

**1987****Meeting Between Saddam Hussein and His Cabinet  
Regarding Iran-Iraq War****Citation:**

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**Summary:**

This audio file contains a meeting between Saddam and his cabinet regarding the Iran-Iraq War. Saddam discusses the resolutions of the Security Council, the position of various Arab states, the role of chemical weapons and other subjects. The attack on the USS Stark is also discussed.

**Original Language:**

Arabic

**Contents:**

Transcript - Arabic

Saddam Hussein	...والترابط بين بنود القرار واي اخلاص باي منها يعتبر اخلاص بيئة جميعا. اللي أراه، يعني اذا ما يكون للرفاق رأي اخر، انه ندعي المجلس الوطني بجلسة طارئة، يعني... خلنا ننطي...	...and the connection between the terms of the resolution and any violation in any of it is considered violation of environment for everyone. What I see, um, if the comrades do not have another opinion, is that we invite the National Council for an urgent meeting I mean... let us give ....
MV	نعزز موقفنا	To reinforce our stance
Saddam Hussein	لهل الموضوع يعني مكانته وقيمته لانه موضوع مهم في حياة العراقيين ف... يعني لا بأس انه ممثلي الشعب يكونوا على بيئة و... في هذا الموضوع. ونقول احنا، نقول احنا سندرس هذا الموضوع اذا تطور الموضوع بدراستنا له وبين اصدار القرار، زمن معين انه احنا عندنا دعوة طارئة للمجلس الوطني والمجلس الوطني يناقش هذا الموضوع. ونعلنه على الناس، وبنفس الوقت انا لا اميل الى الحالة الفورية، يعني اذا الموافقة الفورية ولا اميل الى تعطيل الموافقة يعني لفترة من الزمن يميع زخم الحماس ان... حول القرار الذي يصدر من مجلس الامن عند الرأي العام العالمي وصداه. الحاليتين مع بعضها نوازنها في خطواتنا. انه تأخير رد فعلنا يخلي رد الفعل الايرواني ما ياخذ رد فعل مضاد من الرأي العام لما يستحقه اذا كان يرفضوه. لكن ايضا اعطاء رد فعل سريع من قبلنا مو بالضبط هو حالة ايجابية دوما. (غير مفهوم) عاد ظل لحاله هل الحيلة بموجب القانون رقم كذا اللي هو للمجلس الوطني حق ابداء الاستشارة لمجلس قيادة الثورة او لرئيس الجمهورية أو سويينا قرار لاحق هذا بالاضافة الى قانون المجلس الوطني انه يحق لنا حول امور نطلب بيها رأيه مو بصيغة قانوني وانما بصيغة رأي، بصيغة إستشارة للمجلس الوطني ككل او للجان المتخصصة. أي الصيغتين افضل، نسويها. اي الصيغتين افضل. ال... بعد صدور هذا،	For this subject has its status and its value because it is an important issue in the lives of the Iraqis so... I mean, it is okay for the representatives of the people to be knowledgeable and... in this subject. And we say, we say that we will study this subject if the issue evolves while we are still studying it and before the order is issued. A certain period that we have an urgent invitation to the National Council and for the National Council to discuss this subject. Then we announce it to the people, yet at the same time I do not lean toward the immediate condition, I mean, if the immediate approval, and I do not lean toward disrupting the approval, so for a period of time to dissolve the thrust of excitement... concerning the resolution issued by the Security Council at the international public position and its reverberation. We will balance the two situations in our steps. The delay in our reaction will make the Iranian reaction not take a reaction opposing the public opinion as deserved if they would reject it. Yet also giving an immediate reaction from our side is not exactly a positive case always. [inaudible] unless according to the specification of law number such and such which is the right for the National Council to offer consultation to the Revolutionary Council or to the President of the Republic or we formed a resolution subsequent to this one in addition to the National Council Law that it is our right to unofficially transfer things we need its

	<p>وعلى الصعيد النقابي ، النقابات مع النقابات المماثلة لها عربيا ودوليا وعدم انحياز واسلامية، على المستويات الشعبية على مستوى المؤتمر الاسلامي الشعبي اللي انعقد ايضا عندنا اكو... على مستوى يعني الدولي، النقابات مع النقابات، الاحزاب مع الاحزاب، الاتحادات مع الاتحادات الخ... ما اميل الى ان نحرك حدا من انحياز جماعيا ولا المؤتمر الاسلامي ولا المسلمين جماعيا.</p>	<p>opinion in not in a legal manner, but in way of opinion or consultation of the National Council as a whole or to the specialized committees. Whichever of the two is best, we will do. Whichever of the two approaches is better, the...after this was issued, I see what Comrade Tariq has suggested is rational and practical as well, that we start having a wide movement on the sevenfold Arab countries, on the level of the Arab League, on the level of the Summit, if that is possible. Meaning, any powerful approach, and from this moment on we should start investigation the opinion of the Arabs, an investigation, so we investigate and at the same time discuss with them on the higher approach, in a case of this kind, so that when we decide on the steps, we will be informed of the possible reactions from the side of the Arabs to the last of its cases. And on the association [trade union] level, the associations with its equivalent International and Arab associations, non aligned, and Islamic; on the popular levels, on the level of the Islamic Popular Conference that was held also in our country, there is, I mean on the international level, the associations with the associations, the parties with the parties, the unions with the unions, etc. I do not lean toward us moving anyone from the aligned groupwise or from the Islamic Conference, nor the Muslims collectively.</p>
MV	مو جماعيا (كلمة غير مفهومة)	Not collectively [inaudible word]
Saddam Hussein	وانما يعني ، نتحرك عليهم كلهم دون ان نطلب منهم انهم يعقدون اجتماع، لانه ما رح يعقدون اجتماع ومو دائما اجتماعاتهم هم مفيدة،	But it means that we move toward them all without asking them to hold a meeting, because they will not hold a meeting and their meetings are not always beneficial,
MV	(تعليق بصوت منخفض غير مفهوم)	[inaudible comment in a low voice]
Saddam Hussein	...عني لكن نتحرك عليهم بقصد تكوين رأي عام لجانبنا وضد الايرانيين. يعني فكرة الرفيق طارق ترد بالبال الموضوع	...meaning that we move toward them with the purpose of forming a public opinion for our side, and against the

		<p>Iranians. So, Comrade Tariq's idea comes to mind, the topic that on the sea level meaning that we watch out that no interactions take place during that period, between our activities and between that something might occur that we did not have in mind. Within this framework is accepted, but I lean toward that when Iran refuses, we continue in our thrust without, without stopping so that we do not get others accustomed to any condition of the partition conditions for the subject, therefore... but we have [UNINTELLIGIBLE] there are [UNINTELLIGIBLE] in it, there is possible overlapping between us and the American, Soviet and French ships, etc. Let us avoid this within the limits that Comrade Tariq has pointed to in this period. As for the MIDAYAT [?] that we can go to and which are clean of other ships, let us not increase our thrust and strike against it, so, the approaches of the Island of Kharj that do not entangle with others, I see that we fiercely strike, I mean, after it announces its refusal. Not before they announce the refusal. Before they announce their refusal, it is preferable that our interactions do not give away any kind of intertwinement in the papers at all.</p> <p>The point that, I mean, I want us to bear in mind is that we should not keep on expecting that the Iranians will refuse in all cases.</p>
MV	ربما...	Perhaps...
Saddam Hussein	<p>لازم يعني كقيادة سياسية لازم تحط في بالها ان الايرانيين يطلقوهم كلام مُبهم، لا هو بالرفض ولا هو بالقبول. ليمتصوا زخم الرأي العام الاولي ثم يتصرفون من الناحية العملية باتجاه اللي هم ماشيين بيه.</p>	<p>It is necessary as a political command it is essential to bear in mind that the Iranians utter ambiguous words that is neither rejection nor acceptance. To absorb the thrust of the initial public opinion and then act from the practical side in the direction they are going in.</p>
MV	هيك ساوون باليمن	As they did in Yemen
Saddam Hussein	<p>او... او... يعني يطلقون كلام، ولا هو بالرفض ولا هو بالقبول ويقبلون به</p>	<p>Or ... or ... they would utter speech that is neither rejection nor acceptance and take</p>

		it as a matter of fact...
MV	(كلام مش مفهوم)	[inaudible]
Saddam Hussein	<p>يقبولون كأمر واقع لكن لا يمضون بفقرات التطبيق اللاحقة عدا ما يتعلق بوقف اطلاق النار، اللي هي الانسحاب للحدود الدولية، التبادل الشامل للاسرى والخ من امور.</p> <p>هذي يعني ما لازم تسقطوها من حسابكم كسياسين، يضل فقط التوقع انه يصدر القرار، احنا ايران رح ترفضه في كل الاحوال، احنا اكو احتمال انه نقبله لا، يعني اكو جانب اخر الى جانب أكو احتمال ايران تقول كلام من لما تسأل او يصرح احدهم يقول به احنا قرارنا، احنا موقفنا واضح من مثل هذه القرارات ويسكت. يعني ممكن...</p> <p>اذاك هذا الموضوع طبعاً يحتاج ما، مو من هالساعة نقول ايش نسوي، يعني بوقته كل شي بوقته التصرف، يكون واضح، يعني هذا هو الاطار تقريباً</p>	<p>They accept it as matter of fact, but they do not sign the paragraphs of the application that follow, except for what is related to cease fire, which is the retreat of the international borders, complete exchange of prisoners and other issues etc. This, I mean, you should pay attention to, as politicians; the only expectation remaining is for the resolution to be issued. We, Iran will reject it under all situations, and there is a possibility that we might accept it. No, I mean, there is another side along with a side, there is a possibility that Iran will say when asked or one of them states saying "our decision" "our stance is clear from such decisions" then becomes silent. I mean, it is possible...</p> <p>This subject of course needs, not from this moment to say what will we do, I mean, in its time everything for action in its time, it will be clear, so I mean, this is approximately the framework</p>
[08:37-08:50]	(ليس هناك تسجيل)	[Blank audio]
MV1	<p>سيادة الرئيس، بالحقيقة الافكار اللي طرحها الرفيق طارق حول الموضوع عملية جدا، فالدعوة الى عقد اجتماع لجنة سباعية التي قامت بعمل جبار خلال هذه الفترة، انا اعتقد عقد اجتماع له في بغداد او في تونس ضروري جدا لتقييم قرار ليصدر من مجلس الامن وفي نفس الوقت، يعني سيادتكم اذا توجه لهم نوع من التقييم والتقدير الى اللجنة العمل، فاذا تتعقد الاجتماع في بغداد ويجتمع به سيادتكم وتقذرون اعمالهم اللي قاموا بعمل جبار خلال هذه الفترة.</p> <p>وهذا ما نلاحظه يستحقون هذه، اما اذا الاجتماع يكون في تونس فممكن عن طريق توجيه الرسالة من قبل سيادتكم لهم لتقييم موقفهم وتقديرهم على هذا العمل.</p>	<p>Mr. President, indeed the ideas which Comrade Tariq has presented about the subject are very practical. For the call to have a sevenfold committee meeting, which did an incredible job during this period of time, I think that having a meeting for it in Baghdad or in Tunisia is very essential to evaluate a decision which will be issued by the security counsel, and at the same time, your Excellency, if you will offer them some kind of evaluation and appreciation to the working committee. So, if the meeting is held in Baghdad and your Excellency met with them and you offer appreciation for their work which they did, and it was an incredible job during this period of time. And this is what we notice that they deserve. But if the meeting is in Tunisia,</p>

