

AIPAC

Policy Conference 2006 Two Visions: The Future of
American Foreign Policy

Newt Gingrich, Former Speaker of the
House of Representatives

Monday, March 6, 2006

Tape 2272

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w w w . u b i q u i s . c o m

Newt Gingrich, Monday, March 6, 2006

Line#	Timecode	Quote
1		MR. NEWT GINGRICH: Thank you, Ann,
2		and I thank everyone here at this
3	14:14:31	gathering, which is really, standing
4		up here, a very, very impressive
5		gathering of people who share a
6		common commitment and a common
7		concern. I want to try to put in
8		context where we're at right now
9		because you're going to hear a lot of
10		words and you hear a lot of people
11		who say generally the same thing, but
12		I'm not sure that they're going to
13	14:14:58	have the intensity and penetration
14		the reality requires. I was
15		thinking—I know so many of you and
16		we've worked together over the years
17		on so many issues, and I see friends
18		from Atlanta and friends from Tampa,
19		just a wide range of people here.
20		And many of you, the older generation
21		here, have been sort of climbing back
22		up the mountain year after year and
23	14:15:30	the younger generation's kind of
24		watching thinking oh my God, is that
25		my future. And my answer is yes.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
26		That the price of survival, the price
27		of our dreams, is permanent, unending
28	14:15:49	vigilance, a permanent willingness to
29		face the facts, and a permanent
30		willingness to make the tough
31		decisions. I was thinking that one
32		way to frame this is to take you back
33		a hundred years to 1906 when the
34		dream of a free Israel was the dream
35		of a very small number of people and
36		seemed almost unimaginably beyond
37		reaching at a time when what we now
38	14:16:25	call Israel was part of the Ottoman
39		Empire. But equally hard to imagine
40		in 1906 was the notion that possibly
41		the most advanced and most integrated
42		country in Europe in terms of people
43		who are Jews would become a
44		nightmare, that imperial Germany
45		would disappear, that the Weimar
46		Republic would be replaced, and that
47		the nightmare of the Holocaust would
48	14:16:55	occur. So in a sense, if you could
49		be transported back in a time machine
50		to have coffee or tea with people who

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
51		cared about the dream of Israel, how
52		could you have explained to them the
53	14:17:11	long journey of the last hundred
54		years? And I believe we are today at
55		as decisive a turning point as we
56		were in 1935 when the democracies
57		failed to be honest about the nature
58		of Hitler and failed to have courage.
59		And I want to set a standard here
60		today. There's a standard not just
61		for your government, but also for
62		you. And I want to start with 1935.
63	14:17:57	If you haven't read it, it is worth
64		your while to read the opening of
65		Volume I of Churchill's memoirs of
66		the Second World War. Churchill says
67		he was asked by Franklin Delano
68		Roosevelt, the American president,
69		what should we call this war? And
70		Churchill replied the Unnecessary
71		War.
72		[END TAPE 1 SIDE A]
73		[START TAPE 1 SIDE B]
74	14:18:25	He went on to write an entire section
75		of the book called the Years the

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
76		Locusts Have Eaten, and he said if
77		the democracies had had any courage,
78	14:18:36	any intellectual honesty, any
79		willingness to act in 1935, they
80		could have replaced Hitler's regime
81		at remarkably low cost and because
82		they lacked that courage, they lacked
83		that intellectual honesty over a
84		hundred million people died in the
85		Second World War and the Holocaust
86		inflicted enormous wounds upon Jews,
87		Poles, Gypsies, Russians, and had
88		Hitler
89	14:19:05	won, I suspect it would have been
90		unending the number of people who
91		would've died. And I think we are
92		exactly in a 1935 setting. Not just
93		with Iran. Iran's too easy. Solving
94		it may be hard, but analyzing it's
95		not hard. When the current leader of
96		the dictatorship gets up and says in
97		public this is not a CIA weapons of
98		mass destruction analytical problem.
99	14:19:31	When he says in public I want to
100		defeat the Anglo-Saxons and eliminate

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
101		Israel from the face of the earth.
102		Were I a tenured faculty member at a
103		senior enough university, I could
104	14:19:49	explain to you that this was symbolic
105		communication involving the fact that
106		he was probably abused as a child and
107		has never come to grips with reality.
108		But as a historian whose father
109		served 27 years in the U.S. Army, I
110		believe when he says I want to defeat
111		the Anglo-Saxons and eliminate Israel
112		from the face of the earth he has
113		communicated precisely what he
114	14:20:20	intends. Just as when leaders of Al
115		Qaeda argue about whether they need
116		to kill four million Americans or ten
117		million Americans, I believe they're
118		having a candid argument. Now very
119		few people in this capital or any
120		other capital want to take these
121		phrases literally. Because if you
122		take them literally, you understand
123		where we are. We are at war. Not a
124	14:20:47	war that we have to declare, not a
125		war that we have to debate. We are

