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Iraq's Chemical Warfare Program: More Self-Reliant, More Deadly

A Research Paper

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Iraq's Chemical Warfare Program: More Self-Reliant, More Deadly

A Research Paper

This paper was prepared by
Office of Scientific and
Weapons Research, with contributions from
OSWR,
Imagery Analysis, and
Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis.

Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Science and Technology
Division, OSWR

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August 1990

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	Iraq's Chemical Warfare Program: More Self-Reliant, More Deadly	
Summary Information available as of 7 August 1990 was used in this report.	The Iraqi chemical warfare (CW) program, by far the largest in the Th World, is rapidly becoming self-sufficient. By 1993 Iraq will have comped several facilities that will supply nearly all of the precursor chemical needed to support large-scale nerve agent production using raw materia acquired in the country. With optimum use of their CW facilities, the Iraqis may then be able to achieve combined nerve and blister agent production levels of about 4,000 tons per year—twice the 2,000 tons per year they were producing by the end of the Iran-Iraq war—without have to worry about foreign embargoes of most essential precursors. In additing the apparent integration of pesticide production into Iraq's CW infrastruture will lend an air of legitimacy to the program.	letels ls als r ring ion
	Since the cease-fire with Iran, Iraq has stressed development of advance CW agents and delivery systems. It is pursuing persistent nerve agents such as VX that are much more toxic than the blister agent mustard at the nerve agent sarin—the principal agents now in Iraq's arsenal. In addition, Iraq probably is developing binary chemical weapons with a longer shelf life, enabling it to maintain a sizable stockpile. Iraq also is multaneously developing five types of short- to intermediate-range ballis missiles that may be fitted with chemical warheads. Missile-delivered C agents will offer Iraq greater standoff capability and deterrent value. In concert with developing a more sophisticated CW stockpile, the Iraqis a maintaining a wide range of battlefield-proven delivery options, including bombs, shells, and artillery rockets.	si- stic W
	Apparently Iraq believes it needs chemical weapons for deterrent purposes—primarily against Israel's nuclear option—and as a key weapon supporting its professed role as military "protector" of the Arab world. conjunction with CW, Iraq also has aggressive biological warfare and ballistic missile development programs in which self-sufficiency is a primary goal. The high priority enjoyed by the CW program probably a reflects Iraq's pleasure with the results of massive nerve agent strikes against Iranian forces in 1988 and subsequent CW use against Kurdish insurgents. However, Iraqi willingness to initiate use of chemical weapo in any future conflict undoubtedly will be tempered if its opponents possecredible CW capabilities.	ilso ns
	The Iraqi CW program poses a serious threat to US forces and interests the Middle East. There are strong indications that Iraq is prepared to unchemical weapons in a potential invasion of Saudi Arabia, even if the	

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United States or other countries intervene. Iraq most likely would use the nonpersistent nerve agent sarin—possibly in binary form—in artillery rockets and aerial bombs on the battlefield but might also use the persistent blister agent mustard against rear-area targets, such as airfields.

