

## NOTE ON SOURCES

The key references used in the report include statements from senior administration officials, including President George Bush's Address on Iraq in Cincinnati on October 7, 2002, the State of the Union on January 28, 2003, and his Address to the Nation on War with Iraq on March 17, 2003, Secretary Powell's Address to the UN Security Council of March 5, 2003, and Vice President Cheney's remarks at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention in August 2003. Other key references include the final quarterly report of UNMOVIC, the intelligence community's biannual Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass Destruction and Advanced Conventional Munitions from 1997 to 2002, and declassified excerpts from the October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE). All of these speeches and reports can be found on the Internet via the Carnegie Endowment's special Iraq Intelligence page, [www.ceip.org/intel](http://www.ceip.org/intel). Several of these speeches are reproduced in the appendixes of this report.

The web site also features an extended version of this report with additional materials, audio and video clips of related events, as well as more comprehensive versions of texts referenced in the report.



# NOTES

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- 135 According to Israeli Brigadier General Shlomo Brom, "... because weapons of this type are much bulkier and heavier than documents and small items related to projects, it would have been necessary in hiding them to involve a significant number of people. This suggests, therefore, that no operational weapons were hidden, or that if they were hidden, the concealment was on a much smaller scale." Shlomo Brom, "The War in Iraq: An Intelligence Failure?" Jaffee Center's *Strategic Assessment* 6, no. 3 (November 2003), available at [www.tau.ac.il/jcss/sal/v6n3p3Bro.html](http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/sal/v6n3p3Bro.html) (accessed December 8, 2003).
- 136 On November 3, 2003, Congress approved the Bush administration's \$87 billion supplemental, which included \$600 million for the Iraq Survey Group. This was in addition to the reported \$300 million previously appropriated to the ISG. James Risen and Judith Miller, "Officials Say Bush Seeks \$600 Million to Hunt Iraq Arms," *New York Times*, October 2, 2003, sec. A, p. 1; Helen Dewar, "Senate Approves Spending for Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 4, 2003, sec. A, p. 1; Douglas Jehl, "U.S. to Shift Some Experts from Arms to Antiterror," *New York Times*, November 27, 2003, sec. A, p. 15.
- 137 United Nations Special Commission on Iraq, "Basic Facts," available at [www.un.org/Depts/unscom/General/basicfacts.html#OFFICES](http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/General/basicfacts.html#OFFICES) (accessed December 1, 2003). According to officials, UNMOVIC budgeted approximately \$80 million for its first full year of operations, of which about \$20 million were start-up costs that could have been spread over several years.
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- 139 Authors' private communication with former UNSCOM director Rolf Ekeus; see also Frank Ronald Cleminson, "What Happened to Saddam's Weapons of Mass Destruction?" *Arms Control Today*, September 2003, pp. 3–6.
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- 141 Donald Rumsfeld, "Testimony on Iraq," Testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee, Washington, D.C., July 9, 2003, available at [www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2003/sp20030709-secdef0364.html](http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2003/sp20030709-secdef0364.html) (accessed December 8, 2003).
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