



Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy

# The 'Clean Break' Plan: A Conspiracy of Theories?

*Palestine Center*

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## Three Most Reliable Guides to US Middle East Policy

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- “A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm” IASPS 1996
- “Rebuilding America’s Defenses” – Project for a New American Century - September 2000
- “The National Security Strategy of the USA” September 2002



# “Conspiracy Theory” or “Conspiracy of Theories”?

- Conspired: to act in harmony toward a common end “circumstances *conspired* to defeat his efforts”
- Theory: a belief, policy, or procedure proposed or followed as the basis of action “her method is based on the *theory* that all children want to learn”



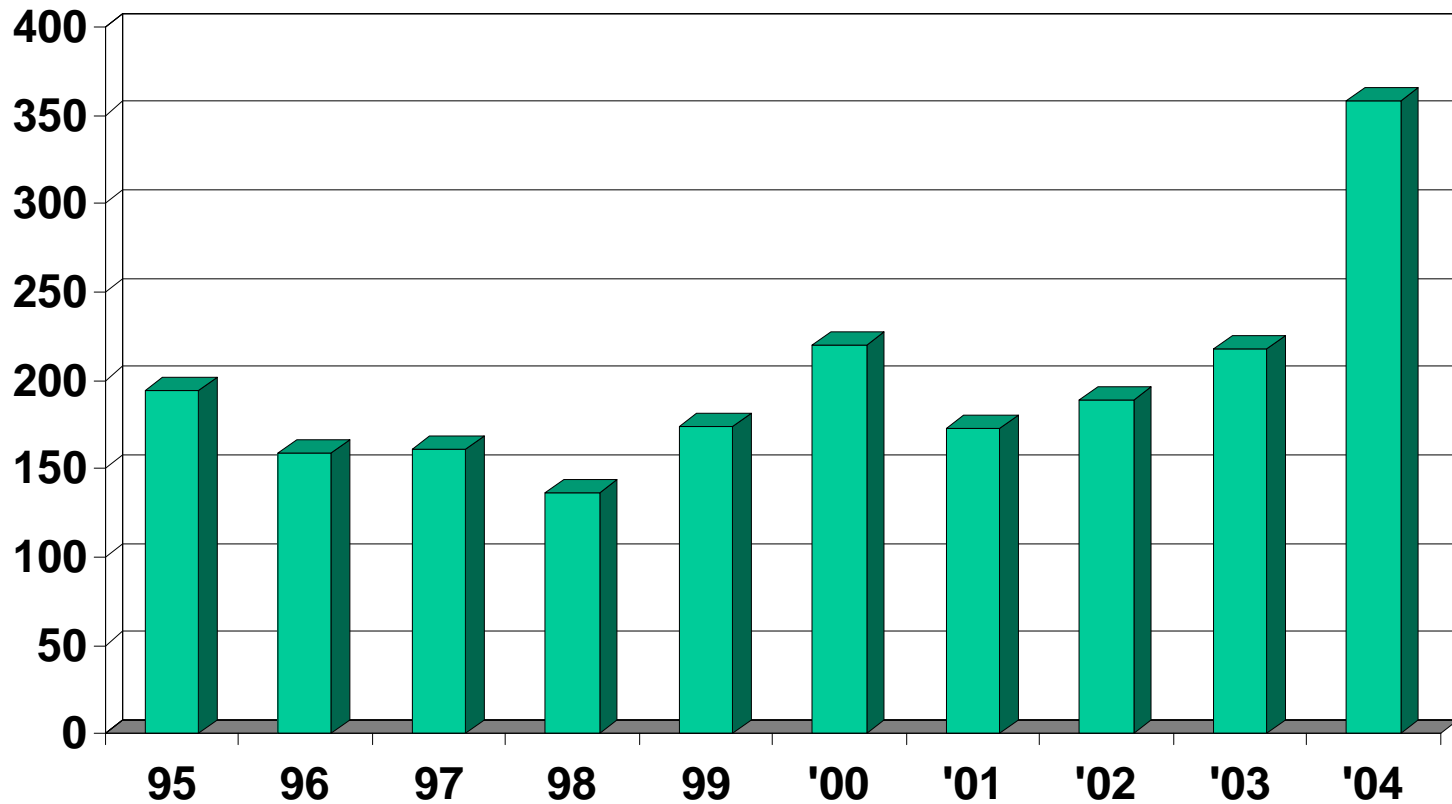
# #1 ACB Objectives: Increase US Congressional Support

