July 13, 1971 Preparing a Plan for a Coup in Sudan and Iraq

Citation:

"Preparing a Plan for a Coup in Sudan and Iraq", July 13, 1971, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Emir Farid Chehab Collection, GB165-0384, Box 9, File 29/9, Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford.

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Summary:

A detailed outline of attendees and discussions of a secret conference of Arab communist parties to plan a coup in Sudan and Iraq, including a proposed agenda for escalation.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from Youmna and Tony Asseily

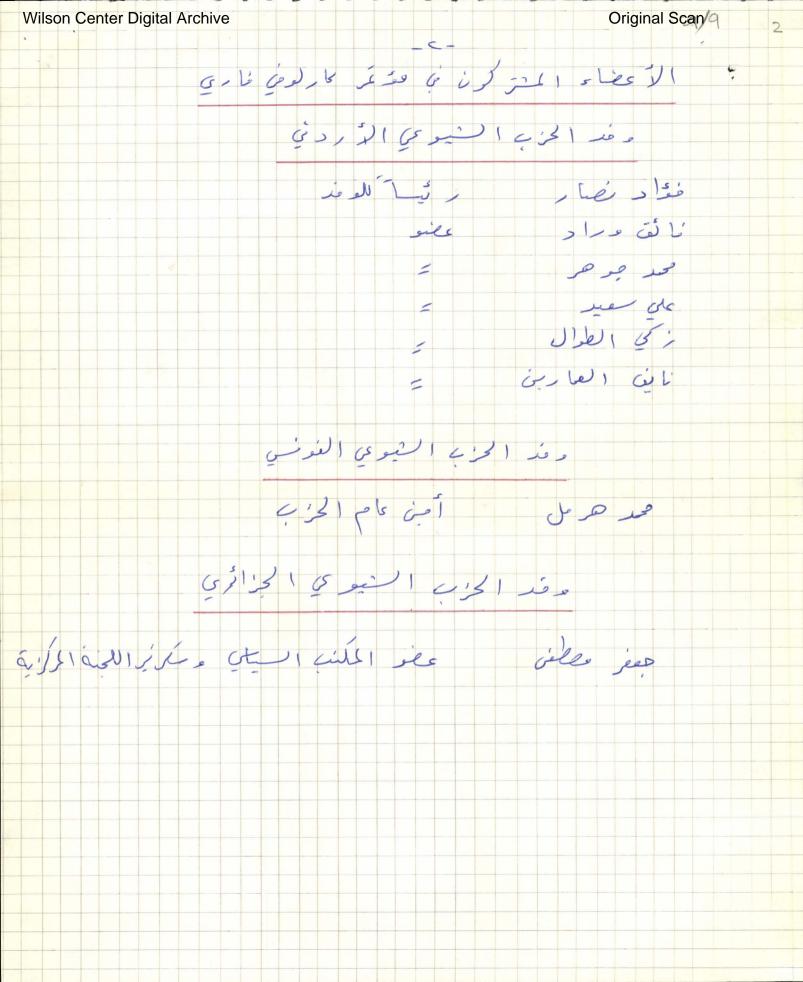
Original Language:

