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- Male-1 'Abd-al-Majid, you travel without telling us
- Male-2 We have a national leadership. It is a national duty. May God bless you.
- Male-1 May God be with you. May God be with you. Your friend [Inaudible] is coming on the road. Ask them to bring me cigarette
- Male-3 Yes Sir.
- Male-1 Before you tell us [Inaudible] the cigarette
- Male-4 We are happy not only because of the cigarette but also because of the meaning
- Male-1 What is the news of our friends in Lebanon?
- Male-5 [Inaudible] from the inside and the outside. They are united. He has been in a prison of the Syrian regime for eight and half years [Inaudible] in Beirut. We gave period of four months. There is some coverage. There is exhaustion on the friends. The second line is the line of friend [Inaudible] for two months he was in prison. [Inaudible] there were some occasions. Every one is busy.
- Male-1 [Inaudible] see, try
- Male-5 The party relationship returned after the confusion that happened. First, three of the leadership were arrested at the beginning and then they started the case of Talib al-Shil and they arrested 12 people from the national leadership and members of branches. Communications with Lebanon were restored afterwards because the 12 people were from the national leadership and members of branches. We provided instructions in relations to [Inaudible] ...was less than other friends [Inaudible]. We are hoping for the best. [Inaudible]. The mission, the normal mission, there was a meeting at the leadership. Since I have been a 17 year old, I have never [Inaudible] in any place or location. Of course since '79 when I left Lebanon and after two years I returned and told them I wanted to go. In '91 at the time when I was on a mission in Jordan. At the beginning [Inaudible]. But in the routine work...
- Male-1 Even in the party work, morally they should not ask about a member of the national leadership. It could be a member from the leadership or outside the leadership. I could tell the secretary that member 'Abd-al-Majid did not come. And then I find out that 'Abd-al-Majid is traveling or member Qasim is not here and it turns out that Qasim is traveling. I will become aware of it

Male-5 I told the office manager [Inaudible]

Male-1 The office manager should have phoned 'Abid to tell him that someone is traveling. That is it. So that I am aware of it.

Male-6 He should be saying that he is going to travel not that he traveled

Male-1 Yeah, because we could be having a meeting and would say no we have some issue

Male-5 Do you remember I told you and you said wait until Monday until the small meeting and I traveled on Tuesday

Male-1 You might have clarifications and questions about the latest act of betrayal

Male-5 Comrade Tahir met with them. A mountain will not be moved by wind. I would be upset. We have a saying that says that a fly does not kill but it disgusts you and bothers you. Indeed this case is disgusting and it hurts because of the way it happened. But as I said a mountain will not be moved by wind.

Male-1 Yes, member 'Izat

'Izzat Sir, it is disgusting as the Doctor just said, but we should be very happy that it happened in that location. Whoever has this much hatred in their hearts and in their brains, God has saved us from them. Thousand times thanks to God. We should thank God and pray to God and congratulate our people and our party and congratulate all the free and good people in the county and in the Arab nation because God saved you and this is evidence to what we believe and say that the guidance and the will of God is guiding the country and protecting the leader for mission that God want to be done.

Male-1 He deserves to be thanked. How is your patient doctor?

Male 7 Thank God, better.

Male 1 Yes Comrade Ahmad.

Male 8 On Friday, the Tunisian Comrade asked me about the news. I am surprised why all these symptoms happen to us. Why doesn't it happen to other regimes. I told him [Inaudible] in Syria or Egypt, because the regime itself is fixed with the Zionists and colonization, with a gun. For example, I gave him an example about those countries from 1967, such as Syria. Syria is not in need of confrontation, while its defense minister has the time to go visit his daughter in France for four months, and has time to write a cookbook. [Inaudible] ...it doesn't happen, but it happens in Iraq, because the

revolution clashes daily with its enemies, inside and outside [Inaudible].

Male 9 When it comes to revolution, I expect anything. Don't tell me from near, from far, patriot, non-patriot, everything happens; I mean, it's expected. As Mr. 'Izzat said, thank God that he was sick at home. We, in Algeria, have a slang proverb that says "Home treachery." You could expect anything, except home treachery. [Inaudible], I noticed from security, people and others that people are comfortable. It's like you feel, especially Ba'thists, you feel that something precious was lost and finally came back. You feel they lost something precious, which is the President and were able to get him back. This is tangible evidence.

