

**FOI305712 WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN**  
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## DOCUMENT 1

- Paper, undated, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN', handwritten annotations marked in red

*This 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 HMG is confident of the judgements set out in this paper.*

### Introduction

- Several countries that promised not to acquire nuclear weapons are trying to build them; North Korea has **(could have, probably has)** already succeeded. The other countries are:
  - Iraq
  - Iran
  - Libya
- There are similar problems over chemical weapons. Most countries banned them long ago. But some countries have still not ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention and others are in breach of it. Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons against Iran, and against his own Kurdish people, as recently as the late 1980s.
- Some countries also have, or wish to acquire, biological weapons. These weapons present an especially dangerous and frightening threat.
- We know too that Usama Bin Laden's Al Qaida has for several years tried to get nuclear, chemical and biological ~~weapons~~ **agents**. They had some success, and ~~may even~~ have obtained some chemical, biological and radiological ~~agents~~ **materials**, before being seriously disrupted by coalition action in Afghanistan. They will keep on trying.
- These facts are alarming. This paper sets out what the Government knows about them.

### Nuclear

#### Background

Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) provides an important framework for containing the possession of nuclear weapons. Some ~~187~~**88** nations have signed and ratified it. Four nations have chosen not to. Three of whom we know have developed nuclear weapons. This is a matter of concern - not least in the context of the current tensions between two of them; India and Pakistan.

The position of the NPT non-signatories is a matter of serious concern. But it is well known. The focus of this paper is elsewhere. There is increasingly worrying evidence that several countries that have signed the NPT are nonetheless seeking to breach the Treaty and acquire nuclear weapons. Such actions are illegal and destabilising. The governments concerned are themselves volatile and unpredictable. If these countries succeed in bypassing their international obligations and acquire nuclear weapons, the world will become immeasurably more dangerous.

These programmes are shrouded in secrecy. Because these countries are dependent on external assistance to achieve their objectives, knowledge can be acquired through the activities of those who are supplying them with materials, components and expertise.

Additionally these and other countries are attempting to acquire biological and chemical means of mass destruction and the necessary delivery systems to go with them, Chemical and biological weapons programmes can be hidden within legitimate civil industrial and medical programmes and are therefore easier to hide than nuclear weapons programmes, given the dual use nature of much of the equipment and many, precursors materials.

[ Finally there is evidence that **Al Qaida** were interested in gaining a nuclear, biological and chemical capabilities. They may even have obtained some radiological, chemical and biological agents before the disruption caused by allied intervention in Afghanistan. Other groups may seek to follow them ]

### **Aim**

This paper sets out what we know about the efforts by ~~non-nuclear~~ states of concern to acquire weapons of mass destruction. It inevitably draws upon sensitive intelligence sources and there is a limit to the level of detail which can be revealed. Nevertheless several have made public statements regarding their intention to be able to threaten the use of weapons of mass destruction, which is a clear indication of an intention to pursue such programmes.

## NORTH KOREA

### SUMMARY

#### Ballistic Missiles:

- SCUD B (300km range) and C (500km range)
- No Dong with range of 1300km
- Taepo Dong 2 under development with range possibility up to 15,000km
- [redacted]

#### Evidence:

- *Taepo Dong 1 Space Launch Vehicle test in 1998*

#### Nuclear:

- Plutonium production frozen in 1994
- Believed to have covertly diverted sufficient fissile material for 1-2 nuclear devices in breach of its international obligations under the NPT.
- Concern over covert nuclear programme.

#### Evidence:

- *failure to co-operate fully with the IAEA*
- [redacted]

#### CBW:

- possesses the chemical and biotechnological infrastructure to support the development of agents

#### Evidence:

- *Has not signed CWC but has acceded to BTWC*

### Ballistic Missiles

North Korea is making substantial progress with its ballistic missile programme despite efforts by the international community to constrain it. It has over 500 SCUD B and C missiles in its inventory and is producing the 1300km No Dong missile for its own forces and for export. In August 1998 North Korea launched a three stage Taepo Dong-1 system, configured as a satellite launch vehicle (SLV), in an attempt to place a small satellite into orbit. The launch demonstrated a capability to produce a missile with a range of about 2000km, which would enable North Korea to reach wide areas of the Far East.

A two-stage Taepodong-2 is under development which would have a range of 5-6000km configured as a missile. A modified version using a third stage could have a range of 10-15,000km which would put the UK and US within reach. In 1999 in response to US pressure, North Korea agreed to a flight moratorium on missile tests, but it has continued with static ground based tests. North Korea has exported around 400 ballistic missiles during the past 15 years and has used the cash derived from such sales in its missile development programmes. Exports of No Dong technology to Iran and Pakistan have enabled them to

produce their own version of this 1300km-range missile; and missile technology and expertise has also been provided to Egypt, Syria and Libya.

probably

### **Nuclear Weapons**

In breach of its obligations under the NPT, North Korea produced ~~produced~~ **diverted** plutonium at its Yongbyong nuclear facility. But production was frozen by agreement with the US in 1994 in return for US assistance with power generating equipment. Prior to that date, North Korea ~~could have~~ diverted sufficient fissile material for 1-2 weapons. If the ~~Agreed Framework~~ **agreement with the US** collapses, North Korea could extract plutonium from spent fuel rods for additional nuclear weapons.

[redacted]

### **CBW**

North Korea has not signed the Chemical Weapons Convention but has acceded to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. It has a significant but old chemical industry and a developing civil biotechnology industry which could support the production of agents for weapons.

a bit thin!

**Probably had offensive CBW programmes + probably retains stocks of precursors, agents and weapons.**

## IRAQ

### SUMMARY

#### Ballistic Missiles:

- Retained more than dozen prohibited Al Hussein (600km) missiles
- Working on designs for longer range missiles

#### Evidence:

- *Some infrastructure damaged in Gulf War and Operation Desert Fox, now reconstituted.*
- *Systematic refusal and deliberate blocking of UN verification efforts.*
- ***[Infrastructure for longer range missiles under construction]***

#### Nuclear:

- Iraq has a nuclear weapons programme, but it is unable to produce fissile material while sanction remain in place

#### Evidence:

- *Comprehensive programme prior to Gulf War.*
- *Retains scientists and expertise*
- *Still intends to have a nuclear weapons capability*

#### CBW

- Iraq has a capability to produce CBW weapons at short notice

#### Evidence:

- *The amount of chemical and biological material, including weapons and agents, left unaccounted for when the UNSCOM inspections terminated would provide a significant offensive capability.*
- *Produced and weaponised considerable agents prior to War (admitted in 1995 and claiming to have destroyed it).*
- *Dual-use nature of many chemical and biotech components*

It is difficult to assess how close Iraq is to restoring its WMD capability, since the withdrawal of UN inspectors. The generally successful enforcement of the sanctions regimes and the UN arms embargo have certainly hindered reconstitution efforts, although we believe these continue unabated.

#### Ballistic Missiles

Prior to the Gulf war, Iraq had a well-developed missile industry and produced a stretched version of the SCUD missile, the Al Hussein, with its range extended to 650 km. A number of these were fired at Saudi Arabia and Israel during the Gulf War. Iraq was also seeking to reverse engineer the SCUD engine with a view to producing new missiles. We judge that Iraq now has more than a dozen Al Hussein missiles which were either hidden from the UN as complete systems, or have been re-assembled using illegally retained engines and other components.

Before the Gulf War, Iraq and conducted a partial flight test of a multi-stage SLV based on SCUD technology, the Al Abid, built a longer range stretched SCUD,

the Al-Abbas, with a range of 900km. Iraq had plans for a new SCUD-derived missile with a range of 1200km, and was developing the BADR-2000, a 700-1000km range two-stage solid propellant missile (based on the Iraqi part of the 1980s CONDOR-2 programme run in co-operation with Argentina and Egypt). There were plans for 1200-1500km range systems to follow on from this.

Since the Gulf War Iraq has managed to rebuild much of the military industrial infrastructure that had been destroyed and has undertaken concerted efforts to acquire additional production technology. The UN embargo has succeeded in blocking many of these, but some items have inevitably slipped through and will continue to do so. Iraq's missile-related industrial facilities have now largely recovered from the damage inflicted by Operation Desert Fox in 1998 and items prohibited by the UN that were destroyed under UNSCOM supervision may have been replaced.

New infrastructure is under construction, including a plant for producing ammonium perchlorate, which is a key ingredient in the production of solid propellant rocket motors. This was obtained through an Indian chemical engineering firm with extensive links in Iraq. While Slobodan Milosevic was in power Iraq also received considerable help from the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. We are concerned that some Belgrade arms dealers maintain links with Baghdad, albeit without the same official sanction.

Iraq has been openly developing short-range missiles which are permitted under UN Security Resolution 687 up to a range of 150km. The short range Al-Samoud liquid propelled missile has been extensively tested and has appeared on public parade in Baghdad and is judged to be nearing deployment. Testing of the solid propelled Ababil-100 is also underway. In the absence of UN inspectors, it is possible Iraq has succeeded in extending the range of these to beyond the 150km limit.

**[Iraq is working to develop longer-range missile systems, with ranges up to 2,000km, which will enable it to threaten Israel, regional neighbours and NATO bases, and test facilities are being constructed to support this]** The Iraqis' pre-Gulf War developments and the retention and expansion of their expertise through the development of the Al Samoud and Ababil-100 will aid this. Iraq is also working on improving guidance technology to increase missile accuracy. However, while UN restrictions remain in place, the development of these systems is likely to be a slow process, albeit one to which Saddam is committed.

#### Nuclear

Before the Gulf war, Iraqi plans for the development of a nuclear weapon were well advanced and we judge they were only three years away from possessing a nuclear weapon if left unhindered. **[Iraq still wants a nuclear weapons capability and is working to achieve it]** Much of their former expertise has

been retained. Scientists and weapons engineers are still working in the industry. But Iraq lacks certain key components for the production of fissile material, which would be necessary before a nuclear bomb could be developed.

So long as sanctions continue to hinder the import of such crucial goods, we doubt that Iraq could produce a nuclear weapon. But as the impact of sanctions lessens, the opportunity for Iraq to overcome these hurdles increases. It has been assessed that Iraq would need five years to produce a weapon after the lifting of sanctions. Progress would be much quicker if Iraq was able to buy illicitly fissile material for a nuclear weapon.

### **CBW**

Iraq had made extensive use of chemical weapons and its BW programme had produced a number of ballistic missile warheads and free-fall bombs before production was interrupted by the Gulf War. Iraq acknowledged early some aspects of its CW programme but despite pressure from weapons inspectors after the war, Iraq did not admit to the existence of a biological programme until 1995 when the defection of Saddam's son-in-law, Hussein Kamil forced its hand. It admitted to producing anthrax, botulinum toxin and aflatoxin and to working on a number of other agents. Iraq finally admitted that it had weaponised some agents, which included warheads for its Al Hussein ballistic missiles. It has claimed that all its biological agents have been destroyed, although no proof of this has been offered. UN inspectors could not account for large quantities of growth media used in biological weapon production, enough to produce over three times the amount of anthrax Iraq admits to having manufactured.

The uncertainty surrounding those admissions it has made is well illustrated in relation to its chemical weapon capability. It admitted to the production of blister agent (mustard), nerve agents (tabun, sarin, cyclo-sarin) and there is good evidence that it stockpiled a mental incapacitant (Agent 15). UNSCOM eventually discovered strong evidence of VX persistent nerve agent in missile warheads in 1998, after years of denial by the Iraqis. There are also inconsistencies in Iraqi documentation on destruction. UN weapons inspectors have been unable to account for:

- 4,000 tons of so-called precursor chemicals used in the production of chemical weapons;
- 610 precursor chemicals used in the production of VX;
- some 31,000 chemical weapons munitions. **(why did we say previously that up to 6000 CW munitions may have been hidden?)**

**[We believe that Iraq has a covert chemical and biological weapons programme]** All the expertise has been retained. Iraq appears to be installing or repairing dual use equipment at suspect facilities which could be used in relation to CW or BW production. ~~It is difficult to prevent Iraq from acquiring precursor chemicals for its weapons programme since they all have legitimate uses in civil~~

industry. Iraq is assessed to be self-sufficient in terms of producing biological weapons.

Iraq is also developing aircraft and seeking UAV technology which would be suited for BW or CW delivery, **[as well as retaining more conventional delivery means such as free fall bombs and missile warheads. Significant resources consideration has been given to strategies that enable have been used to make key parts of the CBW programme to survive survivable in the event of a military strike]**

## IRAN

### **SUMMARY**

#### **Ballistic Missiles:**

- Present capability Shahab-1 SCUDB and C, range up to 500km
- Developing longer range based on North Korean technology 1300 range
- North Korean co-operation could lead to longer range capabilities up to 5000km

#### *Evidence:*

- *Defence Minister claimed development of Shahab-4 and mentioned plans for Shahab5*
- *Public display of missiles, and flight tests in July and September 2000*

#### **Nuclear:**

- Iran has a covert nuclear weapons programme

#### *Evidence:*

- *knowledge of fuel cycle gained through civil nuclear programme based on Bushehr reactor supplied by Russia.*
- *seeking fissile material and nuclear related technology*
- *has shown a keen interest in uranium enrichment technology required for nuclear weapons.*

#### **CBW:**

- Iran has the capability to produce chemical and biological weapons, and is believed to have done so

#### *Evidence.*

- *civil infrastructure and expertise to support a programme.*
- *Striving towards self sufficiency in chemical precursor production capability:*
- *Covert procurement of dual use materials and equipment.*

### **Ballistic Missiles**

Iran is putting significant resources in time, money and people into its ballistic missile programmes. Currently it has a force of several hundred SCUD B and C liquid propellant missiles and is producing its own variants with help from North Korea. This has given Iran a range capability of up to 500km. However it has ambitious plans to produce longer-range systems. Efforts are centred on the 1300 rang No Dong missile supplied by North Korea. Iran's plan to produce a domestic version, the Shahab 3, through reverse engineering, is nearing completion. Flight tests were held in 1998, 2000 and 2001. Iran has publicised its intention to field units of the Shahab-3, placing the majority of the Middle East, including Israel within range, and which could be used against key NATO bases.