	<p>بالنسبة الى القمة الاسلامية امبارح سمعت بالاخبار ياسر عرفات داعي دعوة الى القمة الاسلامية للنظر في موضوع الحرب العراقية الايرانية وفعاليات مجلس الامن. انا بالنسبة الى هذا الموضوع عندي ملاحظة اخرى لاحظتها انه هناك اكو قد تحرك يمكن يكون مصدرها سوري بالتنسيق مع الايرانيين لاثارة موضوع المؤتمر الدولي لتغطية هذا الموضوع الهام (أو الآن) يعني الان حركة محمومة حتى الرئيس المصري راح الى... الى الى الى جنيف وهناك اتصالاته وبعدين السوريين أنفسهم، يعني الدعوة الى المؤتمر الدولي في هالظروف للتغطية على النشاطات التي تبذل الان حول الوقف الحرب العراقية الايرانية، فأعتقد السوريين وبالتنسيق مع الايرانيين ووراء دول اخرى بينما كل الدول الكبيرة يقولون الان هذي موضوع بعيد، موضوع المؤتمر الدولي والقضية الفلسطينية.</p> <p>فهذي ملاحظة يجب انه ان نتشاور مع الدول المعنية اللي تشتغل على هذي القضية سواء الاردن والهده وافهامهم ان قضية الحرب العراقية الايرانية اهم الان في هذه المرحلة لظرفها والتوجه الها دوليا.</p> <p>فانا اعتقد ورا هذي القضية اكو قد توجه</p>	<p>then maybe by sending a letter from your Excellency to evaluate their situation and appreciate this work they did. Of course, when they meet I think that the call for a meeting of the Arab League Counsel is more realistic and very practical more than the Summit meeting because this is what it seems as we read in the news, that the meeting is still, the Summit meeting is still far off, something far off, I mean. And even if the Saudis and others say all the countries that it is [not clear] that we meet but the atmosphere is still not suitable for holding a usual Summit meeting, not just for the case, our case but the case, and even if we also need to seek for it through communications because this is very important.</p> <p>As for the Islamic Summit, yesterday I heard on the news that Yaser Arafat is the calling to the Islamic Summit to look into the issue of the Iran-Iraq War and the actions of the Security Counsel. I, in reference to this subject, have another note which I noticed that there is present some movement which might have a Syrian source with coordination with the Iranians to bring up the issue of the International Convention to cover this [important or] subject [now] so now it is a heated movement that even the Egyptian president went to, to, to, to Geneva and there his calls [connections] and then the Syrians themselves, so the call for the International Convention in these circumstances to cover the activities which are being done now concerning stopping the Iran-Iraq War, so I think the Syrians and in coordination with the Iranians and behind other countries, while all the big countries say: now, this is a faraway subject, the subject of the International Convention and the Palestinian problem.</p> <p>So, this is an observation that we need to confer with certain countries which are</p>
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		<p>working on this problem whether Jordan and that, and make it clear to them that the issue of the Iran-Iraq war is more important now in this phase for its situation and for the international direction towards it.</p> <p>I think that behind this case there is a direction from the Syrians or from others...</p>
Unknown MV	(تعليق غير واضح)	[inaudible comment]
MV1	<p>والاعلام الصهيوني ايضا بانه مثلا شمعون بيريز يروح الى جنيف لكي يقابل حسني مبارك، الاسبوع القادم الدكتور وزير خارجية مصر يروح يزور اسرائيل لأول مرة، يعني هاي قضايا كلها (كلمة غير مفهومة) الى هذه خلق جو عام بالنسبة الى المؤتمر الدولي تخطي على قضية ما يدور في مجلس الامن والمحاولات الدولية لحال، لوضع نهاية للحرب العراقية الايرانية.</p> <p>بالنسبة الى القرار اللي يصدر اذا كان يضمن ما هو موجود في قرار 582 اعتقد لا بأس به حتى بالنسبة لموضوع الاسلحة الكيماوية ليس فيها ادانة مباشرة الى اي دولة، يعني حتى اذا ضمنت هذا ما تقلل من قيمة القرار، لانه اعتقد الان الفرق بينه وبين القرار اللي يصدر هو الان القرار الملزم، والاشارة الى المادتين 39 و40 من ميثاق اللي ما اعرف نصوصه بالضبط يمكن الرفيق طارق يشرح لنا بالضبط حول الموضوع، وقرار تكوين لجنة الاستقصاء لاستقصاء اسباب النزاع بين البلدين وهذا احنا موافقين عليه من البداية يعني انه اذا كانت تحت اشراف الامم المتحدة هذه المادة الزائدة منه والبقية تكون...</p>	<p>And Zionist media is also that for example Shimon Peres goes to Geneva to meet with Huns Umbra. Next week, Dr. Egypt's Minister of Foreign Affairs goes to visit Israel for the first time, meaning, all these are issues [inaudible] to create a general atmosphere concerning the International Convention which trespassing on the issue of what is going on in the Security Counsel and the international attempts to put an end to the Iran-Iraq War.</p> <p>Concerning the resolution which will be issued, if it guarantees what is not provided in resolution number 582, I think that it is ok, even for the subject of chemical weapons, where there is no direct indictment for any country. Even if this was guaranteed, it would not make the resolution less important, because I think now that the difference between him and the resolution which is issued is that now the resolution is compulsory and there is reference to two articles 39 and 40 of the agreement which I do not know its articles exactly. Perhaps Comrade Tariq can explain to us specifically concerning this subject and the decision to form an investigative committee to investigate the reasons of conflict between the two countries. And this we agree on from the beginning, so if it was under the supervision of the United Nations this is surplus material and the rest would be...</p>
Unknown	وامر الخليج	And the issue of the Gulf

MV		
MV1	جيدة... وامر الخليج... وقضية الخليج انا اعتقد احدى الدول الكبرى ممكن الامريكان او السوفيت اثاروه بانه بفترة ما انه يستحسن بعد صدور القرار بانه نوقف العمليات الحربية في الخليج، يمكن باحدى التقارير قرأتها يمكن مورفي مو؟	...good... and the issue of the Gulf. And I think that the issue of the Gulf was brought up by one of the big countries perhaps the Americans or the Soviets that in some period it would be advisable after the issuance of the resolution that we stop the war operations in the Gulf. I might have read it in one of the reports, perhaps "Murphy" [spelling?] right?
Saddam Hussein?	جيفري هاو	"Jeffery Haw"...
MV1	جيفري هاو... انه لفترة انه من المستحسن ان نوقف العمليات الهادي خايف ما ننطيه لانه الراي العام متأثرين بهذي، ولو انه بريطانيا باحوا انهم دخلوا في المعمة وقبلوا على انهم عرضوا على الكويت استعداداتهم لتأجير الناقلات الكويتية ورفع العلم الانجليزي وبحماس شديد. امبارح هذا... فهذا القضية هم طبعا الظاهر الدخول البريطاني ودخول الدول الاخرى كلهم الهادي يريدون انه والايرانيين يعلنون باستمرار انه احنا اذا يعني في نوع من التوازن انه العراقيين اذا امتنعوا عن ضرب بواخرنا فاحنا ايضا نمتنع عن هذا يعني	"Jeffery Haw"... that for a period of time, it is advisable that we stop these operations, he is afraid that we will not give him, because the public opinion is effected with this and even if Britain has proclaimed that they have entered the mess and have accepted that they offered Kuwait their readiness to rent Kuwaiti transporters and to raise the English flag and with utmost enthusiasm. This happened yesterday, therefore the issue, of-course, it appears that the British entry and the entry of the other countries they all want that the Iranians would continually declare that if we are in some kind of balance that if the Iraqis withheld from bombing our ships, so we also would stop doing so, which means...
Saddam Hussein	نضرب بواخرهم ونمتنع عن ضرباتها للكويت والسعودية	We strike their vessels and withhold against its attacks to Kuwait and Saudi
MV1	ايه نعم، فلهذا انا اعتقد انه الاشياء اللي اقترح على انه جيدة وكل تحرك بهذا المستوى يعني بالنسبة الى القضية جيد ومتوقع اليوم او بكرة، وبس انا قرأت انه منه الى نهاية الشهر يمكن يصدر قرار.	Oh yes, therefore I think that the things that were suggested are good and every movement on this level means well for this case and it is expected today or tomorrow, and I read that from now until the end of the month a resolution might be issued.
Saddam Hussein	هو كل تموز متوقع بس المتوقع انه هاالاسبوعين	It is expected in July, but what is expected is within the coming two weeks
MV1	نعم، فاعتقد ان هذا النشاط ضروري جدا وتكون يعني نتائجه ايجابية يعني بالنسبة لنا، ولكن الايرانيين طبعا الى الان هم يرفضون يعني يعني، ما يعلنوها عنهم	Yes, so I believe this activity is very important and its results are going to be very positive, I mean, for us, but the Iranians of-course until now they refuse I