Male 10 The lesser of two evils.

Male 9 What?

Male 10 The lesser of two evils, which means you could have a worse conspiracy.

Male 9 To the contrary, the reaction of Ba'thists was not really true. They were in pain since it affected the President, but in the mean time they are comfortable. It's like a weight has been lifted. As much as they were in pain, as much as they were comfortable.

Male 10 Mr. President, when we heard the news, our hearts were with you. On Friday morning, I received mail. The mail was from your Excellency signed on the 10th, which means Thursday regarding a trivial case, which was possible to be postponed. So we were a little bit relieved. [Inaudible] and said thank goodness for the President's safe return.

Male 1 Life doesn't stop

Male 10 We got over the pain. What's more important is you because the march is related to you.

Male 1 Why does this takes a place in our regime? Briefly, if our regime accepted to compromise our principles, those cancerous tumors wouldn't appear as much as they did now and which appeared before. We have two facts. [Inaudible], and the great approach, like five command members in year 79; they betrayed and collaborated. And those Shiite, because this is an approach, a real approach

Male 11 'Abd-al-Khaliq, Muhammad, and Murtada are people of heaven

Male 1 There isn't a subject that differs from Nazim Igzar's subject. There isn't anything specific. We're fighting in October and our army is returning. We nationalized the oil, banned the companies, cut-off the oil. It took nine

months and we won. So why conspiracy? We could also curse. But we could briefly say according to the entry that we addressed, why treachery occurs as much as it does among us, and it doesn't occur as much in other places. The revolution's capacities and abilities were enhanced well during this period. Victory of nationalization. Nationalization is not an economic matter, meaning we were limited to a few huge enterprises. This is a fact of our first victory over western companies in the Middle East region. We reinforced our principles in our role, to fight on two Fronts. The Syrian Front, as it was called back then, and Northern, and Egyptian Front. Against two fronts we fought, a serious fight. Iraqi aircrafts were the first, the first one to demolish rockets' bases in Sina [TC: Sina is a desert by the Egyptian Israeli borders, above the Red Sea]. According to the Syrian Front, our army is known for what it did. After what the enemy felt, who is familiar to the original Arab revolutions and to the Original Ba'th System that we will move up to a higher level of power and ability. Nazim Igzar and whomever were with him went off. In the year '79, why treachery appeared and couldn't hide at the moment of its appearance. It's because there was a transformation, from one-way to another. Regarding the subject of ability, expressing the principles with... there is no compromise with principles. No one from the real revolutionaries who lead the march compromises with principles. So attempting to uproot the transformation stage to higher ability, the operation of transformation to a higher ability -with known descriptions- ...because it refused the truce, the corruption, and midlines, because it is known with its thinking and command...attempting to stop ability. Our regime had reached a state where it became very distinguished compared to the Arab regimes but not at the Ba'th standard. [Inaudible] if we start talking about how many assassination attempts against Saddam Hussein, I really wouldn't how many. However, these are the fundamentals, stopping the state of ability transforming to a better level.

Male 12 Internal conspiracy.

Male 1 Yes, internal conspiracy. This proves their defeat. They try to make us decline via corruption. By exposing conspiracies around the world against Iraq, and exposing the key players in front of global public opinion, with potential of approach to remove the blockade, with sufficient clarity that this regime doesn't bargain and accept truce, and doesn't accept immoral interference in serious matters. He went off... because if Hussein Kamil [EN: Saddam Hussein's son in law. Defected 1995, returned to Iraq 1996] knows that we bargain with moral cases, he wouldn't go off. He knows that he can become a Prime Minister, and the following step is to become President [inaudible], that's why he went-off. But he knows clearly that Saddam Hussein, talks and educates regarding the commander's measurements in the country, and refuses openly at all levels, level of ministers' council, state command level, at level of Revolution Command Council. Yesterday in my meeting, one of the secretaries said that the following issues are what caused

me to go-off, one of them conducting the Iraq State Conference, he is not a command member, and he didn't even attend the conference. He was traveling. He came by to say good-bye and I didn't tell him that we have a conference.

