



House of Commons  
Foreign Affairs Committee

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# **The work of the Committee in 2004**

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**First Report of Session 2004–05**





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**First Report of Session 2004–05**

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## The Foreign Affairs Committee

The Foreign Affairs Committee is appointed by the House of Commons to examine the expenditure, administration, and policy of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and its associated public bodies.

### Current membership

Rt Hon Donald Anderson MP (Labour, Swansea East) (Chairman)  
Mr David Chidgey MP (Liberal Democrat, Eastleigh)  
Mr Fabian Hamilton MP (Labour, Leeds North East)  
Mr Eric Illsley MP (Labour, Barnsley Central)  
Mr Andrew Mackay (Conservative, Bracknell)  
Andrew Mackinlay MP (Labour, Thurrock)  
Mr John Maples MP (Conservative, Stratford-on-Avon)  
Mr Bill Oler MP (Labour, Nuneaton)  
Mr Greg Pope MP (Labour, Hyndburn)  
Rt Hon Sir John Stanley MP (Conservative, Tonbridge and Malling)  
Ms Gisela Stuart MP (Labour, Birmingham Edgbaston)

The following Members were also members of the Committee during the Parliament.

Sir Patrick Cormack MP (Conservative, Staffordshire South)  
Mr Richard Ottaway MP (Conservative, Croydon South)

### Powers

The Committee is one of the Departmental Select Committees, the powers of which are set out in House of Commons Standing Orders, principally in SO No 152. These are available on the Internet via [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk).

### Publications

The Reports and evidence of the Committee are published by The Stationery Office by Order of the House. All publications of the Committee (including press notices) are on the Internet at [www.parliament.uk/parliamentary\\_committees/foreign\\_affairs\\_committee.cfm](http://www.parliament.uk/parliamentary_committees/foreign_affairs_committee.cfm).

### Committee staff

The current staff of the Committee are Steve Priestley (Clerk), Sarah Ioannou (Second Clerk), Ann Snow (Committee Specialist), Kit Dawnay (Committee Specialist), Kevin Candy (Committee Assistant), Julia Kalogerides (Secretary) and Chintan Makwana (Senior Office Clerk).

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# Introduction

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1. The Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC) is one of the departmentally-related select committees of the House of Commons, which scrutinise the expenditure, administration and policy of government departments. In the case of the FAC, this scrutiny is exercised over the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the agencies for which the FCO's Ministers are accountable to Parliament: the British Council; BBC World Service; and the Wilton Park conference centre.

2. In the calendar year 2004, the Committee met formally on 35 occasions; it heard oral evidence from 90 witnesses (some of them on more than one occasion); it visited 13 countries overseas; and it held 64 informal meetings with visitors to the United Kingdom, ambassadors to the Court of St James and others. The Annexes to this Report give more detail on these visits and meetings. As in previous years, a number of the Committee's Reports were debated or referred to in Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

3. In this Report we adhere to the practice we have adopted in previous years, of presenting our work under the following headings: Continuing scrutiny of foreign policy; Scrutiny of specific foreign policy issues; Scrutiny of Foreign and Commonwealth Office publications; Pre-legislative foreign policy scrutiny; and Other scrutiny activities. We also relate our work to the wider parliamentary process of scrutiny of the policies and actions of the executive; we comment on the responses of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) to our Reports, and on its wider relationship with the Committee; and we preview our future programme. We also seek to demonstrate how the Committee's work relates to the 'core tasks' identified by the House's Liaison Committee.<sup>2</sup>

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1 See para 59 below

2 See Annex 1

## Continuing scrutiny of foreign policy

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4. Our ongoing scrutiny of foreign policy aspects of the war against terrorism remains at the core of our work. We produced two further Reports of this inquiry in 2004, and at the end of the year work was under way on another. Although our work on the war against terrorism makes strong demands on our time and resources, we ensure that it does not detract from our continuing oversight of other important areas of policy. We have therefore continued to monitor and to hear evidence on developments in the European Union; we have had further exchanges with the FCO on overseas territories; and we have participated, as in previous years, in the work of the Quadripartite Committee on Strategic Arms Export Controls. We deal in more detail with each of these aspects of our work in the following paragraphs.

### **Second Report of Session 2003-04, Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism (HC 81)**

### **Seventh Report of Session 2003-04, Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism (HC 441)**

5. In our two Reports of 2004 on Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism, published in January and in July, we returned to a number of specific areas of policy covered in one or more of our previous three Reports in this series, and we also opened up new areas for discussion. Among the subjects we revisited were the situation in Iraq; security and reconstruction in Afghanistan; the Middle East peace process; international law on pre-emptive action; and counter-proliferation measures. New areas considered in the 2004 Reports included the roles of Russia and of Pakistan in the war against terrorism, and the drugs problem in Afghanistan. This broad range of subjects forms a matrix of issues which relate in different and sometimes complex, interlocking ways to the war on terror. We continue to deal with them under the broad heading of Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism because of these interrelationships.

6. Taken together, the two Reports contain 142 specific conclusions or recommendations for action by the Government, 50 of which relate directly to the situation in Iraq, which remains of paramount interest to the British people, to the media and to Parliament. In February 2004, two members of the Committee were able to visit Baghdad and Basrah, following the visit made by three members in December 2003. These visits were of great value to the Committee, enabling us to assess the evidence we heard at Westminster against what had been seen and heard on the ground. It is unfortunate that the deteriorating security situation in Iraq led to the postponement of further visits on advice from the FCO and we hope that it will be possible for some of us to return to the country in 2005.

7. Although unable to visit Iraq in recent months, we have taken full advantage of incoming visits by members of the interim government of Iraq and others. During 2004, we met the Deputy President, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Iraq, as well as the Kurdish Prime Minister, the Governor of Basrah and British diplomats and NGO

representatives recently returned from the country.<sup>3</sup> These informal meetings allowed us to discuss events and policy with those most closely involved. Because the discussions necessarily take place in confidence, we are unable to publish details of them, but they certainly inform our consideration of the evidence we receive in public session.

8. Likewise, our conclusions in relation to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Russia were informed by our visits to these countries. In Afghanistan, we were able to visit the United Kingdom-led Provincial Reconstruction Team and a police training centre in Mazar-e Sharif, as well as holding discussions in Kabul with President Karzai, other Afghan government ministers, United Nations and NGO personnel. In Pakistan, we met President Musharraf, senior ministers and others and were able to visit a *madrassa* (religious school) in Peshawar, where we also discussed the continuing operation in the North West Frontier Province against the *Taliban* and other extremist groups. In Moscow, as well as discussing a wide range of relevant issues with senior figures in the Russian government and parliament, we were briefed in some detail on the continuing problem of Russia's deteriorating cold-war stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and other weapons.

9. Both of the Reports under this heading were debated in Westminster Hall, on 20 May and 4 November 2004 respectively.<sup>4</sup> These debates are held after the Government has published its response to the relevant Report and can be a useful opportunity for the Committee and for other Members of the House to follow up its recommendations.<sup>5</sup> The Committee itself has also followed up numerous points in correspondence with the FCO at ministerial and official level, contributing to a genuinely ongoing scrutiny of what, in our view, remains the principal issue in the United Kingdom's foreign policy.

10. Since the second of these Reports, we have continued to gather written evidence and to hear oral evidence, with a view to producing a sixth Report on Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism in March 2005. In that Report, we expect to continue our dialogue with the FCO on existing points and to raise a number of new points not covered in our previous Reports.

### Evidence on Developments in the European Union (HC 1233)

11. The calendar year 2004 saw a number of momentous events in the European Union, most notably the accession of ten new Member States and the agreement at intergovernmental level of a new Constitutional Treaty for Europe. The Committee has kept a watching brief over these developments, making use of its regular ministerial evidence sessions on the European Council and its biannual visits to EU presidency countries, as well as requesting written evidence from the FCO.

12. The Committee has taken a particularly close interest in proposals under the Treaty to establish a new EU External Action Service, which in all but name will be a European diplomatic corps, headed by the new EU Foreign Minister. We have received assurances

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3 For a full list of the Committee's informal meetings in 2004, see Annex 3

4 HC Deb, 20 May 2004, cols 311-354WH; HC Deb, 4 November 2004, cols 129-172WH

5 See also para 59 below

from the Secretary of State, Mr Straw, that the External Action Service will neither duplicate nor displace the work carried out by diplomats of the FCO.<sup>6</sup>

13. We also raised with the Foreign Secretary a wide range of issues, including Turkey's EU accession hopes, the recent presidential elections in Ukraine, EU perspectives on the situation in Iraq and in the Middle East, and recent developments in relation to the EU's Neighbourhood Policy and its Security and Defence Policy.