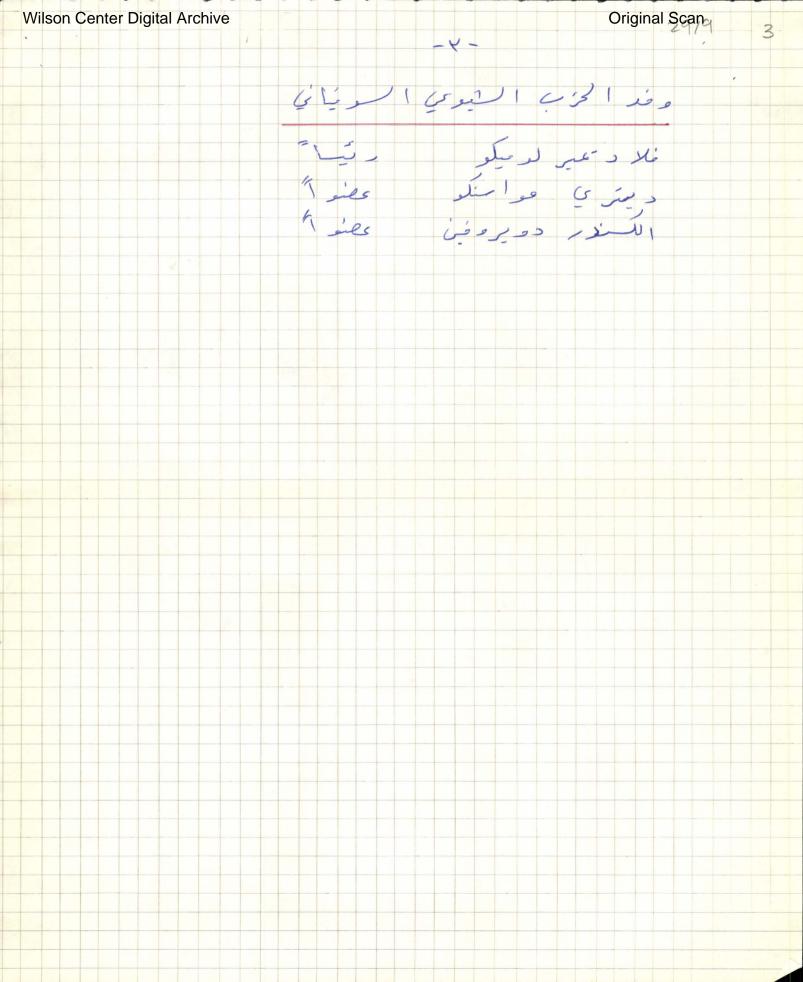
Arabic

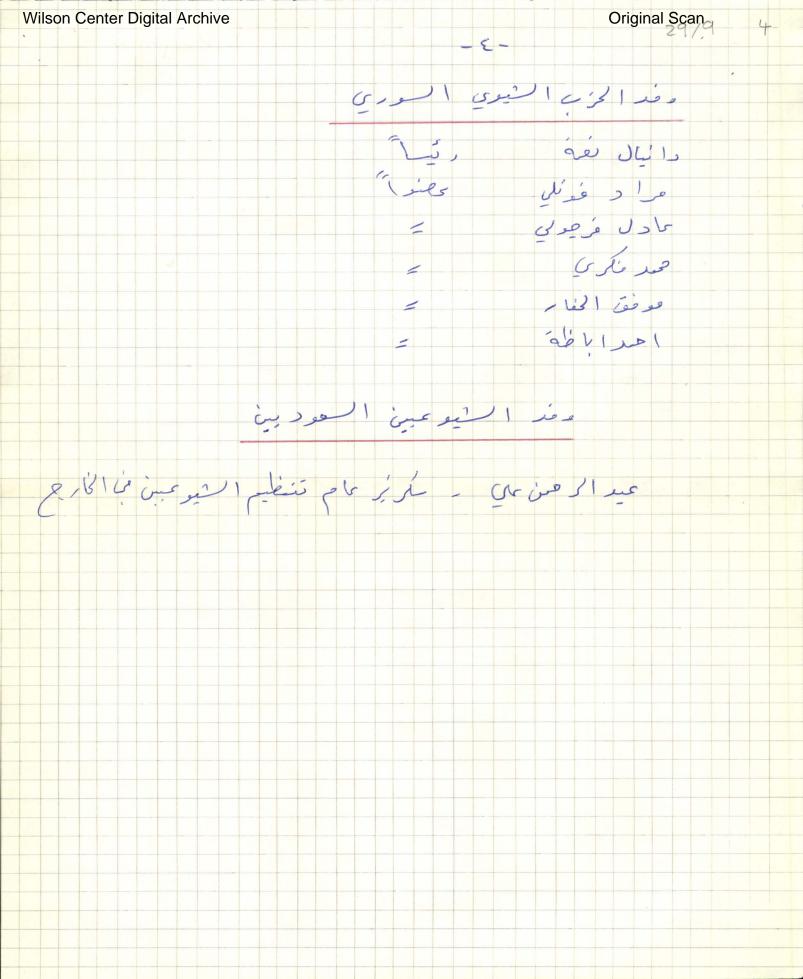
Contents:

Original Scan
Translation - English

Original Scan Wilson Center Digital Archive الموضوع اعداد ظمة لانقلام في العدان العالى بدعه ة من مكت العلامان الدولي للأعراب النيوعية ن الله عن معلى الله عن معلى الله عن على الله عن الله ميه رية شالو الوالله الأسترالية. م كان صدا المؤعر كمت رعاية اللحنة المركزية للي م اليوى التنيكو المواكى مرمنع العامني في الأجان من البيل من معان المؤل : النوي عفد ع) فا عه من الخزي النبري النبيل : مكان مدول المؤغر على الكل التالي . Usella chilaes o-> 1 //01 alel a chái ale o-s المائية ١ الوقع الدوي رابعاً ، الوضع العربي audil medi , The ادع فعالم مركة الفرالوطني تدارل للنقارير المفدمة في نعر ير اللحنة العاربة (Je) 1 (e نعر عمر المحنة المحبة 6/2/10 نغريم اللحنة العالمة في الودان نغر الله ١٦٠١ العدان

