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This Audio file (35:20) contains: -Time 00:00 - 00:52: An Iraqi official speaks to Saddam and mentions three names: 1.Dr. 'Abd-al-Sattar Al-Rawi [Director of Special Financial Office] 2.Major General/ Muhammad Khudayr [Director of Supervision] 3.Faruq Hijazi -Time 00:52 - 05:10: Saddam speaks to some Iraqi officials, including his son Qusay, about the World Trade Center collapse on Sep 11. He says that the American Intelligence is not expected to be behind this accident because of the number of American casualties. Then, he expresses his suspects about Israel to be the real criminal, and then he added that the Zionist lobby in America is able to support Israel and even to defend her against any possible suspects. Saddam mentions the American communication with Egypt and Saudi Arabia to determine the suspects of Sep 11 bombing. He mentions the name of Sheikh 'Umar 'Abd-al-RahmanTime 05:10 - 07:25: Saddam recommends to announce that Iraq has important information with evidence about the suspects of Sep 11 bombing. He wants to state that Iraq		

suspects many parts all over the world and some Americans as well. He wants to assert that the outcome of first investigations made in America is not reliable. He plans to offer help to America but through the supervision of the Congress. His plan aims at achieving a kind of political dialog between America and Iraq and to avoid any possible American accusations. - Time 07:25 - 13:20: Some Iraqi officials with Saddam discussing how they can take advantage

from Sep 11 booming by doing the following: They want to make a fake investigation with personnel and they want to claim that these personnel are involved in Sep 11 booming. They want the investigation to be recorded on video and audio tapes. They want to affect the international opinion through Iragi TV programs covering such investigations. Moreover, he thinks that if investigations condems some American authorities or some Zionist bodies, it will be favorable to Iraq. However, he does not want Iraq to really help America catch any Islamists lest Arab countries should accuse Irag of fear from America. -Time 13:20 - 18:20: they want to declare to the International Society that they have got an American citizen or British citizen who is involved in the Sep 11 booming, by bringing randomly an Iraqi American citizen and lock him in the prison then to threaten that man in order to cooperate with Iragis. But Saddam wants no details to be handled first. Saddam wants to win the sympathy and support of the International Society. -Time 18:20 - 20:15: An official raises the issue of the Iragis who are born abroad and have foreign citizenships. He wants any father to register his new-born at Iragi authorities abroad. -Time 20:15 - 23:00: An official reads the suggested announcement according to Sep 11 plan, and Saddam gives his consent to broadcast on the Iraqi TV newscast. -Time 23:00 - 30:50: They begin to speak about the Kurdish elections. There are some side talks too difficult to follow. They want to influence the Kurds so as not engage in war for autonomy. An official mentions the names of Mas'ud and Jalal as two opponent leaders in Kurdistan. Also, the Kurdistan Democratic Party as well as the Islamic Party is referred to. In the end, an official recommends to detain the members of a family called 'Abdal-Rahman, for security investigations. -Time 30:50 - 35:20: no conversation.

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		[TC: at different points of this audio there were sounds of dictation and typing. Also ruffling of papers and different persons speaking simultaneously which distorted the quality of the audio. It seems like that Qusay Saddam Hussein was present, but transcriber/translator was unable to verify his voice]
MV:	اللي احب اقوله بشكل مباشر سيدي —	What I would like to directly say Sir -
Saddam	انوه هما	Which are they?
MV:	مدير المكتب الخاص مال الدكتور عبد الستار الراوي. مدير المتابعة هو محمد خضير. يعني سبق ان كرمته سيادتك _ يعرفه الاستاذ قسي وفاضل حجازي ايضا. يعني شفت موضوع مهم فقلت لازم يعني [inaudible]	The private office manager of Dr. Abed al Sattar Al Rawi. The director of Follow up is Mohammad Khudair, who you previously honored; Mr. Qusay knows him and Fadhel Hijazi also. I figured that it was an important matter so I decided that we should [inaudible] in the higher ranks and under my supervision.
Saddam	نعم — يعني الموضوع من الاوليات الامامنا واضح اكو ترتيب معين فني لامريكا ليست بعيدة عنه و هيك شغلات وسخة ممكن المخابرات الامريكية تشتغلها اذا كان عندها غرض اكبر من يعني اكبر من الخسائر والتضحيات اللي تقدمها. لكن هذا الموضوع يخص مواطنين امريكا. تفجير المركز التجاري الامريكي رح (يتوقعون) بيه تضحيات. خسائر والخساشر وقعت فعلا يعني نشرتها الاعلام وانتم الان تستذكروها. فشلون ممكن للمخابرات ان تقدم على فيك عمل مع انه بيه مثل هذه الخسائر بالمواطنين الامريكان؟	Yes, this issue from the preliminaries before us there has obviously been a special technical arrangement where the US seems to have a hand in. These dirty games are games that the American intelligence would play if it had a bigger purpose, which would be bigger than the losses and sacrifices it would have to suffer. But this issue concerns the American public- you would expect losses in the bombing of the World Trade Center. Losses. And they had losses; the media announced it and you remember it. So how could/would the American intelligence do such a thing even though they knew there would be American human losses?
Saddam	لانه العمل مو في طور التحضير حتى نقول مجرد عملية تكتيك فني يقصد بيها جهة معينة. لازم اكو جهة قلبها ما يوجعها على المواطنين الامريكان ولا	Because this is not in the prep stage for us to claim that it is just a technical tactic intended for a certain party. It must be done by a party whose heart

