HORRORS OF IRAQ'S PAST



The man pictured on the right worked for Uday Hussein. Last week he confided to

Mark Franchetti how he had murdered and maimed any who dared criticise the Iraqi regime

called Ali looked noth- his eyes, he had often meted ing like a torturer who cut out out sentences in the street, in tongues and hacked off hands. front of a victim's family and His clothes were ordinary, horrified onlookers. Guarded his grin boyish. Standing by by armed colleagues, he used a burnt-out tank, he chatted to tie up and blindfold the amiably with a group of accused. One of his men held

But behind the fake Gucci grip. Another forced open the unglasses were the eyes of a mouth. killer: Ali is a former member Ali would then draw out a of a fedayeen squad that car- pair of pliers and a sharp ried out sadistic punishments knife. Gripping the tongue for Uday, the deranged elder with pliers, he would slice it son of Saddam Hussein. Until a few weeks ago Ali ered pieces into the street. had kissed his wife goodbye "Those punished were too

in the mornings and driven to terrified to move, even though work at a heavily guarded they knew I was about to chop base in the north of the city. off their tongue," said Ali in There he changed into a black his matter-of-fact voice. uniform and into a man who "They would just stand there, maimed and murdered anyone often praying and calling out who criticised the regime or for Saddam and Allah to spare mocked its leaders.

mate, he personally cut out 13 verdict and cut off their of four men and the backs of a lot of blood. Some offenders But perhaps inside he wanted een base. And finally he led Within hours, Iraqi secret now healed, recently became he was 18. He proved loyal Uday about twice a month,

s he stood on a street terrible suffering he inflicted. corner in Baghdad last He described how, clad in week, the young man black garb that covered all but the detainee's head in a firm

up with the knife, tossing sev-

them. By then it was too late. In four years, by Ali's esti- "I would read them out the

standing, post-Saddam, of the emotion and scant remorse. confirmed had been a feday- to arrest him, but Adnan fled. ishment squad.



tongues and chopped off some tongue without any form of The knifeman: Ali, an Iraqi who was a member of a fedayeen militia unit that punished those who opposed Saddam's regime

another three. He took part in passed out. Others screamed to extirpate his guilt by reveal- me to a man who had been a police agents arrived at infected. Quite apart from the and good at the work, and four mainly at Saffa's secret base dozens of decapitations and in pain. They would then be assisted in 16 assassinations given basic medical assistance wictim of torture by the punishment group, though not, Ali find him, took away his uncle, ical scars have left Adnan join Saffa, a special team that a close friend of one of Uday's

opposed to the regime, includ- always come with us on such worked and his part in it. He Ferass Adnan is a 23-year- They were thrown in jail and into words. opposed to the elite team ing several Kurds in northern punishment runs. Then they ing several Kurds in northern punishment runs. Then they showed me several safe old trader who speaks with different ficulty these days now that into the debauched, vicious houses they had used, including the several safe old trader who speaks with different ficulty these days now that into the debauched, vicious into the debauched, vici When I had first met Ali ing one the Americans had not part of his tongue is missing. before the regime's ubiqui- so are all those closest to him. signed by Uday in golden let- lifestyle of the dictator's eld-Last week, in a series of after much searching, he had discovered. It was still stacked Some months ago he got into a tous security spies caught up We don't know if one day the ters under a portrait of est son. meetings, Ali began to talk, been reticent and secretive, with ammunition cases and fight in a market in northern with Adnan in the suburbs of regime will come back. Those Saddam and the words "Allah, Sex, drink and violence with a close friend acting as but gradually he had opened weapons. He took me to the Baghdad and was overheard Baghdad. He was jailed and who did this to me are still fatherland, leader". They were Uday's interests. A key with a close mend acting as but gradually he had opened weapons. He took he to the pagitude and was overhead interpreter, about his life of terror and the dawning under-his surname and showed little which American forces later of a dog". A policeman tried to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then, on March 5, turned over to the specialists of Ali's puntage was around, we just don't know then around the specialists of Ali's puntage was around the specia

father's home in north Bagh-

man's father, Adnan Duleimi, recalled last week. "I had not out. Others screamed ? seen my son since they had arrested him. I tried to pay for ____ his release. I lost all my savo corrupt security officers still afraid."

hey took a knife to my son's of electrocution.