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
126		at war. Iranians have been killing
127		Americans since the early 1980s.
128		They captured Americans as hostages
129	14:20:58	against all international law in
130		1979. Iranians have been
131		consistently the largest funders of
132		terrorism on the planet. This is not
133		complicated. We just don't want to
134		pay attention to it 'cause it's
135		frightening. Our leaders talk
136		occasionally about the wolves that
137		are at the door but don't necessarily
138		act as though they believe the wolves
139	14:21:22	are real. If I had a phrase for this
140		week's meeting, it would have been
141		AIPAC now more than ever. And let me
142		tell you why. We are on defense all
143		around the world because we don't
144		have the nerve to go on offense. I
145		don't just need your help
146		politically. I need your help
147		intellectually. I don't just need
148		for you to lobby congress or talk to
149	14:22:02	the administration or interview
150		potential presidential candidates. I

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
151		need for you to decide that you are
152		going to be engaged every day. And
153		the test is simple. It's one I was
154	14:22:15	taught by Edward Teller, the father
155		of the American hydrogen bomb, who
156		said to me one afternoon, "How hard
157		would you work for your family to
158		survive after a nuclear war?" And I
159		said, "I'd do anything." And he
160		said, "Wouldn't it be better to do it
161		before there's a nuclear war?" And I
162		never forgot that. So I want to
163		paint briefly a terrifying word
164	14:22:47	picture, but I want you to lock it in
165		your heart more than your head
166		because I want this to motivate you
167		every day the rest of your life.
168		Imagine that tomorrow morning we lose
169		Tel Aviv and Jerusalem in a nuclear
170		strike and we have had in a matter of
171		seconds the equivalent of a second
172		Holocaust. If that happened, and you
173		were here in the most powerful nation
174	14:23:17	in the history of the world and you
175		woke up to that nightmare, what is it

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
176		you would have wished we did today?
177		Because today you can still do it. I
178		can't say this any more directly.
179	14:23:34	Now let me give you a shopping list
180		to show that I didn't come
181		unprepared. How can you tolerate and
182		harbor faculty that is overtly anti-
183		Semitic in its desire to eliminate-
184		why weren't those people fired and
185		Larry Summers kept? This is not
186		about academic freedom. This is
187		about a deliberate act of assault on
188		the integrity and legitimacy of the
189	14:24:21	state of Israel by a faculty who can
190		find any possible excuse for Castro,
191		any possible excuse for the Chinese
192		communist, and any possible excuse to
193		accept money from Arabian
194		dictatorships and monarchies, but are
195		very worried about Israel. How can
196		you tolerate and not take head on an
197		Anglican church which is seeking to
198		appease Muslim fanatics while cutting
199	14:24:56	off investments in Israel? How can
200		we not make it an issue of shame that

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
201		in France this last year a 23-year-
202		old Jewish man was seized, tortured,
203		and murdered and somehow the French
204	14:25:26	government can't quite understand
205		this is a deliberate, vicious, hate
206		crime that they do not want to talk
207		about or deal with overtly? And in
208		the French case, it happened two
209		years after an earlier killing of a
210		23-year-old who was killed by a man
211		who ran down the hall saying I have
212		killed my Jew, I am going to heaven.
213		Now how can this be tolerated? How
214	14:26:03	can we pretend this is any way
215		acceptable? We have enemies who are
216		on offensive worldwide. Look at the
217		Danish cartoon issue. The Danish
218		cartoon issue didn't exist for nine
219		months after they were published.
220		And for nine months in an example of
221		the utter incompetence of the
222		American government whose
223		intelligence agencies weren't aware
224	14:26:23	of it, diplomats didn't notice it. A
225		deliberate offensive--this was the

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
226		equivalent of a military offensive in
227		political terms. Yesterday 50,000
228		people in Karachi were demonstrating
229	14:26:37	because of the Danish cartoons. Now
230		do you know how implausible it is to
231		think that the average Pakistani woke
232		up and said I've always been
233		irritated with Copenhagen? Somebody
234		pointed out that at one of the
235		earliest demonstrations they had
236		Danish flags and pointed out how do
237		you get Danish flags in Karachi? I
238		mean try sometime in your hometown.
239	14:27:01	Call around and say, "How many Danish
240		flags can we buy?" I'm not being
241		anti-Danish. I'm not trying to make
242		fun of an interesting country, but I
243		mean give me a break. How many, you
244		know, groups of Muslims do you think
245		they have different flags for
246		different European Union countries
247		they can decide who to trash this
248		week? I don't think so. This was a
249	14:27:21	systematic equivalent of a military
250		offensive carried out on a worldwide