14. In July 2004, we published a volume of oral and written evidence on Developments in the European Union. Evidence taken since then has been placed on the web<sup>7</sup> and will be published in printed form shortly.

### **Evidence on Overseas Territories (HC 114)**

15. In March 2004, we published a collection of correspondence with the FCO on the United Kingdom's Overseas Territories. The papers published in this volume are typical of the regular work we carry out in order to exercise scrutiny of the impact of the Government's policies on the Territories. As well as our occasional Reports on Gibraltar, we have had exchanges with the FCO on a series of proposals to amend the constitutions of Bermuda, the Cayman Islands and, most recently, the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT).<sup>8</sup> Such scrutiny by the FAC is the only Parliamentary monitoring which takes place of these constitutional amendment orders, which are made by Her Majesty in Council and are not submitted for Parliament's approval.

16. One Overseas Territory has for some years been a particular focus of this Committee: Gibraltar. Towards the end of 2004, the Government announced a welcome shift in Spain's policy towards Gibraltar,<sup>9</sup> and the resumption of talks about a series of issues on which we have reported on several occasions. The Government of Gibraltar is now a full participant in these talks, a fact which we greatly welcome and which allows us to hope that at long last there will be some progress on the long-running problems highlighted in our Reports, such as border delays, telephone lines and flights. We look forward to monitoring the new talks process as it gets under way.

### **Sixth Report of Session 2003-04, Strategic Export Controls (HC 390)**

17. The Committee has continued to play a full part, together with colleagues from the Defence, International Development and Trade and Industry Committees, in the work of the 'Quadripartite' Committee on strategic arms export controls. This work has now been ongoing for five years. It consists of detailed scrutiny of the Government's controls on exports of equipment and technology with a military application.

18. In their 2004 Report, the four Committees examined a wide range of the Government's export licensing decisions taken in 2002 and 2003, and found the majority to be non-

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6 Oral evidence from the Secretary of State on Developments in the European Communities, 6 December 2004 Qq 6 - 11

7 [www.parliament.uk/parliamentary\\_committees/foreign\\_affairs\\_committee.cfm](http://www.parliament.uk/parliamentary_committees/foreign_affairs_committee.cfm)

8 Correspondence re the BIOT not yet published

9 FCO press release, 16 December 2004

contentious. The Committees did, however, find that the way in which the Government presented this information was unhelpful and recommended a shift from annual to quarterly publication. This was accepted by the Government.

19. The Committees were concerned about how the Government seeks to ensure that equipment is not misused by those to whom it has been provided, and made specific reference to exports of equipment to Indonesia and China, pointing out that export controls are only an effective tool against proliferation if they are applied internationally. In order better to inform their consideration of this point, members of the Committees visited Brussels and Paris for talks with EU and French Government officials. The Report concluded that the United Kingdom's control regime may be more complex and burdensome on industry than those operated by other European countries.

20. In its response, the Government rejected some of the Committees' recommendations, but accepted others. We will of course be returning to consideration of these issues, together with our colleagues from the other Committees, in our continuing work on the Government's quarterly and annual reports on strategic export controls.

## Scrutiny of specific foreign policy issues

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21. Notwithstanding the salience of Iraq, the war on terror, and the European Union as foreign policy issues for the United Kingdom, there are many other diplomatic, consular and policy questions affecting the interests of this country, which in a less busy world would assume greater importance. We have regarded it as an essential part of our role to ensure that each year we exercise scrutiny over a number of specific foreign policy issues of direct relevance to the United Kingdom and in the past year we have been pleased to be able to produce Reports on South Africa and Iran, as well as completing the evidence-gathering stage of inquiries into the Western Balkans and Cyprus.

### **Fifth Report of Session 2003-04, South Africa (HC 117)**

22. South Africa is the dominant political and economic force on the African continent, a country with which the United Kingdom would have an important relationship even if it were not the former colonial power. Our “timely”<sup>10</sup> Report on the United Kingdom’s relations with South Africa was made in May 2004, as South Africans prepared to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the end of apartheid. Of course, South Africans continue to face many challenges, some of them formidable. Our conclusions and recommendations covered such issues as economic development, black economic empowerment, HIV/AIDS and crime, as well as South Africa’s role on the international stage. We are pleased that the United Kingdom is playing a key role in assisting South Africans to deal with the huge challenges which face them and that relations with Africa will be a major theme of the United Kingdom’s forthcoming presidency of the G8.

23. Our visit to South Africa in February 2004 provided us with an excellent opportunity to discuss these issues face-to-face with South African politicians, leaders of civil society and business people. We were also able to witness at first hand the valuable work carried out by British diplomats, aid providers and others. In particular, we were impressed by the achievements of the Chevening scholarship scheme and of the BBC World Service’s high-quality programming in the region.

24. We have taken a long-standing interest in events in South Africa’s troubled neighbour, Zimbabwe. In our Report, we noted the sincerity of South Africa’s position with respect to Zimbabwe, but regretted the lack of progress in improving the plight of the Zimbabwe people. In its response, the Government agreed that South Africa’s role (along with that of other regional players) is crucial to a successful resolution of Zimbabwe’s problems, and said that it would “maintain a continuous dialogue with the Government of South Africa about Zimbabwe”.<sup>11</sup> Sadly, neither this dialogue nor anything else has yet succeeded in bringing about a change for the better in Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, it is important that strong political pressure continues to be applied both within and outside the House of Commons.

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10 Cm 6283, piii (Government Response to the Committee’s Report on South Africa)

11 Cm 6283, p12

### **Third Report of Session 2003-04, Iran (HC 80)**

25. Our long-planned inquiry into Iran—a country of enormous political and strategic significance—was carried out in late 2003, the Report being published in March 2004. In that Report, we considered the at times difficult history of relations between Iran and the United Kingdom; co-operation with Iran on the war on terror and on counter-narcotics operations; bilateral relations in the cultural, educational and commercial fields; human rights and the political situation in Iran; and of course the question of Iran's nuclear development programmes. We concluded at the time that the United Kingdom and European Union have been correct in their policy of constructive but critical engagement with Iran, in contrast to the United States' policy of confrontation.

26. Continued human rights violations and the lack of progress on the social and political challenges facing Iran since our Report was published have raised further questions about what has been achieved by the United Kingdom's policy of engagement and whether it remains the right policy. Thus far, we have continued to support critical engagement with Iran. The recent (November 2004) renewal of Iran's pledge not to develop nuclear weapons is a hopeful sign, but the proof of Iran's genuineness in entering into these agreements will be in their implementation. We intend to continue to take a close interest in Iran.

### **Evidence on Turkey (HC 116)**

27. The Committee systematically follows up on the FCO's responses to the conclusions and recommendations set out in its Reports. An example of this process is the exchange of correspondence between the Committee and the FCO on Turkey, which we published at the very end of 2003.

28. Much of what we learnt during our inquiry into Turkey was relevant to our inquiry into Cyprus, which we carried out in the last quarter of 2004. We have also followed up a number of questions relating to Turkey's EU accession prospects, during our regular oral evidence sessions with the Secretary of State on Developments in the European Union.

## Scrutiny of Foreign & Commonwealth Office publications

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29. The FCO produces a series of regular publications, intended to account to Parliament for its policies, expenditure and administration, and occasionally publishes papers on specific aspects of policy or on specific programmes. Examples of the regular publications are the Departmental Annual Report, the Annual Human Rights Report and the Quarterly and Annual Reports on Strategic Export Controls, into all of which the Committee inquires on a regular basis. Other publications received by the Committee in 2004 have included the FCO Strategy Document (published in December 2003),<sup>12</sup> the Review of Travel Advice (April 2004),<sup>13</sup> and the Annual Report on the Global Opportunities Fund (December 2004).<sup>14</sup>

### **Eighth Report of Session 2003-04, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Annual Report 2003-04 (HC 745)**

30. The focus of our annual inquiry into and Report on the FCO's Departmental Report is the FCO's stewardship of its resources as granted by Parliament. Our detailed work in 2004 on the FCO's overseas estate and its 'asset recycling' programme is considered in the section on financial scrutiny, below;<sup>15</sup> and our comments on the British Council and on the BBC World Service are dealt with in the section on FCO associated public bodies.<sup>16</sup> However, like the Departmental Annual Report itself, our evidence-gathering and subsequent Report ranged widely over the full extent of the FCO's activities. We briefly reprise some of these in the following paragraphs.