Labour think tank on the

It will be another challenge

The Fabian Society has

bold he really is.

victim of torture by the punish- Adnan's home and, failing to physical injury, the psycholog- years ago he was selected to north of Baghdad. He became of figures suspected of being in an ambulance which would about how the fedayeen said, at his own hands. brother, and two cousins. barely able to put his ordeal took orders directly from bodyguards, a man from

"They just took off their uni- "Eyes" - which was in young women for his boss and

Adnan was taken back to his forms and went home. They charge of gathering intelli- organised drunken parties in

dad, where his entire family was ordered to gather outside "His hands were tied and his cut off their tongue. There was eyes blindfolded," the young always a lot of blood. Some passed

who promised to help but only Beside him, his uncle lifted included kidnappings, assassi- but was visiting her parents in took my money. There was his shirt to reveal his legacy of nations and punishments. nothing I could do.

"I had to watch in silence as ered with the scars and boils some Saffa members earned she failed to cure his sexual

botched, leaving Adnan's joined the fedayeen, a group a pittance.

ings, handing everything I had are still out there and we are gence on opponents of once ordered a female Iraqi Saddam. Their missions urologist, who lived abroad

\$70 a month, including difficulties he exploded in a

bonuses for special opera- mad rage and tried to rape her. would all have been killed." A STOCKY man with a soft tions, a small fortune in a coun-The punishment was voice and thin moustache, Ali try where many workers earn "If Uday saw a woman he tongue mutilated but not set up under the command of From this inner circle of the order his bodyguards to bring

his honour. Sahar, said Ali,

ran a network of madams and

houses where Uday would

spend time with women, who

in most cases were forced to

After Uday was wounded in

an assassination attempt in

1996 which is said to have

left him partly impotent, he

became even more violent. He

sleep with him.

excised. The wound, though Uday, in the mid-1990s when fedayeen Ali used to glimpse her to him," recalled Ali. After winning the war is

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ext month the undisputed king of British politics will be sent a report by a about think tank on the about think tank on the

future of Britain's monarchy. as strong at home as he has been abroad. for Tony Blair to show how David Cracknell and Eben Black report

been examining, among other things, whether the female Friedrich Nietzsche, the philo- Street. They were stuffed full Health Service. be allowed to become sover- better placed for bold action side for weeks. More importantly, it will dis- before.

the royal family to a "bicy- reforming the monarchy, he illegal immigrants. Blair sum- that in individual NHS trusts cling monarchy" on the Dutch can now act with presidential moned Downing Street aides where consultants were in model. Should, for example, authority. The question is: and Home Office officials to favour they could start using the monarch still appoint will he? prime ministers and pass legis- "The debate going on in the the next day.

In Britain prime ministers ther the prime minister will do puterised "PowerPoint" over-tered darkly about consultants traditionally tread softly what he likes regardless of his head projector that Blair's withdrawing from the NHS if around royal family affairs. backbenchers," said Matthew aides are fond of using for such a move were imposed. But this weekend Blair, as he Taylor, head of the left- such brainstorming sessions, Nor will Labour backrelaxes with his son Euan at leaning Institute for Public the prime minister was re- benchers be afraid to rebel Chequers, finds himself more Policy Research. "Or whether minded of the fact that annual again over the NHS. As than ever a president. he accepts that Iraq bruised asylum applications now top Stephen Pound, a rebel over He has fought a war against the party and the boundary and the party and the party and the solution of his party and his party a

the wishes of his party and the to it enough." opposition of the public. He As he turns back to the Among the options they dishas confronted rebels and domestic agenda, there is cer- cussed was to challenge the done it once it's much easier. brushed aside critics. He has tainly much that requires clear international treaties that Even so, Blair and Alan Milemerged victorious from mili- thinking and firm action. underpin refugee rights, re- burn, the health secretary, tary action, although the long-

er-term consequences of LAST Wednesday evening tions to prevent abuse of the service. The prime minister invading Iraq remain uncer- Blair returned from a Euro- asylum system. Blair is de- has made it clear that he pean Union summit in Athens manding action, although intends to press ahead with the

line of the royal family should sopher. After gambling his of papers on crime, health and The Department of Health is have equal rights to succeed premiership on Iraq, Blair is education; pressing issues that to introduce new contracts for and whether a Catholic should now, say some supporters, he has largely had to set to one some hospital consultants on the home front than ever He started reading a briefing last year voted decisively to document on the persistent reject them. John Hutton, the sect the case for downgrading Whatever he might think of flood of asylum seekers and junior health minister, said

> discuss new ideas on the issue the new system. The British party at the moment is whe- With the help of the com- represents doctors, has mut-

£1.7 billion.

