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UK vision for Phase IV

A successful mission means winning the peace as well as the war. We should aim to leave Iraq radically changed for the better. This means an Iraq which:

- Has given up its attachment to WMD
- No longer supports terrorism
- Has appropriately sized, reformed armed forces and intelligence/security agencies
- Does not threaten its neighbours
- Complies with its international obligations
- Enjoys broad-based, representative government, which respects human rights
- Has a fair justice sector
- Has been weaned off its dependency on the oil for food programme and is determinedly travelling along the path towards becoming a free market economy.
- Trades normally and is set to normalise its relations with international financial and trading organisations.

That is a lot to achieve – similar in scale to the post-communist reforms of central European countries. Success will require huge efforts from the Iraqis themselves and from the wider international community. The support of countries in the region will also be critical. We shall need to pull together a large coalition to provide the resources for the task. And it will take a lot of time – perhaps many years - to achieve success.

Phase IV divides broadly into three stages.

Phase IV Alfa. Immediately after the conflict, the coalition military, under CFLCC, will be in charge of the administration of Iraq. Their first task will be to stabilise the country and, working with the UN inspectors, to find and secure Iraq's WMD.

The military's powers to administer Iraq will be limited by our obligations under international humanitarian law, including the Hague Regulations and the Geneva Conventions. When conditions permit, General Garner (retired) will arrive with his Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Affairs and begin addressing those tasks. But there will continue to be military unity of command upwards to General Franks in CENTCOM.

For ordinary Iraqis, the urgent need, during this phase, will be for someone to tackle the humanitarian crisis, by providing clean water, sanitation, food, shelter and medicines. The bulk of this work will be conducted by UN agencies and NGOs; the coalition's task will be provide the secure environment in which relief can be delivered and to facilitate, though not control, the organisations delivering the aid. The sooner we can resurrect the Oil for Food distribution mechanisms, the better.

We should maximise the involvement of Iraqis from the outset. There should be a small consultative council of senior Iraqis to advise the military and ORHA on their administration of the country and to provide visible Iraqi input into decision making. So far as is consistent with the security of our forces and the objectives of the military action, the coalition administration should work with existing Iraqi public administration structures.

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Phase IV Bravo. This phase begins, in our view, as soon as there is an international civil transitional administration (CTA), mandated by the UN, in place. The authorising UNSC resolution should set out the wide powers the CTA will need to take forward the programme of ambitious reforms in Iraq. The aim will be to transform Iraq along the lines of the vision set out at the head of this paper.

Having an authorising UNSCR will enable us to build a wide coalition of international support for the reconstruction of Iraq. It will also enable us to broaden the number of countries contributing forces to the coalition, which will remain essential to provide security in what may still be an uncertain environment.

During this phase, the coalition military will be acting under a UN mandate to support the CTA but not under the CTA's (or the UN's) command – this would continue to be exercised by General Franks. We are still working with the US on possible elements for the CTA's composition. The trick will be to make it sufficiently international and UN-friendly to win the support of the UNSC but not to put the UN in charge of areas where it has a poor management track record. We envisage the CTA being led by a High Representative who would not be a national of one of the belligerent coalition countries.

The time taken for the political process to work through will determine how long Phase IV Bravo takes. The political process should allow the Iraqis, supervised by the international community, to draw up a new constitution, to be approved by a referendum, leading to local and national elections and a new government. Once that new government is ready to take power, the CTA should withdraw.

Phase IV Charlie. This phase begins from the moment that power is returned to a new democratically elected Iraqi government. Coalition forces and the CTA will withdraw. But it does not mark the end of the international community's engagement in Iraq. Iraq will continue to need help with restructuring its economy and may also want assistance with the public administration more generally. It may be appropriate for Iraq to benefit from some kind of security assurances. Training of the armed forces and of the police and judiciary may also continue in phase IV Charlie.

Iraq Planning Unit
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