اثر ها سياسيا مباشرة تقع عليها. و هنا would not break over the loss of American lives and who would not تیجی شکو کنا علی اسر ائیل اسر ائیل لما suffer direct political consequences. Of تسوى هيك عملية ممكن تقدم خسائر course we immediately think of Israel. وهي عندها وسائلها اللي تقدر حتى لما Israel, when it conducts such an تنكشف بعض الخطوط أو الخيوط تقدر operation is willing to suffer losses and ترجم عليهم التراب وتضيع الشغلة it also has its methods by which even if اللوبي الصهيوني موجود داخل امريكا some plans lead to it, it is able to cover the matter up and distract people from و فعال فهذا هم احد الاحتمالات it. The Zionist Lobby is alive and effective in the US. So this is one of the options. Saddam ولكن شنو الهي اغرى هاى الجهات كلها But what tempted all these other factions to show such cooperation, لان تبدى هذا التعاون خاصة اذا اتصالها especially if its contact with Saudi بالسعودية صحيح. لانه من بقول هذا Arabia is correct. Because when he اتصل فعلا متصل بالسعودية و says he contacted then he really has contacted Saudi Arabia [unintelligible] [unintelligible] in the name of Abdullah like باسم عبدالله مثل ما قال [unintelligible] Nouri said. Like Abed al Rahman said, this whole matter [unintelligible] could be thought up by Abed Al نورى _ مثل ما قال عبد الرحمن يمكن Rahman or he could have possibly تكون هذه القضية كلها مفتعلة من عيد contacted another faction and informed Abed al Rahman. One of the tricks and الرحمن او قد يكون هو اتصل بغير جهة games of such people would be for him واشعره لعبد الرحمن ومن خططه to pretend that he is contacting the والاعيب الناس اللي من هذا النوع انه هو Saudi consulate but maybe he is دبتصل بالقنصلية السعودية بجوز اتصل contacting a different party. What kind بغير جهة. شون نوع العملية الاغرائية of temptation would they offer Saudi Arabia to participate in such an اللي تقدم للسعو دية حتى تشارك بهيك operation or know of it? Nothing عمل؟ او تدرى بيه ما كو غير اذاء would be as effective as bringing harm العراق. ولكن هذا يفترض الاتطلاع to Iraq. But we assume that we would الرسمي من امريكا. need the official knowledge of the US. انه ممكن السعو دية تدخل هيك مدخل الا Saddam Is it possible for Saudi Arabia to enter بتطلاع رسمى من امريكا. شنو ممكن into such an operation without the official knowledge of the US? What يغري مصر؟ لانه هم ودت اشار ات could tempt Egypt? Because it also على مصر . يعنى يغريها بالدرجة الاولى sent signals to Egypt. Well, Egypt عملية توريط رجل الدين اللي دهو يحمل would primarily be tempted to involve راية المقاومة ضدهم. اللي اسمه عمر the cleric who is carrying the banner of عبد الرحمن. ويغريها بدرجة اذا تؤذي resistance against it. Whose name is العراق. واعنى بالنظام المصرى. ولكن Omar Abed al Rahman. And it also tempted to harm Iraq. And I mean by ايضا ما يمكن أن تخطو خطوات من هذا

	النوع الا باتطلاع وبمعرفة بل وبطلب رسمي من امريكا. فيعني هذه كلها تشوف رح [unintelligible] وبالمتمرار نطرح في هذه المرحلة عوامل متظاربة لانه مو كل الحقيقة مكشوفة امامنا كما هي. لانه المتهم اللي بايدينا انا اعتقد انه كل هذا الكلام اللي ديقوله يعني مرتب ويعني ديلعب ديلعب.	that the Egyptian government. But it also can not take steps of this nature with out the knowledge and even the official request of the US. So with all this you would see that [unintelligible] that constantly at this stage we offer conflicting factors because not the whole truth is revealed to us as it is. Because the suspect we have in our custody is too organized in what he is saying and is playing games, playing games and influencing scenario.
Saddam	الخلاصة من هذا الموضوع انا [unintelligible] ان نسوي صيغة اعلام مفاجئ ونقول احنا يعني اتطلعنا على معلومات خطيرة تتعلق التفجير اللي حصل في امريكا. وهناك جهات يعني كشفها التحقيق الاولي انها متورطة في هذا الموضوع وحتى الان لا نعلم اذا ما كان هناك جهات امريكية متفقة على هذا التكتيك ان لم نتوصل بعد اذا ما كانت هناك جهات امريكية ذات صبغة رسمية او شبه رسمية متفق على اذا ما كانت هناك جهات امريكية ذات مثل هذا الترتيب ولكن نحن لدينا مثل هذه من انه هناك جهات عديدة مشتركة في الاولي التي اعلن عنها في التحقيقات الاموضوع.	The conclusion of this matter, I [unintelligible] to issue a surprise statement and say that we have become privy to dangerous information that concerns the attacks that occurred in the US. And that the initial investigation has uncovered factions involved in this matter and up to now we do not know if there are American parties in cooperation with this tactic. Because we have not yet found out if there are American official or semi official parties involved in this arrangement, however we have indication to that end and we have our suspicions that are supported by some evidence that there are several factions involved in this matter. The initial persons involved in this matter are not necessarily the complete picture of the situation.
MV1	واحنا مستعدين لـ - مستعدين هيك من غير من غير تبريرات مستعدين لان نتعاون مع جهات نتأكد من انها يعني تتصرف بمعلوماتنا بصورة نزيهة. او بأي صيغة من الصيغ. يعني خلي الشيء العام حتى نخلي مجال للاستفسار الامريكي الرسمي ولجوابنا واللصيغة والصيغة المقابلة هم [inaudible]	And we are prepared toehwe are prepared, just prepared without reasons we are prepared to cooperate with parties who are assured will treat our information in an honorable manner.[dictation ended re the statement to be issued] Or in any framework, let it be general so that we can allow space for the official American inquiry and for our response, the format and the response to it they

