

Table 17.1 Summary of Iraq’s Nuclear Weapons Program

Prewar Concerns	Pre-2002 Intelligence Assessments	October 2002 NIE Assessment	UN Findings 2002-2003	Administration Statements	Evidence Since March 2003
Iraq reconstituted its nuclear program after 1998.	Probably Not. Consensus was that Iraq “probably continued low-level theoretical R&D.”	Yes. Iraq “probably will have a nuclear weapon during this decade.” State disagreed.	Probably Not. No evidence Iraq had restarted a program. ElBaradei: majority of sites “deteriorated substantially.”	Yes. Saddam would acquire nuclear weapons soon. Bush: “We don't know whether or not he has a nuclear weapon.”	No. Duelfer: No program after 1991. Senate: Claims “not supported by the intelligence.”
Iraq attempted to enrich uranium for use in nuclear weapons.	Maybe. “Baghdad may be attempting to acquire materials that could aid in reconstituting its nuclear weapons program.”	Yes. Iraq imported aluminum tubes and high-strength magnets. Energy and State disagreed.	No. IAEA: Unlikely tubes or magnets could be used for centrifuges.	Yes. Cheney: Iraq purchased high-strength tubes and magnets for uranium enrichment.	No. Tubes were for rockets. Kay: “evidence does not tie any activity directly to centrifuge research or development.” Senate: NIE “misleading.”
Iraq attempted to purchase uranium from abroad.	No. No pre-2002 reports mention any attempts to purchase uranium.	Yes. “Iraq also began vigorously trying to procure uranium ore and yellowcake.” State rejected reports that Iraq sought to buy uranium in Africa.	No. IAEA: African uranium documents were forgeries.	Yes. Bush: “The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa.”	No. U.S. officials were aware that the evidence for the African uranium claim was unfounded. Senate: The CIA and DIA failed to find the “obvious problems” with the forged documents.

ABBREVIATIONS:

NIE = National Intelligence Estimate; R&D = research and development; IAEA = International Atomic Energy Agency; CIA = Central Intelligence Agency; DIA = Defense Intelligence Agency.

NOTE:

This table is updated from Joseph Cirincione, Jessica Mathews, and George Perkovich, *WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004); available at www.ProliferationNews.org.

Table 17.2 Summary of Iraq’s Chemical Program Table

Prewar Concerns	Pre-2002 Intelligence Assessments	October 2002 NIE Assessment	UN Findings 2002-2003	Administration Statements	Evidence Since March 2003
Iraq had large stockpiles of chemical weapons.	Maybe. Pre-2002 reports did not discuss the existence of chemical weapon stockpiles, but “Iraq may have hidden an additional 6,000 CW munitions.”	Yes. “High confidence” that Iraq had chemical weapons, probably between 100 and 500 metric tons.	Not Sure. UNMOVIC uncovered several chemical warheads, but no significant stockpile. Iraq failed to prove it destroyed significant quantities of munitions and precursors.	Yes. Certain that Iraq had vast chemical weapon stockpiles including mustard gas, sarin nerve gas, and VX, and was hiding them from inspectors.	No. No chemical weapons found. Kay: “Iraq did not have a large, ongoing, centrally controlled CW program after 1991.”
Iraq had covert chemical weapon production facilities.	Not sure. Iraq “rebuilt key portions of its chemical production infrastructure for industrial and commercial use.”	Yes. Iraq “has begun renewed production” of chemical agents, including mustard, sarin, cyclosarin and VX.	Probably Not. Inspections did not find any active production facilities or evidence of hidden production capability.	Yes. Powell: “We know that Iraq has embedded key portions of its illicit chemical weapons infrastructure within its legitimate civilian industry.”	No. No open or covert chemical munitions or production facilities found. Some low-level research activity possible. Senate: Intelligence did not support claims.

ABBREVIATIONS:

NIE = National Intelligence Estimate; CW = chemical weapons; UNMOVIC = U.N. Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission; CIA = Central Intelligence Agency; DIA = Defense Intelligence Agency.

NOTE:

This table is updated from Joseph Cirincione, Jessica Mathews, and George Perkovich, *WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004); available at www.ProliferationNews.org.