- Anticipate US reactions and plan ways to manage and constrain those reactions
- “Electrify and find support” of key U.S. members of Congress
- Cooperation with U.S. on missile defense in exchange for congressional support.
  - Gain more support among members of Congress with little knowledge of Israel
  - Harness support to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv
- Identify Israel with the U.S. and “western values”
- Utilize Cold War rhetoric to make Israel’s case to the American people
- Encourage investment in Jordan through “influence in the US business community”



# Articles about “Judeo Christian Values”

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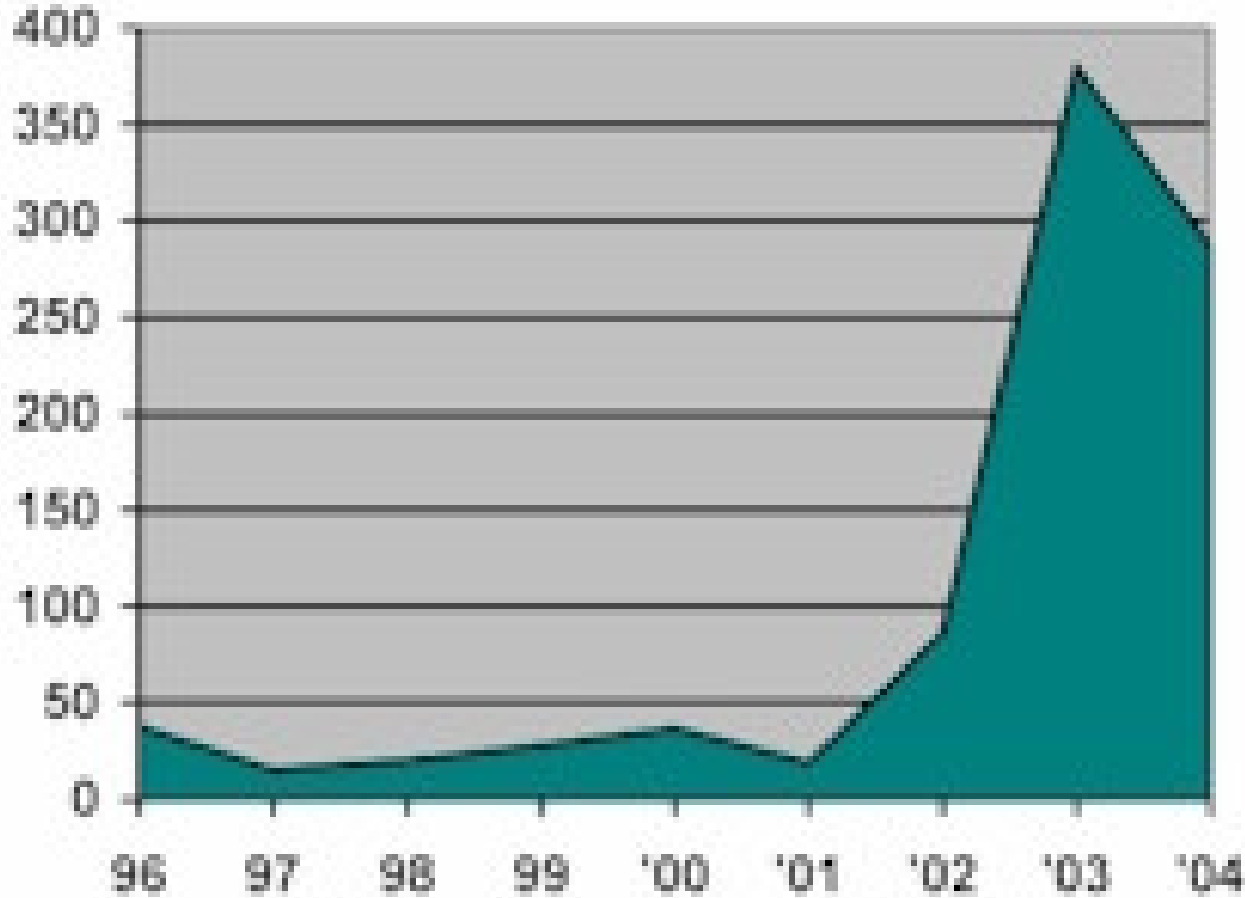