	<u>an ann agus an garaga ann an a</u>	
	للحوار السياسي مثل ما سويينا بالنسبة للموقوفين اللي داخلين الحدود جهات الى اخره.	[inaudible] for the political deliberation like we did with the individuals who were stopped who had crossed the borders from other countries etc.
MV:	كمدخل	As an intro.
Saddam	ونحن نكون قد اعلنا مسبقا ضيعنا على الامريكان فرصة الاعلان المستقل. لانه اذا سوى اعلان ونحن نيجي ندافع ما رح حد يسمع كلامنا. وانا اميل [unintelligible]	By us announcing first we would preempt the Americans independent announcement. Because if they do announce and we try to defend ourselves no one will listen to us, and I favor [unintelligible] for this media [unintelligible]yes?
	[unintelligible] الاعلامي. يعني. نعم	
MV:	سيدي يجوز هي الصهيونية هي لعبت دور اساسي في	Sir it is possible the Zionists played a major role in it.
MV2:	حتى العفو ما انسى هذا كل ما راح التحقيق لازم يصير له تسجيل خفي بالكاميرا وتصوير ناطق. كل ما راح التحقيق حتى وهو يكذب وحتى وهو	And so that, pardon me, I don't forget, when ever he is taken to questioning you must have a hidden camera with a voice recording, when ever he is taken to be questioned, even if he lies and even if
Tariq Aziz	يعيدوه- يعني يعيدوه مرة ثانية	Repeat it, repeat it again.
Saddam	وكل مرة نحط هذا الفيلم مال فلان يوم و هذا الفيلم مال فلان يوم و هذا الفيلم مال فلان يوم	And every time we show the film of this day and that day and so on.
MV:	[unintelligible] صورة [unintelligible] صورة	[unintelligible] picture [unintelligible] picture
MV:	عندنا صورة صورة	We have a picture, picture.
MV:	هم ما في	But not a
Tariq Aziz	هذا سيدي- تسمح لي - خلي الفريق يقول له تعال نرجع للقصة من اولها شوي القصة مو واضحة -	Sir, if you will allow me, let the Gen. ask to repeat his story from the beginning because it is not clear to him.

Saddam	يعني عاود ذكر الموضوع كله.	You mean have him repeat the whole story?
MV:	نعم سيدي	Yes Sir.
Saddam	وايضا هذا هم اسلوب صحيح في التحقيق انه الواحد من يسأله عيد لي يشوف اشقد يختلف ووين يختلف. يعني اي الموضو عات يتناولها بدقة واي الموضو عات يتناولها بدقة اقل.	This is also a correct interrogation method, because when you ask the suspect to repeat their story, you check the facts against each other and see where they correspond and where not, meaning which topics he is detailed about and which not.
Tariq Aziz	نعم	Yes.
Taha	مش واضح [unintelligible] العراق وانما الضغط على الفلسطينين يعني اسرائيل سوتها	[unintelligible discussion] Iraq but the pressure is on the Palestinians but Israel did it.
Saddam	لا هي تحولها [unintelligible] بحاجة الى تحويل الرأي العام العالمي على قضية على جرائم تسميها عربية وفلسطينية.	No it changes it [unintelligible] needs to change the international public opinion against offenses called Arab and Palestinian.
Taha?	ايه حتى تحصل على دعم اكبر من امريكا [unintelligible] الفلسطينين [unintelligible] الاجانب والضغط على العالم في موضوع [unintelligible]	Yes, so that it can get larger support from the US [unintelligible] the Palestinians [unintelligible] the foreigners and to pressure the world regarding the matter of [unintelligible].
	00:09:00	
Saddam	واحنا بغض النظر على ردود فعلهم عاد في مرحلة اخرى ورائها نبدي نطلع هذا الرجل في التلفزيون نطلعها كحلقات بس ما نخليه يشوفها التحقيق حتى لو بعضها ما مقتنعين بيها بحيث نخلي الرأي العام	As for us in spite of their response in the next step after that we should start showing this man on TV but show it a series of episodes without letting him [the suspect] see the interrogation, even if we are not convinced of some of

Saddam	العالمي يظل يتابع الموضوع من جهتنا وننشئ اهتمام جدي بالحلقات اللي الى ما اتطلعت على الحقيقة ما بأمكان الجهات الرسمية الاخرى ان تضمها. كالنغرس الاميريكي، مجلس الشيوخ يعني وراء ما سفارتنا هي تسلم ظرف شخصي تعطيه سفارتنا هي تسلم ظرف شخصي تعطيه الشيوخ الى اخره – ونقلهم اتطلعوا على هاي الحقيقة حتى تقدرون تتابعون من تبدي هيك جهات تهتم بهذا الموضوع رح نكتشف هاي اللعبة اللي تندي هيا وكيف دبرت. وتفيدنا كثير تفيدنا ارادوا يزجون بيها العراق ومنو القائم بيها وكيف دبرت. وتفيدنا كثير تفيدنا في موضوع موقف الميركا من عندنا.	what he says. We want to do it in a way to keep the international public opinion on our side and keep them following up on the episodes. We also want to create a serious interest in the episodes so that when the truth comes out the other official entities cannot hide it/cover it up like the US Congress and the Senate, meaning that after we broadcast them, we should send recordings through our embassy, which in turn will deliver it personally to the so and so Congressman or the so and so Senator etc. We then tell them to see the truth so that they can follow up. And when people like that, paying attention to this matter, we will discover the truth. We will discover the game that they wanted to push Iraq into and who carried it out and how they arranged it. It will benefit us greatly; it will benefit us in our issue in the matter of the stance that the US has taken against us.
Saudam	حتى في وثائق مجلس الامن لحقا لما [inaudible] نقول لهم تفضلوا شوفوا شلون الملاحقة تجري على العراق. ليش تستغربون الامور الاخرى. اذا كانت في هذا المستوى من الاجرام ناس يضحون بناس مواطنين من عندهم - مو ممتلكات امريكية حتى يلحقون ضرر بالعراق. واذا طلعت الجهة اللي قائمة بالعملية صمهونية بدون امريكا الرسمية فايضا هذه مكسب كبير للعرب ان تنفضح قضية من هذا النوع.	Even concerning the Security Council documents later when [inaudible] we can tell them, to look and see how Iraq is being intentionally harassed. And why should they be surprised at what else happens. If things have reached such a level of criminality where people are willing to sacrifice their own citizens, not just American assets in order to bring harm to Iraq. And if it comes out that the entity that carried this operation out are the Zionists without the involvement of any American officials, then it would be a big bonus for the Arabs, if such a case were exposed.
Saddam	احنا في صيغة الاعلام اهم شيء ان لا [inaudible] الرأي العام العالمي العربي وكأنما نتعاون مع امريكا ضد المعارضة يعني يعني هذه	In our media the most important thing is not to [inaudible] the Arab public opinion as if we are cooperating with the US against the opposition I mean I mean this – that is why our