		mean, I mean, do not announce it and they do a side activity to slower the issuance of the resolution. But the thing I noticed is that, was it not for the importance of the resolution and the importance of the subject to call Iraq and Iran to participate in this discussion in the Security Council or their existence and invitation.
Saddam Hussein	عليه اسم يعني في لنا عنصر...	It has a name, I mean, we have an element...
MV1	لا انا اللي اريد اقول يعني يعني كان يعني كمحاولة من عندهم فعند رفض ايران ذلك الوقت يكون القرار اشد يعني يعني يكون يكون انه ما يتجاوبوا مع اي شيء. لانه بالنسبة الى القرارات الاخرى لم يشتركوا في اي من المباحثات ولو اشتركوا في المباحثات الجانبية... شكرا	No, what I want to say is, I mean, I mean, was I mean an attempt from their side, so when Iran refuses at that time, the resolution would become tougher, I mean, I mean, would be, would be that they do not cooperate with anything. Because in relation to the other resolutions they did not participate in any of the deliberations even if they participated in the side deliberations... thank you
MV2	سيدي، ما يخص الدعوة للمؤتمر الاسلامي تعرف سيادتكم ابو عمار يطلق مقترحات...	Sir, concerning the invitation to the Islamic Conference your highness knows that Abu 'Ammar utters suggestions...
Saddam Hussein	ايه، لا، انا (غير مفهوم)	Yes, no, I [inaudible]
MV2	ما عنده، بس وقانعا اللي جرى هو ما يلي : نحنا كلنا ابو عمار في زيارته الى دكا من جاءت الاخبار انه وزير الخارجية بنغلادش رح يروح الى ايران فذرينا رسالة حسب توجيه سيادتكم الى الرئيس عن طريق سفيرنا، كلنا ابو عمار ايضا يحكي وبياه. فأقنعه سفيرنا اولا ومن ثم ابو عمار اقنعه أرشاد انه ما يدز وزير الخارجية. فيبدو هو مطلق هذا المقترح في دكا في مؤتمر صحفي او في حديث مع الرئيس أرشاد. هسا قبل ما اجي الاجتماع جاءتنا برقية من الكويت ابو عمار مستدعي السفير وبلغ تحياته لسيادتكم، طارح الفكرة على امير الكويت انه شنو رايك ندعو الاجتماع القمة الاسلامية حول موضوع الحرب، فأمير الكويت قال له الان خلينا نركز على قرار مجلس الامن. والحقيقة هذا موقف جيد،	...on his own, but in reality what happened is as follow: we charged Abu 'Ammar during his visit to "Dakka" when the news arrived that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh will go to Iran, so we sent a message [letter] per your requested, your esteemed self, to the president through our ambassador. We charged Abu 'Ammar to also talk with him. So, first, our ambassador convinced him and then Abu 'Ammar convinced Arshad not to send the Minister of Foreign Affairs. So it appears as if he announced this suggestion in "Dakka" in a press conference or a conversation with President Arshad. Just now, before I came to the meeting, we received a telegram from Kuwait that Abu 'Ammar has invited the ambassador and he sends you his greetings. He had made that suggestion to the prince of Kuwait that

		what do you think that we call the Islamic Summit Meeting around the subject of war. So the prince of Kuwait told him, let us now concentrate on the Security Council's resolution. And truly this is a good position, that we do not do any activity, neither Arab nor Islamic. Let us concentrate on the Security Council's resolution and when the Security Council's resolution is issued, and then we shall see what we can do, so there is no danger from this invitation.
Saddam Hussein	يعني هو الاجتماع العربي صعب عاد انه بالاسلامي...	I mean, the meeting of the Arabs is hard but as for the Islamic ...
Unknown MV	(همس غير واضح) سبق وان شرحنا اياها	[inaudible whispering] You have previously explained it to us
MV2	سيدي يعني ما موجوده عندي النصوص ولكن مضمون المادتين 39 و 40 هي المواد التي تتعامل في ميثاق الامم المتحدة مع الحالات التي تسمى بخرق السلام. وتعبير خرق السلام بميثاق الامم المتحدة من التعبيرات المهمة.	Sir, I mean, I do not have the scripts but the content of the two articles 39 and 40 are the material which deals with the United Nations accord with the cases called "the violation of peace" and the term "violation of peace" in accord of the United Nations is one of the very important terms.
Saddam Hussein	اللي غانا تريد تريد تشيله	Which Ghana wants to, wants to remove
MV2	تريد تشيله... بعد المادتين 39 و 40 سيدي ينتهي الميثاق تبدأ المادة 41 و 42 فيما بعد هي المواد اللي يسمى بالفصل السابع بالميثاق اللي بيها العقوبات والتدابير اللي تتخذها الولايا (يصحح نفسه) الامم المتحدة لمعالجة خرق السلام. فالميثاق يقول بالمادتين 39 و 40 انه عندما يكون هناك خرق للسلام يجتمع مجلس الامن ويتخذ توصيات، وقرارات لمعالجة هذا الخرق، فان لم يُعالج الخرق للسلام او تتوقف العوامل التي تؤدي الى خرق السلام ينتقل المجلس لاتخاذ التدابير بموجب المواد اللاحقة وهي الفصل السابع من الميثاق اللي هو فصل العقوبات، وفصل العقوبات الحقيقة فصل كل شي به، حتى استخدام القوى المسلحة. يعني الامم المتحدة ميثاقها يجيز لها ان	It wants to remove... After articles 39 and 40, sir, the accord ends and articles 41 and 42 begin, and later these are the material that are called the seventh chapter in the accord which has the penalties and measures taken by the States [corrects himself] by the United Nations to treat the violation of peace. So, the accord says in the two articles 39 and 40 that when there is violation of peace, the Security Council meets and takes recommendations and resolutions to treat this violation, so if the violation of peace is not treated or the factors leading to the violation of peace are not stopped, then the Council would move to take measurements according to the articles that follow, which is chapter seven of the accord, which is the chapter on penalties. And the chapter on penalties is truly a

		<p>chapter that has everything, even the use of armed forces.</p> <p>So, the accord of the United Nations allows it to use armed forces of the countries that are member countries of the United Nations to halt a case considered as a violation of peace. In it is the severance of diplomatic relations, the severance of economic relations, prohibition of weapons, meaning it has a lot of actions... this was not used, I mean only once, using of forces to fight was in the Korean War only but it was used every now and then meaning procedures on Rhodesia, where procedures of diplomatic isolation, diplomatic and economical boycotting, in accordance to chapter seven, and Britain was to the one suggesting this and was supported by the other countries. Now concerning South Africa, there is no resolution from the Security Council for total segregation but segregation is going on, I mean, on the international level.</p>
	(كلام مش واضح)	[inaudible]
MV2	<p>سيدي بعد اصدار القرار وما حللته كيف نجاوب انا ارى انه لا نكون سريعين ولا نكون بطيئين في تأييد القرار بعد ما يعني نستقر على رأي المطلوب، لسبب انه مع وجود السفن في الخليج الامريكي والفرنسي والتداخل مع ما يوعد به رفسنجاني للشعوب الايرانية بانه لضرب السفن الايرانية في المنطقة ومع اصدار القرار باعتقادي انه شنون حملة على مجلس الامن، (كلمة غير مفهومة) مجلس الامن معها، قد يجوز يضربون فذ سفينة او سفينتين من ال...</p>	<p>Sir, after the issuance of the resolution and as the analysis of how we would respond, I see that we should not rush and not be slow in affirming the resolution, after I mean we settle on the required opinion, for the reason that with the presence of the ships in the gulf, the American and the French and the overlapping with what Rafsanjani promised to the Iranian people that by striking the Iranian ships in the area and with the issuance of the resolution, it is my opinion that they will carry out a campaign on the Security Council [inaudible] the Security Council with it. They might hit one of two ships from the...</p>
Saddam Hussein	<p>حتى الرفاق يتهيأون الى فكرة انا فقط طرحتها على الرفيق طارق عزيز بالهاتف قبل عشر ايام اظن او اقل، ما</p>	<p>In order for the comrades to be prepared to an idea I just suggested to Comrade Tariq 'Aziz over the phone ten days ago I think, or less; I did not follow up on it</p>

		with him, but as time passes I become more convinced of its validity. The idea is that Iraq calls for the willingness to positively study any request presented by the larger countries to give facilitation to these countries on its land, its air-space, and in its waters, to apply the resolution of the Security Council or protect its interests which are affected by any irresponsible action taken by Iran in the region. I mean, this is what is on my mind to have an unexpected situation issued by them, to have it issued by them, but I mean, I have many goals for it after its issuance.
Unknown MV	بعد صدورها والنتائج اللاحقة...	After its issuance and the results that would follow...
	(تعليق غير مفهوم)	[inaudible]
MV	يعني سيدي الرئيس انه انا ارى انه بلاش يصير فذ خبط عليهم حتى عاد ايه...	I mean, Mr. President, I see that there should not be severe striking on them so that...
Saddam Hussein	اعطاء تسهيلات من العراق بحرية وجوية وارضية يرهب ايران، ويسهل مهمة الدول الكبرى لاي عمل عسكري تيجي به داخل الخليج، امام الراي العام لدولها. يعني، فيسوي عجة كبيرة بالمنطقة، ويخلي الدول الكبرى كلها تقوم تتنافس فيما بينها يقولك هاي الشغلة خلنا نخلص لان مبين ما تدري شو رح تطلع. نطلع لنا فذ شغلة كل واحد يجوز ما حاسبها، كل واحد يقول بجوز اتطلع وياه الفلانيين الشغلة انا ما حاسبها.	Giving facilities from Iraq by sea, by air, and by land scares Iran, and eases the mission of the larger countries for any military activity inside the Gulf, in front of the public opinion for its countries. I mean, so it creates a great chaos in the region, and makes all the larger countries compete among themselves. They would say this is an annoying thing let get rid of it, because it seems one does not know what might take place. We might get ourselves into something we had not calculated, every one says something from so and so might come which I had not calculated.
Unknown MV	بجوز السوفيت يخلو من العراق	The Soviets might vacate from Iraq
Saddam Hussein	يجوز السوفيت يخلو من العراق ويجوز الامريكان يخلو من العراق ويجوز الفرنسيين ياخدون موطاً قدم اكثر بالعراق. احنا طبعا العراق ما حد ياخذنا هه هه هه... يعني خبطة جديدة، مرات كل ما تعجنها زايد يمكن اتطلع شي صافي نحنا بالنسبة لنا ما،	The Soviets might vacate Iraq, and the Americans might vacate Iraq, and the French might spread even more in Iraq. We of-course, Iraq, no one would take us hahaha... so, a new strike sometimes the more you mold it the more it might bring out something pure, to us it does not...