Table 17.3 Summary of Iraq’s Biological Weapons Program

Prewar Concerns	Pre-2002 Intelligence Assessments	October 2002 NIE Assessment	UN Findings 2002-2003	Administration Statements	Evidence Since March 2003
Iraq had current biological weapon stockpiles.	Not sure. “We are concerned that Iraq may again be producing BW agents.”	Yes. “High confidence” that Iraq had biological weapons.	Not sure. Inspectors did not find evidence of any BW agents or biological weapons.	Yes. Bush: Iraq had “a massive stockpile of biological weapons that has never been accounted for, and capable of killing millions.”	No. No weaponized biological agents found. Senate: NIE “overstated” facts and “did not explain uncertainties.”
Iraq had reconstituted its biological weapon program.	Yes. December 2001 report: “Baghdad continued to pursue a BW program.”	Yes. Iraq had an active bioweapons program that was larger than before 1991.	Not sure. Inspections did not reveal evidence of a continued BW program, but Iraq did not prove it had destroyed BW agents.	Yes. Bush: “Right now, Iraq is expanding and improving facilities that were used for the production of biological weapons.”	No. Duelfer: “No direct evidence that Iraq, after 1996, had plans for a new BW program.” Senate: NIE “overstated” evidence.
Iraq possessed at least seven mobile biological weapon laboratories.	No comment. No pre-2002 report mentions mobile biological laboratories.	Yes. Iraq had an unspecified number of mobile laboratories.	Not sure. UNMOVIC did not find any mobile weapon facilities.	Yes. Powell: “We know that Iraq has at least seven of these mobile biological agents factories.”	No. Two vans found. DIA: most likely for producing hydrogen weather balloons.” “Curveball” source discredited.

ABBREVIATIONS:

NIE = National Intelligence Estimate; BW = biological weapons; UNMOVIC = U.N. Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission; DIA = Defense Intelligence Agency.

NOTE:

This table is updated from Joseph Cirincione, Jessica Mathews, and George Perkovich, *WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004); available at www.ProliferationNews.org.

Table 17.4 Summary of Iraq’s Missile and Delivery Programs Table

Prewar Concerns	Pre-2002 Intelligence Assessments	October 2002 NIE Assessment	UN Findings 2002-2003	Administration Statements	Evidence Since March 2003
Iraq possessed a covert fleet of Scuds.	Probably. “Iraq probably retains a small, covert force of Scud-type missiles.”	Probably. Iraq had “up to a few dozen” Scud-type missiles with ranges of 650-900 km.	Probably Not. By 1998, UNSCOM verified destruction of all known Scud missiles. UNMOVIC did not find any evidence of Scuds.	Yes. Bush: Iraq had a “force of Scud-type missiles.”	No. No Scud-type missiles found. Kay: “We have not discovered documentary or material evidence to corroborate these claims.”
Iraq was developing UAVs as delivery vehicles for chemical and biological agents.	Maybe. “We suspect that these refurbished trainer aircraft have been modified for delivery of chemical or, more likely, biological warfare agents.”	Probably. Iraq had a “development program” for UAVs “probably intended” to disperse biological agents – the Air Force disagreed.	Not Sure. UNMOVIC did not have time to evaluate whether Iraq’s UAVs could disperse biological agents.	Yes. Bush: “Iraq has a growing fleet of manned and unmanned aerial vehicles that could be used to disperse chemical and biological weapons across broad areas.”	No. Air Force experts: The drones recovered are too small to disperse significant quantities of biological agents. Senate: NIE “overstated” the case.
Iraq was building missiles with 1,000 km range.	Maybe. Iraq had a program to develop “longer range, prohibited missiles” of unspecified range.	Not exactly. Iraq was developing ballistic missile “capabilities” including a “test stand” for new missile engines.	Maybe, But . . . UNMOVIC supervised destruction of rockets and propellant chambers that could help build longer-range missiles.	Yes. Bush: “Iraq is building more long-range missiles [so] that it can inflict mass death.”	No. No evidence of such missiles. Kay: Saddam intended to develop a program.

ABBREVIATIONS:

NIE = National Intelligence Estimate; UNSCOM = U.N. Special Commission on Iraq; UAV = unmanned aerial vehicle; UNMOVIC = U.N. Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission.

NOTE:

This table is updated from Joseph Cirincione, Jessica Mathews, and George Perkovich, *WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004); available at www.ProliferationNews.org.