

Office of the Secretary of Defense

Chief, R&D, ESD, WHS

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Date: 21 OCT 2011 Authority: EO 13526

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MEMORANDUM

May 23, 2003

TO: Secretary of Defense

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Authority: EO 13526

FROM: Presidential Envoy L. Paul Bremer III

Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS

Date: OCT 21 2011

SUBJECT: The "Fast-Slow" Approach to the Creation of an Interim Administration

I have concluded after a good deal of consultation that we are unlikely to have sufficient time or control to foster a nationwide, bottom-up process involving multiple provincial and municipal elections leading to a result acceptable to us. There is a danger, in fact, that such a process could increase expectations of a rapid transfer of real power to the Iraqis long before it would be prudent. For this reason I recommend a "fast-slow" approach that would have me quickly establish an Interim Administration by invitation. I would at the same time announce a deliberative, more popularly driven constitutional process that would culminate in the formation of a duly elected Iraqi government, perhaps within the year.

Fast: Appointing an Interim Administration

Almost every Iraqi I meet stresses the importance of having the CPA provide leadership on the future direction of Iraq. People are less worried about process than they are about results. Even within the G-7 there appears to be paralysis over how to expand their own group quickly, despite their recognition of the need to do so. Those outside the group are even clearer about the need for the CPA to announce a way forward and stick with it. Most believe that Iraq needs an interim administration with an Iraqi face sooner rather than later. I agree.

Assuming you concur, I intend to use my authority as Administrator to invite nationally recognized leaders to form the Interim Administration. I would begin the process of identifying additional leaders by consulting with the G-7 next week, making clear that final decisions rest with the CPA. This would require a heavy commitment of my staff's and my time since we would need to expand our consultations with Iraqis across the country. Nonetheless, such a process would be surer than a multiple-election process that could drag on for months and yield no concrete result. We could announce an Interim Administration by late June.

I would aim to include around 25-30 members in the Interim Administration. The overarching aim would be to select a group which is broadly representative of all strands of Iraqi society (Internal/External, Shia, Sunni, Kurd, Turkmen, Christian, tribal, men and women). We would not allow any mathematical formula to precisely determine representation. Members would be chosen based on a number of factors including a commitment to the President's vision of a democratic Iraq, free of WMD and at peace with its neighbors. Ideas about the responsibilities of such an interim administration can be found in the attached document.

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Slow: Launching a Constitutional Process

At the same time I announce the formation of an Interim Administration, I would propose a national project to draft, debate and ratify an Iraqi constitution. This Iraqi-led process would engage Iraqis at every governmental level in an effort to identify the "right" people to participate in a national Constitutional Convention. The process would be independent of the Interim Administration, though members would of course have some recommendations as to who might participate. The process of identifying possible members of the Interim Administration would no doubt turn up candidates for the convention, too.

Once convened, the Constitutional Convention would nominate a drafting committee and begin the road to a new framework for an Iraqi government. Drafting the constitution will likely take 4-6 months. Once ratified in an up or down vote - Iraq's first national vote - an election law would be prepared, parties registered and elections conducted. By this timetable, national elections *might* be held about a year from now.

I would welcome your thoughts on this approach.

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