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Iraq's Chemical Warfare Program: More Self-Reliant, More Deadly	
For every insect there is an insecticide.	Iraq had little difficulty obtaining the raw materials it
Lt. Gen. Mahir Abd al-Rashid Commander, Iraqi VII Corps circa 1985	needed to support such production, it began develop- ing an indigenous precursor production capability after the United States and other Western nations began controlling sales of key precursor chemicals. Construction of three facilities began near Habban-
Now, Iraq is in possession of the binary chemical weapon. According to our technical, scientific, and	iyah in 1984 as part of this precursor production effort.
military calculations, this is sufficient deterrent to	
confront the Israeli nuclear weapon.	Iraq also has aggressive biological warfare (BW) ' and
Saddam Husayn 1 July 1990	ballistic missile programs that, in many ways, parallel its CW effort. As with CW, the BW and missile efforts are striving for self-sufficiency. Also, all three high-priority programs play a key role in Iraqi deterrence against Israel's unconventional and superior
Background	conventional weapons capability.
After nearly two decades of work, Iraq has developed the most extensive chemical warfare (CW) program in the Third World. Iraq first seriously considered developing an offensive CW program in the mid-1960s but did not establish an R&D effort until 1972. construction of a CW pilot plant facility at Salman Pak (see figure 1) and a full-scale chemical weapons complex near Samarra (see figure 2) began in 1975. (See appendix A for a description of key CW facilities in Iraq.) The outbreak of war with Iran in 1980 provided the impetus for Iraq to accelerate its CW program. Large-scale production of the blister agent mustard probably began at Samarra in early 1983; by August of that year, Iraq was using this agent against Iran (see inset for a summary of Iraqi CW agents used against Iran and appendix B for details of Iraqi use of chemical weapons). Iraq's concerted CW effort during the war enabled the Iraqis to establish a sizable and sophisticated infrastructure for R&D, production, testing, and storage of chemical weapons. (See appendix C for a summary of Iraq's CW program organization.) By the war's end, Iraq was able to produce about 1,000 tons each per year of blister and nerve agents. Although	The 1988 cease-fire with Iran did not diminish the importance of Iraq's CW program, but it did significantly alter the program's focus. The demands of the war necessitated that Iraq's CW program dedicate much of its resources to large-scale production of chemical weapons. Following the cease-fire, however, production of chemical weapons with a limited shelf life was no longer practical or even necessary, freeing Iraq to enhance its CW effort in preparation for future conflicts. Iraq apparently also is seeking ways to better utilize its semidormant CW facilities. Indigenous Precursor Production—Key to Eliminating Dependence on Foreign Suppliers Iraq is constructing several facilities that, when completed by 1993, will supply nearly all of Iraq's precursor chemical needs using indigenously acquired raw
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materials. Iraq embarked upon this effort in the mid-		
1980s, shortly after international export controls on key precursors were first enacted. If the project is		
successful, the Iraqis almost certainly will be able to produce several G-series nerve agents (particularly		
sarin and its derivatives)—and perhaps mustard as		
wellwithout need for imported chemicals.		

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Iraqi CW Agents Used During the Iran-Iraq War The blister agent mustard and the nerve agent sarin (GB) were produced in large amounts at Iraq's Samarra facility and used against Iran during the Iran-Iraq war. We believe that lesser amounts of the nerve agents tabun (GA) and GF and riot control agent CS were used as well. Iraqi mustard attacks severely strained Iran's medical infrastructure and, in conjunction with the use of riot control agents, disrupted several Iranian offensives. Large-scale use of nerve agents in 1988 inflicted significant Iranian casualties and greatly supported Iraqi offensive operations.	
In addition to lessening dependence on foreign suppliers, construction of precursor production lines at Habbaniyah II may permit precursor lines at Samarra to be dedicated to agent production. This could nearly double Iraq's total wartime capacity, to as much as 4,000 tons of CW agents per year. In addition, similarities between buildings at Habbaniyah II and agent production buildings at Samarra lead us to believe that CW agent production lines eventually could be built at Habbaniyah II. At present there is no evidence of such a plan, but Iraq might proceed with this possibility if it felt redundancy in its CW program was needed.	Elemental phosphorus is found in three primary forms, two of which—white and red—may be used for the production of nerve agent precursors. White phosphorus, sometimes labeled yellow phosphorus when impure, is very highly reactive. It ignites spontaneously on contact with air, and therefore often is used in incendiary munitions. Because of its reactivity and toxicity, special precautions must be taken when handling this material. As a result, the less reactive (and easier to control) red phosphorus is, in many cases, preferred when producing phosphorus-based compounds, such as phosphorus trichloride. However, use of red phosphorus necessitates higher operating temperatures.

which—although not the optimum chlorinating agent in sarin production—is an extremely common industrial chemical. (S NF) We have not identified specific Iraqi efforts to produce the alcohols needed in the manufacture of sarin and related G-series nerve agents, but such production could already be taking place as part of Iraq's extensive petrochemical industry. Methanol, a precursor common to these agents, is a basic industrial chemical and may well be produced in an Iraqi petrochemical plant using methane from natural gas as a feedstock. The production method for the sarin precursor isopropanol is nearly as straightforward. In addition, the United States and Western Europe produce over 2 million tons of this chemical annually, and it is readily available on the open market. The alcohols required for soman and GF-pinacolyl alcohol and cyclohexand, respectively—are somewhat less common, but Iraq should be able to produce at least the latter from indigenously available petrochemicals.

