

## APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Expertise</i>	<i>Time of interview</i>
Alan Dobson	Professor in Anglo-American Relations	26 November 2014
David Omand	Former Head of GCHQ	4 December 2014
Graeme Lamb	Lieutenant General	15 December 2014
Michael Harwood	Air Vice-Marshal	24 November 2014
Michael Herman	Former Secretary of the JIC	17 November 2014
Richard Aldrich	Professor in Intelligence	4 March 2015
Tim Cross	Major General	30 October 2014

## APPENDIX 2: THE US'S SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND THE DATES WHEN THEY WERE PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED BY AMERICAN PRESIDENTS

<i>American Presidents</i>	<i>Country in a special relationship with the US</i>	<i>Date</i>
Franklin Roosevelt	Haiti	5 June 1934
	Panama	11 August 1939
Harry Truman	Philippines	5 May 1945
Dwight Eisenhower	Puerto Rico	3 August 1959
	France	22 April 1960
John Kennedy	Panama	13 June 1962
Lyndon Johnson	Panama	21 March 1964
Richard Nixon	Britain	24 February 1969
	Philippines	26 July 1969
	Philippines	27 July 1969
	Mexico	8 September 1969
	Iran	23 October 1969
	Mexico	3 September 1970
	Britain	17 December 1970
	Britain	6 April 1971
	Japan	10 September 1971
	India	4 November 1971
Britain	5 June 1973	
Liberia	5 June 1973	
France	10 July 1974	

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<i>American Presidents</i>	<i>Country in a special relationship with the US</i>	<i>Date</i>
Gerald Ford	Mexico	21 October 1974
	Japan	17 November 1974
	Israel	13 May 1976
Jimmy Carter	Liberia	21 September 1976
	Israel	7 March 1977
	Britain	10 March 1977
	Israel	12 May 1977
	West Germany	13 July 1977
	Iran	31 December 1977
	Israel	25 May 1978
	Israel	26 May 1978
	Thailand	6 February 1979
	Israel	12 March 1979
	Liberia	2 October 1979
	Britain	17 December 1979
	Israel	15 April 1980
	Yugoslavia	24 June 1980
Israel	8 September 1980	
Ronald Reagan	Mexico	26 September 1980
	Canada	10 March 1981
	Canada	11 March 1981
	Canada	16 June 1981
	Canada	30 July 1981
	Mexico	30 July 1981
	Puerto Rico	17 March 1982
	Federal States of Micronesia	23 February 1984
	The Republics of Palau	23 February 1984
	The Republic of Marshall Islands	23 February 1984
	Federal States of Micronesia	4 May 1984
	The Republics of Palau	4 May 1984
	The Republic of Marshall Islands	4 May 1984
	Mexico	15 May 1984
	Israel	25 September 1984
	Italy	4 October 1985
	Australia	17 April 1986
	Philippines	25 April 1986
	Egypt	12 May 1987
	Canada	1 July 1987
	Italy	1 October 1987
	Israel	10 November 1987
Mexico	10 February 1988	
Canada	27 April 1988	
Britain	3 June 1988	
Italy	14 June 1988	
Britain	16 November 1988	

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<i>American Presidents</i>	<i>Country in a special relationship with the US</i>	<i>Date</i>
George H.W. Bush	Jordan	19 April 1989
	Britain	1 June 1989
	Mexico	3 October 1989
	Canada	14 November 1989
	France	16 December 1989
	Britain	16 December 1989
	Portugal	11 January 1990
	Britain	13 April 1990
	Britain	16 April 1990
	Mexico	8 August 1990
	Israel	8 November 1990
	Britain	19 November 1990
	Mexico	27 November 1990
	Britain	22 December 1990
	Britain	7 March 1991
	Britain	14 May 1991
	Greece	18 July 1991
	Yugoslavia	31 July 1991
	Greece	12 December 1991
	Japan	9 January 1992
	Britain	6 June 1992
	Israel	11 August 1992
	Israel	8 September 1992
	Poland	15 October 1992
Israel	29 October 1992	
Bill Clinton	Britain	24 February 1993
	Egypt	6 April 1993
	Israel	1 October 1993
	Mexico	20 October 1993
	Italy	2 June 1994
	Israel	7 May 1995
	Japan	17 November 1995
	Israel	30 April 1996
	Australia	20 November 1996
	Estonia	16 January 1998
	Britain	5 February 1998
	Britain	2 May 2000
Britain	23 October 2000	

