

# **A DECADE OF DECEPTION AND DEFIANCE**

**SADDAM HUSSEIN'S DEFIANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

**SEPTEMBER 12, 2002**

# PREFACE

---

*A Decade of Deception and Defiance* serves as a background paper for President George W. Bush's September 12<sup>th</sup> speech to the United Nations General Assembly. This document provides specific examples of how Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has systematically and continually violated 16 United Nations Security Council resolutions over the past decade. This document is not designed to catalogue all of the violations of UN resolutions or other abuses of Saddam Hussein's regime over the years.

For more than a decade, Saddam Hussein has deceived and defied the will and resolutions of the United Nations Security Council by, among other things: continuing to seek and develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, and prohibited long-range missiles; brutalizing the Iraqi people, including committing gross human rights violations and crimes against humanity; supporting international terrorism; refusing to release or account for prisoners of war and other missing individuals from the Gulf War era; refusing to return stolen Kuwaiti property; and working to circumvent the UN's economic sanctions.

The Administration will periodically provide information on these and other aspects of the threat posed to the international community by Saddam Hussein.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

Saddam Hussein's Defiance of United Nations Resolutions	4
Saddam Hussein's Development of Weapons of Mass Destruction	8
Saddam Hussein's Repression of the Iraqi People	11
Saddam Hussein's Support for International Terrorism	18
Saddam Hussein's Refusal to Account for Gulf War Prisoners	19
Saddam Hussein's Refusal to Return Stolen Property	20
Saddam Hussein's Efforts to Circumvent Economic Sanctions	21

# SADDAM HUSSEIN'S D

### **UNSCR 688 – APRIL 5, 1991**

- § “Condemns” repression of Iraqi civilian population, “the consequences of which threaten international peace and security.”
- § Iraq must immediately end repression of its civilian population.
- § Iraq must allow immediate access to international humanitarian organizations to those in need of assistance.

### **UNSCR 707 – AUGUST 15, 1991**

- § “Condemns” Iraq’s “serious violation” of UNSCR 687.
- § “Further condemns” Iraq’s noncompliance with IAEA and its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.
- § Iraq must halt nuclear activities of all kinds until the Security Council deems Iraq in full compliance.
- § Iraq must make a full, final and complete disclosure of all aspects of its weapons of mass destruction and missile programs.
- § Iraq must allow UN and IAEA inspectors immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access.
- § Iraq must cease attempts to conceal or move weapons of mass destruction, and related materials and facilities.
- § Iraq must allow UN and IAEA inspectors to conduct inspection flights throughout Iraq.
- § Iraq must provide transportation, medical and logistical support for UN and IAEA inspectors.

### **UNSCR 715 – OCTOBER 11, 1991**

- § Iraq must cooperate fully with UN and IAEA inspectors.

### **UNSCR 949 – OCTOBER 15, 1994**

- § “Condemns” Iraq’s recent military deployments toward Kuwait.
- § Iraq must not utilize its military or other forces in a hostile manner to threaten its neighbors or UN operations in Iraq.
- § Iraq must cooperate fully with UN weapons inspectors.
- § Iraq must not enhance its military capability in southern Iraq.

### **UNSCR 1051 – MARCH 27, 1996**

- § Iraq must re0.284fr.hfp 0 TD.25 0 Tw (15, 26 l-uD /FF1 12 must f 0.altj 72 0 TD /F1 s /F5 12 Tf 0 Tc -0.336 m

**UNSCR 1115 – JUNE 21, 1997**

§ “Condemns repeated refusal of Iraqi authorities to allow access” to UN inspectors, which constitutes a “clear and flagrant violation” of UNSCR 687, 707, 715, and 1060.

§ Iraq must cooperate fully with UN weapons inspectors and allow immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access.

§

## **UNSCR 1284 – DECEMBER 17, 1999**

- § Created the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspections Commission (UNMOVIC) to replace previous weapon inspection team (UNSCOM).
- § Iraq must allow UNMOVIC “immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access” to Iraqi officials and facilities.
- § Iraq must fulfill its commitment to return Gulf War prisoners.
- § Calls on Iraq to distribute humanitarian goods and medical supplies to its people and address the needs of vulnerable Iraqis without discrimination.