Unknown MV	(تعليق لكن غير مفهوم)	[inaudible comment]
Saddam Hussein	يعني بالنسبة لنا ما عندنا، ما عندنا اشكال، يعني بلد احنا، لا احنا الكويت ولا احنا البحرين كلهم نقدر نستوعبهم نعطيهم تسهيلات الى حتى انتهاء الحرب.	...mean for us, we have not, we do not have shapes, I mean, we are a country. We are neither Kuwait nor Bahrain. We can accommodate them all and give them facilities till the end of the war.
Unknown MV	(مش مفهوم)	[Inaudible]
Saddam Hussein	خلص... هه هه نسوي عجة كبيرة بحيث الكل يقوم يقولك خلنا نخلص من هاي الدقة الكبيرة ما ادري شو رح اتطلع. وهذه هم اصفونوا بها الى ان يصير القرار.	Enough... ha ha, we will cause a huge mess in a way that everybody would tell you enough of this big chaos I do not know what you will get out of this. So, meditate on this until the resolution takes place.
Saddam Hussein	نعم الرفيق (غير مفهوم) عفوا	Yes, comrade [inaudible]... excuse me
Unknown MV	عفوا سيدي، هاي (غير مفهوم) عليهم...	Excuse me Sir, this [inaudible] on them...
Saddam Hussein	الرفيق عبد الغاني	Comrade Abd-al-Ghani
Comrade Abd-al- Ghani	شكرا سيدي الحقيقة مشروع القرار اللي مطروح امامنا مكسب سياسي مهما يكن الوصول الى نتيجة، والمكسب السياسي سيدي انه كانت الدول الكبرى كلها حاولت ان تجعل من حربنا حرب نفسية قبل فترة، ومثل ما شايف سيادتك انه تورطت بهاي وقامت يعني تفكر بامكانات الحصول امور غير محسوبة. والشئ المفرح به مشروع القرار اللي امامنا انه النقاط الخمسة اللي تفضل بها سيادتك ب 2 اب	Thank you sir, truly the resolution project presented in front of us is a political gain [asset] regardless of the means to getting to the the result. And the political gain, sir, is that all the larger countries tried to make a psychological war out of our war a while ago, and as your honor can see, that we became involved in this and we started thinking of possibilities of having things happen that we were not prepared for. But the good thing in it; the resolution project ahead of us are the five points your honor stated on the 2 <sup>nd</sup> of August
Saddam Hussein	حتى تخلوا العنصر الجديد بها اللي احنا واحدة من النقاط انه يكون موقف كل من العراق وايران ايجابي تجاه امن الخليج، هم دخلوا في مادة جديدة يعني، ما سبق انه تعاملوا بها.	So as to leave the new element in it as one of the points that the stance of Iraq and Iran is positive towards that security of the Gulf. They themselves entered in new material which they previously had not dealt with.
Comrade Abd-al- Ghani	هذه النقاط الخمسة سيدي اللي هذه هي التي اعتمدت اساساً بهذا صدور القرار والتوقع اللي اتفضل بيه سيادتك امكانية قيام ايران بخطط الاوراق بمسألة القبول من عدمه وارادة، ولكن احنا لناخذ انه	Sir, these five points which are primarily based after the issuance of the and the expectation that your highness presented concerning the possibility of Iran mixing the papers of the acceptance is valid, but for us to take the issue of communication

		with the issuance of the, which is [inaudible] and which was presented by Comrade Tariq regarding the Summit Conference can be presented easily, but its achievement is difficult. So, I suggest that the Arab League Council would not be on the level of representatives but on the level of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to give fundamental weight and a middle solution between representatives and a summit conference as a condition that would serve the purpose.
Saddam Hussein	عملي اجتماع الجامعة على مستوى وزراء الخارجية اكثر من الدعوة للقمّة.	To have the Arab League summit on the level of the foreign ministers is more practical than the invitation for the Summit.
Comrade Abd-al-Ghani	واللجنة السباعية وما قامت به من عمل جيد الحقيقة ممكن تجتمع لتقييم عملها وهي ايضا تفرح بعملها التي قامت به خلال هذه الفترة وهذا الذي يتفضل به الرفيق طارق بخصوص التقييم من سيادتكم باي شكل الذي يشوفه سيادتكم مناسب بهذا اللقاء. التحرك العربي والدولي الرسمي والشعبي (كلمة غير مفهومة) سيدي يؤدي الغرض المطلوب لتوضيح الصورة الكاملة وفي عزل ايران. والاتحادات والمنظمات المهنية والشعبية حكم وجودي كمسؤول مكتب مركزي اكو امكانيات سيدي، واكو علاقات جيدة لكل المنظمات النسوية والفلاحية والعمالية والمهندسين والاطباء والمحامين وكلهم... ممكن التحرك وفق صيغة توضع من خلال لجنة يأمر بها سيادتكم في وضع حالة تحرك...	And the sevenfold committee and the good work it did; in fact it could gather to evaluate the work it did during that time, and that is what Comrade Tariq suggested in reference to the evaluation by your honor, in any way your honor sees suitable in that gathering [meeting]. The Arab, international, official, and popular movement [inaudible word] Sir, serves the required purpose to clarify the whole picture and to isolate Iran. And the professional and national associations and unions, in my position as head of a central office, there are possibilities sir, and there are good connections for all feminine, agricultural, laborer, engineering, legal and medical associations, and all of them... We can move according to a formula put in place through a committee authorized by your honor in placing a state of movement...
Saddam Hussein	لجنة، نعم ممثلين عن كل المكاتب المهنية والشعبية وامانة سر القطر والرفيق مدير الامانة العامة للقيادة القومية ويكونون يترأسها هالفعاليات هذي ويعد صيغتها ويتشاور ويبيي الرفيق طارق من حين لآخر كلما اقتضى الامر ذلك الرفيق طارق نفسه، حتى نسوي تنسيق بين	A committee, yes, representatives of all the professional and national offices including the secretariat of the state and the comrade, head of the general secretariat for the nationalistic headquarters and they would head up these activities and they will prepare its formation and Comrade Tariq will consult

		with me, as often as necessary, Comrade Tariq himself, in order to for us to coordinate between the connection, the official activity, and the national activity.
Comrade Abd-al-Ghani	سيدي انا هذا اللي عندي وشكرا.	Sir, this is what I have, and thank you.
Saddam Hussein	ذكروني عود اذا توصلنا الى قرار بهذا الموضوع من الناحية الاعلامية ما يندمج وييا يوم اعلان موافقتنا على القرار فيما لو اعلنا الموافقة. يعني وانما نسويه اعلان مستقل، وبيوم اخر، وربما بعد اعلان موافقتنا بيوم واحد او يومين، موضوع استعدادنا لاعطاء تسهيلات للدول الكبرى. يعني مو بنفس اليوم ولا بنفس الاعلان. باعلان مستقل، على اي حال، (كلمة غير مفهوم) قد لا يكون لفترة طويلة مفيدة. الاعلان يكون مستقل والزمن يكون مستقل يعني الحاليتين تنتبهولها بصياغتها. الرفيق عزت	Remind me if we reached a decision in this matter from the media angle, that it is not combined with the day of broadcasting our approval on the resolution, if we indeed announce our approval. But let us make it an independent announcement and on a different day, and maybe one or two days after we give our approval. The subject of our willingness to give conveniences for the larger countries. I mean, not on the same day and not in the same announcement. In a separate announcement, at any rate, [inaudible word] might not be for a long beneficial period. The announcement would be independent and the time is also independent meaning pay attention to both cases in its formation [or wording]. Comrade 'Izzat
Comrade 'Izzat	الرئيس، المقترحات اللي قدمها الرفيق طارق تعليقاتك عليها وملاحظاتك باي شكل من المرتكزات مهمة جدا في تحركنا لتنفيذ منهج واسع وتحرك واسع للاستقبال قرار مجلس الامن نشوف شنو هذا القرار ولكن اريد اركز على نقطة اشرت لها انت في حديثك واعتبرها كلش مهمة تعزز وتقوي هذا التحرك اللي رح نقوم به بعد صدور القرار، وهو ان الان يصير تحرك بسيط، استطلاعي، او التحرك للتهيئة لتهيئة بعض الدول...	President, the suggestions that Comrade Tariq has presented; your comments on it and your remarks in any shape of the pillars is very important in our movements to execute a wide approach and a wide movement for the reception of the Security Council's resolution. We shall see what this resolution is, but I want to stress a point you pointed out in your speech and I consider it extremely important which empowers and reinforces this movement which we will carry out after the issuance of the resolution, which is that now there would be a small movement, exploratory, or the movement for preparation, to prepare some countries...
Saddam Hussein	(يقاطعه) توعي وكانما يعني اشراك الدول الحيوية...	[interrupts him] bring to light, as if it means allowing the vigorous countries to

		...participate
Comrade 'Izzat	مهو هذا كان قصدي، نشعرهم بالمسؤولية	This is exactly what I meant, allow them to feel responsible
Saddam Hussein	انه ايش تقترحون يعني؟	So, what do you suggest?
Comrade 'Izzat	نشركهم بالمسؤولية ونشعرهم بها	Allow them to participate in the responsibility and let them feel it
Saddam Hussein	بعد صدور قرار من هذا النوع، شلون يصير التصرف العربي... الخ المشترك؟	After the issuance of a resolution of this kind, what would the Arab reaction be... etc, the cooperative?
[29:43 – 29:57]	(انقطع التسجيل)	[recording interrupted]
Tariq 'Aziz?	صباح الخير	Good Morning
Male voices	صباح الخير	Good Morning
Saddam Hussein	صباح الخير ، صباح الخير ، صباح الخير	Good Morning, Good Morning, Good Morning
	(غير مفهوم)	[inaudible]
Tariq 'Aziz	سيدي بمناسبة قرب صدور قرار مجلس الامن يكون من الضروري ان نبحث الخطوات اللي يتعين علينا ان نقوم بها بعد صدور القرار. بما يتعلق بالقرار اعتقد الرفاق متطلعين على اخر التطورات. اخر التقرير اللي ارسلناه هو آخر موقف اللي موجود عنا. واليوم، الاثنين، رح تُستأنف المشاورات بين دول عدم الانحياز خمسة ويتوقع ان الدول الغربية ايضا أو الدول الخمسة دائمة العضوية تناقش اليوم اقتراحات الدول الغربية ما اقدر اجزم ولكن من المؤمل عند نهاية هذا الاسبوع يكون القرار جاهز للاصدار، خاصة اذا لم يُتفق على حضور الوزراء. اذا تم الاتفاق او حركت فكرة حضور الوزراء اكو احتمال يتأخر الى الاسبوع القادم حتى الوزراء يقدرن يحضرون الى الاجتماع. لذلك يكون من المناسب سيدي ان نبحث خطوات اللي تعقب صدور القرار، موقفنا من القرار ولا بد ان يكون موقف سريع بشكل متوازن وكذلك الخطوات اللاحقة من اجل حشد موقف عربي اولا وموقف	Sir, since the Security Counsel will issue the resolution very soon, it will be necessary to look into the steps which we must take after the issuance of the resolution. As far as the resolution is concerned, I think that the comrades are knowledgeable of the latest developments. The last report which we sent is the situation that we have. And today, Monday, the deliberations will resume between the five non aligned countries, and it is expected that the western countries also and the five constant members will discuss today the suggestions of western countries. I cannot determine for sure, but it is hoped that by the end of this week the resolution will be ready to be issued, especially if the presence of the ministers is not agree upon. If an agreement is reached or the idea of the presence of the ministers is moved, then there is a possibility that it will be delayed until next week to that the ministers will be able to attend the meeting. This is why, sir, it will be appropriate that we look into the steps which will follow the issuing of the resolution; our position