31. We reviewed the FCO's strategy document (referred to in the previous section) and, while welcoming the way in which it set out the United Kingdom's foreign policy priorities, warned that the possibly large-scale closures of overseas posts implicit in the document would be a cause of great concern.<sup>17</sup> In its response, the FCO sought to reassure us that what was planned amounted to no more than "some adjustments at the margins in the network".<sup>18</sup> The eventual announcement, on 15 December 2004,<sup>19</sup> of the closure of nine sovereign Posts (embassies or high commissions) and ten subordinate Posts (mostly consular and trade offices), and of the 'localising' (moving from UK-based to locally engaged staff) of eleven further subordinate Posts, showed how right we were to be concerned. We remain concerned, and we will actively monitor the FCO's implementation of its plans in 2005.

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12 'UK International Priorities: A Strategy for the FCO', Cm 6052

13 'Review of Foreign and Commonwealth Office Travel Advice', Cm 6158

14 Cm 6413

15 See paras 40 - 45

16 See paras 46 - 49

17 HC, 2003-04, 745, para 50

18 Cm 6415, p3

19 HC Deb, 15 December 2004, col 137WS

32. We spent some time in the course of our 2004 inquiry considering the FCO's work on entry clearance. We have observed some of this work at close quarters on our overseas visits, when we have taken the opportunity to talk to Entry Clearance Officers about their work, which has been increasing in recent years. Although in our Report we were broadly supportive of steps taken by the FCO to speed up applications, for example by outsourcing some of the administrative work, we did have concerns about sometimes poor co-ordination between the FCO and other government Departments.<sup>20</sup> The FCO responded that steps are being taken to improve joint working, particularly between the FCO and the Home Office, a development which we welcome.

33. On another aspect of inter-Departmental co-ordination, we found a very unsatisfactory situation with regard to rates of pay of locally-engaged staff overseas,<sup>21</sup> which had come to our notice in the course of one of our visits. Practice varies greatly between different Departments, but the main problem is that the Department for International Development (DfID) pays higher wages to locally-engaged staff than the FCO and other employers, thus distorting the local labour market. The FCO told us that it is talking to DfID about this problem,<sup>22</sup> which it seems to us should be capable of swift resolution.

34. As the above selection of matters raised and pursued with the FCO demonstrates, the Committee engages with the FCO on a broad front. The issues considered are not always newsworthy or of wide interest, but we believe that it is important that they feature in our work, and we will certainly continue to scrutinise as wide a range as possible of the activities of the FCO.

#### **Fourth Report of Session 2003-04, Human Rights Annual Report 2003 (HC 389)**

35. Our annual scrutiny of the FCO's Human Rights Report provides us with an opportunity to consider aspects of foreign policy which might not otherwise come before us. In our Report of May 2004 on the FCO's Human Rights Report 2003, we looked at human rights with respect to Afghanistan, Burma, Chechnya, China, Columbia, Egypt, Guantánamo Bay, the Gulf states, Iraq, Israel, Morocco, Nepal, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and Zimbabwe. We commented, too, on cross-cutting issues such as corporate social responsibility, fair trade and the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, as well as making observations on the format and quality of the FCO Report itself.

36. The FCO's 2004 Report on Human Rights was published on 10 November.<sup>23</sup> This substantial document, which incorporates many of the suggestions we made in 2004, is an impressive and important work of reference. At the very end of 2004, we heard oral evidence on the report from NGOs active in the human rights field and, after questioning the relevant Minister from the FCO early in 2005, we will be producing a further Report.

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20 HC, 2003-04, 745, paras 114-120

21 HC, 2003-04, 745, para 136

22 Cm 6415, p11

23 Cm 6364

## Pre-legislative foreign policy scrutiny

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37. As we observed in our Report on 2003, the FCO produces little legislation. In the absence of any draft bills or major legislative policy proposals, our pre-legislative scrutiny in 2004 has been limited to following up our previous work on the green paper on private military companies.

### Evidence on Private Military Companies (HC 115)

38. The further evidence on private military companies which we published at the very end of 2003 followed up our Report of August 2002. It became clear by early 2004 that, although the Government's Green Paper of February 2002 had been an attempt to set a course for legislation to regulate the activities of private military companies, no further action was expected in the near term. Official use of such companies had, however, increased significantly following the operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

39. We therefore returned to this issue in our July 2004 Report on Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism, where we concluded that "the increase in the use of private military or security companies in Iraq and Afghanistan in the last two years has added to the case for regulation of these companies, where appropriate, by the British Government." We recommended that the Government "either bring forward legislation to introduce a regulatory regime for private military companies, or explain in full its reasons for not doing so."<sup>24</sup> The FCO responded that "the Foreign Secretary has asked officials to undertake a further detailed review of options for regulation. The Government will keep the Committee fully informed of its thinking in this area."<sup>25</sup> We look forward to seeing the results of this review, which we trust will be available shortly, in view of the continued use of these companies in sensitive and high-profile roles in Iraq and elsewhere.

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24 HC, 2003-04, 441, para 31

25 Cm 6340, p4

## Other scrutiny activities

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### Financial scrutiny

40. During 2004, we raised a number of questions concerning the FCO's expenditure and resources. Of these, we have chosen to highlight two: 'Asset recycling'; and the cost of operations in Iraq.

#### 'Asset recycling'

41. The sale of FCO buildings and land abroad in order to raise funds for expenditure on a range of purchases and services—not limited to real estate—is called by the FCO 'asset recycling'. We have for some years looked closely at this policy and found it wanting in several respects: most notably, that appreciating assets were being sold and, all too often, the proceeds were being invested in heavily depreciating assets, such as computers.<sup>26</sup> In 2004, a new twist came to our attention, when we investigated the sales of the New York and Dublin residences.

42. Our Report concluded that both these sales had been badly mishandled. In the case of the residence of the Ambassador to Ireland, we pointed out that the curious decision to sell the residence and its grounds, to purchase what turned out to be an unsuitable replacement residence, and then to repurchase the original residence, had meant that a potential gain of £4 million had been lost.<sup>27</sup> The FCO conceded this point, but otherwise defended its overall handling of the matter. However, in November, a Report by the National Audit Office concluded that the FCO embarked on the sale of the original residence without real knowledge of the likelihood of being able to find the kind of replacement that it wished to purchase, and that the purchase of a new residence should not have gone ahead without a full survey of the general condition of the property.<sup>28</sup> We trust that the FCO will be studying the NAO Report carefully.

43. The FCO also made mistakes in its purchase of a new residence for the Consul-General in New York, where an expected seven-figure profit turned into a loss of £380,000. In this case, we concluded that the FCO's action in proceeding with the purchase of a new residence in adverse market circumstances and with the dollar weakening against the pound was "reprehensible".<sup>29</sup> The FCO acknowledged that "In retrospect and with the benefit of hindsight it would have been better not to exchange contracts."<sup>30</sup> It told us that it has tightened its procedures in the light of the experiences in Dublin and New York. We welcome these changes, and will monitor their implementation.

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26 See, for example, HC, 2003-04, 220, paras 46-48

27 HC, 2003-04, 745, para 89

28 FCO Resource Accounts 2003-04, Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General to the House of Commons, *Rationalisation of the Glencairn Estate, Dublin*, HC, 2003-04, 1088, pp 48-49

29 HC, 2003-04, 745, para 91

30 Cm 6415, p7

### ***The cost of operations in Iraq***

44. Also in our Report on the FCO's Annual Report for 2003-04, we noted that the FCO is carrying significant extra costs arising from its expanded operation in Iraq.<sup>31</sup> In its response, the FCO told us that "To date HM Treasury has responded favourably to our reserve claims for additional resources for Iraq. We agree with the Committee that HM Treasury should continue to meet such claims, given the unique nature of our activities there involving numerous departments across government."<sup>32</sup> The point made by the FCO in its response is an important one: the FCO is effectively the delivery service for a wide range of the Government's policies in Iraq and it is entirely appropriate that the large proportion of its activities there which are additional to its mainstream diplomatic and consular roles should be funded from the reserve.

### ***Winter Supplementary Estimate***

45. At the end of 2004, we wrote to the FCO, asking for further information on the Winter Supplementary Estimate submitted to the House on 15 November, in which it sought additional funds for FCO operations in Afghanistan and Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as for restructuring costs such as early retirement of some senior staff. Our work in this area has been assisted by the Scrutiny Unit of the Committee Office, a central resource which is available to all select committees, providing them with specialist services such as analysis of expenditure and revenue data.

