#### **Thematic Summary**

Theme	Connectivity	Relevance
<u>UK</u>	100%	
<u>Iraq</u>	64%	
<u>Iraqi</u>	54%	
use	48%	
security	47%	
chemical	41%	
meeting	34%	
resolution	28%	
President Bush	21%	
<u>police</u>	19%	
attacks	15%	
hearing	01%	
Jic Assessment	01%	
attaching	01%	

## THEME: UK

(UK, military, action, Mr Blair, told, support, international, wrote, policy)

UK (Hits: 10640)

Letter Heywood to Aldred, 21 January 2014, 'Chilcot Inquiry – Cabinet Papers'; Letter Heywood to Aldred, 22 May 2014, 'UK/US Records – Declassification Request'.

14

military (Hits: 8185)

It is expensive, will divert funding from other priorities, and we do not believe it will make a dramatic difference in outcomes. It may slow military transition ... The agreed Whitehall approach is that we will be constructive; find out more and try and influence the US approach; and that we will repackage our effort in the South as a PRT but not do very much differently."

action (Hits: 6172)

There was no "inevitability about conflict". The position of the US was "no different" to that of the UK, "it agreed to a United Nations process and it wants that process to be properly implemented and enforced".

Mr Blair (Hits: 6863)

Summing up the discussion, Mr Straw described the meeting's agreement that "the UK should retain a right of veto in extremis" on ORHA activities. UK support should increase and be formalised through:

(Hits: 4562)

Bremer saw it as his first task to offer assurance ... I thought Bremer had selected his "arrival theme" wisely, and I told him so."

support (Hits: 3635)

international (Hits: 3036)

But Iraqi politicians feel that [the] UK has been slow off the mark in terms of exploiting opportunities in the country, and there is a view (perhaps unfair) that we are lagging behind competitors from the rest of Europe, China, Russia and Japan."

wrote (Hits: 3262)

Following Mr Cook's visit to the US in early February 2001, Mr Sawers wrote to Mr Emyr Jones Parry, FCO Political Director, emphasising the need to have: "... an agreed HMG [Her Majesty's Government] approach, approved by the Prime Minister before we go too far down the road of UK/US consultations ... we need to have a clear sense of what we want if we are to shape US thinking."95 171. There appeared to be three important issues "on which to clear our minds":

policy (Hits: 2449)

In these areas, ORHA will set the agenda or reform for some years to come. "The key judgement is whether UK policy makers can influence an ORHA that is and will remain dominated by US DoD."

# THEME: Iraq

(Iraq, Basra, MOD, officials, Baghdad, DFID, junior, senior, staff, CPA, comment)

Iraq (Hits: 17661)

Establishing the Inquiry

#### Purpose of the Inquiry

1. On 15 June 2009, Mr Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister, told the House of Commons: "With the last British combat troops about to return home from Iraq, now is the right time to ensure that we have a proper process in place to enable us to learn the lessons of the complex and often controversial events of the last six years.

Basra (Hits: 2904)

Reconstruction strategy and funding

328. On 2 May, Ms Anna Bewes, Ms Short's Principal Private Secretary, sent Mr Rycroft an "Interim DFID Strategy" for the next three to six months as Iraq transitioned from "relief/recovery to reconstruction".

MOD (Hits: 3122)

Minute PS/CDI to APS2/SoS [MOD], 11 April 2003, 'Iraq Red Team – the Future Governance of Iraq' attaching Paper DIS Red Team, [undated], 'Iraq Red Team: the Future Governance of Iraq'. 128

officials (Hits: 2013)

The start of efforts to reconstruct Iraq is set out in Section 10.1. 117. Shortly after the start of Operation TELIC,87 the IPU circulated a "core script" on Phase IV issues from which Ministers and officials could draw as Parliamentary and

Baghdad (Hits: 1918)

Ms Short informed Parliament on 10 April that food supplies were "not currently a major problem" in most of Iraq and there were not the large numbers of internally displaced people that had been feared.44 63. In the past few days, there had been reports of an increasingly serious humanitarian situation in Baghdad; the ICRC had reported "violent looting" and warned of a breakdown in law and order there.

