

DECLASSIFIED  
FAXED *2/2/02*



Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 September 2002

*Dear Matthew,*

Iraq

... You asked for advice on a series of questions related to Iraq. I enclose a note.

Further details of Iraq's WMD programmes are set out in the draft dossier for publication in due course.

*Yours age,  
John*

(Mark Sedwill)  
Private Secretary

Matthew Rycroft Esq  
10 Downing Street

DECLASSIFIED

*A summary – 2/3 pages of what we know of the existing Iraqi WMD programme, in particular ballistic missile technology (and its significance); and nuclear weapons technology (including why the civil nuclear programme they are funding is almost certainly misused for weapons programmes).*

## **Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)**

### **Does Iraq possess WMD?**

Yes. Iraq is still hiding weapons of mass destruction in a range of locations. The regime has admitted hiding chemical, biological weapons and missile parts in the desert (buried in the sand), caves and railway tunnels.

The Iraqi regime has admitted producing large quantities of chemical warfare agents including Sarin, Tabun, Mustard and VX gases. It has also admitted to producing biological warfare agents such as anthrax, botulinum toxin, gas gangrene and aflatoxin.

In the course of their work between 1991 and 1998, UN weapons inspectors were unable to account for thousands of tonnes of so-called precursor chemicals used in the production of weapons; hundreds of tonnes of precursor chemicals used in the production of VX nerve agent; up to a dozen ballistic missiles with a range of over 600 kilometers; and tens of thousands of special munitions which can be used in chemical and biological weapons.

### **Developments in Iraq's WMD Programmes Since the Last Inspections?**

Despite tight controls on imports of military and weapons-related technology, the Baghdad regime continues to pursue ballistic missile, nuclear, chemical and biological programmes in breach of its UN obligations.

We believe that Iraq has recently accelerated its weapons programmes. For example:

Saddams' ballistic missile programme has made continued progress and facilities damaged by Operation Desert Fox in 1998 have been repaired. We believe that he is planning to extend the range of his current missiles beyond the 150km limit imposed by the UN, threatening a wider range of neighbours.

We have reports of increased nuclear procurement. We think that R&D on a nuclear weapons programme has restarted. If sanctions are lifted, we believe that Saddam could develop a nuclear weapons programme within 5 years. If he were able to procure fissile material from outside Iraq, then he might possess a nuclear weapons capability in a much shorter timeframe.

We believe that the Iraqi regime continues its biological and chemical weapons programmes.

### Civil Nuclear Programme?

Iraq does not have an active civil nuclear programme. Almost all Iraq's civil facilities were dismantled after 1991. The IAEA inspects the small quantity of radio active material which Iraq is permitted under UN resolutions to keep for research.

In these circumstances, it is more important than ever that the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors are given unconditional and unrestricted access to all relevant sites in Iraq. This means completely unfettered access to any site, any where, any time.

### What are we doing to stop Iraq developing/acquiring WMD?

UN measures have played a vital role in frustrating Saddam's ambitions to develop WMD. UNSCOM and IAEA inspectors in the 1990s were able to account for significant aspects of his chemical, biological, missile and nuclear programmes. And UN controls on Iraqi imports have made it more difficult for Iraq to acquire easily the WMD technology it is seeking.

We continue to press for the earliest possible resumption of UN weapons inspections to ensure Iraq's full compliance with its disarmament obligations.

We continue to prohibit the export to Iraq of any goods which could be used in a WMD programme.

A new regime to control the export of such goods, The Goods Review List (GRL), was adopted by the UN Security Council on 14 May 2002. This changes the controls on Iraq from the previous situation where all exports to Iraq were prohibited unless approved by the UN to one where all goods are automatically exempt from UN Sanctions except for the more focused list of items on the GRL. GRL is not a denial list. It is focused exclusively on military and WMD-related goods, the import of which into Iraq will require full consideration (e.g. who will be using the goods, where and for what purpose) before making a decision. Its adoption by the Security Council demonstrates that the international community remains united in its determination to control the export of military-related items to Iraq.

### Why Hasn't the Government Published its Promised Dossier on Iraqi WMD?

We are still examining what evidence can be placed in the public domain on Iraq's WMD programmes. Much of our information is obtained from sensitive sources, including intelligence reporting. It will be published when the time is right.

### Doesn't this simply demonstrate the weakness of the Government's case?

Not at all. The scale of the Iraqi WMD programme uncovered by UN inspectors in the 1990s demonstrates the extent of Saddam's ambitions. And his previous use of



chemical agents against his own people demonstrates that he will show no compunction in using such weapons.