Source: Lexis Nexis



# Articles about “Middle East Transformation”

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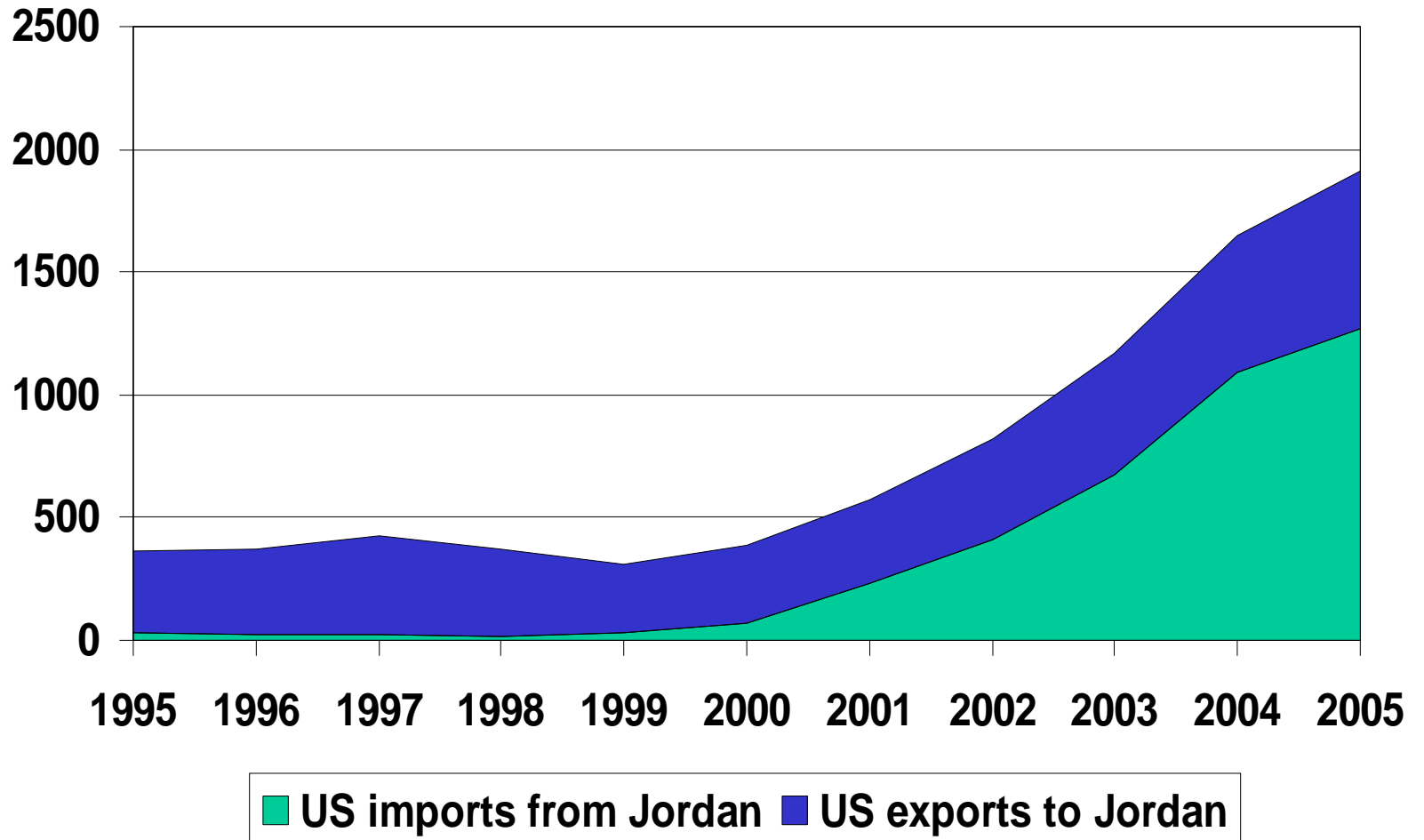
Source: Lexis Nexis



