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Iraq - U.S. Confrontation: A Chronology of Events from October 2002 to March 2003

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Summary

This chronology, which begins in October 2002 and ends in March 2003, covers events surrounding the evolving confrontation between Iraq and the United States on the issue of Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction. The chronology will not be updated past March 10, 2003. For the latest information on the developing Iraq-U.S. confrontation, see *Iraq-U.S. Confrontation: Daily Developments*, online at [http://www.crs.gov/products/browse/iraqdocs/iraqdaily.shtml].

Contents

Chronology	 	 	 2
Primary Events Since October 2002	 	 	 2

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Since the military defeat of the Taliban and the extension of the war on terrorism beyond Afghanistan, the Bush Administration has placed Iraq at the top of its foreign policy agenda. In his January 29, 2002 State of the Union message, President George W. Bush characterized Iraq as part of an "axis of evil," along with Iran and North Korea. The President identified the key threat from Iraq as its development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and the potential for Iraq to transfer WMD to the terrorist groups that the Administration contends it sponsors. In order to counter such a threat, officials of the Bush Administration believe military action against Iraq may be necessary both to eliminate weapons of mass destruction and to change the Iraqi regime.

After a lengthy internal debate within the Administration over how to confront the potential Iraqi threat, the President sought both a congressional resolution to authorize the use of force against Iraq and a United Nations Security Council resolution to reintroduce a more robust weapons inspections process. On October 11, 2002, the U.S. Congress passed H.J.Res. 114, a resolution authorizing the President to use the U.S. armed forces to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq, and to enforce all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq. On October 16, 2002, President Bush signed the resolution into law (P.L. 107-247). On November 8, 2002, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1441, ordering Iraq to admit weapons inspectors, or face "serious consequences."

In order to appear cooperative with U.S. and U.N. efforts to uncover its WMD weapons programs, Iraq immediately accepted the return of weapons inspectors. An advance inspections team arrived in Baghdad in late November 2002. Within 10 days, inspectors began conducting surprise inspections at various Iraqi facilities, which had been used previously as production areas for chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Iraqi authorities did not disrupt these initial inspections, though they bitterly protested an inspection at a presidential palace.

This report is designed as a ready reference for tracking the latest developments in the evolving Iraq-U.S. conflict. The most recent events appear first. Citations are provided only for key developments in the conflict. This report covers important events from October 10, 2002, the date that the House of Representatives passed H.J.Res 114, to March 10, 2003. It will not be updated after March 10, 2003. For the latest information on the developing Iraq-U.S. confrontation, see *Iraq-U.S. Confrontation: Daily Developments* at [http://www.crs.gov/products/browse/iraq docs/iraqdaily.shtml].

Chronology

Primary Events Since October 2002

- 03/10/2003 The U.S. Agency for International Development sent a detailed "request for proposals" to at least five of the nation's infrastructure-engineering firms in order to solicit bids on contracts related to the rebuilding of Iraq's infrastructure . The companies are Bechtel Group Inc. of San Francisco; Fluor Corp. of Aliso Viejo, Calif.; Houston-based Halliburton Co.'s Kellogg Brown & Root; Louis Berger Group Inc. of East Orange, N.J.; and Parsons Corp. of Pasadena, Calif. (*Wall Street Journal*)
- 03/09/2003 U.S. officials disclosed that United Nations weapons inspectors in Iraq discovered a new variety of rocket seemingly configured to strew bomblets filled with chemical or biological agents over large areas. The reconfigured rocket warheads appear to be cobbled together from Iraq's stockpiles of imported or homebuilt weapons, some which Iraq had used with both conventional and chemical warheads.
- 03/07/2003 In his third oral report to the U.N. Security Council, Hans Blix said that Iraq had accelerated its cooperation since January and that in all the inspections there had been no evidence vet found of proscribed biological weapons (BW) activities. He had investigated in detail the claims of mobile BW labs and underground facilities using sophisticated equipment and had come up with no evidence to support the claims. While he described the lack of full cooperation from the Iraqis in supplying documentation, previous Iraqi efforts to attach conditions to inspections had been dropped. According to Blix, the destruction of 34 Al Samoud 2 missiles represented very real disarmament. Blix finished by appealing for more time, saying inspections would take several more months if they were to be meaningful. In the meantime, he issued a 167-page working document outlining the outstanding questions Iraq had yet to answer. [http://www.Iraqconflict.org]
 - U.N. chief nuclear weapons inspector, Mohammed El Baradei, said that claims that Iraq had been trying to import uranium from Niger had been based on fabricated documents.
- 03/06/2003 In a press conference on Iraq, President Bush stated that "Saddam Hussein and his weapons are a direct threat to this country ... I will not leave the American people at the mercy of the Iraqi dictator and his weapons."
- 03/05/2003 The foreign ministers of France, Germany, and Russia said in a joint declaration that they would not permit passage of a

Security Council resolution authorizing the use of armed force against Iraq.