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<i>American Presidents</i>	<i>Country in a special relationship with the US</i>	<i>Date</i>	
George W. Bush	Britain	22 February 2001	
	Britain	23 February 2001	
	Britain	19 July 2001	
	Mexico	22 March 2002	
	Canada	9 September 2002	
	Pakistan	24 June 2003	
	Britain	19 November 2003	
	Britain	21 November 2003	
	Egypt	12 April 2004	
	Romania	9 March 2005	
	Panama	7 November 2005	
	Japan	24 April 2006	
	Britain	7 May 2007	
	Britain	26 March 2008	
	Britain	17 April 2008	
	Barack Obama	Britain	13 January 2009
		Britain	1 April 2009
Israel		18 May 2009	
Israel		1 June 2009	
Israel		19 April 2010	
Britain		11 May 2010	
Britain		12 May 2010	
Britain		26 June 2010	
Britain		26 June 2010	
Israel		6 July 2010	
Israel		7 July 2010	
Britain		20 July 2010	
Britain		24 May 2011	
Britain		25 May 2011	
Britain		21 September 2011	
Britain		14 March 2012	
Britain		5 June 2012	
Britain		4 August 2012	
Israel		19 March 2013	
Britain		13 May 2013	
Britain	23 May 2013		
Britain	22 July 2013		
Britain	19 September 2014		

*Source:* Public Papers of the Presidents in the American Presidency Project. Retrieved March 24, 2015, from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php>

## APPENDIX 3: THE JIC ESTIMATES ON IRAQ'S WMD, 1990–2002

	<i>Nuclear weapons</i>	<i>Chemical weapons</i>	<i>Biological weapons</i>	<i>Ballistic missiles</i>
1990	Iraq had a programme and was trying to develop the capability	Iraq had both a programme and the capability	Iraq had both a programme and the capability	Iraq had strategic delivery capability with about 700 ballistic missiles
1995	Iraq had insufficient fissile material to make a nuclear device	Iraq could produce significant quantities within months	Iraq had an extensive programme and possibly concealed biological agent stocks	Iraq hid some missile R&D work and retained capability
1998	Iraq could possibly develop a nuclear device in around five years without UN controls	Iraq hid some chemical warfare (CW) agents, munitions, precursor chemicals and production equipment	Iraq probably retained some biological warfare (BW) production equipment, stocks of agents and even weapons	Iraq possibly retained a handful of missiles which could be available for use within weeks or perhaps even days

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	<i>Nuclear weapons</i>	<i>Chemical weapons</i>	<i>Biological weapons</i>	<i>Ballistic missiles</i>
2000	Iraq lacked fissile material and the infrastructure to build a nuclear weapon, but may show interest in acquiring uranium	Iraq likely continued to develop offensive CW capabilities and could have hidden dual-use precursor chemicals and production equipment	Iraq retained sufficient expertise, equipment and materials to produce BW agents within weeks using legitimate biotechnology facilities	Iraq increased the pace and scope of its missile research and development programmes, and probably disassembled and concealed a handful of aging SCUD-derived missiles
2002	Iraq was pursuing a nuclear weapons programme, but lacked suitable fissile material to produce a nuclear weapon	Iraq had an offensive CW programme and retained some production equipment, and some small stocks of CW agent precursors, and may have hidden small quantities of agents and weapons	Iraq had a number of biological agents and could produce more of these biological agents within days	Iraq retained up to 20 Al Hussein ballistic missiles and was seeking to develop new, larger liquid- and solid-propellant missiles

Source: Butler, R. (2004) *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction*. London: The Stationery Office

## APPENDIX 4: THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S ESTIMATES ON IRAQ'S WMD, 1996–2002

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- |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1996 | Without an effective, long-term control by the UN, Iraq could use its large pool of scientific expertise, as well as hidden materials and components, to reconstitute its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programmes                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 1998 | Iraq retained the technical expertise to quickly resurrect its WMD programme if UN inspections were ended                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 2000 | Iraq reconstructed its WMD-capable facilities and continued to work on delivery systems, which showed the priority Saddam continued to attach to preserving a WMD infrastructure                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 2002 | Iraq continued to build and expand an infrastructure capable of producing WMD; it expanded its civilian chemical industry which could be diverted quickly to the production of chemical weapons; it maintained an active and capable biological weapons programme; it continued to pursue ballistic missiles capabilities in violation of the UN limit; it never abandoned nuclear weapons programme |
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*Source:* Deutch, J. (1996, February 22). Worldwide Threat Assessment Brief to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Retrieved March 26, 2015, from [http://www.fas.org/irp/cia/product/dci\\_speech\\_022296.html](http://www.fas.org/irp/cia/product/dci_speech_022296.html); Tenet, G. (1998, June 24). Testimony by Director of Central Intelligence George J. Tenet before the Senate Committee on Government Affairs. Retrieved March 26, 2015, from [https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/1998/dci\\_testimony\\_062498.html](https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/1998/dci_testimony_062498.html); Tenet, G. (2000, February 2). Statement by Director of Central Intelligence George J. Tenet before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on The Worldwide Threat in 2000: Global Realities of Our National Security. Retrieved March 26, 2015, from [https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/2000/dci\\_speech\\_020200.html](https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/2000/dci_speech_020200.html); Tenet, G. (2002, February 6). Worldwide Threat—Converging Dangers in a Post 9/11 World. Retrieved March 26, 2015, from [https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/2002/senate\\_select\\_hearing\\_03192002.html](https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/2002/senate_select_hearing_03192002.html)



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