The Iranian defence minister has acknowledged publicly that Iran is working on a Shahab-4, described as a "space launched vehicle" and an unidentified Shahab-5. These could provide the basis for longer-range missiles, since the technologies for BMs and SLVs are similar. The development of these new systems could also benefit from North Korean assistance. If so, and North Korea

shares Taepo dong-1 and 2 technology, Iran could develop ballistic missiles with ranges of 2000km and 5000-6000 km or longer. A number of Russian firms were placed under US sanctions for assisting with liquid propellant rocket engine technology which could of course have ballistic missile application, giving Iranians an alternative route to an intercontinental capability.

Iran is developing a new solid propellant ballistic missile, the Fateh-110 [redacted]. Although this has a range of less than 333km, and does not infringe MTCR guidelines [redacted], experience gained from the programme will contribute to Iranian plans for longer-range solid propellant systems.

### **Nuclear**

[redacted] Iran is seeking to master the full nuclear fuel cycle so that it can develop a totally indigenous civil nuclear power programme. ~~This will initially be based on the~~ Bushehr nuclear reactor supplied by Russia. This ~~is provided~~ **will be from** under IAEA safeguards which prevents the diversion of fissile material from the reactor. But it also provides Iran with knowledge of the nuclear fuel cycle + **possession of processing facilities** which it could exploit in a covert programme. For this reason, China pledged in 1997 not to supply Iran with such technology, and withdrew from a uranium conversion project, which could have given Iran the necessary feed material for a nuclear weapon programme. The uranium conversion programme is, however, continuing. **based on the original Chinese plans**

Russian firms and individuals continue to provide expertise on aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle. Russian authorities have made attempts to control such activities, which are economically motivated, but often fail to implement the controls introduced in the new export control law in 1999. At present equipment which the Iranians are seeking for Atomic Vapour Laser Isotope Separation which could provide Iran with a capability to produce weapons grade uranium is held up pending investigation by the Russian Authorities. Iran has also shown a keen interest in **other** uranium enrichment technologies for manufacturing weapons grade fissile material.

### **CBW**

The impetus for Iran's CW programme came from the use by Iraq of chemical agents during the Iran-Iraq war. Iran acceded to the CWC in 1998 and acknowledged a past programme. It claimed to have terminated the programme in 1988. There is evidence of Iranian efforts since then to acquire precursor chemicals and Iran may be close to achieving self-sufficiency in their manufacture, which will make detection more difficult in future. Iran's past experience will enable it to weapons CW agent and maintain stockpiles.

Iran has a growing biotechnology industry and an infrastructure capable of sustaining a BW programme. Dual-use materials are being procured ostensibly

for the civilian industry. Its Research and Development effort could have produced small amounts of BW agent.

But it also has a parallel covert nuclear weapons prog, based on the [?] for its civil power prog. Its civil prog is based...

## LIBYA

### SUMMARY

#### Ballistic Missiles:

- ageing SCUD B 300km range
- producing extended range variant with North Korean assistance (700-1000km)
- interest in procuring longer range North Korean missiles

#### Evidence

- *finance available for purchase*
- *trying to build propellant plant with Iranian assistance [redacted];*
- *parts for new SCUD missile seized at Gatwick airport with similar stops in Switzerland and India.*
- *[attempting to build a propellant plant with Iranian assistance]*

#### Nuclear:

- Has nuclear ambitions, but would need external assistance.

#### Evidence

- *Finance available.*
- *Trying to recruit foreign expertise*

#### CBW:

- :Libya is still working on attaining a chemical and biological weapons capability

#### Evidence

- *Produced CW agent at Rabta*
- *used against Chad in 1987*
- *work on underground facility at Tarhunah (claimed to be GMMR project)*

### Ballistic Missiles

Libya is the only country to have fired a missile at Europe when in 1986 it launched a SCUD at Italy in retaliation for the US bombing raid on Tripoli. Throughout the period of UN sanctions from 1992-1999 Libya sought ballistic missile equipment material and expertise, with limited success. Since then, the availability of increased financial resources has made more foreign assistance available, enabling Libya to move ahead with plans to augment its ageing 300km range SCUD-B force.

Under the auspices of the Al Fajr Al Jadid programme, it is now seeking to produce extended range SCUD missiles with extensive North Korean assistance. With an estimated range of 700-1000km, these will bring parts of southern Europe into range, including major NATO bases. Evidence from Customs and Excise seizures shows that Libya is also seeking to acquire the ability to produce its own engines for extended range SCUD-type missiles in future, rather than relying on supplies from North Korea.

A long-running separate effort to develop an indigenous ballistic missile, the Al Fatah programme, has met with little success. Libya is also constructing a plant to produce propellant suitable for its SCUD with help from Iran. While Slobodan Milosevic was in power Libya also received considerable help from Yugoslavia. We are concerned that some Belgrade arms dealers maintain links with Tripoli, albeit without the same official sanction. In the early 1990s, Libya was negotiating with North Korea for the supply of 1300km range No Dong missiles, which would have brought Israel and much of southern Europe into range. Although we cannot verify media reports suggesting this deal has been revived, Qadhafi still wants a longer-range capability.

### **Nuclear**

Libya continues to develop a civil nuclear research and development programme under IAEA safeguards. Russia renewed discussions in late 2000 after the lifting of sanctions on co-operation with the Tajura Nuclear Research Centre in Tripoli. This would provide the Libyans with opportunities to exploit technologies with the potential for diversion to a nuclear programme. We believe Qaddafi has a longstanding goal to obtain such a capability and is making progress, with the help of foreign scientists, to further this aim. With its financial resources, Libya would be in a position to buy in turnkey projects.

### **CBW**

Libya ~~has just ratified~~ **is negotiating to accede to the** CWC. But Libya developed a chemical warfare agent production facility at Rabta during the 1980s, and produced a stockpile of agent. It ~~used~~ **attempted to** CW against Chad forces in 1987. [It has subsequently switched its efforts to construction of an underground chemical agent production facility at Tarhunah which it claims was part of the Great Man Made River Project.] Since the ending of sanctions, Libya has again established contact with potential suppliers of precursor chemical, and continues to work towards achieving a CW programme. Libya continues to conduct research into BW and may have a small capability to produce BW agents. Libya's decision to accede to the CWC will entail a declaration of its past chemical weapon programmes.

## DOCUMENT 2

- Letter from J Hamilton-Eddy, dated 28 February 2002, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN'

Thank you to all those who attended the meeting last Tuesday to consider the unclassified paper on WMD countries of concern and for all subsequent comments.

I attach a revised draft which incorporates your points which seems to be coming along well. But there are a few areas where the incorporation of statements needs to be backed up with evidence. Iraq continues to look a bit thin. I would be grateful for confirmation that the statements in brackets can be retained in the paper.

On future handling, Julian Miller, Chief of Assessment Staff, intends to discuss with [redacted] early next week. If there are major difficulties with the way in which we have used material, or in validating the statements in square brackets, we would propose to hold a further meeting at senior level, probably on Monday or Tuesday, to iron out any problems. The paper will then be forwarded to No 10.

I would welcome your views on the latest draft by noon on Monday.

### DOCUMENT 3

- Letter from [redacted] to [redacted], dated 4 March 2002, titled 'DIS COMMENTS ON WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN (UNCLASSIFIED PAPER)

From: [...] ADI PS  
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE  
[redacted]

[...]

Your reference:

Our Reference: D/DI PS/8/1/2

[...]

#### **General Points:**

The inclusion of the sub-headings "*Evidence*" in the country boxes counterproductive as, generally, the statements concerned are not evidence. (DI ST NBC)

The CWC/BTWC are first mentioned as acronyms under North Korea. We suggest a couple of explanatory lines earlier, in the fourth para, under Background - these would also balance the detail given on the NPT. On the BTWC, we suggest: "The Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC) entered into force in 1972 and prohibits the possession or development of such weapons. (DI AC NBC)

At some point, it should be mentioned that Iraq, Iran and Libya are all States Parties to the BTWC. Depending on the decision taken re. the same statement for the DPRK, this point should either be reflected in the text box or in the text for each country. It would also be worth noting that Iraq has made several inaccurate returns under the BTWC's system of annual confidence-building declarations, and that Iran has made only a single incomplete return. Libya has made no returns. (DI AC NBC)

#### **Introduction:**

First bullet - The statement on North Korea will be a first. We have no problem with it as it reflects our assessment, but we note the JIC has never quite said this. (DI ST NBC)

Third bullet - Change to read: "Some countries also have, or wish to acquire biological weapons, some of which have the potential to cause casualties on the same scale as nuclear weapons." *Rationale:* All WMD are, by definition "dangerous and frightening". This judgement has appeared in JIC papers and in numerous authoritative publications. It would appear to be entirely appropriate to our perception of the objectives of this paper.

***Background:***

[redacted]

First paragraph. First sentence - Change to read "The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) provides an important framework for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. ~~containing the possession of nuclear weapons.~~ (DI AC NBC)

Third paragraph - The second sentence remains ambiguous. Whose knowledge? (DI ST NBC)

Second sentence - Begin sentence "However, because..."

Fourth paragraph - Insert "programmes" after "weapons" in the second sentence. Insert "-use" after "dual" in second sentence.

***Aim:***

Change first sentence to read "This paper sets out what we know about the efforts by ~~non-nuclear~~ states of concern to acquire weapons of mass destruction." *Rationale:* First para says NK has developed nuclear weapons already! (DI WMDP)

***NORTH KOREA:***

[redacted]

Box. Nuclear Evidence - first bullet. Add "over past activities" after IAEA. Consider adding third bullet "[suspected ongoing work]". *Subject to agreement of agencies.* (DI ST NBC)

CBW - first bullet. Suggest the following is used as a more powerful statement, [redacted]

Ballistic Missiles - First paragraph, Second sentence. Add "range" after "1300km".

Ballistic Missiles - Second paragraph, Third sentence. Delete "static".

Nuclear Weapons - First paragraph, First sentence. Replace "produced" with "diverted". (DI WMDP).

Nuclear Weapons - First paragraph, Last sentence. Change sentence to read "If the ~~Agreed Framework~~ agreement with the US collapses, North Korea could extract plutonium from spent fuel rods for additional nuclear weapons. *Rationale:* General public may not understand terminology. (DI WMDP).

Nuclear Weapons - Second paragraph, Last sentence. Change sentence to read "Such a development would circumvent the Agreed Framework [as above] and would breach a further indication of North Korea's breach of its international obligations. (DI WMDP)

### ***IRAQ:***

Box. Missiles - first bullet. Change "600Km" to "650Km". (DI WMDP)

Box. Nuclear *Evidence* - third bullet. Suggest delete. This is a statement NOT evidence. (DI WMDP)

Box. Nuclear *Evidence*. Suggest new third bullet [*covert procurement activity*] if the agencies will accept it. (DI ST NBC)

Box. CBW - *Evidence*. The second bullet is too generalised across CW and BW and the third is not even specific to Iraq. Suggest deletion of second and third bullets and replacement with the following:

- Produced and used proficiently a variety of chemical weapons in 1980s against Iraq and its own citizens.
- Concealed the development of the nerve agent VX until discovered by UNSCOM.
- Produced and weaponised at least three BW agents but concealed this capability until forced to declare in 1995.
- Failed to convince UNSCOM of the accuracy of its declarations. (DI ST NBC)

Ballistic Missiles - First paragraph, First sentence. Add to end of sentence "....Gulf War and previously at Tehran in the 1980s." (DI WMDP)

Ballistic Missiles - First paragraph, last 3 sentences. Suggest the following amendment and move to form new paragraph preceding "**[Iraq is working to .....**]

"Before the Gulf War, Iraq conducted a partial flight test of a multi-stage SLV based on SCUD technology, the Al Abid, built a longer range stretched SCUD, the Al-Abbas, with a range of 900km and had plans for a new SCUD-derived missile with a range of 1200km, and was developing the BADR-2000, a 700-1000km range two-stage solid propellant missile (based on the Iraqi part of the 1980s CONDOR-2 programme run in co-operation with Argentina and Egypt). There were plans for 1200-1500km range systems to follow on from this.  
*Rational:* Suggest work better if linked together - what has gone before gives clues to what is going on without saying outright. (DI WMDP)

Ballistic Missiles - Third paragraph, Second sentence. Delete "Former" insert "Federal" before Republic of Yugoslavia. *Rational:* Not "Former" or "S&M" since Dayton. (DI WMDP)

Ballistic Missiles - Fifth paragraph. Suggest to read as follows:

**" [Iraq is again working to develop longer-range missile systems. Test facilities are being constructed that are suitable for supporting a system larger than SCUD, with a possible range of over 1,000km (which would enable Saddam to threaten Israel, regional neighbours and NATO bases) and other prohibited R&D is believed to be underway] "** *Note:* This needs to be worded carefully - the stand is not conclusive proof on its own and we are not able to reveal the material on the engine project [redacted] or the [redacted] which we assume are connected. However, if the commercial satellite imagery provides strong enough evidence on the stand, we can hopefully get away with the publicly unsupported assertions made either side of the statement concerning it. Note that knowledge of the prohibited solid programme involving the large motor cases is [redacted], for which I don't think [redacted] see the original traffic – maximum modeling from the imagery provided the up to 2000km figure and we actually assess that 1500km is a more likely goal for what they are doing. (DI WMDP)

