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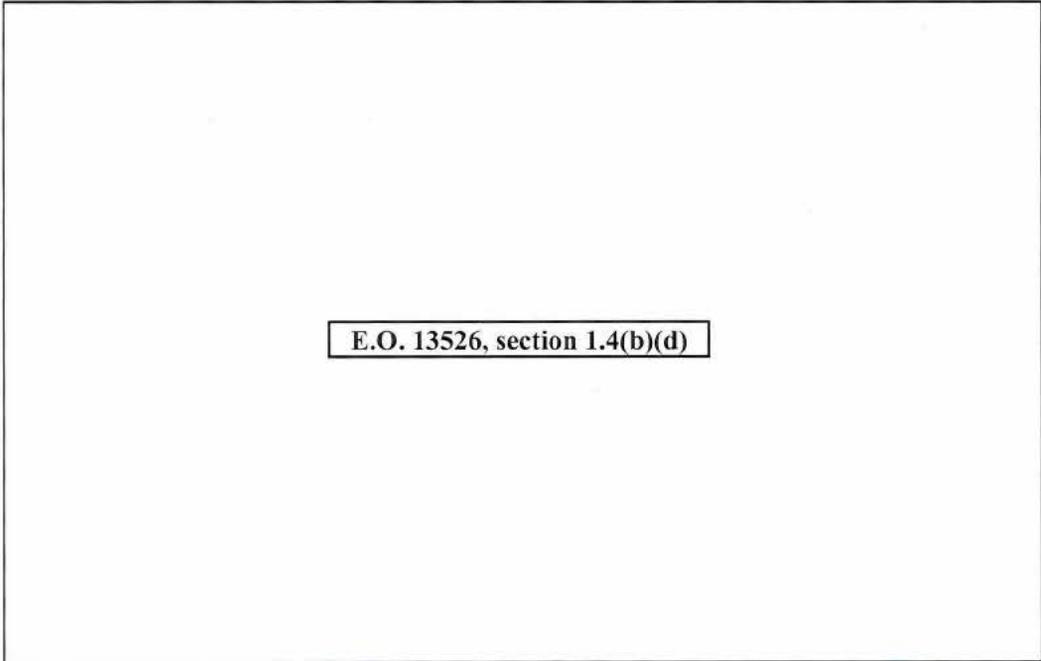
October 6, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: Vice President Richard B. Cheney
Honorable Colin Powell
Honorable Condoleezza Rice

Subject: My Visits to Saudi Arabia, Oman, Egypt, Uzbekistan and
Turkey

Saudi Arabia (October 3)



E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The Saudis realize that the September 11 attack has harmed the Moslem world, and the Arabs generally, in the eyes of many around the world. The Crown Prince and Defense Minister made much of your Mosque visit in Washington and your other acts and statements clarifying that the


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war on terrorism is not directed against Islam or any people or country. The importance of this cannot be overstated.

In discussing terrorism, the Saudis urged diligence and precision in the USG's investigation of the September 11 attacks. I made clear that we do not view the problem as simply a law enforcement matter. You are determined, I said, to make a broad-based effort against terrorists and their state supporters and to sustain this effort over years, drawing on all the instruments of US national power, including the support of our friends abroad. The terrorist threat is especially grave in light of the danger of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of states that sponsor terrorism.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

Prince Sultan expressed delight with my visit, especially the press appearances we made together, at which, as noted, I explained that I was not in the Kingdom to make specific requests of the Saudis.

Oman (October 4)

Sultan Qaboos received us in an open tent in the middle of a very hot and humid desert. He vowed continued support for US efforts against terrorism, stressing that Oman is pleased to assist discretely, but wholeheartedly. Oman has been easy to work with compared with most other Gulf states. He referred in passing to those in the region who are friends when they need assistance, but not when the US requests assistance ("hypocrites," he called them).

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Qaboos – thoughtful, British educated, soft-spoken – focused on the need to transform the moral climate as to terrorism. He urged me to “hint” to the Egyptians that their leading clerics should be more vocal about Islamic prohibitions against killing innocent people, because that could change the way young Moslems think about the morality of terrorist acts.