### ***Scrutiny of the Foreign Office's associated public bodies***

46. The two principal associated public bodies of the FCO are the British Council and the BBC World Service. We often comment on the work of one or both of these bodies in the course of our work on specific foreign policy issues,<sup>33</sup> but we also ensure that we scrutinise their overall finance and operations as part of our annual inquiry into the FCO's Departmental Report.

47. In our Report on the FCO's Departmental Report for 2003-04, we commented on several aspects of the British Council's work. For example, when visiting Moscow, we had discussed with the British Council Director there and with senior Russian officials the Russian taxation authorities' heavy-handed attempts to impose taxes on the Council's cultural and educational activities across Russia.<sup>34</sup> This dispute remains unresolved.

48. We have also noticed with concern the increasing tendency to remove United Kingdom branding from the Council's offices overseas, particularly the failure to use the very strong brand image of the Union Flag. We concluded in our Report on the FCO Annual Report that the British Council was in danger of repeating the mistake made by British Airways some years ago, when as part of its attempt to re-brand itself as a world airline it misguidedly dropped the flag from its livery.<sup>35</sup> We were also unimpressed by the

31 HC, 2003-04, 745, para 31

32 Cm 6415, p2

33 For example, South Africa (see paras 22 - 24 above)

34 HC, 2003-04, 745, para 197

35 HC, 2003-04, 745, para 206

new Council logo, consisting of four dots. Defending the logo, the FCO told us that the four dots meet a requirement for a logo which is “contemporary” and “modern” and which “attracts attention”.<sup>36</sup> However, the four dots could just as well be the logo of an international banking corporation, or a manufacturer of microchips; they do not stand for anything distinctively British or cultural. We remain disappointed that the British Council is not projecting its Britishness.

49. In relation to both the British Council and the BBC World Service, we have sought assurances for some years that the ring-fencing of government financial support is not under threat from the Treasury. We were therefore pleased to be reassured by the FCO that there is no current threat to ring-fencing.<sup>37</sup> We will remain vigilant on this point.

### Scrutiny of major appointments

50. We have yet to carry out our intention of scrutinising any major diplomatic or consular appointment of a person from outside the diplomatic service. We have noted the Government’s announcement of its intention to appoint our colleague, Mrs Helen Liddell MP, to be the United Kingdom’s High Commissioner in Australia, if it wins the next election.<sup>38</sup> We have also noted the Secretary of State’s announcement in relation to the United Kingdom’s representation to the Holy See that the FCO will “widen the pool of potential candidates as ambassador to beyond the FCO when we look for a successor to the present incumbent next summer.”<sup>39</sup> If either of these appointments is made after a general election, we trust that our successors in the next Parliament will wish to consider it.

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36 Cm 6415, p16

37 Cm 6415, p16

38 FCO press release, 4 April 2004

39 HC Deb, 15 December 2004, col 138WS

## Departmental response

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51. As we noted last year,<sup>40</sup> the FCO has a generally very good record of responding to our Reports on time. We also applaud its practice of issuing its responses as full Command Papers. In 2004, six of seven responses were issued as Command Papers within, or very slightly over, the conventional period of two months. The exception was the government response to the Report of the Quadripartite Committee, on which the FCO leads, but which involves at least three other government departments.

52. The Quadripartite Committee's Report was published on 18 May 2004. Recognising the difficulties of co-ordinating a response by several government departments, the Committee agreed with the Government an extension of the normal two-month interval between publication of the Report and receipt of the Government's response. The response was therefore expected in September. In the end, it was published on 22 October, more than three months over the usual deadline and several weeks after the agreed, extended deadline.<sup>41</sup> This delay followed an earlier delay in the provision of declassified evidence to the Committee. The Chairman of the Quadripartite Committee, Roger Berry MP, has pursued both these matters in correspondence with the Foreign Secretary and we are hopeful there will be no further such delays.

53. Aside from the timing and quality of responses to our Reports, there are some aspects of the relationship between the Committee and the FCO on which we hope to see further progress. One of these concerns relates to classified papers. When we receive a classified document, we are obliged to apply certain procedures to storage and handling of it, which limit its value to us. Most obviously, we are unable to publish such documents, or to cite them in our Reports.

54. Although we appreciate the FCO's willingness to share some types of classified information with us, we are concerned, first, that information provided to us is too often given an unnecessary classification and, second, that by receiving such information we as a committee of Parliament are drawn inside the web of secrecy, which may inhibit our ability to scrutinise areas of policy from outside. The second of these concerns is for us as a Committee to deal with: we may have to decide not to accept a paper if we feel that it will compromise our independence from the executive. The first concern, however, is one which we have raised with the FCO, as is evident from the published exchanges between Committee and Department concerning the provision of information on asset sales.<sup>42</sup> We hope that the eventually satisfactory outcome of those exchanges will inform the FCO's wider policy on provision of information to the Committee, and lead it to question both the need for and the utility of security and other classifications on a case by case basis.

55. We continue to have a related concern, about access to intelligence-related information, which is and clearly must be classified. This concern was the subject of a Special Report to the House, which we discuss in the next sub-section of this Report.

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40 HC, 2003-04, 220, para 51

41 Cm 6357

42 HC, 2003-04, 745, paras 87 - 92

## First Special Report of Session 2003-04: Implications for the Work of the House and its Committees of the Government's Lack of Co-operation with the Foreign Affairs Committee's Inquiry into The Decision to go to War in Iraq (HC 440)

56. We have had a long-standing difference with the FCO over the implications of the Intelligence Services Act 1994 for the Government's relationship with the FAC. The Government has been praying the Act in aid of its policy of refusing to provide intelligence-related material to the FAC. In vain so far, we have sought to explain in what we believe are very clear terms that we have no wish to duplicate the work of the Intelligence and Security Committee which was set up under the 1994 Act; that we do not seek access to intelligence-related information for its own sake; that our only concern is to ensure that we have the tools necessary to do our job of holding the FCO and its Ministers to account. There are few aspects of foreign policy which do not have some intelligence dimension, and our work is being seriously impeded by the Government's obdurate, irrational refusal to allow us to include that dimension in our inquiries.

57. In March 2004, following publication of Lord Hutton's report, we published a Special Report in which we set out our case. We invited the House to consider and reach a view on a number of important questions which arise from the Government's refusal to provide us in confidence with evidence and witnesses which it subsequently provided to a public inquiry. These questions include, what procedures should apply when a Minister refuses to appear before a Committee, or refuses to allow a named official to appear, or refuses to supply information?

### Extracts from the First Special Report

7. We note that the Intelligence and Security Committee has no powers to compel the attendance of witnesses or to require the production of papers and records.

8. The Government chose to co-operate with the inquiry carried out by the Intelligence and Security Committee in ways in which it did not co-operate with a select committee of the House.

11. We note that Lord Hutton's Inquiry was not established by Parliament under the Tribunals and Inquiries Act. It was established administratively, by the Prime Minister. The Inquiry therefore had no powers to compel the attendance of witnesses or to require the production of papers and records. All those who co-operated with Lord Hutton's Inquiry—including this Committee—did so willingly and no formal sanction could have been applied against any person who refused to co-operate.

12. The Government chose to co-operate with Lord Hutton's Inquiry in ways in which it did not co-operate with a select committee of the House.

14. The Government has not accepted our recommendations. We therefore invite the House to consider, and to reach a view on, the following questions:

- What procedures should apply when a relevant Minister refuses to appear before a Committee of this House?

- What procedures should apply when a Minister refuses to allow a named civil servant or other official within his area of responsibility to appear before a Committee of this House?

- What procedures should apply when a Minister refuses to supply papers or records to a Committee of this House?

16. In 1994, Parliament decided in creating the Intelligence and Security Committee that it should be a statutory committee, appointed by and reporting to the Prime Minister. That was ten years ago, and we believe that it is now time for Parliament to reconsider this matter.

17. We invite the House to consider, and to reach a view on, the following questions:

- What should be the status of the Intelligence and Security Committee?

- What principles and procedures should govern relations between the Intelligence and Security Services and Committees of this House?

58. The Government, which controls the time of the House, has yet to provide it with an opportunity to consider these vital questions. Our colleagues on the Liaison Committee, however, have raised them with the Prime Minister<sup>43</sup> and with the Leader of the House, Peter Hain.<sup>44</sup> Mr Hain has submitted proposals for amendment of the Government's internal rules governing the provision of evidence to select committees,<sup>45</sup> none of which answers our questions. It is deeply disappointing that, as the Freedom of Information Act comes into force,<sup>46</sup> the Government appears set on avoiding an opportunity to enhance Parliamentary scrutiny of its affairs.

