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From: McKane Tom - Sec A -  
Sent: 15 April 2002 20:48  
To: Secretariat A -  
Subject: FW: IRAQ DOSSIER (RESTRICTED)  
Importance: High

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Iraq Paper.doc

to print please

-----Original Message-----

From: Amanda.Tanfield@  
[mailto:Amanda.Tanfield@]  
Sent: 15 April 2002 18:36  
To: tom.mckane@  
Subject: FW: IRAQ DOSSIER (RESTRICTED)  
Importance: High

Tom

I would like you to see this now because I'm not convinced that NPD are giving DIS/AS a sufficiently hard time even after all the problems we have already had. May be necessary to bang heads together at next meeting!

Amanda

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Mark Matthews  
> Sent: 15 April 2002 16:30  
> To: Amanda Tanfield; Tim Dowse  
> Cc: Andrew Patrick; John Williams (London); James Paver  
> Subject: IRAQ DOSSIER

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>  
> I have read the latest draft of the WMD dossier, trying to look at it with  
> a journalist's eye. As discussed with Amanda, I think one of the greatest  
> weaknesses of the paper is its style: the repeated efforts of the authors  
> to emphasise what they do not know as well as what they know. In some  
> cases, this is necessary for the sake of accuracy. In others it is  
> unnecessary and unhelpful. An example from the second category is half  
> way down page 4: "We do not know the location of these missiles or their  
> state of readiness..." A further example lies towards the end of page 7:  
> "We cannot be sure whether these have been destroyed or remain at the  
> disposal of the Iraqi government..." I thought it was our assumption that  
> they had not been destroyed?

>  
> Similarly, in the background section it says: "...Iraq continues to have  
> the capability to produce chemical and biological weapons, and may already  
> have done so." Why make this uncertain statement when we judge that Iraq  
> has retained CBW production equipment and chemical agent precursors (cf.  
> page 7)?

>  
> On page 5 it says: "...Iraq has also made concerted efforts to acquire  
> additional production technology, including machine tools, and raw  
> materials..." Could we not say: "...specialist machine tools and raw  
> materials"?

>  
> It is important that, where unnecessary and unhelpful, these expressions  
> of the authors' uncertainty are removed. Otherwise we risk undermining

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> further a paper which already looks a little thinner than earlier versions  
> evidence of Iraqi wrongdoing.

> Last but not least, I attach a slightly revised version of the general  
> briefing paper. I have left MED to complete one or two bits. I shall  
> revise it again when we have the next draft of the human rights annex.

> Regards,

> Mark Matthews  
> News Department  
> Tel:

> <<EXCHANGE(SE).RA-ATT>>

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**BRITISH GOVERNMENT BRIEFING PAPER ON IRAQ**

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1. Introduction by the Foreign Secretary
2. Key points
3. Saddam's Weapons
4. UN Controls on Iraq
5. UN Security Council Resolutions 1284 and 1382
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**Annex A: Iraqi compliance with UN Security Council Resolutions**

**Annex B: Saddam's Weapons**

**Annex C: Iraqi Human Rights Abuses**

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## INTRODUCTION BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

"The Government has made clear its concern that Iraq has and is continuing to develop weapons of mass destruction. We have presented some of the evidence for this. Nonetheless, Iraq continues to claim that it has no chemical, biological or nuclear weapons. We are therefore taking the important step of publishing further information from Government intelligence reports about Iraq's weapons. This shows there is no doubt that Iraq has dangerous chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programmes.

"Our concern is heightened by the knowledge that Saddam Hussein has used these horrific weapons against his own people and neighbours. This makes him unique among modern dictators. It also makes the threat he poses unique. He will use these weapons again in pursuit of his aim of regional domination and against the West if he thinks he can get away with it.

"Doing nothing about this threat is not an option. That is why we are devoting immense diplomatic energy to pressing Iraq to comply with UN resolutions to destroy its weapons. This includes giving UN weapons inspectors full and unfettered access to Iraq.

"We are serious about wanting to resolve this issue through compliance with UN resolutions. No decision has been taken to launch military action. Iraq has an opportunity to show that it is serious about fulfilling its international obligations."