Noting that terrorists “live in shadow and plan in darkness,” he asked how we can “prevent these people from having facilities and funds to do their evil work.” He said the US effort against them will take time, but if it is *sustained* – he stressed the key word – perhaps we’ll see a great decline in these activities.

This tragedy, Qaboos observed, can be an important opportunity. Perhaps God has arranged that it happened, in this way, at this time, to prevent even worse things from happening in the future. Perhaps because of this tragic warning, we will have an opportunity to prevent weapons of mass destruction from being used by terrorists.

He said that Islamic terrorists aim to overthrow governments such as his to create an Islamic Khalifate – religious rule by a single “Deputy of Allah” over the whole Moslem world. Oman rejects this, he said, as a country proud of its long independence.

Qaboos took pains to note that Oman was never part of the Ottoman Empire. Oman kept its independence for a few hundred years by linking itself to the leading Western power (Britain then, the US now) to protect itself against the Saudis, Persians, and other strong neighbors. The last point was, I think, his implied message when he spoke of doing all he can to help the US in the war against terrorism.

Qaboos repeatedly returned to the problems caused by Arab media reports, in particular from the al-Jazira television station, that promote the terrorists’ point of view. He urged the US to highlight the humanitarian aid aspects of our campaign and to refrain from action during Ramadan.

He summarized his views succinctly: “We trust you. We’re allies. I have nothing else to add.”

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Egypt (October 4)

In my lively talks with President Mubarak, before and during dinner, he had his agenda and I had mine. Mine included conveying the Omani Sultan's suggestion about Egyptian religious leaders speaking out against terrorism. For his part, Mubarak made repeated and forceful calls for U.S. pressure on Israel's PM Sharon to "solve" the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Mubarak asserted that 60 to 70 percent of the terrorism problem would go away if that conflict were solved. I suggested through my questions that I was skeptical of that and that I see the terrorists as aiming beyond Israel to overthrow moderate regimes throughout the Arab and Moslem world. He agreed with that view, but thought that greater success on the peace process would reduce support for the terrorists.

Mubarak offered much advice on the war on terrorism: The U.S. should use intelligence operations as an alternative to "too much bombing." "Don't be in a hurry, take it easy." Bombing of caves by the U.S. in Afghanistan will be ineffective, like Egypt's bombing of caves in Yemen in the 1960s. "Put your money into buying allies on the ground in Afghanistan."

I told Mubarak: "We will do something in Afghanistan," but our action will be measured. I said President Bush is determined and purposeful about this effort and is declaring by word and deed that our enemy is not Islam or the Afghan people, but terrorism and its state supporters. I highlighted that states supporting terrorism are also pursuing weapons of mass destruction. He agreed, saying that the effort against terrorism "is necessary to save the planet."

Immediately after the September 11 attacks, Mubarak had made several unhelpful comments and suggestions. For example, he said Egypt's cooperation would hinge on proof of the US case against bin Laden. Mubarak also proposed an international conference as a way to head off US action against the terrorists. But in my discussion with him, no mention was made by him (or me) of his earlier comments.

Mubarak is an ebullient man and seemed pleased with our meeting and dinner talk. Though his agenda (the Israel-Palestinian issue) and my agenda (fighting terrorism) diverged somewhat, the exchanges were friendly and should foster a higher degree of cooperation than would we get in the absence of such face-to-face consultations.

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Uzbekistan (October 5)

Though Uzbek President Karimov began, Soviet-style, with a half-hour speech, delivered from notes, which was not charming, he eventually loosened up and engaged well. He was so upbeat and complimentary in our post-meeting joint press conference that the US press corps was asking me what's up with Karimov.

Karimov opened by listing what he *has* agreed to allow US forces to do and what he *has not* agreed to. The latter category includes land operations and air strikes from Uzbek territory, all of which he said were "not quite ripe, not quite ready."