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
251		basis. Our intelligence community-
252		whose reforms by the way so far have
253		been abysmally incompetent-our
254	14:27:32	intelligence community isn't getting
255		the job done. The State Department
256		didn't notice it was coming and we
257		have no information operation capable
258		of matching it. Well we might have
259		pointed out that having cartoons in
260		the country is one thing. You can't
261		be a practicing Christian or Jew in
262		Saudi Arabia. Now why isn't that
263		offending us? You can't be a woman
264	14:27:52	in Saudi Arabia who has a job and
265		drives publicly. Why isn't that
266		offending us? All of the sudden
267		we've gotten into a planet with this
268		one-sided sense of grievance. If you
269		are a Muslim fanatic, you are
270		legitimately aggrieved that something
271		that happened since the seventh
272		century and you would like to
273		complain about it because you'd
274	14:28:12	really like to live in the seventh or
275		eighth century and that's what's

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
276		happening. I mean every woman, every
277		woman in this room—and I keep telling
278		newswomen this when reporters
279	14:28:24	interview me about various things in
280		the Middle East—I keep saying to
281		women who are reporters you had
282		better hope we win. And they go,
283		“What do you mean?” And I go, “Well,
284		do you like your job? Do you like
285		appearing in public? Do you like
286		being allowed to—I mean, which list
287		would you like?” And so I would say
288		we need your help. We need your help
289	14:28:44	to communicate how stunningly
290		oppressive the Iranian regime is.
291		This is a regime which executes gays
292		and has done so in the last two
293		years. This is a regime which
294		executed a mentally retarded 16-year-
295		old for holding hands with a man in
296		public. And made no bones about it.
297		It was a public trial, and she was
298		killed. Slowly. And so we need to
299	14:29:15	have the moral courage to tell the
300		truth about who our opponents are.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
301		This isn't some fight between two
302		morally equal groups. This is a
303		fight between on the one hand people
304	14:29:24	who believe in the right of freedom,
305		the rule of law. The decency
306		inherent in every single human being.
307		The right of all to worship in a
308		group which would repress and violate
309		every one of those on behalf of
310		establishing a fascist religious
311		dictatorship. And if you doubt how
312		far this will go, forget the killing
313		of the Dutch television producer Van
314	14:29:55	Gogh, forget the Danish cartoons.
315		There's a fascinating page one story
316		in the <u>Wall Street Journal</u> today
317		about an effort to suppress Valtere
318		[phonetic] in France because he wrote
319		a play which was anti Mohammed
320		[phonetic]. And so there are now
321		active groups in France threatening
322		people who read his play in public.
323		And you need to understand how real
324	14:30:20	and how permanent and how everyday
325		this is going to be until we win and

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
326		this is going to be a long war. This
327		war may well last 70 to a hundred
328		years. And we just need to
329	14:30:30	understand that. We need to relax
330		and settle into it, and we need to
331		decide to win. And let me be very
332		clear; when I say we need to win, if
333		the other side is determined to be
334		martyrs, we should offer them the
335		maximum opportunities to achieve that
336		at minimum cost to us. This is not
337		about psychotherapy and better
338		communications. People like Zarkowi
339	14:31:12	are the pathological equivalent of
340		serial murderers, and when somebody
341		cuts somebody's head off on
342		television, they have told you they
343		are outside the law by any reasonable
344		human standards in recorded history.
345		Let me close with three clear
346		specific examples I hope you will
347		help communicate. One, on Hamas,
348		Hamas is currently a terrorist
349	14:31:42	organization. Should Hamas decide
350		that governing is worth giving up

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
351		eliminating the state of Israel and
352		should Hamas announce that they are
353		no longer at war with Israel, and
354	14:31:53	they are not going to engage in
355		terrorism, we'd be in a different
356		world. My personal judgment is that
357		world's not going to exist. So long
358		as Hamas is determined to be a
359		terrorist organization, we have an
360		obligation not just to cut off the
361		Palestinian governing authority,
362		which will turn out to be totally
363		ineffective because the fact is the
364	14:32:14	Europeans will cave, Arab states and
365		Iranian money will all come in. What
366		we need to do is decide and to shame
367		the Europeans not joining us that we
368		will build an alternative structure
369		of distributing resources inside the
370		Palestinian territories on terms that
371		the only people who get the money
372		agree that they have given up
373		terrorism and that we are prepared to
374	14:32:34	build a network capable of defeating
375		Hamas because in the long run you

