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NOMINATION OF COLIN L. POWELL TO BE SECRETARY OF STATE

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JANUARY 17, 2001

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/senate

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
71–536 DTP WASHINGTON : 2001

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NOMINATION OF COLIN L. POWELL TO BE SECRETARY OF STATE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 2001

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met at 10:34 a.m., in room SH–216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Biden, Dodd, Kerry, Feingold, Boxer, Torricelli, Bill Nelson, Helms, Hagel, Smith, Thomas, Frist, Chafee, Allen, and Brownback.

Senator BIDEN. The committee will come to order.

General, you are going to witness a little bit of a charade here today. I am technically the chairman of this committee for another 2 days or whatever, but I have no illusions who the real chairman is.

Both our colleagues from the State of Virginia, particularly Senator Warner, has, as we all do many times, to be at another committee but wanted the privilege of introducing you. So, with the permission of the real chairman, Senator Helms, who I will turn the gavel over to after the opening statements, I am going to suggest we proceed as follows. Senator Warner will introduce you and then Senator Allen will do the same. Senator Warner will have to leave. Senator Warner is welcome to stay. Then Senator Helms and I will make our opening statements and then we will turn to you, General, for your opening statement and then we will get to questioning. At that time, each of us will have an opportunity to ask questions in 10-minute rounds until everyone gets a chance to have one round of questioning. The real chairman will, when he finishes his opening statement, lay out how we plan to proceed in terms of the timing today so everyone has an idea of how they can plan their day.

So, Senator Helms, with your permission, I think we should let Senator Warner make an opening statement.

Senator BOXER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question about procedure today to both my chairs?

Senator BIDEN. Yes.

Senator BOXER. Are you going to go with the seniority rule when you call on members or the early bird rule? Again, I know Senator Chafee and I have to run back to question Christine Todd Whitman. So, if you could just give us a sense of it, then we will be able to go back and forth between the two.

Senator HELMS. We will be accommodating to you on this, somehow.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much.

Senator HELMS. Senator Warner.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN WARNER, U.S. SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

Senator WARNER. Chairman Biden and Senator Helms and my friend for half my life over here on my right. I first knew him when I was Secretary of the Navy and he was a young major in Vietnam during those critical years of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Also, what a privilege it is for me and my distinguished colleague, Senator Allen. We make our first appearance as the two Senators from Virginia this morning. So, we thank you.

Before starting on this, I say to both chairmen I want to congratulate you on the work that you spearheaded to bring into proper alignment America's commitments, financial and otherwise, to that important organization, the United Nations. Both of you worked tirelessly, and in the closing days of the last Congress, together with our then-Ambassador, Ambassador Holbrooke, you brought to a conclusion a very difficult problem, one which this distinguished nominee of President-elect Bush did not need. We want to commend you for that, both of you, and the members of the committee.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you.

Senator WARNER. Governor Allen, now Senator Allen, will deal with the pride in our Commonwealth of this distinguished citizen and the history of our Commonwealth with respect to the office of Secretary of State, from Jefferson to George Marshall to General Colin Powell. I will deal with the military aspects and the security aspects and start with 35 years, from second lieutenant to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In many respects, a role model for generations of Americans to aspire to, and hopefully others can follow.

His detailed biography of service to country, the commands, two tours of duty in Vietnam, service abroad in South Korea, and service abroad in Europe, particularly Germany with the Army. All of that experience is brought to bear in this important post to which our distinguished President-elect has nominated him.

But I want to go back to 10 years ago to the war in the gulf. Exactly 10 years ago yesterday, the forces were unleashed by the force of democracy to turn back the repression of Saddam Hussein. But that period was preceded, and there are members on this committee who recall a divided Nation, by a divided Congress. One of the most extraordinary debates in the Congress of the United States, and most particularly in the Senate of the United States, on whether or not to utilize force to authorize the President, then George Bush, to use force, was deliberated for 3 days and 3 nights in the U.S. Senate. When the vote was called by a mere 5 votes—that's all—the Senate went on record as authorizing President Bush, in a coalition of dozens of nations, to use force to repel that attack by Saddam Hussein.

I mention that because the nominee was beside our President throughout, giving him balanced and sound advice. In his heart,

having experienced combat himself, having been wounded, having been decorated as a soldier, Colin Powell carried the burden of advising the President on the risk of casualties. I remember at that time, General, the estimates went anywhere from 4,000 to 5,000 to 20,000. We simply did not know.

Imagine the pressure on this outstanding American, which he carried through and gave that sound, balanced advice, advice that he will be called upon, in all probability, in his term of office with this President. When and when not to use force, when and when not to put at risk America's most valued asset, the men and women of the Armed Forces—indeed, together with their families. It is that experience I think above all that enables this extraordinary American to take up the responsibilities which he is so ably experienced to do.

He faces a very troubled world, unlike when he was a commander in Germany in the cold war. We understood the threat situation. We understood the composition of the forces that faced NATO and other forces. But today, with weapons of mass destruction, the proliferation of weapons throughout the world, a far more complex threat situation faces this Nation.

The subject of homeland defense is now very much a part of the responsibilities of the extraordinary team of national security that President-elect Bush has put together. Just think. Not since the days of World War II, when America experienced blackouts and when there was uncertainty of the enemy submarines off our shores, did we recognize that once again America is imperiled by the weapons of mass destruction, be it missile defense or chemical or biological. So, again, when and when not to use force.

As I say, Iraq—at that time we had a coalition of dozens of nations that fought that war and brought it to a successful conclusion. Today, America, together with Great Britain, stands alone in that theater containing Saddam Hussein. Several allies in the gulf operations assist using naval vessels, but basically we are alone. On the front burner of his desk and that of the President and the Defense team, he is trying to rebuild a coalition, together with the United Nations and the Security Council, to address that ever-serious problem of Iraq.

Bosnia. Our troops are still there. We will address the balanced role of peacekeeping and our responsibility, but that policy that we adopt in Bosnia and Kosovo could well affect the NATO of the future. The European security forces that are being contemplated by the other nations of NATO in Europe are separate and apart in some respects from NATO.

The enlargement of NATO. Should we consider that once again? These are very difficult issues.

North and South Korea. Fifty years, a half a century, America has had its troops stationed there.

I go back, in concluding my remarks, to the speech given by President-elect Bush at the Citadel. He said the first obligation of all of us—and I quote—is "to use our military power wisely, remembering the costs of war."

Can we think of any American better qualified, more experienced than this distinguished former General to take on that responsibility to advise our President, to work in concert, but sometimes at

odds, with a strong Secretary of Defense, Don Rumsfeld? Historically those two posts have differed in their policy advice to the President. But we have, I think, two equally strong individuals and a President very able to sit down and accept that advice.

So, I conclude. In the history of our country, I cannot think of a time when there was a greater need for a man to take up the responsibilities of Secretary of State, such that he can draw on that experience of when and when not to use force. The time is now, and I say to this committee, you have throughout the history of the Senate, 200-plus years, made tough decisions. This one I think is a clear decision, but nevertheless, I commend the committee on its work, the thoroughness of this hearing, and the eventual confirmation of this distinguished American as Secretary of State.

I thank the chairman. I thank the members.

Chairman Biden. Thank you very much, Senator.

I should welcome Senator George Allen, who is a new member of this committee, as well as an introducer. While I am doing that, I would like to also introduce Senator Bill Nelson of Florida who is a new member of the committee. We welcome you both and look forward to working with you both.

Senator Allen.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE ALLEN, U.S. SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

Senator ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, Senator Helms, members of the Foreign Relations Committee, I thank you for the opportunity to join with the senior Senator from Virginia, John Warner, in introducing General Powell to this committee.

When he was announced for this post, General Powell remarked that he was pleased not to be at the Bush ranch, for he believed the cattle there looked frightening.

I told him, however, that the cattle are gentle compared to what he could face in this room here today, even if those cattle may have been longhorns.

Nevertheless, as Senator Warner went through all the various issues and challenges he will face, I am sure those will be part of the questions.

I want to focus on the wise choice that President-elect Bush in nominating an exceptional role model to this important position of Secretary of State. It is appropriate that another distinguished resident of the Commonwealth of Virginia serve his country as Secretary of State, as he will be a successor to George Marshall and Thomas Jefferson, who was the first Secretary of State for our Nation.

Most importantly, though, Colin Powell is a present-day example of the American dream and he is an example for Americans. And indeed, he is an example for the rest of the world. He is a gentleman who has seen both the world of national defense and the world of foreign relations. In my opinion, General Powell is absolutely the best choice to incorporate the totality of our foreign policy in pursuit of our country's interests and security, individual freedom, and free trade.

As referenced eloquently by Senator Warner, we are all well aware of his strong, steady leadership as Chairman of the Joint

Chiefs of Staff and his work with our Arab, Israeli, and NATO allies throughout Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

And since he left active duty 7 years ago, we all know how General Powell has continued to play an active role in his service to our country in the private sector, as well as through his outstanding charitable work. He was a member of the board of directors of America Online, and through the General's leadership of America's Promise for our young people, he has put forth a cogent, powerful philosophy of personal development and personal responsibility embodied in the five promises.

When I was chairman of the Southern Governors Association, I asked General Powell to come and address our 1997 meeting. He motivated Governors to advance the opportunities for all citizens. Now, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, General Powell will be a uniquely credible and respected Secretary of State because he is so respected and admired here in our country, not only for his outstanding military record, but also for his magnificent, uplifting civilian leadership.

And he is respected abroad. In addition to his distinguished United States military awards and decorations, the governments of about 20 countries have decorated him including, among others, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Japan, Korea, Nigeria, Tunisia, and the United Kingdom. General Powell is truly an ideal person to lead our relations with the world.

His nomination is a sign of President-elect George W. Bush's sound judgment and outstanding recruitment of top quality team mates. He has devoted his adult life to service of others. General Powell, thank you for coming back into government service now on the world stage.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you.

Senator ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, it is my pleasure to present to you a gentleman of extraordinary substance, integrity, and character, a true American hero, General Colin Powell.

Senator BIDEN. Senator, thank you very much.

General, I wonder if you would do us the honor of introducing Mrs. Powell to us before we make our opening statements.

Mr. POWELL. Well, thank you very much, Senator. It would be my great pleasure to introduce my partner in life and the lady who joined this team when I was a young first lieutenant, my wife of 38 years, Alma Johnson Powell.

Senator BIDEN. Mrs. Powell, thank you for your commitment and your willingness to lend us back your husband for at least another 4 years.

General, I want to explain the absence of many of our colleagues here. In the spirit of trying to help this administration get underway, we have all agreed to move, as quickly as we can, on the confirmation of nominees for the various posts, Treasury, Defense, and others. All of my colleagues who are not here and who will be coming and going will be attending other hearings which they are either ranking members of and/or members of. So, it is not a matter of disrespect. I think there are five or six nomination hearings going on this very day. So, I want to make clear that that is the only reason people will be coming in and going out.

The way we are going to proceed now is I will make an opening statement. Senator Helms will make an opening statement. Then, General Powell, we would like you to make an opening statement and we will go to questions.

Today, to state the obvious, the Committee on Foreign Relations meets to consider the nomination of General Colin Powell to be Secretary of State.

At the outset, I would like to welcome, as I said, our two new members, Senators Allen and Nelson, and tell you that it is probably not always going to be this collegial. This is one of those easy days when we have a man before us who is so widely respected on both sides of the aisle.

I might note parenthetically, General, I thought your statement the day that President-elect Bush nominated you was incredibly moving and your awareness of the significance of your appointment as Secretary of State to millions of African-Americans in this country was obvious, but I was really delighted to hear you bluntly state it. I thought you did a heck of a job.

General Powell is hardly a stranger to this committee or to the United States Senate, as he regularly appeared before us both formally in this committee and in informal briefings when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. So, it is a pleasure to welcome you back, General.

President-elect Bush has called from retirement a distinguished soldier who gave the Nation, as we have already heard, 35 years of honorable service. While serving in the United States Army, General Powell had a wide range of assignments, both in the field and in Washington, including Military Assistant to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Deputy National Security Adviser and then National Security Adviser to President Reagan, and then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under Presidents Bush and Clinton.

Without question, General Powell's experience at the highest levels of government in the conduct of foreign and defense policy and his experience in managing large organizations makes him well qualified to be Secretary of State. I have no doubt, General, that you will be confirmed, and I suspect unanimously, by this committee, and I suspect by the whole Senate.

But the question before the committee is not whether you are qualified to be Secretary of State, for you surely are.

The question before us, in my judgment, is what direction will American foreign policy take under George W. Bush. I do not expect the General to be able to articulate a detailed position before President-elect Bush has taken the oath of office, but I would like to begin a dialog about the direction in which the new President intends to steer the Ship of State.

At the start of what promises to be a second century of American leadership in the world, the United States enjoys an unrivaled position as the world's preeminent military, economic, and political power. No serious contender has emerged on the horizon. Most Americans appear to understand that, in an age of globalization, the United States must remain a world leader.

Yet, some of our political leaders seem suspicious of active American engagement in the world. The debate is more than the age-

old struggle between isolationism and internationalism. There is a troubling new "ism" that has emerged, and that is unilateralism, a belief that America can better protect its interests by going it alone.

I do not believe that President-elect Bush or General Powell are isolationists. Far from it. But there are prominent voices in your party, General, who often suggest that we should act unilaterally, such as those who would deploy a national missile defense without concern for the legitimate security interests of our European and Asian allies, which I would call a "shield of dreams" approach; in other words, build it and they will come along with our ideas.

It seems to me we have to guard against the unilateralist approach to American foreign policy, which threatens to leave us as what Harvard Professor of Political Science Samuel Huntington calls "the lonely superpower." This is not to say that we may not have to act alone. We will. But it seems to me when we act in concert, it is better for us.

But we should recognize that while we must lead the world, we do not control it, and we should understand that security alliances and international commitments are not entanglements to be avoided but important tools which can advance American interests.

In the aftermath of a divisive election campaign, we start the new Congress, at least in this committee, with a spirit of bipartisan harmony. Time will tell whether that spirit will endure. But I commit, and I suspect all my colleagues on the Democratic side do as well, to work in good faith with you and the President to try to build a foreign policy that enjoys a broad consensus. It is naive to think that we will always agree. We should welcome debate, which is essential to our democracy. But we should try to avoid excessive partisanship in our foreign policy debates.

I look forward to hearing your views on major foreign policy challenges facing this country, some of which Senator Warner outlined. At the outset, let me briefly discuss just a few concerns I have with regard to several very important issues, and I have discussed some of these with you in private.

First, it is no secret to you that I am concerned that we not undertake a precipitous rush to deploy a national missile defense. President Clinton, in my view, made the right decision last fall to defer the deployment decision. Neither the technology nor the diplomatic efforts had advanced far enough, in my view, to warrant a decision to deploy at the time. I also believe that the most recent estimates conducted by the intelligence community underscore the risks that a deployment decision now could leave us less and not more secure.

I am concerned that a decision to deploy a national missile defense would reverse four decades of agreed-upon strategic doctrine and therefore threaten our interests. So, I do not think it should be taken in haste, nor do I think you are going to tell us it should be either.

So, it is my hope the administration will engage in a comprehensive review of the national missile defense issue: a reassessment of the threat, particularly from North Korea, in light of recent developments; a reassessment of the technological capabilities of systems now in development and proposed alternatives; and a reas-

sessment of the international reaction to deployment of a national missile defense.

Ballistic missile defense does not stand in isolation. It is closely intertwined with reductions in strategic systems. With Russia's approval of START II finally secured, we are in a position to move to START III levels outlined in Helsinki 4 years ago. I am interested in hearing your views on how we can achieve still further reductions.

Second, you know from our discussions in my office last week my interests with regard to the key security commitments in Europe and Asia. We are, notwithstanding what some people do not like to admit, both a European and an Asian power. On both continents, we are an essential force for stability.

I am extremely interested in knowing your views and the views of the President-elect in time with regard to U.S. policy toward the Balkans. I have just returned from a trip to the region where the job of securing peace is only partially finished. During the Presidential campaign, candidate Bush and some advisers indicated that he favored a speedy withdrawal of U.S. forces. I can tell you that is all anyone in the Balkans talked about. The region's leaders have taken him at his word, and as a result, the situation there is essentially frozen. It is imperative that the view of the administration be made clear and I respectfully suggest fairly soon, although I do not expect it to be made clear today.

Let me state my concern bluntly: I believe it would be a serious mistake to withdraw U.S. forces from the Balkans. Our presence, which amounts to about 20 percent of the international force, is still the linchpin of the peacekeeping forces in both Kosovo and Bosnia, and we should stay the course in my view.

I am very interested in your views about the new administration's attitude toward U.S. policy on Asian security, particularly on the Korean Peninsula. Recent diplomatic efforts conducted in concert with our allies in South Korea and Japan are slowly drawing North Korea out of its shell. The Clinton administration, following sound advice rendered by former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry, has made important progress in negotiations with North Korea on ending its missile development and proliferation programs. I urge the administration to come up with a position on continuing these discussions as promptly as possible.

Third, I think we can all agree that containing the proliferation danger posed by loose nukes and by weapons scientists who are tempted to sell their knowledge to rogue states should be one of our hottest priorities. I would like to hear your views on whether and how the administration believes we should expand our non-proliferation programs with Russia and the other Newly Independent States.

Similarly, I think we can all agree on the common-sense recommendations just issued by General Shalikashvili, your successor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, in his report on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I believe we need to fully fund an effective Stockpile Stewardship Program and improve our nuclear weapons test monitoring capabilities. And I look forward to your thoughts on how we can meet these objectives.

Fourth, I welcome your thoughts on U.S. policy toward two important actors on the world stage: Russia and China. With both countries, we have a broad agenda, from arms control to proliferation to human rights to trade. Neither is likely to be a true partner soon, but neither need be an adversary. I believe we should avoid turning our fears of conflict into self-fulfilling prophecies, and I would be anxious to hear what you have to say.

And fifth, I would welcome your thoughts on some pressing business that we have to complete at the Untied Nations. In late December, Ambassador Holbrooke successfully concluded negotiations to reduce our assessments in the United Nations. The deal does not completely satisfy the conditions in the Helms-Biden law, but Senator Helms and I have agreed to promptly move legislation to amend the law so that the second installment of our arrears, nearly $600 million, can be released.

We also must consider whether to amend a separate but related law, enacted in 1994, which caps U.S. contributions for peacekeeping at 25 percent. This is not the time to do that, but we are anxious to see what the administration has in mind. If we do not, I think we are in danger of building up new arrears in New York and you will be faced with a different problem.

Finally, I will be interested in hearing your views on what resources are needed to ensure that we have a diplomatic corps equipped to meet our foreign policy challenges.

You will be interested to know, General, that on my recent trip to five European countries, there is a convergence of views, both our military and our civilian personnel. The military is extremely grateful for your commitment as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to seeing to it that their quality of life and their capabilities to do their job were improved. And I warn you. Now your new charges at the State Department feel equally optimistic about your willingness to fight for their interests and to put our diplomatic corps in the position that I think it should be placed in and which this administration or the previous administration has not been able to do in my view. So, they are looking to you as a champion, General. I presume to tell them that you told me in our meeting that it was going to be one of your priorities, and we are all anxious to hear what your views are on that subject.

Let me conclude, General, by saying to you that I truly welcome your being here. You are a man who all on this committee have been able to work with. We have always been able to literally pick up the phone and call you in your various capacities. My tenure on this committee has overlapped all of those assignments you have had. So, we know that what we are going to get from you is the straight scoop. We know that when you tell us something, you mean it.

We also know that you are very deft at not telling us what you do not want us to hear. So, I think the only likelihood of any tension—and it will not be much—in this relationship will be your legendary capability of being closed mouth and avoiding saying exactly where the principal you represent stands.

So, I just hope that you understand—and I am sure you do—that you are in an incredibly powerful position, not merely by nature of the fact that you are the Secretary of State, but quite frankly, Gen-

eral, most women and men taking office now would relish the opportunity to be able to potentially have the leverage you may have on policy. I wish you well and I hope you exercise that leverage and contemporaneously share it with us. But I again welcome you.

[Senator Biden's opening statement follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Today the Committee on Foreign Relations meets to consider the nomination of retired General Colin Powell to be Secretary of State. At the outset, I would like to welcome our two new members, Senator Allen and Senator Nelson.

General Powell is hardly a stranger to this committee or to the Senate, as he regularly appeared before us—both formally in this committee and in informal briefings—when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is a pleasure to welcome you back to the committee.

President-elect Bush has called from retirement a distinguished soldier who gave this Nation 35 years of honorable service.

While serving in the United States Army, General Powell had a wide range of assignments, both in the field and in Washington, including as Military Assistant to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Deputy National Security Adviser and then National Security Adviser to President Reagan, and then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under Presidents Bush and Clinton.

Without question, General Powell's experience at the highest levels of government in the conduct of foreign and defense policy and his experience in managing large organizations makes him well qualified to be Secretary of State. I have no doubt that you will be confirmed, and I suspect the vote will be unanimous.

The question before the committee is not, therefore, whether General Powell is qualified to be Secretary of State, for he surely is.

The question before us, in my judgment, is what direction will American foreign policy take under President George W. Bush? I do not expect General Powell to articulate detailed positions before the President-elect takes the oath of office. But I would like to begin a dialog about the direction in which the new President intends to steer the Ship of State.

At the start of what promises to be a second century of American leadership in the world, the United States enjoys an unrivaled position as the world's pre-eminent military, economic, and political power. No serious contender has emerged on the horizon. Most Americans appear to understand that in an age of globalization the United States must remain a world leader.

Yet some of our political leaders seem suspicious of active American engagement in the world. The debate is more than the age-old struggle between isolationism and internationalism.

A troubling new "ism" has emerged—unilateralism—a belief that America can better protect its interests by going it alone.

I do not believe that President-elect Bush or General Powell are isolationists—far from it.

But there are prominent voices in their party who often suggest that we should act unilaterally—such as those who would deploy national missile defense without concern for the legitimate security interests of our European and Asian allies—which I would call the "Shield of Dreams" approach; in other words, "build it and they will come around."

We must guard against the unilateralist approach to American policy, which threatens to leave us as what Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington calls a "lonely superpower." This is not to say we must never act alone. There will be times when we must do so.

But we should recognize that while we must lead the world, we do not control it. And we should understand that security alliances and international commitments are not entanglements to be avoided but important tools which can advance American interests.

In the aftermath of a divisive election campaign, we start the new Congress with a spirit of bipartisan harmony. Time will tell whether that spirit will endure, but I commit to work in good faith with you and the President to try to build a foreign policy that enjoys a broad consensus. It is naive to think that we will always agree. We should welcome debate, which is essential to our democracy. But we should try to avoid excessive partisanship in our foreign policy debates.

I look forward to hearing your views on the major foreign policy challenges facing the country. At the outset, let me briefly discuss a few concerns I have with regard to several very important issues.

First, it is no secret to you that I am concerned that we not undertake a precipitous rush to deploy national missile defense. President Clinton made the right decision last fall to defer a deployment decision. Neither the technology nor the diplomatic effort has advanced far enough to warrant a decision to deploy at this time. I also believe that the most recent estimate conducted by the intelligence community underscores the risks that a deployment decision now could leave us less, not more, secure.

I am concerned that a decision to deploy national missile defense would reverse four decades of agreed-upon strategic doctrine, and therefore must not be taken in haste. So it is my hope that the Administration will engage in a comprehensive review of the national missile defense issue:

- a reassessment of the threat, particularly from North Korea, in light of recent developments;
- a reassessment of the technological capabilities of systems now in development, and of proposed alternatives; and
- a reassessment of the international reaction to deployment of national missile defense.

Ballistic missile defense does not stand in isolation. It is closely intertwined with reductions in strategic systems. With Russian approval of START II finally secured, we are in a position to move to the START III levels outlined in Helsinki 4 years ago. I am interested in hearing your views on how we can achieve still further reductions.

Second, you know from our discussions in my office last week of my interests with regard to key security commitments in Europe and Asia. We are both a European and an Asian power, and in both continents we are an essential force for stability. I am extremely interested in knowing your views, and the views of the President-elect, with regard to U.S. policy toward the Balkans.

I have just returned from a trip to the region, where the job of securing the peace is only partially finished. During the Presidential campaign, candidate Bush and his advisers indicated that he favored a speedy withdrawal of U.S. forces. The region's leaders have taken him at his word—and as a result the situation there is essentially frozen. It is imperative that the views of the Administration be made clear—and soon.

Let me state my concerns bluntly: I believe it would be a serious mistake to withdraw the U.S. forces from the Balkans.

Our presence—which amounts to about 20 percent of the international forces—is still the lynchpin of the peacekeeping forces in both Kosovo and Bosnia. We should stay the course in the Balkans.

I am very interested in your views about the new Administration's attitude toward U.S. policy on Asian security, particularly on the Korean Peninsula.

Recent diplomatic efforts conducted in concert with our allies in South Korea and Japan are slowly drawing North Korea out of its shell. The Clinton Administration, following sound advice rendered by former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry, has made important progress in negotiations with North Korea on ending its missile development and proliferation programs.

I urge the Administration to come to a position on continuing these discussions as promptly as possible.

Third, I think we can all agree that containing the proliferation danger posed by loose nukes and by weapons scientists who are tempted to sell their knowledge to rogue States should be one of our highest priorities. I would like to hear your views on whether and how the Administration believes we should expand our non-proliferation programs with Russia and the other Newly Independent States.

Similarly, I think we can all agree on the common-sense recommendations just issued by General Shalikashvili—your successor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—in his report on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I believe we need to fully fund an effective Stockpile Stewardship Program and to improve our nuclear weapons test monitoring capabilities, and I look forward to your thoughts on how we can meet those objectives.

Fourth, I welcome your thoughts on U.S. policy toward two important actors on the world stage—Russia and China. With both countries we have a broad agenda, from arms control to proliferation to human rights to trade. Neither is likely to be a true partner soon, but neither need be an adversary. I believe we should avoid turning our fears of conflict into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Fifth, I would welcome your thoughts on some pressing business we have to complete with the United Nations. In late December, Ambassador Holbrooke successfully concluded negotiations to reduce our assessments in the United Nations. The deal does not completely satisfy the conditions in the Helms-Biden law, but Senator

Helms and I have agreed to promptly move legislation to amend the law so that the second installment of our arrears—nearly $600 million—can be released.

We also must consider whether to amend a separate but related law, enacted in 1994, which caps U.S. contributions for peacekeeping to 25 percent. If we do not, we are in danger of building up new arrears in New York—a situation none of us should welcome. I would welcome your recommendation on this issue.

Finally, I will be interested in hearing your views on what resources are needed to ensure that we have a diplomatic corps equipped to meet our foreign policy challenges.

I urge you to review, in particular, the report of the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel, which in 1999 reviewed the state of our Nation's diplomatic infrastructure and found it badly wanting. It warned that:

> Insecure and decrepit facilities, obsolete information technology, outdated human resources practices, and outmoded management and fiscal tools threaten to cripple America's overseas presence . . . [which] is perilously close to the point of system failure.

This description hardly seems worthy of a great power.

According to a report prepared at my request by the Congressional Research Service (CRS), foreign policy spending in the current fiscal year is 7.6 percent below the average for the last two decades, and some 20 to 30 percent below the peak levels of the mid-1980s.

I look forward to hearing your views on other critical items on the foreign policy agenda—from the Middle East peace process to containing the narcotics threat to advancing human rights and democracy to combating AIDS in Africa.

But let me close here with one final thought. Undoubtedly, you learned a lot of lessons in your two tours in Vietnam. The key lesson I took from our painful experience in Vietnam is that no foreign policy can succeed without the support of the American people.

I know you know this, but it bears repeating, because in every administration there inevitably arises a belief that the executive branch is the repository of all wisdom.

Congress has no patent on wisdom, but it does by its very nature represent the broad diversity of America, and its Members possess a significant body of collective experience and common sense as to what works and what does not in the real world of human behavior—both here and abroad. So I urge you to keep in mind that you must maintain a regular dialog not only with Foreign Ministers, but also with the American public and its Representatives in Congress.

Senator BIDEN. Now I not only turn to the Senator from North Carolina for his opening statement, I literally and figuratively turn over the gavel and end my very brief tenure as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. I must tell you, Chairman Helms, it brings back the good old days when I was a chairman.

As Senator Thurmond, with whom I served for years and years—we changed chairmanships on Judiciary. He used to lean over and he said, "Joe, if I've got to have a Democrat be my chairman, it might as well be you."

Well, Chairman Helms, if I cannot be chairman and I have to have a Republican, I am delighted it is you.

Senator HELMS. Amen.

Chairman Biden, I appreciate your scheduling this hearing this morning.

