

Iraq – Food for Thought

1. The international confrontation with Iraq sharpens the focus on how we can achieve a common foreign and security policy in the post-Cold War world. Since September 11, 2001 most responsible, democratic nations have acknowledged that one of the overriding threats to global security is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their use by terrorists. The issue is sharpened by the fact that countries with regimes that lack the attributes of modern democratic accountability have now acquired the capacity to develop weapons of mass destruction.
2. By agreeing to resolution 1441, the international community and the members of the European Union agreed that Iraq should be fully disarmed and provided for UNMOVIC to carry out the inspection and certify the disarmament. Resolution 1441 did not provide a deadline but indicated that this was the last chance for Iraq to disarm; the implication being that force may be necessary to achieve disarmament.
3. To date, the European Union has emphasized that (a) resolution 1441 gives Iraq a final chance to disarm peacefully; (b) if it does not do so it will bear the responsibility for the consequences; (c) to achieve this peacefully, Iraq must comply unconditionally and immediately with all relevant Resolutions of the Security Council, in particular of UNSCR 1441 of 8 November 2002; (d) we fully support the efforts of Dr Blix and Dr El Baradei in their mission and that Iraq must provide them with all the necessary information immediately and pro-actively; and that we re-affirm the role of the UNSC in maintaining international peace and security.
4. Agreement exists, therefore, that Iraq should be disarmed. Differences exist in method and timing. Moreover, concerns exist as to whether a strategy on Iraq should be carried out independently of a desire to resolve the outstanding Arab-Israeli problem. It is for this reason, that a summit has been called. Differences are natural. To avoid discussing them is unnatural. The Eu has a healthy tradition of working its own way, with its own methods, out of its own internal differences. It is the democratic way and it is the historically responsible way.
5. Several options now exist for the pursuit of Iraq's disarmament:
 - a. to explore fully all the possibilities available within the framework of UNSCR 1441 and within an agreed and reasonable timetable;
 - b. to resort to armed intervention with unanimous approval of the Permanent Members of the UNSC, for which forces are already largely deployed;
 - c. to resort to force by a coalition of the willing in the event of a veto by any one of the Permanent Members of the UNSC.
6. In either event – peaceful disarmament or use of force – the European Union must ensure that (a) all possible avenues for a peaceful and prompt

disarmament of Iraq should be explored; (b) we prepare for the consequences of an armed intervention; and, (c) we continue to promote the rapid implementation of the Middle East Peace Process. Anything short of pursuit of these options would be dereliction on the part of the EU. They constitute the pillars upon which the EU can construct a responsible policy towards Iraq and maintain a coherent approach to the Middle East.

7. With this background in mind, we lack conclusive evidence from the inspectors that Iraq has weapons; we have yet to explore all peaceful avenues for a prompt disarmament; and, we lack sufficient evidence that the aftermath of a military intervention will improve conditions in Iraq, the region and globally.
 - a. The inspectors have not offered evidence that Saddam Hussein possesses weapons of mass destruction. There is also no proof that he has fully disarmed himself of those weapons he once acknowledged he possessed.
 - b. Within the framework of Resolution 1441, several efforts have been made to pursue a peaceful path to a resolution of the crisis. This has focused on the efforts of UNMOVIC backed by the threat of military intervention. Between voluntary disarmament and military intervention, the question arises as to whether we have explored all the avenues to a solution with the creativity and vigor commensurate to the gravity of the crisis.
 - c. In the event of an armed intervention several vital questions remain unanswered.
 - i. Will the military campaign guarantee the immediate disarmament of Iraq?
 - ii. Will Iraq enjoy greater internal freedom and under what conditions?
 - iii. Will control of Baghdad also imply stability throughout the country – the issue is now acute given the possible participation of significant numbers of Turkish troops in northern Iraq and the likely Kurdish reactions?
 - iv. To what extent is Turkey's military participation in Iraq a signal of the possible reversal of the government's European linked reform program?
 - iv. Will the region – at a time of such high tension – become less polarized?
 - v. What will be the likely terrorist consequences globally and notably in Europe?
 - vi. What role will Europe be asked to play in the immediate aftermath of such an intervention?
 - vii. What are the anticipated economic costs, in Iraq, in the region and globally of such an intervention?

8. **The way forward:** It is possible to envisage an approach for Europe that is based on certain criteria and actions.

9. **We have some shared objectives:**

- a. Iraq should be disarmed and that we should build on the opportunities offered within the framework of Resolution 1441.
- b. All possible peaceful efforts should be exhausted prior to resort to any military action.
- c. Such efforts should not be left open-ended: rather they should have a specific deadline attached to them.
- d. In the event of a conflict, the EU must prepare itself from now to address the consequences and the Union's likely participation in future related developments.
- e. The threat of a link between proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism calls for global vigilance on the part of the EU.
- f. The Middle East Peace Process should not be subordinated to the timetable of other events in the region.

10. **Options for Action:**

- a. **To exhaust all avenues to a peaceful and prompt resolution. "A last ditch effort for a last chance for peace"**: Such a policy must have the merit of being "muscular", versatile and linked to strict deadlines. The elements of such an approach could comprise:
 - A. Strengthen and expand the inspection regime; *in surprise*
 - B. Tighten frontier controls to prevent illicit oil trade and compensate neighboring countries through funds provided by Gulf States who are now enjoying the benefits of high oil prices;
 - C. Cooperate with the Arab countries so that they pressure separately or jointly Saddam Hussein to comply.
 - D. Enhance availability of food and UN "humanitarian inspectors" in Iraq through a UN managed oil-for-food program.
 - E. Ensure that EU conveys the message to Saddam Hussein that he has limited time to resolve the crisis by possible visit of EU to
 - F. This would call for another resolution of the Security Council and must be linked to a very tight deadline of several weeks.
- b. **To prepare for the consequences of a possible military intervention:** The consequences of a military intervention for Europe will be considerable and require immediate preparation. This requires contingency planning, in cooperation with the UN, USA and International Financial Institutions on the following elements:
 - A. Assess and prepare for humanitarian intervention

- B. Assess the long term economic consequences and likely macro-economic policies that will be developed for Iraq;
- C. Assume that UN will be asked to provide a transitional administration and that the EU will be invited to participate;
- D. Assess the likely consequences of different scenarios of intervention and the likely outcomes for stability in Iraq;
- E. Address the question of Northern Iraq where presence of Turkish troops suggest possible conflict with Kurds and a possible reversal of Turkish political priorities vis a vis its European option.
- F. Press for immediate moves on the Middle East Peace Process (Quartet and publication of the roadmap);
- G. Introduction of immediate assessments of possible terrorist threats and preventive action as a common EU policy.
- H. Introduction of deliberations on a regional security policy for the Middle East.