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We believe that Iraq has used imported thionyl chloride as a chlorinating agent in sarin production but could produce this precursor or a substitute indigenously. For example, phosphorus pentachloride (PCl₃) is easily produced by combining chlorine from the chlorine-alkaline plant with PCl₃. In fact, PCl₃ is often produced inadvertently at PCl₃ plants when operating conditions are not carefully controlled. If necessary, Iraq probably could use hydrogen chloride,

Pesticide Production—An Air of Legitimacy

'Pesticide formulation is a process more basic than pesticide production. Formulation entails the addition of solvents and emulsifiers to the relatively pure technical grade pesticide. The formulated product is the ready-to-mix pesticide "concentrate" available in stores, which may contain only a few percent active ingredient.

In addition, the formulation facility could also be used to conceal efforts to improve the dissemination characteristics of CW agents. One technology potentially being investigated by Iraq is microencapsulation—a process in which small droplets of pesticides, CW agents, toxins, or other materials are coated with a layer of protective material such as gelatin. The resulting product can be disseminated more evenly, and the protective coating can be customized to release the contents under specific conditions of light, moisture, temperature, or other environmental factors. Because of the dual-use nature of this technology, microencapsulation equipment purchased for use in a pesticide formulation facility could be applied to CW as well. A formulation facility might also purchase equipment for production of granulated or

powdered pesticides that could be used to produce dusty CW agents.	
New CW Agents and Production Methods— Developing a More Potent Arsenal	
	Improved Production Methods
	Since the cease-fire with Iran, the Iraqis apparently have been optimizing their CW agent production processes and searching for new routes of manufacture. The goals of this effort probably are to simplify the production of CW agents, reduce bottlenecks in the process, and rely on indigenously produced or
	easily acquired raw materials.
	probably also have been experimenting with various fluorinating agents in the production of difluor.
	The United States and other nations have pursued binary chemical weapons to minimize hazards associated with handling and storage of highly lethal agents. We believe that Iraq is developing binaries primarily to lengthen the shelf life of its chemical munitions, although safety concerns may have played a small role in its decision.

Delivery Systems—Maintaining a Wide Range of Options Bombs, Shells, and Rockets—Tried and True The Iraqis have the capability to fill a variety of munitions systems with chemical agents. During the Iran-Iraq war, they delivered a large amount of agents with 250-kg aerial bombs, 90-millimeter (mm) air-to-ground rockets, and helicopter-mounted aerial spray devices Iraq also has chemical rounds for its 82-mm and 120-mm mortars and its 122-mm and 130-mm artillery. It also has used 122-mm artillery rockets filled with CW agents, particularly in the final year of the war. These rockets were loaded with multiple plastic canisters of CW agents. Ballistic Missiles—The Long-Range Option Iraq is developing a long-range CW delivery capability to augment its extensive short-range tactical capa-		
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British Customs of barrel segments and the assassination of Gerald Bull, the gun's developer-		

There are cheaper ways for Iraq to deliver chemical munitions than a ballistic missile. Artillery and aircraft can do the job and with more precision, at least at present. Ballistic missiles will be the preferred delivery system, however, because they provide greater standoff capability, cannot be easily defended against, and offer more prestige and higher deterrent value. Although Iraq has had great success using ballistic missiles armed with conventional high explosives against cities, the inaccuracy of its missile systems makes the use of chemical warheads very attractive. Because chemical warheads can disperse lethal concentrations over a larger area, they are more cost effective, result in a greater number of human casualties, and provide a psychological edge.

Iraq will have to take several important factors into account when developing a chemical warhead. It probably will need to flight-test a chemical warhead—at least with a simulated agent fill—before being confident that the warhead would function properly. Iraq also will have to develop or purchase a different fuzing mechanism because these agents are optimally dispensed above ground level (no more than several meters for nonpersistent agents like sarin, somewhat higher for persistent agents like mustard and VX). Dissemination is best achieved as an aerosol-either instantaneously by a burster or more gradually through ports by an explosive-driven pistontype mechanism. The missile's flight could produce instability in the liquid fill; for this reason, bomblets are often preferred. When the warhead is bulk-filled, a void must be left to allow for heat expansion during flight. In extreme cases, heat can cause deterioration of the agent fill—sarin is more susceptible to this than are mustard or VX.

