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Subject: A:DD:CONF:PERSONAL/NOSEC: IRAQ: FOREIGN SECRETARY'S  
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FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

SUBJECT: PERSONAL/NOSEC: IRAQ: FOREIGN SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION  
WITH RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, 1 NOVEMBER

## SUMMARY

1. Ivanov content for Resolution to contain references to past material breaches, but wary about references to future ones. Any military action should only follow a further convening of the UNSC.

## DETAIL

2. The Foreign Secretary telephoned the Russian Foreign Minister, Ivanov, just after lunch on 1 November. After expressing his condolences to Ivanov for events following the Moscow siege, the Foreign Secretary turned to Iraq.
3. The Foreign Secretary said that he knew Ivanov had been in touch with Powell about the Iraq Resolution. Ivanov confirmed that they had spoken the night before: he had congratulated Powell on the imminent wedding of his daughter. The Foreign Secretary said that all Powell wanted as a wedding present for his daughter was Ivanov's agreement on a Resolution.
4. Ivanov said there were two sets of questions on which all sides should concentrate efforts. The first set related to inspection procedures. It was important that the Resolution closely reflected the views of Blix and El Baradei. Ivanov believed this drafting task was difficult, but feasible.

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5. Ivanov said the second set of questions focused on what happened in the event that a Resolution was violated. Ivanov was content for the Resolution to contain references to previous material breaches. But the Resolution had to be careful about future material breaches. He did not want a situation where military action could be automatically sanctioned without further reference to the Security Council. In this respect, Russia's position was close to the French one.
6. The Foreign Secretary agreed that all sides were much closer and that it was important for Blix and El Baradei to be comfortable with the language in the Resolution. He welcomed Ivanov's acceptance of Iraq being in material breach of past obligations.
7. The Foreign Secretary's strong hope was that negotiations in New York would lead to a Resolution which all sides could vote for. He underlined that the Resolution could not be used as pretext for unjustified military action. He pointed out that the reference to "all necessary means" had now gone. In its place stood OP11 and OP12. The issue would have to go back to the Security Council to decide what action was required.
8. Ivanov said that he wanted to avoid situations of ambiguity. For example, Russia believed there was no legal basis for the US and UK to patrol the No-Fly-Zones. But he understood that the US and UK believed there was a legal basis. The Foreign Secretary noted the difference of opinions, but pointed out that the current Resolution would not affect the NFZs.
9. Ivanov repeated that he did not want to see the Resolution, once adopted, to be used unilaterally for military action. If the Resolution were adopted tomorrow, and a week later the US and the UK were to use force, then "we would find ourselves in a strange position". The Foreign Secretary said there was no intention of using force unless it was absolutely essential. If the UK sought the use of force, then it was likely that Russia, France and China would want it too.

STRAW

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