For the past 3 years, Iraq has consistently refused to meet its UN obligations and allow weapons inspectors to do their job. All of our intelligence reporting, revelations from Iraqi defectors and past experience tells us that Iraq is taking advantage of the absence of inspectors to revive its chemical, biological and nuclear programmes.

**Aren't the Weapons Inspection Bodies Merely Tools of Western Intelligence Services?**

Absolutely not. UNMOVIC, like UNSCOM, is entitled to seek information and advice from all possible sources in pursuit of its mandate to destroy Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction capability.

UNSCOM Executive Chairman Richard Butler made clear that he always insisted on all UNSCOM activity being carried out strictly in pursuit of its disarmament mandate, not to benefit any individual member state. The Chairman of UNMOVIC, Dr Hans Blix, has emphasised that his organisation will act in the same way.

UNSCOM's successor, UNMOVIC, has also made clear that it will need to draw on open source material and information from governments in making its own, independent assessment of Iraqi programmes.

We have stated publicly that all activities by UK nationals assigned to UNSCOM, and all information exchanges between the UK and UNSCOM, were strictly in pursuit of UNSCOM's mandate to dismantle Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction capability. The US Government has made similar statements.

**Don't Scott Ritter's Allegations Undermine Your Case?**

In assessing Iraq's record of compliance with UN weapons inspectors, we should all refer to the report produced by the then UNSCOM Chairman, Richard Butler, in 1999.

This report represents an account of Iraqi deceit. There are many damning extracts. For example:

In 1991 Iraq "decided to limit its disclosures for the purpose of retaining substantial prohibited weapons and capabilities"

Butler declared that Iraqi activity had had "a significant impact upon the Commission's disarmament work."

Contrary to the requirement that destruction be conducted under international supervision, "Iraq undertook extensive, unilateral and secret destruction of large quantities of proscribed weapons and items";

And Iraq "also pursued a practice of concealment of proscribed items, including weapons, and a cover up of its activities in contravention of Council resolutions."

Against this background, I am sure you will agree that we have very good reason to question the assertions of Iraq and independent experts such as Mr Ritter that Iraq is no longer pursuing WMD programmes.

2. A list of all Saddam's atrocities ie. Iran-Iraq war; Kuwait; Kurds; etc with numbers killed, or wounded.

Pre-Gulf War record

Saddam's rise to power was marked by the brutality that now characterises his regime.

- Five of his close friends, members of the ruling Revolutionary Command Council, were executed for opposing his takeover of the Presidency in 1979.
- His uncle, General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, who stepped down from the Presidency in Saddam's favour, was also killed.
- Saddam is also widely believed to have been behind the helicopter "accident" that killed his wife's brother, Adnan Khairallah, in June 1989.

Shia

- In April 1980, a leading Iraqi Shi'a cleric, Ayatollah Mohammed Baqir al-Sadr, was executed.
- Many members of another leading clerical family, the Hakims, were arrested in May 1983 and executed.
- Another member of the same clerical family, Sayed Mahdi al-Hakim, was murdered in Khartoum in January 1988.

Kurds

Saddam's persecution of the Kurds amounts to a policy of attempted genocide.

- 8,000 Kurds, males aged 13 and upwards, were taken prisoner in 1983 and later put to death.
- Amnesty International in 1985 drew attention to reports of hundreds more dead and missing, including the disappearance of 300 Kurdish children arrested in Sulaimaniya, of whom some were tortured and three died in custody.
- Amnesty International estimates that over 100,000 Kurds were killed or disappeared during the 1997-1998 campaign, known as the Anfal campaigns, to quell Kurdish insurgency and activities.
- According to the non-governmental organisation Human Rights Watch, a single attack on the Kurdish town of Halabja in 1988 killed up to 5,000 civilians and injured some 10,000 more.

Iran-Iraq War

Early in the Iran-Iraq war, Saddam shot a Minister who argued for peace during a Cabinet meeting.

- The Iraqi regime used chemical weapons – mustard gas and the nerve agents tabun and sarin – extensively from 1984, resulting in over 20,000 Iranian casualties.

DECLASSIFIED

The Bazoft case

Farzad Bazoft was a young journalist working for the Observer when he was arrested by the Iraqi authorities in September 1989. He was forced to make a confession (allegedly after being drugged) and sentenced to death by hanging after a cursory trial. Despite widespread international protest and condemnation, the Iraqi regime carried out the death sentence on 15 March 1990.

Invasion of Kuwait

Iraq invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990. Abuses committed by its forces included:

- robbery,
- rape of Kuwaitis and expatriates, and
- summary executions. Amnesty International documented many other abuses during the occupation of Kuwait.