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# US Jordan Bilateral Trade (\$ million)







# Theories embedded in “A Clean Break” Approach to Congress

- Clean Break supporters in the US can intermediate between Congress the military industrial complex, and corporations toward achieving Israeli foreign policy objectives.
  - Manipulation of Congress will be seen as “Lobbying” and “Horse Trading”
  - Where Congress and the Executive Branch go, the American people will follow.
  - Taxpayers will fund Israeli objectives, based not on their merit, but their “packaging”.



## #2 ACB Objectives: “Contain, Destabilize, and Roll Back Regional Challengers”

- Publicly question Syrian legitimacy, assume treaties with Damascus are in bad faith
- Contain Syria, strike select targets
- Reject “land for peace” concept on the Golan Heights
- Topple Saddam Hussein
  - Install a Hashemite monarchy in Iraq
  - Isolate and surround Syria with a friendly regime in Iraq
- Engage Syria, Iran and Iraq in Lebanon
- “Wean” Lebanese Shiites from Iraq toward Jordan
- Support King Hussein with security and protection
- Pre-emption as the preferred national defense strategy



## #2 ACB Objectives: Contain, Destabilize, and Roll Back Regional Challengers (cont.)

- Redraw the map of the Middle East
- Challenge Arab countries as “police states” lacking in legitimacy.
- Fortify regional alliances.
- Work with Turkey and Jordan to insert hostile Arab tribes into Syria
- Emphasize WMD threat of Syria