	<p>المرحلة الثانية سيدي كما سبق ان ناقشنا، هي اصعب من المرحلة الاولى خاصة بعد ان المرحلة الاولى اصبحت ممكنة. المرحلة الاولى التي هي القرار الشامل التي يحتوي العناصر الاساسية للتسوية الشاملة اصبحت موضوع متفق عليه ولكن المرحلة الثانية التي هي استخدام وسائل الامم المتحدة وخاصة العقوبات، وبالدرجة الاولى التي يجري الحديث عنه هو حظر السلاح على ايران، ما اريد اقول مستبعد طبعاً، لا بد ان يصير هذا، ولكن ليس من السهل اتخاذ قرار به اولا من مجلس الامن وليس من السهل التطبيق. لكي يصبح ممكن اتخاذ قرار من مجلس الامن بالعقوبات ويصبح ممكن تطبيقها لا بد ان نهياً موقف عربي وموقف دولي ضاغظ بهذا الاتجاه. وعندنا بعض المقترحات في هذا الصدد الى...</p>	<p>on the resolution and it is a must that there should be a quick position in a balanced way and also the following steps in order to mobilize an Arab position first and an international positive pressing in the direction of the execution of the resolution and moving to the next stage in a short time in the event that Iran rejects it, and that is what is expected. The second stage, sir, as we have discussed before, is more difficult than the first stage, especially that the first stage has become possible. The first stage, which is the comprehensive resolution which contains the essential ingredients for the complete leveling has become an agreed upon issue, but the second stage, which is the use of the United Nations' methods and especially the sanctions, and the thing which is being talked about in the first degree is to have a weapons embargo on Iran. I do not say it is unlikely of course; this must happen, but it is not easy to make a decision on it firstly from the Security Council and it is not easy to apply. In order to make it possible to make a decision [resolution] by the Security Council for the sanctions, and make it possible to apply it, we must prepare an Arab position and an international position pressuring in that direction. And we have a few suggestions in this regard to...</p>
Saddam Hussein	ترسل، يعني (كلمة غير مفهوم) الموضوع	Send, I mean [inaudible word] the topic
Tariq 'Aziz	نعم. المشروع الاجابة على قرار مجلس الامن احنا قدمناه لسيادتك من فترة، من اكثر من شهر، وهو موجود ما اعتقد وزعوه على رفاقنا بس الرفيق حامد جابلي نسخة. اذا تأمر نناقشه الان اوفيم بعد... اما الخطوات التي نقتريها سيدي فالخطوة الاولى التي اقترحها بعد صدور	Yes. The task of responding to the Security Council's resolution, we have presented to your Excellency a while ago, more than a month ago, and it is here, and I do not think it has been passed around to our comrades, but Comrade Hamid brought got me a copy. If you would order it, we can discuss it now or later... but the steps which we suggest sir, the first step I