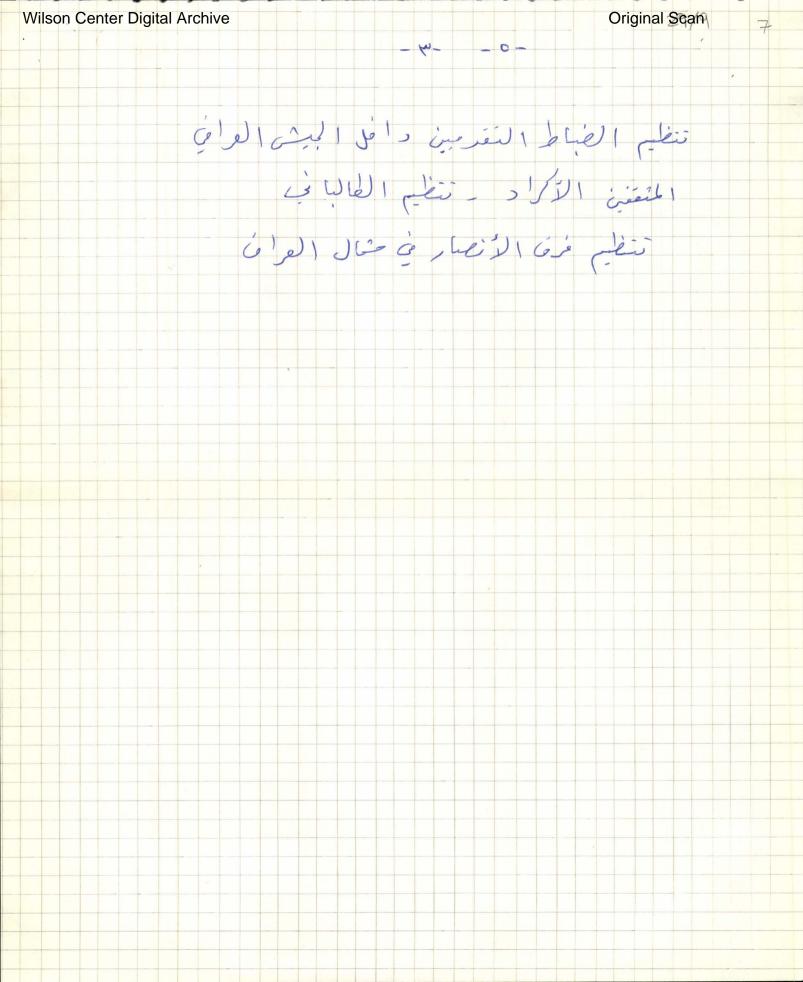


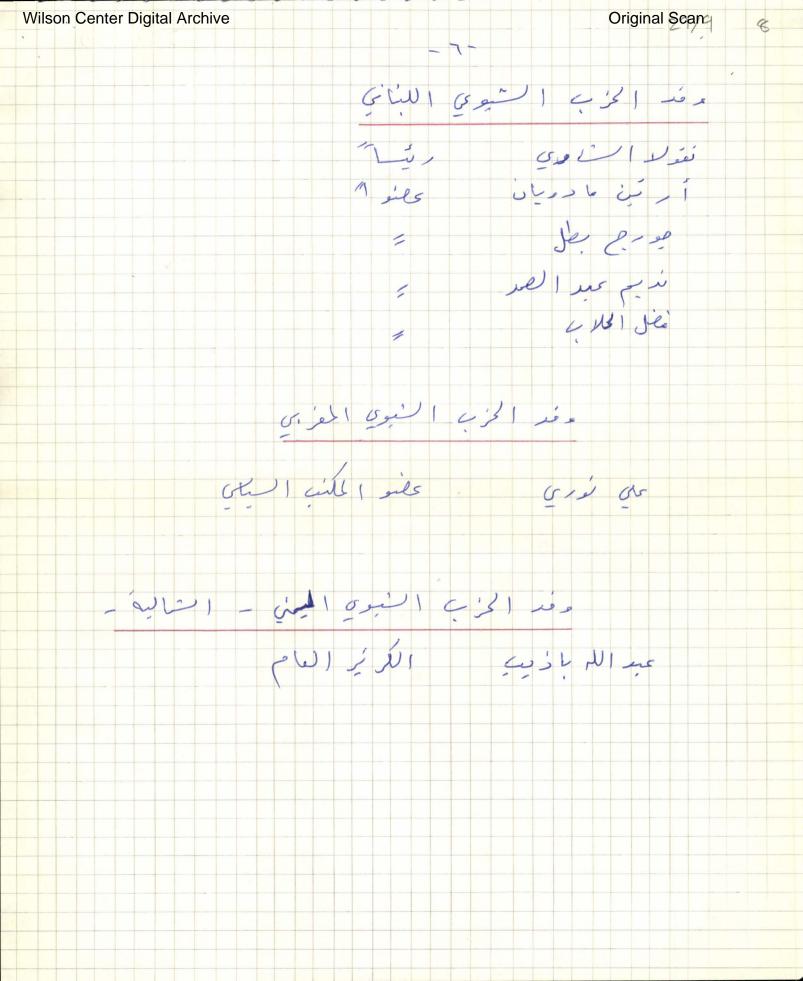




Original Scan Wilson Center Digital Archive G42/25 وفد الحزب اليوي العامي ما جد عبد الرحى رئيا الموفد _ مدني _ نا تبا كرئيس الوفد _ عاري _ عقيده انور زکی 1 sile 0, 181 plans 1 pl sile ما طع على a 216/16 su I bel , sully بولنا الماس and longers ilins يان الدودي C/ WI :13 هام المراي celis) I plues الدبي ندري مر الغزى and la come هاشم عبداليار 010000 رُ سُونَ الوب 6 310 po cuiei ط النيخ احمد عدير التعالم العام عن الحيث العرف - حرم cs (5 5)) Jylo ilelice en es

Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan مند الحزب النبوي العران ا مر الكتيبة الدول له نامد مفسة را 3 ms 6 12 رف مل سد عند مرح ملازم ا ول حرم be no عالم عد الخزي النوي الواني تفوضة بالرالم في الما خ الخلانة ا نحاد الغلا هسن ا كاد العال 5/1/ab1/ انحاد الطلبة نظم المارية الثعبية الرية ا فاد الشية العاصة juled 1 à lui انحا د اللناء cisel a li نفایه ای می ا كن العطن السعفراطي 812211 Jelaje النافي النامرى النفاعي





Original Scan 61201 Cm21 431 100 ailthing Milling 26 dr 6211 js : معدم ist so de احد الزيير ا مار عدصالم pies: yes i bis ins oxadi is صلاح العنى السكرى تقيي G 1501 GD 161 No Color 1 / 2 2 / (D) 1 AL 1 Lu Per ا رسيد نايل عد احد سلمان 0 161 Ge 6001200 Collar cho

Original Scan ف على مند الحزب العوا كا تقرضاً بالسيا , aver a leit is a sul as الانكاد العام للعال ا كر د الالمعراطي انی د الحراه ا فاد عام العلاي ١١١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ " del 1 p 6 3 6 1 01201 4:31 الحزي الديمع المن في الحنوب ا تحاد الكنا ب ¿ 6 1 > 61 ريه بيار د الفار سافت ناعل والرار والمرابق الموار والمرابق

Original Scan - 1 -1941 - V- 18 PS سا قية الوضع العام من العادان مناعثه العام مي العالم (qV) - V - 17 P2 ساسته النقرير العاكمي لوقد الروان ن ایما می می است المعنی الم را نق الجبع من تأسد انقلاع العدان الذي هدد يوم) لفيام (2) (-) - 19 2 - 10 2 ما جو انعار ، العراق بأنظار مضوع العصع من العدان لعد ناع ا و نشل الدّنار ع دالد نفارى من من ١٥ العدام لقديد a le l'e de l'é cé él

Original Scan Wilson Center Digital Archive 12 الو ضرالعراض in Sall sties 11 طالبوا بأنفاري عباكري نوري العين علما وأفعتاا ظ لبوا ١ عما و المتيل الذناخ في ١ الله و تحديل لحرب اهلية بين عبلين الري من النام النام النام والارد حسف ميك و بالخار عبد و بالخار عبد الله I theelight de ciption

Original Scane Wilson Center Digital Archive العند المدى العراص عَبُو مِنْهُ - شِهَا - شِهَا اللَّهُ اللَّ : 0-2-1 25 de 31 من المدن تحريد النوابات ما المظامرات مع الما فه ploissigned to Jel 1 en in واستفلال النظالات الجامرية الناسبة من - العنصادي. رساسية عذيفة دعر عنيفه الني نخدم سرّ البحيه و نالتيلاء : 90 5 0 - or gul d'éil déils را ننا عنو انام ر قيالنا لعل على ot-01/20 - 00/00/1 4/21 فا در ای بون می نام در در ای کون Entir of the Character de at the · al an an leis

Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan 15 دينا بع ما جد عبد اكف ؛ بناده أ النفريم . بقول م بقع مي عرب سني او ي عام ٥٠٥ انعلا ٤ ع کرية او : کنه قریموا دی اننا کو اتند ا ۔ 8 p) 1 6 1 in 1 is a p 1 a N e 1 5 1 ye il 1 i 1 gro تلای در را می فاصة مند النبات عا عبل من المرا می معلی مند المی من o e a mo ما في الفين المعالم المعالم العالم العالم العالم . أن عد العالم العالم العالم . Alé Fibel E Egle SIT prés de : 6 1 0 1 c 2 1 6 5 Lée ابد حذا النفرير على الخاجي الخاجي الخاجي a) 1 5 16 and ives - andii

Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan9 16 اعضاء الوفد العيكي العرافي ord is provies d'init a prie s'és ا ير ا كفائ ا لا ي ا ١ ن العقدل عن قبل ١ رضي العزيز ما جد بأن الانفلايا ك (a) I he die is a die is de die نفد صرت مالناری ا نظراے عام ک عدیدہ فراندر وفر in jo o lile ye in this die oil - belet Ju de soure - lei (16 Cill chiel 1 ch - Jest - Chi) تعيرًا من مصالح الرفعازية الانعليزية النامية والريادية الى تديد علاء الملك الملكة من وراته علما دالله علاء عادلة الدنفلاع ضد العبار النا شاه و من عرب به النا الذي ح المحدد عن العامل العقام ما المتعقق الرح ما المتعقق الرح ما التعقق المراحة نا فرما بالنورة العزئية ، غ ان الرفار الله نلية الل و عفل عفل و الماركية بدرن d'in l'est stis (el és) ans ôpte tub is une pies sin-

Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan 17 0) je) viee i ry 2 in 1 è 19 1V - 19.0 3/21 CP > 2/3/12 3/12/1-24 مال عثام الله الله الله الله الله عنه الله عنه الله عنه الله الله الله الله الله الله عنه الله عنه الله عنه ال 1) 120 1 5 es > 01 90 le ap 1 des juin élée : at I Obe I a lip I de لعة ل لين اذا كمة امرة العرام كل ناية اذا م ال تعور الأما تي بالنورة فعادى ذيذ به الانس البي عمانيه واذا ع تربي الى جانب النورة ا علية تنظيات النفال النزي واذا على المزام فر تعلى عبد أو تا به وافل الحبت عالم والمرام العب ما ذاع تان عن العالم نتفاظة ما العالم العلمة We and I fame I le - De Well of فيد مدت ارسم انت - التحسة دا ذا لم أن مدا منع ما العال المنفذ من يوطع الجناعير البائك مناسيد الرب كا انعلى ع مركات العربي النطة المكا الله بالا تنفاظ أ الكلم من الا فعاع مر فيد الكرما ع الى قد فع على جدا ذا كا ما حل العراق والذ أعه على المراح على المراح و المواح و المالية و المالية و المواحدة المالية و المواحدة المالية و المالية والمالية وال · Livrant 6/2

Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scam /9 لا لائد تصبي ان نتين بأن لبني مَد مد العرب الموضوعة مالذا قية مرالني عكن ضرك الحزب النفري الفيام ، ماسي ي خلاع ١ كي - ١ كو امرة العكرية عن دون الوقع عن ا فعاء دد الله نكيني الى عَد تعلى الدمار الى الحركه النفرة الفاحة في الله و ما تشاد النفالات النفرية المسلحة ع عُرا عليه م اطدى عالزيان، رئی من المار ہون ان المنطاب کا لا الله کا لا کا الله من من الإسم الناليه: الجيئي العامي لي الجييش المززقة حل المعي يعلى الأدوار الرمنة بل ام منه الأدوار؛ ies in the cip is down ites el and cit 101 فعندما شوائر استخدام صده العسله عري ع در عا ما ع المائ في العرام في العبي العبي المعالم م ليان العام النالث الديني على النفرين ان نفاروا يمده الفام ريد رموزل على حود الواقع وعندما ننج حدو الوسلة في على حدو الطينة أو تلك العلمة المراحلي عن مريد العراع لعالع الطينة أي النورية الوت عهد ثورة العباعية الديمة المريدين

Original Scana Wilson Center Digital Archive و یعیام ما جا ہے او خالے می عالی الله العبي الحيث الأحتفاظ به مرعك القول انظار ما من صفوى وطبيعة العلاع عن العرف ان اى طبق كن نسطيع الوحدل الى الكم رون · 9-1-1-1-0 - 1 ine il ان ميران العركة الرئس صوالها صه بعدا د . م مت د لت الفياري الكرة ان العرب الني تعربة بنجام الى رأس المالهذا اليكية م بياد كنيلة بازل المولة م كل البلاد من اقعاما الك افعاما عالما ولا البحرية نوار على ان الفيار عوض أ فرمن البلد لوبه افعل الأصال نذ عزعه الأصال بخوام انالالما رافيا في النفافة مع الأنفال له على ١١٠١ الأفرى فين في و د ما كل فرميه ما قدة: رد ما جد عبد الرض على تفرير الفرزي عابل ا برل الرفاف الأعزاء ان صدف المنطلفات الإنعال تبليلة ديا لكنيليا للاصات و تختزل اللورة الى علية ميكانيكية محردة وغرمز بطة