He clearly had Russia on his mind. He said that Moscow is pressuring all the Central Asian states to work through Russia if they are going to help the US in the war on terrorism. Russia seeks thereby (1) to stymie Uzbekistan's independence and (2) to win US concessions in return for the Central Asia states' cooperation. Russia seeks dividends regarding Chechnya and the ABM Treaty, he said. He said we should deal directly with Uzbekistan and not through Russia. I pointed out that I had come to Uzbekistan, not Moscow.

He warned that Russia's offer to share intelligence is a "no-lose game" for Russia. In a private side comment to me, Karimov said the intelligence from Russia will be worth little, or worse. The Uzbek MOD, also in a side comment on the ride to the airport, cautioned that the US should take care of the information it gets from Russia, for Russia had relationships with the major terrorist networks and still does.

Karimov stated that toppling the Taliban would require only isolating them from Pakistan. He said that Pakistan's intelligence service is still helping the Taliban.

Echoing Mubarak's advice, Karimov said: "You can buy and sell anything in Afghanistan." Humanitarian aid will do a lot of good and will produce results more effectively than weaponry will. "You can buy any war lord and neutralize him. You don't need to persuade him to join the Northern Alliance, just neutralize him." He pressed his point: "In Afghanistan, only Afghans should fight."

When I got to reply, I noted that Uzbekistan registered in my mind as important well before September 11, which is why I arranged a one-on-one

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meeting with the Uzbek Defense Minister in Brussels last spring. I said that US policy is to deal directly with Uzbekistan, not through Moscow or any other party. As we value our own sovereignty and independence, so we value Uzbekistan's. Our hope and intention is for a long-term relationship with Uzbekistan and we seek no quid pro quo with any other countries.

As for cooperation in the war effort, I said that we are content to continue to work on the written agreement now under negotiation. "We've indicated what would be helpful to us but what you do is clearly your choice. If greater cooperation ripens (to use your word), it could be helpful to us. If not, we'll go about our task as best we can."

Karimov brightened and said he is "very satisfied" with our measured approach. "I'm happy to deal with you directly."

He concluded the meeting with an interesting point about how modern Moslem countries like Uzbekistan "must save traditional Islam from radical elements."

At the press conference, he restated before the cameras most of the points about cooperating with the US - what he has agreed to and what he has not *yet* agreed to - in more or less the same language that he used in our private meeting. The US reporters picked up on his "not yet" formulation regarding agreement on the possible use of Uzbek territory for US Special Operations Forces action into Afghanistan. When they asked him about this, he said that more discussion is required about the developing relationship with the US. I am told his candor before the journalists was unusual and that the local press was surprised he took questions from them.

Turkey (October 5)

At my meeting with the Turkish Prime Minister, Bulent Ecevit, the Foreign and Defense Ministers and the Chief of the General Staff, the Turks made the following two major points:

First, the Taliban regime is a menace to Islam, Turkey and the world. "Even if bin Laden disappears, we shouldn't let this cruel regime in Afghanistan continue," though land operations in the rough terrain there are difficult. The Northern Alliance groups should be made to cooperate with the US, Turkey and each other. These groups need arms and supplies and

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they can then deal with the Taliban themselves. Turkey can provide military training in northern Afghanistan. Turkey will cooperate with the US "with all of our facilities."

Second, the Turks expressed concern and indeed fear that Russia's role in the coalition with the US will undermine their interests. They see Russia as trading its cooperation for US permission, as it were, to keep troops on Russia's southern flank in violation of the existing conventional forces treaty, to isolate Turkey from the Central Asian states, to undo the Caspian Sea-Turkey oil pipeline, to win a free hand in Chechnya and to launch military operations in Georgia.

The Turks received well my assurances that we shared their interests and would be attentive to their concerns. They were eager to help us, clear-sighted and tough-minded as always. They are superb allies. Would that all our NATO friends worked with us as Turkey does.

Under Secretary of Defense Doug Feith, who accompanied me throughout, split off after the Turkey meeting and is on his way to visit officials in Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates.



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