<p>واقترح ان نقترح على اللجنة السباعية ان نضع خطة لمواصلة الاتصال بأعضاء مجلس الامن، لان كما تعرف سيادتكم نحنا في الاجتماع السابق للجامعة العربية أخذنا قرار بالاتصال باعضاء مجلس الامن واتصلنا حتى الان بـ 11 دولة الدولة الثانية عشر هي عربية. باقي 3 دول فقط لم يتصل بها. خلال هذا الاسبوع سيتم الاتصال باثنين اللي هي المانيا الغربية وايطاليا يبقى فقط اليابان مازارها اللجنة السباعية.</p> <p>فمن المفيد بعد صدور القرار ووضوح الموقف الايراني ان السباعية تقوم ايضا بحملة اتصالات على الدول الاعضاء في مجلس الامن وخاصة بدءاً بالدول دائمة العضوية، والدول الاخرى. الشئ اللي اعتقده مفيد ويعني نعرضه امام سيادتكم والرفاق اعضاء القيادة والمجلس هو ان نفكر بان تدعو اللجنة السباعية اما الى عقد قمة عربية او عقد مجلس جامعة عربية. القمة هناك عائق عملي امامها معروف عام وعائق اخر خاص وهو هذا الموسم هو موسم الحج والعيد.</p> <p>ولكن مجلس الجامعة العربية ليس امامها عوائق يعني لا عامة كثيرة ولا خاصة خاصة انه الحدث كبير ويمكننا من ندعو عقد اجتماع لمجلس الجامعة العربية. لو نستطيع في اجتماع مجلس الجامعة العربية ان نأخذ قرار داعم لقرار مجلس الامن بنفس مستوى القرار اللي اخذناه في شهر نيسان الماضي فهذا سيكون من العناصر المفيدة لتحركنا السياسي.</p> <p>اما اذا رايتم سيادتكم يعني ارأيتم سيادتكم</p>	<p>suggest after the issuance of the Security Counsel's resolution and the clarification of the Iranian stance is the call for the meeting of the sevenfold committee either in Baghdad or in Tunisia, or in one of the capitals which would agree for it to host it, for the purpose of rectification the position after the issuance of the resolution and agreeing on an Arab work schedule for the phase which comes after the issuing of the resolution.</p> <p>And I suggest we suggest to this sevenfold committee that we put a plan to continue communicating with the Security Counsel members, because as your Excellency knows, we, in the former meeting of the Arab League, had made the decision to contact the members of the Security Counsel and have contacted, until now 11 countries and the 12th country is Arab. There are only three countries left which we have not contacted. During this week, two of them will be contacted, which are West Germany and Italy. Japan is the only one which the sevenfold committee has not visited.</p> <p>So, it would be beneficial after the issuing of the resolution and the clarification of the Iranian stance that the sevenfold would also conduct a communications campaign to the countries which are members in the Security Counsel, and especially starting with the countries which have a lasting membership, and the other countries. The thing that I think is useful and should be mentioned before your Excellency and the comrade members of the leadership and the counsel is that we consider of calling the sevenfold committee either to hold an Arab summit or to hold an Arab League gathering. There is a practical obstacle for the Summit, which is publicly known and another specific obstacle, which is that this season is the season of Hajj and the Eid.</p>
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	<p>والسبب اللي يدعوني الى ذكر هالدوليتين هو تحليل الموقف العربي كما اراه. هناك دول عربية سيادة الرئيس تقف مع العراق بدون تردد فيما يطلبه مثل الاردن، اليمن، تونس، المغرب، الان موريتانيا، هذه الدول عندما نطلب منها نقول نصدر قرار بالمقاطعة توافق بدون تردد او ان كان هناك تردد فهو ليس التردد الرفض او المتكع وانما التردد المستفهم الذي يحاول ان يعرف الى اي مدى نحن نريد ان نصل. مع العراق مع منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية نحصل سبعة اصوات solid يعني ايدينا. مجموعة دول الخليج مثل ما تعرف سيادتكم، هم الناس يؤيدون الدعوات التي تدعو الى السلام ولكن الدعوات التي تضغط على ايران ضغطا شديدا يترددون فيها كثيرا. الدولة الوحيدة اللي ترددها قليل، وهي بين بين، وبين الاخرين هي البحرين. اذا لم يتضح الموقف السعودي من هذي المسألة ويكون هناك رغبة قوية من الملك فهد شخصيا في ان نأخذ اجراءات ضد ايران، فما نضمن التأييد الكافي من دول الخليج وهو تأييد مطلوب، لعدددهم 6 ولقربهم من النزاع وصلتهم به. فابذا حصلنا تأييد دول الخليج بقرار حازم ضد ايران زانداً الدول الاخرى اللي ذكرناها، نحصل على الاغلبية ومع هذه الاغلبية تأتي دول اخرى مثل الصومال مثل</p>	<p>But the Arab League Counsel does not have any obstacles before it, meaning, neither many public ones nor very specific, especially that this event is big and enables us to call for the holding of a meeting of the Arab League Counsel. If we are able, in the Arab League Counsel's meeting to make a decision supporting the Security Counsel's resolution on the same level of the resolution which we took this past April then this would be one of the useful elements for our political movement.</p> <p>But if your excellencies saw, I mean, your excellencies, comrade members of the leadership saw that we work on the Arab Summit, and work even if not on a summit, then on a stronger Arab stance calling for severing of the relationship with Iran, meaning, a decision would be made to cut Iran off by boycotting it in a very stern and strong way and by all the means. This, in my estimation, requires previous coordination and on the highest level with Saudi Arabia and with Algeria. And the reason which calls me to mention these two countries is the analysis of the Arab stance as I see it. There are Arab countries, Mr. President, which stand with Iraq without hesitation concerning what it requested, such as Jordan, Yemen, Tunisia, Morocco, and now Mauritania. These countries, when we ask them, we say we issue a decree to the boycott, they agree without hesitation, and even if there was any hesitation then it is not absolute rejection type of hesitation, or a lagging one, but an inquiring type of hesitation which tries to know to which extent we want to reach.</p> <p>With Iraq and with the Palestinian Liberation Organization [PLO] we have seven votes in our hands, solid ones. The Gulf countries group, as your Excellency knows, is the people who advocate the callings that call for peace but the calling</p>
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<p>اما اذا الجزائر تفهمت هذا الموقف وشعرت بغيرورته ومشتت به ولو اذا مو بنسبة الحد الاعلى انما بنسبة التماشي مع روح القرار فعند ذلك يكون القرار اقوى ونستطيع ان نعزل سوريا وليبيا اذا ما رفضنا السير بهذا الاتجاه.</p> <p>الاتصال اكثر رح يكون على اعلى مستوى ممكن والامر متروك لسيادتك في تقدير هذا المستوى. النجاح، سيدي، في تكوين موقف عربي قوي يساعد على ان نمضي في تكوين موقف اسلامي وموقف في اطار حركة عدم الانحياز، اضافة الى العمل على الدول الفعالة وهنا في تحركنا سيدي احنا مواردنا محدودة بالبشر بساعات وايام السفر والاتصال، اقترح التركيز على الدول الفعالة سواء على الصعيد الدولي او على صعيد اي من هذي المنظمات اولا، ومن ثم ان اتيح لنا الوقت وممكن ان تشغل رفاق ومسؤولين في الدولة على نطاق اوسع للاتصال بأكبر عدد ممكن من الدول ولو للاتصال المعنوي انهم يروحون يسلمون عليهم، واحنا مستعدين في الخارجية نضع ورقة يعني امام الرفاق اللي يروحون حتى وان لم يكونوا مختصين تماما بحيث يُشعرون هذي الدول باهتمامنا بها ونبلغها رسالتنا وطلبنا في ان تنشط باتجاه عزل ايران وتحديد مسؤوليتها والضغط عليها.</p> <p>النقطة الأخرى اللي او الميدان الآخر اللي اقترح ان ننشط به بعد صدور مجلس الامن هو ميدان الحزب والمنظمات الشعبية. سيدي، مثلما شرحت لسيادتك وبينب باختصار قبل ايام قليلة، هذا القرار له مغزى مهم من الناحية السياسية. وحتى الناس اللي هم نسميهم جماعة اضعف الايمان، يعتبرون هذا القرار قرار يؤدي الى عزل ايران سياسيا.</p> <p>عزل ايران سياسيا مهم جدا، يساعد على</p>	<p>which pressure Iran in a strong way they are very reluctant in. And the only country that hesitates just a little, and is in between, and between the others is Bahrain.</p> <p>If the Saudi Arabian stance does not become clear on this issue, and there is a strong desire from King Fahid personally for us to take measures against Iran, then we cannot guarantee enough support from the Gulf countries which required support, because of their number as six, and because of their close proximity to the conflict and their connection to it. So if we get the support of the Gulf countries in a firm decision against Iran, plus the other countries which we mentioned, we will have the majority, and with this majority other countries will come, such as Somalia, such as Djibouti, so a large majority will be formed and we will get more than three quarters of the votes. But if Algeria understood this position and felt its pride and walked in it, even if not with the highest level, but in the degree of merely going along with the essence of the decision, then at that time, the resolution will be stronger and we will be able to isolate Syria and Libya if they refuse to go in that direction.</p> <p>Communication will be more on the highest level possible and this issue is left for you Excellency to determine the level. Success, sir, in forming a strong Arab stance helps us to go ahead in the forming of an Islamic stance and a stance in the framework of non alignment, in addition to working on the effective countries, and here in our movement, sir, our resources are limited with humans, with hours, with travel days, and communication. I suggest that there be focus on the effective countries whether on the international level or on the level of any of these organizations first, and then if we have the time and are able to employ comrades and</p>
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	<p>نحن قمنا بمجهودات كبيرة في الماضي في اوربا، في امريكا اللاتينية، في مناطق عديدة على صعيد المؤتمر الشعبي الاسلامي وغيره من الصعد الفعالة، ولكن هذا القرار يعطينا مرتكز دولي واضح محدد في عزل ايران. فاذا قمنا بنشاط حزبي ونشاط نقابي فعال وعلى كل الصعد المؤثرة هذا يساعد ويدعم المجهود السياسي والدبلوماسي الذي نقوم به على صعيد الدولة. ومن اجل تنسيق المواقف وربط الميدانيين ببعضهم البعض اقترح ان تشكل لجنة تنسيق واقترح اذا تكررتم بالموافقة ان تشرف عليها الوزارة الخارجية، يعني انا شخصيا او احد الرفاق الوكلاء، يعني بحيث يكون هناك نوع من التنسيق بين عمل الحزب وعمل المنظمات والضغط الدبلوماسي والسياسي الذي نقوم به على صعيد الدولة.</p> <p>هذه سيدي باختصار، المقترحات الاولية التي نضعها امام سيادتكم والرفاق اعضاء المجلس والقيادة المحترمين. هناك جانب اخر سيدي نحب يعني نناقشه الان او يعني يكون موضوع اهتمامنا هو كيفية التصرف العسكري خلال فترة بعد صدور القرار. فترة فيه اذا اريد ان اقترح لا تقل عن اسبوعين ولا تزيد عن شهر. كيف نتصرف في موضوع ضرب السفن في الخليج، كيف نتصرف في موضوع</p>	<p>officials in the country on a larger scale to contact the largest number of countries and even if it were for moral communication that they go and greet them, and we in the Foreign Ministry are ready to put a paper, I mean, before the comrades who will go, even if they are not completely specialized, just so that they can make these countries feel that they have our attention and we relay our message to them, and our request that they be more active in isolating Iran and determining its responsibility and pressuring it.</p> <p>The other point or the other field which I suggest we would be active in, after the issuance of the Security Counsel is the field of the parties (associations) and the popular organizations. Sir, as I have explained to your Excellency and revealed in short a few days ago; this resolution has an important purpose from a political aspect, And even the people which we call the group with the weakest faith consider this resolution a resolution which might lead to the isolation of Iran politically. Isolating Iran politically is very important and might help in advancing in the steps of sanctions and the application of the sanctions. Let us take for example the situation in South Africa. When the countries of the African Unity Organization [TC: uncertain of proper name] succeeding in isolating South Africa politically on the level of the United Nations body, on the level of non alignment, and on the other levels, it worked and it is still working on isolating South Africa in the respect of the parties, union organizations, humanitarian societies, intellectual, etc...</p> <p>We have put great efforts in the past in Europe, in Latin America, in several areas on the level of the Islamic Popular Conference and other effective levels, but this resolution gives us a clear and</p>
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		<p>specific international pivotal point in isolating Iran.</p> <p>So if we conduct an effective action both on the party level and a union level, and on all the influential levels, then this will aid and support the political and diplomatic effort which we are doing on the state arena. And in order to coordinate the stances and connect the two fields together, I suggest that a coordinating committee be formed and I suggest that, if you would honor us with your approval, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would supervise it, meaning me personally or one of the delegated comrades, so that there would be a kind of coordination between the work of the parties and the work of the organizations and the diplomatic and political pressure which we work at the state level.</p> <p>This, sir, is in short, the preliminary suggestions which we set before your Excellency and the respectable comrades, members of the counsel and the leadership. There is another aspect, sir, which we would like to discuss now or um, that it would be the subject of our concern, which is the manner of military proceedings during the period following the issuance of the resolution. A period, I would suggest, that is no less than two weeks and no more than one month. How do we act on the subject of bombing the ships in the Gulf? How we act on the subject of using chemical weapons. Of course, we, on the land, will not cease fire. We do not have a plan for very large attacks, and our main plan essentially depends on the defensive element but the two elements, which is the chemical...</p>
Saddam Hussein	لا قادة مبلغين ان يسوون الهجمات التعرضية	No, there are leaders informed to conduct assault attacks
Tariq 'Aziz	نعم ، مثل تعرض محدود، نعم، مثل اللي قام...	Yes, such as a limited assaults, yes, such as the one initiated ...
Saddam Hussein	قبل حوالي 20 يوم قلت لهم كفاءة القائد	Approximately 20 days ago, I told them. the competency of the leader and his

		patriotism is tested only by good defense, and they, with good assaults...
Tariq 'Aziz	نعم ، اللي اهم شي بالنسبة لل	Yes, which is the most important thing for the...
Saddam Hussein	وعمل برنامج حتى يكون عندهم واضح	To set a schedule [program] so that it is clear for them
Tariq 'Aziz	نعم، سيدي	Yes, sir
Saddam Hussein	اهم موضوع هو التعرض	The most important subject is the assault
Tariq 'Aziz	نعم ، اهم شي بالنسبة للموقف السياسي سيدي هو ضرب السفن واستخدام السلاح الكيماوي. قصد من التفكير، من اثاره التفكير في هذا الموضوع سياسيا، هو ان خلال فترة محدودة، محدودة جدا نسعى لان لا نسمح للكارهين وللمترددين والمتشككين لان يخلطوا الاوراق بين الموقف العراقي والموقف الايراني، لان حتى نعزل الموقف الايراني عزلة كاملة ونسلط عليه الضوء، يجب ان يكون الفصل بين الموقفين واضح امام راي العام الدولي وامام مجلس الامن. فعندما يتوضح هذا الفصل خلال فترة زمنية، لا ادعو لان تكون طويلة، ولكن مناسبة. عند ذاك نستطيع ان نمضي، يعني، بكل قوة في ضرب الطرف الاخر لان يكون هو اصبح مسؤوليته خُددت، لانه هو رافض، هو معزول عن المجتمع الدولي. عند ذاك نكتسب كل المشروعية ليس في نظرنا فقط، في نظر محبيننا، وانما كل المشروعية حتى في نظر الاخرين الذين هم ليسوا معنا تماما في فعالياتنا، لغرض تكتيكي يعني، وسياسي.	Yes, the most important thing for the political situation, Sir, is the bombing of the ships and using the chemical weapon. The purpose of this thought, of raising the thought in this subject politically, is that during a limited period, very limited, we will strive to disallow the hateful, reluctant, and suspicious one to mix the papers between the Iraqi stance and the Iranian stance, because in order to isolate the Iranian stance in a complete manner, and shed light on it, the division between these two stances should be clear in front of the international public opinion and before the Security Council. For when this separation is clarified during a period of time, which I call would not be long, but appropriate. Only then we will be able to proceed, meaning, in all our might in striking the other party because by then his responsibility would have been determined, because he is refusing, and he is secluded from the international community. At that point, we will gain the legitimacy, not only in our eyes, and in the eyes of those who love us, but all the legitimacy even in the eyes of the others who are not totally with us in our activities, for a tactical and political purpose.
Saddam Hussein	انا حتى في حالة رفض ايران، آه عيني؟	Even in the condition that Iran refuses, is that right sweetheart?
Tariq 'Aziz	يعني لفترة اسبوعين سيدي مثلا، يعني لفترة اسبوعين. ايران قد ترفض بجوزمو من اليوم الاول، يجوز ترفض بعد يومين بعد ثلاثة. اللي اشوفه الافضل	So, for the period of two weeks sir, for example, for the period of two weeks. Iran might refuse maybe not from the first day; it might refuse two or three days later. What I see best for our situation and for

