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**IRAQ WMD: INTELLIGENCE POINTS FOR THE PRIME MINISTER**

1. We spoke: I attach a note which summarises our assessment of Iraqi WMD holdings and concealment policy. All of this material is already in the public domain and can, therefore, be deployed publicly.
2. For the most part the note repackages the contents of the September Dossier bringing out the key points, including quantities of WMD, more clearly. There is some limited updating to cover the work of UNMOVIC and concealment activities.



**JOHN SCARLETT**

24 January 2003

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## IRAQ: WMD

### HMG Dossier - A Short Summary

HMG published an assessment of Iraq's WMD in September 2002. The Dossier, which was based on intelligence, makes a number of judgements:

- Iraq has a useable chemical and biological weapons capability, which includes recent production of chemical and biological agents, and military plans to use them;
- Iraq continues to work on developing nuclear weapons;
- Iraq possesses up to twenty 650km range al Hussein missiles, is developing longer-range ballistic missiles, and is extending its shorter range systems beyond the UN permitted range of 150km.

### Chemical Weapons

- Iraq can produce:
  - **mustard gas**, which causes burns and blisters on exposed skin, and vomiting and diarrhoea when ingested
  - **tabun, sarin and VX nerve agents**. They all damage the nervous system, producing muscular spasms and paralysis. A minute amount of VX can kill rapidly. Iraq has chemical weapons available, both from pre-Gulf War stocks and more recent production
- We do not know exactly how much CW agent is available. UNSCOM could not account for up to 360 tonnes of chemical agent, including 1.5 tonnes of VX. We believe current holdings may be less than that, but still enough to fill many artillery shells or other weapons
- UNSCOM could not account for over 30,000 CBW munitions, including 550 mustard filled artillery shells.
- Iraq's military has planned for the use of CW, and has issued atropine injectors (used in case of nerve agent attack) to its troops.

### Biological Weapons

- Iraq has biological weapons available, both from pre-Gulf War stocks and more recent production
- Iraq can produce at least:
  - **anthrax** - symptoms vary, but can include fever and internal bleeding leading to death. Small quantities are enough to kill.
  - **botulinum toxin** - it is one of the most toxic substances known to man. Paralysis leads to death by suffocation
  - **aflatoxin** - can cause liver inflammation and cancer
  - **ricin** - can cause multiple organ failure leading to death within one or two days of inhalation
- We do not know how much agent Iraq has available now. Prior to the Gulf War Iraq admitted to producing 19,000litres of botulinum toxin, 8,500 litres of anthrax and 2,200 litres of aflatoxin. UNSCOM could not account for all the growth media procured (enough for 25,000litres of anthrax)

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- Iraq has developed mobile agent production facilities, which makes it extremely difficult for inspectors to find them.

## **Nuclear Weapons**

- We do not think Iraq has a nuclear weapon now - it would take at least five years to produce sufficient fissile material if sanctions become ineffective or are removed. If Iraq obtained the necessary fissile material and other essential components from foreign sources, it could produce a nuclear weapon in between one and two years.
- It is clear that Iraq was attempting to build nuclear weapons prior to the Gulf War and that they got further than anyone suspected. Iraq was probably within three years of developing one.
- Since 1998 intelligence indicates that Iraq has been reconstituting its nuclear programme. The regime recalled nuclear scientists to the programme and has sought to procure items, such as uranium, relevant to a programme to produce fissile material. Iraq has no civil nuclear programme that would require such items.

### **The Iraqi Declaration - A Short Summary**

- Iraq has not taken the opportunity given to it by UNSCR 1441 to explain the issues outstanding from UNSCOM's report to the UN Security Council in 1999.
- Iraq maintains that it currently has no proscribed WMD programmes.
- The majority of information in the Declaration has already been passed to the UN in some form.
- The Declaration does not alter UK assessments of Iraq's WMD programmes.

## **Ballistic Missiles**

- Iraq has up to 20 al Hussein ballistic missiles with a 650km range. These were used against Israel, Iran and Coalition Forces in Gulf War. Iraq has admitted to producing CBW warheads for these.
- Iraq has manufactured up to 100 short range ballistic missiles and is aiming to build more using illegally purchased engines. These systems are being deployed to military units. The permitted UN range of these systems is 150km, but Iraq has admitted to UNMOVIC repeatedly testing a version of one of these missiles beyond this range. Intelligence indicates that Iraq has been working on extending these missiles beyond 200km.
- Intelligence indicates that Iraq's aim is to develop other missiles with ranges over 1000km which could threaten its regional neighbours. Some of the infrastructure built by Iraq since 1998, such as the engine test stand at al-Rafah, is far in excess of what is required for existing permitted programmes. Iraq has also procured materials suitable only for longer range missiles.

## **Concealment**

- The Dossier stated that Iraq was taking steps in late September to ensure that UNMOVIC inspectors did not find any evidence of prohibited activity. Iraq has a co-ordinated policy of concealment.

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- Intelligence continues to show that such measures are being used.
- Large numbers of documents relating to Iraq's nuclear programme of some years ago were discovered at the home of a nuclear scientist by the IAEA, clearly demonstrating an Iraqi policy of hiding documents and materials, just as we predicted
- Other key equipment and material is being buried or kept constantly on the move using trucks.
- Whatever the Iraqi regime says, there is no doubt that scientists and their families are being intimidated from having private interviews even inside Iraq, let alone outside.

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