	ولذلك لازم اعلاننا يتضمن شكوك على انه هذه شكوك بعناصر قامت بالعملية. لانه يجوز بالنتيجة هم نطلع يعني خلي احتمال ولو ضعيف جدا عندي يطلع العمل فعلا تدبير ناس متطرفين [inaudible] قاموا بالعملية. فبهالحالة نتهم امام الرأي العام العربي وكما لو كنا نحن عاوننا الامريكان بسبب ضعفنا وخوفنا على ضد ناس عرب ومسلمين وشيء من هذا القبيل.	announcement should include doubts, showing that these doubts are in the parties who carried out this operation. Because it is possible that in the end we will discover — even if it is a very weak possibility that the operation was organized by a fanatic group [inaudible] who carried it out. In that case we would be accused by the Arab public opinion that we assisted the Americans because of our weakness and fear, against the Arabs and Moslems or something of that nature.
Saddam	ولكن من يقرون اعلامنا ينطوي على شكل مسبق بأنه هذه اريد منها الاساءة الى العراق من غير ما نقول بيها الاساءة الى العراق. ما نجيب العراق. لانه من يصير – هاي اساءة العراق والى اخره يقصد منه وما يقصد منه – يفهم اعلامنا وكأنه دفاع عن النفس. بس يجي الاعلام بصيغة انه نحن اتطلعنا على معلومات مهمة تتعلق بالتفجير اللي حصل ولدينا من الوثائق يعني ما يكفي لتشيير الاتجاه الاولي على الكيفيفة التي صار بيها العمل اللذي حصل ولا نعرف ولا نستطيع ان نجزم حتى الان ما اي جهات اللي على علم حتى الان ما اي جهات اللي على علم تروج هذا الاتطلاع او هذه المعلومات. بيعني الى اخره – يعني يصيغة من الصيغ تروج هذا الاتطلاع او هذه المعلومات. يعني الى اخره – يعني يصيغة من الصيغ نفس الوقت تموت اي اعلان در اماتيكي انفس الوقت تموت اي اعلان در اماتيكي ويشووشون الرأي العام.	But when they read our media which will previously show that the intention was to harm Iraq without stating that there was harm to Iraq. We don't want to bring in the [inaudible] of Iraq. Because once it is — this is an insult to Iraq etc, this implies and doesn't imply, then it will seem like we are trying to defend ourselves. But when we state in our media that important information was uncovered, which has to do with the attack that happened and we have documents that are sufficient to indicate the initial set up of the operation that occurred and that we do not know, nor are we able to determine if there were entities in the US who knew of this operation but did not advertise or announce this information etc. Put [Announce] it is a smart way that would not give the full picture but at the same time would kill any dramatic announcement they intended to make to confuse the public opinion.
Saddam	بالعكس الراي العام يقوم يسمع من عندنا. نحن صرنا نصير مصدر المعلومات ويوميا نصرح بشيء جديد بحلقة من الحلقات ونخلي المتابعة الاعلامية كلها	And the opposite will happen, the public will listen to us and we become the source of information and then we reveal something new daily in one of the episodes and let all the media

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	تجري ومن خلال ال اه هي الشكوك رح تبدي تتجهه الى قصادها.	follow up, go through the eh the doubts will start being directed to the target.
Tariq Aziz	نعلن انه شخص معتقل عندنا يعني ؟	So do we announce that it is someone who is detained by us?
Saddam	لا نحن نقول عندنا وثائق ــ عندنا وثائق واسانيد والى اخره	No, we just say we have documents, we have documents and papers etc.
MV:	واسماء سيدي	And names Sir.
Saddam	واسماء من غير ما نشير الى التفاصيل بالمرحلة الحالية.	And names without indicating the details at this point.
MV:	اسماء او وثائق؟	Names and documents.
Saddam	اسماء ووثائق.	Names and documents.
	00:13:35	
MV:	ها سيدي يعني هم الان يعرفون انه هو موجود بالعراق؟	Well, Sir, do they now know that he is in Iraq?
Saddam	هم ايش رح يقولون؟ رح يقولون انه سلمولنا ايه. سلمولنا الوثائق والديعني هاي الوثائق والديعني تجري ووفق ترتيب خاص. يعني الطلب لازم يجينا رسمي يعني بصيغة من الصيغ اذا الحالة لما نيجي نسلم لهم — نسلم لهم موقوع من الطرفين. انه استلموا فلان تاريخ فلان كذا الاعترافات فلان الى فلان هون عندهم فلان شيء فلان شيء بحيث ما يقدرون يضموها. ويسؤؤن لنا الطريقة اللي كانوا مخططين.	What are they going to say? They are going to say, deliver the documents to us and the eh and that these documents we tell them that this must occur in certain arrangements. Well, we must get a formal request, in some sort of format when we go to deliver it to them – deliver it signed by both parties. That they were handed so and so, on so and so date, the confessions of so and so to so and so and that they have this and this and this, so that they can't cover it up, and harm us in the manner they were planning to.
MV:	سيدي رسميا عفوا مثل مال الامم المتحدة ويا جناب رئيس الوزراء. انه هذا الجانب يوقع وهذا الجانب يوقع – [inaudible] تلفزيون	Sir, officially, pardon me, like the UN with the Prime Minister- that this side signs and this side signs – [inaudible] the TV.
MV:	نعم نعم هو مال الدولة – التوقيع مال الدولة. لانه هاي وثائق لازم تصير	Yes, yes, it is the government's – the signature of the government – because these are documents that must be [inaudible] officially and the suspect