Male 11 [Inaudible] was delayed by one day

Male 1 We, we, we like the edge of a sword on issues of principles. Why? Why should I tell him while he is traveling? Like everyone else that were in the conference. If I tell him, I would have to tell all those that did not participate. I know that we have a decision to inform only those in Iraq because of security reasons. Why should I inform him while he is on his way out of Iraq?

Male 11 He saw it as an insult

Male 1 What if he was not nominated? If he was not nominated [Inaudible]. Like I did in the conference before it I do in this conference. He is from the tribe of 'Azah and he is a relative because he is the uncle of my uncle. I have nothing against him and he knows that. Why does he need to be a leadership member? He is a sick man, he should take care of himself.

Male 11 How old is he?

Male 1 He is 65 years old or more and he is not disciplined or organized. What should make him? A scarecrow? We respect him and everything and he is fighter for the country but [Inaudible] in his tow [Inaudible]. I told him what do you mean you want to become a leadership member? Ask yourself. [Inaudible] we cannot let it get loose. If we do Sab'awi will get promoted, Hussein will get promoted, this will get promoted and that will get promoted. Why should you get promoted? Why? Anyway.

Male 11 Was he affective at the conference?

Male 1 The reason is... he talked about the conference and I told him that he should respect the policies of the countries and its laws and behave appropriately. When I spoke at the cabinet I said the law should be respected and from now on any increase in budget that accedes 10%, the minister will be sent to the National Council to be tried. The revenues if the company should to the Central bank. I do not know... he withdrew some money and prepared them to escape the country. When he heard me saying that he though I was aware of his plans, so he stopped the withdrawal transaction and he left. All the Arab regimes and many regimes around the world have people like Hussein. They do not have one Hussein only. Some might have 30 Hussayn, but why don't they appear the same that Hussein appeared in, because this is a deviation and deviation does not need external base to lean on while increasing his capability to fight those that refuse the deviation and therefore [Inaudible] treason.

This treason will eventually be discovered loudly and clearly. In many Third World countries ministers are like that. It is hard for them to discover technical treason. But he knows that if we discover any deviation will put him in prison to be tried like we do with every one else unless he comes back and he says that I deviated and I did this and this and this. Then perhaps, I do not know.

I know myself... as a general approach. I have been doing this with the Ba'thists or with normal citizens, regardless of the status and position. I have this approach... when someone says I did this, I say to him OK... this money is for the country and it should be returned and you are no longer appropriate for taking on responsibilities, please get out and that is it. Because of all the confirmations that he heard from me, especially during the last few months. At one time he and 'Ali had a disagreement at the cabinet meeting so I yelled at them and told them that I cannot accept the creation of empires in the Ba'th Party. Taha was there, Tariq was there. The Deputy was not there. I told them that the country is the country of Ba'th and the ministry is for the people. I cannot accept the creation of empires and I cannot accept the ministries [Inaudible]. A minister is a representative of the people. I cannot accept empires. At the same time I talked clearly to them and I told them that it is best if my relatives are not in authority and when I am forced to put them in the service of the Ba'th it should be temporary. He interpreted these principles and the letter at the Conference of Iraq, as he is the one being targeted. He even told his secretaries that on that subject I was talking about him and that I was talking in general but I meant him.

Mail 11 [Inaudible]

Male 1 He saw that Ali was dismissed from the Ministry of Defense after he was elected to be in the leadership of the country...