- Secretary of State Colin Powell said that while the inspectors were busy overseeing the destruction of rockets in one part of Iraq, American intelligence had found that Iraq had begun to hide machinery to "convert other kinds of engines" to power the same rockets. In addition, Powell suggested that Iraq had bugged Iraqi scientists who had been interviewed by U.N. officials.
- 03/01/2003 Turkey's parliament narrowly failed to approve the deployment of U.S. troops on its territory for a possible war with neighboring Iraq.
- 02/27/2003 Iraq agreed "in principle" to begin destroying ballistic missiles judged illegal because their range exceeds limits imposed after the Persian Gulf war.
- 02/26/2003 According to the *Washington Post*, the United States and Saudi Arabia have reached new agreements that will allow expanded U.S. air operations from Saudi territory, including full use of Prince Sultan Air Base as an air operations center, in the event of war against Iraq.
- 02/25/2003 A U.S. Army Black Hawk helicopter crashed in Kuwait during a nighttime training mission, killing all 4 crew members.
 - According to the New York Times, United States intelligence officials have specifically identified more than 2,000 members of the Iraqi elite, including some to be captured as possible war criminals and many more the American military will try to turn against Saddam Hussein during any invasion. Officials said the computer database, whose existence was previously undisclosed, divided the Iraqi leadership into three categories: hard-core allies of Mr. Hussein; senior Iraqis whose allegiances are uncertain but who may be willing to cooperate with United States forces; and another group of people who are believed either to secretly oppose the government or whose technical expertise is deemed crucial to running a post-Hussein government.
- 02/24/2003 U.S. and British officials proposed a new resolution on Iraq to the U.N. Security Council, citing Iraq as being in further material breach of existing resolutions and demanding that Iraq give up its weapons of mass destruction or face serious consequences. The draft resolution contained no deadline for Iraqi compliance.
- 02/23/2003 The *New York Times* reported that the U.S. military has been waging a psychological campaign in Iraq, sending e-mails and

making cell-phone calls to Iraq's leadership urging them to topple Saddam Hussein, dropping leaflets on Iraqi anti-aircraft batteries with calls to not fire on coalition aircraft, and broadcasting directly to the Iraqi public with programs that mimic the program styles of local radio stations.

- 02/21/2003 Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, demanded that Iraq begin destroying all of its Al-Samoud missiles and any illegally imported engines designed for use in the rockets, which United Nations experts say exceed the allowed range of 92 miles. (*New York Times*)
 - The federal government asked a judge to dismiss a lawsuit that seeks to "bar President Bush from starting a war against Iraq without an explicit declaration of war from Congress."
 (Associated Press)
- 02/20/2003 *ABC News* reported that Saudi Arabia has proposed a plan, which calls for a coalition of Islamic nations to occupy Iraq while a transitional Iraqi government is established.
 - In a Washington Post report, U.N. weapons inspectors stated that Iraq has failed to follow through on promises of increased cooperation. Inspectors noted that no Iraqi scientist involved in biological, chemical, or missile technology has consented to a private interview with the inspectors since February 7, the day before the two chief U.N. inspectors arrived here for talks with Iraqi officials. The United Nations also has not received additional documents about past weapons programs, despite the government's pledge to set up a commission to scour the country for evidence sought by the inspectors.
 - Iranian officials told reporters that for "security reasons" Iranian pilgrims would no longer be allowed to cross into Iraq to visit the holy cities of Karbala and Najaf. (*Financial Times*)
- 02/19/2003 According to senior Iranian officials, thousands of Iranianbacked Shiite militia fighters had crossed into northern Iraq from Iran. The forces are under the control of Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim, a prominent Iraqi Shia Muslim cleric and leader of the Iraqi opposition group, The Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI).
 - The NATO Defense Planning Committee approved the deployment of AWACS radar aircraft, Patriot missile systems, and chemical-biological response units to Turkey. The committee excludes France, which opposed the move.
- 02/14/2003 In their second update to the U.N. Security Council on the progress of weapons inspections in Iraq, Hans Blix and

Muhammad El-Baradei told the Council that some progress had been made with Iraq since the Council last met on January 27, 2003, but more cooperation was needed. Nevertheless, Blix said that inspections should continue. Some analysts noted that Blix's report was markedly more lenient on Iraq than his previous address to the Security Council. Blix's summation stated that:

- "So far, UNMOVIC has not found any such weapons [WMD], only a small number of empty chemical munitions, which should have been declared and destroyed."
- "The declaration submitted by Iraq on 7 December, despite its large volume, missed the opportunity to provide the fresh material and evidence needed to respond to the open questions [about anthrax, the nerve agent VX, and long-range missiles]. This is perhaps the most important problem we are facing."
- "The U.S. secretary of state suggested that Iraq had prepared for inspections by cleaning up sites and removing evidence of proscribed weapons programs. ... The reported movement of munitions at the site could just as easily have been a routine activity as a movement of proscribed munitions in anticipation of an imminent inspection."
- Blix reiterated that although Iraq has provided a document which suggested that approximately 1,000 tons of chemical agent remained unaccounted for, it has not provided credible evidence that the agent was destroyed.
- Blix also noted that Iraq's declaration regarding the reconstituting of casting chambers (originally designed to aid production of the now-proscribed Badr-2000 missile system) has been deemed by inspectors to be capable of also producing motors for missiles whose range could "significantly" exceed 150 kilometers, and is thus forbidden to Iraq.
- Prior to the chief weapons inspectors reports to the U.N. Security Council, Saddam Hussein issued a decree banning the importation or production of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons, or any materials that could be used to make them.
- 02/13/2003 According to defense officials at the Pentagon, U.S. Special Operations troops are already operating in various parts of Iraq, hunting for weapons sites, establishing a communications network, and seeking potential defectors from Iraqi military units. Defense officials also stated that a U.S. attack on Iraq would consist of a series of preliminary ground actions to seize

Iraqi territory and effectively encircle Baghdad before a largescale air campaign hits the capital. (*Washington Post*)