	[inaudible]	transferred officially etc.
	بصيغة رسمية والمتهم ينقل بصيغة رسمية والى اخره.	
	مش واضح	[Unintelligible discussion/comments]
Saddam	مثل هذا الاعلان لما يحكون اي شيء العراق – والعراق ار هابي ويقول لك العراق عنده وثائق في هذا الموضوع وما عنده [inaudible] وصل للشيء اللي يتعلق بالار هاب والتخريب والعملية الاخيرة.	Well with this announcement, when they say anything about Iraq- that Iraq supports terrorism and then they have to say that Iraq has documents on this issue and they don't have [inaudible] it reaches the issues of terrorism, trouble making and the latest operation.
Saber	هم ينضبطون عليه لا يكون ينتحر هم احتمال [inaudible]	They need to watch him so that he doesn't commit suicide. There is a possibility [inaudible].
Saddam	ينتحر ويجوز اكو جهة هي تقتلك. فما يصير [inaudible] الحرس والخيزران وهناك يموتون	He could commit suicide and someone might kill him. They mustn't [inaudible] the guards, and whipping and then they die.
MV:	سيدي بس ملاحظة – هو عنده الجنسية الامريكية. فمحتمل واحدة من اللي ذكر ها الفريق صابر [inaudible] بموجب المخبرات. وواحدة من الاشياء اللي كان معتمد عليها برزت في بداية الاعترافات مالته انه هو على اساس بريطاني الجنسية.	Sir, just a comment. He has the American citizenship- it is possible that one of the things that Gen. Saber mentioned [inaudible] according to the intelligence service. And one of the things that he was depending on that came out in the beginning of his confession was that he is of British citizenship.
Saddam	نعم	Yes.
MV:	فما رح يسهل عليه الاجراء – يعني ما رح ينعدم او هو خطأ عليه. فيراد يفهم انه هذه بعيد عليه انه هذا القانون العراقي.	So it will not make things easier for him, that he won't be executed or be judged- he must understand that that won't happen that this is the Iraq law.
MV:	يفهم انه نحن نتعاون وياه عراقيا. هاي الجنسية الامريكية هاي عادة مو الالاف	He must understand that we will deal with him as an Iraqi. This American citizenship- don't thousands of Iraqis

Tariq	العراقيين يحملوها بصيغة الولادة – بالنسبة لنا هاي [inaudible] نحن رح نحاسبك على قانون وعلى جنسيتك العراقية.	carry it through birth – but to us it is [inaudible] we will deal with him according to the Iraqi law and his Iraqi citizenship. No Sir, let us be prudent with this
Aziz	لا خلي هاي ما نستعجل بيها سيدي — [unintelligible] لانه هو افضل النا انه يكون امريكي	[unintelligible] because it is better for us if he is an American.
Saddam [possibly Qusay?]	لاغراض التحقيق	For purposes of interrogation
Tariq Aziz	نعم لاغراض التحقيق مش واضح	Yes, for purposes of interrogation. [unintelligible group discussion]
Saddam	و يا المتهم	With the suspect
Saddam, [?]	ملاحظة قسي صحيحة — انه من تيجي على اساس جنسيته امريكية وما حد يقدر يضغط عليه بالتحقيق فنحن لازم نفهمه حتى نجرده من هالاتكاء السيكولوجي — نفهمه احنا رح نتعامل وياه يا معود على راحوا لندن وولدوا بالمستشفى ويسجلوا على حساب الجنسية الامريكية. اي نحن ما نشتغلها هيك — ما نشتغل ونتعامل وياه كعراقي ينطبق عليه القانون العراقي. الرحمة الوحيدة اللي ممكن تأخذها مننا الله تتعاون ويا التحقيق بصورة صحيحة. وتقنعنا انه انت افاداتك انت ما هاي طبعا توقيتها وايش وقت	Qusay's comment is correct-when we approach him based on his American citizenship we can not pressure him in our interrogation, we must make him understand that so that we can take away this physiological prop of his-we need to make him understand that we are going to deal with him on [comment from Tariq Aziz "but not"] many of the Iraqis who went to London and were born in the hospitals and then got recorded under the American [British?] nationality. We don't do things this way-we don't do things this way we deal with him as an Iraqi who is under Iraqi law. The only mercy he can receive is if he cooperates with the interrogation in a full manner- and convinces us that his confessions are not Of course this needs timing — what time.
Taha	حسب تطور الاعترافات	Depending on the development of the confessions.
Saddam	ولكن اهم نقطة انه يكتمون والجهات اللي يشوفها	But the most important thing is that they keep it to themselves and the persons he sees [inaudible] and we must be very careful that he is not

	[inaudible] ونسوي حذر شديد من احتمال قتله بالسجن بصيغة من الصيغ او انتحاره وما نخليه يسمع او يشوف جرائد و لا يسمع ولا حد [inaudible] انه اليوم شو سمعت الاعلام؟ - يعني — عندنا هيك العراقيين عندنا هيك. التلفزيون اليوم اعلنوا عنك وكذا وكذا ويقوم يخرطلك ويسمع الشيء اللي نحن ما رايدين ما يسمعه يعني بطريقة غير مقصودة.	killed in jail in one way or another or commit suicide. We must also not allow him to hear or read the papers and to hear from no one to [unintelligible] "what did you hear in the news today?" you know, how we the Iraqis are "hey the TV today announced news about you so and so" and then he goes off and tells him everything and then he [the suspects] hears unintentionally what we don't want him to hear.
Saddam	00:17:57 لازم آمر الحرس غير لجنة التحقيق – يعني امر الحرس على السجن لو ينطيه الاكل وينتبه على تصرفه داخل السجن ويطلعه ومو من بين الاعضاء اللي ذكرتهم.	Also his guards must be different from the interrogation team- the guard that deals with him in jail, feeds him and watches his behavior in jail and lets him out, must not be among the members I mentioned.
MV:	سيدي ولا من الحرس اللي طلعوا من المخابرات واشتغلوا في السفارات الاجنبية.	And Sir, not from the guards who were transferred from the intelligence and who worked overseas in our embassies.
Saddam	و لا من هذول	And none of those.
MV:	[inaudible] سيدي عفوا – نبهتنا على شغلة انه الواحد حتى هو ابوه بأي سفارة من السفارات الدول الغربية وهو ولد هناك ينطوه جنسية مباشرة بالغرب	[inaudible] pardon me Sir, you mentioned that even if a persons father works at any foreign embassy and the person is born there, then he automatically gets a western citizenship
Saddam	ایه	Yes.
MV:	هم موجود هنا – فيعني ينراد الواحد يشوف له صيغة مثلا يسجلون عندنا او يسجل وقتي يعني ما يسجلون هناك يجي يسجل هنا من يولد خاصة [inaudible]	Well as the case is – we must somehow state that they must register here, or do a temporary registration there, that they must come and register here when they are born especially [inaudible].
Tariq Aziz	وبأي وقت يقدر يطلع	And then they can leave any time.