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- Male 1 He got the feeling that he has to escape
Male 11 It was not part of his original plan
- Male 1 He arranged it with King Hussein. He told king Hussein and he gave him the impression that he is in disagreement with the country...with the leadership. I am sure of this, but the timing. Perhaps he could have chose a different timing and different steps. He was forced into this timing and steps. With the arrival of...Our timing is to give us our rights or take your stuff. It seems that the Americans are not bidding on entering a battle without a front, so they told him come on we will make you a front.
- Male 13 He met with King Hussein in July and the American military preparations are not new, Sir. They are on going.
- Male 1 Yes, they continue but they were aborted...aborted so far.
- Male 13 The [Inaudible] side of it was aborted by it is still going on. Sir, if you also notice something important about King Hussein... Hussein is a minister in a country and he had wide external communications related to his work, but he did not travel. Now in July and August he decided to travel. You know this best. Did you ask him to travel? Or did he do it on his own and came asked for your permission?
- Male 1 He told me that he was invited by the Russians and by the Bulgarians. I told him go ahead and travel but be aware of the security side.
- Male 13 Then he is the initiator?
- Male 1 He is the initiator.
- Male 13 Before then he did not travel. In my estimation, it seems that...from the evidence... and this is not just a guess, because we should take the evidence and tie them together. He...if you remember Sir, the issue of entering a battle is a decision that was made in July. We started taking about it in April... if you remember Sir, after we rejected resolution 1986. In July, after the Ekeus Report, we said we will enter the biological and we decided on August, if you remember Sir. We met with the leadership and the council and we decided that we will enter the biological and that we will give Ekeus two months and this is sufficient for giving him everything and after the two months that is it. Because it would not need more. This was in July. The committee was formed and headed by the Deputy in order to prepare the country and the strategic reserve and it was clear that we are going to battle.
- Male 1 For me it is clear that we are going to battle.
- Male 13 Then he close to you and your speech was clear, decisive and unquestionable that we are determined to disconnect. He knew that there was timing for

when our relations with the Special Committee and the Security Council would explode. The first trip was in July and he met with King Hussein and perhaps he communicated with him, because he was there for several days.

- Male 1 It is enough for him to tell King Hussein and King Hussein would do all the communications that he wanted.
- Male 13 Yes Sir.
- Male 1 With Israel and with America.
- Male 13 You can verify...King Hussein...
- Male 1 But we have to verify his relationship with the Russian Under Secretary, the Jewish guy who visited us several times and who made sure to visit Iraq lately to meet with him.
- Male 13 But during his last visit he said that he wants to meet with the President and with Tariq and Hussein Kamil. Meeting Hussein Kamil was very important. I told the foreign Minister to let the President know so that he can wash his hands of it, but he said that it was important to meet Hussein Kamil
- Male 1 Hussein Kamil brought us news saying that the Kuwaitis are asking for a relationship through a Kuwaiti businessman. I told him this. He talked to him... when he talked to him; I told him that you should go to Moscow to see him.
- Male 13 He saw him. The delegation told us that he disappeared for six hours but nobody knew where he was. What is important Sir, is that in July he asked King Hussein to help he explained the situation to him. He said that I gave him a message, but it is clear that he told King Hussein that the situation is not good and that it should change and perhaps he told him that I had agreed with the Americans and that I am ready for this change. His latest travel was planned, on the 27th of July, he inquired of Husam Muhammad Amin and from Dr. Mahdi about the latest developments between the Special Committee and Iraq – from Husam and from Mahdi he asked about a program that is old, dead, that nobody has asked over the last four years. He took it... he asked him to tell him about it and then he asked to write it for him. Then on the 27th of July he had in mind...
- Male 11 Even before the 27th
- Male 1 In the last ten days, I saw on the faces of three of them something wrong, but did not think it was conspiracy. I thought they were bothered by his brother. My escort was complaining about their brother. Even their young brother, I told him where are you? I do not see these days, his face looked different. He

- said Sir, I was sick or something. During the last ten to twenty days his decision was final...
- Male 13 It seems that since July they were preparing. Sir, you know, the timing. When did the special security start monitoring the relationship with the timing of political situation?
- Male 1 It is within this timeframe...within the timeframe.
- In July and at the end of July. Then the timing of the visit to Bulgaria. The timing of the visit to Bulgaria...
- Male 11 He determined it.
- Male 13 Was determined by him. He asked the Bulgarians for a private airplane to take him, while we have an airplane. When officials travel we have an airplane for them. When asking for a private airplane that means that the airplane is large. Eastern countries do not have small airplanes, Falcon, like the airplanes we have. They have the Russian airplanes than can take 30 people. The plane that he asked for from the Bulgarians, part of it was for the girls telling them that he was taking them on vacation
- Male 1 He did it in two stages. The first time he told them collect your stuff because we are going to be attacked and this is normal. These families are used to this. He said collect your stuff and get out fast. This stage was to get them out. Then he told them that he has a travel and that he would take them with him so they are not embarrassed with their father and just to say that they did not know. He took this way.
- Male 13 So he arranged for the airplane to come on Thursday. I do not think that he rushed. He planned for the airplane to come on Thursday and on Monday and Tuesday... Tuesday was holiday.
- Male 1 He rushed his plans including the plan for the airplane...that is my opinion. It is part of a plan, but it seems that he rushed it. It seems that he rushed it. He could have waited until the end of August.
- Male 13 Yes, but when he saw that at the same time there were some talk and monitoring, perhaps he rushed it by two weeks, but had to get out before the end of August.
- Male 1 [Inaudible] the money of the country, not his betrayal...
- Male 13 He had to get out before the end of August even if it is week before. Why? Because he needs time to prepare the information for the Americans and the Americans needed to classify this information and enter it into the computer and at the end of August they will give it to the president of the Special

