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From: Edward Chaplin
Date: 4 February 2003

cc: PS/Mr O'Brien
PS/PUS
Peter Ricketts
William Ehrman
Edward Oakden
Charles Gray
John Williams, Press Office
Dominick Chilcott
Special Advisers

To: PS

SUBJECT: IRAQ: MILITARY CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVES

1. As requested in Jonathan Sinclair's minute of 3 February, I submit a draft minute from the Foreign Secretary to the Prime Minister, setting out the Foreign Secretary's concerns about UK military campaign objectives.
2. I have told Desmond Bowen (Cabinet Office) that the Foreign Secretary is not yet content with these, and that he is minuting. As I told Jonathan Sinclair at the time, the Cabinet Office had accepted the Foreign Secretary's original three amendments, but had put the first of these (that military action was necessary to enforce Iraqi compliance with UNSCRs, and that this required the removal of the current Iraqi regime) into para 3 rather than para 4.
3. Nevertheless, in line with Michael Williams' comments (his minute of 31 January) I have redrafted these two paragraphs, making the context for regime change clear in para 4, moving this to be the last of the 5 tasks listed, and adding to it the point about encouraging a representative government to emerge.
4. Michael Williams questions whether we should mention regime change at all, and suggests wording which leaves it implicit. As you know, this is a point of difference between current US and UK positions. It seems to me unrealistic to expect that the Americans will sign up to a common set of campaign objectives which does not include

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explicit mention of regime change (put in the context of disarmament), especially once military action has begun. At that point it would be very difficult, to claim publicly that, although we were taking part in military action, we did not intend or expect the regime to fall.

5. MOD and DFID have also commented at official level (their letters of 4 February, attached), including on paras 3 and 4, but not on the regime change point.
6. Press Office, Legal Advisers and Special Advisers are content.



Edward Chaplin
Director Middle East and North Africa

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MINUTE FROM THE FOREIGN SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER

IRAQ: MILITARY CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVES

1. I have seen the latest set of draft military campaign objectives prepared by officials (Desmond Bowen's minute of 29 January to Sir David Manning).
2. I still have some serious concerns about how we present our military campaign objectives. I am assuming that these will be published if and when we announce our participation in military action. It is particularly important to explain carefully any reference to regime change. We must underline that this is only necessary because Iraq has consistently refused to comply with UN Security Council Resolutions. Otherwise people both here and in the region will assume that we had been intent on regime change all along.
3. I attach my preferred redraft of paras 3 and 4 of the objectives paper. This puts removal of the Iraqi regime as the last of the 5 tasks listed in para 4 and gives it the right context.

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IRAQ: MILITARY CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVES

"3. The obstacle to Iraq's compliance with UNSCRs is the current regime, supported by the Iraqi security forces under its control. The British Government has concluded that military action is necessary to enforce Iraqi compliance with UNSCRs. The UK is contributing maritime, land and air forces as part of a US-led coalition.

4. The UK's overall objective for the military campaign is to create the conditions in which Iraq disarms in accordance with its obligations under UNSCRs. Tasks which flow from this objective are set out below. In aiming to achieve this objective as swiftly as possible, every effort will be made to minimise civilian casualties, damage to essential economic infrastructure and adverse humanitarian consequences. The main tasks of the coalition are to:

- (a) overcome the resistance of Iraqi security forces;
- (b) deny the Iraqi regime the use of weapons of mass destruction;
- (c) identify and secure the sites where weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery are located;
- (d) secure essential economic infrastructure, including for utilities and transport, from sabotage and wilful destruction by Iraqis;
- (e) remove the Iraqi regime, given its clear and unyielding refusal to comply with the UN Security Council's demands, and assist in the establishment of a new government which will permit the coalition to fulfil its objectives."

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