CW Protection and Training

Iraq gradually built up a protective CW capability during the Iran-Iraq war, primarily to minimize Iraqi casualties from inadvertent exposure to its own chemical attacks. However, protection against Iranian CW attacks became necessary toward the end of the war as Iran began limited use of its vastly inferior chemical arsenal. Iraq has continued to expand its protective capability following the cease-fire, probably with

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	Outlook—Deterrence, Self-Sufficiency, First-Use Considerations, and Threat to the United States In our judgment, Iraq believes it needs chemical weapons for deterrent purposes, primarily against Israel, and as a key weapon supporting its professed role as military "protector" of the Arab world. The Iraqis believe their chemical weapons are suitable deterrents against Israeli nuclear weapons and developed this theme in an early 1990 press campaign. Continued emphasis on developing new or improved strategic systems—such as longer range surface-to-surface missiles and the "big gun" long-range artillery project—probably is tied to Iraq's desire to improve the lethality and range of its chemical threat. We believe that Saddam Husayn takes great pride in Iraq's weapons programs and uses them to tout Iraqi power and prestige. Iraq often highlights its advanced

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Appendix B

agents was often ineffective. Many of these early problems can probably be attributed to poor Iraqi CW

Iraqi Use of Chemical Weapons

Iran-Iraq War	employment techniques. In some cases the Iraqis would use agents under unsuitable weather conditions, such as when the wind was blowing toward their own troops. In the case of aerial CW bombs, Iraqi pilots would release chemical munitions from altitudes too high to permit accurate, concentrated strikes.
Iragi yan of ghamical yang ang ang ing Yang ang ha	As the war progressed, the Iraqis became much more proficient in the use of chemical weapons. We believe that one contributing reason for this was the delegation of CW release authority to Iraqi corps-level commanders in 1986. This permitted better integration of CW into battlefield planning. Before 1986, release for CW was held at the highest levels of the Iraqi Government.
Iraqi use of chemical weapons against Iran can be divided into three distinct phases. The first phase, which continued until 1986, involved the use of CW agents in a strictly defensive role, to disrupt or halt Iranian offensives. In a transitionary phase lasting from late 1986 to early 1988, Iraq used chemical weapons preemptively against staging areas prior to Iranian offensives, while continuing to rely on CW to disrupt these offensives. Finally, and most significantly, Iraq used massed nerve agent strikes as an integral part of its well-orchestrated offensives in the spring and summer of 1988. The success of these offensives prompted Iran to accept a cease-fire in August 1988.	
We assess that Iraq decided to use chemical weapons as a force multiplier, to compensate for Iran's manpower advantage. Iraq's use of CW helped to minimize Iraqi personnel and land losses by stalling Iranian human wave attacks. Iraqi CW use was enhanced by the limited Iranian CW protective capability and Iran's inability to retaliate in kind on any appreciable scale.	
During the early days of the war, Iraq's use of CW	

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Appendix D

Chemical Warfare Agents and Field Employment

In general, the amount of CW agent delivered determines the extent of contamination and the number of casualties. A rough rule of thumb is that 1 ton (or about four 55-gallon drums) of agent is enough to effectively contaminate I square mile of territory if properly disseminated. The number of resultant casualties depends on the number of people in the contaminated area, length of warning, degree of protection, and persistency and toxicity of the agent used. The persistency of a specific agent (length of time it remains effective) varies, depending on the type of munition used and the weather conditions. For example, the persistency of sarin under hot, windy conditions is much less than one hour; the persistency of mustard or VX may be several days to weeks under cool, calm conditions. In all cases, given sublethal doses of an agent, incapacitation will occur to varying degrees.

Blister Agents

Blister agents are primarily used to cause medical casualties. These agents may also be used to restrict use of terrain, to slow movements, and to hamper use of materiel and installations. Blister agents affect the eyes and lungs and blister the skin. Sulfur mustard, nitrogen mustard, and lewisite are examples of blister agents. Most blister agents are insidious in action; there is little or no pain at the time of exposure except with lewisite, which causes immediate pain on contact.

Mustard is preferred over lewisite because lewisite hydrolyzes very rapidly upon exposure to atmospheric moisture to form a nonvolatile solid. This conversion lowers the vapor hazard from contaminated terrain and decreases the penetration of the agent through clothing. Lewisite is less persistent than is mustard; however, the persistency of both is limited under humid conditions.

Blood Agents

Blood agents are absorbed into the body primarily by breathing. They prevent the normal utilization of oxygen by the cells and cause rapid damage to body tissues. Blood agents such as hydrogen cyanide (AC) and cyanogen chloride (CK) are highly volatile and in the gaseous state dissipate rapidly in air—generally within minutes. Because of their high volatility, these agents are most effective when surprise can be achieved against troops who do not have masks or who are poorly trained in mask discipline. In addition, blood agents are ideally suited for use on terrain that the user hopes to occupy within a short time. Blood agents rapidly degrade a mask filter's effectiveness. Therefore, these agents could also be used to defeat a mask's protective capabilities when combined with other agents.