DFID (Hits: 1858)

On the same day, DFID produced its first internal update on the humanitarian situation in Iraq and neighbouring countries.14 Officials reported that DFID had deployed seven humanitarian and civil/military advisers:

junior (Hits: 2089)

Letter Cannon to McDonald, 7 May 2003, 'US Foreign Policy Issues: Prime Minister's Conversation with Bush, 7 May'. 197 Minute Chatterton Dickson to FCO [junior official], 9 May 2003, 'Iraq: ORHA: MOU'.

senior (Hits: 1280)

Minute Torpy to Walker, 30 November 2004, 'CJO Visit Report – Iraq – 24â€27 Nov 04'. Report DIS, 2 December 2004, 'The Evolution of the IED Threat in Iraq'.

staff (Hits: 1395)

732 eGram 40974/06, Baghdad to FCO, 19 September 2006, 'Iraq: Investigations in HR abuses at Site 4 and Jadriyah'. 729 730

CPA (Hits: 1228)

Mr Straw attached a revised IPU paper, which he described as "setting out what needs to be done to make reconstruction work, containing ideas which would make a big difference to the people of Iraq". He highlighted the importance of preventing looting and criminality and turning the CPA into an efficient, functioning organisation, adding: "Unless we put these two foundation stones in place, reconstruction will continue to falter."

comment (Hits: 819)

48 Manuscript comment Manning to Prime Minister, 12 April 2003, on Report Cabinet Office, 11 April 2003, 'Iraq: Evening Round Up 11 April'. 49 Minute Watkins to DG Op Pol, 3 April 2003, 'Iraq: Conversation with Rumsfeld: 3 April 2003'.

## THEME: Iraqi

(Iraqi, including, forces, work, operations, political, number, report, control)

Iraqi (Hits: 4450)

With others, we will assist in the return to full Iraqi sovereignty ... "With others, we will help revive the Iraqi economy and assist reform by:

including (Hits: 3182)

Opportunities must be taken to hand over administrative responsibility to local authorities as they become competent and are approved by advisory bodies. Law and order, including the judicial process, will require special handling and the retention of executive authority by the Interim Administration.

forces (Hits: 3073)

Commenting on how to raise effective forces, Lt Gen Rollo said: "... the answer to more forces ultimately was more Iraqis, and the real trick was to raise effective Iraqi forces, and that the way to do that was to take relatively small numbers and to try to instil into them a sense of loyalty to the state, which was really quite difficult to achieve ... So loyalties were fragile and depended on human .contact."776

work (Hits: 2808)

The letter stated: "We cannot be drawn into the ethnic politics of any particular nation, but should find a way to work with all the opposition in a unified framework. The Iraqi National Congress is the only umbrella organisation comprising all elements of the Iraqi opposition.

operations (Hits: 2527)

the ability to train and equip the ISF; contractor immunities and privileges; the power to detain; and "full spectrum operations".

political (Hits: 2689)

Over US\$50m had been committed to more than 150 short- and medium-term projects, creating over 12,000 jobs. The projects had been selected with the relevant Iraqi authorities; that approach had won public and political consent at the local, regional and national level.

number (Hits: 2118)

The number of Iraqi refugees in the region had risen from 1.8m to over 2m.

report (Hits: 2160)

establish the context for the latest developments which your functional teams are preparing for inclusion in your new report; help to set out clearly where the ISG have established Iraqi breaches of UNSCRs; explain the current state of the ISG's key, most important lines of enquiry.

control (Hits: 1526)

The IPU identified three major risks to the implementation of the US proposal: a lack of Iraqi "buy-in" at local and national level; a perception among "local Iraqis" that PRTs represented a failure to deliver a transfer of control to Iraqis; and a lack of resources. The success of the PRTs would be commensurate, to some degree, with the financial resources available to them.

#### **THEME:** use

(use, force, regime, threat, Iraq's, people, WMD, Saddam Hussein, Saddam, war)

*(Hits: 3045)* 

With others, we will assist in the return to full Iraqi sovereignty ... "With others, we will help revive the Iraqi economy and assist reform by:

force (Hits: 2593)

Purposeâ€built protected building – not considered appropriate for use in Iraq because of "cost, time to build and permanence".

regime (Hits: 2661)

A JIC Assessment on 15 October stated that the South remained "relatively calm", although some former regime elements were aiming to "foment greater unrest".86 The JIC noted that reporting that indicated "the return of a specific bomb maker to Basra" was of "particular concern".

threat (Hits: 2260)

The Committee stated: "We are concerned at the increasingly sophisticated nature of the threat and the consequent vulnerability of UK Forces travelling in Snatch Land Rovers. We welcome the Secretary of State's review of the use of Snatch vehicles in Iraq and believe it is essential that this review be completed as quickly as possible.