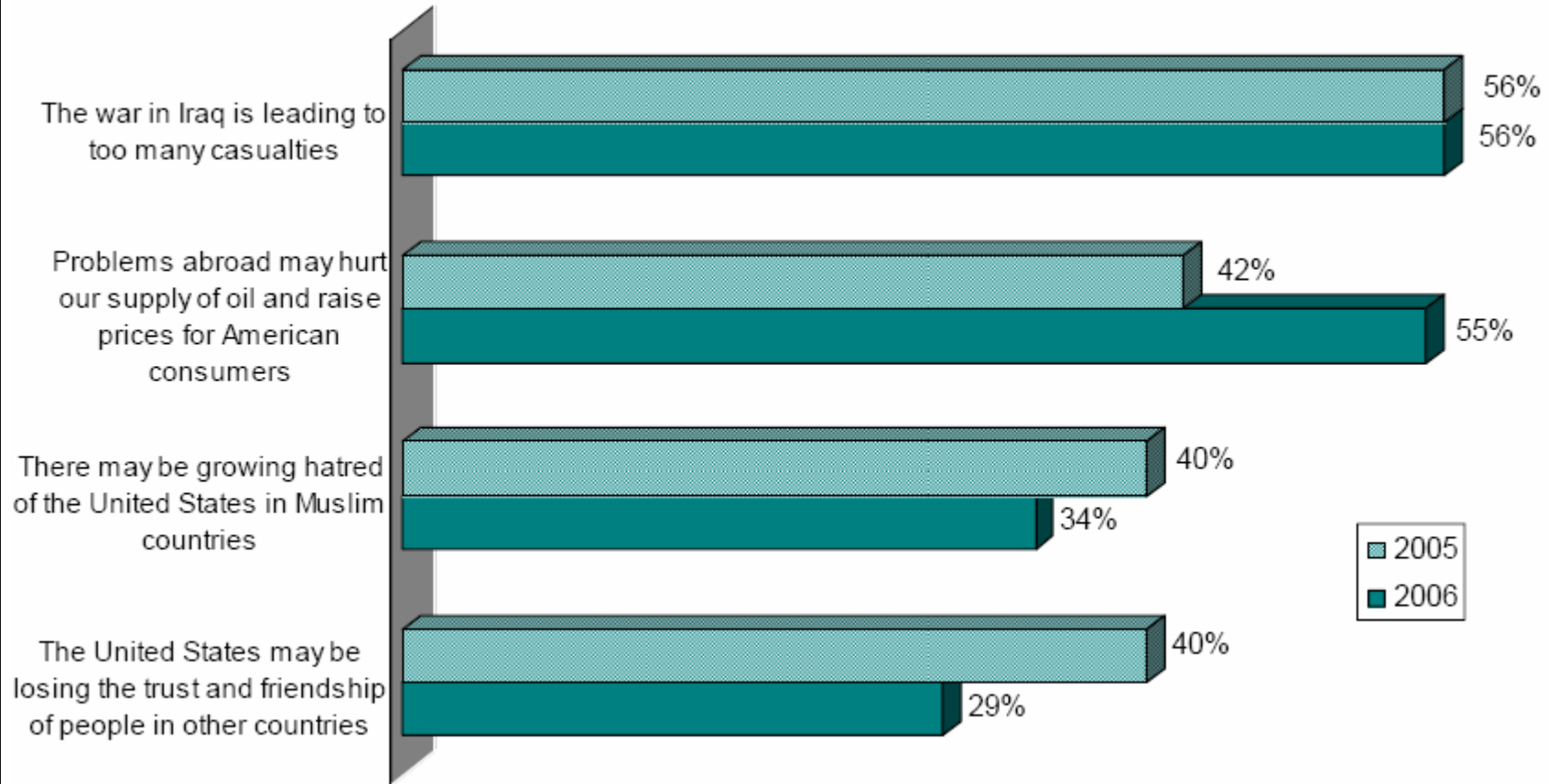
## Theories embedded in “A Clean Break” Destabilization Strategy

- **Theory:** Hard Power of “Strikes“, “Containment” and “isolation”, rather than soft power of incentives, negotiation and diplomacy, are the best and exclusive policy tools for Syria and Iran.
- **Theory:** Skillful public relations and issue framing can dislodge/overcome reality before key stakeholder audiences.
- **Theory:** Emphasizing the threat of WMD can be a powerful motivator of US action.



