

RESTRICTED
DECLASSIFIED



CABINET OFFICE
70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS
Telephone Fax
Email:

Jim Drummond
Defence & Overseas Secretariat

NO. 0054

Ian Lee
Ministry of Defence

11 February 2003

Dear Ian

IRAQ POST CONFLICT: KEY MESSAGES

I attach the final version of the key messages, which have been cleared at official level by Departments. No.10 are content. We envisage that the Defence Secretary would use them in his discussions with Rumsfeld tomorrow, and that David Manning would pursue with Condi Rice later in the week.

2. Copies go to David Manning, Desmond Bowen, Nicola Brewer, Edward Chaplin, Dominick Chilcott and members of the AHGI.

Yours
JIM DRUMMOND

Enc

DECLASSIFIED
RESTRICTED

DECLASSIFIED
RESTRICTED

IRAQ POST CONFLICT: KEY MESSAGES

Overview

Making a major commitment to Iraq: a quarter of our armed forces. Winning concept only if we get the peace right.

Agree your phased approach: initial military government, giving way to civilian led international government, and then hand back to Iraqi representative government. But must expect that after initial Iraqi euphoria at getting rid of Saddam, US-led international government will quickly become unpopular in Iraq and the region. This will be worse the longer military government continues, and the smaller the group of countries involved.

Legitimacy

We want to play our role alongside others in reconstructing and reforming Iraq after Saddam has been removed. But we need a UN mandate to legitimise international rule, to sort out sanctions, Oil For Food etc. Our officials are discussing possible texts of resolutions. A red line for us: we can have no lasting post conflict role without UN cover.

UN involvement

Rebuilding Iraq will require an enormous effort. Understand your reservations on UN leading transitional administration. But substantial UN role in post-Saddam Iraq will bring great benefits: help win co-operation of moderate Arabs and others, which is essential if reforms in Iraq are to last. Will also encourage greater burden sharing, and bring technical expertise. Share some of your concerns about UN, but it is learning from its mistakes. Good job in East Timor. Can be used to supervise technical ministries. But of course security would remain a Coalition responsibility.

Political process

Must involve Iraqis (not just the exiles) early on in rebuilding Iraq towards formation of representative, sovereign government. Agree that we should rebuild representative structures from the bottom up starting with local elections. But should also need a Consultative Council to give some legitimacy at national level early on. Need to decide soon on its role and how members will be selected. Officials need to meet to plan urgently.

Removing Saddam's regime

DECLASSIFIED
RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED
DECLASSIFIED

Must detain senior leadership and leading members of Saddam's security forces and put them through proper legal process. But we will need Iraqi technocrats, who may have gone along with Saddam's regime, to run the country. Our officials are talking about handling war criminals etc. Must have an agreed policy this month.

WMD and UNMOVIC/IAEA

Main objective of military campaign to remove WMD from Iraq. Our forces should help look for WMD but to ensure transparency and to meet obligations under UN resolutions, UN inspectors need to be involved in counting and destruction. Will need long term UN verification role even under a new Iraqi government.

CBW impact on civilians

Risk that Saddam use CBW against own people or inadvertent release during fighting. Must prepare for this scenario. What plans do you have?

Financing

Rebuilding Iraq complex and potentially very expensive, even if oil flows resume quickly. Funding gap could be substantial, especially in the worst case scenario (oil fields destroyed). Limits to UK funding.

Urgent need to engage the IFIs to plan the economic reconstruction of Iraq and share the financial burden. UN role in transitional administration would encourage others to contribute. Risk that other countries could block IFI support. Our officials are working on this. Need a coherent plan by the end of the month.

Oil

Agree need to resume oil production and export as soon as possible. Welcome your plans to deal with any immediate environmental damage, and commitment to use oil revenues for the benefit of the Iraqi people eg through by adapting Oil For Food programme. Essential that oil revenues managed transparently and accountably. Perception of US/UK oil grab would rapidly increase hostility to the coalition. The UN could help us to avoid this.

Level-playing field

Big contracts to rebuild Iraq. Putting UK lives on line. Expect level-playing field for UK business in oil and other areas.

OD Secretariat, Cabinet Office

11 February 2003

RESTRICTED
DECLASSIFIED