Iraq's (Hits: 2194)

It was "Iraq's oldest institution and a focus of national pride. Some senior officers and units have remained sufficiently detached from the regime to be of use."

people (Hits: 1834)

It is at the core of whether we succeed or fail ... We need a wholly more professional and organised response. We can't leave the field to Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya as the satellite channels watched by the people; or fail to use the terrestrial channels adequately."

WMD (Hits: 2010)

It is, of course, the case that you point to the facts of Saddam's aggression and repression and use of WMD; perhaps we can make more of this and his unpredictability." "In looking at the WMD sections, you clearly want to be as firm and authoritative as you can be.

Saddam Hussein (Hits: 1564)

We "know ... from his own history that Saddam Hussein ... has mass destruction weapons and will use them ..."

Saddam (Hits: 1600)

We judge he would be willing to use terrorism if he thought he could gain advantage or exact revenge ... without attracting disproportionate retaliation. Saddam has miscalculated in the past and he could again misread the response his actions would attract."

war (Hits: 1313)

Any war would risk radicalising the region. It should be UN-controlled.

## **THEME:** security

(security, reported, provide, oil, plan, government, civilian, provided, described, deployment, economic)

security (Hits: 3606)

Work was Washington-based, but experts were ready to visit Iraq "as soon as the security situation permits". 435. Baroness Amos confirmed that she would visit Iraq shortly.

reported (Hits: 3467)

The Iraqi elections took place on 15 December.264 Mr Patey reported that the day had passed off peacefully with no major security events.

provide (Hits: 1852)

The UK's assumption remained that the US/CPA should provide funding for the South. 50. Section 9.8 concludes that, from early July, security was seen in Whitehall as the key concern.

oil (Hits: 1807)

Ambassador Bremer had recently appointed a new Inspector General to the Ministry, but after 30 June his capacity to monitor financial flows would be tested. International oil companies were watching carefully, but wanted to see greater security and a stable regulatory and investment environment before investing.

plan (Hits: 1723)

Mr Blair concluded: "When I meet Allawi in September, it should be with a coherent plan to change the situation." 58. Mr Benn visited Iraq from 31 August to 1 September, despite significant security concerns.

government (Hits: 1796)

In every government department there is a hard core who have been responsible for security. They are responsible for the 'disappeared'; are known by everybody and will be nervous.

civilian (Hits: 1631)

Enshrining the principle of civilian oversight would be "key to establishing a fully accountable security apparatus".

provided (Hits: 1641)

a cease-fire and provided the conditions essential to the restoration of peace and security in the region."

described (Hits: 1620)

In Maysan province, the security situation was considered to be more challenging (as described later in this Section).

deployment (Hits: 1221)

Iraq was a higher priority for the UK than Afghanistan; security in Iraq was clearly worsening and had been identified by Mr Blair as the key issue; and there had been a specific US request for deployment of HQ ARRC.

economic (Hits: 1195)

security – establishing a secure and safe environment; essential services – restoring essential services to an acceptable standard; economy – creating the conditions for economic growth; governance …"

## **THEME:** chemical

(chemical, nuclear, intelligence, programme, evidence, capability, used)

chemical (Hits: 4297)

The Embassy highlighted the scale of US scepticism about the effectiveness of weapons inspectors and the concept of "narrower and deeper" sanctions.55 Any agreement on easing sanctions would need to retain essential controls.

nuclear (Hits: 3139)

His ambitions to rebuild Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programmes makes him hostile to intrusive inspections or any other constraints likely to be effective."

intelligence (Hits: 2437)

There was no intelligence agency of any member state which did not know Iraq possessed these weapons. It was true that conflict meant bloodshed.

programme (Hits: 2044)

The inspectors are not needed to clean up the old remains. His weapons of mass destruction programme is active, detailed and growing.

evidence (Hits: 1923)

Otherwise, regional States would want stronger evidence of Iraq's continued pursuit of WMD and that the return of weapons inspectors had been visibly pursued and exhausted."

capability (Hits: 2036)

Asked whether there were differences between him and Mr Gordon Brown, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Blair said: "... all we have decided ... is that weapons of mass destruction have to be dealt with ... how we deal with it, however, is an open question." 28. Mr Blair's comments on Iraq's WMD capability and the timetable for the publication of the "dossier" on those capabilities are set out in Section 4.1.