Mr. Secretary of State—I hate the word "designate," so I am not going to use it because you are, standing right there, the next Secretary of State. On behalf of the Republican minority at the moment, it is my distinct pleasure to welcome you this morning.

Now, there is a story that may fit this situation this morning. One day many years ago, the legendary Congressman and later Senator from Kentucky, Henry Clay, was in debate on the House floor with the distinguished, but somewhat long-winded, Alexander S-m-y-t-h. Now, there is some question of whether they called it

"Smyth" or "Smith." It doesn't matter, but he was from Virginia, I'll remind you.

Mr. Smyth was in the midst of, and he said, "sir, you speak for the present generation, but I speak for posterity." Henry Clay looked at him and said, "yes, and you seem to be resolved to speak until the arrival of your audience."

Now, Mr. Secretary, I am going to do my best not to speak for posterity this morning.

Now, you may have noticed it in the newspapers a small item last week that I visited with the members of the American Enterprise Institute [AEI] this past Thursday, and I shall this morning spare you a repetition of what I said there then. Suffice it to say, my purpose in visiting with the AEI was to lay out some of the vital issues which this committee and the Congress will confront in the months ahead, issues which I hope that we will work to address together in the coming year. And any reactions you may have this morning to some of those proposed areas of cooperation between your Department of State and this committee will be greatly appreciated by me.

Now, I for one am extremely confident we will be able to work together to do some things, important things, for the American people. It is my intent to offer my help to you any way I can at any time.

Now, in choosing you, General Powell, President-elect Bush hit a home run. One of my earliest memories of you was during the Reagan administration when I had the pleasure of attending a briefing at which you were the central witness in the cabinet room down at the White House. You may recall this day. You were splendid in uniform. You were erect and you had your easel and you knew what you were talking about.

Well, I was sitting to the right of the President, and we had a habit of passing notes to each other. So, I reached for one of the memo pads in front of me and I scribbled a two-word question to President Reagan: "Joint Chiefs?" I slid it over to the President. He looked at it and grinned and wrote something and moved it back to me. On there, he said, "Chairman."

Now, I've got that piece of paper somewhere in my files for posterity.

What I am saying is that Ronald Reagan admired you and so do I. I think you know that. I can imagine no better qualified person to serve as the first U.S. Secretary of State in the 21st century. We welcome you, sir, and look forward to your testimony.

Once we have heard from you, Mr. Secretary, I suggest that we begin with 10-minute rounds of questions. I am saying this for the benefit of Senators present here today. On the principle that the mind can absorb no more than the seat can endure, I suggest that we break for 1 hour for lunch at 12:30.

With that, Mr. Secretary, you may proceed.

[Opening statement of Senator Helms follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR JESSE HELMS

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your scheduling this hearing. And, Mr. Secretary of State-designate—on behalf of the Republican minority—it is my distinct pleasure to welcome you to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

There is a story that one day, many years ago, the legendary Congressman (and later, Senator) from Kentucky, Henry Clay, was in debate on the House floor with the distinguished (but somewhat long-winded) Alexander Smyth of Virigina.

Smyth was in the midst a stemwinder, when he turned to Clay and declared: "You, sir, speak for the present generation, but I speak for posterity."

To which Clay replied: "Yes, and you seem resolved to speak until the arrival of your audience."

Mr. Secretary, I shall do my best not to speak for posterity this morning.

You may have noted that I visited with the members of the American Enterprise Institute this past Thursday, and I shall this morning spare you a repetition of what was said there. Suffice it to say, my purpose in visiting with the AEI was to lay out some of the vital issues which this committee will confront in the months ahead (issues which I hope we will work to address together in the coming year). Any reactions you may have this morning to some of those proposed areas of cooperation between your Department of State and this committee will be most appreciated.

I, for one, am extremely confident that we will be able to work together to do some important things for the American people. It is my intent to offer my help to you in any way that I can.

In choosing you, General Powell, President Bush hit a home-run. One of my earliest memories of you was during the Reagan Administration, when I had the pleasure of attending a briefing at which you were the central witness in the Cabinet room at the White House. I was seated to President Reagan's right. You were most impressive, and in total command of your testimony. As you spoke I reached for one of those small memo pads placed around the table and scribbled a two word question to President Reagan. It read: "Joint Chiefs?" I slid it over to the President. Mr. Reagan looked at it, reached for his pen and wrote: "Chairman."

Mr. Secretary-designate, Ronald Reagan admired you, and so do I. And I can imagine no better qualified person to serve as the first U.S. Secretary of State in the 21st century. We welcome you, sir, and look forward to your testimony.

Once we have heard from you, Mr. Secretary, I suggest that we begin with 10 minute rounds of questions. And, on the principle that the mind can absorb no more than the seat can endure, I suggest that we break for lunch at 12:30 p.m.

STATEMENT OF COLIN L. POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE

Mr. POWELL. Well, thank you very much, Chairman Helms, and Chairman Biden, it is a great pleasure for me to be here this morning. I am honored to appear before the committee as the nominee of President-elect Bush to be the Secretary of State of the United States of America. I deeply appreciate the confidence that the President-elect has placed in me, and if I receive the advice and consent and approval of the U.S. Senate, I promise, from the bottom of my heart, to do my very best to serve the President, to serve the American people. It is an honor to be asked to return to service after my 7-year sabbatical.

I want to thank Senators Warner and Allen for their very, very gracious introductory remarks. I wish Senator Allen and his colleague, Senator Nelson, all the best as they begin their service on this committee. I want to especially thank Senator Warner for all the support and friendship he has given me over a very, very long period of time—over 20 years we have been friends—and the support that he has provided to the young men and women in uniform of the Armed Forces of the United States and, above all, for being my friend.

I am very thankful that you allowed me to introduce my wife to be recognized. As I said earlier, she has been a partner with me some 38 years, and she is in this for the whole ride as well.

Mr. Chairman, I do have a prepared statement. I would like to abbreviate it, however. If I may place the prepared statement in the record.

These proceedings mark the 64th renewal of a long and honored tradition that began when the 26 Members of the first U.S. Senate met to consider the nomination that was before them then, that of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.

When Jefferson took office in 1790, a cynical and tired Europe laughed in derision at the thought that popular government, as it was called then, might work in even one country, much less the whole world. In fact, just a few decades ago, noted experts in academic journals wrote of the weakness and possible demise of democratic institutions in the face of rising dictatorial power of the kind we saw represented by the Soviet Union on the red side of the map.

Those articles were appearing at the very moment that Jefferson's ideas of liberty and self-government were about to prove another generation of cynics absolutely dead wrong. Ideas that were going to, as Jefferson prayed, flow through time and spread their happy influence over the face of the earth, as people behind the Iron Curtain and around the world threw off the yolks of totalitarianism. Jefferson's ideas and Jefferson's prayers were ahead of the time in which he lived and ahead of the man himself.

I have to pause in my admiration of Jefferson during this week of celebration of the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and reflect on how Dr. King helped to answer Jefferson's prayers for black Americans whose forbearers at that time were considered to be property, slaves, even in Jefferson's own custody.

I am before you today as Jefferson's admiring successor, thankful for all the sacrifices that were made by Dr. King and so many others to make Jefferson's dream possible for people like me, a dream that I hope will continue to inspire my fellow Americans and inspire people around the world because there is still so much that needs to be done here at home and around the world to bring that universal Jeffersonian dream to the whole world.

President-elect George W. Bush understands that dark shadows still linger over the edges of the American dream for so many. He intends to remove those shadows. He will be a President for all Americans, and he will be a leader who faithfully represents the ideas of freedom and justice to the entire world. And he will do it with determination and he will do it with the humility befitting a great power.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, I am no stranger to this committee. I remember working late nights with you in 1987 as we worked on the INF Treaty. I remember you shuttling me back and forth across the Atlantic several times, Senator, to make sure that I brought back the assurances that the Senate needed in order to ratify that treaty that subsequently eliminated an entire class of nuclear weapons.

To make sure you understand the politics in the Powell family, Mr. Chairman, I have to digress for a moment and tell a brief story. After the INF Treaty was signed and we were in the process of destroying those Soviet SS–20 missiles and the American Pershing II missiles, you recall, there was a ceremony at the Air and Space Museum where I as Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman and my Soviet colleague were putting into the museum a replica, an actual SS–20 that had its warhead taken off, and next to it was standing a Pershing II missile. And there we were. We had accomplished

this, and there stood the two missiles. And my wife Alma, who pays some interest to what I do, but just so you know where her heart is and that she is always being careful about our security, stood before those two missiles and she nudged me and she said, Colin, how come theirs was bigger?

I told her that is why we wanted to get rid of them, Darling. That is why we wanted to get rid of them.

I also remember testifying at hearings before Senator Biden when you chaired the proceedings when we examined the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, a treaty that we were able to put in effect and bring a new status to the Iron Curtain in Europe, with both sides starting to move back. Little did we know at that time that the move back would be permanent, that an entire empire was about to crash down on our heads. We could just begin seeing the outline of that historical happening.

In those times, we worked together in a spirit of cooperation to do the Nation's will. We argued. We debated. That is the American system. That is the democratic system. If confirmed, I promise that I will argue with you, I will debate with you, as I did in the past, but it will always be in the best spirit of cooperation to make sure we get the right answer for the American people and that we pursue the President's foreign policy as he has divined it from the will of the American people.

We will need to work together well because we have a great challenge before us, but it is not a challenge of survival anymore. It is a challenge of leadership, for it is not a dark and dangerous ideological foe we confront as we did for all those years, but now it is the overwhelming power of millions of people who have tasted freedom. It is our own incredible success, the success of the values that we hold dear that has given us the challenges that we now face.

I have seen that success in many ways since I stepped down and took off my military uniform 7 years ago. I have been out across the country. I have traveled around the world. I have sat on the boards of some companies that are in the forefront of the transformation of our society. What I have seen is an economy that is flourishing, people in America who are creating wealth, people who are doing so very well as they take advantage of this new economic environment that we find ourselves in. I have also seen fellow Americans who have not yet shared in that dream, and I have tried to see what I could do to help them.

I have seen more and more nations moving onto the path of democracy and the free enterprise system.

The rise of democracy and the power of the information revolution combine to leverage each other. As a member of the board of directors of one of these transforming companies, America Online, I had a unique vantage point from which to watch the world start to transform itself. America Online and its various services have over 100 million people connected electronically. They can instant message. They can e-mail. They can trade photos, papers, ideas, dreams, capital, likes and dislikes, all done without customs posts, visas, passports, tariffs, guard towers, or any other way for governments to interfere. With the speed of light they can communicate. With the speed of light, the concept of freedom can travel around the world.

If such ideas move around now at the speed of light, they are also like the light: Darkness cannot withstand them. Eventually they will flow into every dark place and illuminate that place for the betterment of mankind.

Two of the most important of these ideas are democracy and capitalism. They are like twin lasers working in tandem all across the globe to illuminate the last dark corners of totalitarianism and dictatorship. The ideological "isms" which challenged us for the last 50 years have all died away—fascism, Nazism, communism—leaving only the dregs of abused and misused power in their wake.

Yes, dictators remain, but they are relics of the past and the "isms" they practice cannot destroy us, cannot overthrow us, cannot end our way of life the way the threat of the Soviet Union was able to do. These regimes and these dictators can be dangerous and they require our attention, but they cannot hurtle the Atlantic in 30 minutes the way I used to worry about Soviet forces doing just a few years ago.

Democracy and free markets work and the world knows it. There is no finer example of this than America and her allies who together comprise the strongest economies in the world, helping to reshape the entire world by being willing to trade openly and encourage others to do likewise.

There should be no question in any world leader's mind that the first and the most essential ingredient for success in this 21st century is a free people and a government that derives its right to govern from the consent of such people.

So, a guiding principle of President-elect Bush's foreign policy will be that America stands ready to help any country that wishes to help the democratic world, any country that puts the rule of law in place and begins to live by that rule, any country that seeks peace and prosperity and a place in the sun. In that light, there is no country on earth that is not touched by America, for we have become the motive force for freedom and democracy in the world.

And there is no country in the world that does not touch us. We are a country of countries with a citizen in our ranks from every land. We are attached by a thousand cords to the world at large, to its teeming cities, to its remotest regions, to its oldest civilizations, to its newest cries for freedom.

This means that we have an interest in every place on this earth, that we need to lead, to guide, to help in every country that has a desire to be free, open, and prosperous.

So, Mr. Chairman, this is a time of great opportunity for us. We have the strength to take risks for peace. We must help the world that wants to be free.

And we can take these risks because we are so strong. We are economically strong. We are politically strong. And underneath it all, we have an insurance policy that allows us to take risks, and those insurance policies go first by the name of the Armed Forces of the United States, the finest, the best in the world. And they will remain the finest under President George W. Bush. They will remain the finest because they will have the best people, the best equipment, the best training, and the best funding necessary to make sure that they are always, always ready for whatever challenges come their way.

But the Armed Forces are just one element of this insurance policy, just one part of our national security team. There are many others. And if you confirm me, I will become the leader of one of the most vital elements.

It is the State Department and its talented and dedicated professionals who are in the forefront of our engagement in the world. While the world has been growing more demanding and more complex when more and more nations demand and need our attention, we have cut the number of people in the State Department. We have underfunded our facilities. We have neglected our infrastructure. We need to do better.

Many of you have visited Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo where our GI's are stationed. Senator Biden was there just yesterday. As Senator Biden and others will tell you, it is a superb, first-class facility, put in almost overnight to make sure that our troops are taken care of. But if you visited some of the dilapidated embassies and other facilities in the region, you would wonder whether the same government was taking care of them. That is not right.

We have exceptional people in the State Department, many of whom I have met personally and worked with personally over the years and a number of whom I have had the occasion to meet in the first few weeks of my transition. If we want them to do the people's work, then we must give them the resources they need to do it.

In that regard, I want to thank you for what you gave the Department this past fiscal year under the encouragement of Secretary Albright. But I want to let you know that I will be coming back to you because I know that we do not have enough to accomplish the mission. We do not have enough and we need not just a little increase. We need a step increase. As soon as I have put together the specific programs and the dollar details to support these programs, and once I get the approval of the President, I can promise you I will be back. Put it on your calendars. If you approve my appointment and the full Senate approves it, I will be back. That is a promise.

Now, I know you expect to hear how the Bush administration views some of the key issues that have been raised by members of the committee in my individual calls and Senator Biden has raised and you raised in your very fine AEI speech last week, Senator Helms. So, I would now like to turn to that.

In what President-elect Bush has called "a distinctly American internationalism," there is no inclination whatsoever to have our Nation withdraw from the world into a fortress of protectionism or an island of isolationism. As President-elect Bush has also said, "America must be involved in the world." And we must be involved according to our national interest and not in some haphazard way that seems more dictated by the crisis of the day than by serious, thoughtful foreign policy. No ally, friend, or enemy will ever be unclear about where the Bush administration stands on a matter that touches our heart and soul and our basic interests.

For example, to begin with, we believe strongly in NATO, that great alliance across the Atlantic Ocean. It is the bedrock of our relationship with Europe. It is sacrosanct. Weaken NATO and you weaken Europe which weakens America. The value of NATO can

be seen by the fact that 10 years after the cold war, nations are still seeking to join the alliance, not to leave it. The alliance is as relevant to the future as it was to the past. It did not threaten Russia in the past and it does not threaten Russia in the future.

Historic change is occurring in Europe. Europeans are striving in their own way and their own time to find their own more perfect union. We welcome a more integrated, robust, and a stronger Europe, an all the more capable partner in the challenging times ahead.

Our European allies, as part of this change, are in the midst of important efforts to improve their defense capabilities. We will support any such effort, as long as it strengthens NATO and does not weaken NATO.

What happens within that great alliance and what happens to it must comport with its continued strength, resilience, and effectiveness.

To our west across the Pacific, a similar bedrock exists. It is our strong relationships with our Asia-Pacific allies and friends and particularly Japan. Weaken those relationships and we weaken ourselves. All else in the Pacific and East Asia flows from those strong relationships. As Senator Biden said, we are a European and a Pacific nation and we have to represent and defend our interests in both those theaters.

With these fundamentals in mind, our obligations and our commitments to our alliances East and West, let me touch on the other countries that were mentioned by Senator Biden and I know are very much on the minds of members of the committee.

First, China. China is a giant, a giant trying to find its way in the world with a Communist leadership still, yet with distinctly Chinese textures that belie any real categorization other than capitalism now weaves a strong strain throughout that society.

Our challenge with China is to do what we can do that is constructive, that is helpful, and that is in our interests. Japan, South Korea, Australia, and our other allies and friends in the region have a stake in this process of nurturing a constructive relationship, and we will want to work with them not unilaterally, but work with our friends and allies in responding to a new and dynamic China.

I hope that with full membership in the World Trade Organization, with increasingly responsible behavior in the region and in the world, and most vitally, hopefully with increased freedom for the Chinese people, China may yet fulfill a promise that Sun Yatsen laid out almost 100 years ago.

But in the meantime, we will treat China as she merits.

A strategic partner China is not. But neither is China our inevitable and implacable foe. China is a competitor, a potential regional rival, but also a trading partner willing to cooperate in areas where our strategic interests overlap. China is all of these things, but China is not an enemy and our challenge is to keep it that way by enmeshing them in the rule of law, by exposing them to the powerful forces of a free enterprise system and democracy so they can see that this is the proper direction in which to move.

The United States has long acknowledged the view that there is only one China. In that respect, Taiwan is part of China. How the

People's Republic of China and Taiwan resolve the differences and interpretation of that view is up to them, so long as military force is not one of the methods used.

In the meantime, we will stand by Taiwan and we will provide for the defense needs of Taiwan in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act and subsequent communiques. We are very mindful of what Congress has given us as guidance in the form of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, and we understand that a strong Taiwan that is secure is the foundation for that prosperous country to continue to prosper and it is the foundation of stability and security in that part of the world. Let all who doubt, from whatever perspective, be assured of one solid truth: We expect and demand a peaceful settlement, one acceptable to people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

Likewise, now when we look across the Atlantic, that other theater, we find another giant trying to find its way, and Senator Biden touched on this as well. Our challenge in this direction is to help the Russian people come to grips with their future, solidifying their democracy, restructuring their economy to support that democracy, joining the wider world in every respect, and moving positively and swiftly toward lower levels of nuclear weapons, greater stability on their periphery, and a firmer, more permanent peace for themselves and for the people of the region.

Our relations with Russia must not be dictated by any fear on our part. For example, if we believe the enlargement of NATO should continue—and we do believe that—we should not fear that Russia will object. We will do it because it is in our interests and because freedom-loving people wish to be part of NATO.

Instead, we should deal with Russia's objections and find a way to address them. NATO is not aimed at Russia. NATO is aimed at the peace of Europe, and Russia is European, after all.

So, Russia is a great country, an Atlantic and a Pacific country, a country that can gain enormous benefits from its relationship with us and with the West in general. But that relationship can only be a strong and successful one if Russia does what it needs to do.

And what it needs to do, as President-elect Bush has said, is to get on with reform, in particular by firmly establishing the rule of law, rooting out corruption, stopping the proliferation of missile technology and nuclear materials, ending the sales of destabilizing weapons to nations such as Iran and, in general, living up to the obligations it has incurred as the newest democracy with world power credentials.

One such obligation can be found in Chechnya where they must achieve a political settlement, the only way to end this terrible conflict and to bring peace to the area. At the same time, we will hold the Russians to account for internationally recognized norms such as those of the Geneva Convention, and they must allow humanitarian assistance organizations to have access to the civilians who are suffering in the region.

In the end, the world may well see the enigma inside the riddle wrapped up in the mystery that is Russia, finally deciphered, solved, and unwrapped. But the magician who does that cannot be

us or anyone else in the world. It can only be done by the Russian people. And we will work with them and we will wish them well.

Going back across the Pacific, we come to our bilateral relationship with the Republic of Korea, which was also touched on by members, a land seeking a historic reconciliation, one that we will support, as we have for the last 50 years, and we will help them facilitate this reconciliation.

But as long as the dictator in the north continues to field far more conventional forces than any conceivable sense of self-defense would warrant and develops missiles and unconventional weapons, we and our allies in the region will remain vigilant.

We believe that the reduction of tension between the North and the South is one of the keys to greater peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. The ongoing North-South dialog that we have been witnessing recently is certainly a positive step in that regard.

Secretary Albright has made me very well aware of the status of our recent discussions with the North Koreans. So, we are mindful of all the work that has been done and we will use that work as we review our overall policy on the Peninsula. In the meantime, we will abide and agree to the commitments made under the Agreed Framework, provided that North Korea does the same.

In our review of the situation on the Peninsula, the Bush administration will also be looking at our overall defense posture.

As you know, once confirmed, Secretary Rumsfeld will be conducting the comprehensive review of our military that the President-elect has called for. I know that he shares my view that our defense posture must match our East and West obligations, both across the Atlantic and across the Pacific. We must have sufficient military might for the Atlantic, mostly in NATO, for the Pacific, largely in Korea and Japan, and for our defense capabilities that will provide the deterrence and force projection that might be needed in other parts of the world.

Our troops in Korea, our troops in Europe, our strong allied forces that work with us afford the same clear, definitive interest that it is necessary for us to show in both those regions of the world. And I know that this important bi-directional aspect will be kept very much in mind by Secretary Rumsfeld. I believe that there is a need for forces to provide presence in both of these regions, and I believe we have to be able to deter and fight regional conflicts that might arise in both of those regions near simultaneously.

We cannot do it alone. We need friends and allies to help us as we look to the security challenges of the new century. In the Pacific, for example, we are very, very pleased that Australia, our firm ally, has played a keen interest in what has been happening in Indonesia. So, we will coordinate our policies, but let our ally Australia take the lead, as they have done so well, in that troubled country.

Indonesia, as you well know, is a State that extends, if it were superimposed on the map of the United States, from New York to San Francisco, and this nation is undergoing enormous change.

Our relations with this hugely important country need careful attention. President Wahid is attempting to undo years of neglect,

while at the same time hold together a fractious population, a population much affected by the flow of ideas that I mentioned earlier.

Turning again once more to the Atlantic, President-elect Bush has promised to look closely at an area that I know is on the mind of so many of you, the situation in the Balkans, and especially the commitment of our troops in the Balkans. I can assure you that President-elect Bush understands the commitment and obligations that we have made to our NATO allies and to the people of the region. As we look at the possibility of reducing our troop levels in the region, this will be done carefully. It will be done as part of an overall review of all of our commitments overseas, and you can be sure it will be done in the closest consultation with our allies. It will be part, as I mentioned, of that overall review of where our troops are around the world.

We must consider that when we deploy our troops, whether for peace operations or for potential conflict, they are increasingly vulnerable to more than just simply conventional weapons. Conventional weapons are the primary threat, but we also see weapons of mass destruction at the top end of missiles that are being developed by nations.

We have an obligation, an obligation to our troops, an obligation to ourselves, an obligation to our allies and friends to move forward with missile defense on two fronts.

First, theater missile defense, an important requirement to defend our forces. As you know, President-elect Bush has made it quite clear that he is committed to deploying an effective ballistic missile defense using the best technology available at the earliest date possible. We will be developing a plan for the way ahead including, as was noted, looking at the diplomatic ramifications of such a missile defense program.

I believe it is important, as Senator Biden noted, to look at missile defense not just standing alone. It is one part of our overall strategic defense and offensive posture. When you are talking about strategic deterrence, what you are talking about is getting into the mind of a particular opponent and making sure that opponent realizes that he will never be successful if he decides to move down into the direction of threatening us or our friends with missiles or weapons of mass destruction. That deterrence in his mind comes from knowing that he would be committing suicide, that we have the offensive power to destroy him should he ever take such an action.

I believe that that deterrence is enhanced if he also knows that if he was able to launch a missile at us, we have the capacity of intercepting that missile and knocking that down.

When you put those two elements together, I think defense is strengthened, not weakened. Then when you add to that our command and control systems that give us assurance at what is happening and when you add on top of that our non-proliferation activities, I believe that deterrence is ultimately strengthened and not weakened.

While we design this complete strategic framework and decide these very important issues on missile defense, there will be time to consult with our allies and our friends to explain to them what

we have in mind, why we think it is for the benefit of mankind to move in this direction.

We will let the Chinese and the Russians know that it is not directed at them, but at other nations that we have less confidence in and their ability to act in rational ways. I understand this will be a difficult discussion, but it is a discussion that we must move forward on because we are committed to missile defense and we will be coming back to the committee to share our thoughts with you as we get further into our analysis.

It is in that context then that we believe that the ABM Treaty in its current form is probably no longer relevant to our new strategic framework, and we hope to persuade the Russians of the need to move beyond the ABM Treaty.

We also need to review our approach to curbing proliferation. As you know, we will not be asking for the Congress to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in this next session. We are mindful of the work that was done by President Clinton's Special Adviser and my colleague, General Shalikashvili, who will examine that work, but we believe that there are still flaws with the treaty as it was voted down in 1999. But nevertheless, we will continue to examine the elements of that treaty as part of our overall strategic review.

General Shalikashvili gave us some good ideas with respect to the Stockpile Stewardship Program, which we will be pursuing, and at the same time, President-elect Bush has indicated he has no intention of resuming testing as part of our efforts. We do not see any need for such testing in the foreseeable future.

Mr. Chairman, I have concentrated really on the two major theaters to the east and to the west. As I come to the end, let me pause and spend a little time in some other areas of major concern to us.

One that is uppermost in our mind at this time is the situation in the Middle East where we have a major challenge to the peace process. I applaud the commitment of President Clinton and our past Presidents in their tireless efforts to find a resolution to this half-century-old conflict with its roots in antiquity. And President-elect Bush shares this goal and we will do our part to keep the peace process moving forward.

We seek a lasting peace, as have all previous administrations, based on unshakable support for the security of Israel, the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, our friendships in the Arab world, and a hard-headed recognition that the parties themselves must make the peace. We deplore the increased violence in the area and encourage the parties to do all possible to bring it to an end. You cannot successfully pursue peace in the midst of such violence.

We also pledge to focus our efforts on the region as a whole and not just on the peace process standing alone. We are ready to work with all the parties in the region to achieve a comprehensive solution.

Peace for Israel means peace with all of her neighbors, Syria included, where we need to build on the opportunity created by Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon.

When we look at that whole troubled region, Mr. Chairman, there is no more tragic case than Iraq, a failed State with a failed

leader. It is sad to consider what could be, what should be, if only Iraq would use its resources and its talented people for constructive purposes.

This is the 10th year anniversary of the beginning of Desert Storm, a war we wished we did not have to fight. We wished the Iraqi leaders and their people had come to their senses back then and not caused this conflict to happen. But it did happen. We went into that war with clear political objectives, and those objectives were to kick the Iraqi Army out of Kuwait. And they are gone and the legitimate government has been restored.

Unfortunately, Saddam Hussein is still in power, but what a mess he has made of his nation over the past 10 years while the rest of the world has moved on. While we have seen our economy flourish, while we bring up a new generation of youngsters ready for the Internet age, he sits there trapped in the past. Instead of seeking peace and prosperity for his people, we see a weakened Iraq that utters threats and pursues horrible weapons to terrorize its neighbors.

We have seen what they will do and have done in the past in Tehran. We have seen it in Kuwait City, especially to the children of Kuwait. We must not forget how Iraq treated those innocent children. We saw some of the effects of that treatment on our television screens.

The President-elect has made it clear that we will work with our allies to re-energize the sanctions regime. Critics will say that tightened sanctions mean more harm to the people of Iraq, especially children. No one cares for children more than I do. And I understand that a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon of a Saddam Hussein threatens not only the children of Iraq, but the entire region, far more than tightened sanctions whose ultimate goal it is not to hurt Iraq, but to prevent them from having such terrible weapons in their arsenal.

We need to be vigilant, ready to respond to provocations, and utterly steadfast in our policy toward Saddam Hussein, and we need to be supportive of opposition efforts.

The burden is not on us or the United Nations. The burden has to be placed on Iraq to come into compliance with the agreement they made at the end of the gulf war. We owe this to its neighbors and we owe this to its neighbors' children that they are no longer threatened, that Iraq is ready to live in the world and not apart from it. Until Iraq makes that decision and lives by it, we will remain resolute.

Mr. Chairman, as we continue to look at our various responsibilities, I would just like to touch on a region of the world that perhaps we do not spend enough time thinking about, talking about. I want to talk about Africa for just a few moments.

In March 1999, when I was in Nigeria to help President Carter supervise the national elections, I was impressed by the newly elected President's courage and his commitment to bringing democracy to his troubled country. President Obasanjo is now confronting the pressures of massive indebtedness, ethnic division, and the twin legacies of colonialism and military misrule. We will need to help him to consolidate his gains, help that comes most vitally in

the form of debt relief, investment and trade, and full support for the democracy he is trying to create.

