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From: Nicholas Cannon
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PRIME MINISTER

cc: Jonathan Powell
Alastair Campbell
David Manning
Stephen Wall
Matthew Rycroft

IRAQ: "CLUSTERS" DOCUMENT

You wanted a note on the key unaccounted for items from the Blix "clusters" paper.

Missiles

- The whole Scud-B programme and 50 Scud-B warheads are not accounted for.
- SA-2 (al-Samoud). In 2002, Iraq declared 131 Volga engines for SA-2s. UNMOVIC later found 231 engines, and were told during an inspection that there were in fact 567. Iraq has admitted manufacture of 76 al-Samoud 2 missiles (we believe they in fact have 129 in total). The Iraqis claim that the missiles are still under development, but have also admitted deploying 63. To 5 March, 28 have been destroyed.
- Inadequate documents for the UDMH propellant programme (of use solely in prohibited missiles) and CW warheads for FROG rockets.

Munitions

- 550 155 mm shells filled with mustard gas.
- 500 R-400 bombs (CBW capable)
- Iraq has just admitted (in the "Air Force Document") that there are a further 6,500 CBW filled bombs (up to 1,000 tonnes CW agents) now unaccounted for.
- Inadequate documents for UAV programmes, spray tanks, CBW warheads for Scud missiles.

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Chemical weapons

- UNMOVIC found evidence that contradicted Iraqi claims that they never weaponised **VX**. UNMOVIC "cannot exclude" that Iraq has retained VX capability.
- No evidence to support declared accounts of **Tabun**.
- 80 tonnes of **mustard gas**: new documents say "could be substantially higher".
- 4,800 shells loaded with **Sarin**.
- Undocumented programmes: inadequate records for production of and research into VX, Sarin, Soman, mustard gas. Blix's own report shows that UNMOVIC's information is vague and sketchy.

Biological weapons

- About 10,000 litres of **anthrax** bulk agent.
- Undeclared growth media capable of producing: 6-16,000 litres **anthrax**; 3-11,000 litres **botulinum toxin**; 5,600 litres of *clostridium perfringens*.
- Insufficient or destroyed records for production of *botulinum*, research into *aflatoxin*, research into economic weapons, indications of interest in other programmes. Cannot rule out possibility of research into BW-related genetic engineering.

But in addition to lists of hardware and the undocumented programmes, Blix's report clearly indicates a **systematic pattern of deceit and concealment**:

- At least 29 times the Iraqis failed, despite repeated requests, to provide credible evidence to substantiate claims.
- Seventeen instances when inspectors uncovered evidence contradicting Iraqi claims.
- Only in 1995 did Iraq declare its BW programme, after denying one for four years.
- Only in 1997 did inspectors discover evidence of work done on prohibited missiles in 1992.
- Only in 1997 did Iraq declare 187 pieces of specialty equipment used to produce CW.
- Only in 2003 did Iraq turn over the "Air Force Document". This contradicts Iraq's CW declaration, by disclosing an additional 6,500 bombs with 1,000 tonnes of mustard gas.

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Interviews (not part of clusters document)

- UNMOVIC have the names of around 3,500 Iraqi scientists and officials involved in the WMD, nearly 500 provided by the Iraqis themselves.
- 34 requests for interviews have been made.
- Only nine have taken place, all with "minders", bugging etc.
- None outside Iraq.

Signed : Nicholas Cannon
06/03/2003

NICHOLAS CANNON

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