*used* (Hits: 1455)

Without a stand, it was simply a matter of time before terrorism and weapons of mass destruction came together. Iraq was important because it was known that Saddam Hussein had the weapons and had used them before.

## **THEME:** meeting

(meeting, March, FCO, humanitarian, planning, reconstruction)

meeting (Hits: 4564)

The Baha Mousa Inquiry, chaired by Sir William Gage, was established in May 2008 and published its conclusions on 8 September 2011.2

March (Hits: 4452)

Annotated Agenda, 1 March 2004, Ad Hoc Group on Iraq Rehabilitation meeting. 557 Minutes, 1 March 2004, Ad Hoc Group on Iraq Rehabilitation meeting.

FCO (Hits: 2619)

These were to be accompanied by a strong media strategy, aimed at undermining the jihadists' "unâ€Islamic" message, and active engagement with neighbouring States. 203. DOP(I) agreed the broad approach proposed by the FCO.

humanitarian (Hits: 2220)

DFID continued to look at ways of unlocking unspent donor funding. 770. The 8 March meeting of DOP(I) returned to the issue of the humanitarian situation in Iraq.

planning (Hits: 2300)

Mr Blair met President Bush and Dr Condoleezza Rice, President Bush's National Security Advisor, in Washington on 31 January to discuss post-conflict planning. 121. A FCO briefing for Mr Blair included in its list of objectives for the meeting: "To convince President Bush ... the US needs to pay much more attention, quickly, to planning on 'day after' issues; and that the UN needs to be central to it."

reconstruction (Hits: 2057)

Sir Michael Jay, FCO Permanent Under Secretary (PUS), discussed the Whitehall machinery for overseeing reconstruction with Sir Andrew Turnbull on 27 March.88 137. Sir Andrew Turnbull suggested "a Cabinet Committee chaired by the Foreign Secretary which would settle all the fundamental key questions about the reconstruction of Iraq (e.

## **THEME: resolution**

(resolution, UN, Lord Goldsmith's, draft, Security Council)

resolution (Hits: 5291)

Those propositions and the progress of the negotiations on resolution 1483 are addressed in Section 9.1.

UN (Hits: 3062)

a prevalent view in the US Administration that resolution 1284 was best left unimplemented and UN weapons inspections were of limited value.

Lord Goldsmith's (Hits: 2160)

Our interpretation of resolution 1205 was controversial anyway; many of our partners did not think the legal basis was sufficient as the authority

draft (Hits: 1890)

The UK tabled a revised draft on 8 June.162 306. It proved impossible to achieve agreement within the Security Council on a new resolution.

Security Council (Hits: 1925)

The UN Security Council

The UN Security Council is composed of five Permanent Members – China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States; and ten non-permanent Member States, elected by the UN General Assembly for two-year terms and not eligible for immediate re-election. The Presidency of the Security Council is held by the Member States of the Security Council in turn in the English alphabetical order of their names.

#### **THEME: President Bush**

(President Bush, advice, paper, sent)

President Bush (Hits: 2975)

Letter Rycroft to Adams, 18 July 2003, 'Prime Minister's Visit to Washington, 17 July'. Annotated Agenda, 16 July 2003, Ad Hoc Group on Iraq Rehabilitation meeting.

advice (Hits: 2521)

Sir David asked the FCO for advice. 302. Mr Straw spoke to Secretary Powell at 12.

paper (Hits: 2533)

Mr Blair gave President Bush a slightly revised version of Sir Jeremy's paper, in which this text had not been altered.292 331. Mr Richmond visited Ramadi, the capital of Anbar province, in midâ€November.

sent (Hits: 1928)

There should be no visible preparations for a month or so." 441. Mr Hoon was not sent a copy of the record of the discussion at Camp David.