One of the most important actions the Congress undertook this past year was the passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act. And I congratulate the Congress for that act. Free trade is important the world over, but different regions require different formulas for fostering free trade. This act is the right way to begin bringing Africa into the more prosperous world of free flowing capital and open markets.

With powerful economies such as South Africa's and eventually Nigeria's and other transforming African States', we begin to change the lives of Africa's poorest people who are so desperately in need. And we need to help them. It is our obligation. As we have obligations in other parts of the world, I believe we have an obligation to the people of Africa.

And then returning to the Western Hemisphere, there are 500 million people who live in this wonderful hemisphere of ours, people with whom we share common borders, most economic values, and with the exception of that relic in Cuba, a pervasive belief that people who are free and govern democratically are people who will keep the peace and create and sustain a prosperity that will benefit all of us.

President-elect Bush is especially alert to this region. As a Governor, he dealt frequently with Mexico, a neighbor whose recent election proved once again the sweeping power of democracy.

We must never neglect our own neighborhood. I am so proud of what has happened in the last 12 years. When I was National Security Adviser just 12 short years ago, we had dictatorships all over the place. We had generals running countries. We had tyrants running loose, and now 12 years later, all of those nations, in one form or another, are on a path to democracy and the free enterprise system with difficulties. It is not an easy path. Only Castro's Cuba remains behind, destined to remain behind, trapped in the 1950's until they see the error of their ways.

One country that will be uppermost in our mind is Colombia. Colombia is a country in difficulty. Their democracy is in difficulty. President-elect Bush has met with President Pastrana. Their visit was a good one, and President-elect Bush came away with a solid impression of the dedication that President Pastrana has to the key issues: fighting the scourge of illicit drugs that are threatening Colombia's very democracy and encouraging the insurgency that attacks that democracy.

So, the new administration will support Plan Colombia, a plan to send in $1.3 billion of American aid to help the Colombian people deal with this emergency. At the same time, we have to do everything we can here at home to eliminate the cause of that emergency, and that is American citizens using drugs. We have to make sure that is an essential element of our strategy for Colombia as well.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I know I have taken your time, but I wanted to touch on some of the areas and particular relationships that I know were of greatest importance to you. I want to close by just touching on a few other areas that are cross-cutting.

First, the United Nations. I too want to express my thanks to you, Senator Helms, and you, Senator Biden, and your colleagues for the superb work you did in bringing a solution to this problem and getting it off the table before the Bush administration comes in. I especially want to congratulate my good friend, Ambassador Dick Holbrooke, and also Secretary Albright and so many others for the wonderful work they did.

I hope now to work with the committee to make sure we remove all the remaining problems that we have with our U.N. relationship. I have seen what the U.N. can do over the years. It is a great organization. It is deserving of our support. It has represented our interests and the interests of freedom-loving people around the world. And I look forward to an early meeting with Secretary General Kofi Annan to let him know of our desire to work very closely with the United Nations.

I also want to comment, Mr. Chairman, on the role played by non-governmental organizations. What a wonderful job they do around the world and how they support our foreign policy. I could not help but note that in your remarks last week to the AEI, you took note of that, to the extent of saying—and I was very pleased to hear this, Senator Helms—that you would be willing to increase foreign aid funding if we could find perhaps a new model in which to encourage non-governmental organizations to receive that funding. I want to say to you that I look forward to working with you and other members of the committee in finding ways to satisfy your concerns about the way we do business at USAID and at the State Department so that we can get that additional funding to help spread democracy and freedom around the world.

Mr. Chairman, these are very exciting times and the State Department will do its best to assist President-elect Bush as he leads America's foreign policy. We understand also that there are cross-cutting issues that do not simply fit in any one region, whether it is terrorism or whether it is environmental concern, whether it is the tragedy of AIDS and tuberculosis and other similar scourges that are facing mankind. The State Department will not only be looking regionally, but I will try to do a better job of looking across those functional areas to make sure we discharge our obligations.

In my discussions with you and other members of the committee, I know there has been concern also about the manner in which the State Department is managed. I can assure you that this will be a major priority for me. I may be the President's foreign policy adviser, but I am also the leader and manager of the Department of State. I have a responsibility to you, but more importantly, I have a responsibility to the men and women of the State Department to give them the very best leadership that I can. And I will be looking to you for that support.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for your indulgence. I think these are exciting times in which to be living, exciting times to watch the world start to respond to the power of democracy and the free enterprise system, exciting times to watch the new President take office and to bring with him a belief in those values, a new President who, when he takes his oath of office this Saturday, I think will make America proud as he speaks about the values which have

fueled us from the days that the first Secretary of State designate appeared before the Senate for his confirmation.

I am honored to be following in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson and in the footsteps of George C. Marshall, two giants. I am in their footsteps. I can never be in their shadow, but I will try to do my very, very best. I am proud to be the first African-American to be Secretary of State of the United States.

But I am very, very honored to be the first African-American Secretary of State designate and Secretary of State, if you so confirm my appointment, honored to be following in the footsteps of Secretary Albright who did such a terrific job as the first woman Secretary. I think it shows to the world what is possible in this country. It shows to the world, follow our model and over a period of time, from our beginning, if you believe in the values that we espouse, you can see things as miraculous as me sitting before you to receive your approval.

When I first entered the United States Army in 1958, just a few years ago, my generation, it would have been unthinkable, but it has happened and it is a tribute to the miracle of our Nation and the miracle of Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues who gave us this wonderful place that we try every day to make a more perfect union.

Thank you very much, sir.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Powell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF COLIN L. POWELL

Thank you, Senator Warner, and you Senator Allen, for those very kind and generous introductory remarks. I look forward to working with both of you in the days ahead. The great State of Virginia is well represented in the United States Senate.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am honored to have been nominated by President-elect George W. Bush to be America's 65th Secretary of State, and to be here seeking your approval and the approval of the full Senate of that nomination.

I am pleased that you have asked my wife, Alma, to be here. This is a proud moment for us both and for our family.

Mr. Chairman, these proceedings mark the 64th renewal of a long and honored tradition that began when the 26 Members of the first U.S. Senate met to consider the nomination before them, that of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.

When Jefferson took office in 1790, a cynical and tired Europe laughed in derision at the thought that "popular government"—as it was called in that day—might work in even one country, much less the world.

And all of us can remember just two decades ago when noted experts in academic journals wrote of the weakness and possible demise of democratic institutions in the face of dictatorial power.

We know that those articles were appearing at the very moment when Jefferson's ideas of liberty and self-government were about to prove another generation of cynics wrong.

Ideas that were going to, as Jefferson prayed, "flow through time" and "spread their happy influence over the face of the earth," as people behind the iron curtain and around the world threw off the yoke of totalitarianism.

Jefferson's ideas and Jefferson's prayers were ahead of the time in which he lived and ahead of the man himself.

Let us pause during this week of celebration of the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and reflect on how Dr. King helped to answer Jefferson's prayers of freedom for Black Americans whose forebears were held to be property, slaves, in Jefferson's custody.

I am before you today as Jefferson's admiring successor, thankful for all the sacrifices that were made by Dr. King and so many others to make this American dream possible. A dream that I hope will continue to inspire my fellow Americans and people around the world.

There is still so much more to be done here at home and overseas.

President-elect George W. Bush understands that dark shadows still linger over the edges of the American dream for many. He intends to remove those shadows. He will be a president for all Americans. And he will be a leader who will faithfully represent the ideas of freedom and justice to the world.

And for those who believe that America's emphasis on human rights in the world may wane during the coming administration, I say simply, keep watching. President-elect Bush will always be mindful of the sanctity of the individual as opposed to the state, and the precious rights that keep that sanctity intact. From political prisoners to the rights of women, there will be no diminishment of concern or action.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, I am no stranger to this committee.

I remember working late nights in 1987 with Senator Helms to finish the INF Treaty which resulted in the destruction of an entire class of nuclear weapons. I remember testifying at hearings chaired by Senator Biden on the CFE Treaty which reduced the conventional threat in Europe.

We worked together then in a spirit of cooperation to benefit the nation. If confirmed, I promise you that I will follow that spirit of cooperation and bipartisanship in all my dealings with the committee and with the Congress.

We will need to work well together because we have a great challenge before us. But it is not a challenge of survival. It is a challenge of leadership. For it is not a dark and dangerous ideological foe we confront, but the overwhelming power of millions of people who have tasted freedom. It is our own incredible success that we face.

I have seen that success in the seven years since I stepped down from the chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

More and more nations moving onto the path of democracy and the free enterprise system.

Here at home a soaring economy, driven by the power of the information and technology revolutions.

The rise of democracy and the power of the information revolution combine to leverage each other. Until recently, I was on the board of directors of one of the hundreds of companies in the front ranks of this information revolution.

From that vantage point, I had a chance to see some of the wonderful developments that are transforming our world with breathtaking speed and dramatic depth.

Over one hundred million people are connected by this company and its various services. They can instant-message, they can e-mail, they can trade photos, papers, ideas, dreams, likes and dislikes—all without customs posts, visas, passports, tariffs, guard towers, or any other way for governments to interfere. With the speed of light, they can communicate. With the speed of light, the concept of freedom can travel around the world.

If such ideas move around now with the speed of light, they are also like the light—darkness cannot withstand them. Eventually, they will flow into every dark place and illuminate that place for the betterment of humankind.

Two of the most important of these ideas are democracy and capitalism. They are like twin lasers, working in tandem all across the globe to illuminate the last dark corners of totalitarianism and dictatorship. The ideological—isms have all died away—fascism, Nazism, communism—leaving only the dregs of abused and misused power lying in their wake.

In this refuse, dictators remain. But these are relics of the past and the "isms" they practice can't destroy us, can't overthrow us, can't end our way of life. They can be dangerous and require our attention, but they can't hurtle the Atlantic in 30 minutes and end our civilization.

Democracy and free markets work and the world knows it. There is no finer example of this than America and her allies, who together comprise the strongest economies in the world.

There should be no question in any world leader's mind that the first and most essential ingredient for economic success is a free people—and a government that derives its right to govern from the consent of such people.

A guiding principle of President-elect Bush's foreign policy will be that America stands ready to help any country that wishes to join the democratic world, any country that puts the rule of law in place and begins to live by that rule, any country that seeks peace and prosperity and a place in the sun. In that light, there is no country on earth that is not touched by America for we have become the motive force for freedom and democracy.

And there is no country in the world that does not touch us. We are a country of countries, with a citizen in our ranks from every land. We are attached by a thousand cords to the world at large—to its teeming cities, to its remotest regions, to its oldest civilizations, to its newest cries for freedom.

This means that we have an interest in every place on this earth, that we need to lead, to guide, to help in every country that has a desire to be free, open, and prosperous.

So, Mr. Chairman, this is a time of great opportunity for us. We have the strength to take risks for peace. We must help the world that wants to be free.

And we can take risks because we have an insurance policy in force—the Armed Forces of the United States, the finest in the world. And they will remain the finest in the world, with the best people, the best equipment, and the best training.

The Armed Forces are just one member of our national security team. There are many others. And if you confirm me, I will become the leader of one of the most vital members.

It is the State Department and its talented and dedicated professionals who are in the forefront of our engagement with the world. While the world has been growing more complex and demanding, we have cut the number of people in the State Department, we have underfunded our facilities accounts, we have neglected our infrastructure. We need to do better.

Some of you may have visited Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo where our GIs are stationed. It is a superb, first-class facility, put in almost overnight to make sure our troops were taken care of. But if you visited some of the dilapidated embassies and other State Department facilities in the region you would wonder whether the same government was taking care of them.

We have exceptional people in the State Department, many of whom I've met personally over my years of public service or over the last few weeks of transition.

And if we want them to do the people's work, we must give them the resources to do it. In that regard, I want to thank you for what you gave the Department for this fiscal year.

But I will be coming back to you because I know that we do not have enough to accomplish the mission that is before us.

As soon as I have put together the specific programs, and the dollar details to support those programs, I'll be back. Put it on your calendars: If you approve my appointment and the full Senate approves it, I'll be back. That's a promise.

Now you expect to hear how the Bush team views some of the key issues in world affairs, so let me turn to that.

In what President-elect Bush has called "a distinctly American internationalism," there is no inclination whatsoever to have our nation withdraw from the world into a fortress of protectionism or an island of isolation. As President-elect Bush has also said, "America must be involved in the world."

And we must be involved according to our national interests and not in some haphazard way that seems more dictated by the crisis du jour than by serious, thoughtful foreign policy.

That said, as you well know, there has been a remarkable continuity in our world outlook over the years, no matter what political party was in power or who occupied the White House. It is one of the great strengths of our system.

From the early days of our young republic when Secretary of State John Quincy Adams protested that "we would not be a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war," to the days of the great trans-Atlantic Alliance that under our leadership has proven the strongest in world history, America has dealt with the world in an admirably consistent way.

We propose no change in that regard. You will note much that is traditional and consistent in my presentation.

There is one such tradition in foreign policy that we will adhere to closely—we will always be very, very clear about things we believe in strongly.

No ally, friend, or enemy will ever be unclear about where we stand on a matter that touches our heart and soul and our basic interests.

For example, we believe strongly in NATO. It is the bedrock of our relationship with Europe. It is sacrosanct. Weaken NATO and you weaken Europe, which weakens America. The value of NATO can be seen by the fact that ten years after the Cold War, nations are still seeking to join the Alliance. The Alliance is as relevant for the future as it was in the past. It did not threaten Russia in the past and will not in the future.

Historic change is occurring in Europe, as the recent summit in Nice indicated. Europeans are striving in their own way and in their own time for their own "more perfect union." This striving includes foreign policy and defense needs. We welcome a more integrated, robust, and a stronger Europe—an all the more capable partner in the challenging times ahead.

Our European allies are in the midst of important efforts to improve their defense capabilities. We will support any such effort as long as it strengthens NATO, not weakens it.

What happens within that great Alliance and what happens to it, must comport with its continued strength, resilience, and effectiveness. We will oppose any move that does not.

To our west, a similar bedrock exists. It is our strong relationships with our Asia-Pacific allies and friends, particularly Japan. Weaken those relationships and we weaken ourselves. All else in the Pacific and East Asia flows from those strong relationships.

With these fundamentals in mind, as we look to the Pacific we come first to China.

China is a giant—a giant trying to find its way in the world, with a communist leadership still, yet with distinctly Chinese textures that belie any real categorization other than capitalism now weaves a strong strain throughout.

Our challenge with China is to do what we can that is constructive, that is helpful, and that is in our interests. Japan, South Korea, Australia, and our other allies and friends in the region have a stake in this process of nurturing a constructive relationship—and we will want to work with them in responding to a dynamic China.

With full membership in the World Trade Organization, with increasingly responsible behavior in the region and in the world, and most vitally with increased freedom for the Chinese people, China may yet fulfill the promise that Sun Yat-sen began almost a hundred years ago.

But in the meantime, we will treat China as she merits.

A strategic partner China is not. But neither is China our inevitable and implacable foe. China is a competitor and a potential regional rival, but also a trading partner willing to cooperate in the areas—such as Korea—where our strategic interests overlap. China is all of these things; but China is not an enemy and our challenge is to keep it that way.

The U.S. has long acknowledged the view that there is only one China. In that respect, Taiwan is part of China. How the PRC and Taiwan resolve the differences in interpretation of that view is up to them—so long as military force is not one of the methods used.

In the meantime, we will stand by Taiwan and we will provide for its defense needs in accordance with our Taiwan Relations Act, which is the foundation for our commitment to that hard-working and prosperous democracy. Let all who doubt, from whatever perspective, be assured of one solid truth: We expect and demand a peaceful settlement, one acceptable to people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. This is one of the fundamentals that we feel strongly about and that all should be absolutely clear about.

Likewise, when we look out across the Atlantic, we find another giant trying to find its future.

Our challenge in this direction is to help the Russian people come to grips with their future—solidifying their democracy, restructuring their economy to support that democracy, joining the wider world in every respect, and moving positively and swiftly toward lower levels of nuclear weapons, greater stability on their periphery, and a firmer, more permanent peace for themselves and for the people of the region.

Our relations with Russia must not be dictated by any fear on our part. If we believe that the enlargement of NATO should continue, for example—and we do—we should not fear that Russia will object.

Instead we should deal with Russia's objections and find a way to address them. NATO is not aimed at Russia; NATO is aimed at the peace of Europe. And Russia is European too, after all.

And Russia is also Asian and, as we might expect of a country of eleven time zones and with enough strategic depth and courage to stop both Napoleon and Hitler, Russian influence goes both ways, east and west.

So Russia is a country that can gain enormous benefits from its relationship with us and with the West in general. But that relationship can only be a strong and successful one if Russia does what it needs to do.

And what it needs to do, as President-elect Bush has said, is to get on with reform—in particular by firmly establishing the rule of law, rooting out corruption, stopping proliferation of missile technology and nuclear materials, ending sales of destabilizing conventional weapons to nations such as Iran and, in general, living up to the obligations it has incurred as the newest democracy with world power credentials.

One such obligation can be found in Chechnya, where the Russians have much to accomplish. Above all, they must achieve a political settlement, the only way to end the conflict and bring peace to the area. At the same time, they must observe internationally recognized norms, such as those of the Geneva Conventions, they

must meet their commitments to the UN and to the OSCE, and they must allow humanitarian assistance organizations to have access to civilians.

And we are prepared to do our utmost to help Russia in all its efforts to become a responsible member of the world community—as, for example, we have in the OSCE with respect to Chechnya.

In the end, the world may see the enigma inside the riddle wrapped up in the mystery that is Russia, deciphered, solved, and unwrapped. But the magician who does that can't be us, or anyone else in the world. It can only be the Russian people.

Looking back to the Pacific, we come to our bilateral relationship with the Republic of Korea, a land seeking a historic reconciliation, one that we support and will help facilitate.

But so long as the dictator in the north continues to field far more conventional military force than any conceivable sense of self defense would warrant, and develops missiles and unconventional weapons, we and our allies in the Pacific will remain vigilant.

In conjunction with Secretary-designate Rumsfeld, we will review thoroughly our relationship with the North Koreans, measuring our response by the only criterion that is meaningful—continued peace and prosperity in the South and in the region.

We believe that the reduction of tensions between the North and South is one of the keys to greater peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. The ongoing North-South dialogue is certainly a positive step in this regard.

Secretary Albright has made me aware of the status of discussions with the North Koreans. So we are mindful of all the work that has been done and will use it as we review our overall policy on the Peninsula. In the meantime, we will abide by our commitments under the Agreed Framework provided that North Korea does the same.

We are open to a continued process of engagement with the North so long as it addresses political, economic, and security concerns, is reciprocal, and does not come at the expense of our alliance relationships.

And in our review of the situation on the Peninsula, the Bush administration will be looking closely at our defense posture.

As you know, once confirmed, Secretary Rumsfeld will be conducting the comprehensive review of our military called for by the President-elect. I know that Secretary Rumsfeld shares my view that our defense posture must match our east-west obligations. We must have sufficient military might for the Atlantic, mainly in NATO, and for the Pacific, largely in Korea and Japan. And our defense capabilities must also provide for deterrence and force projection in the Persian Gulf.

Our 37,000 GIs on the Korean Peninsula, along with their well-trained and well-motivated Korean counterparts, are a clear signal of our resolve and interest in the Pacific, as are our Japan-based soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines.

Our troops in Europe, and our strong allied forces, afford the same clear and definite interest in that direction.

As Secretary-designate Rumsfeld studies our defense needs in this new century, I know this important bi-directional requirement will be uppermost in his considerations.

I support the need for forces to provide presence in these regions and to be able to deter and fight regional conflicts which might occur near-simultaneously.

Of course, the United States can't do it all alone—we need our allies and friends to help us with the security challenges of the new century. Looking to the South Pacific, we know that Australia, our firm ally in Asia and the Pacific, has a keen interest in what is happening in the region, particularly in Indonesia. So we will coordinate our policies and our actions in this important area with our long-time Australian friends.

Indonesia, as you well know, is a state that stretches from east to west as far as New York is from San Francisco. And this nation is undergoing enormous change.

Our relations with this hugely important country need careful attention. President Wahid is attempting to undo years of neglect while at the same time hold together a fractious population—a population much affected by that flow of ideas I mentioned earlier.

Turning again to the Atlantic, President-elect Bush has promised to look closely at our commitments in the Balkans, with the hope of reducing our troop levels there over time and in consultation with our allies.

This will be part of a much more comprehensive review of all of our commitments, not simply those in Bosnia and Kosovo.

We must always be mindful of the uniqueness of America's armed forces. We possess the only military in the world that can go anywhere, any time, support ourselves over the long haul, and do it all in an overwhelming and decisive manner

if need be. Tying down such forces is often imprudent. We need to consider these points whenever we feel the need to use our armed forces for peace operations that promise long or undetermined duration.

We must consider also that when we deploy our military, whether for peace operations or potential conflict, they are vulnerable to more than simply conventional weapons.

While such weapons constitute the primary threat to our men and women in uniform, our GIs are also vulnerable to weapons of mass destruction delivered by missiles, as are the militaries and civilian populations of our allies and our friends.

Theater Missile Defense is therefore an important requirement for our forces. Working with Secretary-designate Rumsfeld, we will review where our technology is today for TMD and also for National Missile Defense.

As you are aware, President-elect Bush has made it quite clear that he is committed to deploying an effective missile defense using the best technology at the earliest possible date. We will be developing a plan for the way ahead—including looking at the diplomatic ramifications.

I believe it is important that we look at missile defense within the context of our entire strategic framework.

This framework includes offensive nuclear weapons, our command and control systems, our intelligence systems, arms control including our non-proliferation efforts, and missile defense.

No one thinking soundly, logically, would construct a strategic framework with offense only. Not the New York Giants and not America.

If we can put together a complete framework, one that includes all the strategic dimensions, including defense, we will be that much better off in our relations with both friend and foe.

I still remember the original purpose of such a defense—that is to start diminishing the value of offensive weapons. That's important if we are serious—and we are—in our efforts to make the world a safer place with fewer nuclear weapons and with the ones that remain having less currency.

There is no question that today we still need the offensive component of our strategic architecture because, in my mind, the greatest deterrent right now is the clear fact that we have the capability to destroy any tyrant who could fire a missile at us.

This is another area where studied ambiguity is useless. With respect to our offensive component we still need a president who can stand on a DMZ, gaze into enemy territory, and let it be known without a second's hesitation that should a missile come from that territory there is no question as to what will happen next.

While we design this complete strategic framework and decide these important issues on missile defense, there will be time to consult with our allies and friends to solicit their views and to ensure their understanding of what we are doing and, in some cases, their participation. We will also discuss this issue with the Russians and the Chinese, as we continue to operate on the arms control front as well.

In that context, the ABM Treaty in its current form is no longer relevant to our new strategic framework. We hope to persuade the Russians of the need to move beyond it.

Important in this regard also is to reduce further the number of excess nuclear weapons in the offensive part of the framework. There are still too many in ours and in Russia's stockpiles.

And in Russia there are still thousands of nuclear weapons that may not be secure. This challenge was addressed in 1991 by you, Senator Lugar, and by your fellow Senator then, Senator Nunn of Georgia. Under the resulting program, security at many Russian nuclear facilities has been improved and warheads have been destroyed.

But a great deal of Russian nuclear material cannot be accounted for. We need an accurate inventory of all this material. And we need to increase and reinforce our efforts to dismantle as many of Russia's weapons as possible, as quickly as possible.

I am confident that we can continue to count on strong congressional support for these efforts, as has been the case in the past.

We also need to review our approach to curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, which will have a high priority in the Bush administration.

In that regard, the President-elect does not plan to ask the Senate to take up again for ratification the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. At the same time, he has said that we will not resume testing as there is no need to do so for the foreseeable future.

I have reviewed the report by President Clinton's special advisor and my colleague General Shalikashvili, and we will be reviewing the recommendations he makes, especially those relating to the Stockpile Stewardship Program.

Our primary emphasis in our efforts to curb proliferation, however, will remain twofold: to constrict the supply of nuclear materials and the means to deliver them and to discourage other countries from believing any gains will accrue from possession of such weapons. These two fundamentals will be at the heart of our non-proliferation policy.

Mr. Chairman, let me now turn to the Middle East where, as you know, we have a major challenge to the peace process. I applaud the commitment of our past presidents in their tireless efforts to help find a resolution to this half-century-old conflict with its roots in antiquity. President-elect Bush shares this goal.

We seek a lasting peace based on unshakable support for the security of Israel, the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, our friendships in the Arab world, and a hard-headed recognition that the parties themselves must make the peace. We deplore the increased violence in the area and encourage the parties to do all possible to bring it to an end. You can't successfully pursue peace in the midst of such violence.

We also pledge to focus our own efforts on the region as a whole and not just on the peace process itself. We are ready to work with all the parties in the region to achieve a comprehensive solution.

Peace for Israel means peace with all her neighbors, Syria included, where we need to build on the opportunity created by Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon.

And as we look at the entire region, Mr. Chairman, there is no more tragic case than Iraq, a failed state with a failed leader. It is sad to consider what it could be, what it should be, if only it used its vast resources and its talented people for constructive purposes.

But instead of seeking peace and prosperity for its people, a weakened Iraq utters threats and pursues horrible weapons to terrorize its neighbors.

We have seen what Iraq did to Teheran; we have seen what it did to Kuwait City, especially to the children of that city. We must not forget how Iraq treated those innocent children. We saw some of the effects on our television screens. We saw the aftermath when the Marines moved into the city after Desert Storm.

The President-elect has made it clear that we will work with our allies to re-energize the sanctions regime.

Critics will say that tightened sanctions mean more harm to the people of Iraq, especially the children.

No one cares for children more than I do. And I understand that a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon in the hands of Saddam Hussein threatens the children of not only Iraq but the entire region far more than tightened sanctions whose ultimate goal it is to prevent such a weapon.

The problem in Iraq is not with tightened sanctions. From its inception, the sanctions regime has included means by which Iraq could import whatever food and humanitarian assistance it required. The problem, Mr. Chairman, lies with a leader that continues to deny his people the basic necessities of life in a cynical attempt to manipulate public opinion both inside Iraq and in the wider world.

We need to be vigilant, ready to respond to provocations, and utterly steadfast in our policy toward Saddam Hussein, and we need to be supportive of opposition efforts.

The burden should be on Iraq to prove to the region, to the UN, and to its neighbors, and to its neighbors' children that they are no longer threatened, that Iraq is ready to live in the world and not apart from it. Until Iraq makes that decision and lives by it, we will remain resolute.

America has no quarrel with the people of Iraq. We look forward to the day when that country rejoins the family of nations and resumes normal diplomatic and commercial relations with us and with the rest of the world.

On the other side of the Persian Gulf, Iran is a different case—an important country undergoing profound change from within. We have important differences on matters of policy. But these differences need not preclude greater interaction, whether in more normal commerce or increased dialogue. Our national security team will be reviewing such possibilities.

Mr. Chairman, as we continue to look at our responsibilities across the Atlantic, we need to maintain our outreach to Africa—and with more substance.

In March of 1999 when I was in Nigeria to help President Carter supervise the national elections, I was impressed with the newly-elected president's courage and with his commitment to bringing democracy to his troubled country—a country with enormous potential. President Obasanjo is now confronting the pressures of massive indebtedness, ethnic division, and the twin legacies of colonialism and military mis-

rule. He will need help to consolidate his gains—help that comes most vitally in the form of debt relief, investment and trade, and full support for the democracy he is trying to create.

One of the most important actions the Congress undertook this past year was the passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act. Free trade is important the world over, but different regions require different formulas for fostering free trade. This Act is the right way to begin to bring Africa into the more prosperous world of free-flowing capital and open markets.

Open trade is an enormous force, as you know Mr. Chairman. It powers more than just economic reform and growth; it creates better relations between nations. We prefer that the WTO lead the way in such matters but we are interested also in initiatives that expand trade at the bilateral and regional levels. Valuable in themselves, such initiatives also create way stations on the road to a new global accord.

The African Growth and Opportunity Act is such a stepping stone. With powerful economies such as South Africa's, and eventually Nigeria's and other transforming African states, we can begin to change the lives of Africa's poorest peoples.

We know also that Africans must do more for themselves. In Nigeria, this means full speed ahead with privatization and opening further the Nigerian economy. In Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, the Congo, and elsewhere, this means stopping the killing, taking the weapons out of the hands of children, ending corruption, seeking compromises, and beginning to work in peace and dialogue rather than war and killing. It means giving the profits from oil and diamonds and other precious resources to schools and hospitals and decent roads instead of to bombs, bullets, and feuding warlords.

Returning to our own side of the Atlantic, here in the Western Hemisphere, there are 500 million people with whom we share some borders, most economic values and, with the exception of the relic in Cuba, a pervasive belief that people who are free and governed democratically are people who will keep, the peace and create and sustain a prosperity that will benefit us all.

