

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 11:10 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** FW: ElBaradei

fyi

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Poneman, Daniel [mailto: ]  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 11:05 PM  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** ElBaradei

Huma/Jake:

I have known ElBaradei through nuclear issues for a number of years and we have stayed in touch, including several conversations in recent weeks. I just received this message from him and shared it with [ ] and Bill Burns but forgot to copy you, as I should have in light of the Secretary's travel. My apologies.

"Dear Dan,

Prior to the Secretary's visit, the situation remains quite opaque with no clear road map as regards the timing of either parliamentary or presidential elections, or the drafting of a new constitution etc. They seem to be completely confused and keeping things completely to themselves. In any case, nothing has been clarified publicly other than a referendum on a few superficial amendments to the old constitution next week, which is opposed by pretty much all the political forces except the Brotherhood, and rumors that parliamentary elections might be in September and presidential elections in December. If that is true, it will extend their stay in power for probably a year, but the main problem is that a parliamentary election in 6 months will give a huge advantage to the Brotherhood and the remnants of the old regime since, until today, new parties are not yet permitted, and the parliament will be elected under the old constitution with all its distortions (50% farmers/laborers etc.). The other major problem, according to this plan, is that this distorted parliament will elect the constituent assembly tasked with drafting a new constitution, which will clearly be equally distorted since the parliament will elect an assembly that reflects its interests. Since they now "accept" to extend the transitional period for over a year, I still strongly believe that the only logical sequence is to start by adopting a provisional constitutional declaration to be followed by the drafting of a new constitution through a appointed committee (similar to the one that drafted the current constitution in France) of ~50 that reflects all the different political currents. The constitution, according to the advice I get, should not take more than 3-4 months. Once it is approved by a referendum, then you can hold presidential elections, which we can start preparing for in parallel while the constitution is being drafted. The last step would be the parliamentary elections, after new parties have been given the opportunity to engage with people to ensure a balanced representation. Also, it might be advantageous - if we're going to have a lengthy transitional period - to have a presidential council of civilians with army representation until a president is elected, to send a message that we are moving toward democracy and civilian rule. The advantage of this road map is that you'll be able to have a constituent committee and constitution that reflects the views of the broad spectrum of society and that, when we keep parliamentary elections as the last stage, we will ensure that the Brotherhood will not be represented beyond their actual size.

Best,  
-Mohamed"

**Daniel B. Poneman**  
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