Nuclear - First paragraph. Last sentence. Add "and materials" after "components". (DI ST NBC)

CBW - First paragraph. First sentence. Suggest adding "a variety of" before "chemical weapons". (DI ST NBC)

CBW - Second paragraph. In the first bullet the use of the term "so-called" is considered inappropriate. The original term was "declared" and I think indicates that Iraq had "declared" that it had imported a certain amount of precursor, but could not account for how it had used it. In the second bullet the words "tons of" should follow "610". In the third bullet 6000 seems to be a number related to a discrepancy between the weapons Iraq claimed to have consumed in the Iran/Iraq war and that which documentation uncovered by inspectors (but confiscated again by Iraq) showed to have been used. It might, therefore be additional to

31,000 as "unaccounted for". However, there is uncertainty here which we will try, to clarify in the next few days. (DI ST NBC)

CBW - Last paragraph. The proposed first sentence expresses what is implicit in our position on sanctions. The last part sentence in brackets is more problematic. I believe Iraq is allowed to possess conventional free fall bombs, conventional missile warheads for its short range missiles which could be appropriate to the delivery of BW or CW. On the other hand we suspect it may have concealed warheads for the long range missiles it is not supposed to have. I am not aware of specific information on steps to preserve BW and CW capabilities by "hardening" but there is evidence of dispersal of assets. (DI ST NBC)

### ***IRAN:***

Box. Missiles - first bullet Change to "Present capability Shahab-1 (SCUD-B) 300km and Shahab-2 (SCUD-C), 500km. (DI WMDP)

Box. Missiles - third bullet Delete "5000km" Inset "6,000km". (DI WMDP)

Box. Nuclear. Evidence. Change first bullet to "knowledge of fuel cycle gained through civil nuclear programme, in particular on the Bushehr nuclear power reactor supplied by Russia. (DI ST NBC)

Box. CBW. We have no evidence that Iran has produced biological weapons. We believe it has produced chemical weapons but it has only acknowledged the production of a limited amount of CW agent so far in its declarations. The accuracy of its declarations is the subject of an unresolved, possibly ongoing, bilateral discussion (UK/ Iran). (DI ST NBC)

Ballistic Missiles - First paragraph, Last sentence. Amend to read as ". Iran has publicised its intention to field units of the Shahab-3, placing the majority of the Middle East, ~~including Israel within range and could be used against~~ and key NATO bases within range." (DI WMDP)

Ballistic Missiles - Second paragraph, Second sentence. Add the word "very" before "similar".

Ballistic Missiles - Second paragraph, Last sentence. Add "a" before "ballistic missile application".

Ballistic Missiles - Third paragraph. Suggest change to read as follows " Iran is developing a new short range ballistic missile, the Fateh-110, with solid propellant technology provided [redacted] Although this has a range of less than 300km, [text said 300km before and so does the MTCR!] and does not infringe MTCR guidelines which [redacted] has undertaken to observe [promise to US not

party to MTCR], experience gained from the programme will contribute to Iranian plans for longer-range solid propellant systems." (DI WMDP)

[redacted]

Nuclear. First Paragraph. Fourth sentence. Modify to "But it also provides Iran with the justification to develop all aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle which it could exploit in a covert weapon programme." (DI ST NBC)

CBW. First paragraph. Final sentence. We doubt that Iran intends to maintain a stockpile of chemical weapons, but we judge it will preserve the ability to produce them and may also continue to improve the range of agents available for this. We therefore prefer the form we suggested earlier: "Iran's past experience will enable it to maintain and improve the capability to produce chemical weapons at short notice should it chose to do so." (DI ST NBC)

### **LIBYA:**

[redacted]

Box. CBW - Evidence - third bullet Amend to read "*work on underground facility at Tarhunah (claimed to be part of the Great Man Made River project to irrigate/supply water to Libya's coastal region)*" (DI WMDP)

Ballistic Missiles - First paragraph. Second sentence. After "...expertise" add "from various sources,". (DI WMDP)

Ballistic Missiles - Third paragraph. Insert new 3<sup>rd</sup> sentence "We are concerned about reports that their links may extend to include work on actual missiles."  
*Rational:* Has appeared in new OSINF - present/future tense intentionally vague. (DI WMDP)

CBW. The timing of Libya's ratification of the CWC will need to be monitored in relation to any likely publication date. To our knowledge it has not formally happened yet. As indicated at the meeting it might be difficult to provide convincing evidence that Libya used CW against Chad forces in 1987. [redacted] – there were no casualties, nor identification of exactly where in the desert they were used. We assess that the underground facility was abandoned after the US made open reference to it, therefore delete "has" in the third sentence. (DI ST NBC)

[...]

## DOCUMENT 4

- Letter from P G Schulte, Director, Proliferation and Arms Control Secretariat, MOD, to J Hamilton-Eddy, copied to Policy Director DGISP, DGCC, DG Ops Pol, DCBW Pol, Head Sec(O) and DTIO, dated 4 March 2002, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN'

D/PACS/1/13

Reference:

A. Cabinet Office paper dated 28 February 2002.

1. The Policy Director has asked me to reply on his behalf to the paper at Reference.
2. Our major concern with the paper is that it is very selective in the countries that are discussed; no mention is made, for example, of [redacted] to name but a few. As a result, there is the danger that we will be charged with being overly selective, especially when we are about to table a Green Paper which will highlight the Former Soviet Union's illegal [redacted] BW programme. The risk is that the list will appear as simply a shadow of both the US "axis of evil" and of John Bolton's earlier statements, on a similarly selective basis, about BTWC cheats. The difference between ourselves and the US is that the latter publish detailed statements about such states on a regular basis: we don't, and it may, therefore, be more difficult for us, in future, to continue to refuse to answer questions about these and other WMD programmes on the grounds that we do not comment on intelligence assessments. In addition, having highlighted the extent of the problem, we may then be asked what we are doing about it which, in turn, could lead to criticism of our inaction in some areas.
3. Additionally, there may be merit in limiting the scope of the paper to cover only nuclear and missile issues in detail, and to limit concerns over CBW to a more general statement. In many cases, the arguments relating to CBW are somewhat thin and unconvincing. Take, for example, the detail relating to Iranian CBW issues. Whilst it is true to say that Iran has admitted to a past offensive CW programme and thus a capability to continue to produce CW, both ourselves and the US have made similar admissions. On BW, the claims made against Iran could apply to many other countries; [redacted]. Thus, although the assessment overall may be correct, it is not a compelling case against Iran. Similarly, in the case of North Korea, whilst it is true to say that she has not signed the CWC but has acceded to BTWC, what does this actually prove? After all, the UK is a State Party also. Finally, under North Korea, the statement made under CBW is very thin, and one wonders if its worth stating.
4. Overall, the Policy Director suggests that the revised paper is circulated at Confidential level in NATO and ESDP countries before publication.

Some manuscript amendments and specific concerns are at Annex A.

## MANUSCRIPT/SPECIFIC COMMENTS

Libya: Summary Box: The statement is made twice (Ballistic Missiles and Nuclear) that the evidence is "finance available". Could this be strengthened to state: "Finance has been set aside/earmarked/provided for"? After all a number of states may be in the position of having "finance available".

Libya: Nuclear paragraph: 5th line add: ".....to further this aim, although it has recently announced its intention to ratify the CTBT".

Libya: CBW paragraph. Add to last sentence ".....chemical weapon programmes, any chemical weapon production facilities and any CW stockpiles; weapons and production facilities will be verified by the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and destroyed under OPCW verification procedures"

Iran: Summary Box: CBW:

First bullet: change to read "Iran has admitted producing chemical weapons and has the capability to produce biological weapons".

Second bullet: change to read "Striving towards self sufficiency in production capability for chemical weapons precursors".

Iran: Nuclear Section: 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph: This can only be stated if we are confident that Russia can confirm the detail. It would be very risky if Russian cooperation was not gained in advance. If such cooperation is assured, then this paragraph should be incorporated into the 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph of this section.

Iran: CBW paragraph. First paragraph:

Fourth line: change "will" to "would"

Fifth line: change to read "enable it to manufacture weapons CW agent and maintain stockpiles".

Iraq: CBW paragraph. Second paragraph:

First bullet: delete "so-called"

Second bullet: to read "610 tons of precursor..."

WMD Programmes of Concern: Could not some of the public statements referred to in the Aim be used to support this paper?

WMD Programmes of Concern: Background:

Paragraph 1, Line 1: insert "The Nuclear Non-Proliferation....."

Paragraph 1, Line 2: Change "187" to "188".

Paragraph 1. Should not Israel also be mentioned, due to current tensions in the Middle East?

Paragraph 4, Line 2, end of first sentence add: ".....to go with them, in some cases in breach of their obligations under the Biological and Toxin Weapons and Chemical Weapons Conventions".

Paragraph 4. Line 3: Change "easier to hide" to "easier to blend in".

Paragraph 5: this could be deleted as it is almost complete repetition of 4<sup>th</sup> bullet of Introduction.

## DOCUMENT 5

- Letter from Duarte Figuera, Director, Non-Proliferation, DTI, to Tim Dowse, copied to Jane Hamilton-Eddy, dated 4 March 2002, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN'

We have examined the second draft of the above unclassified paper distributed by Jane Hamilton-Eddy. I thought it was important to make some general comments to FCO about the Iran part of the paper before it is finalised. To save time I am also circulating these comments in parallel to Jane. I have asked Jeremy Clayton to give you a ring on Monday 4<sup>th</sup> March to discuss as I will not be back in the office until the 7<sup>th</sup>. We are generally content with the rest of the paper.

[redacted]

Bushehr provides Iran with knowledge of the reactor stage of the nuclear fuel cycle, not the full cycle. China did not pledge not to provide Iran with nuclear fuel cycle technology because Bushehr gave Iran knowledge of the fuel cycle. Iran is of course perfectly entitled to have a uranium conversion facility, which has been declared (not mentioned). If Iran wants to develop a totally indigenous civil nuclear power programme as is stated, then it is no surprise that it would have a keen interest in uranium enrichment technology.

[redacted]

## DOCUMENT 6

- Letter from Julian Miller to [redacted], US Embassy, dated 6 March 2002, titled 'WMD: PUBLIC HANDLING'
1. I mentioned last week that we were preparing a draft paper for public consumption, setting out the facts on WMD in a number of nations.
  2. I attach the draft as it currently stands. I should emphasise that it contains a number of points drawn from intelligence which need further consideration. There are also continuing discussions on the policy approach to handling this material in public. And it may be buffed up somewhat by the presentational experts.
  3. Nonetheless, it would be helpful at this stage if you could arrange for it to be seen by your experts. We would particularly appreciate any views on whether material in the draft raises sensitivities from an intelligence perspective. And it would be most helpful to have any suggestions for additional input that might strengthen the public case.
  4. It would be most helpful to have US views on this draft by early next week.

## DOCUMENT 7

- Minute from John Scarlett to David Manning, copied to Sir Richard Wilson, 'C', Peter Ricketts, [redacted], Stephen Lander, Simon Webb, Joe French, Tom McKane and Julian Miller, dated 6 March 2002, ref Jp43, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN – UNCLASSIFIED', covering paper 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN'

1. Tom McKane's minute of 19 February commissioned a number of papers for the Prime Minister. We have provided him with the classified material requested from the Assessments Staff.

2. Additionally, we were asked to produce a paper for public use on the WMD threat. A draft is attached. We have had initial discussions with Agencies and others on this. There are reservations on several points:

- acknowledging that specific judgements draw on intelligence;
- including material that we know only from intelligence sources;
- going further than before in our accusations, [redacted]. There are concerns here for bilateral relations and the position of the IAEA.

3. We can discuss these issues (and indeed whether the paper should only focus on Iraq) at your meeting tomorrow. I note, however, that while the draft does take a maximalist line, it goes little further on most points than the material already published by the Americans (to whom we are showing this version in parallel).

4. Getting the presentational tone right will clearly be a key. We will need to consider at what stage to consult Alastair Campbell. Alastair is aware that the draft paper is being shown to you today and stands ready to advise. The present draft attempts to set out the main concerns and conclusions in very accessible form in the opening paragraphs. But the supporting detail is drafted a little more formally, to convey the sense that these difficult issues have been given authoritative treatment. It would be helpful to take an initial view tomorrow on whether this is the right approach.

- Paper, undated, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN'

*This 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 HMG is confident of the judgements set out in this paper.*

## **Introduction**

- Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons are collectively known as Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Several countries have WMD programmes and missiles systems to deliver 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.
- Several countries that promised not to acquire nuclear weapons are trying to build them; North Korea has probably already succeeded.
- There are similar problems over chemical weapons. Most countries banned them long ago. But some countries have still not ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention and others are in breach of it. Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons against Iran, and against his own Kurdish people, as recently as the late 1980s.
- Some countries also have, or wish to acquire, biological weapons, some of which have the potential to cause casualties on the same scale as nuclear weapons.
- We know too that Usama Bin Laden's Al Qaida has for several years tried to get nuclear, chemical and biological agents. They had some success, and may even have obtained some chemical, biological and radiological materials, before being seriously disrupted by coalition action in Afghanistan. They will keep on trying.
- These facts are alarming. This paper sets out what the Government knows about them, consistent with the protection of sensitive sources of information.