President-elect Bush is especially alert to this region. As a governor, he dealt frequently with Mexico, a neighbor whose recent elections proved once again the sweeping power of the changes occurring in our world—as you recently recognized, Mr. Chairman, along with several other committee members, in your sponsorship of Senate Resolution 335 congratulating the people of Mexico.

We must never neglect our own neighborhood. We must help solidify democracy's hold, open markets even further, and encourage at every opportunity the kind of economic policies that support and bolster the greater freedom of the region's peoples. In this regard, NAFTA was a great step forward and a bilateral Free Trade Agreement with Chile will continue that progress.

As a goal, President-elect Bush wants free trade agreements with all the countries of Latin America. We are well aware that the one-size-fits-all approach is not always the answer, but the ultimate goal is free trade from the Yukon to Cape Horn.

We have come a long way from the days of gangsters in Panama, communists in Nicaragua, and insurrections in El Salvador and Guatemala. We must stay on that road to progress. Making prosperous economies based on solid democracies is the best way to do that. And also helping where we can with humanitarian assistance, as is happening right now with Army medical troops and engineers from our units in Honduras in response to the tragic earthquake in El Salvador.

With respect to bolstering democracy, we are especially interested in Plan Colombia.

As you may be aware, President-elect Bush has met with President Pastrana. Their visit was a good one and the President-elect came away with a solid impression of his dedication and earnestness on two key issues: fighting the scourge of illicit drugs and ending the insurgency that threatens Colombia's democracy.

We support the actions by the Congress and President to send aid to Colombia. We believe that this money, some $1.3 billion from America, should be used to help the Colombian government to protect its people, fight the illicit drug trade, halt the momentum of the guerrillas, and ultimately to bring about a sensible and peaceful resolution to the conflict that has ravaged Colombia for so long now.

There is another country, Mr. Chairman, that I want to mention before I leave this regional perspective, a country that should grow more and more focused in the lens of our foreign policy. That country is India.

We must deal more wisely with the world's largest democracy. Soon to be the most populous country in the world, India has the potential to help keep the peace in the vast Indian Ocean area and its periphery. We need to work harder and more consistently to assist India in this endeavor, while not neglecting our friends in Pakistan.

As you know, this is a delicate process in the midst of what by any accurate account would be labeled an arms race between these two countries. Recently, however, there have been encouraging signs, including India's extended moratorium on operations in Kashmir and Pakistan's restraint along the Line of Control.

Mr. Chairman, as I talk about these regions of the world I must mention the increasingly important and dramatically larger role played today by non-governmental organizations.

As all of you are aware, NGOs have been around a long time. And over that time they have done much good work. I think about World Vision's programs in Africa and I remember some of my adopted children from my time at America's Promise, little 6th, 7th, and 8th graders from the District of Columbia, who actually fasted for 30 hours at a church near my home—St. Thomas' Episcopal Church in McLean, Virginia.

Under careful supervision, they refrained from eating or drinking anything substantial while they sat through classes on the projects that World Vision was managing in several African countries. During the course of the day and late into the night, these children were profoundly moved by what they saw and heard.

So moved, in fact, that they went door-to-door the next morning and collected hundreds of dollars for World Vision's programs in Africa.

These youngsters recognized intuitively how important World Vision's work was to the young children and families of these African countries.

We recognize that importance too. Today, NGOs are in every region, laboring away at their many tasks. As President-elect Bush has remarked about the vital nature of faith-based and voluntary private and non-profit institutions and their role in America, so we must realize how necessary is the work of the NGOs to our wider purposes in the world.

The Bush administration will ensure that there is always a place for NGOs in the developmental, humanitarian, and peace-keeping efforts we undertake. We need their professionalism, their focused in-country knowledge and expertise, and their dedication to good works.

Senator Helms recognized such efforts just last week. And I salute his willingness to put more dollars in the foreign aid budget if we can make their dispensing more effective, more efficient, and closer to the need. And I will be looking to him and to other of the members to help me in the redesign, if need be, of the organizational structure for doing that.

Let me say here that I know that many members of the committee are critical of the organization and management of the State Department. I will make this a top priority of my stewardship. We can't get the job ahead of us done unless the State Department operates in the most efficient manner possible. That is my responsibility. I am the leader and chief manager of the Department, as well as the President's principal foreign policy advisor. I will not shirk that responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, members of this committee, one of President-elect Bush's principal foreign policy goals is that America go about its business in the world with the statesman-like demeanor required of the world's greatest democracy.

We cannot do this well if we refuse to recognize one of the best tools for international diplomacy that American leaders of the past, along with other like-minded world leaders, saw fit to create, develop, and nurture.

I mean the United Nations. In this regard, I am pleased to see the recent agreement whereby we will now pay our dues in accordance with a dues structure more in line with fairness, equity, and the idea that all should pull their weight in financing this important institution. I agree with the assessment of Senator Helms that this agreement is "a real leap forward."

I also support our paying as promptly as possible the arrears that we have accumulated with the UN—so that this leap can be as far forward as we can jump.

I know that you, Senator Helms, and you, Senator Biden, as well as other members of this committee had much to do with bringing about this agreement. I applaud your tireless efforts and the outcome they produced.

I believe we will find great value in the United Nations in the future, as we have in the past. For while the future is full of promise, it also presents new and different challenges.

The challenge of HIV/AIDS is one of these, as is the challenge of protecting and safeguarding the earth itself, the only livable environment we have.

International organized crime—including trafficking in narcotics—and international terrorism are two more such examples of these challenges that recognize no borders, no sovereignties. Our encouragement and support of international religious freedom is another issue that has no frontier.

These challenges affect our lives and demand our attention. We must recognize, for example, that global infectious diseases such as AIDS have the potential to dev-

astate economies, governments, peoples, and regions. Indeed, in much of sub-Saharan Africa that is too rapidly becoming the situation.

In the next ten years, HIV/AIDS may kill one-quarter of Africa's population and reduce national economies by one-third—severely straining state structures many of which are already faltering. The increasing presence of this terrible disease in India and Russia bodes more devastation in the future.

No longer is such devastation simply a cause for our sympathy, our charity, our reaching out to care for fellow humans—although these altruistic motivations are still vital to us as humans. Increasingly meeting such challenges successfully, appeals to even more basic instincts—caring for our own interests, paying attention to our own hope for survival on this earth.

We must guard our citizens and our society against crime and terrorism as well. Nothing defeats our honest purposes in a more insidious way than organized crime, and international terrorism—the scourge of cowards with bombs and guns—must not be allowed to deter us from our steady course toward a freer and more prosperous world.

Dealing with these non-traditional challenges will be as important as dealing with the more traditional ones.

And I believe that in the future a revamped and reinvigorated United Nations will be a principal partner in meeting these new challenges.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, the times are exciting. You can almost feel the change in the air. You can almost sense the transformation taking place.

There are more people living in this world today than ever imagined possible by our forefathers—and they are freer than ever before.

The resulting mosaic is beautiful, diverse, and full of promise. And our country is under a heavy obligation.

Our preeminence in the two unstoppable world forces of democracy and capitalism, coupled with our unparalleled military power and our strong passion for peace and prosperity for ourselves and our friends and allies, places us under this heavy obligation. It is an obligation we must fulfill.

We must help move our transforming world toward more and more freedom, toward increasing prosperity, toward a wider peace—while at the same time safeguarding and enhancing our own.

What we do with our position of power over the next decades will mark this earth irrevocably for good or bad.

It will do so both physically and spiritually, for our power extends over everything from economics to the environment, from music to the cinema, from literature to the sciences, from genetic adaptation to human frailty and disease.

What a time this is for dedicated public service!

Were our Founders alive today, they would rejoice at our prospects. Jefferson would be astonished at the incredible increase in our population—but mostly because we are largely in cities. Hamilton would also be astonished at our size—but would relish the revenue-gathering possibilities.

And if Washington were here, well, he would be content. The old warrior-statesman understood the potential America possessed as well as any man alive at the time.

His only significant concern, I believe, would have been what was his primary concern when he was President over 200 years ago.

Washington called it "faction."

To argue that politics stopped at the water's edge, or that there was no partisanship or special interests in foreign policy in his day, as some modern pundits do, would have made him roar with laughter, followed perhaps by a smoldering rage—as he further considered that assessment in light of his personal experience as President.

The Jeffersonian preference for the French as opposed to the Hamiltonian preference for the British, all by themselves, offered to Washington's eight years in the Presidency as much "faction" in foreign policy as any President could want—or learn to hate.

It would be disrespectful of our history, therefore, for me to sit here and ask you, and by implication all of your fellow Senators, to grant the President-elect and his national security team a bipartisan approach to foreign policy.

More importantly, it would be disrespectful of our method, our proven political process whose main way of revealing truth to power is the exquisite mechanism of checks and balances built into its very fabric, its very essence.

What I will ask for, then, is not bipartisanship in the conduct of America's foreign policy but dispassion and grace—characteristics so descriptive of our first President.

Let us discuss our differences without the anger and bitterness that has sometimes characterized discussions in the past—and let us with grace and dignity agree to disagree, if that be the case.

Above all, let us always remember the profound wisdom of our Founders—that in our grace and our dispassion and our reasonable discourse, no matter how much we may occasionally disagree, lies the surest foundation for our well representing the American people in the conduct of their foreign policy.

If we do these things, I believe we can fulfill our enormous obligation to America and to the world we lead. I believe we can seize the historic opportunity that lies before us.

As America's official advocate the world over, the Department of State recognizes this opportunity in all of its dimensions. As an important member of the Bush team, we will play our considerable part in fulfilling the obligations of leadership. We will help President-elect Bush and all of you make America the leader she ought to be, must be, will be.

Thank you, and I welcome your questions and comments.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Chairman Helms and I were just consulting here. We have 10 or 12 people here. We are going to break at 12:30. Chairman Helms suggests he may forego questioning in the first round. I will just ask one question in this first round. Obviously, we are not going to get to everyone here. We had originally agreed that there would be 10-minute rounds. My instinct tells me we should just stick to that and everybody can figure that out from here as to when they are going to get to question. Is that appropriate, Mr. Chairman? Does that work for you?

Senator HELMS. Fine.

Senator BIDEN. Do you want to ask questions first?

Senator HELMS. You go ahead.

Senator BIDEN. Mr. Secretary of State-designee—my friend does not like the phrase.

General, I would like to ask you just two questions and acknowledge, as I told you at the outset, I am going to be leaving. I am supposed to introduce the outgoing National Security Adviser at a function downtown, and I am committed to do that and that was going to be at 12 o'clock. I will come back in a second round and ask you the few other questions I have.

You mentioned national missile defense. You know that is an interesting concern of mine. Let me ask you, if you could get an ironclad agreement ending North Korea's long-range ballistic missile development programs and its sale of long-range missile technology to countries like Iran, would that give you a few more years or more time before you would need to deploy a national missile defense, years that you could devote to building a system that would be more effective and pose fewer concerns to our allies and our potential adversaries?

Mr. POWELL. I think if we could move North Korea in that direction and make it an ironclad, verifiable agreement about which there is no question not only what they are doing but what they are helping others do, that certainly would be factored into any calculation one would make about the threat. But there are still other nations that are moving in this direction, particularly Iran, and until Iraq comes into compliance and we can be assured of what they are able to do, I would say at this point we should continue to move ahead as aggressively as possible. We can always make a judgment later as to whether to deploy or slow the deployment, but

I think at this point it would be very unwise to bet on the outcome that this threat will not be there in a few years. So, the President-elect is committed to moving forward, and I know that Secretary Rumsfeld is committed to getting into the Pentagon as soon as he can and taking a look at the development programs and seeing how fast we can move forward.

Senator BIDEN. As you know, Mr. Secretary, many of us who are skeptical about national missile defense have, nonetheless, supported the expenditure of billions of dollars a year on research and billions of dollars a year, including next year, on pursuing the best missile defense technology possible. As you already know, our intelligence estimates are not as urgent as they relate to Iran and Iraq in terms of the timing as to when they may pose a threat.

So, I am not suggesting—and I read from your answer that you are not suggesting—that we do not move forward in terms of determining what is the best system possible, but as I understand your answer, the question of deploying such a system, whatever is decided upon by this administration, might, in terms of its timing, be impacted upon by what is happening in the rest of the world.

Mr. POWELL. I would say we should move forward as rapidly as possible with the technology, and when a system is ready to be deployed, I am sure that a prudent President at that time—and I am quite confident it will be President George W. Bush who will make a judgment at that time—as to the nature of the threat. And if the threat is there and if the threat is real, I am absolutely confident he will move forward with deployment.

Senator BIDEN. I appreciate that and I appreciate the answer.

I yield to Senator Hagel.

Senator HELMS. No.

Senator BIDEN. You are going to ask a question. I am sorry.

Senator HELMS. Time me for 3 minutes and hit me on the head with the gavel if I take longer.

I just want to elaborate just a bit. I know you have noticed that Billy Graham is not going to be able to do the prayer at the inauguration and that his son, Franklin Graham—now, do you know Franklin?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir, I do.

Senator HELMS. I am sure you have the same high opinion of him.

Now, I am open to suggestion and I am open to working with you and others about how to do it, but we have got to stop pouring the taxpayers' money down a bureaucracy that is almost dysfunctional. That was the point I made at the AEI the other day. When you get time, after you become Secretary of State, let us get a bunch of folks together on both sides and see what is the best answer to that because this money ought to go to people who are sick and who are hungry and not for salaries of bureaucrats. I will not go further than that, but thank you for your expression of interest in what I said last week.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator. I look forward to those conversations. Thirty-seven percent of money now flows to those NGO's, but I look forward to see what more we can do.

Senator HELMS. Fine.

Chris.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

General, welcome to the committee. I look forward to casting a vote both here in committee and on the floor of the Senate in support of your nomination.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator DODD. I congratulate the President-elect for making a very wise, wise choice. I am pleased that your family as well is in support of this. I know these are not easy decisions and it is important to have that kind of backing and support.

You have been very comprehensive in your opening statement, covering a wide range of issues that are going to be the subject matter, obviously, of your tenure, as well as the work of this committee in the coming years.

I will leave it for other times, but I have been particularly impressed with how you conducted your retirement, in a sense, with the efforts you have made on behalf of young people in the country and what you found in the America's Promise program. You are going to be an awfully busy individual, but I hope you will find some time to continue your efforts in that regard and maybe even find ways to expand it. The Alliance for Youth is a group dedicated to strengthening the character and confidence of America's young people. There are so many worthwhile things.

While the concentration is obviously on this country's relationship to the rest of the world, one of the real concerns I think many of us have—it may be a reflection, in a sense, of what has happened even on this committee. I have often made the point to audiences at home that Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Senator Jacob Javits had to wait 9 and 11 years, respectively, before they could win a seat on this committee. Today we have sometimes a hard time getting people who are willing to be a part of the foreign policy debate. It could be a reflection, in a sense, of the country's declining interest in some ways or failure to realize the importance of our relationship with the rest of the world.

I would hope that as Secretary of State you might find a way to increase the level of awareness of how important these issues are. They have been important. Maybe the generation that came out of World War II, young people who never would have left this country, all of a sudden became aware of the Pacific theater and Europe and the importance of our involvement in the globe. As we have seen relative peace, with obvious exceptions we all know about, it seems to have less of an interest in some of these issues by too many people. So, I hope you might find a way in which to incorporate the tremendous work you have done with addressing this concern I have about people's appreciation of foreign policy.

These committee confirmation hearings are obviously an opportunity for you to give us some ideas of your interests, and it also gives us an opportunity to share with you some of our particular areas of concern. While I am deeply interested in a lot of the subject matters that have been raised, over the years I have tried to concentrate my efforts a bit on the Western Hemisphere, not at the exclusion of everything else, but I have always thought that it may be more productive to find an area in which you develop some expertise and some knowledge and apply your energies in those areas. So, as a result I guess of my Peace Corps experience back

in the 1960's, I have tried to concentrate some effort in Latin America and the Caribbean. Obviously, given your family history, this is an area I presume of strong interest as well.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator DODD. You mentioned Colombia. Let me just start there, if I can, and just raise with you a couple of concerns. I support this plan, the $1.3 billion plan. It is troublesome and I am worried whether or not we will be able to sustain this over the coming years. A lot of that will depend upon our ability to build strong support in the Congress and regionally as well. I agree with you. We have seen wonderful changes in the last 12 years, with the obvious exception of Cuba, which is still very much a dictatorship.

But there are troublesome signs in the region as well. Obviously, Colombia is a pivotal one.

The recent news out of Ecuador where we have seen now incursions into their territorial sovereignty there. President Nuboa is a very fine individual, but there was a change.

Peru poses some difficulties.

Haiti obviously has not lived up to the promise that I know you and I certainly wanted to see, particularly with your involvement there back in the early part of this decade.

So, I wonder if you might just share a little bit with me your thoughts on the Colombian issue, if you can, beyond your statement, which I appreciate very, very much, on how we might do a better job of regionalizing this issue, to the extent that we involve other nations in helping us develop a plan that deals with the narco-trafficking issue, and also whether or not you believe that President Pastrana is sort of on the right track with this dual approach of dealing with the narco-traffickers while simultaneously trying to engage the counter-insurgency groups, the two particularly that are the most significant, the FARC and the ELN, in Colombia. Let me start there with you, if I could.

Mr. POWELL. Well, thank you very much, Senator Dodd. First of all, let me say I agree with your earlier comments——

Senator HELMS. Would you make it very brief because I am trying to get to as many Senators as I can. It is an awkward situation to have two chairmen.

Mr. POWELL. Well, thank you very much, Senator Dodd. Thank you for your comments about America's Promise.

I agree with you on trying to educate people on the importance of foreign policy.

With respect to Colombia, I do support President Pastrana's approach to deal with both the narco-traffickers, the counter-insurgency, and I also share your view that it has to be a regionalized approach. We cannot try to solve a problem in one part of Colombia just to see the problem pop up elsewhere.

So, I think one of the things we will be doing in the new administration is to try to regionalize the approach, get all of the nations in the area to recognize that the problem is theirs as well as Colombia's.

I support President Pastrana and his approach to the ELN and the FARC. He has got a tough call coming up with respect to the FARC. I am anxious to get down there and have a chance to make an on-scene assessment myself.

Senator DODD. Mr. Chairman, I did not hear you say the 3 minutes, and I apologize. I thought it was a 10-minute round. I apologize to my colleagues. I did not mean to do that.

Senator HELMS. Senator Hagel.

Senator HAGEL. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

On the advice of our minority chairman, at least for 3 days, I will henceforth refer to you, sir, as Secretary Powell.

Thank you for your global tour de force. I think we are all grateful for your framing up what you see as your responsibilities as you enter this new journey. We will get into those, as you know, in a little more detail this afternoon.

I think we are all grateful, in light of the stories in all of the newspapers this morning, that you have found gainful employment, and we are glad that Alma is going to be able to continue her modest lifestyle on that. That leads me to thank you and Alma once again for your willingness to take on a very big job in the interest of this country.

Much has been said this morning, appropriately so, in calling up great Americans who have once resided in Virginia, namely Thomas Jefferson and George C. Marshall. The connecting rod with General George C. Marshall and you is I think most aptly stated in the soldier/statesman dynamic. Just like General Marshall, you have seen the worst of the world and you have seen the best of the world. You have prepared yourself exceptionally well the last 8 years as you have helped build character and confidence in our young people. When you really analyze what your job is—or really any of our jobs—it is to prepare the next generation. You know so well, because of your distinguished 35-year career, that that means that that is your greatest responsibility because we are only but stewards of this great government and land.

So, I am particularly pleased—and I think I speak for all of us. We will soon determine that, whether you get all the votes or not. But I suspect there is little doubt about that that you are doing this, Secretary Powell, because there is nothing more important.

You talk much in your statement about economic development, about trade, about opportunities, a unique time in the world, American leadership, active American leadership. Especially in regard to that particular phase of your statement, which was thread throughout, as you, of course, know, and in light of the story that appeared in the New York Times yesterday on what your soon-to-be colleague in the National Security Agency, the adviser to the President, Condi Rice, said about integrating economics and economic development with foreign policy, could you just in a brief answer explain how you intend to go forth and integrate trade and economics into foreign policy?

Mr. POWELL. I really do not think they are separable any longer. What I have seen in my 7 years in private life is how the real forces that are shaping the world are less political than they were, say, 20 or 30 years ago. What is really shaping the world is trade and economic dynamism. If you want to have people believe in democracy, if you want people start moving up that ladder, you have to give them the opportunity to earn a decent living and to create wealth. We have such an opportunity now as trade barriers go

away, as those old political maps go away and we go away from the red and the blue side of this map to this grand mosaic.

So, I intend for the State Department to play a very, very active role in international economic policy. I am going to be working closely with Condi Rice and with Larry Lindsey and with Paul O'Neill and Don Evans and everyone else. I think it has to be one team. They are no longer separable. They are linked together now.

Dr. Rice is looking at the best model, along with Mr. Lindsey, to make that all happen, but I am quite sure you will see that we are knitted together as a foreign policy and economic team to push this concept of trade and economic advancement forward so that all nations can begin to create wealth, not a dirty word, a good word, wealth that allows them to rise up. When you help a poor country start to become wealthy and those people can start feeding themselves and then buying things, guess what? We can sell them those things. We are all linked together in this, and we cannot see it as a separate element that is not related to foreign policy. It is foreign policy.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator HELMS. Mr. Torricelli.

Senator TORRICELLI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General, welcome to the committee.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Mr. Torricelli.

Senator TORRICELLI. My time is brief, so I would like to share with you a few thoughts and return this afternoon with some specific questions, if I could.

Your comments about what your nomination represents for our country is all true. It should simply be added it is, of course, more than that. It is a tremendous statement about you personally, your talents as an individual, your tenacity in your career. I like what your nomination says about our country, but I like also what it says about you as an individual.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator TORRICELLI. It does, however, leave you with one large problem: the plague of extraordinarily high expectations. And I am going to make it worse.

This country does not need simply good management and continuity of policy from you. Providence has always provided for the United States at times of change extraordinary talent: Jefferson and Burns, Marshall and Acheson. At times of America's changing role in the world, extraordinary people have come forward to give definition to our role in the world and a voice to our policy. This burden of history now falls on your shoulders.

It appears to me that our generation has not yet found its place internationally. We began the last century making the world safe for democracy and then had a role thrust upon us to defeat fascism and communism. Our generation needs purpose. And our role in the world is certainly more than to expound the benefits of materialism or even capitalism. Capitalism is an element of America, but it does not define who we are as a people or everything we can achieve. And if that is all the world knows about us, if the world only knows that we have military strength, an addictive culture, and a strong economy, they do not begin to understand the United States. And the world will miss an important message.

I hope that as a unique figure in our country, at a time of enormous change and transition, that you can give definition to this generation's role in the world. I hope at least an element of that is a message of reconciliation between continents, races, economic systems, recognizing that there is no perfect model, that various blessings may have made America unique and even special, but it does not provide an example for everyone to follow in every way. Every nation and all people will find their own paths, but the United States, given our unique role in history, can help them find it and you can play an extraordinary role in the reconciliation among people in having them do so.

I am excited about your tenure as Secretary of State and what it means for you but, much more than that, what it means for our country. It is going to be a great period in our history. On this committee, as we change chairmen and majorities, we do not change our commitment to a bipartisan national foreign policy. You will see us stand together with you shoulder to shoulder.

Good luck in your tenure and I will see you this afternoon.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HELMS. Senator Smith.

Senator SMITH. General Powell, I look forward to casting a vote to make you Secretary Powell.

Mr. Secretary, I will also return this afternoon to ask a question about the administration's policy on expansion of NATO, how you intend to put the genie back in the bottle in the Middle East, how we will stand by our democratic ally Israel.

My first question to you I ask first because I hope you will remember it because it is a particular irritation to me. As we pursue the national interests of the United States abroad, I hope we will not forget our national values. As I read the first amendment, we care deeply about freedom of press, freedom of association, freedom to worship God. I think we had come to expect persecution of Jews in Russia. I hope we will not abandon them as we focus on other issues. Theirs is a vulnerable community.

But even when we turn to western Europe, I was recently shown a list made up by the Nation of Belgium in which the Church of Christ, the Pentacostals, the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Latter Day Saints, and many other faiths that assemble every Sunday or Saturday in the United States put on a list of dangerous sects. The response to them now is to deny them visas to practice their religion in western European countries, specifically Belgium, even a law proposed in France now that would allow that government to confiscate the property of religions that I think just become unpopular.

It seems to me that we will keep our alliances intact, but we ought not to shrink from our values. I wonder what might be the response of the Department of State to Senators like me who think we ought to do something more than just talk about it. Ought we to have a visa policy that is reciprocal, if they want to come and pursue interests of the press, religion, or whatever, in the hopes not that we would actually deny it, but encourage them to live up to the values that make them our allies? I wonder if you can comment on that.

Mr. POWELL. Well, Senator, I certainly share your concern not just because of our own constitutional first amendment considerations but the individual rights of men and women as enshrined in international documents. Where people should be free to pursue their faith in whatever manner they see fit that is not subversive or seditious, they should be allowed to do so. I would be troubled by any country, whether it is in western Europe or anywhere else, who denies its citizens that right.

I would have to look carefully as to whether or not it made sense to start acting in a reciprocal way with respect to visa denial and make sure we just do not put ourselves in the same box that they have put themselves in.

As you know, we do have an office in the State Department that looks at this. I am looking for a good candidate to replace the previous incumbent as soon as possible. As you know, we put out a report on an annual basis on the status of religious rights around the world. So, you can be sure it is something I will be looking at carefully, and I look forward to working with you on the issue.

Senator SMITH. Thank you, General. You might know that it was represented to me that Belgium in particular was pursuing this policy because that was where the European Union was going. I have gotten no indication from the European Union leaders that that is where they are going, but I hope we can put it out before it starts.

Mr. POWELL. I would like to look into that specific case.

Senator HELMS. Senator Feingold.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Senator Helms. I apologize for not being here. I was attending the Judiciary Committee hearing that involves a somewhat more controversial nomination.

General Powell, it will be an honor to support you and vote for you in this committee. I am prepared to do that. As a Wisconsin Senator, I am also prepared to forgive you for the disparaging remarks you made about the cows on President-elect Bush's ranch when you accepted this position.

I am delighted that you chose—and we discussed this in our first meeting—to have your very first briefing on any issue to be with regard to the countries of Africa and the situations in Africa. I know you referred at some length to Africa in your remarks.

By the way, even of course in the last 24 hours the extremely disturbing news out of the Democratic Republic of Congo, a place that I and Ambassador Holbrooke and others have tried to devote a lot of attention to—it is getting worse. It is getting extremely difficult. As you well know, the implications for all of Africa of that crisis mean that it is referred to sometimes as Africa's first world war. I know you are aware of that.

In that context, I want to ask you a bit about a comment that President-elect Bush made in the past. Last year in an interview on the News Hour with Jim Lehrer, President-elect Bush said that "while Africa may be important, it doesn't fit into the national strategic interests, as far as I can see them."

Do you agree that there are no critical U.S. interests at stake in this vast continent, or could you explain what was meant by that comment? Obviously, with things like international crime, terrorist threats, trade investment opportunities, global issues, which you

initiated the conversation about at our meeting like infectious diseases, AIDS, and environmental degradation and human rights issues, I think it requires some explanation.

Mr. POWELL. I think the President-elect was just touching on some of his top priorities and the things that sort of press in on you from day to day. But in my conversations with him, I know that he believes that there really is no region in the world that can be ignored. Priorities may come up and down, but I am quite confident that he will be interested in Africa, he will be interested in some of the conflicts that exist on that continent that need to be resolved. I know we have talked about the problem of HIV/AIDS and the devastation that that is wreaking across the southern part of the continent. So, I am confident that he will be engaged and he will see it as a priority. I would not have started out my transition by first having briefings from the African Bureau and, in the comments I made subsequently, if I was not confident that I was representing and speaking for the President-elect.

Senator HELMS. Senator Brownback.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome, Secretary Powell. I look forward to working with you in that position.

I am going to be back this afternoon to talk with you on a couple of cross-cutting issues, if I could, one Senator Smith raised about religious persecution, particularly in the country of Sudan, and also on trafficking in human beings, sex trafficking. It is a really ugly part of the globalizing economy that we are going to have to get on top of.

But I want to direct your attention, if I could, briefly to two regional areas and ask your input and thoughts on this. One is in the South Caucasus in Central Asia and the other in India.

Our policy in the South Caucasus in Central Asia, it seems to me, recently has basically been Russia-centric. We do not want to offend Russia. We do not want to upset them. So, we defer, particularly even in countries like Georgia, in some cases Azerbaijan, in some cases in Central Asia, our policies toward Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, many of these countries that came out of the former Soviet Union that are really struggling. Now we are seeing in Georgia, in particular, the Russians shutting off energy as a threatening way toward the Georgians to try to get them to leave military bases in Georgia.