## **ADDITIONAL UN SECURITY COUNCIL STATEMENTS**

In addition to the legally binding UNSCRs, the UN Security Council has also issued at least 30 statements from the President of the UN Security Council regarding Saddam Hussein's continued violations of UNSCRs. The list of statements includes:

- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, June 28, 1991
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, February 5, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, February 19, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, February 28, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, March 6, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, March 11, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, March 12, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, April 10, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, June 17, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, July 6, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, September 2, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, November 23, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, November 24, 1992
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, January 8, 1993
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, January 11, 1993
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, June 18, 1993
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, June 28, 1993
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, November 23, 1993
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, October 8, 1994
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, March 19, 1996
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, June 14, 1996
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, August 23, 1996
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, December 30, 1996
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, June 13, 1997
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, October 29, 1997
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, November 13, 1997
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, December 3, 1997
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, December 22, 1997
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, January 14, 1998
- § UN Security Council Presidential Statement, May 14, 1998

## **SADDAM HUSSEIN'S DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION**

---

Saddam Hussein has continued to defy UN weapons inspectors for more than a decade, and he continues his efforts to develop or acquire weapons of mass destruction – including biological, chemical and nuclear weapons, and prohibited long-range missiles – and other means to deliver them.

**B**



## CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Saddam Hussein launched a large-scale chemical weapons attack against Iraq's Kurdish population in the late 1980s, killing thousands. On at least 10 occasions, Saddam Hussein's military forces have attacked Iranian and Kurdish targets with combinations of mustard gas and nerve agents through the use of aerial bombs, 122-millimeter rockets, and conventional artillery shells. Saddam Hussein continues his efforts to develop chemical weapons:

- § Gaps identified by UNSCOM in Iraqi accounting and current production capabilities strongly suggest that Iraq

- § Iraq has withheld documentation relevant to its past nuclear program, including data about enrichment techniques, foreign procurement, weapons design, experimental data, and technical documents.
- § Iraq still has the technical expertise and some of the infrastructure needed to pursue its goal of building a nuclear weapon.
- § Saddam Hussein has repeatedly met with his nuclear scientists over the past two years, signaling his continued interest in developing his nuclear program.

#### BALLISTIC MISSILES

- § Iraq is believed to be developing ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometers – as prohibited by the UN Security Council Resolution 687.
- § Discrepancies identified by UNSCOM in Saddam Hussein's declarations suggest that Iraq retains a small force of Scud-type missiles and an undetermined number of launchers and warheads.<sup>9</sup>
- § Iraq continues work on the al-Samoud liquid propellant short-range missile (which can fly beyond the allowed 150 kilometers). The al-Samoud and the solid propellant Ababil-100 appeared in a military parade in Baghdad on December 31, 2000, suggesting that both systems are nearing operational deployment.
- § The al-Rafah-North facility is Iraq's principal site for testing liquid propellant missile engines. Iraq has been building a new, larger test stand there that is clearly intended for testing prohibited longer-range missile engines.
- § At their al-Mamoun facility, the Iraqis have rebuilt structures that had been dismantled by UNSCOM that were originally designed to manufacture solid propellant motors for the Badr-2000 missile program.

---

<sup>9</sup> UNSCOM Report



§ In June 2000, a former Iraqi general reportedly received a videotape of security forces raping a female family member. He subsequently received a telephone call from an intelligence agent who stated that another female relative was being held and warned him to stop speaking out against the Iraqi Government.<sup>15</sup>

§ Iraqi security forces allegedly raped women who were captured during the Anfal Campaign and during the occupation of Kuwait.<sup>16</sup>

§ Amnesty International reported that, in October 2000, the Iraqi Government executed dozens of women accused of prostitution.<sup>17</sup>

§ In May, the Iraqi Government reportedly tortured to death the mother of three Iraqi defectors for her children's opposition activities.<sup>1125 Tc D / TD 0 /F4 /F4 12 Tf -0.246 Tc (S) Tj 5.25 0 TD /F5 12 Tf 0 Tc -0.336 Tw ( ) Tj 12.75 0 TD /F0 12 Tf -0.0118 Tc F0</sup>  
accused of prostitution.