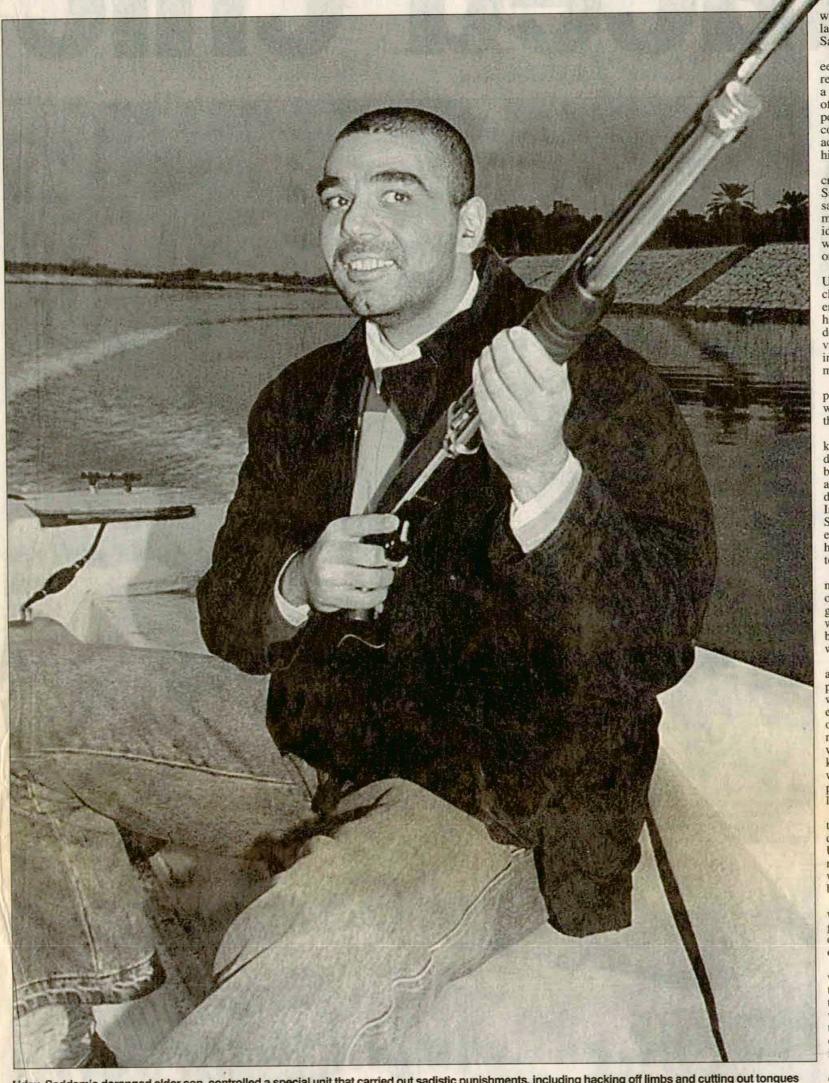
the Easter break, the government quietly announced a at the heart of the National even though, overall, doctors

the Commons and most of the

country was winding down for

Medical Association, which

interpreting Britain's obliga- seem set on shaking up the What does not destroy me to find the red boxes piling up exactly what the government makes me stronger, argued in his "den" at Downing will do remains unclear. creation of foundation hospitals. They will be semi-



Uday, Saddam's deranged elder son, controlled a special unit that carried out sadistic punishments, including hacking off limbs and cutting out tongues

THE SUNDAY TIMES · APRIL 20, 2003

to oppose him would mean to paid off. Suddenly she had driving fast cars or hunting. Euphrates.

used to bring him girls. Then wanted to."

one could do. He would either tresses was a Jordanian restau- mobile phone, and she could would shoot at birds with an clothes — but only those with ered to him. The playboy had, pay the women money or try rant owner called Wafaa. She have anyone killed if she M16 rifle, his favourite a death wish would dare to said Ali, a collection of hun-"Other times he would force she began sleeping with him By day Uday often slept, the Jadriea Equestrian Club, body, including fedayeen soling at his leisure." them to dance and strip. To try herself and the sexual favours according to Ali, if he was not an exclusive nightclub on the diers, caught making even But the occasion of the mass the man who dressed the

weapon. By night he partied at comment on his style. Any- dreds of tapes for private view-

innocent remarks against beheading, he said, "was seen regime, page 22 power. She was one of the He liked to be taken flying in a In private he had a liking for Saddam, Uday or the regime as such a big event that a spe-