- 02/12/2003 A panel of independent missile experts at the United Nations convened by Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, has confirmed that a missile Iraq has developed exceeds range limits set by the Security Council. Mr. Blix had already told the Council that the Al-Samoud 2 missile, with a range of about 180 kilometers, or 114 miles, appeared to be a "prima facie" case of a violation by Iraq of the range limit of 150 kilometers, or about 90 miles, established by the Council. The inspectors learned of the range of the missiles from test results that were provided in the 12,000-page arms declaration Iraq delivered at the start of the inspections. (*New York Times*)
 - During testimony delivered to the House International Relations Committee, Secretary of State Colin Powell commented on the possibility for domestic unrest in Arab states, saying "I'm sure there will be disturbances. I'm sure there will be some blowback, and that is to be expected. But we can't say that because there's going to be blowback, we shouldn't act, either with or without U.N. permission."
 - The U.S. military dropped 480,000 leaflets with five messages near Baghdad. One leaflet type told of radio frequencies where Iraqis can tune in to U.S. broadcasts and another, depicting warplanes bombing military tanks outside a mosque, warned Iraqis to "avoid areas occupied by military personnel." Others warn the Iraqi military against shooting at U.S. and British warplanes enforcing no-fly zones [http://www.Stratfor.com].
 - Pentagon officials asserted that Iraqi forces had moved explosives into the southern part of the country in preparation for blowing up bridges, bursting dams, and igniting oil fields in a strategy to slow an American attack. (*New York Times*)
 - After testifying before the Senate Intelligence Committee that the CIA had given U.N. weapon inspectors all the information it had on suspected weapons sites of high and moderate interest in Iraq, CIA Director George Tenet told a defense panel that his earlier testimony was wrong. In fact, he said, there is "one handful of sites which may not have been known" to the U.N. inspectors. (*Washington Post*)
 - United Nations arms inspectors began work to destroy 10 old artillery shells filled with mustard gas. The shells had been tagged for destruction during the previous round of inspections that terminated in 1998.

- The Pentagon activated 39,000 more reservists, intensifying a military buildup toward possible war with Iraq that now includes about 150,000 Reserve and National Guard forces deployed in the United States and abroad. (*Los Angeles Times*)
- U.S. lawmakers, angry over France's and Germany's opposition to the Administration's Iraq policies, are considering retaliatory gestures such as trade sanctions against French wine and bottled water and pressing for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Germany. (*Washington Post*)
- 02/11/2003 In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Marc Grossman, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, said that U.S. forces may have to be stationed in Iraq for 2 years after a military conflict.
 - According to a Washington Post-ABC News poll, nearly 6 in 10 Americans said they would endorse military action to topple Iraqi President Saddam Hussein over the objections of the U.N. Security Council if the United States is supported by close allies such as Britain, Australia, and Italy.
 - France proposed a plan to triple the number of weapons inspectors in Iraq and increase the number of surveillance flights over Iraqi territory. The French proposal did not include provisions for the presence of U.N. peacekeepers to bolster the inspections process.
 - In an audio tape reportedly containing the voice of Osama Bin Laden, the leader of Al Qaeda, made several references to Iraq including the following excerpts:
 - "It does not harm in these circumstances that the interests of Muslims and socialists crisscross in the fighting against the Crusaders."
 - "Anyone who assists the U.S. from among the Iraqi hypocrites or Arab rulers ... whether by fighting with them or through providing administrative support or any other form of support or help, even verbal, to kill Muslims in Iraq, they should know that they are infidels."
 - Iraq's rulers "had lost their credibility long ago" and that "socialists are infidels wherever they are."
 - "The fighting should be in the name of God only, not in the name of national ideologies, nor to seek victory for the ignorant governments that rule all Arab states, including Iraq."
- 02/10/2003 Iraqi officials announced that Iraq will allow U.N. inspectors to use U.S., French, and Russian surveillance aircraft to search the

country for evidence of hidden chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

- According to the New York Times, the Bush Administration is attempting to recruit Adnan Pachachi, an octogenarian exile who once served as a foreign minister and ambassador to the United Nations for Iraq. Mr. Pachachi declared publicly in 1961 that Kuwait was part of Iraq and had no right to exist independently, a statement he renounced in 1999.
- The *Wall Street Journal* reported that the United States will include a number of Chechen groups on its official list of terrorist organizations, an American move that will please Moscow at a time when its support is being sought for a U.S.led war against Iraq.
- 02/09/2003 Over 50,000 people gathered in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, to protest the United States' threat of military action against Iraq. Turnout at the three-hour demonstration, organized by the Muslim Justice Party, was significantly higher than past anti-war protests in the Indonesian capital, which have drawn about 5,000 people. (*CNN*)
- 02/08/2003 According to the *Washington Post*, Bush Administration officials held a rare private meeting with Iranian envoys in Europe last month to seek a promise of humanitarian help and an assurance that the Tehran government would not interfere in military operations if the United States goes to war against Iraq. U.S. diplomats also asked that the Iranian government deny haven to fleeing Iraqis who might try to cross into Iran and regroup against a U.S.-supported government in Baghdad.
 - According to the London *Guardian*, an Iraqi private, who had recently defected to Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq, told reporters in an interview that conditions back in the Iraqi trenches were not so good and that "we have two blankets for every soldier, but they are very thin and don't keep us warm. The officers beat us. And the food is disgusting. I'm only paid 50 dinars [about \$4.80] a month."
- 02/07/2003 Sa'id al-Musawi, head of the Iraqi Foreign Ministry's Organizations Department, acknowledged the presence of Ansar Al-Islam in northern Iraq but said the group is based in an area outside the control of the Iraqi government. Al-Musawi also stated that Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi is present in northern Iraq, adding that "our information says that he is present in the Al-Sulaymaniyah area, particularly the Bayyarah area in northern Iraq, which is outside the control of the central government." (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty *Iraq Report*, Vol. 6, No.5)

