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From: David Manning
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PRIME MINISTER

cc: Jonathan Powell
Anna Wechsberg
Matthew Rycroft

IRAQ: YOUR PHONECALL TODAY WITH BUSH

You are speaking to Bush this afternoon at 1530 hours to discuss the state of play over the draft UNSCR.

The main issue is OP10 of the current US/UK draft which deals with the enforcement issue. At present it provides for "all necessary means" if Saddam is in breach. This "automaticity" goes too far for both the French and the Russians. You and Bush will need to decide how to amend it in order to bring Chirac and Putin on board. (Bush would ideally like to dispense with OP10 altogether but accepts that this is a political impossibility. We want something like OP10 to give us legal cover if at some stage we take military action).

The Foreign Office have identified various possible fixes (see letter attached). After talking to Jack, and to Condi, my own view is that you should persuade Bush to go the two Resolution route (you warned that this might well be necessary at last month's Camp David meeting).

I think we should go for an OP10 that stipulates that, in the event of a breach, the Council will decide to authorise all necessary means (Option 2a in the FCO letter). This concedes that the issue will have to come back to the Security Council for further decision, so saving Chirac's face.

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But at the same time we should insist on privately pre-negotiating the terms of a second, follow up Resolution that would authorise "all necessary means" once a breach is established (in effect consigning the current OP10 to a second Resolution). Only when the French and Russians agree to this, should we revise the current US/UK draft.

This will not be without its difficulties:

- bringing the French and Russians to pre-negotiate a tough second Resolution and commit themselves to it;
- establishing clearly what would constitute a breach and so trigger action: this will need to be pinned down in advance.

But there is a chance a deal of this kind can be struck, particularly if Colin Powell is pushing hard (as he seems to be). The French and Russians may well be reluctant: but if this is the price to avoid early US unilateralist action with serious long term damage to the Security Council, they may well pay.

If you and Bush can agree this, we can get on with the business of trying to sell it in capitals and the UN. We now need to move fast.



DAVID MANNING