I realize this, in many cases, is not a top-drawer issue at times, but still our focus toward Russia then determines what happens to these nations. And they are very important and they are strategic and they are at a very pivotal time.

A second area I want to look at just briefly and make a comment and ask your thoughts, if I could get them, is toward India, largest democracy in the world, soon to be the most populous nation in the world, a country that during the cold war went to the wrong side, but that is over. It is time I think for us to build a stronger relationship there.

This past administration has been focused almost entirely on CTBT in its India relationship. I would hope that now we would broaden that relationship and say we will lift the economic sanctions that we have on India. It is important as a nation. I think

it really wants to be better tied to the United States. I think it will give us entre to work even closer, in some cases, with other countries in the region, as we develop separate policies toward India and Pakistan.

So, Central Asia and the South Caucasus, if I could, and then the lifting of economic sanctions on India.

Mr. POWELL. Let me start with India first. In my prepared statement, I did spend a little time on India. In the interest of time, I did not cover it in my oral statement.

I certainly agree with you that India has to be a high priority for foreign policy activities of the United States of America. During the cold war period and even when I was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we did not have to think much about India. They were somewhere else, trapped in another kind of world to us. But now it has all opened up and it is the soon-to-be largest country by population on the face of the earth. And it is a powerful country and it is a nuclear-armed country.

So, I think we have to engage more broadly with India. We have to do what we can to constrain their nuclear program at this time. We have to help them with economic development so they can handle this increased population.

With respect to sanctions, I have discovered over the last several weeks, as I have prepared for this job, that there is a wide range of sanctions and certifications and various constraints. What I am really going to have to do, before I answer your question directly, is get into office and, with my other colleagues in the administration, review all of these sanctions, and especially with respect to India, to see whether this is the time to move forward and remove the remaining sanctions that are in place. But I am not in a position to make that commitment now.

In the Caucasus and Trans Caucasus, I certainly agree with you. We have to make it clear to those nations that just as we want nations anywhere else in the world to govern themselves and to be self-determining, we believe that for them as well. We have to make it clear to the Russians, even though they may have concerns in the periphery of the old Soviet Union and now the periphery of Russia, they cannot act in a heavy-handed way and they cannot intimidate these countries and they cannot threaten these countries. They should not think about trying to recreate the old Soviet Union in some smaller way. This will not further their interests in the West. So, I think we have to be clear in our dialog with the Russians that movement in this area and threatening activities such as cutting off gas to Georgia are not helpful. I am pleased that the Clinton administration, which immediately protested the most recent cutoff of gas to Georgia, succeeded with others in persuading the Russians that this was not the direction to move in.

I think the Russians need to work with us in the West and we have leverage in that regard. If they want to be accepted into the Western economic system, if they want to benefit from a relationship with us, they have to act in accordance with what we believe are commonly accepted principles of behavior.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you.

Senator HELMS. Dr. Frist.

Senator FRIST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Powell, welcome. I join my colleagues in congratulating you and also in anticipation of being able to work together with you over the next several years.

A central challenge that we, how we view them.

We are now, as you have heard prefaced by others, in the beginning of an 18th year of a war in Sudan which has claimed over 2 million lives and displaced over 4 million people. Many of us on this committee have visited that part of the world, and you see the starvation. You see the slavery, the indiscriminate targeting of citizens, of hospitals, of schools, all of which have become the common methods, extraordinary methods in our eyes, but the common methods that result in extraordinary loss of life and destruction of human dignity. This ethnic cleansing in many ways dwarfs what has gone on in other parts of the world that we hear more about that we talked about earlier today.

This war, as we have followed it, has become more and more complex and more and more difficult as the Government of Sudan has begun initially and continues to clear inhabitants away from the oil fields in the south of Sudan, which you have mentioned, and in the middle of Sudan. This is all occurring in addition or on top of the earlier layers, more central layers, where you have had cleansing and pillaging in areas like the Nuba Mountains that I had the opportunity to visit and the other no-go zones or no-fly zones. There we see firsthand the human cost of suffering, the subjugation, the clearing of the oil fields, and the obliteration of an entire population in this region of the Nuba Mountains, the Nuba people.

The history of the United States and our role has been very complex. It seems to be changing. There is no definite policy that has been spelled out. We have been extraordinarily generous in terms of putting food on the table, putting over a billion dollars of relief in the war-affected areas.

Yet, we are faced with the problems of, No. 1, not really having determined the efficacy of this international response that the United States has, indeed, led, has it resulted in little more than just a massive feeding program, and whether it has become a substitute, in part, by other donor countries for the more difficult but necessary steps to actually end that war, to put a functional, viable peace process in place.

The conduct of the Government of Sudan in its prosecution of the war is more the problem rather than our posture. That is what many people have thought and felt. But underneath all this is a real dissatisfaction on the part of Europeans, a recognition that the role of the United States is absolutely essential to effectively address the end of the war.

You have this very complex process going forth, and we can come back to it this afternoon when we have more time for questions. But I want to use that as the introduction of the fundamental question to me, and that is, is this extremely difficult and expensive but not deadly challenge outside our national security interests as Americans? But fully, clearly it is in the center of our conscience as human beings. Is this something to which the United States should commit itself?

Mr. POWELL. It clearly is a troubled country and it is an area where we do have an interest because Sudan is also the location of a number of terrorist activities that cause us great distress. So, I think it is an area that we have an interest in.

I will look forward to seeing what we can do to get a political process started that can try to resolve this problem. You have that delicate balance between putting food in, which helps people survive, but at the same time may also be sustaining the conflict for a period of time. I think we have to find that right balance where you are taking care of people who desperately need, who should not suffer because of your attempt to get the political process started and, at the same time, working with our European friends, the United Nations, and others, to try to get the Sudanese Government to stop acting in such a deplorable, horrible, terrible way with respect to its own citizens. So, it will be an area of national interest and special interest for me.

Senator FRIST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HELMS. Senator Kerry.

Senator KERRY. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry. I apologize. I gather you are doing just a quick——

Senator HELMS. We are just doing snapshots now. You can elaborate after these folks have some lunch. I want these folks up there, the reporters, to have time to eat as well. We are having a 3-minute snapshot.

Senator KERRY. Instead of just eating on us, they can eat real stuff.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the privilege of doing that then. I will not ask any questions right now. I would rather try to have some continuity and do it when we come back.

I would like to just join very quickly in sharing the welcome and the words of praise that have been showered on you this morning, General. It is a huge standard to live up to now I guess, another one for you. But we are really—all of us on this committee I think—extraordinarily proud to vote for you, as we will. I think Joe Biden is correct. I think the Senate will embrace your nomination unanimously.

I appreciate the time you spent. I think the most valuable time in this exchange is the private time that we have been able to share, and I am very appreciative for the time you took with me to explore many areas of the world.

I am very heartened by what you said today about the State Department. Some of us who have had the privilege of serving on this committee for a long period of time now have been arguing for many years about the difficulties under which many of our Foreign Service officers labor and the extraordinary contradiction at this moment of globalization, which we herald in all of our speeches, which has such enormous implications for us as a country. We have actually been diminishing our capacity to effect personal diplomacy.

I have shared with you one example in Hong Kong where we just are not able to keep up with the numbers of requests for proposals. It costs our American citizens jobs. It costs our companies profits and opportunities.

I think if we can come together on this committee and adequately present the face of the United States as we would like it

to be in the places that it ought to be, we are going to do a much better job of building relationships. There are particular parts of the world, as you well know better than anyone, that the success of your diplomacy often depends on the level of your relationships, and those take time to build. We do not do that as well.

Countless times I have been in the Far East or other parts of the world and diplomats come to me or Presidents and Prime Ministers say to me, Senator, where is the United States? The Germans are here. The Japanese are here. The French are here. But we do not see your presence, even in places where we are consistently told by those same leaders we are essential to the stability of that particular region and we are the most significant player.

So, there is a certain hubris in our execution, if you will. It is my prayer that this administration will succeed in taking us further. To her credit, Secretary Albright argued that to us several times in this committee. Mr. Chairman, to your credit you responded last year significantly, and I think it has made a difference. But there is more difference that we can make and must make. So, I found that most welcome today.

Also, we talked about the structuring of the State Department itself in this modern age, the ability to attract the most capable people. We are lucky to get some of the most capable, and we do because they want to serve. There is sort of a natural instinct in some people to go do that even under difficult circumstances. But there are many more people we could attract if we were willing to pay more and be willing to be competitive and to change even the structure of what people get to do as young Foreign Service officers. It is sort of the old Department in many ways, and I think there are changes we could make.

So, I welcome you and there are questions I would like to ask in several areas this afternoon. But we are delighted that you are going to take on this critical role.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HELMS. Senator Chafee.

Senator CHAFEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congratulations, General, and thank you for coming out of retirement and back into public service.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, sir.

Senator CHAFEE. We welcome you and look forward to your confirmation shortly.

I have a question on our plans to go forward with national missile defense. Without passing judgment on it, I think it is a fact that many of our allies are opposed to us going forward with that. They believe that it would undermine their strategic stability, prompt new arms races, and upset international nuclear non-proliferation objectives.

My question is, do you plan to confer with our allies and non-allies as we go forward with this?

Mr. POWELL. Absolutely, Senator. I have already begun to do so. I have had meetings this week with people who have been in town for inauguration activities from other countries, and I have had some very, very healthy discussions with some of our European allies already. I expect to be spending a lot of my time on this issue,

conveying to our allies the progress of our technology, conveying to our allies the threat as it develops or does not develop, and making sure they understand that it is part of a total picture that, at the end of the day, will benefit the world and benefit them as well.

Senator CHAFEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HELMS. Thank you, sir.

We welcome Senator Nelson to my left geographically.

Senator NELSON. To the south geographically.

Senator HELMS. Right. Three minutes, please, sir.

Senator NELSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General, it is a privilege.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator NELSON. In the State Department now there is an office having to do with Holocaust assets retrieval. I just want you to know of my personal interest in this by virtue of the experience that I have come out of over the course of the last 3 or 4 years. In my elected capacity in that time as insurance commissioner of the State of Florida, it suddenly dawned on me and some other insurance commissioners that for over 50 years European insurance companies had stiff-armed Holocaust victims' families and Holocaust survivors on any of those old European insurance policies. This really came to my attention at the time that there was the negotiation and the settlement through what was called the Volker Commission at the time on the Swiss bank accounts. But in fact, most of the European Jews' assets were not in Swiss bank accounts. They were in insurance policies.

So, a number of us got together and realized that suddenly we had a jurisdictional hook, that European subsidiaries were doing business in our States. Because of that, we drug them, kicking and screaming, to the table, formed the International Commission on Holocaust Era Insurance Claims, went out and hired a luminary, former Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger, who still is in that, and in the process for the first time in about 60 years, some, not many, of those insurance policies are beginning to be paid. The question of valuation, the question of getting into the archives and getting the documentation, all of which those companies had refused.

Now, I tell you this story simply to say that it is clearly in my interest from the experience that I have had—and there is a lot more having to do with Holocaust assets than just insurance policies, but it is clearly in my interest to want to keep that little office alive.

Now, earlier an Under Secretary of State, Stu Eizenstat, had headed this up, and when he was promoted over to Treasury, the function went with him, although the office is still in the State Department. I would urge you to keep this office alive because what has happened in the last 2 years on this international commission is we started to make progress and those European insurance companies started digging in their heels and not pursuing it. If we keep the pressure up, then I think we are going to see justice finally be brought to a lot of these folks.

After the war, even when they had a policy and they went back to those companies, those companies said we do not know you. Or they said, in the case of the families, the survivors, show us a

death certificate. Well, Hitler was not giving any death certificates. So, you can see the emotion with which I approach this because I have lived it for the last 3 years. I urge you, General—and I want to work with you—to keep that little Holocaust office alive.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you very much, Senator. I understand the passion that you bring to the issue. Former Secretary Eagleburger has talked to me about the issue. We have had one conversation already. I also, as part of my transition briefings, had conversations with Ambassador Eizenstat and I know what he has been doing and how he has been trying to bring a lot of these issues to conclusion now.

If I had any other doubts as to whether or not I need to get involved in this, yesterday as I was walking through the State Department—I have got this habit of sort of opening conference room doors to see what is going on inside. I did that yesterday and walked into about a dozen Austrian Holocaust survivors. So, they made it clear, in spades, that I needed to have a complete understanding of this issue. I will look at the welfare office immediately.

Senator NELSON. Good.

Senator HELMS. Senator Allen.

Senator ALLEN. Yes, Mr. Chairman, thank you.

General, I very much enjoyed and appreciated your statement about trade and economic dynamism driving world affairs now more than some of the political/military approaches of the past. In my introduction of you, I mentioned how you had served on the board of AOL. Obviously, in your remarks, you get it. You understand how things are moving and, indeed, the Internet and technology. The Internet, in particular, is like Gutenberg's press as far as the dissemination of new ideas and freedom and letting people think for themselves. It is like an individualized empowerment zone for commerce, for thought, and it is wonderful. I think that is how we will spread our ideas to countries that are under the cloud of tyranny or totalitarianism or repression.

The two things that I think are important, though, that I would like to explore with you is how we can continue to share our ideas. As Governor, I have worked on economic development a great deal from semiconductor companies to software companies to computers to communications and others. But two things that are needed in countries. No. 1, individual freedom and the other is the rule of law. The rule of law protects individual rights and it also protects property rights. To some extent in some countries, if our companies try to penetrate those good markets, they are worried about privacy or their property rights, intellectual property rights in those countries.

So, hopefully this afternoon—and I know folks' stomachs are growling, so I am not going to trespass on time too long and I will try to stick to 3 minutes, Mr. Chairman—what I would like to be able to do is explore with you—and if you could share with us in the afternoon session—your views, No. 1, on how the State Department can be involved in helping open up markets for United States based companies to benefit our employees here as well as have the benefits of improved manufacturing processes, communications, education, life sciences, medical sciences and so forth benefit the lives of those countries, and also what we can do, whether it is the

State Department or others, to protect the intellectual property rights, especially the technology of our companies in our country, so they would have that confidence and credibility in enforcing those rights abroad.

Mr. POWELL. I could not agree with you more, Senator Allen. I am remembering an occasion when I was in the Soviet Union just as it was about to break up, and one of my interlocutors was trying to explain to me what Gorbachev was trying to do. He was not sure we were getting it. He said, you need to understand Gorbachev is the first lawyer to run the Soviet Union since Lenin. I said, is that good or bad? The point was he is determined to put the society on a basis of law because without law, you cannot have democracy. Without law, you have no recourse to dictate. Without law, commercial law, personal law, intellectual law, copyright law, without law, your society is not investing in anything and nobody will ultimately invest in it from the outside.

That is probably what the Soviets and now the Russians should have done at the very beginning of the past decade, is put in place a body of law which could serve as an example to the other nations of the region of what it is going to take to give your people freedom to take risks because they are protected by law and investors to come into your country because they are protected by law.

Senator ALLEN. Thank you, General.

Senator HELMS. Mr. Secretary, we are going to take a break now, but let me ask you one question. Did you know Secretary George Marshall?

Mr. POWELL. I did not have that honor, sir.

Senator HELMS. Is there anybody in this room who had contact with Secretary George Marshall?

There is one back there. Old fellow, I am glad to see you.

I knew George Marshall because I was city editor for a paper in Raleigh, North Carolina at the time. As for Thomas Jefferson, the only possible person who could know him would be Strom Thurmond.

We stand in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

[Whereupon, at 12:43 p.m., the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., this same day.]

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:01 p.m. in room SH–216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. Jesse Helms presiding.

Present: Senators Biden, Sarbanes, Dodd, Kerry, Feingold, Boxer, Torricelli, Bill Nelson, Helms, Hagel, Thomas, Frist, Chafee, Allen, and Brownback.

Senator HELMS. The Chairman, Mr. Biden, is on his way in. I know he would want me to start at 2 o'clock. So the committee will come to order, and let us resume a 5-minute rule. I will do this for Senator Thomas and for Senator Sarbanes, and then after that we will start with the 10 minutes. Is that all right? We had the snapshots.

Senator SARBANES. Whatever.

Senator HELMS. Mr. Thomas, you were not here this morning and neither was the distinguished Senator from Maryland. You may proceed.

Senator THOMAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Yes, I did have to leave.

Welcome, General. It is nice to have you here. My questions of course will be centered primarily on Asia-Pacific rim, as I have been chairman of that subcommittee for some time. I guess I am particularly interested, in the waning days of the Clinton administration, there is a flurry of activity that could be viewed as a movement toward normalization in relations with North Korea, and I am in favor of that if we can do it.

But I have always been a little wary and it seemed to me like maybe we are moving a little without having any particular movement in response or at least a movement that you could count on. So I guess I am interested in what the position of the Bush administration will be with the expectation of moving toward a missile program and normalization. What will we expect from North Korea if we are to give them such things as normalization of policy?

Mr. POWELL. I think we are still some time away from normalization of relations. Even if we were to get everything we were interested in with respect to missile programs or what they are doing with respect to exporting that kind of technology, we would still be left with a situation of a dictatorial regime that has a very large army poised on the border between North and South Korea.

So the Bush administration will come in and work with North Korea and with our allies in the region, South Korea and Japan, in a very, very cautious way. If there are openings there, I think we should take them. I think we should move forward. We should see what is on Kim Jung-Il's mind, and we should not be afraid to engage. But we ought to engage, not with any sense of haste about getting normalization quickly and with clear-eyed realism about the nature of that regime, a regime that is essentially led by one person. The whole country looks to this one person for direction.

We also have to make sure that any deal we might get is absolutely verifiable and we can monitor it, and only then can we be assured that it is something we should take to the Senate or to the American people or to the Congress in general and say this is a good deal for America.

But the reality is that that regime is in trouble. That regime is unable to feed itself. It has an economy that bears no relationship to what is happening in the 21st century. I think they are going to have to keep moving in a direction of opening up in some way at some pace, and we should not be resistant to that opening up. We should encourage it and we should get in there.

But we should also be very realistic that it not move too fast and we let our South Korean friends be in the lead. At the moment I do not think that there is any inclination on our part, nor was there on the part of the Clinton administration, to essentially start flowing additional resources into that society other than food, food which they need and food which we are probably going to give them anyway, in light of the humanitarian conditions that exist in that country.

So the policy I am quite sure President-elect Bush will be following and I will be structuring for him is, not be afraid of changes taking place in North Korea, engage with them, but do it in a very, very realistic way, and to not give them anything unless we get something in return, something that is really valuable to us, something that moves them in an entirely different direction, away from missiles, away from the export of this kind of technology to other parts of the world, and in a direction that ultimately removes the conventional threat as well as the unconventional threat that exists directed toward South Korea.

Senator THOMAS. Thank you.

I was thinking this morning, just a little bit different approach, but the Secretary of Energy is overseas now talking to OPEC in terms of production of oil and gas and to deal with them, to try and bargain, I suppose, to do something about that production area. I do not think the Secretary of Energy has much to bargain with. It seems to me like the Secretary of State, with those countries that we do a lot for, would be in a better position to do some bargaining on energy than the Energy Secretary.

What do you think of that?

Mr. POWELL. It is an interesting idea. I think before giving the definitive answer I better pursue it with your colleague Spence Abraham to see if he would have any objection to the State Department——

Senator THOMAS. You could go together, you know. It just seems like we need some leverage, and we go to a country and do a lot of things for them, and yet when we go over there to talk about OPEC production and so on, why, they do not seem to pay any attention. We need some leverage.

Mr. POWELL. I agree that we should use whatever leverage we have, but over the long history of energy use and our demands for energy I think our friends in the region have tried to be helpful from time to time when it serves our interests and we needed them to be helpful. It always is a negotiation as to what the right price is that we are willing to support with a particular supply and a particular demand.

We can also lecture ourselves about the amount of energy that we are increasingly using and the rate at which our use of energy is increasing, thereby placing a greater demand on the supply. So I think there will always be tension between these two sides of the equation, but we should use our relationship with those nations to get a reliable supply of energy needs, fossil fuels, from that part of the world at a price that is not unreasonable.

Senator THOMAS. In the Clinton administration Congress mandated the creation of an Office of Tibet Coordinator. Frankly, I do not think that has had much action. Not much activity has taken place, as a matter of fact very little. What do you think the role of that Tibetan Coordinator would be under your regime?

Mr. POWELL. It will be an important role. We have been looking at organizational structures during this transition period and I have about figured out how to man that office and the role it should have in helping us develop a policy that will hopefully bring some reconciliation between the people of Tibet, the Tibetans, and the Chinese.

It is a very difficult situation right now, with the Chinese sending more and more Han Chinese in to settle Tibet, what seems to be a policy that might well destroy that society. I think we have to re-energize our discussions with the Chinese to let them know that this is another example of the kind of behavior that will affect our entire relationship and show our interest and solidarity with the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet.

Senator THOMAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HELMS. At this point let us go into the 10-minute round, with the caveat that Senator Sarbanes will have 15 minutes, and then Senator Biden when he gets here, we will interrupt, put him in whenever he wants to go.

Senator SARBANES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HELMS. Yes, sir, we will let you go and then I will follow you.

Senator SARBANES. I appreciate that very much.

Mr. Chairman and my colleague, I regret I was not able to be here this morning, but I was chairing the hearing for another nominee, and we are trying very hard to help the new administration by moving their nominees along as promptly as we can and trying to get them into place. We had a very cordial and successful hearing, I think, with Mr. Martinez, who has been nominated to be the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

I got a report on the hearing that was held here this morning and I gather I am going from one love fest to another. That is all right by me because I certainly welcome this nomination. I have great respect for Colin Powell and for his long and distinguished service to our country, Secretary Powell. I am working hard now at accomplishing this transition. I know in a sense you will never leave the generalship behind, but you will be Secretary Powell, just like George Marshall was Secretary Marshall.

He is now being asked to serve our country yet again in this very important and sensitive position as Secretary of State. The challenges of this job are very great, but I look forward to his dealing with them.

I do want to urge on you confronting the immediate problem of getting adequate resources to carry out our foreign policy. I do not think we have provided the muscles for the active diplomacy which we have been trying to pursue and which I think we ought to pursue, and I hope you will make the case to the American people and to the Congress in terms of getting additional resources for the 150 account, resources for the Department to carry out its responsibilities.

I am very concerned about providing embassy security around the world. You talked in your statement about the very loyal and dedicated people who make up the Department of State. We want to draw on their talent, obviously, and I think if they get a sense that finally they are going to be paid attention to and they are going to be given the means with which to do the job, they are a great resource for you in carrying out your responsibilities.

Hopefully, we will be able to now normalize our relationship with the United Nations and other international institutions. I would regard that as a very important step forward.

On occasions I have been involved in ambassadorial appointments. I just want to sound a warning bell. First of all, I think that the career people ought to have a crack at these ambassadorial appointments. I realize that every administration will want to make appointments outside of the career service. I do not object to that on principle as long as it is kept in some reasonable ratio. Otherwise I think it has a demoralizing impact on the Foreign Service.

Having said that, I feel very keenly that the political—if there are political appointments, ambassadors for example, that they ought to bring a record of distinguished service which warrants making them an ambassador, going outside of the career service in order to make someone an ambassador. I think it is very important that their record reflects that, and I have, of course, as the chairman knows and others, have challenged nominees on occasion on that ground, would anticipate doing the same, nominees actually made by Presidents of both parties. So it is not engendered by a partisan concern.

But we welcome this nomination. I look forward to supporting it. Now, Mr. Secretary, let me ask you this question. I am interested—I look through your statement and I know you talk about democratic values, but let me talk about human rights. Let me use that phrase in turn. What is your view of how integral a part of our overall diplomacy and our national interests the human rights dimension is?

Mr. POWELL. I think it is very important. I hope, if you look at my statement, you will find that pretty close to the front I put a paragraph there to make sure that no one misunderstood that President-elect Bush will be coming in with a clear commitment to human rights. I think it derives from our values. It derives from the God-given rights that all of us have, and you can see it in our own founding documents. The rights of men and women to live in peace, to live in freedom, the rights they enjoy to pursue their own destiny, I think have to be part of the essential value system that we use within our own nation and that we take to other nations as an example of the way one should behave and how one should treat one's citizens.

So I think you will find a firm commitment to human rights within the Bush administration State Department.

Senator SARBANES. Do you think other countries and their leaders in considering their relationship with the United States should factor in as a very significant dimension their attachment to human rights? In other words, to what extent are we going to allow our relationship with some country to be shaped, not determined but shaped, significantly shaped, by their human rights performance?

Mr. POWELL. I think it should be an element that we apply in making a judgment concerning the nature of our relations with another country. A country that has no respect for the dignity of man or woman, a country that believes they can oppress their people, really is not following the kind of value system that we should honor and give particular currency to.

So I think it should be a part of our dialog with those countries. But at the end of the day, they have to decide how they are going to run their countries. I think we should consistently press them

on the issue. We have human rights reports that we put out on an annual basis that give evidence of how these various countries are behaving.

I remember very vividly, if I may just go back briefly to the time I was National Security Adviser, every time Secretary of State Shultz and I went and met with the Russians, every single meeting, they knew that we would engage them across the full range of issues—arms control, bilateral relations, multilateral, regional problems—but the No. 1 item, pride of place in every discussion, was human rights, with lists of refuseniks who were not allowed to come out.

We were always shoving that in their face, telling them that, if you want to have a complete relationship with us, you have got to understand that we will always present this element of that relationship in pride of place. I think that is a sound policy.

The Russians would respond in those days by attacking us with respect to human rights: Who are you to lecture us? We showed them the kind of progress we have made in our society and what you can achieve when you believe in human rights and you accord dignity to every person.

I will never forget the day when Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was lecturing us back across the table in Saint Catherine's Hall and I was on George Shultz's right and a good friend of all of ours, Ambassador Rozanne Ridgeway, was on his left. Shevardnadze was going on about "how you treat your blacks and your women," and then he looked up from his notes, he looked at Roz and then he looked at me and he said: "Oh, never mind; next point."

So by our example, by our example of what is achievable, you can show to the rest of the world a model. It goes back to some other points that were raised earlier, if you will permit me, Senator Sarbanes. Senator Torricelli raised something like this earlier. We have military strength, we have political strength, we have economic strength, but the greatest strength we have is the strength of our example, to show to the rest of the world what a nation as diverse as ours, drawn in from all over the world, what we can do because we respect the rights of individuals, and where we have not done that in the past we are going to improve ourselves in the future.

I think that is a powerful model we should present to the rest of the world and lecture them on it and use it as a way of showing them, not that we are better than them, but how they can be better than they are now if they will follow these basic principles.

Senator SARBANES. I just note that Thomas Jefferson, to whom you referred at the outset of your statement this morning, said, and I quote him: "The interests of a nation when well understood will be found to coincide with their moral duties."

Now, the Congress has on occasion put into the law, and those provisions exist there now, conditioning U.S. assistance or other forms of aid to increase on their human rights performance. I take it you find no difficulty with those requirements?

Mr. POWELL. It would depend on the particular requirement and the particular country. As long as the requirements and whatever conditions the Congress placed were in the context of our overall relationship—to go back once again to the Soviet Union, even

though they might not have satisfied us in every way we would have wanted on human rights at a particular meeting, that did not mean we did not talk about other things or we did not engage with them.

So I think it should be one of the tools available to the administration, available to the President and the Secretary of State, in discussing a full range of issues with another nation. But I would have to see the particular sanction and the particular country before I could say to you that ought to be determinative of what we do with that particular country.

Senator SARBANES. Well, this has been a bone of contention on occasion in the past between administrations and the Congress. I do not think the Congress does that lightly, and the arguments usually for it before it is done are quite strong. I do think it is a matter on which we place a lot of weight, and I hope you will keep that in mind.

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator SARBANES. On the embassy security issue, have you had a chance to look at that?

Mr. POWELL. I have taken a first look at it. I have gotten some experts to come in and make an assessment for me, an independent assessment of how best to manage that program and how to balance the needs for secure facilities for our families and diplomats overseas and how to also make sure that we have accessible facilities that represent the openness of the United States and encourage people to come and do business with us.

Senator SARBANES. Well, Admiral Crowe, of course, headed up a study group and made some very important recommendations. Last year the Congress actually provided the administration's request for embassy security, and I very much hope that this is a matter you will pursue very closely. Obviously, if something happens and we have not addressed it there is going to be a huge uproar over that. We need to be careful, just because nothing has happened, we do not turn away from the problem, because it could happen anywhere at any time, obviously.

I want to just talk to you for a moment about the Cyprus issue, which has been festering now for over a quarter of a century. Several rounds of proximity talks have taken place under U.N. auspices. There has been an effective American team, including a high level U.S. Presidential envoy. At the moment, the Secretary General's call for reconvening those proximity talks at the end of the month seems to be in limbo because of the very intransigent position taken by the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktash.