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43 HC, 2003-04, 330-ii

44 HC, 2003-04, 1180-ii

45 Memorandum submitted to the Liaison Committee by Peter Hain MP, October 2004, available at [www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmliaisn/1180/4101902.htm](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmliaisn/1180/4101902.htm)

46 On 1 January 2005

## Assisting the House

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59. Reports of the Committee were listed on the House's Order Paper as relevant to proceedings on three occasions in 2004. Each of our Reports on Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism was debated at a sitting of the House in Westminster Hall,<sup>47</sup> and our 2003 Report on Zimbabwe was listed for a debate in the main Chamber in July.<sup>48</sup>

60. In September, our Report on Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism of July 2004 was referred to in very positive terms in a debate in the House of Lords.<sup>49</sup> We are of course delighted that Members of the Upper House are reading our Reports, and that they apparently find them of some value in their debates.

## The future

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61. In the first three months of 2005, we will be continuing our work on Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism; we hope to publish a further Report before Easter. We will also continue to exercise scrutiny over developments in the European Union and over other perennial issues, such as proposals relating to the Overseas Territories.

62. We will shortly be publishing the Reports of our inquiries into Cyprus; the Western Balkans; and the FCO Human Rights Report 2004.

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47 HC Deb, 20 May 2004, cols 311-354WH; HC Deb, 4 November 2004, cols 129-172WH

48 HC Deb, 1 July 2004, cols 451-523

49 HL Deb, 7 September 2004, col 460 (Baroness Williams of Crosby)

# Annex 1

## Relevance of Liaison Committee criteria to work carried out in 2004

	Government and Commission policy proposals	Examination of deficiencies	Departmental actions	Associated public bodies	Major appointments	Implementation of legislation	Draft legislation	Expenditure	Evidence from Minister	Public Service Agreements
Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism		√	√	(√)			√	√	√	(√)
Strategic Export Controls	(√)	√	√			√			√	(√)
South Africa		(√)	√	(√)		√		(√)	√	(√)
FCO Annual Report 2003-04		√	√	√	√			√		√
Human Rights Annual Report 2003		√	√	(√)		√		(√)	√	(√)
Iran	(√)	(√)	√	√				(√)	√	(√)
Developments in the European Union	√	(√)	√			√	(√)	(√)	√	(√)
Cyprus	(√)	(√)	√	(√)				(√)	√	(√)
Western Balkans	(√)	(√)	√					(√)	√	(√)

√ = the work of the Committee on this inquiry fulfils the criterion  
 (√) = the work of the Committee on this inquiry is relevant to the criterion

## Annex 2

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### List of Committee visits in 2004, with relevant inquiries

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Relevant inquiry</b>
Dublin	19-20 January	Developments in the EU
South Africa (Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town)	8-12 February	South Africa
Iraq (Basrah and Baghdad)	24-28 February	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism
UN (New York) and USA (Washington DC)	21-25 March	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism
Pakistan (Islamabad and Peshawar) and Afghanistan (Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif)	9-13 May	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism
Moscow	14-16 June	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism
The Hague	7-8 September	Developments in the EU
Vienna, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Pristina and Skopje	7-11 November	Western Balkans
Cyprus (Nicosia, Kyrenia and Famagusta)	8-11 November	Cyprus

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## Annex 3

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### Informal Meetings held by the Foreign Affairs Committee in 2004

#### **Session 2003-04**

*Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> January 2004*

Sir Jeremy Greenstock GCMG, UK Special Representative for Iraq

*Monday 12<sup>th</sup> January 2004*

Mr Konstyantyn Gryshchenko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and HE Mr Ihor Mitiukov, Ambassador of the Ukraine

*Thursday 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2004*

Mr Mircea Geoana, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania

*Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> February 2004*

HE Sir Emyr Jones Parry KCMG, UK Permanent Representative to the United Nations

*Monday 1<sup>st</sup> March 2004*

Mr Kim Holmes, Assistant Secretary of State, United States State Department

*Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2004*

Dr Farouq Abdullah, Leader of the Iraqi Turkmen Front

*Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> March 2004*

Mr Boran Sarkic, Head of Mission for Republic of Montenegro in the UK

*Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> March 2004*

Dr Sein Win, National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma

*Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> March 2004*

Sir Jeremy Greenstock GCMG, UK Special Representative for Iraq

*Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> March 2004*

HE Dahir Rayale Kashin, "President" of Somaliland

*Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> March 2004*

HE Mr Sha Peixin, Chinese Ambassador to the UK

*Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> March 2004*

HE Mr D Federico Mirré, Ambassador of the Republic of Argentina

*Tuesday 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2004*

Swedish Export Control Council

*Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> March 2004*

HE Dr Maleeha Lodhi, High Commissioner of Pakistan

*Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> March 2004*

Hon Phil Goff MP, Foreign Minister of New Zealand

*Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> March 2004*

Hoshyar Zebari, Iraqi Foreign Minister

*Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> April 2004*

Mr Paavo Lipponen MP, Speaker of the Finnish Parliament

*Thursday, 15<sup>th</sup> April 2004*

HE Morteza Sarmadi, Ambassador of Iran

*Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> April 2004*

Mr Reinoud Leenders, Iraq analyst for the International Crisis Group

*Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> April 2004*

Mr Yaşar Yakis, Chairman of the EU Harmonisation Committee, Parliament of Turkey

*Wednesday, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2004*

Council of Arab Ambassadors in London

*Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> April 2004*

Judge Wael Abdulatif, Governor of Basrah and member of the Iraqi Interim Governing Council

*Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> May 2004*

Sir Francis Richards KCMG, Governor of Gibraltar

*Friday 14<sup>th</sup> May 2004*

HE Sir Emyr Jones Parry KCMG, UK Permanent Representative to the United Nations

*Monday 7<sup>th</sup> June 2004*

Mr Musafumi Ishii, Head of Political Section, Japanese Embassy

*Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> June 2004*

BBC World Service at Bush House

*Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> June 2004*

Mr Bill Rammell, Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

*Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2004*

Dr Seks, Speaker of the Croatian Parliament

*Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2004*

International Crisis Group on Sudan

*Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2004*

Mr Nechirvan Barzani, Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government

*Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> June 2004*

Mr Edward Chaplin CMG, OBE, UK Ambassador-designate to Iraq

*Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> July 2004*

HE Urkaly Isaev, Kyrgyz Ambassador to the UK

*Tuesday 6<sup>th</sup> July 2004*

Dr Solomon Passy, Bulgarian Foreign Minister and Dr Lachezar Matev, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria

*Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> July 2004*

Sir Jeffrey James KBE, CMG, UK Special Representative for Nepal

*Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> July 2004*

HE Dr Maleeha Lodi, the High Commissioner of Pakistan

*Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> July 2004*

HE Mikhail Saakashvili, President of Georgia

*Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> July 2004*

HE Akin Alptuna, Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey

*Monday 19<sup>th</sup> July 2004*

Near East and North Africa Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

*Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> July 2004*

Political advisers to the Serbian Prime Minister and HE Mr Vladeta Jankovic, the Ambassador of Serbia and Montenegro

*Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2004*

Mr Mikhail Margelov, Chairman of the Russian Federation Council, International Relations Committee

*Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> August 2004*

HE Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of the Republic of Yemen

*Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2004*

HE Mr Richard Dalton CMG, HM Ambassador to Iran

*Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> September 2004*

Independent Commission on Turkey

*Monday 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004*

Foreign and Commonwealth officials regarding Kosovo

*Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> September 2004*

Director-General of the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office in London

*Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup> September 2004*

Canadian House of Commons Interim Committee on National Security

*Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2004*

HE Akin Alptuna, Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey

*Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> September 2004*

Sir Peter Ricketts CMG, UK Permanent Representative to NATO

*Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> October 2004*

HE Mr Kastriot Robo, Ambassador of Albania

*Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> October 2004*

HE Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations

*Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> October 2004*

Sir Kieran Prendergast KCVO, CMG, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, UN

*Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> October 2004*

Dr Rowsch Shaways, Vice President of Iraq

*Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> October 2004*

Ms Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Commissioner designate for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy

*Monday 25<sup>th</sup> October 2004*

Mr Donald Tsang, Chief Secretary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

*Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> October 2004*

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, Senate of Pakistan

### **Session 2004-05**

*Thursday, 25<sup>th</sup> November 2004*

HE Mr Grigory B Karasin, Ambassador of Russia

*Monday 29<sup>th</sup> November 2004*

Mr Barham Saleh, Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq

*Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup> November 2004*

Mr Driss Jettou, Prime Minister of Morocco

*Monday 6<sup>th</sup> December 2004*

HE Mr Rafael Ibrahimov, Ambassador of Azerbaijan

*Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> December 2004*

President Musharraf of Pakistan

*Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> December 2004*

Mr Lincoln Bloomfield, US Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs

*Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> December 2004*

HE Mr Zbigniew, Ambassador of Poland

*Monday 20<sup>th</sup> December 2004*

Dr Noel Guckian OBE, Head of the British Office and Consul-General in northern Iraq, based in Kirkuk

## Annex 4

### Oral evidence sessions

From the start of the current Parliament to the end of 2004, the Committee has held 90 oral evidence sessions:

#### Session 2001–02

Date	Inquiry and witnesses
30 October 2001	<p><i>British-US Relations</i> Mr James Rubin, Former US Assistant Secretary of State, Professor Michael Clarke, Centre for Defence Studies, Kings College, London, and Professor Fred Halliday, Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics</p>
20 November 2001	<p><i>British-US Relations</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Stephen Wright CMG, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Mr Peter Ricketts, Political Director, and Mr Richard Wilkinson, Director, Americas, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p> <p><i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Stephen Wright CMG, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Mr Peter Ricketts, Political Director, and Mr Richard Wilkinson, Director, Americas, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
28 November 2001	<p><i>Gibraltar</i> Hon Peter Caruana QC, Chief Minister of the Government of Gibraltar, and Rt Hon Peter Hain MP, Minister for Europe, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
5 December 2001	<p><i>Zimbabwe</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Mr Mark Lyall Grant, Director, Africa, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p> <p><i>Laeken European Council</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Mr Kim Darroch, Director, European Union, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p> <p><i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Mr Stephen Wright CMG, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
12 December 2001	<p><i>Zimbabwe</i> Baroness Amos MP of Lords, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State and Mr Andrew Pocock, Head of Africa Department (Southern), Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
22 January 2002	<p><i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Mr Paul Bergne OBE; Professor Paul Wilkinson; and Mr Michael Keating and Mr Andrew Gilmour, UNSCO</p>

30 January 2002	<i>Human Rights Annual Report 2001</i> Peter Hain MP, Minister of State, Dr Carolyn Browne, Head, Human Rights Policy Department, and Ms Nicola Brewer, Director, Global Issues, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
5 February 2002	<i>Turkey</i> Dr William Hale, Director, Political Studies Department, School of Oriental and African Studies, Dr Philip Robins, Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer, Middle East Politics, Middle East Centre, St Anthony's College, Oxford, and Mr William Park, Senior Lecturer and Research Associate, Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London
12 February 2002	<i>Turkey</i> Mr Michael Leigh, Director of Directorate C and Head of Turkey Unit, Enlargement Directorate-General, European Commission; Mr David Barchard; and Dr Heidi Wedel and Mr Tim Hancock, Amnesty International..
26 February 2002	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Dr Rosemary Hollis, Head of the Middle East Programme, Chatham House, and Mr Philip Stephens, Journalist, Financial Times
13 March 2002	<i>Barcelona European Council</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Mr Kim Darroch CMG, Director, European Union, Foreign and Commonwealth Office  <i>Turkey</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Political Director and Mr John Macgregor CVO, Director for Wider Europe, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
21 March 2002	<i>Strategic Export Controls Annual Report for 2000, Licensing Policy and Prior Parliamentary Scrutiny</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr William Ehrman, Director, International Security, and Mr Tim Dowse, Head of Non-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
23 April 2002	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism</i> Mr Ben Bradshaw MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Mr Christopher Prentice, Head of Middle East and North Africa Department, Mr Edward Chaplin, Director for Middle East and North Africa Department and Mr William Ehrman, Director for International Security, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
30 April 2002	<i>Zimbabwe</i> Mr Fergal Keane OBE, BBC News Special Correspondent, and Mr Richard Dowden, Writer on African Affairs
7 May 2002	<i>FCO Annual Report 2002</i> Mr Mark Byford, Director, Mr Nigel Chapman, Deputy Director, and Mr Andrew Hind, Finance and Business Development Director, BBC World Service; Baroness Kennedy of the Shaws, Chairman, Mr David Green, Director General, and Mr Andrew Fotheringham, Director, Planning Research and Evaluation, The British Council
14 May 2002	<i>Zimbabwe</i> Baroness Amos, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Mr Mark Lyall Grant, Director for Africa, and Mr Jon Elliott, Head of Zimbabwe Section, Africa Department (Southern), Foreign and Commonwealth Office

11 June 2002	<i>The Green Paper on Private Military Companies</i> Lt. Colonel Tim Spicer OBE, Head of Strategic Consulting International, Mr Michael Bilton, and Mr David Stewart Howitt, Global Dimensions Programme, London School of Economics
13 June 2002	<i>The Green Paper on Private Military Companies</i> Dr Denis MacShane MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
18 June 2002	<i>The Inter-Governmental Conference 2004</i> Ms Gisela Stuart MP, and Rt Hon David Heathcoat-Amory MP
19 June 2002	<i>Gibraltar</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Mr James Bevan, Director, South-East Europe and Gibraltar, Foreign and Commonwealth Office  <i>Seville European Council</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Mr Kim Darroch, Director, European Union, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
16 July 2002	<i>FCO Annual Report</i> Sir Michael Jay KCMG, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Mr Peter Collecott CMG, Chief Clerk, Mr Simon Gass CMG, Director of Resources and Mr Alan Charlton CMG, Director of Personnel, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
25 September 2002	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Edward Chaplin, Director, Middle East/North Africa, Mr William Ehrman, Director, International Security, and Dr David Kelly, Adviser to Non-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
22 October 2002	<i>Biological Weapons Green Paper</i> Mr Tim Dowse, Head, Non-Proliferation Department, and Mr Patrick Lamb, Deputy Head, Non-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
24 October 2002	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Dr John Chipman, Director, Mr Steven Simon, Assistant Director and Dr Gary Samore, Senior Fellow for Non-Proliferation, International Institute of Strategic Studies; Professor Ian Brownlie CBE, QC, FBA, Chichele Professor of Public International Law, London School of Economics; and Lord Wright of Richmond GCMG, and Sir Harold Walker KCMG.
28 October 2002	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Political Director, and Mr Tim Dowse, Head, Non-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

**Session 2002–03**

14 November 2002	<i>Prague NATO Summit</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Political Director, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and Air Commodore Dick Lacy, NATO Director, Ministry of Defence
10 December 2002	<i>Copenhagen European Council</i> Dr Denis MacShane, Minister for Europe, Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Political Director and Mr Simon Featherstone, Head, European Union Department (External), Foreign and Commonwealth Office
7 January 2003	<i>Human Rights Annual Report 2002</i> Ms Kate Allen, Director, Mr Tim Hancock, Parliamentary Officer, Amnesty International and Mr Steven Crawshaw, Director, London Office, Human Rights Watch
21 January 2003	<i>Zimbabwe</i> Mr Peter Longworth CMG, Former High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, Ms Georgina Godwin, SW Radio Africa, and Mr Joe Winter, BBC World Service
28 January 2003	<i>Human Rights Annual Report 2002</i> Mr Bill Rammell MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Ms Philippa Drew, Director, Global Issues, and Mr Jon Benjamin, Head, Human Rights Policy Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
4 February 2003	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Sir Michael Jay KCMG, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Mr Dickie Stagg CMG, Director, Information, Mr Rob Macaire, Head, Counter Terrorism Policy Department, and Mr Edward Chaplin CMG, Director, Middle East/North Africa, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
11 February 2003	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Dr Ali Ansari, Lecturer, University of Durham; Mr Steven Crawshaw, Director and Ms Elahé Sharifpour-Hicks, Researcher on Iran, Human Rights Watch; and Dr Gary Samore, Director of Studies, International Institute for Strategic Studies
27 February 2003	<i>Strategic Export Controls: Annual Report for 2001, Licensing Policy and Parliamentary Scrutiny</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Mr Tim Dowse, Head of Non-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
4 March 2003	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State, Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Director General, Political, and Mr Rob Macaire, Head, Counter Terrorism Policy Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
25 March 2003	<i>Zimbabwe</i> Baroness Amos, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Dr Andrew Pocock, Head, Africa Department (Southern), and Mr Tony Brennan, Head, Zimbabwe Section, Africa Department (Southern), Foreign and Commonwealth Office
1 April 2003	<i>Inter-Governmental Conference 2004</i> Rt Hon Peter Hain MP, Secretary of State for Wales, Government Representative on the Convention, and Mr Kim Darroch CMG, Director,