One of Ali's fellow feday- AS war dawned, the fedayeen and power, would lose its will een lost his tongue simply for in Baghdad were ordered to to fight. repeating how he had heard of keep a close watch on the dis- "And we thought we would a man who had accused Uday tricts of Saddam City, Shaula be honoured as defenders of of bringing shame on the Iraqi and al-Husseinia. All three are the fatherland, and that we people for dressing in multi- predominantly Shi'ite and would be rewarded by Uday coloured shirts — which, poor working-class areas. The with money, or a new car," he according to the critic, made regime, said Ali, feared that said. "We really didn't expect him look like a woman. "There was no mild form of become hotbeds of rebellion. the way to Baghdad.

clear scale of barbarity. Desert- They arrested anybody who dad. On the day when US ers had an ear cut off. Thieves walked past their positions marines were on the southern had fingers or hands cut off, more than three times. matically cost a hand. Members of Saffa, said Ali, performed the amputations with a sword dubbed al-Haq,

the Arabic for justice. Liars had their backs broken. Offenders were tied facedown on a wooden plank between two cement blocks, and another block was dropped on the victim's spine. Informants who supplied Saffa with tips that proved erroneous had a piece of redhot iron placed on their

Homosexuals were shown no mercy, and Ali witnessed one punishment in which two gay Iraqis, their hands bound, were pushed off the roof of a building. One died, the other A victim of Uday's unit was paralysed.

Traitors, spies, smugglers & Any critical and occasionally prostitutes paid the ultimate price. They comment, even to were taken to a secret feday een training base on the edge of a wood in al-Quarea in north Baghdad. There they were beheaded with a sword known as al-Bashar, a weapon with a blade wider than the was enough to risk palm of a hand and nearly 5ft

In late 2000, Ali took part in the mass decapitation of 39 Ira-tongue cut off 7 qis who were accused by Uday of running a sex slave __ ring, selling Iraqi women to

one day. "Eleven of us were tasked knives.

others. I was on the team picking up the heads."

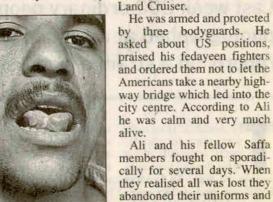
In a gruesome twist, Uday ordered that many of the Saffa punishments were recorded "There was nothing that any- "One of his steady mis- first people in Iraq to have a small aircraft from which he cowboy hats and garish on video and the tapes deliv- treasures, page 19

lacerated by a member of made for Saddam himself". win the war because America,

despite its greater weapons once the war began they could the Americans to make it all

criticism when it came to Small units of fedayeen "We were shocked when we Saddam, Uday or the regime," patrolled the districts in realised that they were at the said Ali. "Any critical com- pick-up trucks with a heavy city doors. The army betrayed ment, even to say that the pres- machinegun mounted on the us. Without tanks and artillery ident looked tired in a speech, roof. They were ordered to there was little we could do was enough to risk having break up any group of more against US tanks." one's tongue cut off by us." than five Iraqis by firing into But he said even as the In the medieval terror of the air, and to search for spies marines closed on the city cen Uday's reign, there was a trying to help the Americans. tre, Uday was still in Bagh

bank of the Euphrates but had depending on the source and As the US Marines ad- not yet managed to take the value of stolen goods. Steal- vanced, the fedayeen retreated bridges, Uday pulled up near ing government property auto- back into the city centre to try Ali's group at the wheel of a



melted into the ordinary popu

lation. Ali buried his weapons

and burnt his Saffa ID card

Now he lives discreetly in the

city but in fear, and would be

photographed only with his

When I asked him how

many different punishments

own hands he joked awk

lator. He began to count, occa-

wardly that he needed a calcu-

sionally jotting down names

of places and dates on a piece

he had carried out with his say that the

Huge hoard of Saddam's

The tailor of Baghdad:

of paper. Then he tore it into "At first I never used to think about what I did," he said. "It was a job. But then with time I began to feel bad about the punishments, the tongues, the hands and the

decapitations. wealthy Kuwaitis across the to ambush the Americans in "But we lived in fear of deadly urban warfare. Ali was Uday. We would all freeze "There were 24 men and 15 ordered to fight as part of a whenever he turned up. He women," he recalled. Two group of 40 men armed with was crazed and totally unpregroups of Saffa members were AK-47s, PK heavy machine- dictable. He thought he was ordered to execute them all in guns, rocket-propelled gre- God and behaved like God. nades (RPGs), pistols and He owned the country.