## **Background**

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) provides an important framework for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. Some 188 nations have signed and ratified it. Four nations have chosen not to. Three of whom we know have developed nuclear weapons. This is a matter of concern - not least in the context of the current tensions between two of them; India and Pakistan.

The position of the NPT non-signatories is a matter of serious concern. But it is well known. The focus of this paper is elsewhere. There is increasingly worrying evidence that several countries that have signed the NPT are nonetheless seeking to breach the Treaty and acquire nuclear weapons. Such actions are illegal and destabilising. The governments concerned are themselves volatile and unpredictable. If these countries succeed in bypassing their international obligations and acquire nuclear weapons, the world will become immeasurably more dangerous.

These programmes are shrouded in secrecy. However, because these countries are dependent on external assistance to achieve their objectives, intelligence can be acquired through the activities of those who are supplying them with materials, components and expertise.

Additionally these and other countries are attempting to acquire biological and chemical means of mass destruction and the necessary delivery systems to go with them, in some cases in breach of their obligations under the Biological and Toxin Weapons and Chemical Weapons Conventions which entered into force in 1975 and 1997 respectively. Chemical and biological weapons programmes can be hidden within legitimate civil industrial and medical programmes and are therefore easier to hide than nuclear weapons programmes, given the dual-use nature of much of the equipment and many precursors materials.

### **Aim**

This paper sets out what we know about the efforts by states of concern to acquire weapons of mass destruction. It inevitably draws upon sensitive intelligence sources and there is a limit to the level of detail which can be revealed.

## **Summary**

### **North Korea:**

- North Korea is currently the world's most prolific supplier of ballistic missile systems.
- It has sold hundreds of missiles and remains ready and able to continue.
- It has developed and produced a number of different types of missile for its own forces and also for export.
- North Korea has already produced at least 1-2 nuclear weapons and continues with a covert nuclear weapons programme.
- It probably has both offensive CW and BW weapons programmes.

### **Iraq:**

- Iraq has a chemical and biological weapons capability.
- Iraq is seeking a nuclear weapons capability.
- Iraq is developing longer-range ballistic missiles capable of delivering these weapons of mass destruction through out the Middle East and Gulf Region.

### **Iran:**

- Iran is developing a full range of ballistic missiles, and could have an intercontinental capability by the end of the decade.
- Iran's pursuit of a fully indigenous nuclear fuel cycle provides legitimate cover for procuring technology applicable to its nuclear weapons programme.
- Iran has a chemical weapons programme and is capable of producing a wide range of chemical weapons. Iran is also capable of producing biological weapons.

### **Libya:**

- Libya is seeking to extend the range of its ballistic missiles to cover more of southern Europe and Israel.
- Libya is conducting research and development into offensive chemical and biological weapons.

## NORTH KOREA

### SUMMARY

#### Ballistic Missiles:

- SCUD B (300km range) and C (500km range)
- No Dong with range of 1300km
- Taepo Dong 2 under development with range possibility up to 15,000km
- World's biggest exporter of ballistic missiles

#### Evidence:

- *Taepo Dong 1 Space Launch Vehicle test in 1998*
- *Around 400 missiles have been sold in the past 15 years*

#### Nuclear:

- Plutonium production frozen in 1994
- Believed to have covertly diverted sufficient fissile material for 1-2 nuclear devices in breach of its international obligations under the NPT.
- Concern over covert nuclear programme.

#### Evidence:

- *failure to co-operate fully with the IAEA*
- *[covert procurement activity]*

#### CBW:

- possesses the chemical and biotechnological infrastructure to support the development of agents and weapons

#### Evidence:

- *Has not signed CWC but has acceded to BTWC*

### Ballistic Missiles

North Korea is continuing with its ambitious ballistic missile programme despite efforts by the international community to constrain it. It has over 500 SCUD B and C missiles in its inventory and is producing the 1300km range No Dong missile for its own forces and for export. In August 1998 North Korea launched a three stage Taepo Dong-1 satellite launch vehicle (SLV), in an attempt to place a small satellite into orbit. The launch demonstrated a capability to produce a missile with a range of about 2000km, which would enable North Korea to reach wide areas of the Far East.

A two-stage Taepo Dong-2 missile is under development which would have a range of 5-6000km. A modified version, using a third stage, could have a range of 10-15,000km which would put the UK and US within reach. In 1999 in response to US pressure, North Korea agreed to a flight moratorium on missile tests, but it has continued with ground based tests. The Taepo Dong-2 may be ready for flight testing as soon as the moratorium ends.

North Korea is the world's most prolific supplier of ballistic missile systems. North Korea has exported around 400 ballistic missiles during the past 15 years and has used the cash derived from such sales in its missile development programmes. Exports of No Dong technology to Iran and Pakistan have enabled them to produce their own version of this 1300km-range missile; and missile technology and expertise has also been provided to Syria and Libya.

### **Nuclear Weapons**

In breach of its obligations under the NPT, North Korea diverted plutonium at its Yongbyong nuclear facility. But production was frozen by agreement with the US in 1994 in return for US assistance with power generating equipment. Prior to that date, North Korea probably diverted sufficient fissile material for 1-2 weapons. If the agreement with the US collapses, North Korea could extract plutonium from spent fuel rods for additional nuclear weapons.

Concern remains over the possibility that North Korea is pursuing a covert nuclear programme. [Recent procurement activity indicates that North Korea may be developing a capability to produce Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU). This can be used in nuclear weapons instead of plutonium. Such a development would circumvent the Agreed Framework and would breach North Korea's international obligations. - [redacted] *would prefer to delete*]

### **Chemical and Biological Weapons**

North Korea has not signed the Chemical Weapons Convention but has acceded to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. North Korea has a long-standing interest, going back to the 1960s, in both offensive chemical and biological weapons programmes. It has a significant but old chemical industry and a developing civil biotechnology industry which could support the production of agents, including nerve, blister, blood and choking agents, as well as biological agents and toxins such as anthrax, cholera and plague.

It is likely to have weaponised agent in artillery, rockets, aerial bombs and missile warheads. We believe North Korea still retains a stockpile of agents and weapons.

### **Conclusion**

- **Ballistic missiles have been North Korea's only successful export. It has sold hundreds of missiles and remains ready and able to continue.**
- **It has developed and produced a number of different types of missile for its own forces and also for export.**
- **North Korea has already produced at least 1-2 nuclear weapons and continues with a covert nuclear weapons programme.**
- **It probably has both offensive CW and BW weapons programmes.**

## IRAQ

### **SUMMARY**

#### **Ballistic Missiles:**

- Retained more than dozen prohibited Al Hussein (650km) missiles
- Working on designs for longer range missiles

#### *Evidence:*

- *Infrastructure damaged in Gulf War and Operation Desert Fox now largely reconstituted.*
- *Infrastructure for longer range missiles under construction*

#### **Nuclear:**

- Iraq has a nuclear weapons programme, but it is unable to produce fissile material while sanction remain in place

#### *Evidence:*

- *Comprehensive programme prior to Gulf War.*
- *Recalled scientists to work on a nuclear weapons programme;*
- *Covert efforts to procure nuclear related materials and technology.*

#### **CBW**

- Iraq has a capability to produce CBW weapons at short notice

#### *Evidence:*

- *The amount of chemical and biological material, including weapons and agents, left unaccounted for when the UNSCOM inspections terminated would provide a significant offensive capability.*
- *Produced and used proficiently a variety of chemical weapons in 1980s against Iran and its own citizens*
- *Concealed the development of the nerve agent VX until discovered by UNSCOM;*
- *Produced and weaponised at least three BW agents but concealed this capability until forced to declare in 1995;*
- *Failed to convince UNSCOM of the accuracy of its declarations.*

Successful enforcement of the sanctions regimes and the UN arms embargo have hindered Iraq's reconstitution efforts, although WMD programmes continue. Since the withdrawal of inspectors in 1998, monitoring of Iraqi attempts to restore a WMD capability has become more difficult.

#### **Ballistic Missiles**

Prior to the Gulf war, Iraq had a well-developed missile industry. Iraq fired 500 SCUD-type missiles at Iran during the Iran-Iraq War and 93 SCUD type-missiles during the Gulf War. Iraq produced a stretched version of the SCUD missile, the Al Hussein, with an extended range of 650 km. Iraq was also working on a longer range stretched SCUD, the Al-Abbas, with a range of 900km. Iraq was also seeking to reverse engineer the SCUD engine with a view to producing new missiles and had plans for a new SCUD-derived missile with a range of 1200km. Iraq also conducted a partial flight test of a multi-stage satellite launch vehicle based on SCUD technology, known as the Al Abid.

Iraq was also developing the BADR-2000, a 700-1000km range two-stage solid propellant missile (based on the Iraqi part of the 1980s CONDOR-2 programme run in co-operation with Argentina and Egypt). There were plans for 1200-1500km range solid propelled follow-on systems.

Since the Gulf War Iraq has been openly developing short-range missiles up to a range of 150km, which are permitted under UN Security Resolution 687. The short range Al-Samoud liquid propelled missile has been extensively tested, has appeared on public parade in Baghdad and is judged to be nearing deployment. Testing of the solid propelled Ababil-100 is also underway. In the absence of UN inspectors, Iraq has also worked on extending the range of these missiles beyond the 150km limit. We judge that Iraq has also retained more than a dozen Al Hussein missiles, which were either hidden from the UN as complete systems, or have been re-assembled using illegally retained engines and other components.

Iraq is now working to develop longer-range missile systems, with ranges up to 2,000km, which will enable it to threaten Israel, regional neighbours and NATO members. Many hundreds of people are believed to be working on this programme. There is evidence of an engine test facility being constructed, which would be capable of supporting missile systems larger than existing SCUD variants. Iraq is also working on improving guidance technology to increase missile accuracy. However, while UN restrictions remain in place, the development of these systems is likely to be a slow process. These restrictions impact particularly on the:

- availability of foreign expertise;
- conduct of test flights;
- acquisition of guidance and control technology.

Saddam remains committed to developing longer-range missiles and could achieve a limited medium range capability by the end of the decade even if sanctions remain in place.

Iraq has managed to rebuild much of the missile production infrastructure destroyed in the Gulf War and in Operation Desert Fox in 1998. Despite a UN embargo, Iraq has also made concerted efforts to acquire additional production technology, including machine tools, and raw materials such as graphite for use in missile nose cones and jet vanes. The embargo has succeeded in blocking many of these attempts, but some items have inevitably slipped through and will continue to do so.

New missile-related infrastructure is under construction, including a plant for producing ammonium perchlorate, which is a key ingredient in the production of solid propellant rocket motors. This was obtained through an Indian chemical engineering firm with extensive links in Iraq. While Slobodan Milosevic was in power Iraq also received considerable help from the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia, including assistance with guidance and control technology. While no longer officially sanctioned, some Belgrade arms dealers maintain links with Baghdad.

### **Nuclear**

Before the Gulf war, Iraqi plans for the development of a nuclear weapon were well advanced. Iraq was planning and constructing fissile material production facilities and work on a weapon designs was underway. We assess that in 1991 Iraq was only three years away from possessing a nuclear weapon. Iraq still wants a nuclear weapons capability and is working to achieve it. Much of their former expertise has been retained and there is intelligence that specialists have been recalled to work on a nuclear weapons programme. But Iraq needs certain key components and materials for the production of fissile material, which would be necessary before a nuclear bomb could be developed. Iraq is covertly attempting to acquire nuclear related technology and materials, such as specialised aluminium, which is prohibited under the terms of international non-proliferation agreements because of its potential application in gas centrifuges used to enrich uranium.

So long as sanctions continue to hinder the import of such crucial goods, Iraq would find it difficult to produce a nuclear weapon. After the lifting of sanctions we assess that Iraq would need five years to produce a weapon. Progress would be much quicker if Iraq was able to buy suitable fissile material.

### **Chemical and Biological Weapons**

Iraq had made frequent use of a variety of chemical weapons. During the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq used significant quantities of mustard, tabun and other nerve agents resulting in some 25,000 Iranian casualties. In 1988 Saddam also used mustard and various nerve agents against the Kurds in northern Iraq, resulting in 1,500-3,500 casualties. Iraq has admitted to the production of blister agent (mustard), nerve agents (tabun, sarin, cyclo-sarin) and there is good evidence that it stockpiled a mental incapacitant (Agent 15).

After years of denial Iraq has admitted to producing 3 tons of VX nerve agent, but only after UNSCOM discovered strong evidence of VX in missile warheads. Iraq maintains that the chemical weapons programme was halted in January 1991 and all agents destroyed by April 1991. However, there are inconsistencies in Iraqi documentation on destruction. UN weapons inspectors have been unable to account for:

- 4,000 tons of declared precursor chemicals used in the production of chemical weapons;
- 610 tons of precursor chemicals used in the production of VX;
- some 31,000 chemical weapons munitions.

Despite pressure from weapons inspectors after the war, Iraq did not admit to the existence of a biological programme until 1995 when the defection of Saddam's

son-in-law, Hussein Kamil forced its hand. It admitted to producing anthrax, botulinum toxin and aflatoxin and to working on a number of other agents. Iraq finally admitted that it had weaponised some agents, which included warheads for its Al Hussein ballistic missiles. It has claimed that all its biological agents have been destroyed, although no proof of this has been offered. UN inspectors could not account for large quantities of growth media used in biological weapon production, enough to produce over three times the amount of anthrax Iraq admits to having manufactured.