Iraq denied access to the Red Cross, which has a mandate to provide protection and assistance to civilians affected by international armed conflict. The death penalty was extended to looting and hoarding of food.

As Iraq tried to implement a policy of Iraqisation of the occupied territory:

- Kuwaiti civilians were arrested for "crimes" such as wearing beards.
- People were dragged from their homes and held in improvised detention centres.
- In findings based on a large number of interviews, Amnesty listed 38 methods of torture used by the Iraqi occupiers, including beatings, breaking of limbs, extracting finger and toenails, inserting bottle necks into the rectum, and subjecting detainees to mock executions.

**More than 600 Kuwaiti POWs and missing are still unaccounted for.** We believe some were still alive in 1998. Iraq refuses to comply with its UN obligation to account for the missing. It has provided sufficient information to close only three files.

In an attempt to deter military action to expel it from Kuwait

- the Iraqi regime took several hundred foreign nationals (including children) in Iraq and Kuwait hostage,
- prevented thousands more from leaving.
- hostages were held as human shields at a number of strategic military and civilian sites, many in inhumane conditions.

These acts constituted a gross violation of international law – the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which Iraq is a party – as was confirmed in United Nations Security Council resolutions 670 and 674.

**At the end of the Gulf War**, the Iraqi army fleeing Kuwait set fire to over 1,160 Kuwaiti oil wells, with serious environmental consequences. And inside Iraq, an

DECLASSIFIED



DECLASSIFIED

uprising by Iraqi Kurds and Shi'a Muslims was brutally suppressed, with the loss of tens of thousands of lives.

### Continuing Abuses

Since the Gulf War, the Iraqi regime's systematic repression of the Iraqi people has continued unabated.

### Persecution of the Kurds

Persecution of Iraq's Kurds continues, although the protection provided by the northern No-Fly Zone has curbed the worst excesses.

- The Baghdad regime has introduced a policy of Arabisation in northern Iraq to remove Kurdish claims to the oil-rich area around the city of Kirkuk.
- Kurds and other non-Arabs are forcibly relocated to the three northern Iraqi governorates – Dohuk, Arbil and Sulaimaniyah – which are under de facto Kurdish control, or forced to live far from their homes in other parts of Iraq.
- Ethnic Kurds and Turcomans have been prevented from buying property and those who own property and wish to sell have to do so to an Arab.
- Kurds have also been encouraged to change the ethnicity on their identity cards to Arab as part of this process.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) Special Rapporteur for Iraq reports that **94,000** individuals have been expelled since 1991. Kurdish reports indicate that **four million square metres** of agricultural land owned by Kurds has been confiscated and redistributed to Iraqi Arabs. Arabs from southern Iraq have been offered incentives to move into the Kirkuk area and, in disputes with their Kurdish neighbours, are always favoured by the authorities.

### Persecution of the Shi'a community, including murder of Shi'a religious leaders

- More than 100 Shi'a clerics have disappeared since the 1991 uprising.
- Sayyed Muhammed Taqi al-Khoie was killed in a staged car accident in July 1994.
- Following the assassination in 1998 of two leading Shi'a clerics, Grand Ayatollah Shaykh Mirza Ali al-Gharawi and Ayatollah Shaykh Murtadaal-Burujerdi, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights reported his fears that this formed part of a systematic attack on the independent leadership of Shi'a Muslims in Iraq.
- In early 1999, during a peaceful demonstration in response to the Iraqi regime's murder of the most senior Shi'a cleric in Iraq, Grand Ayatollah Sayyed Mohammed Sadiq al-Sadr, security forces fired into the crowd of protestors, killing hundreds of civilians, including women and children.
- During 1999, the Iraqi army and militia forces destroyed entire Shi'a villages in the south. This was a continuation of the regime's policy, pursued throughout the 1990s, of draining the marshes area of southern Iraq, so forcing the population to

DECLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL - PERSONAL~~



relocate to urban areas where it was unable to offer assistance to anti-regime elements and could be controlled more effectively by the regime's security forces.

3. A rough summary of how brutal in terms of political repression eg. how many do we reckon die every year from political dictatorship? How many deaths internally is he responsible for?

**Oppression and Dictatorship**

**Harrassment of families**

The UNCHR Special Rapporteur on Iraq has received numerous reports of harassment, intimidation and threats against the families of opposition members living abroad.