The Rt Hon Jack Straw MP  
X.X.2002

## 2. Key points

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- The Iraqi regime is a demonstrable threat to the stability of the region as a result of its continued development of weapons of mass destruction. It also has an appalling human rights record with the widespread use of torture and mass execution of political detainees.
- Nine UN Security Council Resolutions on Iraq have been passed since 1990 to constrain Saddam's ability to threaten his neighbours and develop weapons of mass destruction. Iraq fully complies with none of them. (See Annex A on Iraq's record of non-compliance with UN Resolutions.)
- The UK fully supports all UN Resolutions against Iraq, and is playing a leading role in establishing a new sanctions regime which targets military-related exports to Iraq while allowing greater access to humanitarian supplies.
- Claims by Iraq and others that sanctions have killed thousands of children are totally unjustified. Sanctions have never covered food and medicines. It is Saddam Hussein who has blocked the delivery of vital supplies to the Iraqi people so that he can exploit their suffering.
- Meanwhile he has continued to enrich himself and his regime at the expense of the Iraqi people, profiting from illegal oil exports which could be used to pay for humanitarian goods under the UN "oil for food" programme and importing... (refs to whisky, cigarettes?)
- The UK continues to work with the other members of the UN Security Council in demanding the re-establishment of a UN inspection team in Iraq. The onus is on Saddam. If Iraq poses no threat, why does he continue to refuse access to UN inspectors?

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## 3. Saddam's Weapons

Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons are collectively known as Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Several countries have WMD programmes and missile systems capable of delivering nuclear, chemical or biological warheads. They are working to develop more accurate and longer-range missiles that will allow them to threaten more than just their immediate neighbours.

Most countries have promised not to acquire these weapons. They have signed relevant international agreements including the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), and the Biological and Toxins Weapons Conventions (BTWC). **Ref to BWC?**

A few countries have either failed to sign these agreements or have decided to break them. The position of Iraq is a particular concern. Iraq is a signatory to the NPT, but since the late 1980s it has not abided by its obligations. Since the Gulf War Iraq has been bound by five UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) relating to its WMD programmes. It remains in breach of all of them. In 1980 and 1990 Saddam Hussein used his conventional forces to mount unprovoked attacks against his neighbours, Iran and Kuwait respectively. He has used chemical weapons both against Iran and against his own Kurdish people.

The International Community has repeatedly sought to disrupt Iraq's efforts to acquire WMD. On each occasion Saddam has sought to rebuild his capabilities. His efforts are making progress. The Government monitors these efforts very closely.

The paper at Annex B sets out what the Government is able to say about Saddam's weapons. The document draws on information from a range of sources, including intelligence. Because of the need to protect the safety of sources, details underpinning intelligence judgements cannot be made public. But the Government is confident of the judgements in the paper.

## 4. UN Controls on Iraq

UN controls on Iraq remain in place because of Saddam Hussein's determination to retain and develop his weapons of mass destruction and threaten the region. The controls have contained the regime's military ambitions and threat to its neighbours.

It is not credible to blame the UN for the suffering of the Iraqi people. Since 1996 UN controls have been increasingly targeted on military items and items of potential use in Iraqi weapons programmes. It is a myth that the UN prevents the delivery of food and medicines.

The export of over 16,000 goods to Iraq – including food, medicines, agricultural, educational and water and sanitation goods and oil spare parts – simply requires the UN to be notified. To date more than US\$7bn of contracts have been processed in this way.

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The Iraqi people continue to suffer because:

Iraq is not ordering sufficient quantities of these goods. As a result, around \$3.5 billion remain unspent in UN "oil for food" accounts. Iraq consistently fails to process around \$1 billion of contracts already approved by the Sanctions Committee for delivery to Iraq. Iraq is also exporting food and medicine to other countries.

Since the "oil for food" programme began in December 1996 (and up to the end of August 2001) around \$30 billion of contracts have been approved. But the Iraqi government continues to divert funds away from its people's welfare needs for grandiose projects celebrating Saddam Hussein's tyrannical rule.