- According to the Washington Post, senior intelligence officials have said that Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi is not under Al Qaeda control or direction. One official noted that "they have common goals, but he [Zarqawi] is outside bin Laden's circle. He is not sworn Al-Qaeda."
- 02/06/2003 Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Macedonia, and Albania pledged to take part in military action to disarm Saddam Hussein if he continues to defy the United Nations. Known as the Vilnius Group, the statement said the United States Secretary of State, Colin Powell, had produced compelling evidence of Saddam Hussein's efforts to deceive weapons inspectors. (*Daily Telegraph* -London)
 - The Army's 101st Airborne Division received orders to send more than 15,000 troops and 300 combat helicopters from Fort Campbell, KY, to the Persian Gulf.
 - According to the *New York Times*, a good deal of the evidence linking Iraq with Al Qaeda came from the recent arrest and interrogation of Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi's deputy, who was caught talking on his cell phone while driving out of Iraq.
- 02/05/2003 Secretary of State Colin Powell briefed the United Nations Security Council on Iraq's efforts to evade weapons inspectors, its attempts to procure and develop weapons of mass destruction, and its connection to Al Qaeda terrorist operatives. The sources of the evidence came from intercepted phone conversations, satellite photographs, and defector or other human intelligence sources.

Intercepted Audio Conversations

- Secretary Powell played a taped conversation between Iraqi commanders in which one officer was overheard saying that "we have evacuated everything" at the Al-Kendi Company.
- In another audio tape, an Iraqi Republican Guard Commander was overheard ordering a subordinate to "destroy the message because I don't want anyone to see this message."
- Secretary Powell played an intercepted radio message in which one officer orders another to "remove" the expression "nerve agents" in the "wireless instructions."

Satellite Imagery

- Secretary Powell presented the Security Council with before and after images of chemical weapons bunkers, which had been "sanitized" prior to the arrival of weapons inspectors at the Taji facility.
- Secretary Powell showed pictures of cargo trucks arriving at various ballistic missile facilities several days prior to the arrival of weapons inspection teams. Some of the trucks had mounted cranes to move missiles.
- Secretary Powell presented a photograph, supplemented with human intelligence information, of the al-Moussaid chemical facility both before and after the grounds surrounding the site had been bulldozed. According to Powell, "the Iraqis literally removed the crust of the earth from large portions of this site in order to conceal chemical weapons evidence that would be there from years of chemical weapons activity."
- Secretary Powell offered photographs of ballistic missile test stands, which were considerably larger than the test stands Iraq had been using for its short-range missiles.
- Secretary Powell presented the Council with an image of an alleged terrorist poison and explosives training camp located in northeastern Iraq. The camp was established by Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, "an associated in collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda lieutenants."

Human and Defector Intelligence Sources

- According to Secretary Powell, "a missile brigade outside Baghdad was disbursing rocket launchers and warheads containing biological warfare agents to various locations, distributing them to various locations in western Iraq. Most of the launchers and warheads have been hidden in large groves of palm trees and were to be moved every one to four weeks to escape detection."
- Secretary Powell cited eye witness accounts of the existence of mobile biological production labs on wheels and rail cars. Secretary Powell referred to an Iraqi chemical weapons engineer who said that production began on Thursdays at midnight and went on through Friday, because it was believed that United Nations inspectors would not intrude during the Muslim Sabbath on Friday. According to Powell, "we know that Iraq has at least seven of these mobile

biological agent factories. The truck-mounted ones have at least two or three trucks each. That means that the mobile production facilities are very few, perhaps 18 trucks that we know of — there may be more — but perhaps 18 that we know of. Just imagine trying to find 18 trucks among the thousands and thousands of trucks that travel the roads of Iraq every single day."

- Secretary Powell stated the United States had detected test flights of Iraqi Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV's) that went 500 km nonstop, a violation of United Nations restrictions on the ranges of Iraqi projectiles, and an omission that was left out of Iraq's December 7, 2002 declaration. Powell pointed out that Iraq could outfit a UAV with spray tanks designed to disperse chemical weapons.
- Although Secretary Powell acknowledged that there were differences of opinion over the potential usage of Iraq's illegally imported aluminum tubes (rockets or components for refining uranium), he questioned why Iraq would continue to refine the specifications of the tubes "if it would soon be blown into shrapnel when it went off."
- Powell mentioned that "Iraqi officials negotiated with firms in Romania, India, Russia, and Slovenia for the purchase of a magnet production plant. Iraq wanted the plant to produce magnets weighing 20 to 30 grams. That's the same weight as the magnets used in Iraq's gas centrifuge program before the Gulf War."
- In regard to the link between Iraq and Al Qaeda, Powell noted that Zarqawi had been in Baghdad for 2 months receiving medical treatment. During that stay, Zarqawi coordinated the activities of Al Qaeda cells. Powell stated that the captured assassin of the late Lawrence Foley said his cell received weapons and money from Zarqawi.
- Following Secretary Powell's speech, Security Council delegates from France, Russia, and China stated that U.N. weapons inspectors be given more time in Iraq.
- The Prime Minister of Turkey said his government had all but given up on diplomatic efforts to disarm Iraq and had decided to join the United States in its plans to confront Iraq by military means. Later this month, the Turkish Parliament will decide on opening the country up to the presence of thousands of U.S. combat troops. (*New York Times*)