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
376		will never, ever have peace until we
377		have defeated the agents of terror
378		inside the Palestinian community. On
379	14:32:54	Iran, our position should be very
380		simple. By a date certain we should
381		either have clear, absolute,
382		transparent inspections anywhere at
383		any time, which I believe is
384		impossible to achieve. But that
385		should be our goal and we should say
386		that to the Europeans and the
387		Russians and the Chinese. We should
388		say look, we don't like the
389	14:33:14	dictatorship, we prefer to replace
390		the dictatorship, but we can be
391		reasonable. If you can deliver
392		unequivocal, totally transparent
393		inspections everywhere in Iran
394		without notice, we'll try to survive
395		with that. Anything short of that,
396		our goal is simple. It's not some
397		complicated oh let's do sanctions.
398		We've done sanctions on Fidel Castro
399	14:33:36	since 1963. I mean the idea that
400		sanctions are going to have any

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
401		impact is, I think, a total
402		misunderstanding of history.
403		Dictatorships can last a long time
404	14:33:46	under sanctions, and in fact, they
405		get stronger because they're the one
406		agency that has money. So sanctions
407		are a dead end. We are in the
408		business, and we need to understand
409		we're in the business of replacing
410		the current dictatorship because it
411		is an anti-human, aggressive, and
412		overtly obviously anti-American
413		institution. They've already said
414	14:34:10	publicly they want to defeat us.
415		They've already killed Americans.
416		They are trying to get nuclear
417		weapons, and if you think they can't
418		figure out how to put them on a boat,
419		they've already fired a scud missile
420		in waters off of Iranian--off of Iran
421		in the Caspian Sea. Once they have
422		nuclear weapons, you think they
423		can't--they won't try to smuggle them
424	14:34:32	in? You think our borders are so
425		secure they couldn't rent a truck? I

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
426		mean, you may want to trust the
427		current system to block them, but I
428		don't. I think the only safe
429	14:34:44	strategy for the United States is to
430		say if this regime is not willing to
431		be overtly inspected on a continuing
432		basis, it cannot survive and then to
433		take whatever steps are necessary—and
434		let me just say one last thing about
435		the Iranian problem. It is totally
436		wrong for any American to suggest
437		that somehow there's an Israeli
438		solution to the Iranians. It's wrong
439	14:35:33	as a practical matter because this is
440		not one reactor in Iraq. It's wrong
441		as a practical matter because Iran is
442		much further away, has dug in a
443		variety of systems. It's wrong as a
444		practical matter because after Israel
445		destroyed the reactor at Osirak
446		within a decade Saddam was closer to
447		nuclear weapons by at least six years
448		than anybody in the western
449	14:35:56	intelligence agencies believe.
450		That's what they discovered in 1991.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
451		But it's wrong for a more profound
452		reason. God has been very good to
453		the United States of America. We are
454	14:36:08	the wealthiest, most open and free a
455		society in the history of the human
456		race. We have the greatest level of
457		relative power of any country in
458		history. It would be stunningly
459		immoral for us to say yes, this is a
460		real threat. Yes this is a threat
461		which could end civilization as we
462		know it. Yes this is a threat which
463		could cost us several American
464	14:36:32	cities, but gee, we hope a much
465		smaller country will go ahead and do
466		our job. If Iran is as dangerous as
467		we say it is, the duty of changing
468		that and creating an Iranian
469		government capable of being a good
470		neighbor is in the end borne by the
471		United States, not by Israel. Now
472		let us close with this one thought
473		which may be discordant for some of
474	14:37:04	you. It is vital as a part of this
475		entire strategy, a strategy of

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
476		defeating and replacing Hamas, a
477		strategy of defeating and replacing
478		Ahmadinejad, a strategy of being on
479	14:37:22	offense intellectually, culturally,
480		and politically around the world; it
481		is vital that we stand firm and win
482		in Iraq. It is inconceivable to me
483		that an America which showed
484		weakness, timidity, and cowardice in
485		Iraq would somehow impress either the
486		Iranians or Hamas, and I'm not
487		arguing about how we got there, I'm
488		not arguing that we've always done it
489	14:38:18	brilliantly. George Washington lost
490		most of his battles until we became a
491		country. Abraham Lincoln endured two
492		and a half years of defeat in order
493		to preserve the Union. The first
494		year of the Second World War was a
495		total mess. There are times and
496		places when we really do have to be
497		the land of the free and the home of
498		the brave. It's not just a song.
499	14:38:45	And so I want to close by returning
500		to where I started. I really do

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
501		believe that all the different
502		challenges I've outlined that we need
503		AIPAC now more than ever, that we
504	14:39:00	need your voice, your work, your
505		commitment. We need it in the
506		intellectual fight. We need it in
507		the political fight. We need it in
508		defining the terms of the debate and
509		what you're doing here and the
510		commitment you're making here is
511		central to the long-term survival not
512		just of Israel, but to the long-term
513		survival of freedom in the United
514	14:39:25	States. And I thank you for your
515		commitment. Thank you, good luck,
516		and God bless you.