

Below is the complete transcript of Khalid Al-Janabi's interview of November 18 with Radio Free Iraq.

RFI London Correspondent Ahmad Al-Rikabi: In this special segment of our "Mosaics" program, we conclude the conversation we began yesterday with the former Iraqi Intelligence officer, Captain Khalid Sachit Aziz Al-Janabi, brother of Staff Lieutenant-General Kamil Sachit who died at the hands of the Iraqi president's son, Qusay Saddam Hussein, in 1998.

Captain Al-Janabi worked for nearly twenty years for the Iraqi Intelligence Service ("Mukhabarat") before defecting. In this second and final segment of our program he talks to us about the execution, within the space of a few hours, of 2,000 Iraqi citizens at the Abu Ghraib prison one day in 1998. He begins, however, by telling us about the activities of the Mukhabarat's Directorate of Technical Operations. The Directorate specializes in immoral crimes or, more precisely, sexual assault, which are filmed on videotape. Captain Al-Janabi: "One of our Directorates, known as the Directorate of Technical Operations, specializes in moral matters. Saddam Hussein has always had little use for senior officers, ministers, senior officials, or tribal leaders who are honorable or moderate - those who are interested in serving Iraq rather than Saddam Hussein. Such men - who are not involved in embezzlement and other such things - must have their honor besmirched. This threat hangs over every Iraqi official, most of whom are officers and even Intelligence officers working with us. The Directorate specializes in tainting the honor of military commanders, government Ministers, tribal chiefs and other civilians, and even some who are not at all involved in Iraqi State affairs."

"Let me give you a small example. Take a military commander - who as you know is likely to be asked for favors - who is approached by someone asking for a few days leave from military duty for his son. Most such cases are handled at the officer's home. Let's assume that this officer has a daughter and that she is talking on the phone - talking let's say,

to her girlfriend at school about their homework. The Mukhabarat has been monitoring this senior official's phone for a long time, and his home has been constantly filmed with "fisheye" lenses that give a complete circular view of the target room. The military officer is unaware, of course, of this situation. Most of their homes have been given to them by Saddam Hussein: 'You, come and live at the Council of Ministers; you, here's a home at the Solar Energy complex; you, go and live at this particular project.' etc. The houses are initially designed for surveillance. Let's get back to the girl on the phone. Her conversation is being monitored by the Mukhabarat. Let's now assume that she is talking to a male friend - a lovers' conversation. The recording is in their hands and they exploit it."

"They choose a day when the officer is on duty. They - usually women, of course, for as you know there are also women working for the Mukhabarat - go to the house and talk to his wife, claiming at first that they need a favor from her husband, and she tells them that he is at work. They then tell her - claiming at first that they are from Military Intelligence, not from the Mukhabarat - that they have been monitoring her husband's affairs. They then tell her that they have a cassette recording of her daughter talking to a young man; talking about love and such matters, 'and we intend to have your husband listen to it.' The Mukhabarat woman then plays the cassette to the astonished mother. The tape of course includes . . . you know the kind of things that are said in such conversations. They then say to the mother: 'we need something from you, and we want you to carry it out whether you like it or not. We will give you a copy of the cassette and keep the original, but we won't tell your husband about it. If you choose to resist us, we of course have special houses everywhere . . . your daughter can be kidnapped, taken there, and filmed.' Such a film is not shown immediately. . ." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "Do you mean a film showing sexual assault?" Captain Al-Janabi: "Yes, sexual assault, or an audio tape. Let me tell you something. Saddam Hussein says that Iraqi law requires one of three things: pictures, sounds, and writing. If you hear your daughter talking on the phone, you would surely recognize her voice. Iraqis are now worried about their honor. Saddam can easily besmirch one's honor. To get back to our story, the mother will accept whatever they demand of her, especially since she is promised that the film/cassette won't be used so long as she cooperates. The tape is then kept at the Mukhabarat until the day when Saddam Hussein suspects the officer of working against him. He summons the officer and says to him: 'see how we have preserved your honor by keeping this under wraps, while you choose to work against us.' He has done this to numerous officers."