In May, t9 0 T9Tc -s allegedly r1-

- § Refugees fleeing to Europe often reported instances of torture to receiving governments, and displayed scars and mutilations to substantiate their claims.<sup>23</sup>
- § In August 2001 Amnesty International released a report entitled *Iraq -- Systematic Torture of Political Prisoners*, which detailed the systematic and routine use of torture against suspected political opponents and, occasionally, other prisoners. Amnesty International also reports "Detainees have also been threatened with bringing in a female relative, especially the wife or the mother, and raping her in front of the detainee. Some of these threats have been carried out."<sup>24</sup>
- § Saad Keis Naoman, an Iraqi soccer player who defected to Europe, reported that he and his teammates were beaten and humiliated at the order of Uday Saddam Hussein for poor performances. He was flogged until his back was bloody, forcing him to sleep on his stomach in the tiny cell in Al-Radwaniya prison.<sup>25</sup>

#### EXECUTIONS AND REPRESSION OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION

§

- § Iraq has conducted a systematic "Arabization" campaign of ethnic cleansing designed to harass and expel ethnic Kurds and Turkmen from government-controlled areas. Non-Arab citizens are forced to change their ethnicity or their identity documents and adopt Arab names, or they are deprived of their homes, property and food-ration cards, and expelled.

### **SADDAM HUSSEIN'S ABUSE OF CHILDREN**

- § Saddam Hussein has held 3-week training courses in weapons use, hand-to-hand fighting, rappelling from helicopters, and infantry tactics for children between 10 and 15 years of age. Camps for these "Saddam Cubs" operated throughout the country. Senior military officers who supervised the courses noted that the children held up under the "physical and psychological strain" of training that lasted for as long as 14 hours each day. Sources in the opposition report that the army found it difficult to recruit enough children to fill all of the vacancies in the program. Families reportedly were threatened with the loss of their food ration cards if they refused to enroll their children in the course. The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq reported in October 1999 that authorities were denying food ration cards to families that failed to send their young sons to Saddam Cubs compulsory weapons-training camps. Similarly, authorities reportedly withheld school examination results to students unless they registered in the Fedayeen Saddam organization.<sup>31</sup>
- § Iraq often announces food ration cuts for the general population, blaming US or UK actions. Among the most controversial have been cuts in baby milk rations. Iraq has blamed the shortages on US and UK contract rejections, although the UN has approved all baby milk contracts submitted.
- § Child labor persists and there are instances of forced labor.
- § There are widespread reports that food and medicine that could have been made available to the general public, including children, have been stockpiled in warehouses or diverted for the personal use of some government officials.<sup>32</sup>

### **DISAPPEARANCES**

- § Amnesty International reported that Iraq has the world's worst record for numbers of persons who have disappeared or remain unaccounted for.<sup>33</sup>
- § In 1999, the UN Special Rapporteur stated that Iraq remains the country with the highest number of disappearances known to the UN: over 16,000.

### **BASIC FREEDOMS : FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, FREEDOM OF INFORMATION**

- § In practice, Saddam Hussein does not permit freedom of speech or of the press, and does not tolerate political dissent in areas under its control. In November 2000, the UN General Assembly criticized Saddam Hussein's "suppression of freedom of thought, expression, information, association, and assembly." The Special Rapporteur stated in October 1999 that citizens lived "in a climate of fear," in

---

<sup>31</sup> Page 1, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Iraq*, March 4, 2002; US Department of State; [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, Page 16

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, Page 3



### WITHHOLDING OF FOOD

- § Relatives who do not report deserters may lose their ration cards for purchasing government-controlled food supplies, be evicted from their residences, or face the arrest of other family members. The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq reported in October and December 1999 that authorities denied food ration cards to families that failed to send their young sons to the "Saddam's Cubs" compulsory weapons training camps.<sup>43</sup>