	<p>احنا يعني حددنا فاصلة زمنية ما قمنا بها بنشاط، واستأنفنا النشاط بالوقت اللي قررنا انه مناسب لنا. شيء من هذا القبيل، مو معلن، من اجل استبعاد خلط الاوراق. ما تدري... يعني</p>	<p>more pressure on Iran is for two weeks, ten days, twenty days but no more than one month. That we stop from using the chemical weapon and stop striking the ships; we will not announce. An incident happened Sir, an occurrence during the past few months, some time in the past, after the STARK operation where we stopped. We did not announce that we have stopped, then we resumed and we did not announce that we had resumed. I mean, we determined a period of time where we did not do any activities and then resumed our activities at the time that we decided is suitable for us. Something of the sort, not announced, in order to reduce mixing of the papers, you never know I mean.</p>
Saddam Hussein	<p>(يقاطعه) هو عدم استئناف النشاط، مو سبب ضرب ستارك. وانما عوامل الجو كانت هي الاساسية.</p>	<p>(Interrupts him) the non-resuming of the activity was not the STARK striking, but the atmosphere factors were the primary reasons.</p>
Tariq 'Aziz	<p>يعني صارت هالشكل. صارت عشرين يوم واحنا ما قمنا بنشاط في الخليج. من الناحية العملية، اعتقد احنا، ما نعتقد انه من الناحية العملية ان توقف النشاط لمدة عشرة ايام او خمسة عشر يوم، يعني له تأثير حاسم على مجرى الحرب. ولكن يساعد سيدي في تسليط الضوء على الموقف الايراني ويمنع خلط الاوراق. ما نعرف ايش يصير ايضا، يجوز يصير غلطة خلال هذه الفترة، مثل الغلطة اللي صارت يعني، قد تُسيء الى موقفنا السياسي، ونحن بحاجة الى موقف سياسي واضح يسلط الضوء الكثيف على ايران بأنها متحدية لارادة المجتمع الدولي (كلمة غير مفهومة) المجتمع الدولي.</p>	<p>This is how it happened. It had been twenty days and we had had no activity in the Gulf. From the practical side, I think we, we do not consider the halting of the activity for ten or fifteen days, I mean, has a crucial effect on the course of the war. But it helps, Sir, shed light on the Iranian stance and bans mixing of the papers. We do not know what else might happen, an error might take place during this time, like the mistake that happened, I mean, it might negatively affect our political stance, and we need a clear political stance that sheds strong light on Iran that it is defiant for the will of the International Community [inaudible word] International Community.</p>
Saddam Hussein	<p>وواضح انه من خلال العشرين يوم الاخيرة الصيغة تغيرت. الصيغة الان اللي امامنا هي مو مثل الصيغة اللي اطلعنا عليها قبل عشرين يوم، يعني وخاصة في موضوع الاسرى. ومتوقع انه تتغير ايضا...</p>	<p>And it is clear that in the past twenty days, the formula has changed. The formula which is now before us is not like the one that we were shown twenty days ago, I mean especially in the subject of the captives [prisoners], and it is expected that it will change also...</p>

MV	صيغة القرار؟	The formula of the resolution?
Saddam Hussein	القرار، نعم	The resolution, yes
MV	(تعليق غير مفهوم)	[inaudible remark]
Saddam Hussein	لا لا، موجود، يعني بين دون ابطاء وبين ، وبأقصى سرعة ممكنة	No no it is there, I mean, without delay and as soon as possible
MV	(تعليقات جانبية غير مفهومة)	[inaudible side comments]
Tariq 'Aziz	سيدي الان من وضع امامنا مشروع آخر؟ يعني الان المشروع اللي قدمته الدول الخمسة لا يزال هو المشروع القائم. التعديلات نوعين: عندنا التعديل الغربي اللي هو قدمته المانيا الغربية وايطاليا واليابان، يتناول وبدون صياغات او هناك رغبة من هذه الدول ان تجري اشارة بلغة القرار 582 الى موضوع الاسلحة الكيماوية والقوانين الانسانية. لغة ال582 ليس فيها...	Sir, now, who has presented us with a new project? Meaning, now the project that was presented by the five countries is the project that is still on. The amendments are in two kinds: we have the western amendment presented by West Germany, Italy, and Japan handling and with no formulas, or there is a desire among these countries to give a sign in the language of resolution 582 concerning the subject of chemical weapons and human laws. The language of 582 has no...
Saddam Hussein	اكو نص امامنا	There is a script in front of us
MV	(تعليق جانبي غير مفهوم) في (?) مباشر	[inaudible side remark] in (?) direct
Tariq 'Aziz	ما قدموا نص (كلمة غير مفهومة) الغربيين (سكوت) هذي مقترحات غانا سيدي	They did not present a script [inaudible word] the westerners [silence] these are Ghana's suggestions, Sir
Saddam Hussein	امام مشروع القرار المطروح في مجلس الامن.	In front of the resolution project suggested in the Security Council.
Tariq 'Aziz	ايه، هذه مقترحات غانا مال يريدون الابطاء بأقصر وقت ممكن. هذه مقترحات غانا سيدي، كلها: واحد، اثنين، ثلاثة، اربعة، هذه مقترحات غانا. الدول الخمسة متفقين معتبرين المقترحات الغربية مقبولة، يعني انو ما بها ضيق وبالتالي مقبولة لغة الصياغات يتفقون عليها. مقترحات غانا لم تصل الى المجلس سيدي هي مجرد كلام بين الخمسة غير المنحازين ثلاثة من الخمسة رفضوها، اللي هم الامارات وزامبيا والارجنتين، قالوا احنا قابلين بالقرار كما هو، بس استمعوا يعني الى المقترحات الغانية.	Yes, these are Ghana's suggestions who want to delay us in the shortest time possible. These are Ghana's suggestions, all of them: one, two, three, and four are all Ghana's suggestions. The five countries are all in agreement and consider the western suggestions accepted, meaning that there is no narrowness in it and accordingly it is accepted. The language of the phrasing is agreed upon. Ghana's suggestions Sir, did not reach the Council. It is merely talk among the five non aligned, where three of the five rejected it, which are The Emirates, Zambia, and Argentina. They stated that

	<p>احنا سبق وان شفنا القرار 582 هو موضوع وموزع على الرفاق. لا يوجد حسب ما قيل لسفيرنا في نيويورك من قبل رئيس مجلس الامن والمندوب البريطاني، قال له لن يجري على هذا المشروع تغيير جوهرى. يعني تغيير جوهرى للدول الخمسة متفقة على ان لا تسمح به، واللى هو وقف اطلاق النار الشامل واتسحاب وتبادل الاسرى، يعني هذي النقاط اللي هم يعتبروها جوهرية في القرار.</p> <p>بعض المقترحات الغانية مضرّة، مثلا بعض المقترحات الغانية نقول نحط قوات الامم المتحدة يعني هو ده يخلط الضار وييا الغير الضار، بس هي مو، ما تكتسب اهمية كبيرة يعني مثل مقترحات تأتي من دول ذات وزن. اللهم الا اذا كانت ورائها الصين. الا اذا الصين في الاجتماعات الخمسة اخذت المقترحات الغانية ووضعت ثقلها خلفها، عند ذاك يصير موقف دولة دائمة العضوية يعني مو موقف غاني</p>	<p>they accept the resolution as it is, but they listened, I mean, to the Ghanaian suggestions. Today they will decide whether they would be treating these suggestions as a group and at last say to the Ghanaian: you go present it to the Chief of Security Council as they are considered Ghanaian suggestions. And we, each one of us, will go present the position of his government. Today it will be decided, in the morning, in New York which is night in Baghdad's timing. And today, the five will discuss with the three westerners who are Germany, Italy, and Japan their formula for the subject that they have raised, which is the chemical weapons and the international laws. And they might leave the matter to the five to formulate [the wording], as the wording is taken from resolution 582 and 582 is clear and has no harm.</p> <p>We have previously seen resolution 582, it is available and distributed to the Comrades. And there is no, as was told to our ambassador in New York by the Chief of the Security Council and the British representative, who said that no core changes will take place on this project. Meaning the five countries agreed that core changes on the project will not be allowed, which is complete cease fire, withdrawal [retreat], and prisoner exchange, meaning these points are the one that they consider primal in the resolution.</p> <p>Some of the Ghanaian suggestions are not harmful, for example some Ghanaian suggestions say that we place the United Nations' Forces, meaning he is mixing the harmful with the non harmful, but it is not, does not gain great importance, for example as suggestions that come from countries of weight [power]. Only if God forbid China was behind it. Only if China in the meetings of the five [none aligned] took the Ghanaian suggestions and placed</p>
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		its weight behind it, only then it would become the stance of a country of permanent membership, in other words, not a Ghanaian position.
Saddam Hussein	يعني ما تدري حتى الان بجوز غير الصين ايضا، يعني ما لازم نسقط من الحساب انه بعض الدول العظمى او الكبرى هي تعلن موقف شيء لكن تحرك الصغار لان يتصرفون بطريقة اخرى، وبعد ذلك تدخل كطرف، يعني يحب التسوية بين موقفين او التوفيق بين موقفين للذهاب الى صياغة هي اقرب الى موقفها من الصياغة المعلنة.	So, one does not know, it is possible that it is one other than China also. I mean, we must not undermine the fact that the strong or great countries would announce a certain position, but turn around and move the small countries to act in a different way. And after that, it would enter as a party, meaning; one who likes to reconcile two positions or bring together two positions to reach a formula closer to its own stance than the one they had announced.
Tariq 'Aziz	نعم سيدي هذا متوقع بس المواقف الدول هي الصغيرة العشرة تحددت حتى الان. الدول الغربية هذا هو موقفها. مجلس الامن موجود عشر دول، واحد منها عربي اللي هو الاماراتي يبقى تسعة. ثلاثة غربيين، واحد بلغاري يعني شرقي بلغاريا. اثنين امريكا اللاتينية وثلاثة افارقة. الاميركان اللاتينيين، الارجنتين وفنزويلا قالوا احنا مأيدين القرار. بلغاريا طبعا (يضحك) موقفها سوفيتي اذا ارادت تعرقل فمعناته ان الاتحاد السوفيتي ذا يعرقل و...	Yes, Sir, this is expected but the positions of the ten small countries have already been defined. This is the stance of the Western countries. The Security Council is there, ten countries, one of which is Arab, which is the Emirate. Nine remain. Three western, one Bulgarian, meaning Eastern Bulgarian. Two Latin America and three African. The Latin American are Argentina and Venezuela who said they are supporting the resolution. Bulgaria of-course [he laughs], its position is Soviet, and if it wanted to cause a stumbling block, then it means that the Soviet Union is causing that stumble and...
Saddam Hussein	لا، بلغاريا ما ممكن تقوم بعمل لانها مكشوفة...	No, Bulgaria would not do anything because it is out in the open...
Tariq 'Aziz	مكشوفة و...	Out in the open and ...
Saddam Hussein	واي تصرف منها معناه تعسفي،	And any action from would be aggressive,
Tariq 'Aziz	نعم	yes
Saddam Hussein	(غير مفهوم)	[inaudible]
Tariq 'Aziz	بعدين اللجنة السباعية كانت في زيارة لها بالاسبوع الماضي وابلغوا اللجنة السباعية ان هم يؤيدون القرار. بقي عندنا سيدي الافارقة، الافارقة ثلاثة: زامبيا مع القرار، وبلغت رسميا انها هي	Also, the sevenfold committee was on a visit to it last week and they informed the sevenfold committee that they support the resolution. We still have the Africans, Sir. The Africans are three: Zambia is with the resolution, and has officially announced