وبأي وقت ـ يعني هذا سيدي بس مولود هناك ما	Any time – even though, Sir, that person is only born there [inaudible].
[inaudible]	
ينرد له دراسة هاي	We need to study that.
سيدي اكو هواي طلعوا بعد ما كملوا كلياتنا بالعراق خصوصا القانون الالماني يقبل وراء خمسة وسبعين [inaudible]	Sir, there are many who left after they completed their education here, especially the German law which accepts 75 [inaudible] accepts it when they are born [inaudible] they consider.
يقبلها من اي يولد	
[inaudible]	
يعتبر	
يحفظولي ايها كحق	They keep it as a right [inaudible].
[inaudible]	
اظن الي زمن معين	I think up to a certain time.
سيدي من يصل سن الرشد هو طالع و هو صغير اذا عائلته تطلبه رأسا يعطوه. سن الرشد [inaudible]	Sir, when he reaches the legal age, and he had left when he was young, if his family asks him they [the Germans?] immediately give it. The legal age if he wants it he gets it.
اذا يريد يطلبها يطلبها.	
اكو عراقي ولد بالطائرة لما كانت مرة بالاجواء البريطانية سجل بعدين [inaudible]	There was an Iraqi who was born on a plane in the British airspace who was then registered [unintelligible].
صرح داص الرسمي [inaudible] توفرت لدى اجهزة المخابرات العراقية معلومات موثقة وخطيرة تتعلق بحادث تفجير المركز التجاري الدولي في نيويورك انه هذه المعلومات تثير شبهات عديدة حول الجهات اللي شاركت في الحادث او كانت ورائة. ان سلطات عراقية المختصة على استعداد للتعاون مع الجانب الاميريكي للتعرف على	[typing sounds] an official spokesperson stated [inaudible] that the Iraqi intelligence organizations have documented and serious information regarding the attack which occurred on the World Trade Center in New York. This information raises several questions regarding the entities that cooperated in this operation or who were behind it. The said Iraqi authorities are prepared to cooperate with the American people to identify the facts. On the condition that the
	هذاك ما [inaudible] ينرد له دراسة هاي سيدي اكر هواي طلعوا بعد ما كملوا كلياتنا بالعراق خصوصا القانون الالماني يقبل وراء خمسة وسبعين [inaudible] يقبلها من اي يولد يعتبر [inaudible] يحفظولي ايها كحق يحفظولي ايها كحق اظن الي زمن معين الشد هو طالع وهو الشرشد صغير اذا عائلته تطلبه رأسا يعطوه. سن الرشد [inaudible] اذا يريد يطلبها يطلبها. اذا يريد يطلبها يطلبها. اتا المريطانية سجل بعدين المواق ولد بالطائرة لما كانت مرة إالاجواء البريطانية سجل بعدين المعلومات موثقة وخطيرة تتعلق بحادث توفرت لدى اجهزة المخابرات العراقية معلومات موثقة وخطيرة تتعلق بحادث تنويورك انه هذه المعلومات تثير شبهات عديدة حول الجهات اللي شاركت في عراقية المختصة على استعداد للتعاون عراقية المختصة على استعداد للتعاون

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	الامريكية التي تتولى ذلك جهة نزية. ويفضل ان يتم ذلك بعلم الكنغرس الامريكي او اشرافه.	matter is an impartial [honest] one, and it is preferred that this is done with the knowledge of the American Congress or under its supervision.
Tariq Aziz	ملاحظة	Comment.
Saddam	نعم انا ردت (مش واضح) نسويها قضية	Yes, I wanted to [unintelligible] to make it an issue.
Tariq Aziz	هي رح تبدي تغزل	It is going to start to make up stories.
Saddam	ايه تغزل ونحن في كل الاحوال على الاقل الهدف الاساءة اللنا بعد ما	Yes, make up stories and as for us in all cases the purpose of harming us after the [inaudible] is over.
	[inaudible] انتهی	are [maudiole] is ever.
Tariq Aziz	فجرنا القنبلة قبل ما	We pulled the trigger.
Saddam	فجرناها وخليناها عاشيه [inaudible]	Yes, will be pulled and let it be [inaudible] but not allow them to make up stories about people and [inaudible] Iraqis – preferred but not on the basis
	مو بالناس تغزل والعراقيين [inaudible] يبدوا – مفضلين مو على اساس مفضلين مفضلين	ofpreferredpreferred.
Tariq Aziz	نزل الدولار	The price of the dollar is down.
Tariq Aziz	احنا السلطات العراقية على استعداد تتعاون مع الجهات الرسمية للتعرف على الحقائق بشرط ان تكون الجهة الامريكية التي تتولى ذلك جهة رسمية	We, the Iraqi government, are willing to cooperate with the official entities to uncover the facts on the condition that the American party that undertakes the investigation is an official one.
Saddam	مفضلین ان تتولی	Preferring to undertake.
Tariq Aziz	التعرف على الحقائق و	In order to find the facts and
Saddam	الحقائق كما هي	The facts as they are.
Tariq Aziz	ونأمل ان الحقائق كما – ان تكون الجهة الامريكية التي تتولى ذلك جهة رسمية ويفضل ان يتم ذلك بعلم الكنغرس الامريكي او اشرافه. يعني نحن حتى اذا	And we hope that the facts as they – that the American entity that undertakes this is an official entity and it is preferred that it is done with the knowledge of the American Congress