- 02/01/2003 A crowd of 3,000 protesters demonstrated in Amman, Jordan against a war in Iraq. The demonstration was permitted by the Jordanian government and was organized by Jordanian Islamist opposition groups. (*BBC News*)
- 01/30/2003 Leaders of Britain, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, and the Czech Republic signed a letter, which urged the United Nations not to balk at a military campaign if Iraq failed to comply with United Nations demands to disclose and destroy weapons of mass destruction.
 - According to Jordanian officials and diplomats, Jordan had decided to allow the discreet stationing of U.S. troops to staff air defenses, the launch of search-and-rescue missions from its airfields, and the passage of allied planes across its airspace in any war with neighboring Iraq. (*Washington Post*)
 - The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a hearing on Iraq. Senator Joseph Biden urged the Bush Administration to "make it easier" for international allies to join the United States in pressuring Iraq to comply with United Nations resolutions.
- 01/29/2003 The Pentagon announced that it was activating an additional 16,000 reservists, bringing the total number to about 95,000. During the 1991 Gulf War, a total of 106,000 reservists were activated for duty. (*Reuters*)
- In his State of the Union Address, President Bush stated that 01/28/2003 there was intelligence data showing that Iraq was helping and protecting terrorists and that Iraq was undermining the inspections process by concealing weapons and spying on U.N. weapons inspectors. The President noted that "from intelligence sources we know ... thousands of Iraqi security personnel are at work hiding documents and materials from the U.N. inspectors — sanitizing inspection sites and monitoring the inspectors themselves." He added that "evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody, reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of Al Qaeda." In his speech, the President referred to new intelligence information about Iraq's mobile bio-weapons labs "from three Iraqi defectors." In regards to international support for an attack on Iraq, the President stated that "we are asking them to join us, and many are doing so ... yet the course of this nation does not depend on the decisions of others."
 - Russian President Vladimir Putin hinted that Russia may take a more aggressive stance toward Iraq saying "if Iraq resists these inspections, if it creates problems for the inspectors, I do not rule out that Russia may change its position ... we intend to work

CRS-13

with other Security Council members, including the United States, to work out other decisions — I won't say what kind, but tougher than the existing decisions." (*Washington Post*)

- In a statement to the press, Senator Joseph Biden remarked that the Administration has evidence on Iraq's weapons programs "that can change people's minds." He described it as "enough circumstantial evidence that if there were a jury trial I could convict you." (Washington Post)
- Prior to President Bush's State of the Union Address, Senator Tom Daschle challenged the President to disclose evidence of Iraqi WMD programs stating that "if we have proof of nuclear and biological weapons, why don't we show that proof to the world — as President Kennedy did 40 years ago when he sent Adlai Stevenson to the United Nations to show the world U.S. photographs of offensive missiles in Cuba? At a time when we have only just begun to fight the war on terror, the American people deserve to hear why we should put hundreds of thousands of American troops at risk, spend perhaps hundreds of billions of dollars, risk our alliances and inflame our adversaries to attack Iraq." (*Washington Post*)
- 01/27/2003 In accordance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441, Hans Blix and Muhammad El-Baradei delivered an assessment on the progress of weapons inspections in Iraq exactly 60 days after the start of inspections. Blix stated that "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance not even today of the disarmament which was demanded of it and which it needs to carry out to win the confidence of the world and to live in peace." Blix's report outlined several areas in which Iraq has failed to demonstrate that it has eliminated its WMD programs and ceased development on long range missiles. Blix's summation stated that:
 - There are "indications" that Iraq created weapons using the nerve agent VX and that it may still have chemicals used to produce these weapons.
 - Iraq had failed to account for thousands of chemical bombs that it had built during the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s.
 - The discovery of 16 empty chemical warheads in January 2003 may be just the "tip of the iceberg."
 - Inspectors discovered precursor chemicals used to make Mustard Gas.
 - Iraq had produced more anthrax than it had disclosed in its December 2002 report to the United Nations.
 - Iraq had illegally imported materials used for making missiles with ranges beyond the 90-mile limit imposed by the United Nations.

• Iraq had failed to disclose documents on uranium enrichment, which inspectors discovered in the home of an Iraqi scientist in January 2003.

In his separate report, Dr. El-Baradei, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, said his team had visited nuclear-related buildings where satellite photography showed new structures and had found no new nuclear activities there including any sign of radioactivity.

— In response to the UNMOVIC/IAEA reports, the Chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Henry Hyde, issued a statement saying "the fact that no amount of evidence of Iraq's bad faith will ever be enough from some members of the international community should not stop that community and cannot stop the United States — from acting to defend its interests."