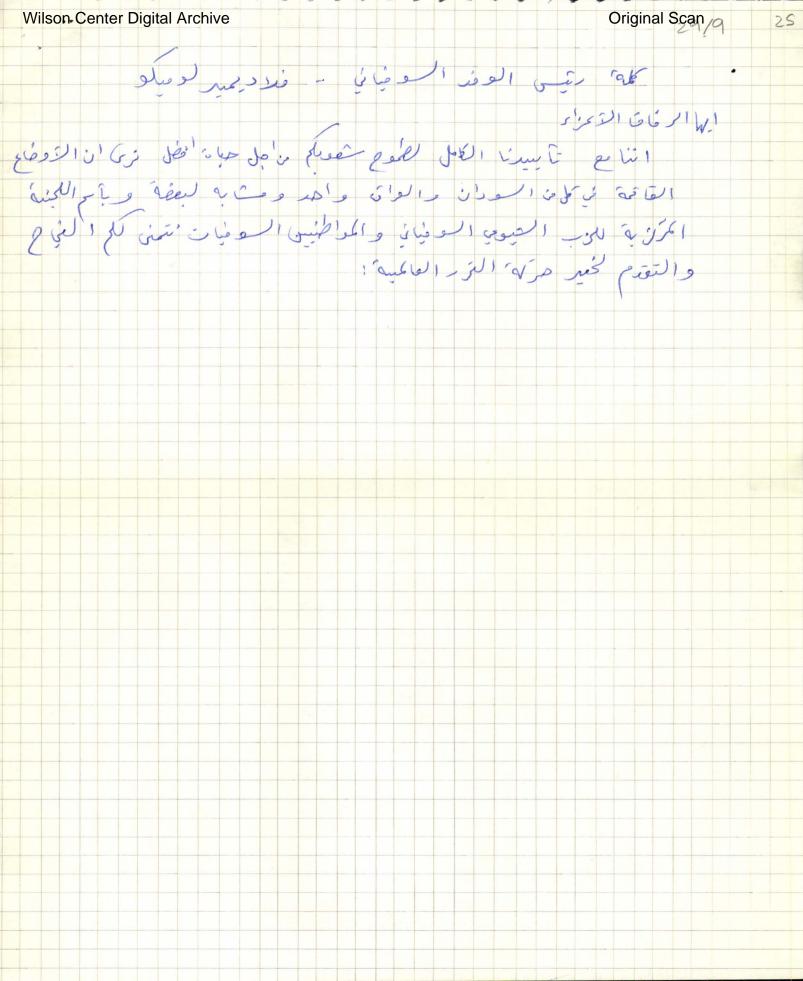
Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan معال الما والما المعال معالما المعال العالم المال العالم المالي العالم المعالم عالمزن فيل ان وهي منطلات الفقير بالصفات المارة الأكرامي ablacing a line es Vol deis ما الحباع العراقي - كي العراق العراق العراق الما العراق الما العراق الما العراق الما العراق الما العراق الما ا العالم منه حور ألعام العراق العراق العراق العراق العراق الما العراق العراق العراق العراق العراق العراق العراق ا 0121100150 6, WI ce 1 in 631 ر ان انفا وه ما دا المحال الما المون على المحال ال الطبقة العاملة والحركة التورية. ميا الحيطة بالمراا العالم المورا المراح في المواقة العرافي ليعن بالدور الكام في لدناع عن كيان النظام الملكي الافعاع عران الحرم العرب عن صف نا عدم ، من أثر من عال كريان الح الما ما الما فليه والعالمة

Original Scan Wilson Center Digital Archive في المناد فالالهام العامة المدن ما لابان de 15 les - que la la comple de la ciente de la completa del completa de la completa de la completa del completa de la completa del la completa de la completa della completa de la completa della comple (5) 10 en (4 (3/2) 1 (1) 1 5 1 1 5 1 - 1 6 23 0 ا كَا مَنْ كَلُومَهُ الْوَلِيُ وَعَى ذَلَاءً الْحَيْ بِالرَّ طَافَةُ الْكُونَ الْمُنْ ان می ذلای فران نوم نوا ایمان که میرا لفوی الوطنی فی میرا الإنحاد العطن عام ١٥١٠ 95 pt 1 202 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 1 00 0 1 6 فارجه كان منع فرة لعق العناط الامرار بأعلان النعرة منذ العائد الأوى للماع عن النورة مدا عدة فعا عات الجبن I) and lil (ose) | care is I os o w) see I of w) المالان نا بن حي المط الزانية دا على اليني ما ترمط الموصف عبة فارجه

Original Scan Wilson-Center Digital Archive مرح ا نور زکی بح الحبه العبه ا ان الروط الزانية د ا في الحيث معصود ٥ عالم العامري كاندة الأنفار عدالطن العام : wi in we car s) s مراسی کننے ان اعدل ان عمع الفات مالزمزات الوطنية والنفرسة م العرف الفات و الفات والسي مرامع عن العادي العادي العادي العادي العادي العادي العادي العادي المعرفية المعادي العادي المعرفية المعادي العادي or the sied of a hall a dist is to the عظر من الزمر الفاحدة في الحب

Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan 23 معد ما د له اكر من من ما حا ى بن و معد الحزب المعرف العرف 60 1 6 pil 1 -مر مزارالای (e) e) lè c c le le de gé le l'Espo 80 10 00 100 W Q 1 1 (in the call in the ablas la come de de de de Dei julipo o des la juli de de la la ذا معلى العنام با تفاد ما العراف العدان المعنى عرف العدان 19VI jeb 22 3 26 1 6 16 90 18 -م مال الما م ا منه لعقد احماء الم م خاد دُا كرب 60 (yé ji à v 13 1 des 1 épol à 4 5/1 cs mi) wi)

Original Scan 9/9 Wilson-Center Digital Archive 24 (3) 20 1 Ci2 1 Lie 2 (de) 1 e 6 Le 1 i b i d 1 appelled of sold file I for i seine sties V parie l'acote se se : William 0 hall 5 11 (A) / b1 ab ote 1 gibt 1 The is year a it's last as will a feel adul a heek-Will will as the is at a contraction of the () e) (cis 1 0 per - con in e) lie de le come come l'il de l'il الغرى ولتامير من ألنورة ولا تنفر و . ثال البلزد بل فرنا الراح في الريبًا بُ الوطنة عالمنان philips [w] chel fie and Sie molor of led 12 of 1 ig soul soll or Visit Lila من المراحة ع منا دة الملنب الا رم المية المراب المن النيري العانمائي و مواقعة عميم الحاء و فدنا: الدان نعلك النفرة هية النفرة هم طبل ه عرب العوان مناك الم ليفرا على مناح المالية عن المراك العوان مناجل البرة بينة النفارير ليد وصوع المدمن من العوان a yeight, this



Original Scan Wilson Center Digital Archive Éleli cust voir nes ! le ne. اقتدع - على الحزيري التوعيس في الودان والواق في حال في ل التوريق الن متني الربان التيوميان فورا قرار تنفيذ قرار وكلية الياس للجنه الركزيه الرياك ينوع الواعي ومول تعر الدُنْ فالا الحالي الإلك بالأرباف و اعتماد عب العرب الثعبيه ا عنه المراد ال العالمة الحيوة والمؤثرة me de Billon, li é arrés cois com 11-in - se à la jos de outre miles 45 de 19 v/2. 23 de les inited de Cullogo Classod - portes de Color è un 34 récil - es la réside des sers sans l'ous والدول - لم عا با تعام الوفرالوي عام العوم العرف The Brown of coins) (stein 4 1 is 25 1) wes (5) 4 5 5 6 - 5 - 1 cos 5 2 2 6 2 0 4

Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan /9 mi 201 7:501 5 - 1 1 7:50) fr entir els 60 - 5 - Colis ? - nisthribet int gilted - et el 13 8 = 60 1901 - 3, 6 de 6 10 6 5 عماع توج العام الهنية والعام المهنية والمهنية والعام المهنية والعام المهنية والمهنية والعام المهنية والعام المه الدور الدوني عالم المرتائد cuesdon - Pins age el cole el pin piede el b Mester - he's low is 1 - ne he is it is it

Original Scan Wilson Center Digital Archive ie 3 - lè beil - 3/05 us ges l'él g'est piès es l'éls - s'si on 61 t, ") so on # - 5 !!es (5) in 1 (5) in 1 (5) in 1 (6) in 1 (6) in 1 (6) in 1 00 € - milel Col. 1170 0 x 2 mol 25 1 Colletin - 300 - véil b - 1, és (b vé) price à is is 1/200-1 x - il ins of - 312'8 is'er - - - 1 - in 161 2 e 2 161 2 - i - i - i 161 in us carirégés Ellie D'in milies aix à ses viel de stien les pour les ses les les be to be l'able l'as l'es y la Dul 6 seul 1 se d'est le celle els uses d'est - 2 CON 5's (e) Copein- gist and by it sizes is it is a le 500 vis- 5 e 5 50 1/0 vo

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9/29
-1-
Subject: Preparing a Plan for a Coup in Sudan and Iraq
By invitation by the Prague Communist Party Bureau of International Relations, a
secret conference of the Arab communist Parties was held on Jul 13, 1971 in Karlovy
Vary, which is a region in Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia.
This conference was held under the auspices of the Czech Central Committee of the
Communist Party. Omanis and foreigners were banned from walking around the
conference area, which was in the party building.
The conference itinerary was as follows:
First: to study the Sudan coup plan
Second: to study the Iraq coup plan
Third: the world situation
Fourth: the Arab situation
Fifth: the Palestinian cause
Sixth: the causes of the national liberation movements
Discuss reports coming from:
  the political committee in Iraq
  the political committee in Sudan
Members attending the Karlovy Vary conference are:
The Jordanian Communist Party: [[]
ПППП
Fuad Nassar
Head of the conference □□□
Faiq Warrad
Member □□□
Muhammed Jawhar
    " 000
Ali Said
    " ППП
Zaky Al-Tawwal
    " ППП
Naif Al-Amarin
    " 00 00
Delegation for the Tunisian Communist Party □□□
Muhammed Harmal
Secretary General of the party [] []
The Algerian Communist Party □□□
Ja'far Mustafa
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Political Bureau Member and Secretary of the Central Committee [] []
Delegation for the Soviet Communist Party
Delegation of the Syrian Communist Party
Delegation of the Saudi Communist Party □□□ □□□□ Abdul-Rahman Ali Secretary General of communist expats □□ □□
Delegation of the Iraqi Communist Party [][] [][][] Majid Abdul-Ridha Delegation Head - Civilian [][] [][][]

Anwar ZakiDeputy

Delegation Head Military - Retired Colonel $\square \square \square$

Kadhim Ali
Secretary General for Expat Operations - Member
Ghazy Al-Sharif
Abdul-Jabbar Abdulla
Yousef Alias
Adnan Darwish Al-khateeb
Ghassan Al-Dawdi
Shemran Al-Yassiri
Hammam Al-Marani
Isam Al-Khafaji
Baha'ddin Nouri
Salim Al-Fakhri
Retired military □□□
Hashim Abdul-Jabbar
Retired military [
Zentoon Ayoob
Retired army captain □□□
Taha Al-Sheik Ahmad
Head of Iraqi Army military planning- retired □□□
Jalal Al-Adqani
Retired Air Force Colonel
Majid Abdul-Ridha
Delegation Head - Civilian □□ □□

Delegation of the Iraqi Communist Party □□□
Shukry Obaida
Commander of First Regiment - Artillery- Retired □□□
Abdul-Majeed Haggi
Retired Colonel □□□
Saeed Matar
First Lieutenant Released □□ □□
This Eleatenant Released III III
The Delegation for the Iraqi Communist Party has authorization to support the
movement from the following organizations:
Farmers Union
Workers Union
Women's Association
Student Union
Secret Popular Resistance Organization
Iraqi Youth Union
Teachers syndicate
Writers Union
Journalists Syndicate
Lawyers Syndicate
Democratic National Party
Socialist Workers Party
Progressive Nasiri Organization
Progressive Officers Organization in the Iraqi army
Educated Kurds - Talabani Organization
Ansar Brigades Organization in Northern Iraq
Delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party □□□
Nicola Al-Shawi
Head □□□
Artin Madoyan
Member □□□
George Batal
Nadim Abdul-Samad
Fadhl Al-Hallab

Delegation of the Moroccan Communist Party □□□
Ali Noori
Political Bureau Member 🔲 🔲
Delegation of the Yemeni Communist Party - North- □□□
Abdulla Bathib
Secretary General 🔲 🔲
Delegation of the Sudanese Communist Party □□□
Izziddin Ali Amer:
Political Bureau Member Secretary of the Central Committee [
Muslih Muhammed Al-Ameen:
Lieutenant Colonel □□□
Ahmed Al-Zubair:
Lieutenant Colonel
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Babekar Muhammed Salih:
Lieutenant Colonel
□□□□ Hussein Othman Bayoomi
Lieutenant Colonel
Hassan Makki
Major DD
Sharaf Al-Tayyib Yassin
Major □□□
Salahiddin Sayyid Bakri
Captain 🔲
Almahi Al-Nijani
Nijani Babekar
Alhaj Abdul-Rahman
Ahmad Al Saywid Hamad
Ahmad Al-Sayyid Hamad

Al-Rashid Na'il
Muhammed Ahmad Sulaiman
Shawqi Al-Malassi
Taj Al-Sarmas
Jibli Abdul-Rahman

The Sudanese Communist Party has an authorization supported by National Movement from the following organizations:

Workers General Union Democratic Youth Union Women's Union

Students General Union Farmers General Union

Teachers General Union

The Socialist Party

The Democratic Party in the South

Writers Union Lawyers Union

Progressive Judges Organization

Free Officers Organization in the Sudanese army

Date: Jul 14th, 1971

A discussion of the overall conditions in Sudan.