How important a foreign policy priority do you think the Cyprus issue should be for the new administration?

Mr. POWELL. I think it is very important. It has been a problem that has been lingering, festering as a sore in that region, and is an irritation between those two countries most concerned with it, Greece and Turkey. So we will remain engaged. We will support the U.N. Secretary General's actions. We will encourage both parties to come to these proximity talks.

We understand the differences of view that exist between Greece, that is interested in a bizonal, bicommunal federation along the lines suggested by the United Nations, and Turkey's desire for

something slightly different. We hope we can play a useful role, since we have friendly relations with both of those nations, and encourage them to not only support the process, but to encourage Mr. Denktash to engage as soon as he possibly can.

Senator SARBANES. Well, the U.N.'s position is that the proximity talks should continue and that these are talks without preconditions. That has been a position the United States has supported and I take it that you continue to support that position?

Mr. POWELL. I expect to do so. I have not discussed it with the President, but it seems like the position we would support.

Senator SARBANES. What is your thinking on continuing a high level U.S. Presidential envoy on Cyprus?

Mr. POWELL. I have not made a judgment on that yet. I know we have had an envoy and other envoys in the region, really two who have been managing that account, and it is something I will have to examine and discuss with the President.

Senator SARBANES. Let me just close, then. I understand my time is almost up.

Do you put getting these resources at the top of your priority list? I cannot overemphasize that to you. Otherwise you are not going to be able to do the job, I have to tell you.

Mr. POWELL. I do. It is an issue that I have already discussed with President-elect Bush. What we really need is a step increase, a significant increase in resources, not just a little bit of inflation adjustment. We have shorted those accounts rather severely in recent years and it is not in our interest to keep moving in this direction. If we do not want to see our youngsters have to solve some of these problems on the battlefield, then we need to fight them out beforehand in diplomatic channels.

If we want our country to participate in this world economic revolution, then we have to arm our embassies to help us with trade matters, economic issues, the full panoply of issues that go well beyond just political and military issues. The State Department is in the front line of that.

If I may, sir, your point on ambassadors, I take it very much to heart. We should never send somebody overseas to represent the people of the United States who is not qualified and competent and we have full confidence in, whether that person is a Foreign Service officer or a political ambassador. You can be sure that, working with the President, those are the only kinds of people who will be sent overseas to represent the American people.

I am very, very anxious to make sure that our FSO's get a career track that allows them to look ahead and think one of these days, to go back to my own military model, I am going to be a brigade commander, a battalion commander. That is what they work for. We have to make sure that we give them that opportunity by keeping the number of political ambassadors in reasonable check.

Senator SARBANES. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HELMS. Thank you, Senator. Thank you.

By the way, before the time begins to be charged, Howard Baker called me a while ago and he asked me to remember him to you, and he had all sorts of good things to say about you. So I have delivered the message.

Mr. POWELL. Howard must want something. I better call him.

Senator HELMS. Now then, the situation, let me state it for the record. Everybody has had their 5 minutes. In one I combined the 10 minutes with the 5 minutes for Senator Sarbanes. So we are starting on the 10-minute round now.

Mr. Secretary, I was heartened by President-elect Bush's open and outspoken endorsement of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act during his campaign. As you have already alluded to, the bill calls for close consultation with Congress on Taiwan defense sales, lifting restrictions on U.S. military travel to Taiwan, establishing direct secure communications with Taiwan's military, and reporting to Congress on the ability of the United States to respond to a military contingency in Taiwan.

Now, I would like for you to discuss how the administration intends to implement those provisions.

Mr. POWELL. We have not had a discussion within the administration about the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act and exactly what position we will be taking once we are in. We are committed, as I said in my prepared statement and in my oral statement, to the defense of Taiwan.

The real issue comes down to, it seems to my mind, how do we make sure that Taiwan is secure, is able to defend itself, but do it in a way that really does not create new conditions of instability because of the reaction of the Chinese. We have always watched this balance very, very carefully. I remember in my days as National Security Adviser and Chairman watching this balance very carefully.

So what I would like to do is, once we get into office next week and have had our initial discussions, sit and talk with you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, as to your thinking and our best estimate of what we think we need to be doing to make sure that Taiwan knows that we are interested in its security and defense and, as we have said for many, many years, we will take any threat to Taiwan as a matter of the gravest concern to the United States of America.

Senator HELMS. As the saying goes, when you are ready I am ready.

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator HELMS. Now let us talk about the International Criminal Court. I do not know that you have had much chance to think about that since you became the nominee. The International Criminal Court Treaty has raised the ire of a lot of people, including me, because the court claims the authority to indict and try and imprison American citizens, including our service people—Army, Navy, and all the rest—and national security officials like the Secretary of State, I might add, even though the United States has not ratified the treaty.

Now, as a former Joint Chiefs Chairman and future Secretary of State—that future is upon us—can I have your commitment to work with Congress to decisively address the threat to American citizens and American sovereignty posed by this international kangaroo court?

Mr. POWELL. Yes. I had reservations about that treaty when it was in the development process when I was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and it was coming along. I have reservations about

it now, and I do not think you can be standing on tippy-toes waiting for the Bush administration to ask for any, any movement toward ratification of the treaty.

As President Clinton said when he signed it, he recognized that there were difficulties with the treaty, special difficulties within the Pentagon, who as I understand it they were not supportive of that treaty, obviously, and he said in his signing statement that he signed it because he wanted to be able to influence future discussions on the treaty. But when you do sign a treaty, in legal terms you sort of bind yourself not to defeat the purpose and objectives of the treaty. But we have no plans to ask for ratification of this treaty.

Senator HELMS. We are going to send somebody down there to strike the signature of that ambassador. "Cu-ber," as Jack Kennedy used to call it. First, do you agree that the embargo should be kept in place until there are free elections in Cuba?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, although I think there are things we can do, as you are well aware, that will allow the Cuban people to start to benefit from this new world. Anything we can do to let information get into that regime and resources from family member to family member into that regime, that Castro cannot get his hands on—because every time we have done something where he can get his hands on it, by the time he gets through laundering it he is the beneficiary of what came, as opposed to someone else.

So Mr. Castro is an aging starlet who will not change in this lifetime, and we will have to keep containing him, and it is President-elect Bush's intention to keep the sanctions in place.

Senator HELMS. The key words in what you just said are Castro getting his hands on it. That is the thing that bothers me about some of these proposals to do business with Cuba.

Second, what specific steps do you plan to take to increase the support of the United States for the dissidents in Cuba and help build a civil society on that island and get the Latin Americans and Europeans to take a strong stand in defense of human rights in Cuba? I am getting sick and tired of all these people who say, well, you know, we want to do business with Cuba, and they ignore what is going on in terms of human rights there. What is your opinion, sir?

Mr. POWELL. I do not have a list of items for you. Of course, this issue comes up every year with the human rights meeting that takes place where these matters are dealt with. But as we have in the past, we will continue in the future to point out to our friends, following up on the conversation I just had with Senator Sarbanes, that these rights are universal and they belong to the Cuban people, and no matter how much you might want to do business in Cuba, those of our friends who are anxious to do business in Cuba, you have to consider that it is one of the last surviving dictatorships on the face of the earth, run by a man who has never stood for election of any serious kind in almost 50 years, and that his day is passed, they are living in a time warp, and we should do nothing that encourages him or gives him the wherewithal to stay any longer.

Senator HELMS. I was encouraged when I heard candidate Bush advance the process—he said he is going to lead the European alli-

ance to advance the process of NATO enlargement at the next alliance summit in 2002. Now, do you have any notion about how precisely this will be fulfilled?

Mr. POWELL. The President-elect is committed to NATO enlargement. As you know, there are nine nations that are now standing in queue requesting admission at the summit in 2002. In our NATO meetings later this spring and into the summer, we will have to decide what set of standards we are going to use for admission—some variation of the standards we used in the last round or whatever. But it is something that all of the NATO members will have to come into agreement on. I look forward to those discussions.

Whether it should be all nine of them, one or more of the nine of them, is something we have not yet reached a decision point on. Of course, that will be part of the discussion and part of the creation of the standards, some idea of who will be able to meet those standards.

I think I have to say in all candor that for three of them, the Baltic States, there will be quite a bit of discussion about the Russian reaction to that. We will listen to that and we will take it into account. But at the end of the day, I think we have to do what we think is right for the nations of the region and for NATO.

Senator HELMS. I know Russia, they are going to protest and stomp and cry and all the rest of it about the Baltic States. But that ought not to restrain us in doing what is right, and I hope that we will.

Now, Kuwait and Iraq and all of that. At the press conference when President-elect Bush announced that he had selected you, you stated that sanctions on Iraq should be reinvigorated. I think that is the word you used. I want to stand up and say hurrah, hurrah. The Republican platform echoed this and as a matter of fact called for full implementation of the Iraq Liberation Act as a starting point in a comprehensive plan for the removal of Saddam Hussein. The key word there is "removal."

Now, tell me how you intend to re-energize sanctions and how you are going to proceed about removing Saddam Hussein? Or is that something you would rather do in closed session?

Mr. POWELL. I can start here. With respect to the sanctions, I think we have not clearly enough pointed out to our regional coalition partners and to the nations in the region that Iraq is threatening them with these weapons of mass destruction. Do not see it as the United States versus Iraq; you better see it as you that is at the other end of these missiles that these people might be putting together and the terrible weapons they are going to put on top of those missiles.

I think we have to make sure they understand that clearly and take the threat to them. I think we have to make it clear to them that we have to keep the sanctions in place, we have to keep our hand on the money that flows from the oil for food program and to make sure that that money is not diverted to the purchase of weapons or materials that could be used for weapons of mass destruction.

I think it can be done. I think that we can make that case to our friends in the region and to our coalition partners. I think we have

to do it in a way that puts the burden on Iraq ultimately to prove to us that they do not have weapons of mass destruction. We have an inspection regime that is ready to go in under new U.S.-U.N. authority. But at the end of the day, it is Iraq that has to be held to account, not the inspectors. So I think I would press that point hard.

As long as we are able to control the major source of money going into Iraq, we can keep them in the rather broken condition they are in now. Mr. Saddam Hussein can put a hat on his head and shoot a rifle in the air at an army day parade, but it is fundamentally a broken, weak country, one-third the military force it had some 10 years ago. You remember when it was three times larger they could not wait to surrender. I do not think it is in much better shape now, even though they can have an army day parade.

So we really did what we said we were going to do with Desert Storm, bring him down to size. His only tool, the only thing he can scare us with, are those weapons of mass destruction, and we have to hold him to account. I think this case can be made to the world at large, and let them know we are not after Iraqi children, Iraqi leaders are after the world's children; and put the burden on them and put the onus on them.

With respect to opposition activity, I am familiar with the act, I am familiar with the drawdown authority and the other moneys that are available. I have been briefed by the outgoing administration on some of the activities they have under way, and the President-elect and I and Dr. Rice and Mr. Rumsfeld will review the entire range of activity once we get in and see how best to proceed.

It is easy to say let us just go in and take over the land, but we really have to make sure we have an understanding of how this is actually going to be operationalized and that there really is some sound basis for believing that people could be successful once they go onto Iraqi territory. We have to make sure that our friends in the region are supporting us.

We had a bad experience in Kurdistan, in the Kurdish area, a few years ago where we thought we were doing something good and discovered it all got rolled up rather quickly, and we do not want to repeat that mistake.

Senator HELMS. Well, we have got to learn a better way to encourage the opposition to be effective. I meet with them all the time. They come over here two or three times a year. I know you probably have, too. But they seem to me to be sort of aimless, and they want to do, but they do not know how to do. But we will have to work on that.

My time is up. Senator Dodd. Tens minutes, we are on 10 minutes.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, I appreciate it. Again, I apologize for this morning when I went over a little bit on the allowed time.

General, thank you again for being with us. I will reiterate my best wishes to you that I made this morning. Let me, if I can, run down a couple of these subject matters. You responded to the Colombian issue and I appreciate that very much.

There is not any particular logic to this. I will stay within the region and then go to some more generic questions beyond the re-

gion. The inauguration of President Fox, I was there along with a delegation from the House and the Senate. My colleague from Rhode Island and I were part of the Senate delegation that witnessed the inauguration of Vincente Fox. One of the outstanding issues between our two countries over a period of time—and you and I had a chance to briefly discuss this in private—is the certification process with regard to narcotics.

I for one, along with John McCain, Kay Bailey Hutchison and others, have raised the question of the effectiveness, despite the good intentions behind that process, of whether or not we are actually achieving the desired results by decertifying countries or then waiving the certification and creating a lot of turmoil. Again, I do not question the rationale behind it and the determination. We lose 50,000 people a year in this country in drug-related deaths, no small item at all. Certainly, dealing with the transportation, the growing, and all the other issues are critically important, and Mexico has a major problem on its hands, as we do.

I am going to be proposing a suspension of the certification process, not to eliminate it, but to suspend it, to see if we cannot come up with a better way to deal with this. I notice that our colleague from Texas, Phil Gramm, was in Mexico recently and he made a similar statement, that he thought the certification process—I do not want to put words in his mouth, but the gist of it was—was not working very well and that we ought to try something new, particularly the new administration here.

Without trying to pin you down on a piece of legislation you have not seen, I wonder if you just might quickly share some views on the certification process generally and, if you have any ideas, whether today or at a later date, on how we might craft something as an alternative that would work with a sense of cooperation and not judgmental, since we are the major consumers, as you have already pointed out in your remarks.

Mr. POWELL. I would very much like to work with you, Senator Dodd, and other Members of the Congress on this whole certification issue. All certifications and sanctions regimes have a noble purpose from their origins. That is why we have them. They are trying to change behavior and change behavior in the right way. But there are cases where it becomes self-defeating and where it shows a degree of American hubris and arrogance that may not at the end of the day serve our interests all that well. Particularly when we end up waiving it all the time, it becomes a little hypocritical, to be frank.

We have not had a chance yet, as you would expect, to discuss this within the administration, so I cannot speak for the President-elect. But I would certainly like to engage with you to see whether or not all of the various sanctions and certifications that exist now are relevant and serving the original purposes.

If there is one thing that I have been rather astonished with during my transition briefings in the State Department, as I go through these huge books tab after tab after tab, almost every tab dealing with some particular country, some particular functional area, has a certification, a sanction, or some other procedure, which makes it a little difficult for the administration to conduct, I think, foreign policy as effectively as we might.

Understanding that in many instances in the course of our history those sanctions and certifications have been useful and they have worked, so I do not want to rule them all in or rule them all out. But I would look forward to a discussion on the subject.

Senator DODD. I appreciate that. I would note that the certification process comes up fairly quickly in the calendar year.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator DODD. So we will try and craft something, talk with your folks at the Department and others in the next couple of weeks to see if we cannot put something together, rather than wait sort of down the line, and then we are scurrying around, as has been the case historically, and it creates some confusion.

In that regard, there is also the summit coming up in April. I suspect this would be a major issue anyway, so it might be worth our while to have something on the table that we are working on at that particular juncture.

Just as a related matter, and I will leave this, I suspect my colleague from Nebraska may raise this with you since we have worked together on it along with Senator Lugar. That is the unilateral sanctions regime generally. You have just alluded to it. I could not agree with you more. Again, there are good intentions behind these. They have had some benefit from time to time. But too often we find ourselves isolated on these matters.

There is nothing wrong with that from time to time, where we feel—being alone is not necessarily bad. But we need to rethink how we are going to apply these. We have offered some legislation. Senator Helms graciously gave us a hearing in the last Congress to raise these issues. I will move on to the next subject matter, but Chuck may want to address this.

I want to jump, if I can, to Chile. This is a more current matter. In fact, I have a letter that I will be sending to the President-elect. But there has been a decision by the Clinton administration. They have just announced that they are prepared to approve a sale of F–16 aircraft to the Government of Chile, at a cost of some $600 million.

For the last 20 years we have had a prohibition on the sale of sophisticated weaponry in the hemisphere. We have applied this across the board. All administrations, to their credit, have lived with this. This is the first breach in that, in a sense.

I have no objection to selling F–16's per se to Chile and understand they need to modernize their equipment. What concerns me is there is a degree of sophistication in the armaments in this particular transaction which I think is going to immediately sort of trigger what you would anticipate, and that is our good friends and allies in other places seeking parity in terms of these matters. I know of no hostilities that are raging here within the region.

Again, I am not going to ask you here today to make a judgment call on this. But I would love to have you take a look at this one right away. It is pending. It needs to be thought through a little bit in my view before we end up with an arms race in this hemisphere, in light of all the other problems we face in some of these countries. This would add a complication to it.

Again, I have no objections to modernizing military hardware and equipment in these countries, but to the extent which we do

so does raise some serious concerns. I do not know whether you want to comment on this or not.

Mr. POWELL. Well, I am not familiar with that particular sale and I will leave it with the Clinton administration. But I will certainly be willing to take a look at it when we get in.

Senator DODD. I appreciate that.

On Haiti, again you played a very critical role, along with President Carter and Senator Nunn, back a number of years ago to start Haiti down a road toward democracy. I commend you for your courage and your willingness to join in that particular effort. It has not worked out as well as we had hoped in a number of areas and we could have a good just discussion on that subject alone.

In late December, the Clinton administration negotiated an agreement with Haiti in which the United States would release some $600 million in international aid if Haiti agreed to eight specific conditions addressing economic, electoral, anti-narcotic, and human rights reforms, agreed to. On December 27, a few days ago, President Aristide accepted those terms and called for closer ties between our two countries.

I wonder if you might think it is time for us to re-engage Haiti here, to test the determination, if you will, by President Aristide, to live up to those conditions. Since you know a lot about it, I thought I might want to spend a minute or so on it.

Mr. POWELL. I am familiar with the paper and I had a chance to review it and Secretary Albright and I discussed it. I was aware that President Aristide had sent a letter back accepting those eight conditions. I was asked whether or not he could expect that we would also find those eight conditions to be an acceptable road map, if you will.

What we said to the Clinton administration, which I am confident they have communicated to President Aristide, is that we will look at that as an appropriate road map to get started, but we do not rule out that we might have other conditions or other things we might want to add to that. Those are pretty demanding conditions.

Senator DODD. Yes, they are.

Mr. POWELL. I think we have to engage with President Aristide. It seems that our goals remain what they were some 10 or 12 years ago, how to get that democracy and that economy started and how to keep the Haitian people at home and not on the seas heading toward Florida. That is where we came in.

Senator DODD. We have a very good ambassador there right now, I might point out, who is working very hard on these matters.

How much time do I have left, Mr. Chairman? I do not want to open up a subject matter that——

Mr. BOWMAN [committee staff]. One minute and 6 seconds.

Senator DODD. Well, I will just mention Peru to you and I will come back to a couple of larger issues. On the Peruvian issue as well, obviously a lot of turmoil here. We in my view at least bear some, share some of the responsibility with what has happened with Vladimir Montesinos, the former intelligence chief there, and this sort of odyssey of his around the region.

It is going to be important, I think, to support current policies engaging or encouraging the reform process in that country. Again,

I mentioned this region to you already in terms of so many common interests overlap for these countries and it seems to me we need to find some way to deal with some of these common interests in a more regional fashion than we have been. I just would put that on your agenda.

They have got upcoming elections in April and I am sure you would agree that we can try and at least engage that process to encourage the reforms there.

Mr. POWELL. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator DODD. Mr. Chairman, let me stop there and I will wait and bring up a couple other subject matters the next time.

Senator HELMS. Senator Hagel.

Senator HAGEL. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Secretary Powell, I want to pick up on a couple of points that my colleague Senator Dodd mentioned. I also want to go back to Senator Sarbanes' points, which you and I have spoken about privately, about finding the resources that your institution needs to do the job. I think it has been well covered this morning, but I just wanted for the record to add my voice to that in support.

You will find this United States Senator very willing to work with you on this because I think those front line people that we have, those Foreign Service officers, are critical to our national security interest and our interests around the world, and I think we have, as I think your quote was, you are on short rations over there. Sir, you are right. So we will look forward to your coming up here as one of your top priorities to address that.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HAGEL. Second, on Senator Dodd's point on sanctions and certification issues, which you and I talked about as well in my office last week. Would you care to elaborate a bit on how you might approach getting your arms around this? We have got them everywhere, and you know the statistics on this, on how many unilateral sanctions that we throw on countries. We do not like this, so we are going to show them, are we not? And they laugh at us and we only hurt ourselves, not in every instance.

But I have been rather vocal over the last 4 years about speaking out against our own unilateral sanction imposition. Sanctions that are multilateral, like in Iraq, it is a different story. But I would be interested in hearing, Secretary Powell, how you intend to get your arms around this issue.

Mr. POWELL. Well, one, I would encourage the Congress to stop for a while. I mean, stop, look, and listen before you impose the sanction. They just keep coming. I think I have seen about half a dozen new ones even before I took office in the last couple of weeks. So I would encourage discipline, self-discipline, on the part of the Congress, that when you are mad about something or when there is a particular constituent interest, please stop, count to 10, call me, let me come up, let us talk about it before you slap another bureaucratic process on me.

It is not just the certification and the sanctions. It is the people involved in doing all of this. I have got battalions of lawyers and experts and analysts who ought to be worrying about a regional strategy for the Andes who instead are writing long reports about who should be certified or not certified. That is not the best use of

our talent. So I would encourage restraint and discipline on the part of the Congress.

I do not know that there is a single law you could pass that wipes it all out or you give us a new way of looking at them. Some of the proposals I have heard about, the mechanics of those proposals might cause us even greater difficulty than the sanctions in the first place.

I would also like to participate with you in discussing how to get rid of most of these. For gosh sakes, please, give them all a sunset clause, make them all go away at the end of a year. If there is still merit at the end of a year or end of a particular period or some action-causing event, then let us make it go away and not just keep repeating it and having bureaucrats at the State Department spending all their time doing things like this so that you can call them bureaucrats at the State Department spending all their time doing things like this.

Senator HAGEL. I guess your answer is we should look at our own house.

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator HAGEL. I got you. That is why you were a general and I was a sergeant.

I was interested in your testimony this morning on your reference to Iran. I am not sure you read it all verbally, but I did read it. I want you to know occasionally we do read what you write. If I could, just for the benefit of those not having the verbiage in front of them like I do, you talk about "Iran is a different case, an important country undergoing profound change from within. We have important differences on matters of policy, but these differences need not preclude greater interaction, whether in more normal commerce or increased dialog. Our national security team will be reviewing such possibilities."

I am encouraged to read this and I would be interested if you could embroider around that statement a bit and tell us more about it.

Mr. POWELL. We have serious problems in our relationship with Iran and I am not going to minimize them. That statement does not attempt to minimize them. Whether it is their pursuit of a nuclear capability or their support of terrorism or the way they treat human rights issues in their own country, these are significant differences.

But at the same time, we can see in recent years that there is change happening in Iran. We have those who hold power, the old ayatollahs, but there is a President who was elected to office—elections. He was elected to office because the people of Iran were expecting a little more moderation, a little more openness in their lives. So the people of Iran I think are starting to speak, especially the young people of Iran are starting to speak, that they think there is a broader world out here, the kind of world I talked about this morning, that perhaps has a place for them.

To the extent that our policies can take into account the serious difficulties we have with the offensive policies, but at the same time give encouragement to the people of Iran, that Iranians are not our enemies, that we are trying to make life better for them, we are trying to give them insight into the world that is waiting

for them out here, to the extent that we can nuance our policy in that regard, I think it serves our interests and the interests of the region.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Staying in the Middle East, I also noted in your testimony this morning your general comment: "Peace for Israel means peace with all her neighbors, Syria included, where we need to build on the opportunity created by Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon." Could you talk a little more about that as to the approach you might take? I know it is early, a lot of dynamics in this. But certainly peace has eluded us, not because we have not put effort into it in the Middle East.

But I think in my opinion that statement is exactly where you should begin, the complete peace.

Mr. POWELL. I will have to be guarded because there are still negotiations ongoing and President Clinton is still fully engaged in this process, and we wish him all the best in what he is doing. But it seems to me that there are a number of pieces to this. One is the Syrian piece and one is the Palestinian piece.

A few years ago we were moving down the Syrian track, and then that did not pan out at the time and we moved to the Palestinian track. But the only way you will get a comprehensive settlement is to do both of them. I hope that we will find a set of conditions at some point in the future where if we get one the other one will quickly follow and fall in place, and then we are on our way to a comprehensive solution.

I think the Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon removed one of the great irritants that was standing in the way, obstacles that was standing in the way of the Syrian piece.

But it all begins with making absolutely sure that Israel is secure, the only democracy in the region, a nation we have supported for 50 years. It has to be secure and it has to feel that it is secure and that it can defend itself. We cannot expect Israel to do much in conditions of violence, where their security is at risk, where both sides are responding to the violence.

The one thing we will start to do right away, as President Clinton has been doing for these many, many months, is to encourage both sides to get the violence under control. I believe it is in the power of both sides to do it. Especially I believe it is in the power of the Palestinian leadership to do so, Mr. Arafat to do so. So we will call on him to do that and encourage him to do that. Only then can we see what the next step in this process is going to be.

The new administration is going to be in a position where it will have to wait and see what happens in the Israeli election. It will be also a function of what the Clinton administration is able to do in these last few days. But we will not be standing by idly. We will be watching, we will be following it all, we will be engaging.

I have started to talk to people from the region already, starting to come up with our plan, how we will organize ourselves to deal with this account. We will be ready to move forward as soon as the parties in the region are ready to move forward.

Senator HAGEL. Mr. Secretary, I have probably 15 seconds and I wish to ask a question on behalf of our colleague Senator Lugar, who sends his regards. As you know, he is out of the country. He

has asked me to ask this. How in your opinion would the proposed free trade agreement with Singapore help the United States engage with Asia?

Mr. POWELL. I think it shows that these kinds of agreements benefit both sides. I think it is a further example to the nations in Asia of what you can accomplish when you knock down trade barriers and make it easier for people to trade with each other. It is an example of the kind of success we are enjoying here in the North American Free Trade Area, and it is part of our march toward free trade agreements that we hope will, here in our own hemisphere, sweep from the southern tip of South America all the way through Canada in due course. I think it is the path of the future for us to have open trading systems.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator HELMS. Senator Feingold.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Powell, one of the most anticipated aspects of the next administration's foreign policy is the high threshold for military intervention which you and the President-elect have espoused. As you know from our previous conversation, I essentially share that position. I believe that an extremely thorough and thoughtful vetting process, a clear set of goals, and a clear exit strategy are critical prerequisites to any U.S. military intervention.

Although I certainly am proud of the Clinton administration record on foreign policy, this is an area where we have disagreed. As I think through the ramifications of this position, though, it seems to me that it actually puts a premium on supporting strong multilateral organizations and institutions. If we are to view the Australian-led intervention in East Timor, which was then followed by a United Nations force, as a model for the future—and you and I I think agree that in many ways it was a model—that suggests that we have to have an interest in supporting strong and competent regional and international entities.

I feel in a sense, although some do not like to label it this way, that this is really the opposite of isolationism. Would you share this view, and would you flesh out the diplomatic strategy that has to accompany a policy that has a very high threshold for military intervention?

Mr. POWELL. Perhaps you might be referring to what is sometimes called in the press the "Powell doctrine." I do not know. I thought you would never ask. "High threshold" is OK. It is not the choice of terms that I would have made.

But the doctrine that I think and the guidelines that I think that President-elect Bush will be following reflect a point of view that says before we commit the Armed Forces of the United States, make sure we have a clear political objective, we know what we are trying to accomplish with the use of those Armed Forces, and once that clear political objective is established, such as kick the Iraqi Army out of Kuwait, such as get rid of the Government of Panama totally—not just kick an army out, but get rid of an entire government; that is what we did in 1989, on 12 hours notice, with overwhelming, decisive force—once you have established a clear political objective, then it seems to me very wise to achieve that objective, if military force is required, in a decisive way.

That is what I tried to do in the days when I was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It does not say you never intervene. It does not say that maybe you cannot meet those tests and you have got to go anyway. That is why we have Presidents, to make those kinds of choices and those kinds of decisions.

But it seems to me the bias in decisionmaking before you make those kinds of choices, because CNN says you have got to do something, it is very wise to go through the process that says, what is it we are trying to accomplish, is military force the way to do it, are there others who can do it? If we have people in the region, such as Australia, that had a greater direct interest in what was happening in East Timor and the capacity to act, then perhaps we can just give them support, help them, give them financial support, provide whatever logistic support they need, and use that kind of regional grouping to handle it, rather than America feeling it has to respond to every 911 call that is out there.

