

DAVID MANNING

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IRAQ: WMD DECLARATION

1. The DIS have provided an overview of their analysis, which I attach, of the Iraqi Declaration. This overview relates to the main body of the text, which has now been examined. It does not cover the accompanying documentation, some of which is still being translated.
2. The DIS report re-states the key findings outlined in the 18 December JIC paper (attached for you only), and identifies the principal areas of apparent omission. The main new points are:
 - an admission by the Iraqis that they have delivered 50 al-Samoud missiles to their military. The UK Dossier stated that at least 50 of these missiles had been produced and were being deployed to military units;
 - details of missile related procurement activities post-1998, which Iraq claims were for permitted programmes. There are no details concerning the origin of the materials and equipment procured, some of which we judge were obtained illicitly;
 - the document fails to cover refurbishment at potential BW sites.
3. Our judgement remains that the Declaration fails to address the issues outstanding from UNSCOM's report to the UN Security Council in 1999.
4. The DIS will continue to analyse the Declaration when a full English text is available from the UN. This is likely to be after Christmas.

JULIAN MILLER

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20 December 2002

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DECLASSIFIED**UNMOVIC: INITIAL VIEWS ON THE IRAQI WMD DECLARATION**

(Note by the DIS)

INTRODUCTION

1. At the meeting of the UNMOVIC Management Committee on 9 December, the Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS) was asked to provide its initial advice on the Iraqi Declaration by 12 December. It was noted that this would relate mainly to the structure of the Declaration and very early impressions if, as has turned out to be the case, a significant translation effort was required. The Declaration was made available to the DIS on 11 December.

STRUCTURE

2. The Declaration comprises some 12,000 pages, principally on paper, but with a number of supporting annexes on CD-ROM. A description of its structure is at Annex A. About 55% largely comprises a repetition of the substance of previous Iraqi declarations, and is in English. The remaining sections, covering recent activity, are in a mixture of Arabic, English Russian and other East European languages. We understand that a full translation of this part of the Declaration is also awaited by US analysts.

TACTICS

3.

WMD activity, i.e. there would be nothing over and above previous declarations to the UN. The parts of the Declaration assessed to date are consistent with this.

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OVERVIEW

4. Our initial view is that although some of the material assessed to date is new to the DIS (but not necessarily the UN), no attempt has been made to answer any of the unresolved disarmament issues. In particular, deficiencies addressed by UNSCOM have not been addressed. In addition, in some areas the Declaration is less complete than earlier documentation, e.g. the names of most of the scientists in the BW area have been removed, with the offer that they can be made available to UNMOVIC. On current expectations – and on the basis of the intentions – the remainder of the Declaration will probably be similarly unrevealing. A final judgement will, however, depend on the review of the remaining material, as translated text becomes available.

5. An overview of the available information on the basis of the currently available English text indicates that:

Nuclear. The Declaration is based on a 1998 Full, Final and Complete Declaration (FFCD), provided to the IAEA in 1998 (we do not have a copy). There is no admission of the possession of any nuclear material.

CW. The text appears to be based on previous FFCDs, and responses to requests for information by the UN in the 1997/99 timeframe. We have yet to identify any new information.

BW. The Declaration is essentially a rewrite of a 1997 FFCD. There is no admission of an offensive programme in recent years, nor any new information. This is despite

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UNSCOM considering the last FECD to be deficient in all areas, an assessment confirmed by a UN Panel in 1999.

UAVs. Reference is made to two new reconnaissance UAVs, and the L29. The Declaration underestimates the performance of all three.

Ballistic Missiles. Mention is made of a 'short' and a 'long' Al Samoud type missile, and a third missile described variously as the 'Mudher', or 'Al Samoud Concept'. In the case of the 'long' Al Samoud and the third design, the data quoted would suggest a range exceeding the 150km limit authorised by the UN. It is not clear however whether this is a reference to systems that have been flown, or whether Baghdad meant it to refer to paper designs that were not pursued. Until the relevant translated text becomes available, we cannot be certain whether the 'long' Al Samoud and 'third' designs are new, or have been declared previously under another guise.

Aerodynamic Missiles. There are references to a number of new or modified aerodynamic missile systems covering a variety of roles, all of which are claimed to remain within the 150km limit.

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7. There will be a video-teleconference with US analysts on 13 December, at which the Assessments Staff will be represented, in order to compare notes. Initial contacts, however, suggest a high degree of commonality in our first impressions.

NEXT STEPS

8. Analytical work will continue, depending on the availability of translated text, with the aim of the JIC taking an initial view on Wednesday, 19 December. At the request of the FCO, advice is also being provided as a matter of urgency to facilitate publication of the Declaration by the UN.

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