the ambassadors: certain instructions for the Arabs, different ones for the ambassadors to the Islamic states, and instructions to other countries, within the framework of the general guidance of activities and mobilization. I sent them to Jordan, *[inaudible]* a copy of them. *[Inaudible, noise]* we need an order from Your Excellency in order to get a communications system from the Special Security, in order for us to communicate with the outside world. We need your help in this regard.

[Time Stamp: 52:22]

Saddam: It depends on its importance regarding the emergency plan. I need to find out which division has this system; it might have been kept at the Emergency Communications Division.

Tariq Aziz: No, Sir -- *[Interrupted]*

Saddam: Let me double check.

Tariq Aziz: *[Continuing]* If it is yours, then no.

Muhammad: I have two.

Tariq Aziz: Comrade Muhammad has one -- *[Interrupted]*

Muhammad: It is supposed to get it in today from Jordan—I mean through Jordan *[inaudible]*.

Saddam: Yes.

Muhammad: So we were supposed to get it today, and if it arrives in a vehicle, the embassy there will get the vehicle.

Saddam: Anyhow, you can check with *[Comrade]* Hamid in Special Security and if it does not have an important location and you need to use it, then you can get it.

Tariq Aziz: Yes. Sir, as you know, the Algerian President, for example, if he wants to provide us anything, he needs to call for the chargé d'affaires to know to deliver it. Therefore, we have to have something to keep communicating with the outside world.

Izzat al-Duri: He put the army on the alert in Algeria. He declared an alert situation.

Saddam: On people and not...

Izzat al-Duri: On the army, as a measure of precaution in case Israel attacks Algeria.

Tariq Aziz: I thought I received a copy.

Izzat al-Duri: In case the war expands and Israel attacks Algeria.

Tariq Aziz: Gorbachev has sent you a letter [*probably addressed to Saddam*] and I sent a copy of it this morning. The Russian ambassador came with an oral message saying, "We tried to talk to the Americans, so they might stop [*the military operations*] and give an extension to implement the resolutions of the Security Council, but we failed." The message contains a demand to implement the resolutions of the Security Council. He said [*inaudible*]. I received the message.

Saddam: [*Mumbling*].

[*Several participants speak simultaneously*]

Tariq Aziz: People heard reports saying that America has started the war and Iraq must withdraw, just like what happened on the 15th [*laughter*] when they received the first charity from the Soviet Union.

Saddam: They are all like animals. Have you all seen how Mitterrand [*French Prime Minister Francois Mitterrand*] acted?

Izzat al-Duri: The best position was that of the French. From the beginning of the war, if things were in the middle, matters would not have reached this point. [*Inaudible*] Hosni [*Mubarak*] did not have [*inaudible*]? The first station that broadcasted the strike was Egypt.

UM3: They broadcasted here that Hosni was struck.

UM2: Syria was the first to announce the strike against Iraq.

UM3: But Hosni knew about it before.

UM4: Hosni [*inaudible*] Egyptians, but the Syrians were the first to announce the strike.

[*Unclear background discussion about the strike time and the roadmap of the war against Iraq*]

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Tariq Aziz: He asked [*James*] Baker to report [*inaudible*].

[*Unclear background discussion about the strike time and the roadmap of the war against Iraq*]

[*The audio is blank from 56:40-01:03:38*]

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