We have seen the same thing in Africa, as we are trying to train up Nigerian and other battalions to handle peacekeeping. So I think the threshold really is what is it we are trying to accomplish and let us apply the decisive force to it, let us not fool around, let us apply decisive force because that tends to get it over with quickly and it tends to save casualties in the long run.

There is another aspect to it. When people think you are going to act that way and you think that way, they are less inclined to put you in the position of acting that way. Therefore I think that has a stabilizing effect.

It was a reporter who called this all the "Powell doctrine." It was never written down as the Powell doctrine and I guess I should be flattered. But in reality, at the time it was the national security policy of the United States of America and, frankly, I think it just makes pretty good common sense.

Senator FEINGOLD. Whether you refer to it as the "Powell doctrine" or not, I welcome it and look forward to working with you on it.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you.

Senator FEINGOLD. Returning to Africa, and we spoke briefly this morning about the situation in Congo. It is inextricably linked to Africa's recent history, the crises in Rwanda and Burundi that have unfolded in recent years. Many people feel that the cycle of conflict in the region cannot be resolved as long as there is no accountability for crimes against humanity in the region. I strongly agree with that feeling.

Therefore, if we do not do that there is no imperative to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate activities. What would be your plan for addressing the need for some accountability in Central Africa?

General POWELL. I think we have seen the successful use of independent tribunals of the kind that we saw at work in The Hague, and that might be appropriate for some of the circumstances in Africa. The situation in the Republic of the Congo today is very confused. It is not even clear there is a President there any longer, and I am not sure if the situation has clarified in the course of the day.

The Congo I think is going to be one of the difficult, most difficult peacekeeping tasks the United Nations or the region or the world has ever faced, because it is hard to create a set of conditions where other nations are going to want to send their troops into such a situation, a situation that is very unsettled. You do not know who is on what side. It is not clear that you have created conditions of stability that will allow any country to send its young people in.

Because it is not just American parents who wonder what happened to their youngsters. It is any parents from any country when they are asked to send their youngsters in harm's way.

The Congo is not a nice little place like Sierra Leone or even a little place like Bosnia or Kosovo, by those standards. It is a huge place, and the number of people who could get sucked up in such a mission is very, very large. So I think we have to be very careful, as the Secretary General is being very careful, before deciding whether or not there are conditions that would permit the introduction of such a force.

If such a force goes in, I hope a regime of accountability goes in, whether it is through internationally established war crimes tribunals or through the legal systems of the countries involved themselves.

Senator FEINGOLD. Let me just add that our firmness in places like Rwanda and Sierra Leone with regard to accountability will ultimately send a critical message to whatever shakes out in terms of Congo.

General, with regard to Indonesia. In March 1997 you made a trip to Jakarta and you were quoted endorsing a sale of F–16's to Indonesia, a sale that was subsequently canceled, in large part because of congressional concerns and concerns from civil society groups about the Indonesian military's long history of gross human rights violations, particularly in East Timor. You asserted that halting arms sales to Indonesia was a punitive act that would not be useful.

But many observers believe the restrictions on our military relationship with Indonesia helped to pressure the government to ultimately allow East Timor's referendum and to begin at least acknowledging that human rights abuses are serious issues that have to be addressed.

How do you view your statement at that time in retrospect? In fact, at what point do U.S. arms sales and military relationships run the risk of legitimizing, aiding and abetting forces that behave in a manner that is, as you indicate in other areas, are utterly inconsistent with internationally recognized human rights norms and our own national values?

Mr. POWELL. I think you have to look at any arms sales against that kind of measure. Is it a sale that benefits the nation? I mean, is it really in their national self-interest to have such a sale? Does it contribute to their security? Is it principally defensive, as opposed to offensive, where they would use it aggressively against a neighbor? But every nation has the right of legitimate self-defense, and if they do not buy it from us they have many other sources from which they can get such weapons.

In 1997 when I was on a private trip to Indonesia and made that statement, it seemed to me at that time in the relationship that existed between our two nations it was a reasonable sale to make, and I did not directly relate it to the circumstances in East Timor. Whether or not it was the cancellation of that sale and the cutback of military to military exchanges that caused the solution to come about, I have not made that judgment. I have not studied the situation that carefully.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you.

Finally, on China. I appreciated your comments in response to other Senators and your comments about Tibet, where you said that it certainly would affect our entire relationship with China. Given the fact that in recent years the United States has supported resolutions condemning human rights violations in China in the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and the fact that conditions have actually deteriorated according to the State Department, can Congress expect that the Bush administration will sponsor a resolution on China at this year's annual session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva?

Mr. POWELL. I really cannot speak for the President-elect yet. It is a No. 1 item on our plate. It will be taken up in the first couple of weeks of the Bush administration. But I would like to withhold comment on that until I really have had a chance to sit down with my colleagues at State Department, my colleagues in the NSC, and then make a recommendation to the President.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, General Powell.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Senator Feingold's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD

General Powell, I am truly delighted to have you before this committee as the President-elect's designee to be Secretary of State. Your powerful and particularly American personal story, your unquestioned integrity, and your deep commitment to serving this country make you an excellent choice for this post. Please accept my congratulations on your nomination.

You have an opportunity to be one of the most influential Secretaries of State in history. The President-elect has openly acknowledged that he does not have a great deal of experience in foreign affairs, and throughout his campaign, he sought to reassure the American people by stressing his intention to appoint the very best advisors to help him. Your presence in the next Administration will often be a decisive one, and, despite your military background, as Secretary of State, you will be a critical counterweight to the strong and capable leadership at the Pentagon.

And you confront extraordinarily complex challenges. Today, an unprecedentedly diverse array of international events and trends have a direct impact on American security, prosperity, and values. A recent assessment of the National Intelligence Council takes into account resource scarcity, demographics, epidemiology, science and technology, as well as more traditional indicators in its examination of the future. Every region of the world contributes to, and is affected by, these global dynamics. Here I must point out that, despite the words of the President-elect, sub-Saharan Africa is excluded only at our peril. Our world is far less predictable than it was only fifteen years ago, and wise, pro-active diplomacy is needed now more than ever before.

As America's most senior diplomat, you will project not simply the strength of the American military or the U.S. economy, but the strength of our national values. The same commitment to individual rights that this country has pursued at home must guide the U.S. abroad, informing your work as you seek to balance our interests in justice and in order. Without order, justice cannot be pursued. But history also teaches us that unjust orders rot from within. To reflect our values and to secure our future, America must continue to advocate for universally recognized human rights worldwide.

As you work with our allies to contain threats, you will also be charged with the nuanced work of sending the signals and invoke the symbols that help to create a global context in which America can thrive in this new century. The Helsinki Accords, and the role they eventually played in triggering changes within the Soviet bloc, still stand as a powerful example of the potency of ideas and commitments, even when they begin as mere words on a page. I hope that you will consider sending a powerful signal and bolstering a critically important idea by attending one of the key human rights-related events of 2001, the World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. I can think of no better American representative to that conference than Secretary Powell.

Perhaps the most anticipated characteristic of the next Administration's foreign policy is the high threshold for military intervention which you and the President-elect have espoused. I share this position—I believe that an extremely thorough and thoughtful vetting process, a clear set of goals, and a clear exit strategy are critical prerequisites to any U.S. military intervention. In fact, I understand this position to be one of embracing burden-sharing and appreciating the importance of regional leadership throughout the world. The strong U.S. support for the Australian-led intervention in East Timor, where the United States did not contribute combat forces, but did provide critical logistical support, is an example of how this policy can work. A healthy respect for and support of multilateral institutions is a logical extension of this position. Similarly, this policy also will insist upon a strong and reinvigorated foreign service, because smart, preventative diplomacy is critical to a foreign policy that sets a high threshold for intervention. As their services are needed more than ever before, I am certain that the dedicated men and women who serve our country in embassies and consulates abroad will rise to the occasion.

I will offer one final piece of advice. I strongly encourage you to forge strong bonds with the Congress on both sides of the aisle. There is a great deal of expertise and institutional memory, not to mention good will, here on this committee and elsewhere in the Congress. You are looking at a diverse pool of potential allies in any number of important foreign policy initiatives. But be aware that when members are convinced that State's legislative affairs bureau sees itself as a curtain to be drawn over State's operations and deliberations, suspicion and mistrust quickly develop, hampering any policy agenda no matter how strong or how bipartisan. Openness and consultation early on can go a long way toward avoiding problems down the road.

General Powell, soon to be Secretary Powell, I genuinely look forward to working with you in the years ahead.

Senator HELMS. Senator Frist.

Senator FRIST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Powell, during the campaign and during the transition, much of the discussion on the future of Africa policy has been on the persistent question that we mentioned this morning about what is or what is not in the national interest of the United States. I think it does pertain again to what we are going to have to face again and again, and that is this continent of Africa and the varying situations that are there that you and I have discussed earlier today and previously.

The topic is so easy to discuss and begin to discuss in the abstract, but then there are those specific occasions where it becomes crystallized. A country that I just want to briefly mention and a circumstance is what is happening in Zimbabwe now. We have seen the decline in the economy, the lack of stability, the decline in stability. This whole outlook in Zimbabwe I believe represents just such an occasion where our interests are really self-evident, pretty much by virtue of the starkness of the threat that is presented to them.

Yet I am concerned that the United States has not acted in a way in the past to defend the interests under question. We have seen this very rapid collapse of Zimbabwe, the sole product of a ruinous campaign by President Mugabe and the ruling party to hold onto the power in the face of very popular demands for funda-

mental economic reforms, the democracy that we spoke of earlier today. To make matters even worse, Zimbabwe has over 11,000 troops in Congo, for no obvious reason other than access to the vast natural resources there.

We have the internal implications for the 11 million people of Zimbabwe, but we also have this collapse, this chaos, reflecting the more fundamental concerns of the entire southern Africa region, with implications for the region itself, for Africa as a continent, and back upon the United States. Zimbabwe's collapse would I believe send shock waves of instability throughout southern Africa and southern Africa, which you spoke to in your opening statement, is a region of the continent that holds many of the best prospects for economic growth and stability on the continent.

It does not seem that we can count on Zimbabwe's neighbors to provide a solution. They are apparently frozen, unable to act decisively and to counteract Mugabe's destructive behavior. That leaves us with the best hope of stopping this slide and the region's potential destabilization being the remarkable opposition and democratic reform movement, that is not terribly dissimilar to those in Poland in the 1980's and in Serbia in more recent years.

The decline of Zimbabwe has these negative implications for southern Africa. But if we had the triumph of democracy there, it would have equally and even probably even more powerful implications for the continent.

I guess all of that leads me to your approach, your perspective on the United States and how we should view democracy in Zimbabwe, and what should we be prepared to do?

Mr. POWELL. It is a very difficult question. It is very distressing to see what has happened in Zimbabwe just in the past year or so, President Mugabe's efforts to break up the farms and expropriate territory that has been held by families for long periods of time. Even though I can understand some of the frustration that might exist among the black population of Zimbabwe, that does not seem to be the way to solve that problem. He is using it as a way to solve his own political problems as well, and that is troubling.

I would have hoped for a stronger response from the other nations in the region, and you indicated that you hoped the same thing. We did not see it happen. I think we have to speak firmly about it. I do not know that we have any magic solution. I think that this is another area that we will have to review quickly when we get in and see how we can stiffen regional reaction to Mr. Mugabe's efforts, to see if we can get a solution to the Congo which will let those 11,000 troops go back where they belong and do more productive things than sit in someone else's country, and try to hope that the examples that are emerging from South Africa, from Nigeria, from Ghana, from Burkina Faso and other places where they are demonstrating that you can have legitimate democratic transfers of power and when you do that you are embraced by the rest of the world, there is a payoff for this and you start to enhance the welfare of your people and you become part of a larger community when you act in this way.

So I will be very interested in seeing how we can take advantage of these successful nations. Not every nation in southern Africa is a disaster. Some of them, we should be very proud of the progress

they have made and try to build on that progress and use those examples and our own example to the entire region as a model to be followed.

Senator FRIST. I think what you just mentioned about the optimism of Africa—we see so much of the responsiveness of the United States being to the humanitarian crises, to the grinding poverty that tends to drive very much of what our policy is, all being crisis-driven, all response-driven.

I guess that to me has been one of the most frustrating aspects. With Zimbabwe, Senator Feingold and I proposed last year a very simple act called the Zimbabwe Democracy Act, and we will likely be introducing it later this year, a very simple plan which links U.S. support for access of the government to financial institutions. We would very much like to work with you in that regard.

Mr. POWELL. I would like to do that.

Senator FRIST. The optimism is something that I think is important. The opportunity is there. You mentioned AIDS and we have not talked very much about that. You and I have had the opportunity to discuss both the trends there, the overall environmental degradation, the raging wars that are going on, all of which affects our policy.

But let me just close with this whole question of where might there be opportunity in Africa, is it determined by successfully addressing these crises, or should we be looking at other areas for real opportunity?

Mr. POWELL. There is no reason not to consider helping in a crisis if you can bring, through our efforts, a crisis to a conclusion. But there are a number of these crises which are so persistent that I start to fear we may not be able to be successful. I think we really have to make an investment in those countries that are moving in the right direction and show the benefits of such movement.

Just because they say they are democratic, such as South Africa, and it is, and Nigeria, and it is becoming, that is probably the time when it needs the most help to show that democracy really works. So it is not just a matter of saying, great, you had an election, now let us go worry about a crisis. It is great, you had an election, you are moving in the direction we want you to, the way you should move, that benefits your people, and we will help you.

So I think the answer to your question is you just cannot walk away from some of the terrible crises that are there. But at the same time, do not deceive yourself as to what you might be able to do, and make sure you are investing in the success stories so that they remain success stories and do not slide backward.

Senator FRIST. I might just close, Mr. Chairman, and point out that, going back to Zimbabwe for 1 second, that the struggling democracy there is effectively, it seems to be effectively, using the Internet in the manner that you noted in your opening statement. The Internet really does seem to be exposing the assault on democracy that has so often been hidden in obscurity across that continent, where you do not see it on CNN quite as much and you do not see the public outcry that you see in other parts of the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POWELL. If I may, doctor, we did not get a chance earlier to talk much about HIV, but you and I did have a better opportunity

earlier. I want to congratulate the Congress for the additional resources that have been provided to fight that terrible pandemic in Africa, and it will continue to receive our attention when the Bush administration comes in, because it is not just a health crisis; it is an economic crisis, it is a family destruction crisis. It is something that will absolutely contaminate the continent for decades to come. That is already a fact, and we have got to make sure we do everything we can to keep it from getting any worse and from spreading to other parts of the world, as you and I discussed.

Senator FRIST. It is one of those opportunities. It is a true crisis, but it is a crisis that, if we prospectively invest both appropriately in this country and there, that that opportunity can be turned around to something which will be a huge benefit to that continent and to the world.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, doctor.

Senator HELMS. Senator Kerry.

Senator KERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

If I could just comment quickly, because Senator Frist and I collaborated last year on the AIDS initiative. We did not succeed, regrettably, in getting the tax initiative component of that, which is the real incentive for the pharmaceutical companies to actually create the vaccine. So while we put a very significant amount of money out there for delivery and for education, prevention, and so forth, we are still shy of the kind of effort we need to guarantee there is really something to deliver.

So I think if we could enlist your support in perhaps making that a top priority as we move into a tax cut, which gives us a tax vehicle, I think it would be very, very helpful, General.

Mr. POWELL. I look forward to working with you, Senator. I am familiar with the issue.

Senator KERRY. I know you are and I just wanted to mention that.

If I could shift back to perhaps what you have called, and all of us understand to be, one of the most important relationships we have, which is China. There are a number of criticisms that have been leveled at the last years of engagements. It is inevitable that any administration will find itself at the end of a number of years with soft spots, I suppose.

I like your characterization. It is one that a number of people have sort of chatted about the last couple of years of this: Not a friend, not an enemy, but sort of what is China? In our discussion, I mentioned to you, and I think you agreed with me, that there is really great, great potential in the relationship with China to do much more than we are doing, I think, even as we disagree about certain things, and we will clearly.

Would you share with the committee and perhaps with those who are listening carefully to what you say here today where you think the areas perhaps we could have a much more productive relationship and the ways, and perhaps also, conversely, where you see us needing forcefully perhaps to agree to disagree even as we seek out that ground to build the relationship and not create the enemy that they are not today?

Mr. POWELL. I think there are a number of areas where we can expand the relationship—cultural exchanges, education. The more

Chinese youngsters who come to the United States to study in our schools, the better the relation will become as those youngsters bring back not just an education, but another view of a different kind of life.

The more that we can have these cultural, education experiences, the more youngsters who will go back and want to see transparency in their society. They are going to want to talk to other people in the world on the Internet. They are going to want satellite dishes for their homes. They are going to want to be able to start the kinds of businesses that allow them to create wealth.

Cultural, educational activities, continued opening of our trade relations. Forty percent of China's exports now come to the United States. It has created a tremendous trade imbalance for us. But at the same time, it has proven that power and wealth does not come out of the barrel of a gun any longer; it comes out of trading.

I went to China for the first time in 1973. I was the first American officer among about four American officers who went into China after President Nixon opened it. When I think what China was in 1973 and what it was when I went back in 1985 and what it is now, it is quite remarkable, the changes that have taken place. We ought to encourage those changes and cause them to spread.

Sooner or later, the generation that is in power now, that is trying to keep a society from flying off the way the Soviet Union flew off, a proud country with 5,000 years of history, that is not threatening us directly, but it is not yet a partner certainly and it is not yet what I would call a full friend, but a powerful nation—I think we should engage them, then, with trade, with economic activity, with cultural and educational activities, and continue to demonstrate to them how the rule of law and the rule of human rights is not something that we are lecturing them about, but something that will benefit them, the power that exists in that society when they release the talents of their men and women, a very entrepreneurial people who really do like to do business and are so very, very good at it.

All of these things will help lead China in the direction we wish to see it go. We can do all of these things, I think, and not feel that we are being Pollyanna-ish, by also being firm on things that concern us: export of missile or other kinds of weapons technology to nations that gives us pause, the way they treat Tibet, their relations with other nations in the region.

We can speak firmly to them at the same time that we are encouraging them in all these other directions. But I think it is not wise to think that China will move at our pace. China will move at its pace, and they will make decisions that they see in their interest. We have to continue to show them that this direction is in their interest.

Senator KERRY. Might I respectfully also suggest, General—and I appreciate the things you said—that there may be some opportunities in areas of international—of global environmental confrontations, as well as issues of the human condition, such as Senator Frist referred to in Africa and elsewhere, where it seems to me that the G–77 and the developed countries might bridge some of the divide that seems to create such hostility and constant sense of almost conspiracy, that we are seeking to hold them down.

You see this in the Kyoto process, you see it in other processes. I think that through the United Nations, where they sit with us on the Security Council, et cetera, there are a number of opportunities to build a better understanding of how we could work together to solve some of those kinds of problems.

Mr. POWELL. I would certainly agree with you, Senator. They have been poisoning several generations of Chinese citizens with some of their environmental activities and they need to pay more attention to these sort of issues than perhaps any other industrializing nation I know of.

Senator KERRY. You mentioned earlier in your testimony not wanting to do something unilaterally with respect to the number of countries in the region, and I wonder if that same principle against unilateral activity would not apply to a unilateral deployment of a weapons system that the Chinese and others believe threatens them.

I was somewhat surprised—this is not a government policy, but it comes right off the Web site yesterday of the Space Command. In it, it is sort of in full color in the other thing, but it talks about the "Joint Vision 2010 operational concepts of dominant maneuver, precision engagement, full dimensional protection, full spectrum dominance," et cetera, of space. It is all talking about military.

When you read something like that, if you are in another country, not sharing our politics and everything, it seems to me it is very easy for people to draw perceptions which certain people can play up within their political system to their political ends. A unilateral move, it seems to me—and you have gamed this much more than I have, at the Pentagon and elsewhere. It seems to me you are always thinking about how does the other person see what we are doing and what are the consequences of that.

Certainly, "Thirteen Days," which is now playing to good reviews, is an example of that. What is going to happen if they do this and we do that, and so forth, and we have to find a way out.

Is there not at least some truth to the fears people have of perceptions of a unilateral move by the United States creating countermoves and counterneeds that have their own series of implications that could be in fact diminishing security rather than increasing it? I wonder if you do not feel that that could enter into the equation of this choice.

Mr. POWELL. It certainly would enter into the equation. For every action you take, every weapon you develop, somebody will try to respond in due course if they feel it increasingly threatens them one way or another.

One of the reasons that we are moving forward with missile defense is we feel that we have put ourselves in the position of perhaps being threatened by such systems and we are therefore responding.

We will try to persuade our Chinese interlocutors that this system is not intended, nor does it have the capacity—they may not believe this initially, but we will try to persuade them—have the capacity to destroy their deterrent force, the deterrence they think that is needed. I also am reasonably sure that they are going to modernize that force, make it more survivable, make it mobile perhaps, make it harder to get, which puts more of a premium on de-

fense against those kinds of systems as they become more mobile. But that is yet further down. That is nothing to worry about now. That is not what we are designing.

So I am sure they will try to make their systems more mobile and they will try to make them more survivable. They may even double the number of such systems. Some people have speculated—and I think we chatted about this—perhaps that they would increase by a factor of ten. I hope we will be able to persuade them that that is not an appropriate response to anything that they are going to see us doing. I hope we can persuade them that it is not a threat to them or a threat to their interests.

Senator KERRY. You mean increase their missiles by a factor of ten?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator HELMS. Senator Chafee.

Mr. POWELL. There has been speculation. I do not personally believe that case, but there has been speculation.

On the Space Command and full dominance, as Secretary Rumsfeld also reasonably concluded in another important report he just finished, we have to be worried about space because space is really the new dimension of warfare: air, land, sea, and space.

If Saddam Hussein knew how much we depended on space and how vulnerable we were up in space 10 or 15, 10 years ago, it might have been a different war, if he knew how easy it might have been to blind us, if he had the capability to blind us. He did not.

Senator KERRY. Could I just make one addendum, Mr. Chairman, and then I will stop?

Senator HELMS. Yes, sir.

Senator KERRY. If I could just say, I could not agree with you more, except that there may be the opportunity for a major initiative by the administration to create a verification protocol sufficiently intrusive, mutually agreed upon, that what you can do is protect space for communications and surveillance, which strengthens everybody, and preclude it from being available for weapons.

Now, that depends on the protocol, on the intrusiveness, and the verification regime. But if that were a goal, you are moving in one direction versus the possibility of it being a platform for actual delivery. That is where I think we need, hopefully, to followup very closely as a committee and an administration.

I thank the chair.

Senator HELMS. Senator Chafee.

Senator CHAFEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

How is your stamina? I admire you. It has been a long day.

I would like to followup on Senator Kerry's question about the national missile defense. I had a question before we broke for lunch and you said yes, you had been in consultation with some of our allies. Are you surprised at the strength of some of our allies' stand on us implementing a national missile defense system? Even Canada, our good neighbor to the north, is opposed to this. Are you surprised at some of their feelings on this and the strength of it?

Mr. POWELL. No, I am not surprised. I understand their feelings. I know that we have to do a better job of explaining to them and communicating to them how it will all fit together, and we have to

persuade them of the adequacy and the effectiveness of the technology as it comes along. So we have got a lot of work to do, and I think we have the time to do that work as Secretary-designate Rumsfeld does his work in bringing forward the technology and making his assessment and providing recommendations to the President.

So I am not surprised and I do understand their concerns. But I have also been through several things like this over the years, where people see something new come along and they are terrified. It is going to shake old patterns of behavior, it is going to be terrible, everything is going to be blown apart. But if it is the right thing to do, you do it anyway.

I remember in the mid-eighties when we decided that the proper thing to do—and it references my opening comments—was to deploy our Pershing II missiles and our ground-launched cruise missiles because the Soviets had put SS–20's into the field. There was a heck of a hullabaloo and our European allies at that time were going nuts. It took quite a selling story. It was a heck of a challenge to get those missiles introduced.

Some of you who have been on the committee long enough will remember Greenham Common and some of the other sites in England and Germany where we had such trouble. But lo and behold, we were able to do it by convincing our friends that this made sense. Within a few years after we met and checked the Soviet challenge, those missiles were on their way out again and the Soviet Union was on its way out.

So sometimes you have to go through these political barriers and you have to go through these barriers of understanding if you think you have got a system that really does make sense and it is your obligation to sell it.

Senator CHAFEE. In that light, in your opening statement one part that you were not able to read for lack of time, at the end you said: "Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, the times are exciting. You can almost feel the change in the air. You can almost sense the transformation taking place." In view of that, I think with the world changing and the preeminence of the United States of America around the world, I think it is all the more important that as we go forward with this national missile defense that we work closely with our allies, and even our non-allies, as we go forward.

That is all the questions I have.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HELMS. Senator Boxer, please.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much.

General Powell, thank you for being with us today. You have been heaped with praise, so I will not repeat it, other than to say thank you for your service to our country in so many capacities.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator BOXER. And you are breaking yet another barrier. It is quite exciting.

We met yesterday and so I do not feel the need to have you answer questions at length here. As a matter of fact, what I would like to do until the red light goes on is just lay out things I am going to be working on in this committee, in some cases ask you

for a quick comment or perhaps a longer answer in writing, and that would suit me fine.

We talked about the passing of Senator Alan Cranston and a service that was just held in my State and I know you knew him, and that he worked so hard on nuclear arms reductions. I thought it would be perhaps nice in his memory for his family, since I know you spoke with him fairly recently, that you might say a word or two about his commitment to nuclear arms reduction.

Mr. POWELL. I did speak to Senator Cranston not too long ago, and we have kept in touch over the years. His dedication to a world without nuclear weapons was known to all of us. We disagreed on how we wanted to get there. We disagreed on methods from time to time. He was a spirited interlocutor. He was a great American who meant nothing but the best for the American people and this Nation.

Even though we disagreed on how to get there and what the world required right now, we both had the same goal in mind, and that was at some point, some point in the future, we would see a world where there were no nuclear weapons, there was no need for any, there was no need for missile defense, there was no need for strategic offensive forces, that mankind had moved beyond that.

In the spirit and in the memory of Senator Cranston, I would say to his family, I hope that day is reached in our lifetime. But until then, I also think that we have to remain strong and guard our interests.

Senator BOXER. I really thank you for those words, and I am going to send them to his son Kim because I know it would mean a great deal to the family.

I know that in my absence you were speaking about the AIDS situation. We spoke about it at length, and I know Senator Kerry and others on this committee, Senator Smith and our chairman, have just been magnificent in pushing this forward. I was proud to work with Senator Smith on a piece of that AIDS issue.

We also talked about tuberculosis and, since I know you have discussed the AIDS question and I know how dedicated you are to helping particularly the developing countries, I wanted to put some facts out there on tuberculosis, because sometimes we do not realize the threat that it is. With the chairman's help, we started on this path of more funding, and if we can reach some agreement on how to get even more help through nonprofit agencies, maybe we can continue.

There are nearly 2 million TB-related deaths worldwide each year. One-third of the world, as I mentioned to you yesterday, is infected with tuberculosis, one-third. Someone in the world is newly infected with TB every single second. Each year 8 million people worldwide become sick with TB. Theree million are in Southeast Asia. Another 1.5 million occur in sub-Saharan Africa. TB is the world's leading killer of women age 15 to 44. Three times as many women in this age group die from TB than die from HIV-AIDS, and we know that is a horrific epidemic.

I wanted to close this portion by saying that nearly 40 percent of the TB cases in the United States are attributable to foreign-born individuals. So we have a tremendous responsibility, it seems to me, not only a moral responsibility, but to our own people, to

help. As we look at what our priorities are this year, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I hope we can work together. Senator Smith and I were planning on continuing our work on this. I would welcome your help.

In the rest of the time I have remaining, I talked a lot with Secretary Albright about the condition of women in the world. You and I had a chance to go over that. I am looking forward to some of your written responses. Women in this world are suffering greatly. Women in this country are moving up and women around the world have a long way to go, as they say.

Sexually transmitted diseases afflict five times more women than men. There are 78,000 deaths and millions of injuries from unsafe abortions worldwide. Some 130 million girls and young women have undergone female genitalia mutilation. Around the world, at least one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or abused in some other way. Our colleague Senator Wellstone has taken the lead in a lot of these areas.

As many as 5,000 women and girls are killed annually in so-called "honor killings," many of them for the "dishonor" of being raped. We saw rapes in the war in the Balkans and we tried to shine a light of truth on that. An estimated two-thirds of the 300 million children who do not have access to education happen to be girls.

These statistics are overwhelming and I know you agree with me that they are tragic. Former Secretary, almost former Secretary of State, Albright cited her interest in the condition of women and girls around the world as something she hopes will be a legacy.