	<p>European Union, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p> <p><i>Britain and the European Union</i> Dr Denis MacShane MP, Minister of State for Europe, and Mr Kim Darroch CMG, Director, European Union, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
2 April 2003	<p><i>The Government's proposals for secondary legislation under the Export Control Act</i> Mr Mike McLaughlin, Head of Government Relations, Rolls Royce Plc, Mr David Hayes, Export Control Manager, Goodrich Corporation, Mr Tim Otter, Vice-President, Business Development Smiths Detection, and Mr Brinley Salzmann, Exports Director, Defence Manufacturers' Association, British Defence Manufacturers' Export Licensing Group; Mr Andy McLean, Head of Communications, Saferworld, and Ms Julia Saunders, Policy Adviser on Conflict and Arms, Oxfam, UK Working Group on Arms</p>
3 April 2003	<p><i>The Government's proposals for secondary legislation under the Export Control Act</i> Rt Hon Patricia Hewitt MP, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, and Mr Glyn Williams, Director, Export Control Organisation, Department of Trade and Industry</p>
29 April 2003	<p><i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Director General, Political, and Mr Edward Oakden CMG, Director, International Security, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
3 June 2003	<p><i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Ms Jane Corbin, BBC Journalist, Professor Paul Wilkinson, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews, and Mr Fergal Keane, BBC Special Correspondent</p>
10 June 2003	<p><i>Thessaloniki European Council</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State, Mr Kim Darroch CMG, Director General, European Union, and Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Director General, Political, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
17 June 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Rt Hon Robin Cook MP; and Rt Hon Clare Short MP</p> <p>Dr Gary Samore, International Institute for Strategic Studies,</p>
18 June 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Dr Thomas David Inch OBE, former Deputy Chief Scientific Officer, Porton Down, and former Chief Executive of the Royal Society of Chemistry; and Mr Terence Taylor, President and Executive Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies–US</p> <p>Dame Pauline Neville Jones, former Political Director and Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
19 June 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Mr Andrew Gilligan, BBC Defence Correspondent, and Mr Mark Damazer, BBC Deputy Director of News</p> <p>Mr Andrew Wilkie, former Senior Adviser to the Australian Prime Minister; and Dr Ibrahim al-Marashi, Research Associate at the Centre for Non-Proliferation Studies</p>

24 June 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State, Sir Michael Jay KCMG, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, and Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Director General, Political, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p> <p>Sir Michael Jay KCMG, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, and Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Director General, Political, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p> <p><i>FCO Annual Report 2003</i> Sir Michael Jay KCMG, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Mr Peter Collecott CMG, Director General, Corporate Affairs, Mr Simon Gass CMG, Director, Resources, and Mr Alan Charlton, Director, Personnel, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
25 June 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Mr Alastair Campbell, Director of Communications and Strategy, 10 Downing Street</p>
27 June 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State, Mr Peter Ricketts CMG, Director General, Political, and Mr William Ehrman CMG, Director General, Defence/Intelligence, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
15 July 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Dr David Kelly, Special Adviser to the Director, Counter-proliferation and arms control, Ministry of Defence</p>
17 July 2003	<p><i>The Decision to go to War in Iraq</i> Mr Andrew Gilligan, Defence Correspondent, BBC Radio 4 Today programme</p>
14 October 2003	<p><i>FCO Annual Report 2003</i> Mr Peter Collecot, Director General, Corporate Affairs, Mr Julian Metcalfe, Head, Estate Strategy Unit, and Mr David Coates, Estate Modernisation Manager, Estate Strategy Unit, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
4 November 2003	<p><i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Nomi Bar-Yaacov, International Institute for Strategic Studies; Dana Allin and Jonathan Stevenson, International Institute for Strategic Studies; and Nick Pelham, The Economist and Financial Times, and Peter David, Foreign Editor, The Economist</p>

### Session 2003–04

2 December 2003	<p><i>Iran</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Mr Edward Chaplin, Director, Middle East and North Africa Directorate, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p> <p><i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr John Sawers CMG, Director-General, Political, Mr Edward Chaplin, Director, Middle East and North Africa Directorate, and Mr Edward Oakden CMG, Director, International Security, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</p>
9 December 2003	<p><i>South Africa</i></p>

	Professor James Barber, University of Cambridge, Professor David Simon, University of London; and Mr Jesmond Blumenfeld, Brunel University, and Mr Alastair Fraser, Action for Southern Africa
11 December 2003	<i>Italian European Council</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Kim Darroch CMG, Director-General EU Policy, and Mr John Sawers CMG, Director-General Political, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
27 January 2004	<i>South Africa</i> Mr Richard Dowden, Director, Royal African Society; Dr Steve Kibble, Africa Advocacy Officer, Catholic Institute for International Relations; Mr Christopher Patterson, Executive Director, Macmillan Publishers Ltd and Mr Ashley Roe, Business Development Director, Severn Trent Water International Ltd
24 February 2004	<i>Human Rights Annual Report 2003</i> Mr Bill Rammell MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State; Ms Phillipa Drew, Director, Global Issues and Mr Jon Benjamin, Head, Human Rights Policy Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
25 February 2004	<i>Strategic Export Controls</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs; Mr Edward Oakden CMG, Director, International Security and Mr David Landsman, Head, Counter-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
2 March 2004	<i>South Africa</i> Mr Chris Mullin MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Mr Andrew Lloyd, Head of African Department Southern, Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Mr Andy Sparkes, former UK Deputy High Commissioner, South Africa, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
11 March 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism</i> Sir Jeremy Greenstock GCMG, UK Special Representative for Iraq, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
16 March 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism</i> Dr Gary Samore, International Institute for Strategic Studies; Dr Zafar Cheema, Visiting Fellow at St Anthony's College, University of Oxford; Mr Peter Marsden MBE, Refugee Council and the British Agencies Afghanistan Group and Ms Kate Clark, BBC
20 March 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs; Mr John Sawers CMG, Director General, Political and Mr Edward Oakden CMG, Director, International Security, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
21 April 2004	<i>Strategic Export Controls</i> Mr Roy Isbister, Head of European Union and Export Controls Section, Saferworld; Mr Ed Cairns, Senior Policy Adviser, Oxfam; Mr Robert Parker, Campaign Manager, Arms and Security, Amnesty International; Mr David Hayes, Export Controls Compliance Manager, Rolls-Royce plc; Mr Tim Otter, Vice President, Business Development, Smiths Detection; Mr David Balfour, Director, SABRE Ballistics, and Mrs Susan Griffiths, Export Control Manager, MBDA UK Ltd
4 May 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism</i> Dr Magnus Ranstorp, Director of the Centre for the Study of Terrorism

	and Political Violence, University of St Andrews; Mr M. J. Gohel, Head of the Asia-Pacific Foundation; Mr Mustapha Alani, Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute and Dr Toby Dodge, International Institute for Strategic Affairs and the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick
5 May 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs; Mr John Buck, Director, Iraq Unit and Mrs Jan Thompson, Head, Afghanistan Unit, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
25 May 2004	<i>Developments in the European Union</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Kim Darroch, Director General, European Union Policy and Mr David Frost, Assistant Director, European Union (Internal), Foreign and Commonwealth Office
8 June 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism</i> Dr Emmanuele Ottolenghi, St Antony's College, University of Oxford; Dr Jeroen Gunning, Department of International Politics, University of Wales; Professor Philippe Sands QC; Mr Daniel Bethlehem QC; Mr James Sherr, Fellow of Conflict Studies Research, Centre of the UK Defence Academy; Mr Tom de Waal, Head of Caucasus Project, Institute of War and Peace Reporting and Mr Dominic Hughes, BBC World Service
22 June 2004	<i>FCO Annual Report 2003-04</i> Mr Nigel Chapman, Acting Director; Mr Andrew Hind, Chief Operating Officer, BBC World Service; Sir David Green KCMG, Director-General; Dr Robin Baker, Deputy Director-General and Mrs Margaret Mayne, Director of Finance, British Council
29 June 2004	<i>FCO Annual Report 2003-04</i> Sir Michael Jay KCMG, Permanent Under-Secretary of State; Mr Dickie Stagg CMG, Director General, Corporate Affairs; Mr Simon Gass CMG CVO, Director Finance and Mr David Warren, Director, Human Resources, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
12 October 2004	<i>Western Balkans</i> Mr Gabriel Partos, Balkans Analyst, BBC World Service, and Dr Jonathan Eyal, Director of Studies, Royal United Services Institute; Professor James Pettifer, Conflict Studies Research Centre, UK Defence Academy, and Dr David Chandler, Centre for Study of Democracy, University of Westminster
19 October 2004	<i>Western Balkans</i> Rt Hon Lord Ashdown of Norton-sub-Hamdon KBE, High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and EU Special Representative
19 October 2004	<i>Cyprus</i> Dr Chris Brewin, Keele University and Dr Philippos Savvides, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
26 October 2004	<i>Western Balkans</i> Dr Othon Anastasakis, Head of South East Europe programme, St Antony's College, University of Oxford, Mr Nicholas White, Head of the International Crisis Group's Europe Programme; and Mr Misha Glenny, former Central and South Eastern Correspondent, BBC World Service
2 November 2004	<i>Cyprus</i> Lord Hannay of Chiswick and Mr Özdem Sanberk, retired ambassador of Turkey

