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COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD

11 September 2003

MEMO FOR: Secretary Rumsfeld
FROM: Paul Bremer <signed>
SUBJECT: The Iraq UNSCR
REF: USUN 2232

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Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: AUG 27 2015

TRANSFERRED/RECOMMEND RELEASE
RECOMMEND AND TRANSFER - DOD

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Now that we have seen the French and Russian proposed changes to our draft resolution, no one should be surprised that we find them unacceptable. I am concerned that by continuing with these negotiations we are veering ever closer to a situation that could undermine US objectives in Iraq. We have an obligation to the Iraqi people to do our best to establish a viable political structure before we hand over sovereignty. This will take precise and careful management by us.

The French propose going straight to sovereignty. This would of course reduce American authority, their principal goal, with no regard for the ultimate outcome. Since May, we have made clear to all political parties here that there is only one path to full sovereignty: a constitutional drafting process, a ratified constitution, and an election leading to a fully sovereign government. As I said Tuesday, the US will be held responsible for whatever happens here. We cannot dilute our authority over events.

The Governing Council decided yesterday that they will set a timeline to full sovereignty irrespective of what happens with a new UNSCR. So we do not need a resolution to accomplish that goal and should pay nothing for such language.

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In addition, there are new signs that it is going to take a constant and single minded effort by us to prevent the constitutional process from going astray. We learned Wednesday night that the preparatory committee appears ready to back Ayatollah Sistani's call for full elections to the constitutional convention. This will delay a constitution and an election by at least 18 months, according to international experts. To get around this delay, members of the GC and the preparatory committee are floating proposals for establishing a contrived provisional assembly that would assume full authority and sovereignty, mirroring French ideas, it seems. We cannot agree to a UN resolution that encourages these ideas. We must hold the line against any process that grants sovereignty that would in fact be illegitimate and also delays the process toward genuine sovereignty. I have already warned GC members that attempts to move toward a direct, illegitimate sovereignty for themselves will not succeed.

As I said during Tuesday's meeting, I consider our draft resolution to be a minimally acceptable outcome. We are fast approaching the point where America's interests would be better met without any resolution. If we can't hold the line with our draft, then we should withdraw it.

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 27 AUG 2015 Authority: EO 13526
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CC: Secretary Powell
Dr. Rice

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