Committee or present it at the Security Council. He needed to be outside of Iraq before August 30.

Male 1 The timing was appropriate for planning.

Male 13 But he rushed by ten days or a week for other reasons... it is possible. This is the political aspect that provides evidence. Otherwise what are these joined maneuvers between the Jordan and America?

Male 1 What?

Male 13 Sir, the maneuvers between the Jordan and America... what are their goals? Israel?

Male 1 The American President is threatening if Iraq tries to interfere...

Male 13 The maneuvers, Sir, are pre-planned, but they are maneuvers between Jordan and America and they are the first in the history of the relationship between Jordan and the US. Preparing the Jordanian army for what? What is the Jordanian army? It is only protection for the regime. The Jordanian army is prepared for a war. The military support is a cover...

Male 1 Conspiring support.

Male 13 A cover. Second, King Hussein called Clinton to tell him that they arrived

Male 1 At the same night at 4:00

Male 13 They knew that people were coming and he wanted to tell him that they arrived. And Clinton announced it. Yes, they were exposed. That gave us a clear indication that this has a political aspect to it. There are political and conspiracy aspects related to the fate of the regime and related to the timings that we have determined for the prospects of battle. Then, he revealed himself at the press conference by saying that he is working against the regime. When we return to the scenario of his behaviors...according to the claims of King Hussein, he was recommending moderation in dealing with countries and he was recommending resolving problems in order to lift the sanctions fast. That is not true Sir. Everyone knows that Hussein was promoting tension in relations. In one meeting, if you'll remember, in April, May or June he expressed deep doubt in France and Russia. He was saying why do we depend on France? And who said that France is faithful to us? And how do we know that Russia, France and American are not swapping roles? Do you understand Sir?

Male 1 Yes. I do.

- Male 13 I even answered him and I told him that these are countries that have interest. He wanted us to doubt. He wanted us to reach a point of absolute discouragement...
- Male 1 So we do not make the decision.
- Male 13 To the contrary, he wanted us to make decision while we are feeling discouraged and feel that we have no option but getting into a battle, because there is no other option. Because there is no political alternative and there is nobody will help us in lifting the sanctions [Inaudible]. The issue of the [Inaudible], you what role it has in the obstruction. Especially in the last three months it became clear that once you compare between this and that, there is a clear chain for a plan that targets sending a military attack against us. He knows the areas that can hurt us in economics and security... he knows them well. His information will be exact. Hit this electricity station
- Male 1 No one has better information than what he has
- Male 13 Yes, this refinery, this site. He will paralyze the situation in the economy and security. He knows then that he is the alternative. He will announce before then, but this is when he will come to take control. Also, we should ask Intelligence to find out what American individuals and land forces are in the maneuvers, because sea maneuvers includes marines. Among the issues that we should also conceder is possibility for a plan to create a situation of intensity on the Iraqi-Jordanian borders, in order to justify bringing in a land force. They will blame Iraq to justify the action. They will bring an Iraqi general to say...who sees the people that come in if the Americans do not film it. Those that will enter will say that the Iraqi army joined Hussein Kamil and they are making revolution against the regime. They will come close to the borders of Baghdad within a confusing situation and lack of communications and electricity. I think that this issue was planed a long time ago. I am starting to doubt this guy that came to us. Perhaps he does not know, but perhaps Clinton sent him to us to deceive us into thinking that we might start negotiating with them, in order to facilitate things. The other forces [Inaudible] the French. Sir, let us review the reports. The French, during his meeting with Barazan [EN: Saddam Hussein's brother], said you should not behave the way America wants you to behave. Go back to the report Sir. Do not keep pushing the Special Committee, because this is what America wants. The Russians, regardless of the possibilities that Dr. Bosoalic might be collaborating and has something. They gave us the same advise. Ivanov, Ivanov...[EN: Russian Foreign Minister 1998]
- Male 1 Was clear
- Male 13 Was clear. The two sides that help us and who have intelligence information have warned greatly against rushing to the end of August. Not to support the