Date: Jul 15th, 1971

A discussion of the overall conditions in Iraq

Date: Jul 16th, 1971

A discussion of the military report by the Sudanese delegation. A discussion of the political report by the Sudanese delegation.

Date: Jul 17th, 1971

Everyone approved the Sudan coup set to take place on Jul 19th, 1971.

Postponing the Iraq coup awaiting the results of the Sudan situation and whether the coup will succeed or fail, and looking to these factors to assess the situation for the

Iraq coup.

The Iraqi delegation

Military Members

Demanded a revolutionary military coup.

Civilian members

Demanded undertaking an armed intifada tactic to transform the [situation] to civil war by opening two fronts:

The first in the north between the regime there and the Kurds, the second in the south where farmers are oppressed and because the countryside is ripe for gang wars.

The Sudanese Delegation

Civilians and officers are in agreement about the military coup. In case of failure, tactics of popular war is undertaken starting next October/November 1971. This gives enough time for civilian and military friends of the Sudanese Communist Party to prepare for long-term war to take down the regime for good by popular intifada.

The Iraq civilian delegation:

Says that - Popular war in the south - the countryside- and opening a second front in the north adopting gang war in the countryside as basic strategy.

In the cities, moving toward protests and demonstrations, in addition to mobilizing the army as an important strategy.

Using violent and non-violent popular disobedience economically and politically in service of the strategy of armed resistance in general.

We are laying before you the following agenda:

- 1- Economic protest to be escalated to political to become the spark for an armed intifada.
- 2- Protests to be escalated to a farmers' insurgency to spread into urban areas that can attract sections of the army to transform in armed popular intifada.

Majid Abdul-Ridha continues: reading the report saying that during Lenin's time in 1905, no revolutionary or reactionary military coups took place that the social revolution could fix from which the desired results could come out.

It's true that military coups have played an important role recently, especially since the fifties, which has made their serious study by nationalist forces and their thinkers very important. It's true that political struggles that can become armed are the more guaranteed and more important than military coups whose results are unpredictable in case of failure since it brings dangerous physical annihilation to the party and its bases.

Lastly, I end my report by requesting approval for opening an armed front in the country and instigating the Kurds against the regime.

To be accompanied by political surge and resistance in urban areas to bring down the regime and establishing progressive rule that would include all national bodies in the government led by the Iraqi Communist Party.

This report was supported by:

Kadhim Ali, Isam Al-Khafaji, Ghazi Al-Sharif

[illegible] Al-Yassiri, Adnan Al-Khateeb

Members of the Iraqi military delegation:

A report by: Anwar Zaki Released army colonel

Dear Comrades,

Dear Comrade Majid saying that military coups are a new thing is completely untrue.

Throughout history, many coup have taken place, some of them failed and some succeeded. These preceded the time of Marx, Ingles and Lenin. For your information:

- 1- The Cromobile coup in England that was to express the interests of the developing British bourgeois that aimed to limit the total authorities of the King and in turn feudal authorities.
- 2- The coup attempt against the Czar during Pushkin's time that was undertaken by junior officers and educated Russians who were influenced by the French Revolution. Also, the Blankist ideas which were ruthlessly defeated by Marxist thinkers. Weren't they in essence expressions of violent coup ideas developed by Louis Blank and his followers, who are a select group of educated revolutionaries and some officers? Wasn't the aim to bring down the regime and build a new society through a military plot.

Then Colonel Anwar Zaki was killed in action

The role of sailors and soldiers in the 1905-1917 Revolution and the great attention Lenin and the Bolsheviks paid to them. These soldiers had a big, decisive role in achieving victory for the 1917 Revolution. Lenin paid special attention to inviting the soldiers and including them in the political worker meetings.

Lenin had said that the military plot would have to be Blankist in case the events of the revolution had caused the spread of Bourgeois lies and if most revolutionary struggle organizations have not shared the victory of the revolution.

In case the mood hasn't transformed completely within the ranks of the army during the war. Those working against the government who get sucked into an unjust war that is against the wishes of the people and if the intifada banners are not, for example, power to the people, land for the farmer.

That's where all the popularity was even when some prominent workers hadn't bought into the desperation of the people and the countryside as reflected in the active farmer movement and the armed protests against serfdom and the governments that protect it. Also, when the economic situation shows hope that a good solution to the crisis can be achieved peacefully and through parliament.

Therefore, One can conclude that Lenin had established the objective and subjective circumstances that allowed the revolutionary party to conduct what was called at the time - the military conspiracy - without committing the mistakes of the "Blankists" that could spell the end of the general revolutionary movement in the country and the intensification of amred and unarmed struggles in urban and rural areas.

We, military men see that the main factors for the success of revolutions depends mostly on:

- 1- The Iraqi army is not an army of mercenaries. It did not play certain roles, the most important of which are:
- 2- The army as an establishment and as protection for the country has created a breach for a long time. It is a tool that can be used as a weapon that can be used for it or against it.
- 3- When this tool is frequently used tens or hundreds of times by all classes and forces, especially in in third world countries at this age, isn't it incumbent on revolutionaries to think about this phenomenon and look into it from a logical point of view. When this tool succeeds within this class [of people] or that political authority or resolve the conflict to benefit revolutionary classes or launch the dawn of social revolution, shouldn't revolutionaries take it seriously and adopt it into consideration.
- 4- The army has become the main tool in conflicts to get to the government, to protect and maintain it. It is possible to say based on the level and nature of the Iraq conflict that any class will not be able to assume power without making use of the army is a basic tool.
- 5- The main battlefield is the capital, Baghdad. Many prior experiences have proven

any stroke directed at the head of the political authority in Baghdad can put an end to the battle around the country from this end to this end. On the other hand, the same experiences have proven that take another position to the battle, however heroic or destructive, will not be able to overthrow the government, but rattle or weaken it at best.

6- The best to an intifada is a military coup. As for the other methods, they are merely necessary methods than can help.

Majid Abdul-Rahman to Anwar Zaki's report was as follows:

Dear Comrades

These aspects do not reflect dialectical analysis of the events. They put the revolution in a mechanical box that is isolated, not connected to anything and incomplete.

Thus, they are not dependent on true Marxist class analysis. Now, is describing the points on the report as mentioned above mere (inflexible) Marxist expressions that have nothing to do with present circumstances and we have to first determine our lragi army characteristics.