## **5. UN Security Council Resolutions 1284 and 1382**

For several years the UK has led the way in the UN Security Council in seeking to establish a new framework for the UN's relationship with Iraq. Resolution 1284 adopted on December 17 1999 made it clear that Iraq must give up its aspirations to possess WMD and created a new UN disarmament body, UNMOVIC. For the first time, it established a clear route to the lifting of UN controls. It offered the prospect of the suspension of controls, if Iraq co-operates with UN weapons inspectors. Iraq, however, has consistently refused entry for the UNMOVIC inspectors.

On 29 November 2001 the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1382. This was a further step forward showing that the international community is united in how best to control the export of military-related items to Iraq while minimising restrictions on civilian goods.

Resolution 1382 takes forward the effort to focus controls on military items. It makes provision for a targeted Goods Review List, under which Iraq will be free to meet all of its civilian needs. This will leave the Iraqi regime with no further excuses for the suffering of the Iraqi people, while making more effective the existing controls on items of concern. This will mean no sanctions on ordinary imports, only controls on military and WMD-related goods. The Goods Review List is not a denial list. But for items on the list the UN wishes to consider the full circumstances of the export of those goods (e.g. who will be using them, where and for what) before making a decision about their export to Iraq. The UK led the way in securing these new arrangements, which are on course to be implemented by the UN by 30 May 2002.

## **6. Human rights**

Iraq's human rights record has long been notorious as one of the worst in the world. Iraq brutally suppresses all forms of political opposition and denies any rights for its minorities. Current abuses include summary executions, mass deportations and systematic torture. Although the UN Security Council and the UN Commission on Human Rights have consistently condemned the repression of the civilian population,

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Iraq continues to flout UN resolutions and to ignore its international human rights obligations.

A fuller picture of Iraqi human rights abuses (drawing on Government intelligence) is given in Annex C.

**Foreign and Commonwealth Office**  
**X.X.2002**

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The following table summarises the requirements Iraq has to meet under various UN Security Council Resolutions, and the regime's record of non-compliance.

REQUIREMENT	IS IRAQ COMPLYING?
<b>UNSCR 661, 6 AUGUST 1990</b>	
- Trade embargo on Iraq, except food and medicine	No
<b>UNSCR 686, 2 MARCH 1991</b>	
- Iraq must return all stolen Kuwaiti property	No
<b>UNSCR 687, 3 APRIL 1991</b>	
- Iraq must respect the border with Kuwait agreed in 1963	Partial
- Iraq must accept destruction, removal or rendering harmless of its WMD	No
- Iraq must declare the elements of its WMD programmes	No
- Iraq must co-operate with UNMOVIC and IAEA inspections	No
- Iraq must accept all responsibility for direct damage due to its invasion of Kuwait	No
- Iraq must co-operate in accounting for missing Kuwaitis and others missing since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait	No
- Iraq must not commit or support international terrorism	No
<b>UNSCR 688, 5 APRIL 1991</b>	
- Iraq must end repression of its civilian population	No
- Iraq must allow access to international humanitarian organisations	Partial
- Iraq must co-operate with UN Secretary General on needs of Iraqi civilians	Partial
<b>UNSCR 707, 15 AUGUST 1991</b>	
- Iraq must complete full, final and complete disclosure of its WMD programmes	No
- Iraq must give UNMOVIC and IAEA unconditional and unrestricted access	No
- Iraq must cease any concealment or movement of its WMD	No
- Iraq must fully respond to questions or requests from IAEA/UNMOVIC	No
- Iraq must allow UNMOVIC/IAEA flights without interference	No
- Iraq must halt all nuclear activities other than legitimate use of its isotopes	No
- Iraq must provide IAEA/UNMOVIC with any necessary logistical support	No
<b>UNSCR 715, 11 OCTOBER 1991</b>	
- Iraq must co-operate with UNMOVIC/IAEA monitoring	No
- Iraq must enact penal laws to secure enforcement against WMD in Iraq	No
<b>UNSCR 949, 15 OCTOBER 1994</b>	
- Iraq must not use force to threaten its neighbours or UN operations	No
- Iraq must not enhance its military capability in southern Iraq	No
<b>UNSCR 1051, 17 DECEMBER 1999</b>	
- Iraq must report to IAEA/UNMOVIC shipment of dual-use WMD items	No
<b>UNSCR 1284, 17 DECEMBER 1999</b>	

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