"Let me give you another example. One day I was talking to my late brother (Lt.-General Al-Janabi). It was in 1982. I said to him: 'I'm younger than you are and you are a senior officer. But we have this Technical department, one that deals with matters of honor. It makes films and spies on your homes and even on your cars. You and your colleagues are the targets of these sex films, these pornographic films.' My brother refused to accept what I was telling him, saying:

'Is it possible? All this work we do for Saddam Hussein, and then he attacks our honor?' I told him that I would bring him proof. One day I was the duty officer, and I took one of the films we had. It concerned a serving officer. I took the film home and showed it to my late brother. When he saw it, he was unable to finish it. He became very upset and asked me to stop it. I said to him: 'I told you. Any officer who goes by his honors and principles and serves Iraq rather than Saddam Hussein, ends up by having his honor attacked. He is exposed in front of his family, his tribe, and his fellow officers.' He advised me not to mention this matter to anyone and I replied: 'How can I talk about it. This is something that can cost my neck!' He said that he would quietly tell his fellow officers about what he had seen, and advise them to obey Saddam Hussein in everything, in order to preserve their families' honor. He regretted the existence of such a situation, and said: 'If we are serving Iraq, and this man attacks our honor and our women whom he himself has described as the glorious Iraqi women, how can he then resort to such things as dishonoring his officers?'" RFI's Al-Rikabi: "You worked for many years in the Iraqi Mukhabarat. You mentioned that you had women working for you. Do you have an idea of how many women work for the Mukhabarat?" Captain Al-Janabi: "There are Directorates within the Mukhabarat that specialize in such things. The ones I know about are about 85 or 87 women working on special assignments. That is in addition to their female agents. Each one has about 5 or 6 agents working for her."

The latter provide the female officers with information." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "As far as I know, you have a list of about 150 Iraqi officers and officials who have been subjected to this kind of blackmail."

Captain Al-Janabi: "Yes. I would like to convey a message to them from here, that I would like them all to hear: 'In the same way as he appeals to our sense of honor by referring to our glorious women and mothers, you must preserve your honor by bringing Saddam Hussein down to the lowest of the low.' I swear by God, that if these 150 men do not inform their close relatives and their tribes that they have been dishonored by that man, I will publicly announce their full names and the date of the incident involving their honor. I will expose them because such things cannot be kept quiet. We are the ones who protect Saddam, and it is we who have brought Saddam to where he is now. We cannot remain silent while Saddam dishonors us, in exchange for our positions and our interests." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "Do you expect them - assuming they hear this warning - to respond favorably?"

Captain Al-Janabi: "Let me say one thing. Saddam Hussein shouldn't claim that I am saying these things because I am a dissident. When I say I will speak, I mean that I will announce full names and the exact hour of each man's 'operation'. No good will come from keeping quiet. If that which one holds most precious is attacked, how can one keep quiet? If Saddam Hussein does that to us, why then should he not be brought down to the lowest of the low?" RFI's Al-Rikabi: "You have been talking about officers, officials, and others being blackmailed in Iraq. You have also spent some time assigned to Abu Ghraib Prison. It is reported, from time to time, that executions are carried out there. There is also a report about 2,000 people being executed in a single day. Do you know anything about that?"

Captain Al-Janabi: "I will answer that question. Let me first point out that the person supervising those blackmail operations - the one and only supervisor of these sexual operations is Qusay Saddam Hussein. Qusay is the spearhead of these operations aimed at senior officers throughout Iraq. He oversees the Technical Operations department. The man in charge of the department is Mukhabarat Officer Shakir Mahmoud Ali Al-Shaikhly. Other officers attached to the department are Mukhabarat Major Muhsin Ali Abed, Mukhabarat Major Khalid Ali Abdullah, and Mukhabarat Captain Saleh Mehdi Mohammed. They are the ones responsible for the department's activities under Qusay's supervision." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "Who carries out these sexual assaults? Do they bring people in from the street?"

Captain Al-Janabi: "We have those who are specialists in such matters. At any rate, they are from within the Service. We have special houses for making complete films, which are then shown to Qusay."

RFI's Al-Rikabi: "The Mukhabarat have a particular description for the victims of these operations, don't they?"

Captain Al-Janabi: "Yes. It is a term that is well known in Iraq:

'Al-Mutayan' (the muddied one). It is used by the Mukhabarat in specific reference to a victim of one of these operations." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "Let's go back to the other forms of oppression, or to other violations of human rights. As we have mentioned, you worked for some time at the Abu Ghraib Prison. Were you a witness to the reported executions? Did you witness the execution of the 2,000 Iraqis?"

Captain Al-Janabi: "Yes. On March 15th, 1998 we were advised of a Revolution Command Council decision to clean up the prisons. The Presidency Office and the Special Security Forces ordered the security services to set up a committee comprising representatives from Military Intelligence, Public Security, Special Security, and the Mukhabarat to act as a supervisory body at Abu Ghraib Prison. Let's say that a prisoner has been ordered to be released but is still there. The committee sends a query about him. I began my duty at Abu Ghraib on April 26th 1998, two days before Saddam Hussein's birthday. One - when we were due for some leave - Colonel Hassan Al-Ameri (the prison warden) came to us and told us that our leave had been cancelled because a high official was due to visit. In the evening we noticed that Special Security forces had surrounded the prison compound. We then knew that Qusay was coming to visit the prison. When he arrived he greeted us and said that he would like to tour the prison. There was a section housing 2,000 prisoners - some had been sentenced, others were awaiting appeal decisions. Qusay went straight to that section. In answer to Qusay's question, the warden said that these