1- The Iraqi army as an apparatus in not a national army. Since factions of it had played a decisive role on July, 14th, it has been used likewise in many cases as an oppressive apparatus against the popular movement.

Examples of apostasy revolutions are:

The February coup

The Shawwaf conspiracy

The war against the Kurds

Suppressing uprisings

Instances during the king's rule and others

In a feudalistic capitalist country, the army as an apparatus cannot be a neutral entity. It is a basic tool to oppress the workers class and the revolutionary movement.

In Iraq, British imperialism had a key role in forming the Iraqi army in order to assume a decisive role in protecting the treasonous feudalist royals. The Brits set its strict bourgeois laws - based on backwards traditions - but the Iraqi army in its core had been influenced by the Arab and international internal political events.

Then the intense Iraqi popular struggle in the cities and rural areas against the royal rule and imperialist pacts, and the increasing Arab, national liberation movement, especially after the important developments taking place in Syria and the tri-aggression against Egypt. Also the treasonous position by the Iraqi government at the time, in addition to the general situation of the royal regime and the crises within it.

All of this contributed to the forming of the Free Officers cells within the army, which united after the unification of the nationalist forces within the National Union in 1957.

Most internal subjective condition within the army and those objective outside it were abundant that the Free Officers declared the revolution on Jul 14th, 1958. This instigated the population, especially communists to defend the revolutions in its early hours, and help the army attack to completely annihilate the last of its opposition. However, now, where are the subjective conditions within the army and objective ones outside it?

Response by Anwar Zaki in the name of the military committee

The internal subjective conditions are still there. They are being planned for full consciously. We don't ask anything of you except [illegible] support and popular movement to support the coup to pave the way for political movement in support of the revolution.

I'm allowing myself to say that:

All progressive, nationalistic parties and groups in Iraq, in addition to the heroic Communist Party will not be able to assume power without a military coup.

The reasons are clear.

First: Not all political parties in Iraq have widespread popular support.

Second: All top officers in the army and most other officers are susceptible to influences by the anti-communist, anti-workers and anti-Kurdish nationalism.

Therefore, a military coup is necessary to end the spread of these corrupt groups in the army.

After a five-hour discussion between the Iraqi Communist Party and the Russian quests.

The following decision was issued:

In principle - Approval of a military coup in Iraq. Support of the communist organization in the army by the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Approve the secrecy of the plan and limiting it to the army only and delaying the coup in Iraq until the Sudan situation becomes clear, especially the coup of Jul, 1971.

In case it succeeds or fails, another meeting is to be held in the German Communist Party headquarters to lay down a new plan to an Iraq coup to be take place between September and November 1971.

The end

Delegation of the Sudanese Communist Party

The military and political wings:

They are in agreement about the coup even before their arrival in Czechoslovakia: they had met in Moscow with members of the political bureau of the Soviet Communist Party and members of the military committee in the Central Committee. They have a complete authorization from the Military and Political Committees in Moscow to support the coup.

Hussein Bayoumi, a lieutenant colonel in the Sudanese army, had said, "I am informing you that we have decided to carry out a coup against Numairi's rule to iron out the path of the revolution. We will not have sole rule, rather we have decided to include all representatives of national committees and independents in a left-wing government.

We have also decided not to relay the two political and military reports in this meeting due to a recommendation by the external bureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party with the approval of members of our delegation.

However, we are also informing you that the timing of the revolution will be before Jul, 25th 1971. We thank you for attending this conference. We will meet again in your country, Sudan. We might delay the reading of the rest of the reports till things are clearer in Sudan as we await the coup.

Speech by the head of the Soviet delegation; Vladimir Lomiko:

Dear Comrades.

We support fully your people's ambitions for a better life. We consider the situations in Sudan and Iraq similar to each other. In the name of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people, we wish you success and progress for the sake of the international liberation movement.

Saeed Matar, a former officer in the Iraqi army:

Proposed that the two Sudanese and Iraqi Communist Parties immediately adopt the

decision by the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party to take up armed insurrection in rural areas and the war of popular liberation.

That is through expanding armed movement in rural areas and occupying the regime with daily struggle with it.

Strikes - economic - popular protest escalated - vandalism at vital, important government offices.

In houses owned by the Communist Party, they had many furnished rooms 60-70 person capacity in the Party building. The center is next to the country palace at Marconi Square near the big statue of Lenin. Note that Lebanese presence was for observation only, most parties are only for monitoring. The discussion was limited to the Iraqi and Sudanese parties - no Czechs were present - the Russian delegation was supposed to discuss the Sudan issue, however time did not allow for it, it was spent on Moscow, it wasn't discussed at all. At the end of the conference, they delivered a congratulatory speech. Nothing else was discussed because their schedule was full.

They left on Jul 7th and came back Jul 31st. Artin came on the 28th, George Batal came, he wasn't with them, and he went to Moscow on a Russian plane from Damascus.

Cold discussions and huge disagreement between the between the political and the Iraqi military committees. Note that there was no agreement between the two committees.

A working organization was formed comprising of heads of delegations. The committees would direct questions to the organization that would in turn ask the delegations.

The Sudanese delegation is in full agreement.

The Sudanese delegation left quickly on the 18th after being called to return.

They were confident that Egypt is not against communism and interferes - They were trapped in a public park, after the Sudan coup, they came out - accompanied by Czech translators -

They were expecting failure, in which case the party would enter a war of popular liberation - gangs, not right away, but for two months in preparation -

Anwar Zaki

In Iraq, most top officers are against communism - whoever captures Baghdad and quickly gets rid of the top leaders in the regime is guaranteed loyalty of all of Iraq - In case of assuming power, all of them (officers) have to be taken out immediately - Any political organization in Iraq, including the Communist Party, cannot be in power without army support - in Northern Iraq, there are large military units. This is appropriate for them since they're tied to the armed Ansar Brigades. They can be stopped from reaching Baghdad by mobilizing the armed brigades in the countryside

7/18 after the Sudanese delegation left, the meeting ended and they relaxed - they were waiting for the Sudanese delegation to go back so they can discuss the Iraqi coup -

The flight was paid by them -

There was a conference in Prague for Gulf Student Leagues - completely separate. 10/5 a conference near Aden for the Gulf [region].