We assess that Iraq has a covert chemical and biological weapons programme. All the necessary expertise has been retained. Iraq appears to be installing or repairing dual use equipment at suspect facilities, which could be used for chemical or biological weapon production. This includes the Habbaniyah Chemical Headquarters site. Iraq is assessed to be self-sufficient in terms of producing biological weapons. Iraq is assessed to be capable of producing the chemical agents:

- sulphur mustard, tabun, sarin, GF, VX, hydrogen cyanide, and phosgene and the biological agents:
- anthrax, botulinum toxin, plague and aflatoxin.

As well as retaining more conventional delivery means such as free fall bombs and missile warheads, Iraq is also modifying L-29 light aircraft and seeking UAV technology, which would be suited for delivery of chemical and biological weapons. Strategies that enable key parts of the chemical and biological weapons programme to survive a military strike have been developed.

## **Conclusion**

- **Iraq has a chemical and biological weapons capability.**
- **Iraq is seeking a nuclear weapons capability.**
- **Iraq is developing longer-range ballistic missiles capable of delivering these weapons of mass destruction through out the Middle East and Gulf Region.**

## IRAN

### **SUMMARY**

#### **Ballistic Missiles:**

- Present capability 300km Shahab-1 (SCUD B) and 500km Shahab-2 (SCUD C);
- Developing a 1,300km Shabab-3 (no Dong);
- North Korean co-operation could lead to longer range capabilities up to 6,000km

#### *Evidence:*

- *Public display of Shahab-3, and flight tests in July and September 2000*
- *Defence Minister claimed development of Shahab-4 and mentioned plans for Shahab-5.*

#### **Nuclear:**

- Iran has a covert nuclear weapons programme

#### *Evidence:*

- *Covert procurement activity*

#### **CBW:**

- Iran has admitted producing chemical and has the capability to produce biological weapons.

#### *Evidence.*

- *Civil infrastructure and expertise to support a programme;*
- *Striving towards self sufficiency in chemical precursor production capability;*
- *Covert procurement of dual use materials and equipment.*

### **Ballistic Missiles**

Iran is putting significant resources in time, money and people into its ballistic missile programmes. Currently it has a force of several hundred SCUD B and C liquid propellant missiles and is producing its own variants with help from North Korea. This has given Iran a range capability of up to 500km. However it has ambitious plans to produce longer-range systems. Efforts are centred on the 1300km range No Dong missile supplied by North Korea. Iran's plan to reverse engineer the No Dong and produce a domestic version, the Shahab 3, is nearing completion. Flight tests were held in 1998, 2000 and 2001. Iran has publicised its intention to field units of the Shahab-3, placing the majority of the Middle East and NATO members within range. Iran is working to deploy a substantial force of Shabab-3s. Iran is also looking to export missile technology to other countries.

The Iranian defence minister has acknowledged publicly that Iran is working on a Shahab-4, described as a "space launch vehicle" and an unidentified Shahab-5. These could provide the basis for longer-range missiles, since the technologies for ballistic missiles and satellite launch vehicles are very similar. The development of these new systems could also benefit from North Korean assistance. If North Korea shares its Taepo dong-1 and 2 technology, Iran could develop ballistic missiles with ranges of 2000km and 5000-6000 km or longer. A

number of Russian firms were placed under US sanctions for assisting with liquid propellant rocket engine technology which could have a ballistic missile application, and would give Iranians an alternative route to an intercontinental missile capability, which Iran could develop by the end of the decade.

### **Nuclear**

Iran is seeking to master the full nuclear fuel cycle so that it can develop a totally indigenous civil nuclear power programme. This civil programme is based on the Bushehr nuclear reactor supplied by Russia. This reactor will be run under IAEA safeguards, which prevent the diversion of fissile material from the reactor. However, Russian firms and individuals continue to provide unauthorised expertise on various aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle. Russian authorities have made attempts to control such activities, which appear to be financially motivated, [redacted]. The Iranians are also seeking Atomic Vapour Laser Isotope Separation from Russia, which could provide Iran with a capability to produce weapons grade uranium. Export of this equipment is held up pending investigation by the Russian Authorities.

Iran's development of an indigenous nuclear fuel cycle could be exploited for use in a covert weapons programme. For this reason, China pledged in 1997 not to supply Iran with uranium conversion technology, and withdrew from a uranium conversion project. This project could have given Iran the necessary feed material for a nuclear weapon programme. The US has concluded that Iran is pursuing a nuclear weapons capability under the guise of its developing civil nuclear programme - we agree.

### **Chemical and Biological Weapons**

The impetus for Iran's chemical weapons programme came from the use by Iraq of chemical agents during the Iran-Iraq war. Iran acceded to the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1998 and acknowledged a past chemical weapons programme. Iran admitted to producing nitrogen and sulphur mustard, but claims to have terminated the programme in 1988. There is intelligence that Iran continues to have a chemical weapons programme. Efforts have been made to acquire the necessary precursor chemicals for making chemical weapons and Iran may be close to achieving self-sufficiency in their manufacture. This would make detection of a chemical weapons programme more difficult in future. Iran's past experience will enable it to maintain and improve the capability to produce chemical weapons at short notice. Iran is capable of producing mustard and a range of blood and nerve agents.

Iran has a growing biotechnology industry and an infrastructure capable of sustaining a BW programme. Dual-use materials are being procured, ostensibly for the civilian industry. Iran is probably capable of producing a variety of biological agents, including anthrax. However, there is no conclusive evidence that they are currently doing so.

## **Conclusion**

- **Iran is developing a full range of ballistic missiles, and could have an intercontinental capability by the end of the decade.**
- **Iran's pursuit of a fully indigenous nuclear fuel cycle provides legitimate cover for procuring technology applicable to its nuclear weapons programme.**
- **Iran has a chemical weapons programme and is capable of producing a wide range of chemical weapons. Iran is also capable of producing biological weapons.**

## LIBYA

### SUMMARY

#### Ballistic Missiles:

- Present capability of 300km SCUD-B;
- Producing 700-1,000km SCUD variant with North Korean assistance;
- Interest in procuring longer range North Korean missiles

#### Evidence

- *Finance available for purchase;*
- *Trying to build propellant plant with Iranian assistance;*
- *Parts for new SCUD missile seized at Gatwick airport with similar stops in Switzerland and India;*

#### CBW:

- :Libya is still working on attaining a chemical and biological weapons capability

#### Evidence

- *Produced CW agent at Rabta*

### Ballistic Missiles

Libya is the only country to have fired a missile at Europe when in 1986 it launched a SCUD at Italy in retaliation for the US bombing raid on Tripoli. Throughout the period of UN sanctions from 1992-1999 Libya sought ballistic missile equipment, material and expertise from various sources, with limited success. Since then, the availability of increased financial resources and removal of sanctions, has made more foreign assistance available, enabling Libya to move ahead with plans to augment its ageing 300km range SCUD-B force.

A long-running effort to develop an indigenous ballistic missile, the Al Fatah programme, has met with little success. However, under the auspices of the Al Fajr Al Jadid programme, Libya is now seeking to produce extended range SCUD missiles with extensive North Korean assistance, which includes provision of components and equipment. With an estimated range of 700-1000km, these will bring more of southern Europe into range, including major NATO bases.

Evidence from Customs and Excise seizures shows that Libya is seeking in future to acquire the ability to produce its own engines for extended range SCUD-type missiles, rather than relying on supplies from North Korea. Libya is also constructing a plant to produce propellant suitable for its SCUD with help from Iran. While Slobodan Milosevic was in power Libya also received considerable help from Yugoslavia with miscellaneous missile related parts; some Belgrade arms dealers maintain links with Tripoli, albeit without the same official sanction. In the early 1990s, Libya was negotiating with North Korea for the purchase of 1300km range No Dong missiles, which would have brought Israel and much of southern Europe into range. Although we cannot verify media reports suggesting this deal has been revived, Qadhafi still wants a longer-range capability.

### **Chemical and Biological Weapons**

Libya is negotiating to accede to the Chemical Weapons Convention, which will entail a declaration of its past chemical weapon programmes. Libya developed a chemical warfare agent production facility at Rabta during the 1980s, and produced a stockpile of 100 tons of blister and nerve agent. Libya subsequently switched its efforts to construction of an underground chemical agent production facility at Tarhunnah in the early 1990s, which it claims was part of the Great Man Made River Project. Following publicity regarding the project, little activity has been noted at this site. Since the ending of sanctions, Libya has again established contact with potential suppliers of precursor chemicals, and continues to work towards achieving a chemical weapons production capability. Libya also continues to conduct research into biological weapons and may have a small capability to produce biological warfare agents.

### **Conclusion**

- **Libya is seeking to extend the range of its ballistic missiles to cover more of southern Europe and Israel.**
- **Libya is conducting research and development into offensive chemical and biological weapons.**

## DOCUMENT 8

- Minute from Julian Miller to David Manning, copied to John Scarlett, Tom McKane and Jane Hamilton Eddy, dated 11 March 2002, titled 'WMD: PUBLIC PAPER'
1. You asked that we should look hard at the facts on Iraq, which would come in for tough scrutiny. I held a meeting today with DIS and [redacted] experts to go through the draft.
  2. You asked particularly about the missile programmes. The experts confirmed that they are confident Iraq retains and could use 650 km Al Hussein missiles. They date from before the gulf War and may be seen as old news. But they are in breach of UNSCRs; and could still be effective. (Similar missiles have been used by the Russians in Chechnya.) We have also checked, and tightened up the language, on other missile programmes.  
  
[redacted]
  4. Separately, Alastair Campbell had a first run through the draft this morning. He seemed to think it was on the right lines; but suggested a number of areas where more details could be included, eg background on missiles and on the effects of WMD. We are working these up now, and will circulate a revised text shortly. Alastair also commissioned an unclassified paper on the world trade in WMD. We are starting the ball rolling on this.

## DOCUMENT 9

- Excerpt of minute from Simon McDonald to Peter Ricketts, copied to PS, PS/PUS, Stephen Wright, Michael Wood, Graham Fry, Alan Goulty, William Ehrman and Head:MED, dated 11 March 2002, titled 'Iraq'

Thank you for your minute of 8 March covering the draft non-JIC papers for the Prime Minister's use at Crawford next month. The Foreign Secretary would like (as you suggest) an office meeting later this week or next week to discuss all this. The Diary Secretary will be in touch.

On the WMD Programmes of Concern paper, the Foreign Secretary commented: "Good, but should not Iraq be first and also have more text? The paper has to show why there is an exceptional threat from Iraq. It does not quite do this yet."

[...]

## DOCUMENT 10

- Minute from John Scarlett to "C", Peter Ricketts, [redacted], Stephen Lander, Mike O'Shea, Simon Webb and Joe French, copied to David Manning Tom McKane and Julian Miller, dated 13 March 2002, ref. Jp47, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN — PUBLIC VERSION'
1. Thank you for all of the comments and contributions that we have received on the unclassified paper on WMD programmes of concern. Please find attached a final draft which further reflects the views of No 10 who had a chance to comment on an earlier version. No 10 were broadly content with the thrust of the paper. I would welcome any final comments by midday on Thursday 14 March.
  2. There are still some reservations on a number of key points:  
  
[redacted].
  4. Going further than before in our statements especially on Iran and Libya nuclear weapons programmes. There are concerns here for bilateral relations and the position of the IAEA.
  5. On future handling, I intend to hold a meeting of senior officials at 16.30 Thursday to resolve any outstanding issues. The paper will then be forwarded to David Manning on Friday.

## DOCUMENT 11

- Email from [redacted], AMA/CDI, to [redacted], copied to CDI.D.I.PS, sent at 14:50, 14 March 2002, titled 'FW: WMD PROGRAMMES DRAFT', covering attachment '02-03-14 Comments on WMD Prog...'

[...]

I apologise for the informality of this document, but the senior staff in the DIS are all either away or tied up into conferences and I am loathe to treat this as official.

That said, the attached comments have been provided by those that would have been staffing this issue for CDI and are therefore likely to be representative of what we would have sent to you anyway. I hope they will therefore be of some use.

I would be grateful if you would treat this as advice from DIS desk officers rather than the official DIS position. If this is unacceptable, please let me know. I could at a push recall DCDI from conference, although I don't believe this is necessary.

[redacted], who pulled this together, will be representing the DIS at the meeting to discuss the issues this afternoon.

[...]

- Attachment '02-03-14 Comments on WMD Prog...', titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN – PUBLIC VERSION'

I refer to your Jp47 dated 13 March

We are generally content with the paper, and have only a small number of comments. Minor drafting points have been sent to the Assessment staff direct.

On the question of presentation, [redacted]

### ***North Korea, missiles.***

The figure used for in-country deployment and export appear to be derived from [redacted], and published in the open press (e.g. Jane's). We could not substantiate them from our own analysis.

### ***Iraq.***

The summary box included the statement that " Iraq concealed the development of the nerve agent VX until discovered by UNSCOM.". We believe this is incorrect. Iraq admitted to the development of VX at an early stage but did not admit to large-scale production until 1995 under pressure from UNSCOM.

In the paragraph referring to Iraq retaining more than a dozen Al Hussein missiles we state that, although not very accurate, it is an effective system. We suggest adding "against area targets such as cities" to emphasise the potential use in indiscriminate attacks on population centres.

In the UNSCR 687 text box, it is stated that UNSCOM and the IAEA must report that their mission has been achieved before the Security Council can end sanctions. We recommend adding that they have not yet done so.

With regard to the reference to the L-29 in the last paragraph, we do not believe there is sufficient intelligence to support the statement that the L-29 modification was designed for CBW dispersal. As such, we could have difficulties justifying the statement.

### ***Iran/Iraq***

The placing of the text box on biological agents within the Iran section could be misleading, given that the agents listed apply to Iraq.