"He could just lose his tem with chopping the heads and
The army had the tanks and
per and shoot someone in the the other seven with collecting heavy artillery, but to the dis- head and there was nothing the heads and bodies, which may of the fedayeen it failed anyone could do. To refuse an were then dumped outside to put up significant resist- order, to try to get out of Saffa

their houses as a warning to ance. Ali claimed the feday- or the fedayeen meant a death "At first, the attraction was

the money and the respect we earned from people. We had power and people feared us but soon I realised that the only power was Saddam and Uday. Everyone else in Iraq, including us Saffa fedayeen, lived in fear. Paralysing fear. "Now I pray Allah for forgiveness. I realise it was

Blair ready to pick fights on the domestic front?

There are also hints that our thinkers are circulating is and health services.

attack on Britain's remaining grammar schools. On transport, Blair may accept more congestion charging in big towns, now that the experiment in London has gone reasonably smoothly. Alistair Darling, the transport secretary, has already indicated that he is in favour of road charges on motorways.

might resurface with another do the work.

To the proponents of an emboldened Blair these are important measures, but not moves that would redefine the political landscape. In the bigger picture some suggest that he should seize the moment, or at least plan now for a philosophical leap. One adviser in on the discus-

sions says that with Blair's personal rating high and Labour still well ahead of the Tories, the government can plan for

thing Labour opponents be-view emerging," he said, been studying the idea of what both consumers' use of public offence. lieve will ultimately lead to a "that as we are going to be in they call "co-payments" in services and the efficiency of Such measures may seem since the military offensive odds with the government. "Is Tony going to go "two-tier" hospital service. power for another six or seven public services, making indi-On education, Charles years, we can afford to do a bit viduals contribute more dir- lions being poured in by Gor- once anathema is now being he will forgive me for saying, another advocate of militancy. 'I am the master of all I Clarke, the secretary of state, more long-term planning for ectly to the cost of public serv- don Brown, the chancellor. Floated among Blairite sup- is not always fantastic at pick- Even Kevin Curran, who survey'?" said one close ally. has been ordered to draw up change - rather than just ices. For example, hospital In a similar vein, close advis- porters. The key obstacle may ing up the phone and telling has just beaten off a left-wing "Of course not, that is not legislation for university "top-up" fees, although they will smarries at eye-catching gimmicks for the manifesto." snatching at eye-catching at eye-catching gimmicks for the manifesto." be Labour's old bedrock, the unions. be Labour's old bedrock, the going on at university.

Labour's old antipathy to give more power back to These are ideas more associers go on residential parenting ents about life at Bristol Uni-said of the new breed of left-Will Blair take on the thing to do, what is right for

not be charged until after the next election. Other plans to fine universities if they do not take enough students from individual and the state. Studying the American system which you cannot be tried for tained him. Even Euan, his port. And Cherie was tremen- Smith, the former Labour lead- be more confrontational and

last week in his first interview Gilchrist, is still deeply at Blair's action.

poorer areas are proceeding. Among ideas that new Lab- of elected chiefs for the police the same crime twice); mak- 19-year-old son, who nor- dously supportive."

going on at university.

"He was on the phone virtufriend. He has supported the reweeks that when you are faced ing feckless mothers and fath- mally confides little in his par- That is more than can be prime minister than Blair. to is deciding what is the right

towards selective education the voters and let "the market" ated with the Tories, but they courses; extending on-the-versity, encouraged his father. wing union leaders now flex-unions with the conviction the country, and that has been may come to be seen as the spot fines to 16-year-olds; and "They were really supporting their muscles. The fire-that he brought to Iraq? There shown with Iraq." are some signs. Alan Johnson, On that measure one issue the employment relations min-stands above all others: the ster, last week mocked the euro. Even though public opinrothers who want to go back ion is still firmly against join-

the "planet Zog" days of ing - just as it was against inpre-Thatcherite union rights. vading Iraq — Blair knows i The chancellor has also risk- could be the decision for ed the wrath of the unions by which history remembers him. indicating that he wants to see Although the war in Iraq an end to national pay bargain- may have bolstered Britain's ing, on the grounds that doc- special relationship with tors and nurses in the south- America, the battle over the

er, would have made a better radical. What it comes down

Sidelining the unions, how- Europe. Margaret Thatcher and James

east should get more money to single currency may well reflect higher housing costs. determine Britain's future in ever, cannot be done without Blair has declared that he damaging the Labour party believes passionately in the itself, because many grass- euro — repeating on Friday roots party members belong to that he would call a referthose unions that provide endum if the conditions are much-needed funds at elec- right. As he said in his speech tion time. When prime minis- to the party conference last ters lose the support of their autumn: "We are at our best parties they usually fail, as when we are at our boldest."

Editorial, page 16

