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28 February 2003

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Matthew,

A Vision for Iraq and the Iraqi People

The Foreign Secretary spoke yesterday to Alastair Campbell about the draft vision for the Iraqi people originally produced by Foreign Office officials.

The Foreign Secretary believes that, handled correctly, the launch of a public commitment to the Iraqi people on the lines of the draft could have a powerful impact in Iraq and the region as well as on the British domestic debate. But, as the Foreign Secretary told Alastair, it is his strong view that we should not launch or trail the idea until after the UNSC has voted on the second resolution. To do otherwise would risk drawing the charge of discounting the role of the UNSC with negative repercussions for both the domestic debate and our lobbying campaign with the P5 and E10. We also need to take care not to confuse our message on the justification for military action, which must rest firmly on disarmament of Iraq's WMD.

The Foreign Secretary does however believe that we should be ready to go public quickly with the vision after the vote and before the start of any military action. In doing so, it will be essential that we and the US, as well as other coalition members, are speaking to a common script. This underlines the importance of making progress with the US on day-after planning. Although there is nothing in our draft that could not be squared with US policy as currently set out in President Bush's speech to the American Enterprise Institute on 26 February, elements of the vision go further than the US has so far done in public or, on some issues including UN involvement, in private.

The Foreign Secretary therefore intends to forewarn Colin Powell of our vision paper and suggest discussion of its substance and handling early next week. It would be helpful if David Manning were able speak in similar terms to Condi Rice, not least to forestall a premature US launch of something along these lines, which CIC believe may be under consideration in Washington.

I enclose our latest draft of the paper. This has been seen by DFID, MOD, Cabinet Office and HMT officials and incorporates comments from DFID. Cabinet Office officials have in addition pointed out the need to ensure coherence with the

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military campaign objectives already agreed by Ministers and have work in hand on the draft to that end. But the paper has not yet been formally cleared within Whitehall. In view of the short timelines to which we are working, it would be helpful if copy addressees could therefore provide any further comments as a matter of urgency.

I am copying this letter to Desmond Bowen (Cabinet Office), Anna Bewes (DFID), Peter Watkins (MOD), Mark Bowman (HMT), Sir Jeremy Greenstock (New York) and Sir Christopher Meyer (Washington).

Kara Owen
KO

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

Matthew Rycroft Esq
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A VISION FOR IRAQ AND THE IRAQI PEOPLE

Iraq is a country with long history, rich culture and educated people. It has huge potential. Yet under Saddam Hussein, its people have been driven into poverty and denied basic human rights. His defiance of United Nations resolutions demanding the disarmament of his nuclear, chemical, biological and long-range missile capacity has led to the prolongation of sanctions. Saddam's rule of fear and repression has tortured and killed thousands of Iraqis and led to the humiliation of Iraq's armed forces in two wars of aggression against Iraq's neighbours.

For 12 years, Saddam has defied the will of the United Nations and undermined its authority. We are doing all that we can to persuade him to disarm and thereby avoid military conflict. If Saddam refuses even now to comply with the UN and forces us to take the military route to achieve the disarmament of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, we will do all that we can to limit civilian casualties. We will mobilise the international community to provide emergency humanitarian relief and to support the reconstruction of Iraq.

Our aim is to disarm Saddam of his weapons of mass destruction, which threaten his neighbours and his people. Our presence in Iraq if military action is required to secure compliance with UN resolutions will be temporary. But our commitment to support the people of Iraq will be for the long term. The Iraqi people deserve to be lifted from tyranny and allowed to determine the future of their country for themselves. We pledge to work with the international community to help the Iraqi people restore their country to its proper dignity and place in the community of nations, abiding by its international obligations and free from UN sanctions.

Iraqis want for themselves, and we want for Iraq:-

- Freedom: an Iraq which respects fundamental human rights, including freedom of thought, conscience and religion and the dignity of family life, and whose people live free from repression and the fear of torture or arbitrary arrest.
- Good Government: an independent and democratic Iraq respecting the rule of law, whose government reflects the diversity and choice of its population.
- International Respect: an Iraq respected by its neighbours which plays its full role as a member of the international community.
- Peace: a unified Iraq within its current borders living at peace with itself and with its neighbours.
- Prosperity: all Iraqis sharing the wealth created by its economy and its oil reserves, drawing on the talents and skills of its people.

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We will help by:

- Working to ensure a military campaign is as swift and carefully targeted as possible.
- Working with the UN and international community to meet the emergency humanitarian needs of Iraqi people.
- Enabling Iraqis to establish their own democratic government as quickly as possible and encouraging UN involvement in this process.
- Achieving a swift end to sanctions as soon as Iraq is in compliance with UN Security Council resolutions.
- Supporting Iraq's re-integration into the region and the wider international community, with actions including the reopening of land borders.
- Negotiating generous debt rescheduling.
- Promoting increased aid from the international community.
- Supporting an international reconstruction programme.
- Promoting investment in Iraq's oil industry and trade in open world markets.
- Supporting institutional and administrative reform.
- Encouraging the renewal of cultural and educational exchanges with other countries.

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