### CRIMES AGAINST MUSLIMS

- § The Government consistently politicizes and interferes with religious pilgrimages, both of Iraqi Muslims who wish to make the Hajj to Mecca and Medina and of Iraqi and non-Iraqi Muslim pilgrims who travel to holy sites within the country. For example, in 1998 the UN Sanctions Committee offered to disburse vouchers for travel and expenses to pilgrims making the Hajj; however, the Government rejected this offer. In 1999 the Sanctions Committee offered to disburse funds to cover Hajj-related expenses via a neutral third party; the Government again rejected the offer. Following the December 1999 passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1284, the Sanctions Committee again sought to devise a protocol to facilitate the payment for individuals making the journey. The Sanctions Committee proposed to issue \$250 in cash and \$1,750 in travelers checks to each individual pilgrim to be distributed at the U.N. office in Baghdad in the presence of both U.N. and Iraqi officials. The Government again declined and, consequently, no Iraqi pilgrims were able to take advantage of the available funds or, in 2000, of the permitted flights. The Government continued to insist that these funds would be accepted only if they were paid in cash to the government-controlled central bank, not to the Hajj pilgrims.<sup>44</sup>

More than 95 percent of the population of Iraq are Muslim. The (predominantly Arab) Shi'a Muslims constitute a 60 to 65 percent majority:

- § The Iraqi government has for decades conducted a brutal campaign of murder, summary execution, and protracted arbitrary arrest against the religious leaders and followers of the majority Shi'a Muslim population. Despite nominal legal protection of religious equality, the Government has repressed severely the Shi'a clergy and those who follow the Shi'a faith.<sup>45</sup>
- § Forces from the



- § The following government restrictions on religious rights remained in effect during 2001: restrictions and outright bans on communal Friday prayer by Shi'a Muslims; restrictions on the loaning of books by Shi'a mosque libraries; a ban on the broadcast of Shi'a programs on government-controlled radio or television; a ban on the publication of Shi'a books, including prayer books and guides; a ban on funeral processions other than those organized by the Government; a ban on other Shi'a funeral observances such as gatherings for Koran reading; and the prohibition of certain processions and public meetings that commemorate Shi'a holy days. Shi'a groups report that they captured documents from the security services during the 1991 uprising that listed thousands of forbidden Shi'a religious writings.<sup>47</sup>
- § In June 1999, several Shi'a opposition groups reported that the Government instituted a program in the predominantly Shi'a districts of Baghdad that used food ration cards to restrict where individuals could pray. The ration cards, part of the UN oil-for-food program, reportedly are checked when the bearer enters a mosque and are printed with a notice of severe penalties for those who attempt to pray at an unauthorized location.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Page 11, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Iraq*, March 4, 2002; US Department of State; [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, Page 11

**SADDAM HUSSEIN**



## **SADDAM HUSSEIN'S REFUSAL TO RETURN STOLEN PROPERTY**

---

Iraq destroyed much stolen property before it could be returned, and Kuwait claims that large quantities of equipment remain unaccounted for:

- § The UN and Kuwait say Iraq has not returned extensive Kuwaiti state archives and museum pieces, as well as military equipment, including eight Mirage F-1 aircraft, 245 Russian-made fighting vehicles, 90 M113 armored personnel carriers, one Hawk battery, 3,750 Tow and anti-tank missiles, and 675 Russian-made surface-to-air missile batteries.

## SADDAM HUSSEIN'S EFFORTS TO CIRCUMVENT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND IMPEDE THE OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM

---

- § Saddam Hussein has illegally imported hundreds of millions of dollars in goods in violation of economic sanctions and outside of the UN's Oil-for-Food program. For example, Iraq has imported fiber optic communications systems that support the Iraqi military.
- § Iraq has diverted dual-use items obtained under the Oil for Food program for military purposes. For example, Iraq diverted UN approved trucks from humanitarian relief purposes to military purposes, and has used construction equipment to help rebuild WMD-affiliated facilities.
- § The Iraqi regime illicitly exports hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil each day in flagrant violation of UNSCRs and blatant disregard for the humanitarian well-b-Fo2I4NNTThe Irpeoexaoseln sos ol-b,-usraqies.

§ i