- In a statement emphasizing the United States' need for international support in confronting Iraq, Senator Chuck Hagel noted that "sustaining and building a new Iraq will require a vast amount of resources.... America cannot do this alone. That was the lesson we should have learned from Vietnam, the greatest foreign policy failure in our history." (*Washington Post*)
- 01/26/2003 Members of the Iraqi opposition have gathered in Iran to prepare their entry into Kurdish-controlled areas of northern Iraq. According to Iraqi opposition figure and Brandeis University Professor Kanan Makiya, "the Iranians are actually offering to protect us so we can hold our meetings in northern Iraq. Would you believe that?" (*New York Times*)
- 01/25/2003 The *New York Times* reported an unnamed Administration official's assessment on the nature of the United States' evidence of Iraqi noncompliance and its weapons programs. According to this official, "much of what we know is akin to an impressionist painting. It's a compilation of several different strands of information that are then triangulated to draw a conclusion. If you have an intelligence background, it's compelling. If you don't, you might say, 'There's no forest here. It's 400 unrelated trees.' "
 - A group of Arab intellectuals published an appeal to their governments to press for the removal of Saddam Hussein to avoid a war that "threatens with catastrophe the peoples of the region." The petition also seeks to shift international emphasis from Iraq's alleged possession of weapons of mass destruction to its human rights record. It calls for "the rule of democracy in Baghdad, and for the stationing across Iraq of human rights

monitors from the United Nations and the Arab League." (*Financial Times*)

- 01/24/2003 During a joint press conference with British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, Secretary of State Colin Powell stated "the question isn't how much longer do you need for inspections to work. Inspections will not work."
 - Responding to allegations that Iraqi scientists had been coerced into refusing to be interviewed by U.N. inspectors, General Hussam Muhammad Amin said that the Iraqi government had encouraged its scientists to talk stating "how can we solve this? Should we put him in prison and say to him: 'Make an interview in private'? This is contrary with his rights and his human rights. This is unrequired indeed." (*New York Times*)
 - According to Iraqi military documents recently smuggled out of Iraq, elite units of the Iraqi armed forces have been issued new chemical warfare suits and supplies of the drug atropine, used to counter the effects of nerve gas. Some observers believe this may indicate that Saddam Hussein is preparing to use chemical and biological weapons against troops invading Baghdad. (BBC News)
 - More than 120 House Members of Congress signed a letter to President Bush urging the Administration to give the U.N. inspectors more time to complete their work. (*The Hill*)
- 01/23/2003 In a speech to The Council on Foreign Relations in New York City, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz stated that "in the absence of full cooperation, particularly in the absence of full disclosure of what Iraq has actually done, we cannot expect that the U.N. inspectors have the capacity to disarm an uncooperative Iraq, even with the full support of American intelligence and the intelligence of other nations. American intelligence capabilities are extraordinary, but they are far from the omniscient, all-seeing eye depicted in some Hollywood movies. For a great body of what we need to know, we are dependent on traditional methods of intelligence that is to say, human beings, who either deliberately or inadvertently are communicating to us."
- 01/22/2003 Iraq claimed that it had shot down an unmanned U.S. aircraft that entered its airspace from Kuwait. This was the second time in a month that Iraqi defenses had brought down an American reconnaissance drone.
- 01/21/2003 France and Germany pledged to oppose American pressure for military action against Iraq before there was a clear signal from the weapons inspectors and agreement by the Security Council.

- A gunman killed an American military contractor and critically wounded another when he opened fire on their vehicle near Camp Doha, Kuwait. The shooting followed two similar incidents in October and November 2002.
- 01/20/2003 Britain sent an additional 26,000 ground troops to the Persian Gulf, a quarter of its army, including paratroopers, tanks modified for desert warfare, and other armored units.
 - Iraq agreed to encourage its scientists to be privately interviewed by U.N. inspectors. Iraq had been encouraging its scientists to insist that government officials be present during interviews with U.N. officials.
 - Defense officials said that the Pentagon would soon issue deployment order to an additional 37,000 troops, including about 12,500 soldiers from the 4th Infantry Division at Fort Hood, Texas, nearly 4,000 soldiers from the division's 3rd Brigade at Fort Carson, Colo., and more than 20,000 troops from 10 other unnamed installations. (*New York Times*)
- 01/18/2003 Tens of thousands of anti-war protestors marched in Washington, D.C., demonstrating against a possible war in Iraq. The demonstrations were organized by Youth and Student ANSWER and D.C. Iraq Pledge of Resistance and United for Peace.
- 01/16/2003 Hans Blix and Muhammad El-Baradei called on Iraq to cooperate with inspectors or face war, accusing Iraq of illegally importing arms-related material to the country. However, they added that it was not yet clear whether the items were related to weapons of mass destruction. Speaking in Brussels, Blix stated that "it's clear Iraq has violated the bans of the United Nations in terms of imports. We have found things that have been illegally imported, even in 2001 and 2002." (*CNN*)
 - U.N. inspectors interviewed two Iraqi scientists in their homes, conducting surprise inspections of private residences. It was unclear whether inspectors were able to speak to Faleh Hassan, a physicist, and Shaker al-Jibouri, nuclear scientist, without the presence of an Iraqi official.
 - According to *Time* magazine, Saudi Arabia was vigorously pursuing a concrete plan to encourage Iraqi generals to overthrow Saddam and his clique. The plan proposes that the U.N. Security Council pass a resolution, which would grant amnesty to all but 100 to 120 of the most senior Baath Party officials, including Saddam, his sons, close relatives, and others who have long formed part of the ruling circle. Saudi Arabia

and other Middle Eastern countries later denied that they were urging Saddam to resign.