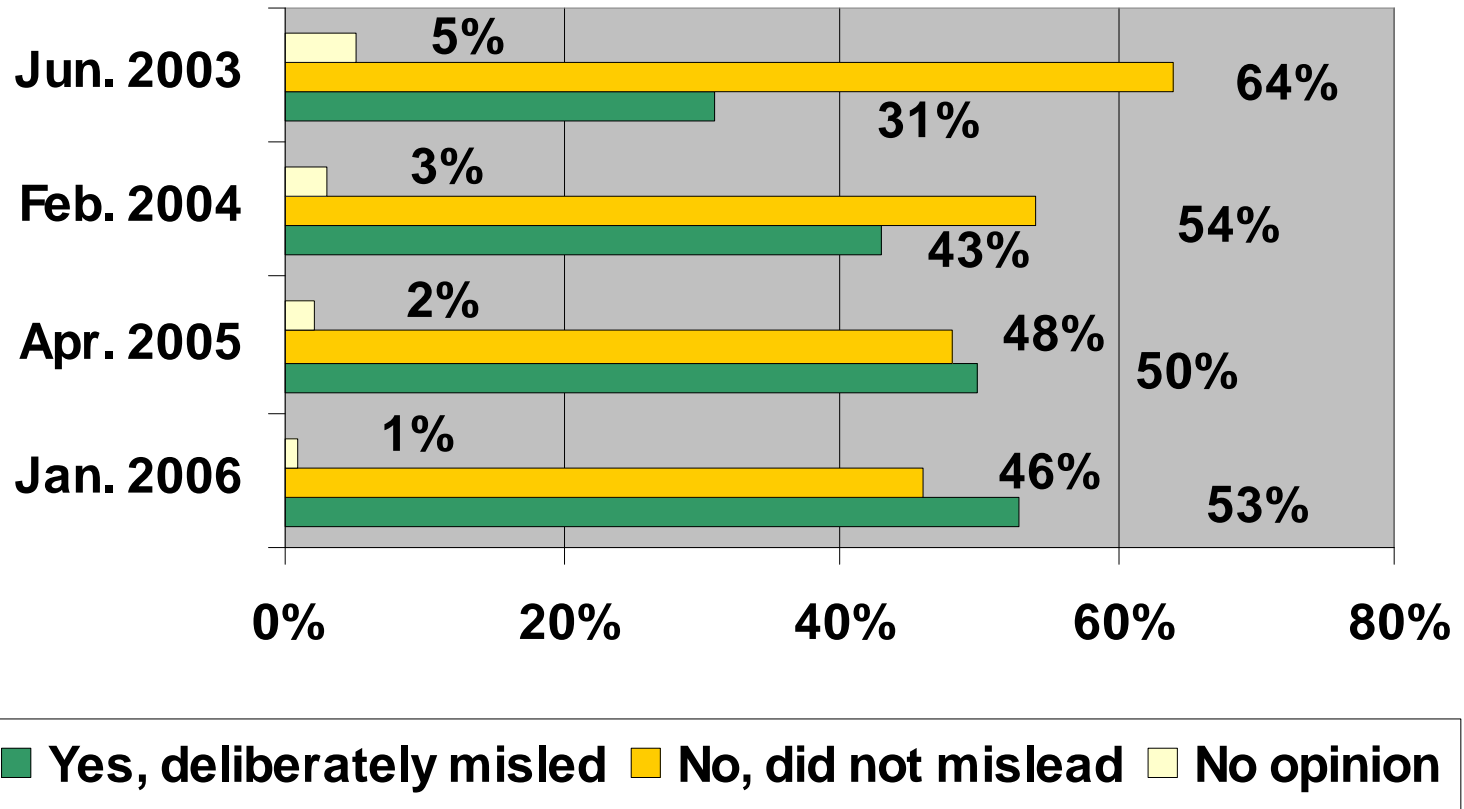
# Confidence in US Foreign Policy

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Source: Public Agenda

Do you think the Bush administration deliberately misled the American public about whether Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, or not?



*Source: Gallup / CNN / USA Today*



# Confidence in US Foreign Policy

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How important to our foreign policy should each of the following be?	Very important %	Somewhat important %	Not very important %	Not at all important %
Helping other countries when they are struck by natural disasters (like the tsunami in Indonesia)	71	24	2	2
Cooperating with other countries on problems like the environment or control of diseases	70	25	2	3
Improving the treatment of women in other countries	57	35	4	3
Helping poor countries move out of poverty	40	48	6	4
Taking into account the views and interests of other countries	40	47	6	4
Helping people in poor countries to get an education	51	37	8	4
Initiating military force only when we have the support of our allies	50	31	8	7
Doing what we think is best for our own interests even if other nations oppose us	44	34	11	7
Minding our own business and getting less involved with global issues	31	38	13	14
Encouraging US business to invest in poor countries	22	49	15	9
Actively creating democracies in other countries	20	46	18	12

Source: Public Agenda



## #3 ACB Objectives: "Peace for Peace" and "Balance of Power" Issue Framework

- Eliminate movements toward a “land for peace” and substitute with a “peace for peace” issue frame
- Stress “balance of power” over “comprehensive peace”
- Nurture alternatives to Arafat
- Seek legitimization of “hot pursuit” of Palestinian militants
- Eliminate “land for peace” concept, use negotiations only as a forum for communicating resolve
- Establish a joint monitoring committee with the U.S. for measuring Palestinian Authority compliance, withhold U.S. aid to Palestinians
- Legitimize land claims
- Discontinue Arab access to US weapons and aid.