16 November 2004	<i>Cyprus</i> Dr Denis MacShane MP, Minister of State, and Mr Dominick Chilcott, Director, Europe, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
17 November 2004	<i>Cyprus</i> M Pierre Mirel, Director of the Cyprus taskforce, Enlargement Directorate, European Commission

### *Session 2004–05*

23 November 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Mr Damien McElroy, Sunday Telegraph; Mr Kamran al-Karadaghi, Institute for War and Peace Reporting and Ms Jane Corbin, BBC
30 November 2004	<i>Western Balkans</i> Dr Denis MacShane MP, Minister of State, and Ms Karen Pierce, Head of Eastern Adriatic Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
6 December 2004	<i>European Council, December 2004</i> Rt Hon Jack Straw MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr David Frost, Assistant Director EU-Internal, and Mr Tim Barrow, Assistant Director EU-External, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
14 December 2004	<i>Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism</i> Dr Ali Ansari, University of St Andrews; Dr Stefan Halper, Centre of International Studies, Cambridge and Dr Dana Allin, International Institute for Strategic Studies
15 December 2004	<i>Strategic Export Controls</i> Mr Rob Parker, Campaign Manager, Arms and Security, Amnesty International UK; Mr Oliver Sprague, Oxfam GB; Mr Andy McLean, Deputy Director, Saferworld and Mr Michael Bell, Export Controls Consultant, BAE Systems; Mr Brinley Salzmänn, Export Director, Defence Manufacturers' Association; Mr David Hayes, Export Controls Compliance Manager, Rolls-Royce plc; Mr Tim Otter, Vice President, Business Development, Smiths Detection
21 December 2004	<i>Human Rights Annual Report</i> Miss Kate Allen, Director; Mr Tim Hancock, Head of Policy and Government Affairs, Amnesty International UK and Mr Steve Crawshaw, London Director, Human Rights Watch

## Formal minutes

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**Tuesday 25 January 2004**

Members present:  
Donald Anderson, in the Chair

Mr David Chidgey  
Mr Eric Illsley  
Mr Andrew Mackay  
Andrew Mackinlay  
Mr John Maples

Mr Bill Olnér  
Mr Greg Pope  
Sir John Stanley  
Ms Gisela Stuart

The Committee deliberated.

Draft Report (The work of the Committee in 2004), proposed by the Chairman, brought up and read.

*Ordered*, That the Chairman's draft Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraphs 1 to 62 read and agreed to.

Annexes agreed to.

*Resolved*, That the Report be the First Report of the Committee to the House.

*Ordered*, That the Chairman do make the Report to the House.

[Adjourned till Tuesday 1 February at 2.30pm]

## Reports and Evidence from the Foreign Affairs Committee since 2001

The following reports and evidence have been produced in the present Parliament.

### Session 2003–04

#### REPORTS

Eighth Report	Foreign and Commonwealth Office Annual Report 2003–2004	HC 745 ( <i>Cm 6415</i> )
Seventh Report	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism	HC 441-I ( <i>Cm 6340</i> ) HC 441-II
Sixth Report	Strategic Export Controls	HC 390 ( <i>Cm 6357</i> )
Fifth Report	South Africa	HC 117 ( <i>Cm 6283</i> )
Fourth Report	Human Rights Annual Report 2003	HC 389 ( <i>Cm 6275</i> )
Third Report	Iran	HC 80 ( <i>Cm 6198</i> )
Second Report	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism	HC 81 ( <i>Cm 6162</i> )
First Report	Foreign Affairs Committee Annual Report 2003	HC 220
First Special Report	Implications for the Work of the House and its Committees of the Government's Lack of Co-operation with the Foreign Affairs Committee's Inquiry into The Decision to go to War in Iraq	HC 440

#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

Oral and Written Evidence	Developments in the European Union	HC 1233-i HC 129-i
Written Evidence	Overseas Territories	HC 114
Written Evidence	The Biological Weapons Green Paper	HC 113
Written Evidence	Private Military Companies	HC 115
Written Evidence	Turkey	HC 116

### Session 2002–03

#### REPORTS

Twelfth Report	Foreign & Commonwealth Office Annual Report 2003	HC 859 ( <i>Cm 6107</i> )
Eleventh Report	Gibraltar	HC 1024 ( <i>Cm 5954</i> )
Tenth Report	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism	HC 405 ( <i>Cm 5986</i> )
Ninth Report	The Decision to go to War in Iraq	HC 813 ( <i>Cm 6062</i> ) and ( <i>Cm 6123</i> )
Eighth Report	Zimbabwe	HC 339 ( <i>Cm 5869</i> )
Seventh Report	Strategic Export Controls: Annual Report for 2001, Licensing Policy and Parliamentary Scrutiny	HC 474 ( <i>Cm 5943</i> )
Sixth Report	The Government's proposals for secondary legislation under the Export Control Act	HC 620 ( <i>Cm 5988</i> )
Fifth Report	The Biological Weapons Green Paper	HC 671 ( <i>Cm 5857</i> )

Fourth Report	Human Rights Annual Report 2002	HC 257 ( <i>Cm 5320</i> )
Third Report	Foreign Affairs Committee Annual Report 2002	HC 404
Second Report	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism	HC 196 ( <i>Cm 5739</i> )
First Report	The Biological Weapons Green Paper	HC 150 ( <i>Cm 5713</i> )
First Special Report	Evidence from Mr Andrew Gilligan to the Committee's Inquiry into the Decision to go to War in Iraq	HC 1044

#### *MINUTES OF EVIDENCE*

Oral and Written Evidence	The Decision to go to War in Iraq	HC 1025-I and HC 1025-ii
Evidence	The Thessaloniki European Council	HC 774-i
Evidence	Developments in the European Union	HC 607-i
Evidence	The Inter-Governmental Conference 2004: The Convention on the Future of Europe	HC 606-i
Evidence	The Copenhagen European Council	HC 176-i
Evidence	The Prague NATO Summit	HC 66-i

### **Session 2001–02**

#### *REPORTS*

Twelfth Report	FCO Annual Report 2002	HC 826 ( <i>Cm 5712</i> )
Eleventh Report	Gibraltar	HC 973 ( <i>Cm 5714</i> )
Tenth Report	Zimbabwe	HC 813 ( <i>Cm 5608</i> )
Ninth Report	Private Military Companies	HC 922 ( <i>Cm 5642</i> )
Eighth Report	Strategic Export Controls: Annual Report for 2000, Licensing Policy and Prior Parliamentary Scrutiny (Quadripartite Committee)	HC 718 ( <i>Cm 5629</i> )
Seventh Report	Foreign Policy Aspects of the War against Terrorism	HC 384 ( <i>Cm 5589</i> )
Sixth Report	Turkey	HC 606 ( <i>Cm 5529</i> )
Fifth Report	Human Rights Annual Report 2001	HC 589 ( <i>Cm 5509</i> )
Fourth Report	Zimbabwe	HC 456
Third Report	Laeken European Council	HC 435
Second Report	British-US Relations	HC 327 ( <i>Cm 5372</i> )
First Report	Gibraltar	HC 413
First Special Report	Appointment of Parliamentary Representatives to the Convention on the Future of Europe	HC 509

#### *MINUTES OF EVIDENCE*

Evidence	The Inter-Governmental Conference 2004: The Convention on the Future of Europe	HC 965-i
Evidence	The Barcelona European Council	HC 698-i

The reference to the Government response to the report is printed in brackets after the HC printing number