prisoners had been sentenced and some were awaiting appeal decisions. He looked at the warden and ordered him to carry out their executions immediately. Colonel Al-Ameri - who his a member of an investigative panel and a right hand man to Saddam Hussein - turned to Qusay and asked if such an order should not be given by Saddam Hussein. Qusay told him not to talk about the matter, and to carry out the executions. These 2,000 are to be executed right now, and you will receive an order in this regard in due course. The warden argued that we could not execute so many people at one time. Qusay ordered him to begin the executions at six o'clock the following morning, telling him that he would leave behind a group of his men to supervise the executions." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "This means that Qusay rules without recourse to Saddam Hussein."

Captain Al-Janabi: "At a recent meeting, Saddam Hussein told his commanders, ministers, and party members that executions are to be carried out in accordance with Qusay's orders. In other words he was appointing him as a sort of deputy President of Iraq. He was therefore fully authorized to order Colonel Ameri to carry out those executions. He concluded his visit and departed the prison, leaving a group of his people behind. At six the following morning, the executions began. By nine that evening, 2,000 Iraqis had been executed. Most of them were from the South, accused of joining parties and taking part in (anti-government) activities. There was of, course, no foundation for such accusations, but accusing people of such activity is standard procedure. Most seemed quite helpless to me and didn't appear likely to threaten Saddam Hussein. They had just been dragged in from the Marshes and thrown into Abu Ghraib. 2,000 of them died on that same day." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "You were a Mukhabarat representative monitoring these executions. How were the executions carried out? Were they all shot? Were they hanged, or beheaded?" Captain Al-Janabi: "Abu Ghraib Prison has five hanging gallows. Thus, some were hanged, while others were shot. Each victim was shot once in the head. Even worse, the bodies of many of those who were executed were not handed over to their families. There is a cemetery nearby, the Al-Karkh Cemetery. Within, there is a special cemetery. If you go there you will see a sign pointing to a 'special path'. Many of the victims were buried there with only numerical identification. The bodies of others were handed over to their families. Yes, I have visited the place. When my brother, the late General was executed, we were told that if we did not take delivery of his body, he would be buried in that section of the cemetery. He would be buried there under a number, and we could identify the spot by referring to that number."

RFI's Al-Rikabi: "Why do they have this special cemetery. Once they have executed someone and gotten rid of him, why don't they hand his body over to his family?"

Captain Al-Janabi: "The law everywhere in the world requires that an accused criminal be tried in court. If the court convicts him and sentences him to be executed, the matter is public knowledge. It is known by his family, his tribe, and the whole country. But when one of these innocent victims is executed and then they have to deliver the body to his family. This can cause problems, especially among the southern tribes. Their families don't even know that they are prisoners at Abu Ghraib. Thus, they are sentenced and executed under orders from Qusay, and none of their relatives know. They could even have fled abroad, for all their families know." RFI's Al-Rikabi: "I would like you to tell me about a particular aspect that affected you personally on the day the 2,000 Iraqis were executed. How were you able - and of course the sight of an execution is ugly in itself - to deal with being witness to the execution of 2,000 people?"

Captain Al-Janabi: "I am now of course outside Iraq. But every officer inside Iraq is living in a trap. If Saddam Hussein orders any of them to do something and they refuse, they are executed. He thus uses such orders to test anyone and everyone. The executions were of course carried out by prison specialists, but what for example, was the warden to do? How could he argue when the whole place was surrounded by Qusay's armed men? One has to accept such a situation. We were, after all, under orders and it is like I said:

Saddam has put everyone in a trap. If you don't carry out (your orders), its your neck. If you do, then you are in fact a criminal. I just want everyone to know that we follow orders, although we were only spectators and did not take part. The specialist executioners are themselves convicted criminals who are brought in to execute others. Some were mutilated during their execution. Others were improperly executed. Let me say what I mean by 'proper'.

Everywhere in the world, executions are carried out as follows: two bullets in the chest, two in the knees, and the coup de grace to the head. But those who were shot that day received only the bullet to the head. That's another reason why their bodies are not released, in case some international organizations or journalists learn of them, publicize the story, and condemn Saddam Hussein. There is another aspect to executions in Iraq that is not known to you. There are no records of sentences passed, or any signatures by Saddam Hussein or any other government official. There is thus no evidence to be discovered by the international organizations, which of course demand documentary evidence. When the petition for the arrest of Izzat Al-Doori was submitted, the authorities demanded evidence that this man had indeed executed people. Let it be absolutely clear to Iraqis and everyone else: no (death) sentences in Iraq are ever signed. Neither Saddam Hussein nor Qusay have ever signed an execution order. The victim is simply shot in the head and then buried."

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