## Theories embedded in “A Clean Break” Balance of Power

- **Theory:** The exercise of military power can substitute "comprehensive peace negotiations" and "land for peace" reparations in the region.
- **Theory:** Preemption works. “transcending foes.”



## #4 ACB Objectives: Economic Reform

- Eliminate Social Zionism from the economy.
- Reform the overall economy, cut taxes
- Show maturity and economic self reliance from the United States
- Eliminate need for defense by U.S. military forces
- Remove U.S. aid leverage over Israel
- Re legislate a free trade zone, sell off public lands and enterprises



# #5 ACB Objectives: Zionism

- Rebuild Zionism, rejuvenate the national ideal
- “Shape the regional environment” in favor of Israel,



# Overarching Theory

- **Theory:** International law is non-binding and may be safely ignored.
- **Theory:** US laws prohibiting “freelance diplomacy” and acting as a foreign agent are unenforceable.



# The Logan Act

- **The Logan Act** Any citizen of the United States, wherever he may be, who, without authority of the United States, directly or indirectly commences or carries on any correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government or any officer or agent thereof, with intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign government or of any officer or agent thereof, in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the United States, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both. **US CODE: Title 18,953. Private correspondence with foreign governments**
- **A Clean Break** To anticipate U.S. reactions and plan ways to manage and constrain those reactions, Prime Minister Netanyahu can formulate the policies and stress themes he favors in language familiar to the Americans by tapping into themes of American administrations during the Cold War which apply well to Israel. **“Forging a New US-Israeli Relationship, “A Clean Break”**



# Changing Environment: US vs. Steven Rosen & Keith Weissman

"[T]hat the rarity of prosecution under the statutes does not indicate that the statutes were not to be enforced as written. We think in any event, the rarity of use of the statute as a basis for prosecution is at best a questionable basis for nullifying the clear language of the statute, and we think the revision of 1950 and its reenactment of section 793(d) demonstrate that Congress did not consider such statute meaningless or intend that the statute and its prohibitions were to be abandoned." **Judge T.S. Ellis, opinion 8/9/2006 Case No. 1:05cr225**



# US vs. Steven Rosen & Keith Weissman

- “Defendant’s necessarily speculative contention that FISC must have erred when it found probably cause to believe that the targets are agents of a foreign power is without merit. An agent of a foreign power is defined by the statute, in pertinent part, as any person who:
  - A) knowingly engages in clandestine intelligence gathering activities for or on behalf of a foreign power, which activities involve or may involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the US;
  - B) pursuant to the direct of an intelligence service or network of a foreign power, knowingly engages in any other clandestine intelligence activities for on behalf of such power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of criminal statutes of the United States
  - Or
  - E) knowingly aids or abets any person in the conduct of activities described in (the subparagraphs above) or knowingly conspires with any person to engage in activities described in (the subparagraphs above) **Judge T.S. Ellis, opinion 8/14/2006 Case No. 1:05cr225**



## Electronic Surveillance of Foreign Agents is appropriate if :

- “Foreign intelligence services are hiding behind the cover of some person or organization in order to influence American Political events and deceive Americans into believing that the opinions or influence are of domestic origin and initiative and such deception is willfully maintained in violation of the **Foreign Agents Registration Act.**” **Judge T.S. Ellis, opinion 8/14/2006 Case No. 1:05cr225**



The logo for Rmep (Research for Middle Eastern Policy) features a stylized 'R' with a grid pattern on its left side, followed by the letters 'mep' in a lowercase, sans-serif font.

# Rmep Conclusions

- Believing that the ‘Clean Break’ Plan influences US policy is not a “conspiracy theory”, rather, it is belief in a conspiracy of theories.
- Most of the theories underpinning ‘A Clean Break’ have no empirical basis and many are now unraveling at great cost to US taxpayers and citizens.
- Most ‘Clean Break’ objectives rely upon military force rather than “soft power”.
- ‘Clean Break’ strategy implementation can undermine rule of law and reputation of the United States.

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