- In mid February 1999 the brother of a senior London-based member of the Iraqi National Accord (INA) was arrested by Iraqi Intelligence (the Mukhabarat) in Basra and forced to phone his brother in the UK and explain his predicament.
- In January 1999 the Mukhabarat phoned another INA official, who was told that his children and brother were under arrest and would face punishment if he did not co-operate with the Mukhabarat.
- The family of General Nahib al-Salehi have been subjected to arrests, questioning and other forms of harassment. In June 2000, he received a videotape showing the rape of a female relative. Ten days later, he was contacted by the Iraqi Intelligence Service, who told him that they were holding another female relation and urged him to stop his activities.

**Arbitrary killings**

Executions are carried out without due process of law. Relatives are often prevented from burying the victims in accordance with Islamic practice, and have even been charged for the bullets used.

- In 1984, 4,000 political prisoners were executed at the Abu Ghraib prison
- An estimated 2,500 prisoners were executed between 1997 and 1999 in a "prison cleansing" campaign
- In February 2000, 64 male prisoners were executed at Abu Ghraib, followed in March by a further 58, all of whom had previously been held in solitary confinement.
- Between 1993 and 1998 around 3,000 prisoners from the "Mahjar" prison were executed.
- In October 2000, dozens of women accused of prostitution were beheaded without any judicial process, together with men accused of pimping. Some were accused for political reasons. Members of the Feda'iyye Saddam (the militia created in

DECLASSIFIED

1994 by Saddam's elder son, Udayy Hussain) used swords to execute victims in front of their homes.

**Arbitrary arrest, detention under inhumane conditions, inhumane punishments, and torture**

Men, women and children are arrested and detained on suspicion of political or religious activities, or simply because they are related to members of the opposition. Political prisoners are held in inhumane and degrading conditions throughout Iraq.

The "Mahjar" prison located on the Police Training College site in central Baghdad formerly housed the Police Dog Training Centre. The normal occupancy of the "Mahjar" is 600-700 people. Prisoners are beaten twice a day and the women regularly raped by their guards. They receive no medical treatment, but some prisoners have survived up to a year in the "Mahjar". Two large oil storage tanks each with a capacity of 36,000 litres have been built close to the "Mahjar". The tanks are full of petrol and are connected by pipes to the prison buildings in the "Mahjar". The prison authorities have instructions to set light to the petrol and destroy the "Mahjar" in an emergency.

The "Sijn Al-Tarbut" (the casket prison) is located on the third underground level of the new Directorate of General Security (DGS) building in Baghdad. The prisoners here are kept in rows of rectangular steel boxes, as found in mortuaries, until they either confess to their crimes or die.

The "Qurtiyya" (the can) prison is located in a DGS compound in the Talbiyyah area of the Saddam City district of Baghdad. This consists of 50-60 metal boxes the size of old tea chests in which detainees are locked.

Prisoners are also subjected to brutal torture. Methods include:

- knife cuts,
- sexual attacks,
- electric shocks,
- eye gouging,
- cigarette burns,
- pulling out of fingernails
- mutilation of hands with electric drills.
- "Official" rape is also systematically used against Iraqi women.

**Mutilation**

Saddam has issued a series of decrees establishing severe penalties (amputation, branding, cutting off of ears, or other forms of mutilation) for criminal offences.

- Anyone found guilty of slandering the President has their tongue removed.
- Udayy Hussain maintained a private torture chamber, known as the "Ghurfa Hamra" (Red Room) in a building on the banks of the Tigris disguised as an electricity installation.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

- In one infamous incident of mass torture, Uday Hussain ordered the national football team to be caned on the soles of their feet after losing a World Cup qualifying match.

DECLASSIFIED



DECLASSIFIED

5. *How greatly is his refusal to use the Oil for Food Programme properly harming his people? Quantify it please.*

Over \$36 billion worth of humanitarian goods have been approved for export to Iraq. There is no reason for the Iraqi people to go short, except for the Iraqi regime's callous decision to deny them relief for propaganda purposes.

Over \$2.7 billion allocated by the UN for humanitarian goods is left unspent by Iraq and a further \$1 billion of goods already approved by the UN are blocked by Iraqi bureaucracy.

While Iraq has cut spending on medicines to \$40 million for the first half of this year (down 75% compared to last year) it has announced its intention to use \$25 million of "oil for food" funds to build an Olympic stadium.

While Baghdad claims that "oil for food" cannot meet the health needs of the Iraqi people, in a two week period it has submitted contracts to the UN for approval for:

- about 70,000 tons of cosmetics
- 1.5 million tons of perfume
- ¾ of a million televisions
- 31,000 dishwashers

DECLASSIFIED