### ***Iran.***

The second paragraph states "The US has concluded that all the evidence points to the conclusion that Iran is pursuing a nuclear weapons capability under the guise of its developing civil nuclear programme - we agree." We recommend that this should be replaced with "Iran has a covert nuclear weapon programme", given that there is no need –from an intelligence perspective – to shelter behind a US statement.

### ***Libya***

In the first paragraph under ballistic missiles the paper states ". the availability of increased financial resources and lifting of sanctions in 1999, has made more foreign assistance acceptable,..". We believe it should read ". has made more foreign assistance available."

The paper refers to a 1999 HM Customs and Excise seizure, which shows that Libya is seeking in future to acquire the ability to produce its own engines for extended range SCUD-type missiles, rather than relying on supplies from North Korea. To add some further credence, we suggest including one of the photos of turbopump production equipment seized at Gatwick. This would be actual evidence.

Cc

'C'

Peter Ricketts

[redacted]

Stephen Lander

Mike O'Shea

Simon Webb

David Manning

Tom McCane

Julian Miller

## DOCUMENT 12

- Paper, undated, titled 'DIS COMMENTS ON WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN (UNCLASSIFIED PAPER)'

### **General Points:**

DIS are generally content with the paper, but there is still some scope for polishing it up - given time. There are some minor inconsistencies, which may be picked up by outside "experts" and used as a starting point of undermining the whole paper - something the Cabinet Office specifically wanted to avoid.

The paper refers to India, Pakistan and probably North Korea as having nuclear weapons. [redacted]

Minor drafting points have been sent to the Assessment Staff directly but we offer the following more general comments:

### **North Korea:**

We remain a bit concerned about the use of missile numbers for North Korean in-country deployment and export. The numbers appear to be derived from [redacted], published in the open press (e.g. Jane's) and we cannot substantiate them from our own analysis.

### **Iraq:**

In the summary to the paper (third bullet point) we make the categorical statement that Iraq has a chemical and biological weapons capability. Whilst historically this is correct, we are currently unsure as to Iraq absolute capability. We feel there may be difficulty supporting this in the public domain. We would prefer a bullet point similar to the third bullet point for Iran.

In the paragraph referring to Iraq retaining more than a dozen Al Hussein missiles we state that the although they are not very accurate they are an effective system. We suggest adding "against area targets such as cities". This then makes the point as to why considered nasty.

In the text box UNSCR 687 is states that UNSCOM and the IAEA must report that their mission has been achieved before the Security Council can end sanctions. We would like to add that they have not yet done so.

In the summary box on Iraq it states that "Concealed the development of the nerve agent VX until discovered by UNSCOM." This is wrong, Iraq admitted to the development of VX at an early stage but did not admit to large-scale production until 1995 under pressure from UNSCOM.

In the last Paragraph under Iraq we are not wholly convinced that the L-29 jet trainer was also designed for CBW dispersal. We simply don't know and may have difficulties justifying this judgement.

The placing of the text box on bio agents within the Iran section is unfortunate, as the agents are those mentioned for Iraq.

***Iran:***

In the second paragraph under Iran nuclear the paper states "The US has concluded that all the evidence points to the conclusion that Iran is pursuing a nuclear weapons capability under the guise of its developing civil nuclear programme - we agree." We are confident enough ([redacted]) to state in the summary box that "Iran has a covert nuclear weapon programme", so we should abandon this sentence, which hides behind the US, and replace it (probably earlier in the section) with "Iran has a covert nuclear weapon programme".

***Libya:***

In the first paragraph under ballistic missiles the paper states "..the availability of increased financial resources and lifting of sanctions in 1999, has made more foreign assistance acceptable...". The terminology *acceptable* has never been the case, believe it should read "..has made more foreign assistance available..".

The paper refers to a 1999 HM Customs and Excise seizure, which shows that Libya is seeking in future to acquire the ability to produce its own engines for extended range SCUD-type missiles, rather than relying on supplies from North Korea. To add some further credence to this might it be possible to release one of the photos of turbopump production equipment seized at Gatwick. This would be actual evidence.

We support the inclusion of the square bracket paragraph under nuclear. This is probably as much as we could say, [redacted], but at least it is raising the issue of Libyan nuclear intentions, which is worthwhile.

## DOCUMENT 13

- Excerpt of minute from John Scarlett to David Manning, copied to Sir Richard Wilson, 'C', [redacted], Stephen Lander, Peter Ricketts, Mike O'Shea, Simon Webb, Joe French, Tom McKane, Julian Miller and Jane Hamilton Eddy, dated 15 March 2002, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN – PUBLIC VERSION'
1. As requested in Tom McKane's minute of 19 February, I attach a paper for public consumption setting out the facts on weapons of mass destruction. It has been agreed with the intelligence agencies here. [redacted]
  2. The paper has been seen by policy departments here. They have commented on the following points:
    - **Scope of the paper:** The Foreign Secretary felt that an earlier draft did not demonstrate why Iraq posed a greater threat than other countries of concern. The new draft highlights some unique features (violation of SCRs; use of CW agents against own people). You may still wish to consider whether more impact could be achieved if the paper only covered Iraq. This would have the benefit of obscuring the fact that in terms of WMD, Iraq is not that exceptional. But it would diminish the impact of the paper in terms of the wider problem of WMD proliferation.
- [redacted]
- **Iran:** the paper makes it clear for the first time that we assess Iran to have nuclear and chemical weapons programmes. The Americans have previously made similar public statements. We risk being challenged by Iran to back up our claims. And others might also ask why we have not launched challenge procedures under the IAEA and OPCW the executive councils of both meet next week. The Americans have already faced such questions. This paper will provoke a strong Iranian reaction and they are likely to challenge us to back up our claims. [redacted] Our response to any criticism might be that we have sufficient information to give us confidence that the programmes exist, but not sufficient detail to support specific challenge action. We have chosen wording in the text to support this approach.
  - **Libya:** here too we propose making public accusations for the first time on their nuclear and chemical programmes (Libya is negotiating to join the CWC). Again, the Americans have been here before us. But there is an issue over the timing of a high-profile public initiative, and political sensitivities given the current state of bilateral relations, and our attempts to draw Libya back into the trilateral discussions to resolve outstanding Lockerbie issues. There is a possibility of a visit to Tripoli by Mr Bradshaw

on 8-10 April, which would be the first by a British Minister since the restoration of diplomatic relations.

- **Syria:** not included in the paper because not expected to develop capabilities threatening to western interests (no long-range missiles). It is not clear if they are pursuing a nuclear programme. It should, therefore, be possible to deflect any accusations of partial coverage.
  - **Iraq:** a briefing document circulated by the Foreign Secretary on the Party net indicated that Iraq could have nuclear weapons in 5 years if its programmes remain unchecked.. Our paper says this will only be possible in the absence of the existing controls (as did Mr Straw's article in The Times on 5 March). There is potential for some awkwardness.
3. You may wish to consider whether these issues merit wider discussion. It will be important to set this paper in a wider policy context.

[...]

4. Finally, you will recall that Alastair Campbell commissioned a public paper on the WMD trade. We have touched on this trade at a number of points in the attached paper. But we are also preparing a separate text. This could be free standing. But it might be more effective as an appendix. You will wish to take a view, if decisions on timing permit, when we have a more developed text at the end of next week.

## DOCUMENT 14

- Excerpt of minute from Alastair Campbell to John Scarlett, JIC, copied to Jonathan Powell, David Manning, Godric Smith, Tom Kelly, Claire Summer, Sally Morgan and Julian Miller, dated 19 March 2002, untitled

I've been speaking to Jack Straw and others about the document I discussed with Julian last week. The general view, including Jack's, is that with such a focus in the public debate on Iraq at the moment, we may be trying to do too much by looking at Iran and North Korea too.

[...]

- Do you and copy recipients agree with this approach? Is it doable?

## DOCUMENT 15

- Letter from Julian Miller to [redacted], US Embassy, dated 20 March 2002, titled 'IRAQI WMD PROGRAMMES'

1. I mentioned our expectation that the attached paper on Iraqi WMD will issue early next week. The text is very much as you have seen before. But it would be helpful to know by tomorrow afternoon if there are any final comments your people would like to make on it.

## DOCUMENT 16

- Letter from Julian Miller to 'C', [redacted] and Joe French, dated 20 March 2002, titled 'IRAQI WMD PROGRAMMES'
1. At the JIC it was mentioned that our expectation is for the attached paper on Iraqi WMD to issue early next week. The text is very much as you have seen before. But it would be helpful to know by tomorrow lunchtime if there are any final comments your people would like to make on it.

## DOCUMENT 17

- Paper, undated, titled 'WMD PROGRAMMES OF CONCERN'

*This 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 set out in this paper.*

### INTRODUCTION

- 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).
- 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. This paper sets out what the Government is able to say about them.

## SUMMARY

### **BALLISTIC MISSILES:**

- Retains more than a dozen prohibited Al Hussein missiles (650km) **in breach of UNSCR 687**;
- Working on designs for longer-range missiles **in breach of UNSCR 687**;

#### *Evidence:*

- *Infrastructure damaged in the Gulf War and Operation Desert Fox has now largely been reconstituted;*
- *Infrastructure for longer-range missiles is under construction.*

### **NUCLEAR WEAPONS:**

- Iraq has a nuclear weapons programme, **in breach of its NPT and IAEA obligations and of UNSCR 687**, but will find it difficult to produce fissile material while sanctions remain in place.

#### *Evidence.*

- *Comprehensive programme prior to the Gulf War;*
- *Recalled scientists to work on a nuclear weapons programme;*
- *Covert efforts to procure nuclear related materials and technology.*

### **CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS:**

- Iraq has a capability to produce chemical and biological weapons **in breach of UNSCR 687.**

#### *Evidence:*

- *The amount of chemical and biological material, including weapons and agents, left unaccounted for when the UNSCOM inspections terminated would provide a significant offensive capability:*
- *Produced and used proficiently a variety of chemical weapons in 1980s against Iran and its own citizens;*
- *Concealed large scale production of the nerve agent VX until discovered by UNSCOM;*
- *Produced and weaponised at least three BW agents but concealed this capability until forced to declare it in 1995;*
- *Failed to convince UNSCOM of the accuracy of its declarations.*

## BACKGROUND

Before the Gulf War, Saddam Hussein demonstrated his readiness to deploy extensively WMD in the form of chemical weapons both against his neighbours and his own population. Since the Gulf War, he has **failed to comply with UN Security Council Resolutions**, which his government accepted. While the successful enforcement of the sanctions regimes and the UN arms embargo have impeded Iraq's efforts to reconstitute its weapons of mass destruction, they

### **UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) relating to WMD**

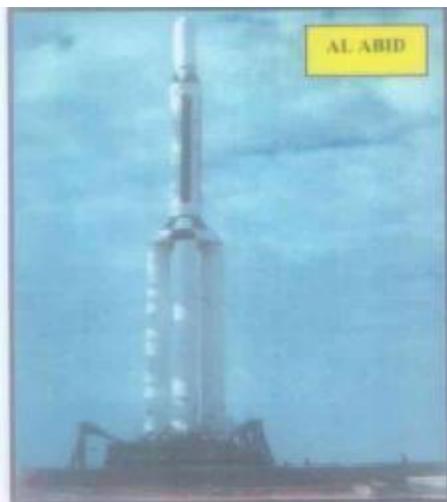
**UNSCR 687, April 1991** created the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) and required Iraq to accept, unconditionally, "the destruction, removal or rendering harmless, under international supervision" of its chemical and biological weapons, ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150km, and their associated programmes, stocks, components, research and facilities. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was charged with abolition of Iraq's nuclear weapons programme. UNSCOM and the IAEA must report that their mission has been achieved before the Security Council can end sanctions. They have not yet done so.

**UNSCR 707, August 1991**, stated that Iraq must provide full, final and complete disclosure of all its WMD programmes and provide unconditional and unrestricted access to UN inspectors. Iraq must also cease all nuclear activities of any kind other than civil use of isotopes.

**UNSCR 715, October 1991** approved plans prepared by UNSCOM and IAEA for the monitoring and verification arrangements to implement UNSCR 687.

**UNSCR 1051, March 1996** stated that Iraq must declare the shipment of dual-use WMD goods.

**UNSCR 1284, December 1999**, states that Iraq must co-operate with UN inspectors.



have not halted them. Much of Iraq's missile infrastructure has been rebuilt; the nuclear weapons programme is being reconstituted; and Iraq continues to have the capability to produce chemical and biological weapons, and may already have done so. Since the withdrawal of inspectors in 1998, monitoring of Iraqi attempts to restore a WMD capability has become more difficult.

### **BALLISTIC MISSILES**

Prior to the Gulf War, Iraq had a well-developed missile industry. Iraq fired over 500 SCUD-type missiles at Iran during the Iran-Iraq War and 93 SCUD type-missiles during the

Gulf War. The latter were targeted at Israel and Coalition forces stationed in the Gulf region. Armed with conventional warheads they did limited damage. Iraq had chemical and biological warheads available but did not use them. Most of the missiles fired in the Gulf War were an Iraqi produced stretched version of the SCUD missile, the Al Hussein, with an extended range of 650 km. Iraq was working on other longer-range stretched SCUD variants, such as the Al Abbas, which had a range of 900km. Iraq was also seeking to reverse engineer the SCUD engine with a view to producing new missiles; recent evidence indicates they may have succeeded. In particular Iraq had plans for a new SCUD-derived missile with a range of 1200km. Iraq also conducted a partial flight test of a multi-stage satellite launch vehicle based on SCUD technology, known as the Al Abid.