Choking Agents

Choking agents are the oldest CW agents. This class of agents includes chlorine and phosgene, both of which were used in World War I. In sufficient concentrations, their corrosive effect on the respiratory system results in pulmonary edema, filling the lungs with fluid and choking the victim. Phosgene is more effective than chlorine because it is slowly hydrolyzed by the water in the lining of the lungs, forming hydrochloric acid, which readily destroys the tissue.

These agents are heavy gases that remain near ground level and tend to fill depressions such as foxholes and trenches. Because they are gases, they are nonpersistent and dissipate rapidly, even in a slight breeze. As a result, these are among the least effective traditional CW agents. They are useful for creating a short-term respiratory hazard on terrain that is to be quickly occupied.

Nerve Agents

Nerve agents, including tabun (GA), sarin (GB), soman (GD) and VX, are members of a class of compounds that are more toxic and quicker acting than is mustard. They are organophosphorus compounds that inhibit action of the enzyme cholinesterase. In sufficient concentration, the ultimate effect of Top Secret___

these agents is paralysis of the respiratory musculature and subsequent death.

Nerve agents act rapidly (within seconds of exposure) and may be absorbed through the skin or through the respiratory tract. Exposure to a lethal dose may cause death in less than 15 minutes. They are stored in munitions as liquids and are generally disseminated as aerosols.

Traditional nerve agents fall into two main classes: G-series and V-series. The G-series consists of GA, GB, GD, GE, GF, GH, and a number of similar experimental agents. These agents, particularly GA and GB, tend to be less persistent than their V-series counterparts and consequently present less of a skin hazard. These less persistent agents are used to cause immediate casualties and to create a short-term respiratory hazard on the battlefield. The more persistent and generally more toxic V-agents, including VE, VG, VM, VS, VX, and related experimental agents, present a greater skin hazard and are used to create long-term contamination of territory.

Psychochemicals

Psychochemicals, also considered incapacitants, include hallucinogenic compounds such as lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), 3-quinuclidinyl benzilate (BZ), and benactyzine. These agents alter the nervous system, thereby causing visual and aural hallucinations, a sense of unreality, and changes in the thought processes and behavior. Psychochemicals are generally characterized by a slightly delayed onset of symptoms and by persistence of symptoms for a period greatly exceeding exposure time.

The advantage of psychochemicals is their ability to inactivate both civilian and military personnel for a relatively short period with essentially no fatalities. Thus, their use may prove advantageous in areas with friendly populations. One drawback, however, is that the effects of many of these agents are unpredictable, ranging from overwhelming fear and panic to extreme belligerence in which exposed personnel attack with little regard for personal safety.

Tear Gas Agents

Tear gas agents fall under the broader category of riot control agents. They are not considered by the US Government to be CW agents because they are nonlethal in all but the highest concentrations. Examples of this type of agent include orthochlorobenzylidene malononitrile (CS), chloroacetophenone (CN), chloropicrin (PS), and bromobenzyl cyanide (BBC). These agents are highly irritating, particularly to the eyes and respiratory tract, and cause extreme discomfort. Symptoms occur almost immediately upon exposure and generally disappear shortly after exposure ceases.

In military situations, tear gas agents are used to temperarily reduce the effectiveness of enemy personnel. In tactical operations, they can be used to penetrate fortified positions and flush out the enemy. Also, these agents are useful for disrupting human wave assaults by breaking up formations and destroying the momentum of the attack. Because tear gas agents are nonlethal, they can be used near friendly troops without risking casualties; thus, their use is more flexible than with conventional CW agents.

Vomiting Agents

Vomiting agents are often considered to be riot control agents because, under field conditions, they cause great discomfort but rarely serious injury or death. Characteristic agents include adamsite (DM) and diphenyl chloroarsine (DA). In addition to causing vomiting, these arsenic-based agents may also irritate the eyes and respiratory system.

The action of vomiting agents may make it impossible to put on, or continue wearing, a protective mask. Therefore, in military situations, vomiting agents may be used in conjunction with lethal CW agents to increase casualties. They may also be used by themselves in proximity to friendly troops and in other situations well-suited for tear gas agents.

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