- U.N. weapons inspectors uncovered "11 empty 122-millimeter chemical warheads and one warhead that requires further evaluation," according to a daily statement released by UNMOVIC/IAEA spokesman Hiro Ueki. Inspectors found the warheads at the Ukhaidar Ammunition Stores, located 70 kilometers south of Karbala. The site was last visited by a joint team of inspectors on January 7. "The warheads were in excellent condition and were similar to ones imported by Iraq during the late 1980s," Ueki said. (*RFE/RL Iraq Report*, vol. 5 no. 42, January 20, 2003)
- 01/15/2003 It was reported that the United States has sent Patriot antimissile systems and 600 troops to Israel in a joint U.S. - Israeli exercise to test the ability of American and Israeli missile defenses to work together. The joint exercises are scheduled to last until mid-February 2003. Israel operates its own Arrow missile defense system and has deployed two batteries outside of Israeli cities.
- 01/11/2003 The Pentagon issued deployment orders to 27,000 troops, including Marines, an Army airborne infantry brigade, and a squadron of Stealth fighters.
- 01/10/2003 The Pentagon issued deployment orders to 35,000 troops, over half of whom were Marines stationed at Camp Pendleton, Calif., and Camp Lejeune, N.C.
- 01/09/2003 Secretary of State Colin L. Powell indicated that the United States had begun providing U.N. weapons inspectors with "significant" intelligence on Iraqi weapons programs but was withholding the most sensitive information in order to see if inspectors "are able to handle it and exploit it." Blix and El-Baradei have called on the United States to share more intelligence data with inspectors. (*Washington Post*)
 - In a challenge to President Bush's assessment that Iraq had imported aluminum tubes to enrich uranium, Dr. Mohamed El-Baradei, the United Nations chief nuclear inspector and the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, said his inspection team had determined that aluminum tubes Baghdad tried to import over the last two years were intended to build 81 mm rockets and not centrifuges to enrich uranium. Dr. El-Baradei noted that buying the tubes to make rockets would violate a 1991 Security Council resolution on importing military equipment. (*New York Times*)

- 01/07/2003 Britain called up 1,500 reservists for a possible military action in Iraq. The troops will join other units already deployed in the region and assist a naval task force stationed in the Mediterranean. (*New York Times*)
 - For the first time since the beginning of inspections in late November 2002, U.N. weapons inspectors used helicopters to conduct aerial searches of suspected weapons sites in Iraq. Inspectors have checked a total of 230 sites. Speaking at IAEA headquarters in Vienna, Mohammad El-Baradei stated that his agency's inspectors did not have a "smoking gun" and that "it is too early for us to come to any conclusion." (*BBC News*)
- 12/31/2002 U.S. military officials issued deployment orders to the remaining 15,000 plus troops in the Army's Third Infantry Division stationed in Fort Stewart, GA. The Third Infantry Division specializes in desert warfare. According to the *New York Times*, "officials would not discuss the precise timing of the Third Infantry Division's movements, but they said troops would leave in the coming days."
- 12/28/2002 Iraq provided the United Nations with an official list of 500 Iraqi scientists involved in the development of ballistic missiles and nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. The list was required by the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1441, which was passed in November and re-established weapons inspections.
- 12/23/2002 U.N. Inspectors started conducting interviews with Iraqi scientists without the presence of Iraqi government officials. The first closed-door sessions took place in Baghdad. The Security Council resolution authorizing the inspections allows Iraqi scientists to be interviewed outside the country. It is unclear if the inspectors were planning on conducting these meetings outside Iraq.
 - Iraqi planes shot down an unmanned U.S. Predator drone as it was conducting a surveillance mission in the southern "no-fly zone." The downed Predator was the fourth drone to either have been shot down or lost in Iraq.
- 12/22/2002 The *New York Times* reported that Central Intelligence Agency operatives have been working with the main Kurdish political parties in northern Iraq to analyze the political and military situation there and meet with important figures in the Iraqi opposition.
- 12/20/2002 In a statement outlining the preliminary findings regarding Iraq's 12,000 page declaration of its weapons program, Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, stated that "an opportunity

CRS-19

was missed in the declaration to give a lot of evidence ... they can still provide it, and I hope they provide it to us orally, but it would have been better if it had been in the declaration.'' (*New York Times*)

- 12/17/2002 The Iraqi Open Opposition Conference in London ended with delegates issuing a political declaration calling for Iraq to become a "democratic, parliamentary, pluralistic and federal state," which would be governed by Iraqis only. The delegates created a 65-member follow-up committee to continue the work of the conference.
 - At the conclusion of The Iraqi Open Opposition Conference, the Bush Administration announced that it would be training 1,000 Iraqi exiles as guides and support staff for U.S. forces. The U.S. has asked Hungary to host the training at Taszar air base, 120 miles southwest of Budapest. (*Washington Post*)
- 12/14/2002 The Iragi Open Opposition Conference started in London. Over 330 delegates from numerous factions of the opposition drafted two statements covering the opposition's shared political vision for the future, and the general framework for governing the country in the period immediately following a collapse of the current Iraqi regime. On December 9, 2002, President George W. Bush issued up to "\$92 million in defense articles from the [U.S.] Department of Defense, defense services from the Department of Defense, and military education and training" for Iraqi opposition groups. The determination specifically mentions the Iraqi National Accord, the Iraqi National Congress (INC), the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), the Movement for Constitutional Monarchy. and the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). (RFE/RL, Iraq Report, vol. 5, no.41, December 15, 2002)
- 12/13/2002 Anonymous U.N. and U.S. diplomats said that Iraq's 12,000 page declaration of its weapons program failed to account for all biological and chemical agents. "There doesn't seem to be an awful lot in there that's new. And a lot of it seems much the same as in a 1996 declaration when Iraq gave a full declaration," said a U.N. diplomat. (*Reuters*)
- 12/12/2002 The Iraqi Oil Ministry canceled its contract with three Russian oil companies, Lukoil, Zarubezhneft, and Machinoimport, to develop the lucrative West Qurna oilfield in southern Iraq. Iraqi officials stated that Lukoil et al. had not fulfilled their contractual obligations. Lukoil executives believe Iraq was retaliating against Russia for voting in favor of U.N. Resolution 1441.