### **SCUD missiles**

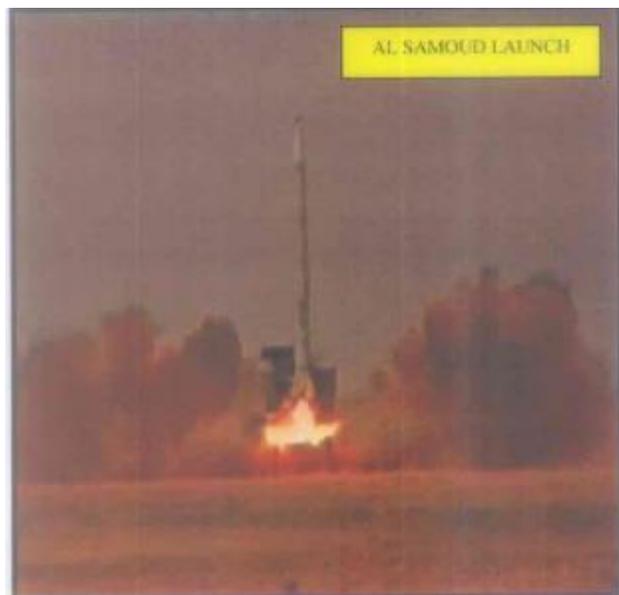
The short-range mobile SCUD ballistic missile was developed by the Soviet Union in the 1950s, drawing from the technology of the German liquid-propellant V-2 which saw operational service towards the end of World War II.

For many years it was the mainstay of Soviet and Warsaw Pact tactical missile forces, and it was also widely exported. Recipients of Soviet-manufactured SCUDs included Iraq, North Korea, Iran. and Libya, although not all were sold directly by the Soviet Union.

Also during this period, Iraq was developing the BADR-2000, a 7001000km range two-stage solid propellant missile (based on the Iraqi part of the 1980s CONDOR-2 programme run in co-operation with Argentina and Egypt). There were plans for

1200-1500km range solid propellant follow-on systems.

Since the Gulf War, Iraq has been openly developing two short-range missiles up to a range of 150km, which are permitted under UN Security Council Resolution 687. The Al-Samoud liquid propellant missile has been extensively tested, has appeared on public parade in Baghdad and is judged to be nearing deployment. In the absence of UN inspectors, Iraq has also worked on extending its range to at least 200km. Testing of the solid propellant Ababil-100 is also underway, with plans to extend its range to at least 200km. Any extension of a missile's range to beyond 150km would be **in breach of UN Security Resolution 687**. We judge that Iraq has retained more than a dozen Al Hussein missiles, in



**breach of UN Security Council Resolution 687.** These missiles were either hidden from the UN as complete systems, or could have been re-assembled using illegally retained engines and other components. We do not know the location of these missiles or their state of readiness, but judge that the engineering expertise available would allow these missiles to be effectively maintained. We assess that some of these missiles could be available for use. Although not very accurate when used against Iran, Israel and Saudi Arabia, they are still an effective system, which could be used with a conventional, chemical or biological warhead.

Reporting has recently confirmed that Iraq's priority is to develop longer-range missile systems, which we judge are likely to have ranges over 1000km, enabling it to threaten regional neighbours, Israel and some NATO members. Many hundreds of people are working on these programmes. Imagery has shown a new engine test stand being constructed (A), which is larger than the current one used for Al Samoud (B), and that formerly used for testing SCUD engines (C) which was dismantled under UNSCOM supervision. We judge that this new stand will be capable of testing larger engines for **longer-range missiles than Iraq is permitted under UN Security Council Resolution 687.**

Iraq is also working to obtain improved guidance technology to increase missile accuracy. However, the success of UN restrictions means the development of new longer-range missiles is likely to be a slow process. These restrictions impact particularly on the:

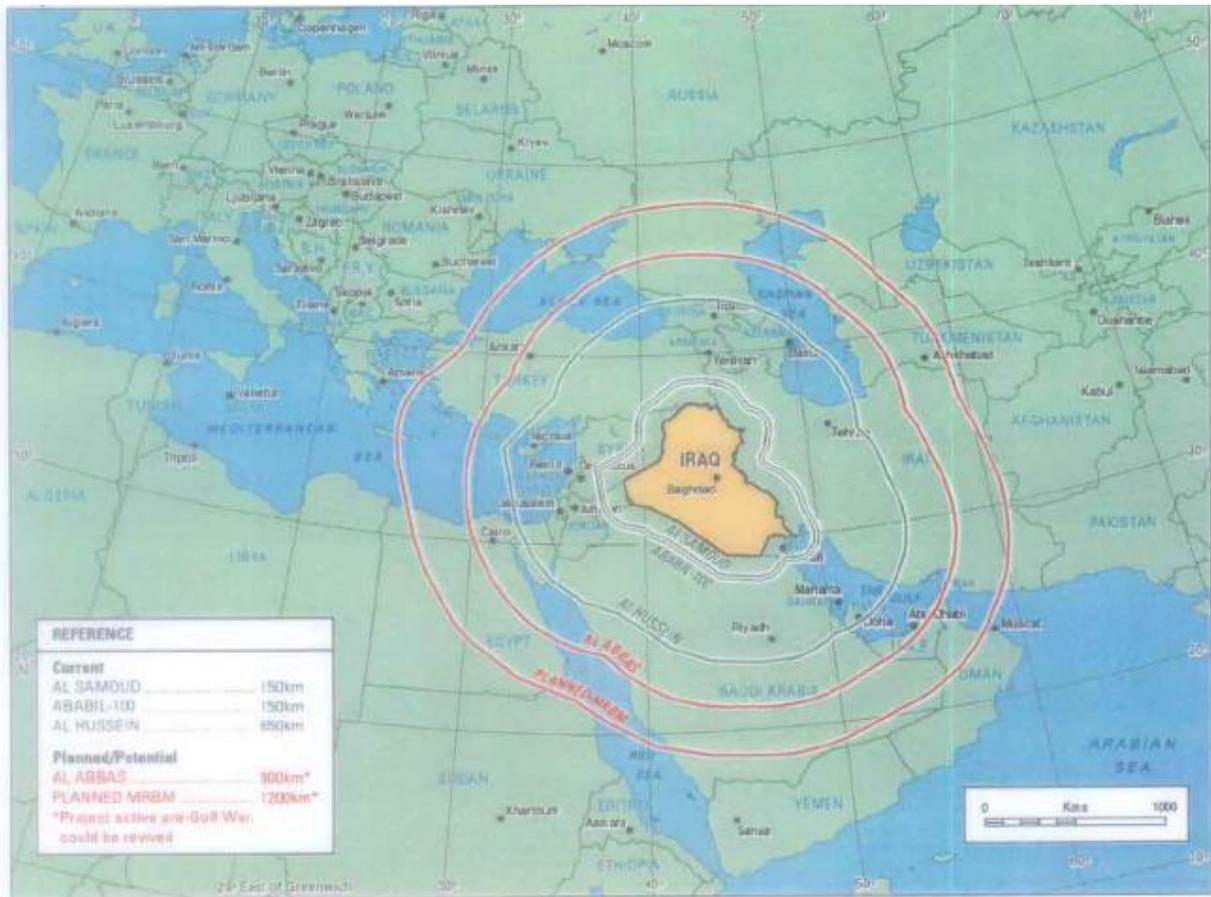
- availability of foreign expertise;
- conduct of test flights to ranges above 150km;
- acquisition of guidance and control technology.

Saddam remains committed to developing longer-range missiles. We assess that, if sanctions remain in place, the earliest Iraq could achieve a limited missile capability of over 1000km is 2007, but it is more likely to be towards the end of the decade.



Iraq has managed to rebuild much of the missile production infrastructure destroyed in the Gulf War and in Operation Desert Fox in 1998. New missile-related infrastructure is currently under construction, including a plant for indigenously producing ammonium perchlorate, which is a key ingredient in the production of solid propellant rocket motors. This was obtained through an Indian chemical engineering firm with extensive links in Iraq. Despite a UN embargo, Iraq has also made concerted efforts to acquire additional production technology, including machine tools, and raw materials, **in breach of UN Security Council Resolution 1051**. The embargo has succeeded in blocking many of these attempts, but we know some items have slipped through and will inevitably continue to do so.

## Iraq: current and Planned/Potential Ballistic Missiles



## NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Before the Gulf War, Iraqi plans for the development of a nuclear weapon were well advanced. Iraq was planning and constructing fissile material production facilities and work on a weapon design was underway. Their declared aim was to produce a weapon with a 20 kiloton yield, which would ultimately be delivered in a ballistic missile warhead.

We assessed in 1991 that Iraq was less than three years away from possessing a nuclear weapon. After the Gulf War, Iraq's nuclear weapons infrastructure was dismantled by the IAEA. But we judge that Iraq is still working to achieve a nuclear weapons capability, **in breach of its NPT and IAEA obligations and UN Security Council Resolution 687**. Much of its former expertise has been retained. In the

### Effect of a 20 kiloton nuclear device in a built up area

A detonation occurring over a city might flatten an area of approximately 3 square miles.

Within 1.6 miles of detonation, blast damage and radiation would cause 80% casualties, three-quarters of which would be fatal. Between 1.6 and 3.1 miles from the detonation, there would still be 10% casualties, 10% of which would be fatal injuries

last year intelligence has indicated that specialists were recalled to work on a nuclear weapons programme in the autumn of 1998. But Iraq needs certain key equipment and materials for the production of fissile material, probably through uranium enrichment, which would be necessary before a nuclear bomb could be developed. Iraq is covertly attempting to acquire technology and materials with nuclear applications. This includes specialised aluminium, which is subject to international export controls because of its potential application in gas centrifuges used to enrich uranium, although it has uses in a range of other weapon systems.

So long as sanctions continue to hinder the import of such crucial goods, Iraq would find it difficult to produce a nuclear weapon. After the lifting of sanctions we assess that Iraq would need at least five years to produce a weapon. Progress would be much quicker if Iraq was able to buy suitable fissile material.

### **CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS**

Iraq made frequent use of a variety of **chemical weapons** during the Iran-Iraq War. Iraq used significant quantities of mustard, tabun and sarin resulting in over

#### **Effects of chemical agents**

Mustard is a liquid agent that causes burns and blisters to exposed skin. It attacks and damages the eyes, mucous membranes, lungs, skin, and blood-forming organs. When inhaled, mustard damages the respiratory tract; when ingested, it causes vomiting and diarrhoea.

**Tabun, sarin and VX** are all nerve agents of which VX is the most toxic. They all damage the nervous system, producing muscular spasms and paralysis. As little as 10 milligrammes of VX on the skin can cause death.

A chemical weapon is the agent combined with a means of dispersing it.

20,000 Iranian casualties. In 1988 Saddam also used mustard and nerve agents against the Kurds in northern Iraq, killing 200-300 people and injuring thousands more. Iraq's military maintains the capability to use these weapons.

Iraq admitted in 1991 to the production of blister agent (mustard) and nerve agents (tabun, sarin, and cyclosarin).

After years of denial Iraq admitted to producing about 4 tons of VX nerve agent, but only after the defection of Saddam's son-in-law, Hussein Kamil in 1995. Iraq maintains that the chemical weapons programme was halted in January 1991 and all agents under its control were destroyed by the summer of 1991. However, there are inconsistencies in Iraqi documentation on destruction. UN weapons inspectors have been unable to account for:

- thousands of tons of declared precursor chemicals used in the production of chemical weapons;
- hundreds of tons of precursor chemicals used in the production of VX;
- tens of thousands of chemical weapons munitions.

We cannot be sure whether these have been destroyed or remain at the disposal of the Iraqi government. But we judge that Iraq retains some production equipment and at least small amounts of chemical agent precursors.

Following four years of pressure from weapons inspectors and the information provided by Hussein Kamil, Iraq finally admitted to the existence of a biological weapons programme in 1995. Iraq admitted to:

- producing anthrax spores, botulinum toxin and aflatoxin and to working on a number of other agents;
- weaponising some agents, which included the filling of warheads for its Al Hussein ballistic missiles;
- testing spraying devices for agents.

Iraq has claimed that all its biological agents and weapons have been destroyed, although no convincing proof of this has been offered. UN inspectors could not account for large quantities of growth media procured for biological agent production, enough to produce over three times the amount of anthrax Iraq admits to having manufactured. Reports that Iraq has conducted research on smallpox and a number of toxins cannot be corroborated. Iraq is assessed to be self-sufficient in the technology required to produce biological weapons.

We assess that Iraq has a covert chemical and biological weapons programme, **in breach of UN Security Council Resolution 687**. All the necessary expertise has been retained. Iraq appears to be refurbishing sites formally associated with its chemical and biological weapons programmes. This includes a facility near Habbaniyah. Iraq is assessed to have some chemical and biological agents available, either from pre-Gulf War stocks or more recent production. We judge Iraq has the capability to produce the chemical agents:

- sulphur mustard, tabun, sarin, cyclosarin, and VX.

and the biological agents:

- anthrax, botulinum toxin, and aflatoxin.

## **Effects of biological agents**

### **Anthrax**

Anthrax is a disease caused by the bacterium *Bacillus anthracis*. Inhalation anthrax is the manifestation of the disease likely to be expected in biological warfare. The symptoms may vary. If the dose is large (8,000 to 10,000 spores) death is common. The incubation period for anthrax is 1 to 7 days, with most cases occurring within 2 days of exposure.

### **Botulinum toxin**

Botulinum toxin is a neurotoxin produced by the bacterium *Clostridium botulinum* and is one of the most toxic substances known to man. The first symptoms of botulinum toxin A poisoning may appear as early as 1 hour post exposure or as long as 8 days after exposure, with the incubation period between 12 and 22 hours. Paralysis leads to death by suffocation.