## **THEME:** police

(police, training, personnel, officers, SE, deployed, JAM, Shia)

police (Hits: 1687)

Get Bechtel to build by X date a new power station in place y. 4. Ask x big figure person to go to Iraq to sort out the TV.

training (Hits: 1176)

So: if we need to treble or quadruple the trainers and expand the numbers of Iraqi police even beyond that contemplated, we should do it. Some of the Governing Council believe that in certain areas, they should decide how far to take deâ €Ba'athification in order to speed up the process.

personnel (Hits: 1134)

The IPAT set out a summary of the principles to be applied to vetting. It explained that the purpose was both "to remove unacceptable personnel from the existing ... service" and to prevent unsuitable individuals joining the reconstituted police service.

officers (Hits: 891)

Once DCC Brand was in Iraq, agreement was reached that he would serve as Mr Kerik's chief adviser on policing.195 Shortly after arriving in Baghdad, DCC Brand

SE (Hits: 1213)

818 'MTTs' were formerly referred to as 'MATs'. 814 815

deployed (Hits: 855)

Any police deployed would need the approval of their Chief Constable. There were duty of care issues.

JAM (Hits: 943)

Intelligence shows that some army personnel retain loyalties to JAM and Badr militias. We do not know the scale of this problem, and we judge that it is less severe than in the police.

Shia (Hits: 726)

In Basra the police are plagued by corruption, poor leadership and the entrenched influence of Shia militias. "VI. The ability of the coalition to influence events is decreasing as transition proceeds.

## **THEME:** attacks

(attacks, JIC, attack, clothing, Afghanistan, Sunni)

attacks (Hits: 1458)

"Once Saddam is gone there is likely to be widespread and apparently random violence between Iraqis. Specific attacks against Coalition Forces are likely to come later (perhaps some months later) if particular individuals or groups feel they are being cut out of contracts, administration positions etc.

JIC (Hits: 1516)

World Islamic Front, 23 February 1998, Jihad against Jews and Crusaders. Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction ["The Butler Report"], 14 July 2004, HC 898, paragraph 117.

attack (Hits: 1189)

The Pentagon option was for a raid involving attacks on 30 targets, two-thirds of which were north of the southern No-Fly Zone and within 20 miles of Baghdad. The UK preference was to attack 20 targets, 12 of which lay within 20 miles of Baghdad.

clothing (Hits: 1235)

deterrent effect and we are looking to see what can be done to increase the hours available from the aircraft currently in theatre. On the ground a great deal of work is under way to refine TTPs and the first tranche of PIR countermeasures equipment is due to arrive in theatre soon.

Afghanistan (Hits: 1041)

Usama Bin Laden returned to Afghanistan in 1996.

Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction ["The Butler Report"], 14 July 2004, HC 898, paragraph 113.

Sunni (Hits: 657)

More broadly, it will be affected by the outcome of the January elections – a result which deepens Sunni political exclusion could fuel the violence – and by the MNF presence, against which the overwhelming majority of attacks are directed. A significant Sunni insurgency will probably continue through 2005 and beyond.

# THEME: hearing

(hearing, Telegram)

hearing (Hits: 1988)

From June 2007, the Overseas and Defence Secretariat was known as the Foreign and Defence Policy Secretariat. 6 Foreign Affairs Committee, 4 February 2015, Oral Evidence: Progress of the Iraq Inquiry, HC 1027.

Telegram (Hits: 632)

201 Telegram 027 Baghdad to London, 1 June 2003, 'Iraq: Coalition Provisional Authority'. 202 Public hearing, 10 December 2009, pages 56 and 58.

## **THEME: Jic Assessment**

(Jic Assessment, Report)

Jic Assessment (Hits: 663)

462 Statement, 15 January 2010, page 6. 463 JIC Assessment, 5 November 2003, 'Iraq Security'.

Report (Hits: 3365)

JIC Assessment, 9 September 2002, 'Iraqi Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons – Possible Scenarios'. 348 The National Archives, 28 January 2004, Report of the Inquiry into the Circumstances Surrounding the Death of Dr David Kelly ["The Hutton Report"], paragraph 214.

# THEME: attaching

(attaching)

attaching (Hits: 518)

Letter Fernie to Drummond, 28 March 2003, 'Iraq Reconstruction Planning', attaching Paper DFID, 27 March 2003, 'Iraq – Reconstruction Planning: Objectives and Approach'. 87 Paper DFID, 27 March 2003, 'Iraq – Reconstruction Planning: Objectives and Approach'.

