
From: H

RELEASE IN PART B6

Sent: 2/20/2011 11:44:44 PM +00:00

To: Oscar Flores

Subject: Fw: H: Middle East strategy: idea and sign of the time. Sid

Attachments: hrc memo strategy ideas and sign 021711.docx

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Pls print.

From: sbwhoep
Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2011 10:23 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Middle East strategy: idea and sign of the time. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

February 17, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Middle East strategy: idea and sign of the time

1. Rothkopf's suggestion in his Foreign Policy article today (see below) that State name a special economic envoy for the Middle East might be considered. It would help throw positive economic weight into the Egyptian transition and operate like the special economic envoy for Northern Ireland has done.
2. Rothkopf is very tough on Israel here. What is the significance? It is this: Rothkopf's roommate at Columbia was Michael Oren and he remains a close friend of his. Until now, there has been no daylight between them. Sign of the time.
3. There's a much larger strategic statement to be made, sooner rather than later, if it is to be made, the U.S. staking its standard appealing to the future: the rise of a new generation, aspirational rather than resentful; the rise of a new nationalism, beyond postcolonial assertion, beyond tribal and ethnic dominance within nation-states, beyond the presumption of national strength projected by total control of military regimes; nationalism based instead on pride in democracy and the rule of law; nationalism of a people that seeks to win a rightful place in the community of nations; nationalism that in its own way draws upon, expresses and contributes to universal values. The al-Qaeda/terrorism paradigm has been repudiated on every level: the democratic citizen, not the suicide bomber, the true agent of change; a new generation with a new sense of nationhood joined to the global community sweeping aside to the dustbin of history a tiny self-proclaimed clique with false dreams of mythological grandeur drenched in blood that has produced nothing but repeated disillusionment and failure—2/11 the model for the future, not 9/11.

http://rothkopf.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/02/16/egypt_s_revolution_the_5_big_takeaways

Egypt's revolution: The 5 big takeaways

Posted By David Rothkopf  Wednesday, February 16, 2011 -

While it is too early to assess the long-term outcomes of the uprising in Egypt, there are nonetheless a number of important conclusions to which we can reasonably come.

First, something profound has changed. It did not change because of the uprising in Tahrir Square. It changed and the uprising was the result; the power has shifted in the region. We have passed a generational

and technological tipping point. While the dinosaurs cling to the levers of power in virtually every country in the greater Middle East, the under 30 majority is now the great force to be reckoned with. While the establishment has done almost everything conceivable to keep them down from denying them education to curtailing the spread of information technologies to gutting the economies, nonetheless, new information sources and technologies and ways of connecting and collaborating seeped in to these societies through every one of the cracks spreading across the Ozymandian edifices of the elite.

These changes are irreversible. They are seen in the cell phones that even the poorest carry with them, in the broadcasts of Al Jazeera, in the burgeoning Twitter feeds, the apps young Arabs create to provide work-arounds every time a government tries to curtail Internet access, and even in the technological use of some of the region's worst players.

These changes have remade the social and political fabric of the region. What they have yet to do is what they have done everywhere else in the world and that is to fuel economic change.

That is the **second inescapable conclusion** we need to consider. The great challenges before this under-30 majority are economic, they are about opportunity. They are not about Israel or battles between Shiites and Sunnis or tribal divisions. Those problems still fester, but the unifying challenge for this generation is even more basic: They need jobs. They crave opportunity. And the failure of their leaders to provide them with these basic sources of sustenance and dignity is what has fueled the revolutions of 2011.

A corollary to this conclusion is that we in the United States have been sending the wrong people with the wrong approaches to solve the wrong problems in this region for decades. The problems of this region will not be solved by negotiators or generals. They require investors and entrepreneurs and educators. To the extent that we can contribute, we must do so by supporting the creation of economic opportunity. It is a massive undertaking but it is the only true peacemaker.

A **third conclusion** is related to the second, however. The role for the U.S. government in all this is very, very limited. We would do well to redirect what aid we provide to address this core challenge of creating jobs for the under-30s. We would do well to put our best economic minds in charge, perhaps even appointing a special economic envoy of real stature. But the only people who can ultimately solve this problem are in the Middle East. In fact, in the hierarchy of those who can help, if the people of the Middle East are first and by far foremost, it is the people of Europe, not the United States who must be second. They are the natural economic neighbors of the region and they must answer the question whether they want those under-30s employed in the Middle East or seeking employment in Europe. After the Europeans, it may even be the Chinese or Indians and others dependent on oil in the region and closer to its problems who should take more prominent roles in helping to solve the problem than the United States, which is a lightning rod and has problems of our own at home.