### **Aflatoxin**

Aflatoxins are fungal toxins, which are potent carcinogens. Aflatoxin contaminated food products can cause liver inflammation and cancer.

A biological weapon is the agent combined with a means of dispersing it.

Iraq retains conventional delivery means for chemical and biological weapons such as free fall bombs and missile warheads. But given Iraq's admission of testing spray devices, we judge that the modification of the L-29 jet trainer could allow it to be used for the delivery of chemical and biological agents. The L-29 was subject to UNSCOM inspection for this reason.

Strategies to conceal and protect key parts of the chemical and biological weapons programmes from a military attack or a UN inspection have been developed. These include the:

- use of transportable laboratories;
- use of covert facilities;
- dispersal of equipment when a threat is perceived.

Some of these techniques also apply to the nuclear and missile programmes. In particular we know that the Iraqi leadership has recently ordered the dispersal of its most sensitive WMD equipment and material.

## **CONCLUSION**

- **Iraq retains some prohibited missile systems.**
- **Iraq is developing longer-range ballistic missiles capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction throughout the Middle East and Gulf Region.**
- **Iraq is seeking a nuclear weapons capability.**

- **Iraq has a chemical and biological weapons capability.**

## DOCUMENT 18

- Fax from Sebastian Wood, British Embassy Washington, to Julian Miller, dated 20 March 2002, received at 01:46 21 March 2002, titled 'WMD PROLIFERATORS' DOSSIER', covering minute titled 'WMD PROLIFERATORS' DOSSIER'

With apologies for the rough packaging, I enclose some comments from here on the draft WMD Proliferation dossier which you sent me last week.

[...]

- Minute from Michael O'Neill to Sebastian Wood, copied to Peter Gooderham, Ian McCredie, John Silcock, Bob Peirce, Peter Reid and Col Spicer, dated 20 March 2002, titled 'WMD PROLIFERATORS' DOSSIER'

1. Thank you for showing me this. I have three general comments, and specific points based (as we discussed) on an informal cha with [redacted].

[...]

3. For what it's worth, I have always found that visiting MPs of all parties respond well to similar US briefings on missile treats, eg at the Missile Defence Agency. MDA briefs usually include maps illustrating what various missile ranges mean in practical terms. Could the paper use the same device?

4. I agree with you comments on coordination with the US and the benefit of highlighting the state sponsorship/WMD nexus.

5. [redacted] though the paper very well done and a useful exercise. He offered the following suggestions:

– page 1 (Background): it is a little bald to say NPT non-signatories “do not pose a threat to us”. Perhaps true. But their activities are part of a wider, dangerous pattern;

– page 2 (background): [redacted] commented that US agencies might be squeamish about the the second sentence on this page;

– page 3 (summary North Korea): this page says NK has already built 1-2 nukes, whereas the Introduction says only “probably”. The same point applies to the North Korea section (page 5);

– page 3 (Summary Libya): [redacted] questioned the reference to R&D into

CBW – I think he meant that it should be stronger. The same point applies to the Libya section (pages 13 & 14);

- page 4 (North Korea): does CWC signature/BTWC non-accession really constitute “evidence” either way?
- page 12 (Iran): [redacted] queried “no conclusive evidence”;
- page 13 (Libya): the reference to India is very sensitive;

## DOCUMENT 19

- Minute from Julian Miller to David Manning, copied to Sir Richard Wilson, Jonathan Powell, Alastair Campbell, 'C', [redacted], Stephen Lander, Peter Ricketts, Duarte Figuera, Simon Webb, Joe French, Tom McKane, John Scarlett and Jane Hamilton Eddy, dated 21 March 2002, titled 'IRAQI WMD PROGRAMMES - PUBLIC VERSION', covering document titled 'IRAQI WMD PROGRAMMES'

As promised by John Scarlett yesterday, I attach the latest version of the paper for public consumption setting out the facts on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. The intelligence agencies here have had a final look at it. [redacted]

## DOCUMENT 20

- Email from Sebastian Wood to Peter Ricketts, copied to Bob Peirce, Keith Bloomfield, Peter Spoor, Carl Newns, Rob Macaire, Peter Gooderham, Tony Brenton, Kirsty Paton, Michael O'Neill, Mark Sedwill, William Patey, Peter Reid, William Ehrman and Stephen Wright, sent on 20/21 March 2002, titled 'RE: US/UK WMD paper'

I am sending to Julian Miller separate comments on the substance of the draft dossier on WMD proliferators, which he sent to me last week. We received today from Julian a side-copy of a further draft, this time confined to Iraqi WMD programmes. We imagine that this further draft overtakes the earlier one, although as we have not so far been consulted on this exercise it is hard to be sure.

[...]

Firstly, if the primary aim of this exercise is to build public understanding of and support for decisive action to prevent Saddam's further acquisition of WMD, we think that what ever is published should spotlight the nexus between State sponsors of terrorism and WMD, and the associated risk that State-developed WMD technology is made available to terrorists who would not hesitate to use it: the Administration have repeatedly stated that this is their number one concern, and focussing the dossier on this risk would bring out more vividly the threat to the UK. Neither paper does that at the moment.

[...]

## DOCUMENT 21

- Handwritten note from Julian Miller to John Scarlett, dated 21 March 2002, titled 'Iraq: WMD'

1. Paper cleared with Agencies sent to David Manning Thursday lunchtime.
2. P Ricketts held a meeting of all concerned Thursday PM.

[...]

3. There are nonetheless some points for us to consider:
  - a) Peter's meeting was very concerned that our first paragraph on CBW (X) was general figures, not the specific numbers used recently (and for some time) by the FCS. I explained that the US had asked for the change, not recognising the old figures, and that the DIS had in any case recently amended their estimates. Peter planned to draw this to Mr Straw's attention.

[...]

[redacted] has given us some comments (Y) which are largely policy not intelligence. I have not adjusted our text, but have passed them to the FCO. David Manning reportedly will show our paper to C. Rice only when PM has approved it – presumably this is now less urgent.

## DOCUMENT 22

- Excerpt of minute from Peter Ricketts, Political Director, FCO, to Mr Patey, copied to PS, PS/PUS, Mr Wright, Mr Ehrman, Mr Dowse, NPD, Mr Barrow, CFSPD, Mr Williams, News Dept, Mr Crooks, News Dept, Mr Noble, RA, Mr Miller, Assessments Staff, Mr Rycroft, No.10, Mr Webb, MOD, Mr Wood, Washington, Mr Eldon, UKMIS New York, dated 22 March 2002, titled 'IRAQ: PREPARING MATERIAL FOR PUBLIC RELEASE', with two handwritten notes

1. We now have a bit more time to prepare the public dossier of material on Iraq. We need to use it to ensure that the material is accurate and meets the presentational needs of Ministers.

2. I have asked No.10 to consider asking a Cabinet Office group to take forward work inter-Departmentally. Before this gets going, grateful if we could do the following specific things:

- Tim Dowse to take work forward with the Assessments Staff on the new figures from DIS about the Iraqi stocks of CW precursors and munitions. We need to establish robust figures or ranges, if possible the same as those being used by the Americans, and then camp on them.

[...]

- [redacted] Again, we will need to check this carefully against our own material;
- MED and Research Analysts to look at the News Dept material and consider whether there is anything else we can add on aspects of Iraqi policy.

3. One point for the Cabinet office group will be to ensure that the US policy community gets enough time to consider our draft paper and comment on it. Ideally, David Manning would send it to Condi Rice soon as work in progress, [redacted]. We will need to keep the Embassy in Washington and UKMIS New York in the loop.

[...]

- Written note added to above letter, from M Rycroft, No.10, to Tom McKane, copied to Peter Ricketts, FCO, David Manning, JPO, AW and Press, dated 25/3

We discussed on Friday. David agrees that a Cabinet Office group chaired by you could usefully meet after Easter on the substance of the public dossier; Alastair Campbell should retain the lead role on the timing/form of its release.

- Written note added to above letter in respect of paragraph 3, signed MR, dated 25/3

We have not yet given our agreement to this.

## DOCUMENT 23

- Letter from Tim Dowse, FCO NPD, to Julian Miller, CO, copied to Peter Ricketts, Stephen Wright, William Ehrman, William Patey, MED, John Williams, News Dept, John Walker, ACDRU, Paul Schulte, DPACS, MOD, and [redacted], DI GI, DIS, dated 25 March 2002, titled 'IRAQ: MATERIAL FOR PUBLIC RELEASE'

Peter Ricketts' minute of 22 March commissions me to work with you to sort out how we manage the DIS's new calculations of unaccounted-for Iraqi CW precursors and munitions. Clearly, the first step is to resolve with the DIS just how robust are their new figures. If they carry no more confidence than the previous ones, which we have been using in public for several years, I see no reason to change our lines. I understand that Jane Hamilton-Eddy's team are pursuing this with the DIS.

Thereafter, if it appears that we do have to change our public line, I wonder if we might finesse the presentational difficulty by changing the terms? Instead of talking about tonnes of precursor chemicals (which don't mean much to the man in the street anyway), could we focus on munitions and refer to "precursor chemicals sufficient to produce x thousand Scud warheads/aerial bombs/122mm rockets filled with mustard gas/the deadly nerve agents tabun/sarin/VX" ? Presumably we know from UNSCOM what types of munitions the Iraqis had prepared or were working on at the time of the Gulf War.

I realise that this would not in the end hoodwink a real expert, who would be able to reverse the calculation and work out that our assessment of precursor quantities had fallen. But the task would not be straightforward, and would be impossible for a layman. And the result would, I think, have more impact on the target audience for unclassified paper.

## DOCUMENT 24

- Excerpt of letter from Tom McKane to Amanda Tanfield, copied to Charles Grey and [redacted] (FCO - MED), John Williams and Mark Matthews (FCO – News Department), Jim Poston (Coalition Information Centre), Tim Dowse and Peter Spore (FCO – NPD), [redacted] (DIS), [redacted], David Manning, John Scarlett, Julian Miller and Jim Dummond, dated 12 April 2002, titled 'IRAQ'

Many thanks to you and other colleagues for attending this morning's meeting. We agreed the following actions:

[...]

### Iraqi Regime Crimes and Human Rights Abuses

- d. It was agreed that [redacted] would aim to provide sanitised language relating to two recent pieces of intelligence.
- e. FCO News Department and the CIC would run a search for photographs, including as many recent ones as possible, to support the text.

[...]

- h. All present would provide any detailed comments and suggestions to you by Wednesday 17 April.

[...]

We agreed to meet again in the week commencing 22 April to review revised versions of the two papers.

[...]

## DOCUMENT 25

- Excerpt of minute from [redacted] to Chief of the Assessments Staff, copied to John Scarlett and Jane Hamilton Eddy, dated 17 June 2002, titled 'RELEASABLE DOSSIERS ON WMD'

[...]

5. Before the meeting on 19 June we need to:

[...]

- Have a view on FCO CIC attempt to reformat the Iraqi WMD section of the Government briefing paper to match other sections. Apart from removing the word "evidence" from the summary, they have not altered the text.

[...]

## DOCUMENT 26

- Excerpt of letter from Julian Miller to Charles Grey, copied to Paul Hamill (CIC, FCO), Tim Dowse, (NPD, FCO) Tom McKane and Desmond Bowen (CO), dated 6 September, titled 'IRAQ: PUBLIC DOSSIER'
1. We discussed the way forward on restructuring the public dossier on Iraq following the earlier meeting this afternoon with Alastair Campbell. We agreed the revised structure of the dossier and identified the following action:
    - Section 1: Background to the bloody nature of Saddam's regime. How he gained and retains power. **[Action: FCO MED]**
    - Section 2: Saddam's use of power: Impact of instability caused by Saddam's misuse of power. Effects internally on Kurds and Marsh Arabs; External effects and regional impact of war with Iran, invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf war. Human rights abuses. **[Action: FCO MED]**
    - Section 3: Short link section covering the international community's demand to dismantle Iraq's WMD capability through the series of UN Security Council Resolutions to ensure Iraq's regional ambitions did not cause further instability. **[Action: Assessments Staff]**
    - Section 4: Effects of using WMD and ballistic missiles. Why the international community was right to be concerned then and why we are still concerned now. **[Action: Assessments Staff]**
    - Section 5: The history of UN weapons inspections. What UNSCOM found? What the Iraqi's subsequently admitted. History of concealment and obstruction (including the withdrawal of UNSCOM and the failure to co-operate with UNMOVIC). What remains unaccounted for? **[Action: FCO NPD]**
    - Section 6: What is current situation concerning Iraq's WMD programmes? Account of his biological, chemical, nuclear and missile capabilities. New procurement activity and retention of experts. Use of illicit funding and circumvention of "oil for food" arrangements. What is the threat posed by Iraq's on-going WMD programmes? **[Action: Assessments Staff]**
    - Section 7: Why we cannot continue to rely on containment and why we should act now. Future intentions. **[Action: FCO MED]**

### Way forward and timing

2. Much of the work needed to fit the revised structure outlined above needs a degree of "cutting and pasting" of the existing material. We will ensure that we

pass the relevant sections of our draft WMD section to MED and NPD. Some of the material may fit better in boxes in the revised draft.

3. CIC offered to pull co-ordinate the various inputs and produce a revised draft of the dossier. Inputs need to be with Paul Hamill by close of play on Monday 9 September so that a revised draft can be circulated for discussion at a meeting to be arranged for the afternoon on Tuesday 10 September.

[...]