

Snowflake

EF1063 LA  
021005239/OSDP  
April 3, 2002 10:12 AM

3/20

LOK

Middle East

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith  
CC: VADM Giambastiani  
Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Middle East Memo

Dave 4/8

I have taken a stab at "declassifying" this memo. Please review and get back to me soon.

4/4/02

→ SD  
Headline to avoid:

Thanks.

Attach.  
04/03/02 Memo on Middle East

Rumsfeld Says:  
Bush Admin "Important"  
I think my edits preserve  
your point while avoiding  
that headline. Otherwise,  
this is a sound, strong piece.  
Doug Feith

DHR:dh  
040302-8

Please respond by 04/05/02

P.S. How do you plan to use it?

→ Delonnie  
Larry Di Rita  
4/8

3 APR 02

U11977 /02

04-04-02 08:37 IN

11-L-0559/OSD/10081

2 07:58

DRAFT

Felt  
markup

- Years ago, I received a call in the White House from Alf Landon. He asked me to tell President Ford that, with Ronald Reagan beating up on him over the Panama Canal issue, Ford should remember what Teddy Roosevelt used to say. I said, "What's that?" He said, "If you are in a bind, create a diversion."
- We are in a bind in the Middle East today. We have a "hair knot" in the Middle East, and have had for 50 years. We are not going to solve it soon. I have a recommendation <sup>not</sup> for a diversion, but for a sensible redirection of <sup>the</sup> public's focus
- I think we ought to go after Iran—hard. They are helping Al Qaeda—they are sending terrorists to Damascus and then via the Beirut road into the Bekaa Valley, and then into southern Lebanon to conduct terrorist acts against Israel. Syria is testing chemical weapons, I suspect with assistance from Iran. Iranian officials appear to be responsible for the Khobar Towers bombing. Iran is actively encouraging the violence that is tearing the Middle East apart. Their Karine-A plan was blocked, but their support for terrorism continues.
- It is time for the President to use the bully pulpit. Specifically, I have always felt that the most powerful person in America was the person who picked the "high school debate topic." He had every child in America, every parent, and every teacher working off an issue the way he constructed it. The U.S. has the bully pulpit. We can fashion the "construct" the way we wish to, to serve our purposes.
- I think we ought to systematically take on Iraq publicly with a speech, followed by an information operations campaign. Iraq has been giving \$10,000 to \$25,000 to the families of every suicide bomber. Their rhetoric glorifies terrorism, including suicide bombers. They are developing weapons of mass destruction. Iraq's treatment of its own people—gassing Kurds, starving out and slaughtering the marsh Arabs and Shia in the South, the Anfal

DRAFT

11-L-0559/OSD/10082

campaign against the Kurds, the extensive system of political prisons and torture—constitute perhaps the worst violence against Muslims anywhere in the Middle East.

- Every time we compromise with Arafat, we are seen as rewarding terrorism. We need to be visibly against terrorism, or we weaken our global war on terrorism.

- ~~At the present time, the USA looks impotent. <sup>should never look</sup> ~~The one thing~~ <sup>That's something</sup> the U.S. cannot afford is to look impotent. ~~But that is the signal around the world—namely,~~ <sup>that we are incapable of solving</sup> the Middle East problem. That is the ~~construct~~ <sup>the current crisis</sup> today. Arab countries are blaming ~~this~~ <sup>rather than</sup> on the fact that the U.S. can't or won't make Israel acquiesce to a bunch of terrorists. ~~We don't need to look~~ impotent. We could look strong. The way to do so is the following:~~

Sorry that this message came out messy...

But that's the risk we run if we get people focused on US inability to solve

RISK WE ARE RUNNING

1. Speak against Iran publicly, soon. Go right to the Iranian people. Don't speak to the so-called "moderates." Instead, isolate the moderates with the fundamentalists who control them. The Iranian people want freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, economic freedom, freedom of religion, rights for women. We ought to say so.
2. Second, speak out on Iraq. Tell the world exactly what they are doing—developing weapons of mass destruction, encouraging terrorism and suicide bombers and abusing their own people on a massive scale. Pin the tail on the donkey.
3. Third, Mark Twain wrote, "You can't pray a lie." Well, we can't live a lie, either. And we have been living a lie in the Middle East for some decades. Those countries are financing terrorists, hoping the terrorists won't bring their governments down. Financiers from Saudi Arabia,

who do business with the U.S., give money to the Al Qaeda. It is damaging us and damaging them. We need to stop it. The controlled Egyptian press publishes hateful material constantly attacking Israel to deflect popular anger from their own government.

4. Stop letting the moderate Arab countries blame the U.S. for the fact that there is terrorism in the Middle East. The blame belongs on Iran, Iraq and Syria. Call a spade a spade. Let the world know it is time for countries in that region to stop allowing money to go to terrorists, because it is going to blow up the entire region.

President Eisenhower used to say, "If you can't solve a problem, enlarge it."

Well, we cannot solve the hair knot we have been dealt in the Middle East. We need to enlarge the problem and the picture. We need to change the construct, so we can:

- Set the agenda for international dialogue, we establish the "high school debate topic," we set the construct.
- Take the offensive instead of playing defense year after year.
- Take the moral high ground, tell the truth and stop living a lie.
- Go after Arab countries to stop funding their enemies and our enemies—the Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hizbollah, etc.
- Go after the hand-wringing Europeans and tell them to join us to help the repressed people of Iran, Iraq, and Syria, by stopping turning their heads and secretly helping Iraq break the sanctions and turning a blind eye to Iran's sponsorship of terrorists, the Al Qaeda and their WMD activities.

The Europeans are helping Iran. They are helping Iraq. They help Syria. Provide the world leadership to get them to stop doing it. Seize the moment, enlarge the picture and tackle terrorism, instead of being seen as accommodating to terrorism and parading our impotence.

Ending Palestinian terrorism is still the core of the problem. There won't be negotiations without that. We have to be deeply concerned about the message we are sending in the world <sup>that we cannot have</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>looking</sup> the U.S. is impotent.

\*\*\*

032902-1TS.3