	جوي ناس وشفناهم د يلعبون وكذا ـــ (تعليق مش واضح) يعني نحطهم نقاط رجعة نعم	or under its supervision. If people [a fact finding mission] come and we see that they are trying to play games and such [unintelligible comments] then we can put certain points of return Yes.
Saddam	ما ننحصر بحلقة فنية – نظل نأخذ وننطي. [unintelligible]	We don't want to bind ourselves to a technical point – we want to keep giving and taking [negotiating] [unintelligible].
Tariq Aziz	هسع	Now.
Saddam	بالتلفون	By phone.
	مش واضح	[unintelligible conversation]
Tariq Aziz	الساعة بالحدعش سيدس يذيعوها بنشرات الاخبار	Sir, they will announce it on the 11 o'clock news.
MV:	تسعة ـ	Nine.
group	الكلام فوق بعض	[intelligible conversation - everyone was speaking simultaneously]
Saddam	يعني تصادف هما عندهم هناك؟	So what time will it be there?
Tariq Aziz	يعني ويا الغداء — تصلهم اذا بالحدش تطلع	Around lunch time- they will get it, if it comes out at eleven [inaudible] on TV [inaudible].
	[inaudible] بالتلفزيون	
	[inaudible]	
MV:	سيدي	Sir [inaudible].
	[inaudible]	·
Saddam	نعم	Yes.
MV:	سيدي في نفس الاجتماع على موضوع نتائج الانتخابات مال الاكراد قلت نحن ان الحكومة مو ويا اي طرف من الاطراف المعنية	Sir, in the same meeting regarding the topic of the election results, the Kurdish elections you said we – that the government does not favor a particular party.
Saddam	لا نحن ما رح	No we will not [inaudible].
	[inaudible]	
Tariq	هم يعني - هم من اتصلوا بينا نقول لهم	Well, when they call us, we will tell

Aziz	تعالوا ننسق شلون تيجون وننطيكم	them lets arrange how they will come
	المعلومات.	and we give them information.
	وشوشة	[whispering apparently into Saddam's
		ear]
	00.22.28	
	00:23:28	
Saddam	نحن قلنا ما نستلم الا من الرفيق قاسم	We stated that we will only receive
	خلي السفير يحيطه علم الرفيقِ قاسم بهذا	information from Comrade Qasem, so
	اللي حصل. ويقول لنا شو رأي الرفيق	let the ambassador inform Comrade Qasem of the developments and tell us
	قاسم. ابو زياد تخابر من الاذاعة	what Comrade Qasem's opinion is.
	مباشرة.	Abu Ziyad [Tariq Aziz] will you call
		directly from the station?
MV:	هذا تريده هسع؟	Do you want this now?
Group	نقاش من واضح	[unintelligible conversation]
Tariq	احسن ما ينخبصون سيدي	Better not, so that we don't cause too
Aziz	,	much of a sensation Sir.
Saddam	الاكراد عندهم انتخابات يريدون يسوون	The Kurds want to hold elections
	بيناتهم. هاي الانتخابات الامريكان العام	amongst themselves. Last year, the
	او عزولهم انّه كل واحد خمسين خمسين.	Americans told them they had to be
	اليوم دايخين. هالسنة هاي دايخين	fifty-fifty. This year, they are preoccupied, this year the Americans
	الامريكان شاون خمسين خمسين لو	are occupied and don't know if they
	يخلوهم يختلفون. احنا اهم شيء في هيك	should let them go fifty fifty or let them
	انه ما يحطولهم عدو دائما في خطر	disagree. The most important thing to
	عليهم في جو الانتخابات. يعني بغداد	us in this is that they don't allow a
	شوي تعطيهم نفس حتى هم بيناتهم	permanent enemy to be dangerous to
	يشتدون. فخطر على بالي نقول انه نحن	them during the elections. Let Baghdad give them some breathing space so that
	يعني _ يعني نرى بأنه ما لازم تكون	they can resolve it between them. It
	فوهة البندقية هي الحكم في قضايا معقدة	occurred to me to tell them that we, we
	كالتي تحصل في شمال الوطن. وقد	see that it is not necessary for the gun
	تصرفنا رغم مرارة كل التطورات	to be the judge in complicated issues
	والظروف الصعبة التي مرت علينا عبر	taking place north of the country. And
	الاكثر من الثلاث سنوات الماضية على	that we have behaved, in spite of all the hurt of all the developments and
	هذا الاساس ونرى بأن هذا المبدأ ينطبق	difficult circumstances that we wet
	على الجهات المتصارعة في منطقة	through in the last three years, on this
	الحكم الذاتي بغض النظر على اتجاهاتها	basis. And we see that this principle
	وتمسياتها المتصارعة في ما بينها ونحث	applies to the warring factions in the
	على ان يتجنبوا فيما بينهم تطوير	self-governed area regardless of their leanings and titles, who are warring
	الصراع الى حد الاحتكام الى فوهة	with each other and we encourage them
L		won omen and no oncourage mom

