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Foreign Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister, and Head of the  
Defence and Overseas Secretariat

8 November 2001

Dear Condi,

We all very much enjoyed the Prime Minister's visit to Washington yesterday to see the President. We all also found it extremely useful. Very many thanks to all concerned. I also much enjoyed our discussion after dinner.

I hope to have the chance to speak to you in the next day or two about some follow up. Meanwhile, I am sending you a copy of the note that the Prime Minister handed to the President last night during their tête-à-tête, just in case you have not seen it. The Prime Minister told me that he and the President worked through it together. He found their discussion extremely valuable.

Best wishes, & thanks again

As ever,

DAVID MANNING

Dr Condoleezza Rice

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*Prime Minister's Note  
President Bush  
Handed over in Washington on 8 November.*

#### NOTE

##### 1. Military

Aim to change momentum through Massar-e-Sharif; Herat; Taloqan; Sarowbi.  
Focus air attacks on frontline troops.

Northern Alliance built-up, financially and with equipment. We need a central point of contact and information.

Basing,

##### 2. Humanitarian

A big figure in charge, with a proper office, based in Pakistan under UN auspices.  
Daily feedback to us.

Humanitarian Conference as suggested by GWB.

Challenge to Taliban by UN to co-operate on IDPs.

##### 3. Post-Taliban Regime

Brahimi to work on this full-time with a well-staffed office, including communications people. We must have our folk alongside him and alongside the King. Needs to proceed faster.

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Pakistanis, with Saudi help, to organise key Pushtun figures to come over, based on their strategy paper to be presented to GWB on Friday, ie they commit to pull away major parts of Taliban support, to be concerted by \_\_\_\_\_ on the basis of our commitment to broad-based post Taliban regime; to keep Northern Alliance out of Kabul and for UN/OIC Force, with Western help, to run it; to reconstruction of Afghanistan plus humanitarian help; to square off Russia.

We will get amendments to their paper, emphasising Northern Alliance have to be included and our commitments contingent on them delivering the erosion of Taliban support; and it has to be under Brahimi auspices.

#### 4. MEPP

First stage: PA to lock up 30-40 names on the Israeli list monitored by the UK; Israel withdraw from Area A.

Second stage: PA end to incitement; further detentions; closure of terrorist 'factories' listed by Israel. Israel to lift specified closures; specified financial reimbursement; to give go-ahead to Gaza gas; extend Gaza fishing rights; and get Tripartite Committee working again so that further stages in security can be agreed.

At the same time Syria and/or Iran agree privately to clamp down on the terrorist groups they help.

Third stage: MEPP re-launched by USA with date specific to get back into talks, which include final settlement issues. Re-launch based on two principles: PA and

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Arab nations support Israel's rights to exist and be secure; Israel accepts Palestinian state.

Concept of staged approach to getting back to MEPP launched with a vision statement from the US, appointment of US envoy simultaneous with implementation of first stage; preferably next week.

**5. Arab World**

Leading Arab countries to be co-opted into the 'struggle for Islam': moderates versus extremists. Teams of clerics, scholars and leaders to go out on the offensive against the fundamentalists. Organised 'behind the scenes' by US/UK special unit.

**6. EU/Russia Allies**

Each EU ally and Russia to be given specific tasks and a system of consultation, which keeps EU in the loop, without tying up GWB or key people.

Wider: tasks for Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, NATO, Japanese etc.

Each country should be asked for specific help, military or other, and the request then agreed with attendant publicity. Organised through Heads of Government offices.

## 7. Propaganda

Communications strategy now under way.

Each day a message according to the grid pushed out world-wide.

Specific rebuttal capability in each set-up.

## 8. International Initiatives

As winter kicks in, Ramadam and the conflict prolongs, a series of initiatives showing how, from 11 September, good can come for the world, led by the USA.

- Humanitarian Conference
- MEPP
- New UN Resolution on Iraq
- WMD agreement
- New Russia/NATO relationship
- Africa?
- WTO?

This could be seen overtly as the USA reaching out, building new relationships with countries prepared to change.