Special Committee, but because they have the feeling that something is being arranged. This political aspect we should keep in mind while we analyze the situation.

Male 2 Mr. President, during the press conference he presented himself [Inaudible] in the best interest of the Iraqi people and that he has old disagreements [Inaudible].

Male13 This is contrary to his behavior over the last five years since we entered the escalation with Kuwait.

Male 11 For the last five years he has been [Inaudible].

Male 2 Since the 10th conference which I attended [Inaudible]. He is talking about disagreement with members and [Inaudible] and leadership. He presented a new political direction.

Male 13 He did not present a new political direction; you presented the direction that he presented. The economic situation and politics, construction and progress and capitalist direction [Inaudible] balance [Inaudible].

Male 1 He gave the family a council.

Male 11 American journalism [Inaudible] only one solution. This solution is penetrating the close circle of the President. This is what is in the media.

Male 13 [Inaudible] the American media thinks that it is useless to try to change the regime from the outside for many reasons. First the opposition is not strong

Second if there is a change outside the regime, Iraq would explode and there would be blood baths and will be divided between Kurds, Shi'ah and Sunnis and this is dangerous to American interests in the area, to America's allies. The preferable solution is to have an Arab, Sunni officer, preferably from Tikrit and preferably from the close circle of the President. They used the term "inter circle" which means the internal circle of President Saddam Hussein. This is comforting to the Ba'thists, the army, the Sunni Arabs. This is an old game, you remember, Sir, the [Inaudible] of October of 1963. If 'Abd al-Sallam 'Arif said I want to stage a coup against the Ba'th Party, any one over the age of 18 –20 was slaughtered. The Qashdan told him that these are different from the national guards. You are Minister of Defense and Tahir Yehya you are the Prime Minister and Abu-haytham is the President. He also asked Zakaraya to join the coup to see where he lands. The Ba'thists created the events of October.

Male 1 Now it is imposible for this to happen

- Male 13 Later they took care of each one of them. Hardan went to see the national holiday celebrations in Ghana. While in Ghana they issued a declaration dismissing him from his duties. Abu-Haytham had nothing, they took him out of his office. The military people, they were taken care of. One became a military attaché and others gave them jobs. The high ranking became ambassadors, attachés.
- Male 11 Abu-Haythan was appointed in Jeddah?
- Male 13 Ambassador, but he did not go. The rules of the game within the regime are known. They have been talking about this...
- Male 11 Since 1993. We used to read it and laugh. Do you remember, Sir, when you said where is this guy, let him come?
- Male 1 Yes, we want this guy.
- Male 11 Do you remember it sir?
- Male 1 Yes, I remember
- Male 2 Conspiracy against the party and its constitution started from the outside and they saw that it was impossible. They started to conspire from the inside and that followed the declaration of Damascus. They started looking at the close circles to play with their heads. With Abu Haytham...
- Male 1 He was the President of my office and his office
- Male 2 They started the conspiracy, but when it was done [Inaudible]. Yes, I confuse them. After that they saw that it failed. Then they started with Iran. But through the war with Iran Iraq prevailed and came out stronger. It was according to your calculation. Iraq was victorious. Was able to create al-'Abid al-Husin. They went back to the old stuff.
- Male 1 This is a marriage between the old and the new.
- Male 2 They are working know on the inside and the outside and they cooperated with the outside. What is the target of conspiracies? The goal is to create confusion and mistrust amongst us. Mistrust will create division amongst us. The steps you took were good. You created great defenses [Inaudible].