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	البندقية. هاي وقوف.	to avoid escalating the disagreements to a point where they will need the gun to judge between them. That is it. Stop.
Taha	بغض النظر عن رأيينا بيهم.	Regardless of our opinion of them.
Saddam	ايه بغض النظر عن رايينا بيهم وبمواقفهم لانه سفك الدماء يؤذي الشعب ويخلط الاوراق.	Yes, regardless of our opinion of them and their issues because bloodshed will hurt the people and confuse the issues.
Taha	[unintelligible] وزير الداخلية [unintelligible] من وزارة الداخلية	[unintelligible] the Minister of Interior [unintelligible] from the Ministry of Interior Affairs
Saddam	لا هيك كلام يطلع من شخص. من شخص لازم. من شخص ويقولها بمناسبة.	No, a statement like this, needs to come from a person, from someone from someone who can say it on the occasion of
Taha	[unintelligible] الامنية الداخلية.	[unintelligible] internal security
MV:	الداخلية مالتنا نعطي اعتراف بالاهداف مالتهم سيدي بال	Our interior [internal] we recognize their goals Sir in
MV:	لا نقاش سريع غير واضح حامي شوي _ لو جنابك	No [a slightly heated intelligible conversation] if you please Sir.
Saddam	Y	No.
Tariq Aziz	او السيد النائب أو [unintelligible] يعني واحد من القياديين يعني بالمركز هم السياسي	Or the Vice President or [unintelligible] one of the leaders of those with a political office.
MV:	او رئيش الوزراء	Or the Prime Minister.
Saddam	اصفنوا بيها يعني مو مستعجلة لانه زين لباكير وشوفوا شلون.	Think about it, we are not in a hurry, because tomorrow is fine and see what you think.
Tariq Aziz	هي مال الانخابات مؤجلة يعني سيدي	Sir the elections are postponed.
MV:	قالوا [unintelligible]	They said the [unintelligible] the twelfth of the month- that was the latest

	اثنعش الشهر - يعني اخر الاخبار اللي	news I read.
	قريتها بالنشرات -	
MV:	يعني مو هسع	Then, not now.
MV:	هي ما تحددت عفوا سيدي يعني هو بداية الشغلة صارت- مسعود اعلن – اعلن قال انه نحن سبب الاظطراب في كردستان و عدم سيطرتنا الكاملة ونتيجة لي النتيجة المظلمة اللي نشوفها لمسقبل كردستان هو مسألة الفيفتي فيفتي لو نحن نقوط لو جلال يقوط – جلال اعترض وبعدين هم جماعة الحزب الديموقراطي الكردستاني ووياهم الاسلاميين صعدوا الكردستاني ووياهم الاسلاميين صعدوا رشاشاتهم على البيوت وقالوا لو تصير انتخابات لو نحن نصطدم وافق جلال بس بعد ما حددوا موعد الانتخابات.	They were not decided upon Sir- the thing started when Mas'oud announced — he announced that "we due to the confusion in Kurdistan and our inability to have complete control and as a result of the dark- as a result of the dark resolution we see in Kurdistan's future-which is the "Fifty Fifty" issue and that we must either step down or Jalal step down". Then Jalal objected and then the Democratic Kurdish Party joined by the Muslim fanatics set their weapons on the roofs of the houses and stated that either the elections take place or they will start clashing — so Jalal agreed but they have not yet set an election date.
Tariq Aziz	اليوم بالنشرة بشكل سريع ذكروا اجلت خلال انتعش الشهر. [inaudible]	Today in the news they very quickly mentioned that they were postponed to the twelfth of the month. [inaudible]
Saddam	ايه يعني فكرة ونحطها على كيفنا نستكمل المعلومات ايش صار ونحط توقيتها وحتى صيغتها مرة ثانية وتذكر – بس كفكرة حتى ما انساها.	Yes, the idea is that we state it and then take our time in recording the information and the timeline and even reformat and mention it again – just as an idea so that I don't forget it.
MV:	تسمح سيادتك يعني عائلة عبد الرحمن وجهنا السكريتيرة نجيبهم ونحجزهم. انا ما أؤيد سيدي - هذول يعني مش رايد وعجوز و [inaudible] اذا نطلعهم اقله نشوف [inaudible] يعني من نخليه عندنا.	Sir, if you please, concerning Abed al Rahman family we issued directives to the secretary to bring them in and hold them. Sir, I don't support that Sir, he doesn't want to and he is an old man and [inaudible] if we let them go at least we can see [inaudible] when we keep them here [inaudible].
Saddam	يعني هي انثى	Well she is a female [inaudible] there in

	and the state of t	
	[inaudible] هناك في امريكا وهي شافت هناك في امريكا وهي شافت [inaudible] من يروح ومن يجي والاخ هم يدري شكو مكو. لازم هذا اخ بالبيت يعني ما معقول تمر عليه والحكي بالتلفون [inaudible] القدر وهذا فجرنا وهذا ردنا نسويه وبالتلفونات واخ يسده وما يحكي. لازم عنده شيء يفيد — نستدعيه للتحقيق.	the US and she saw [inaudible] who comes and who goes and the brother also knows what is up and what is not. We must, he is a brother at home, impossible for something like this to pass by him, there was talk on the phone [inaudible] "ability and this was bombed and this we wanted to do" and on the phones, the brother could have just put the phone down and didn't say anything. He must have something useful- call him in for interrogation.
MV:	نحن حققنا سيدي – عفوا سيادتك – حققنا مرتين قبل اسبوع ولكن اليوم لاغراض الحجز لاغراض الاجراء الاحترازي	Sir, we questioned him Sir, pardon me Sir, we used to question him twice a week, but today for purposes of detaining him- for purposes of precautionary detention.
Saddam	ما انا اخاف ينهزمون	Well, I worry that they will flee.
Qusay?	ما ادري شنو درجة الانتباه اللي حطيط عليها	What level of alert have we placed on them.
Tariq Aziz	والله خيلهم اثنينهم محجوزين يعني بيها شيء مسيطر عليهم	Well, let them both stay in detention at least we can control them.
group	مش واضح	[unintelligible conversation]
Saddam	على الاقل اذا تجيب معلومات من هذا الاخ – الاخ – [inaudible] ما تقول له اخوك اعترف قله نحن عندنا هيك معلومات فلان شيء فلان شيء فلان شيء فلان شيء عليهم [inaudible] معلومات اكثر منه اساسا.	At least if you get information from this brother [inaudible] and you don't tell him that his brother has already confessed just tell him that we have such information that says this and this and this. Then he will start to tell you, [inaudible] more information than a basis.
group	مش واضح	[Unintelligible]
MV:	سلام ـ	Good bye.
	اصوات	[Voices in background]
	00:30:30	[Silence]

The classification markings are original to the Iraqi documents and do not reflect current US classification.

	- 1450 MARS 1400 1	grading twice
	00:34:19	[End of recording]