- 12/10/2002 After two full weeks of inspections, U.N. inspectors ventured outside the vicinity of Baghdad for the first time, investigating a uranium mine 250 miles west of Baghdad near the Syrian border. A total of 70 inspectors had arrived in Iraq since mid-November.
- 12/09/2002 Japan decided to dispatch an AEGIS class cruiser to the Indian Ocean without specifying if its sophisticated radar and communications equipment will be used to support an attack on Iraq. Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage called Japan "our most important ally in Asia."(*New York Times*, December 10, 2002)
- Iraqi officials submitted a 12,000 page account of past chemical, biological, and nuclear programs to the Security Council. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said that much of the 2,400-page nuclear annex appeared to be a copy of a declaration Iraq had made four years ago, repeating its account of how the country's nuclear weapons had been dismantled after the 1991 Gulf war. According to the *Guardian* of London, "an additional Arabic language section, 300 pages long, gave details of more recent activity. The Arabic text was titled, "Activities that could be interpreted as nuclear-related 1991-2002", suggesting that it dealt with "dual-use" items, such as radioactive material used in hospital scanners." (*Guardian*, London, December 10, 2002)
 - Senator Joseph Biden, outgoing chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Chuck Hagel, a member of the committee, visited the Kurdish region in northern Iraq. They met with leading members of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in Salah-al-Din. The U.S. delegation expressed its satisfaction with the democratic experience in the region, the Kurds' administrative capabilities, and their united political stance.
 - Saddam Hussein apologized for his country's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. In the conclusion of his letter, Hussein wrote that "We and the people of Iraq salute those young believers who stand up to the foreign occupier with arms and those who see or believe that it is a shame that requires the cleansing of the land, and of the people, by fire and other means." (*New York Times*, December 8, 2002)
- 12/05/2002 Operation "Internal Look" began in Qatar. General Tommy Franks and other Central Command (CENTCOM) officers engage in a computer-simulated war game of an invasion of Iraq.

- The aircraft carrier Harry S. Truman and its battle group departed for the Persian Gulf. The Truman carried about 70 strike aircraft.
- 12/04/2002 During a visit to Turkey to shore up Turkish support for a possible strike against Iraq, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz said that "Turkish support is assured. It was said at all levels of the government that we spoke to that Turkey has been with us always in the past and they will be with us now." (*Washington Post*, December 5, 2002)
- 12/03/2002 In Baghdad, inspectors conducted a surprise inspection at Al-Sajoud presidential palace. Iraqi officials express anger at the visit.
 - The new Turkish government stated that the United States could station warplanes and use Turkish air space to carry out strikesif the United Nations Security Council adopted a new resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. In addition, Turkish officials opposed the possible presence of substantial amounts of ground troops on Turkish soil during a war in Iraq. (*New York Times*, December 3, 2002)
- 12/02/2002 U.N. arms experts reported that some gear tagged by previous inspection teams was missing at the Karamah (Dignity) missile factory compound in Baghdad. Iraqi officials explained that the missing gear had either been destroyed during U.S. and British bombing in 1998 or moved elsewhere.
- 11/27/2002 Formal inspections began in Iraq. The United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) visited the Al-Rafah missile factory, the General Al-Tahadi Company, and a graphite factory in and around Baghdad.
- 11/21/2002 Two U.S. Army soldiers were shot and seriously wounded on a highway south of Kuwait City. The attacker was a police sergeant who used his government issue weapon to fire at the soldiers at close range. On October 8, two Islamic fundamentalists had shot and killed a U.S. Marine and wounded another on the Kuwait island of Failaka.
- 11/18/2002 Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, and an advance team of 30 UNMOVIC weapons inspectors arrived in Baghdad to establish a base and immediately resume monitoring Iraq's weapons programs. The first sites checked are among those that were inspected previously during the 1990's.

- 11/13/2002 In a letter addressed to Kofi Annan, Iraq accepts the return of weapons inspectors to Iraq under the terms of U.N. Resolution 1441.
- 11/08/2002 The U.N. Security Council unanimously approves Resolution 1441, ordering Iraq to admit weapons inspectors, or face "serious consequences."
- 11/04/2002 Kuwait said that the United States could use its military facilities in a war against Iraq if it were sanctioned by the United Nations. According to Kuwait Foreign Minister Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, "if a (U.N. Security Council) resolution is issued, the bases will be used, but not the Kuwaiti military." (*Reuters*)
- 10/20/2002 Saddam Hussein released tens of thousands of political prisoners and common criminals in a general amnesty.
- 10/16/2002 President Bush signed H.J.Res. 114 (P.L. 107-243), which authorizes him to use the U.S. armed forces to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq, and enforce all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.
- 10/12/2002 Baghdad sent a letter to the United Nations saying Iraq is willing to accept the return of inspectors.
- 10/11/2002 The Senate approved the use of force against Iraq by a vote of 77-23.
- 10/10/2002 The House of Representatives passed H.J.Res. 114 authorizing the use of force against Iraq by a vote of 296 -133.

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