	<p>وهو الكونغولي حاكمي يعني في اوساط الامم المتحدة انه ما عنده مشكلة وييا القرار. بس لما يحكي الغاني وييا الخمسة، مجموعة الخمسة، الكونغولي يعني دا يصير بين بين. غانا سيدي، لو لا علاقة مع ايران المكشوفة كان ممكن نشك كثيرا بانها هي مدفوعة من احدى الدول، بس اكو علاقة وييا ايران، هي في حد ذاتها ممكن تكون مبرر للموقف الغاني.</p> <p>الى اي مدى غانا ستعزل نفسها عن الدول الاخرى، هذا سؤال بجوز الغاني يناوره، هذا مرّ علينا سيدي قرار 582 اكو دول ناورت وتعبتنا وقعدنا ويياها صباح ومساء وساعات</p>	<p>that it is with the resolution. We still have the Congo and Ghana. The Congo and Ghana, the Congo has an in-between stance, and I think that in the end, it will go along with the resolution as it is, or as is decided to by the five, because the Congo has a Soviet and French influence. When Michel Noir [spelling?] came, I asked him, I told him: if possible, tell the Prime Minister, I mean, to speak with the Congo to support the resolution, and sure enough, they spoke with the Congo and gave us a response.</p> <p>And the Congolian has said in the circles of the United Nations that he does not have a problem with the resolution. But when the Ghanaian speaks with the five, the group of five, the Congolian I mean becomes so so [in between]. Ghana, Sir, if it were not for its exposed relationship with Iran, we would suspect very much that it is being pushed by some country. But there is a relationship with Iran, which in itself might be a justification for the Ghanaian position.</p> <p>How far Ghana will isolate itself from the other countries, this is a question the Ghanaian might maneuver him. We had gone through this Sir in resolution 582 where some countries had maneuvered and had caused us grief and we sat with them morning and night and for hours...</p>
Saddam Hussein	بس بالتالي تيجين	But as a result, they come
Tariq 'Aziz	<p>مثل ترينيداد وتوباغو على سبيل المثال، بس بالنهاية مشيت. هو شو يريد من خلال هذه العملية، هو عطل القرار اربع خمسة ايام، طيب يعطله اربع خمسة ايام. خلال هذه الفترة هو يقولهم للايرانيين، ترى انا ما قصرت، يعني انا كل ما استطع ان اسويه سويته لكن بالنهاية ما اقدر، يعني انعزل عن الاخرين. دا يكون هو يعني حسن صورته امام ايران، برر الرشوات اللي ماخذها من ايران، وبنفس</p>	<p>Such as Trinidad and Tobago for example, but in the end, they went along. What does he want from this process; he has delayed the resolution by four, five days, ok, let him delay it four or five days.</p> <p>During that time he says to the Iranians, I have tried my best, meaning, everything in my power I had done, but in the end, I am not able, I mean, to isolate myself from the others. In this manner he would have improved his image before the Iran, justified the bribes he has taken from Iran,</p>

		and at the same time did not isolate himself.
	(تعليق غير واضح)	[inaudible comment]
Tariq 'Aziz	<p>إذا ماكو دولة كبرى يعني تستغل هذا. نحن متنبئين سيدي، في اتصالاتنا الدبلوماسية، وصرنا نقول علناً وفي الاجتماع مع السفراء هنا في بغداد وبالكلام مع سفيرانا، انه اذا دولة كبرى تذرعت بموقف دولة غير دائمة العضوية فسنعتبرها متواطئة. علناً، ويعني، ونوجه لها يعني الاتهام بأنها هي خلف هذا الموقف.</p> <p>في موضوع كبير مثل هذا ايش قد تقدر الصين مثلاً، هو الشكوك الحقيقية حول الصين سيدي. الشكوك الحقيقية هي حول موقف الصين. ايش قد تقدر الصين يعني تختفي حول الموقف الغاني وهل نتصور يعني انهم لما يجتمعون الخمسة عشر الصين تقول هذا موقف غانا يعني خلنا نتمسك بيه يعني الاخرين ما يقولون له شنو، ليش بس غانا يعني شنو غانا، يعني لا هي زعيمة حركة عدم انحياز، لا هي دولة كبرى، يعني في افريقيا، يعني هي مو، ما لها وزن لا معنوي ولا مادي، فسيكون من الصعب، تصور يعني ان يكون من الصعب ان التذرع من الموقف الغاني منفرداً لعرقلة القرار او لادخال تعديلات جوهرية.</p> <p>ما عندي شعور حقيقة بالخوف طبعاً نحن نتابع التفاصيل ونقاومها بوسائلنا ولكن يعني لا بد ان اقول بشكل موضوعي كما اراد الموقف، انه ما عندي خوف انه الموقف الغاني سيؤثر تأثير جوهري على القرار.</p>	<p>If there is no large country that would take advantage of this. This is what we are predicting Sir, in our diplomatic communications, and then publicly say, and in the meeting with the ambassadors here in Baghdad and in speaking with our ambassador, that if a large country uses as an excuse the stance of a non permanent member country, then we will consider it a conspirator. Publicly. Meaning, and we tell it in it face, I mean, the accusation that it is behind this position.</p> <p>In a subject as large as this, how much can China do for example, the suspicion truly is around China Sir. The true suspicions are around China's position. How much can China, I mean, hide behind the Ghanaian position, and do we suppose, I mean, that when the fifteen meet, China will say this is Ghana's position, so let us hold on to it. I mean, won't the others say what? Why Ghana? Why Ghana? I mean it is neither the leader of the non aligned movement, nor is it a big country. I mean it is in Africa, um, it is not, it does not have any weight, neither monetary nor morally, so it will be difficult, imagine that it will be difficult to use the Ghanaian position solely as an excuse to create an obstacle to the resolution or to insert significant modifications.</p> <p>I am not afraid, truly, of-course we will follow up with the details and will resist it with our methods, but I mean, I must objectively say, just as the situation calls for, that I am not afraid that the Ghanaian position will have any significant kind of effect on the resolution.</p>
Saddam Hussein	احنا يعني حتى الان بعد ما صدر القرار	We, I mean, until now, the resolution has not been issued
Tariq 'Aziz	ما صدر القرار	The resolution has not been issued
Saddam Hussein	لكن خلنا نفترض ان القرار يصدر وانه احنا نقبل. او لا، قبولنا كيف يُخرج، يعني	But let us assume that the resolution is issued, and that we accept. First of all,

	يعني هذا المهم. فكان المتوقع ان القرار يصدر نسمع بالاعلام وممثلن وممثلنا يذرننا النص الرسمي. اول شي نسويه هو فوراً نجتمع احنا، نشوف هذا القرار.	how will our acceptance be publicized? I mean, from the moment the resolution is issued until we announce our acceptance to the resolution, in the event that we do indeed accept. How do we act? So, this is the main thing. So it is expected that the resolution would be issued, and we hear in the news and our representat, our representative would send us the official transcript. The first thing we do is that we immediately meet; see this resolution.
MV	(تعليق غير مفهوم)	[inaudible comment]
Saddam Hussein	نعم. لما نتخذ موقف بتأييد القرار او الموافقة عليه، يعني اري انه نتحرز في الاعلام الرسمي، يعني انه عندما نبلغ رسماً ان قرارنا ما يجي على الموافقة المطلقة وانما مثل ما موجودة الوثيقة امامنا، ورح تطلعون عليها، انه احنا نشرح فهمنا للقرار. نقول به نحن فهمنا المادة كذا كذا، المادة كذا كذا، المادة كذا كذا وبموجب هذا الفهم الذي لم يرد ما هو نقيض له في صلب القرار نعلن موافقتنا. حتى نتحرز...	Yes. When we take a stance to support the resolution or to agree on it, I mean, I see that we be cautious in the official media [or announcement], so, when we officially make it known; that our decision would not be based on absolute approval, but just as it appears on the document before, and you will have a chance to review it, we will explain our understanding of the resolution. We shall say that we have understood the material to be such and such, the material is such and such, the material is such and such, and according to this understanding, which has no conflictions in the essence of the resolution, we announce our approval. In order for us to be cautious...
MV	تفسير	An explanation
Saddam Hussein	... لاي تفسير يحتمل تفسيرين، بأي حالة تحتمل تفسيرين او اكثر في المستقبل بما في ذلك كلمة بدون ابطاء، على وجه السرعة، الى اخره، شلون احنا نفهمها من حيث قياسات الزمن.	...to any explanation that can be two different explanations; in any case we two explanations or more in the future, including the word "without being slow", "speedily", etc. How do we understand it in terms of measurement of time.
MV	اقرب وقت	As soon as possible

[END OF RECORDING]