A **fourth conclusion** is that the hardest part is clearly still ahead of us. Egypt must make the transition to democracy and that means the military must really step aside after six months. Friends of mine who have met with them believe they understand the implications of the political earthquake that has taken place during the past month and that they will do so. But there are dinosaurs among their leaders so it is by no means a sure thing. Even beyond establishing a democracy is actually keeping one, and beyond that is

addressing successfully the economic challenges alluded to above. Further, there are the problems of all the other countries of the region. They will be difficult to handle but we in the United States need to be confident enough in our core beliefs to let them work them out among themselves. There will be fights and setbacks and people we don't like will periodically gain the upper hand. But give me a duel between two guys armed with the Internet, Facebook, and Twitter feeds and let one offer the people the 11th Century and another offer the 21th and I know who I will bet on.

Finally, my fifth conclusion is that of all the big challenges ahead for U.S. foreign policy associated with this period of upheaval, the greatest by far lies with Israel and the Palestinians. Personally, I am not sure why the Palestinians have not yet unilaterally declared independence. The world would surely support them. But imagine what would happen if, perhaps on the road to such a declaration perhaps following it, a hundred thousand Palestinians took to the streets peacefully demanding real self-determination. With memories of Tahrir Square fresh in the minds of the world, how could the Israelis respond as they might have in the past? On what side of history would they appear to be as President Obama might put it? And in that vein, on what side of that history would President Obama and the United States want to be?

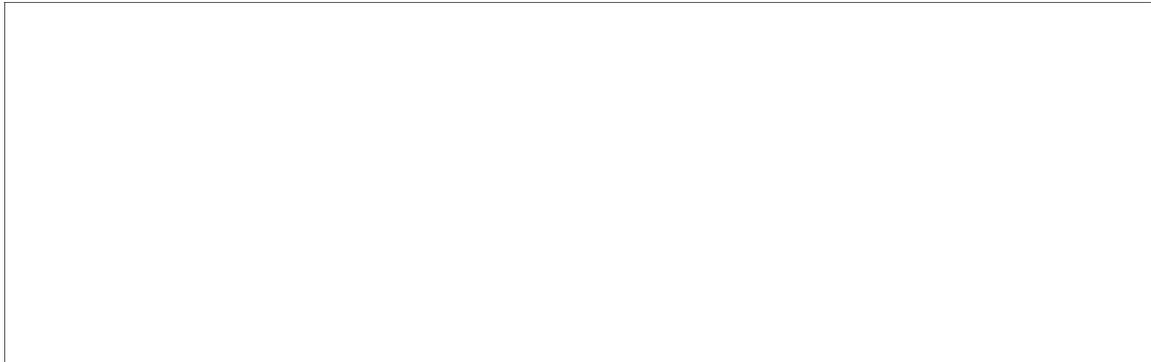
Until now, the fact that Israel was the region's only democracy was its "get out of jail free" card. It was used to excuse ... or attempt to excuse ... a multitude of sins. For this reason, no Arab military offensive could be as effective in undermining Israel's strategic advantages as real democracy taking root elsewhere in the region. The Netanyahu administration would be flummoxed if people power came to the West Bank and Gaza. They would be cast involuntarily with the dinosaurs. They would have no pages in their playbook indicating how to handle this. They would have very few good choices.

Actually, they would have only one. They would have to get out of the way. They would have to do what Mubarak did. They would have to step within the 1967 borders and let the Palestinians begin the job of building Palestine. And they would have to hope that the United States, Europe, and the rest of the world helped the Palestinians do it because once that happens, it will be of the utmost importance for Israel that its new neighbor produce real opportunity for its people ... because we have seen the alternative and it, for this generation who have both nothing and nothing to lose will not be contained by the tactics or the rhetoric of the past.

Message Headers:

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Oscar Flores [redacted]
Date: Sun, 20 Feb 2011 18:44:44 -0500
Subject: Fw: H: Middle East strategy: idea and sign of the time. Sid

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