So first, just a brief question: Would you agree to be debriefed from her or her people on this whole issue and try to focus special attention on it, because you are going to be so busy with very large issues having to do with arms agreements and the like that have been raised, which I share a great concern about? Will you keep this on your mind?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, very much, not only as a legacy to Madeleine, but also as something that is very important and we have to pay attention to. I have been briefed on some of the programs we have and the offices that we have in the State Department. I have already started to examine where they are and make sure that they remain intact.

Senator BOXER. I am very pleased. I know there are some contentious issues—family planning. You will be happy to know I am not going to get into those today, in deference to you and my chairman. We will have to work on those issues. We have great respect for each other, but big disagreements in the area of family planning, and I hope that we can avoid some of these contentious battles.

Another area of disagreement that I will be working with you on along with my chairman, although again we disagree, is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. I would love to have a written report from you on that. I think it is a powerful tool that would assist you as Secretary of State in pushing other nations to grant equal rights for women. Again, I do not want to ask you today to give me your views on it, and I know you will carefully consider them, but I would love to have them in writing.

Do I have a few minutes left, Mr. Chairman? Do I have about 2 minutes left of my time?

Mr. BOWMAN [committee staff]. You have 2 minutes and 40 seconds.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much.

Another area of great interest to Senator Brownback and me, and we have worked across the aisle, is the Taliban militia in Afghanistan. Again, it is very much tied to discrimination against women and girls. I wanted to ask you—I think I know your answer, but just for the record—what is your opinion of the treatment of women and girls under the Taliban regime and will the rights of women and girls of Afghanistan continue to be a priority under your leadership? Can you answer today, what more we can do?

Mr. POWELL. The treatment is atrocious, bordering on barbaric, and it will be a priority of my stewardship of the Department and of the President's stewardship of the Nation.

Senator BOXER. I am very pleased because, again, Senator Brownback and I plan to put together some legislation and in doing so we will talk to your people and see, and our chairman, to see if we can get some support.

Last points where we have some disagreements. It looks like we do not have too many yet. I would say that, as one of the few people who opposed the Clinton administration on the Colombia issue, against most of my colleagues here and against the administration, I just wanted to tell you that I am going to be watching it very carefully in terms of the human rights abuses in Colombia, what they are doing with the funding.

I have a bill, drug treatment on demand. We are sending $1.3 billion into Colombia, but we would not have a problem if our kids really did say no and our people got treatment. We have more people waiting for treatment than are in treatment. So I think it is a distorted sense of priorities. I also think it is a dangerous policy.

I know that you were very forthright in your statement. You do not agree with me on that. But we will be talking more about that.

So let me say, I have other questions I will put in the record. I am excited at this position that you are going to hold. I think we are going to be able to confirm you very swiftly, and we all look forward to working with you in making this a better world, because that is what it is all about. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HELMS. Senator Torricelli.

Senator TORRICELLI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, very much.

General, having already praised you at great length and to a great extent this morning, one set of praiseworthy remarks are my quota for the day, so I will go right to the substance of it if I could.

Although I have enormous affection for President Clinton and believe his administration has done a great deal for our country, I will confess there were times in Bosnia and Kosovo when I was not always supportive of his actions. History may judge me wrong or it may judge him right. But in understanding the views of the President-elect and of yourself, we may find ourselves in a similar position.

But I come to the issue that, whether or not it was right or wrong or I might have done things differently or you would have at the time, we now have the reality of American forces in place, the credibility of our country on the line, and a set of dependencies with our allies. So I take it that therefore, even though each of us might have done things differently those years ago, as I understand your testimony earlier before I arrived at the committee today, it is your belief nevertheless that we approach this with some hesitation and understanding of the commitments we have made to our allies and look at this through that prism.

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator TORRICELLI. Let me move through a series of issues then somewhat unrelated, in the interest of time, to try to be efficient. On the question of NATO enlargement, I understand in the vacuum created after the collapse of the Soviet Union there is an enormous temptation to expand NATO. Indeed, a larger NATO can offer stability against whatever internal difficulties may arise.

But I personally would suggest the philosophy that NATO is more than just a set of opportunities for nations; it is also a set of obligations. Everything is not to be received. As we look at the array of nations who are in the next round for possible entrance into NATO, some bring very little military strength. Some are spending very little in GNP to increase their military strength. Some by virtue of geography or region or other factors would be very difficult for NATO forces to actually defend, as indeed we would have to commit ourselves to defend.

Could you speak to this a little bit, about what you look for in a nation that would join NATO in terms of their capabilities, the commitments they would make to enhance their capabilities, their obligations, and how we should see our capacity to meet our obligations under co-defense, rather than just simply expanding because of the temptation to do so?

Mr. POWELL. As I said earlier in my testimony, Senator Torricelli, what we have to do this year is to come up with a set of standards that we will use to measure these nations against to see which ones, all or none or one or more, will be admitted to NATO when we have the summit meeting in 2002. I think the standards, though, will run along the lines that we have used previously and along the lines you suggested, that they bring strength to the alliance, military strength.

It is not necessary that it be a huge force. Iceland brings nothing to military defense except for facilities. But they are part of a great political alliance as well as a military alliance, and they have been a valuable member for all these years without a single soldier. So I think we have to see strength not only in terms of manpower, but in terms of the strategic environment that is created when you are in NATO rather than outside of NATO.

I think it is important that all NATO members who have made a military commitment to the alliance, they are going to increase their forces or their capability, have to not just say so, but then show it is so through the appropriate increases in their GDP. We spend 3 percent of our GDP on our military forces, thank heavens down from where it was 10 years ago at 5 to 6 percent, and we should expect anybody who wants to be part of this great political

and military alliance to make the same kind of commitment. I think that ought to be a fairly strong measure.

Of course, we have to understand that once you are a member of NATO that all nations come to your defense in time of conflict. I see the map of Europe and I am trying to imagine some of these nations who might access, and some would be more difficult than others to be part of a collective defense. But I do not think it is out of the question, particularly when you consider collective defense against what kind of forces, which nation are we talking about.

Senator TORRICELLI. Well, for example, let me pose this question to you: that if indeed *x* theoretical country wanted to join NATO, which indeed may have very little of its own indigenous military forces, but has other political advantages for joining the alliance, whether the question would get posed to your successor at the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ask, if indeed this country were in the alliance and the United States were to pledge its lives and its honor to defend this country in time of war, do we and our allies indeed have the capability, not the desire but the actual forces on the ground, to keep our commitments if *x* theoretical country were in NATO?

It appears to me that that is a question that to date in my judgment has not been asked as we consider some of these questions, creating the situation where one say in a very different political environment, against a threat I would not identify—it could be from anywhere—we may be tested and we may fail.

Mr. POWELL. I think that is a fair analysis, and if I were still in the Chairman's office I would want to deal with a question such as that. It is not clear that old NATO ever had all of the capability it would have needed to defend itself notwithstanding its political statement and its desire to do that. In fact, we were forever, as you will recall, Senator, having NATO enhancement programs and burden-sharing programs and everything else to try to buildup our capability, and finally it rested on a nuclear offensive force that would really be the essence, the guts of NATO defense at the end of the day.

So we may be reaching for a bridge too far by thinking that we can come up with a collective defense program that gives you an absolute guarantee that you will be able to defend against any particular threat from any particular country *x*.

But I am persuaded by the fact that, if there is a nation out there in Europe that has come out from behind the Iron Curtain, that is starting now to live by the principles of democratic government and free enterprise system, is willing to make whatever commitment it can to the collective defense, and it is not so far out of the collective umbrella that we have no hope of defending it, and it wants to be part of this 50-year-old alliance that connects Europe not just to other parts of Europe—the power of NATO is that it connects Europe and these freedom-loving nations to the United States and to Canada, it connects them to North America.

That is the telling item for me. These nations want to be part of that.

Senator TORRICELLI. I do not disagree with that judgment. I just want us to temper our enthusiasm with some small dose of military reality.

Mr. POWELL. Well, when I was wearing the uniform I found my enthusiasm tempered quite a bit by a variety of things, to include that, because sooner or later, if anything happened, they do not turn to the Secretary of State; they come to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which is a source of great relief to me right now.

Senator TORRICELLI. Let me add, because my time will expire quickly, I want to go through several things very quickly if I could before that light goes off. The Security Council of the United Nations is a perfect reflection of the power structure of the world in 1945. It reflects those who had power, those who had colonies and spheres of influence, and indeed was accurate for its time.

It is no longer accurate. It is a question whether or not a world body can genuinely reflect the peoples of the globe and offer real stability and a chance for a forum of peace with no Latin American and on African representation, with the subcontinent largely absent. Could you just philosophically give me your views on the subject?

Mr. POWELL. Well, the permanent membership of the Security Council, which was established at the founding of the United Nations back in 1945, has served us rather well over the last 50-odd years, but I do not think it is chiseled in stone so that it could not be changed. I think it is a subject of legitimate discussion. It comes up quite frequently, and I have a very open mind as to how it might be appropriate to modify the permanent and the rotating membership structure of the Security Council to more properly reflect the power centers of today and the influence centers of today.

Senator TORRICELLI. I am glad that you do because I would not like to see our country become the defender of the status quo in an institution which must be made current if it is to be effective.

On the question of Cuba, it would be my own philosophy that, while the United States is always prepared to have a change in the relationship, generally we will not do so any longer unilaterally. If George Bush were to make a unilateral concession to Cuba with the best hopes and dreams of reciprocation, he would not be the first American President. Indeed, almost every American President has for 40 years, and none of them have gotten anything in return.

I would like your philosophy of this, simply stating my own that we would continue with an outstretched hand, but we want something in return. We want an election, we want respect for human rights. The burden is on Castro to change this relationship, not on the United States.

Mr. POWELL. I agree and talked to that earlier, and the point being that those things that we have done that were able to reach over the regime and touch the people, in terms of money going from family to family, have probably served our interests and the interests of benefiting the lives of the Cuban people, but anything that goes to the regime and does not give us anything in return, that uses it for its own purposes, we should not move down that path and try to do that any more.

Senator TORRICELLI. I think my time has expired, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HELMS. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Allen.

Senator ALLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General, I see Alma's gotten worn out by all of this.

Let me get your views on the issue of this International Criminal Court and the statute and ask you a few questions and get your overall view of it. Do you share the concerns of your predecessor Secretaries of State Kissinger, Baker, Eagleburger, as well as your soon to be colleague Rumsfeld when he was Secretary of Defense and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, when they stated: "Americans prosecuted by the International Criminal Court will be denied basic constitutional rights guaranteed them under the Bill of Rights"?

If—good, get some nourishment. If the ICC——

General POWELL. Junior Senators do not get coffee.

Senator ALLEN. They just get plain old tap water.

Senator HELMS. Would you please get the Senator from Virginia a cup of coffee.

Senator ALLEN. Oh, no, no. I do not need it. Hey, you have got to be tough.

Senator HELMS. Unless that is a milkshake.

Senator ALLEN. You heard, you do not even need the canteen; you can go all day without drinking.

At any rate, if this International Criminal Court statute does come into force by the ratification of 60 signatory States, what do you believe can be done to protect the United States servicemen and women from prosecution before this court, if you do share the concerns of your predecessors?

Mr. POWELL. I do share those concerns. I understand the desire on the part of many to have such a court in being and we have seen some of the good work that individual war crimes tribunals have had. But this kind of tribunal gave me great pause as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, because when we bring our young men and women into the Armed Forces of the United States and we send them off, sometimes to defend the Nation, but sometimes to defend someone else's nation, sometimes to do a mission that the U.N. has deemed appropriate and we want to be a part of that, it seems to me to be a very difficult thing to say to an American family, oh, by the way, that youngster may not have the constitutional rights that were given to him at birth or her at birth.

So I have always been troubled by that aspect of the court. I could not quite square it with my understanding of the obligations we had to those youngsters and to their families.

Now, if the treaty is ratified and it goes into effect, that is very troublesome. I think it adds a new element to the kinds of deployments we might involve ourselves in and the kinds of risks we might put our youngsters in. As the Congress has indicated, some Members of Congress have indicated, it might be appropriate to pass legislation that protects them in some way. I am not prepared to take a position on any such proposals or any such legislation, but I would be more than happy to discuss it with the members of this body or any other body of the Congress.

Senator ALLEN. That was going to be my followup question. Go ahead and take a slug of coffee on my time. It is even worse to

have a cup of coffee and have it in front of you and cannot take a sip of it.

I would ask you on behalf of the Chairman to be, soon to be Chairman Helms, who introduced legislation that passed Congress along with the senior Senator from Virginia, John Warner, and Leader Lott, where they did at least put forward a bill which would provide American servicemen and servicewomen with protection. There are 27 countries that have ratified it. You would be willing to work with us to make sure that the men and women in uniform who are serving our interests and indeed serving the interests of other countries would be protected in the event that you do have 60 signatories?

Mr. POWELL. As a general principle, but until I have had a chance to review any proposed legislation and share it with my colleagues and get the President's views on it, I certainly am not in a position to commit to a particular piece of legislation.

Senator ALLEN. Has the President-elect had any position on this International Criminal Court that you are aware of?

Mr. POWELL. The new administration will be opposed to the International Criminal Court. We read carefully what President Clinton said in his signing statement, recognize that he realized it could not be ratified, take note of the fact, though, that once America signs a treaty such as this we are in some ways expected not to defeat its purpose, intended purpose, and the expectation is that we would ultimately ratify it. But in this case, I do not think it likely you will see this administration send it up for ratification.

Senator ALLEN. Thank you, General.

Most of the questions, Mr. Chairman, that I was going to ask on NATO and others have all been addressed. That is what happens when you are the most junior member. Most of the questions have been asked, and I am not going to trespass on the committee's or the General's time any further.

Thank you, General. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back my time.

Senator HELMS. A little bit of housekeeping, Mr. Secretary. Having consulted with other Senators on this committee, I believe all of us feel that we have had an adequate opportunity to question our distinguished guest. In consultation with my colleague Senator Biden, we have agreed to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. on Thursday in room 419 Dirksen for a business meeting to consider further Secretary-designate Powell's nomination.

I guess you are just waiting with bated breath to see how that vote is coming out.

I ask all Senators to have their questions prepared for the record concerning Secretary-designate Powell and get them to the committee staff no later than the close of business today, to enable you, sir, to furnish replies as soon as possible. So, that is the end of the statement.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Senator Helms.

General Powell, I have a couple more questions and I am told Senator Dodd may have a couple more if he comes back. I will not keep you long.

Senator HELMS. May I interrupt?

Senator BIDEN. Please.

Senator HELMS. I want you to tell me something about Tibet. What are we going to do to furnish some help for those beleaguered people over there?

Mr. POWELL. I have been following and studying the political issue, but I would rather provide for the record any comment.

Senator HELMS. That would be fine.

[The following information was subsequently supplied:]

TIBET

Question. I want you to tell me something about Tibet. What are we going to do to furnish some help for those beleaguered people over there?

Answer. We are deeply concerned about persecution of Tibetan Buddhists. Advancing the human rights of all of China's citizens, including Tibetans, is one of our key goals in China. We urge Chinese leaders to preserve Tibet's unique cultural, linguistic and religious heritage.

The State Department provided $1 million in FY 2000 to the Bridge Fund, a nongovernmental organization undertaking projects in Tibetan parts of China aimed at cultural preservation, sustainable development, and environmental conservation. The Department intends to continue its support for this program in FY 2001.

The Ngawang Choephel Exchange program for Tibetans resident in India supports 25 academic exchanges designed to assist the advancement of Tibetans through health, education, and economic and community development.

Human rights abuses in Tibet influenced our decision to sponsor a China resolution in the UN Commission on Human Rights this year, in one of the first decisions of this Administration. We described our findings on repression in Tibet and other parts of China in our annual human rights report in February.

We will continue to press the Chinese Government to cease human rights abuses in Tibet and other parts of China.

Senator HELMS. Have you met His Holiness?

Mr. POWELL. Not yet.

Senator HELMS. I want you to do that and I will arrange it.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you.

I would make an observation that my staff made to me. I do not know how many Secretaries of State that have been before us for confirmation since you and I have been here, and we came the same year, Mr. Chairman. But I must tell you, I am impressed. I have not seen any notes slipped to you and there has not been a binder in front of you, and this has been a tour de force on your part and you should be complimented publicly for that. Not that there is anything wrong with having binders in front of you and notes and the rest, but it is nice to know that you have the confidence to state your views that have been formed over a long period of time.

A couple things. Nonproliferation, we mentioned it before. I do not expect you to have a specific answer, but I would like, if you have an insight, tell me. If not, for the record. As you know, there was a task force that was chaired by Howard Baker, a friend of yours and a friend of mine, former leader here, and Lloyd Cutler, well-respected negotiator in Democratic administrations, a leading lawyer in Washington, that warned that the most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-unstable material in Russia could be stolen or sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops abroad and citizens at home. That was the conclusion of the report on terrorism.

They went on to make a very strong recommendation, which I happen to agree with. I am not asking you to agree to the exact number, but on that committee, by the way, were former Senators McClure of Idaho and Simpson of Wyoming. They called for a $30 billion program, over the next 8 to 10 years just to secure or destroy Russian excess nuclear weapons material and technology.

Would you just give me your general sense? I am not asking you to sign on to $30 billion, but what do you think? How urgent is this issue?

Mr. POWELL. I think that they are right on. Huge inventory of weapons and other material that is excess to any conceivable needs they might have in the future, left over from decommissioning all of those theater nuclear weapons of years ago and weapons systems that are now excess and far above the START I and now the START II limits. So I agree with them entirely. But as you noted, I cannot buy into a specific number at this time.

Senator BIDEN. I am not asking you to. I am not sure I buy into the specific number. But we do agree, though, that there has to be a significant effort?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, no doubt about it.

Senator BIDEN. It is not an incremental thing.

With regard to the Balkans, I was with one of your old buddies who is now SACEUR, General Ralston. I sincerely hope, and I am sure you will, that you will get a chance to confer with him relatively soon after your confirmation if you have not done it already, about the Balkans. I have one question. Not to go rehash who was right, who was wrong, what recommendations were made, what should have been made: Have your views at all about the sustainability of an air war, completely an air war, been altered at all by what happened in Kosovo? That is the question.

Mr. POWELL. I have always believed that if you go to war you should go to war with all the assets at your disposal: air power, ground power, naval power. I believe if a potential opponent knows that you are going to use everything that you have, you are coming with everything that you have got, not only do you have a deterring effect, but you are probably going to influence his behavior, rather than if you suggest to him you are only coming in one dimension.

As I said to President Bush at the beginning of Desert Storm and, frankly, during the period of Desert Shield as we were building up and the question came, why do you need so much, why do you need so much, the answer was: We want to make this a given that we are going to win. I hope that the Iraqi Army breaks the first time they are bombed. If they do not break on day one, I hope they break on day five. But if they do not break as a result of air power alone, then you cannot be left standing there with nothing else.

Air power, at the end of the day air power relies on the enemy deciding when the conflict is over, just as the Serbians decided when the conflict was over. When you add the other dimensions, especially ground power, you take the initiative away from the enemy. What we told President Bush in 1990 and 1991: If we go into Desert Storm, this outcome is no longer in Saddam Hussein's hands; it is in our hands.

I just think that is a preferable way to conduct a conflict. But I also, and said so at the time of the bombing—President Clinton looked at his political situation and came to a different conclusion of what he would be able to do politically. But if I had been left to my own devices, I would not have just conducted an air war, and perhaps it might have been a shorter war.

Senator BIDEN. To be clear, I think we are talking about the political situation meaning NATO, not the political situation at home. Or are you referring to that?

Mr. POWELL. I am referring to all the political elements that the President had to take into consideration.

Chairman BIDEN. That was one of the few things I was deeply involved in day to day and, as you well know, two of our major allies were adamant about not mentioning ever the possibility of ground forces, and it was a great source of—and I happened to disagree. I mean, I actually introduced a bill here with John McCain for the use of ground forces.

Mr. POWELL. I remember.

Senator BIDEN. But I think, as you well know, General, you are going to be faced and the President will be faced if there are similar circumstances, where our NATO allies do not always have the same—I mean, it is a real tough deal. When everybody was telling me about we never want to conduct a war like that again, a war by committee, a war where we have to, I point out that is what General Eisenhower did. He conducted a war by—the reason he ended up being, I think, one of the most underestimated Presidents in American history is that this was a guy who was an incredible general and an incredible politician while he was a general, while he was a general.

I mean, to keep that gaggle together was not an easy thing in terms of the decisions to be made, where to invade, when to invade, what to do. He was not over there just deciding this is where we go. I do not know—there is a lot of revisionist history going on in this place where people think, well, you know, it has got to be run by an American general and an American general calls all the shots. We have never—we did not call all the shots in World War II.

We ultimately got our way, but it took a lot of cajoling. He showed up, he spent time with Churchill, he spent time with Montgomery. He spent time with a lot of people. His patience must have been the patience of Job. I mean, he could have been a majority or minority leader of the Senate.

But at any rate, I know, and I mean this sincerely, I know your colleagues, former colleagues in the military in Europe, are anxious to talk to you.

Mr. POWELL. You would acknowledge that toward the end of the air war a ground campaign was being prepared.

Senator BIDEN. Exactly right. I think, quite frankly, if you will recall, what happened at the very end, when in the name of deploying forces in Macedonia in order to be ready if he capitulated, to go in, immediately to move, the purpose of that was to send a signal, we are mounting a force and we are coming.

But the point I am making is it required that veil, because had the President said straightforwardly what the reason for it was,

not so much at home, but to our allies, we would have had a problem. I know you know that. One of the things that gives me reassurance, and I mean this sincerely, even though we have had differences in degree, I think you turned out to be right in the gulf and I was wrong in the gulf. I respectfully think I was right in the Balkans and I am not sure whether you were right or wrong, but I hope you conclude that we are in for the deal here.

But one of the things that gives me reason for—gives me great solace is I know you know the Europeans. You had to do this. You had to do this every day. It is not an easy marriage. It is the most important one we have, as you pointed out, but it is not an easy one. I really mean it. I feel so much better we have a Secretary of State who did it day to day, understands it. I know you have kept up, but in the 7 years you have been gone it ain't gotten easier. So I look forward to you hearing what they have to say.

I have a number of other questions. I am not going to take the time now to ask them. I will just speak to one. Again, if you would rather not answer it now I understand, but it is something I think a lot of people, starting with myself, are wondering about. That is that you are as an administration going to be, not reconsidering, but considering what type of national missile defense is most appropriate, when it could be deployed, how it will affect—as you said, any prudent President would look at how it will affect our allies as well as our adversaries.

I guess less than a question, more of a plea. I hope you will look outside the box here. What has been discarded as sort of poppycock was Putin's assertion about boost phase, maybe we could work something out. I am skeptical whether we could, but I hope we would not dismiss out of hand that prospect. I would give it a 1 in 10 chance.

But I think if we begin to think in ways that we have been unwilling to—for example, the whole notion of tieing a missile defense to an offensive reduction and some combination thereof. There may be a formula here, General, as you well know, to be able to combine the two and actually render all of us more secure by convincing—for example, as you know better than I do, China has 18 ICBM's. That is all they have, city-busters, can do a lot of damage.

I do not want to see them go to 200, 500. I do not want to see them MIRV. I do not want to see them with new guidance systems. I do not want to see them that, in their own interests, they have to do it. Now, they may do it anyway. I hear that as well. But again, I have been looking at the intelligence for this for the last 12 years as well as anybody can here.

I just hope you think outside the box here a little bit, again not to do anything based on faith, not to do anything based on trust. You know, as Ronald Reagan used to say, "Trust, but verify." But I really hope you will be willing to look outside the box a little bit.

Mr. POWELL. I will, Senator, and I take your comments very, very much to heart, Mr. Chairman. I think it is important to look outside the box and see if there are not other solutions out there that we can factor into our considerations.

Senator BIDEN. Senator Hagel and then Senator Dodd.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Secretary Powell, you mentioned and Senator Biden just referred to the Balkans. I note in your testimony this morning, and we have discussed this, as you have with others, that there will be I suspect an immediate—that is my word, but I would suspect it is a high priority for the Bush administration—comprehensive review, as you stated in your testimony this morning, of our troop commitments, not just in the Balkans, as you note, but everywhere.

Could you elaborate a bit on that as to—I know there are other players in this as well as the Secretary of Defense, Dr. Rice, the Vice President, I suspect—what might be the timetable on this, when we might expect some kind of a policy?

Mr. POWELL. I wish I could, Senator Hagel. But I think I would be tromping on Secretary Rumsfeld's turf on that, so I do not want to put him in a box. He and I are getting together tomorrow morning to talk over many of these issues, but at the moment I would be reluctant to put a specific timetable on what is essentially his work.

Senator HAGEL. Well, obviously it is in your portfolio as well as Secretary of State. But I appreciate what you are saying.

It was suggested this morning, and I do not believe overstated, that most of the Senators on this panel, if not all Senators in this institution, have had calls or meetings or conversations with a rather nervous group of allies in Europe. I do not think I am telling you anything you do not already know, but obviously this will be, I suspect, a high priority.

Mr. POWELL. I think I can say it is not going to be some long, extended, year-long review. We know where they are, we know the nature of the missions, we know the sort of disruptions that are caused in our force structure. So I would not think it would be a very, very long survey. But Secretary Rumsfeld has got to get in, he has got to get his team in so he can get started on that work.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

On the issue of ABM, which has been referenced just here a couple of minutes ago on national missile defense. You note in your testimony this morning: "The ABM Treaty in its current form is no longer relevant to our new strategic framework. We hope to persuade the Russians of the need to move beyond that." Could you talk a little bit about that?

I assume what you mean here is we need to scrap the ABM, resolution what are we saying here?

Mr. POWELL. We might be able to move beyond its current understanding by modifying it. It may be necessary ultimately to walk out of the ABM Treaty and abrogate our responsibilities. I do not think we are there yet. I think we have got a long way to go and we have a lot of conversations to have with the Russians over this.

But the point I was making is that the framework that that treaty was designed for was a framework that really is not relevant now. We are moving forward with the capacity to develop missile systems, missile defense systems, and the only way we can eventually move forward to that goal is to see the ABM Treaty modified or eliminated or changed in some rather fundamental way from the manner in which it has been implemented since it was signed in 1972.

Senator HAGEL. Well, I know you connected that, as you must, to any form of national missile defense and all the other dynamics, our allies, which you spoke to rather clearly I thought this afternoon.

An area that did not get much coverage, I noticed, in your testimony this morning and not much here in the conversation we have had today is Central Asia, Turkey. As you know—we talked a little about this—I was in Kazakhstan last month for a tropical vacation and that is an area that I think we need to spend a little bit more time focused on, Central Asia, geopolitically, strategically, energy.

As you know so well, that is really the southern buffer zone for the Russians from Islamic fundamentalism, which they are very concerned about. One of the thoughts that I have had, and I have discussed this with others in that area and the Russians, is that that surely is a common denominator self-interest issue that we have with the Russians and with many of our Middle Eastern allies as well. Islamic fundamentalism is not good for most of those countries, and it is creeping and it is dangerous and it breeds more terrorism.

Would you talk a little bit about that and maybe link in the Turkish connection?

Mr. POWELL. I could not agree with you more. I think Turkey has been one of our steadfast allies for so many years, and I am very proud of the relationships that I have had with Turkish leaders over the years and the Turkish Armed Forces and I hope to be able to use those relationships as I begin my stewardship as Secretary of State. So I am committed to a strong Turkey, a Turkey that is making a major contribution still in Europe. I hope that some of the problems that currently exist between Turkey and its other European partners with respect to how to integrate the EU and the non-EU contributors, NATO contributors, to the European defense and security initiative can be worked out, and I hope I can perhaps play a role in that.

But when you go from Turkey then to the east and to all of those other nations that you are talking about, you are getting into a breadbasket of instability, with great oil reserves, which will attract attention and attract those who wish to exploit wealth from that region. It is a region of great concern to the Russians because it is their soft underbelly.

I think that may be an area that we can talk to them and discuss with them how we can be helpful. But we will have to be cautious and careful so that they do not think we are tripping on what they consider, as you well know, their "near abroad." So I think we can begin delicate conversations that suggest we have a mutual interest in increasing stability in that region of the world and making sure we get a sensible solution to bringing out the wealth of that region for the benefit of the rest of the world and to provide wealth to those nations, who so desperately need it.

Senator HAGEL. If I might, just one additional comment, Mr. Chairman.

As you know, Mr. Secretary, the Clinton administration put into place an ambassador for that region. I think the focus there has been somewhat hit and miss, but Secretary Albright did understand, and I think President Clinton did, the importance of that,

and I would hope you all would look at reinvigorating that commitment. Thank you.

Mr. POWELL. I will. I am well aware of the ambassador and the role being played by the ambassador in the region and will take a look at it as I realign the troops of the State Department.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

[A press release by Senator Hagel follows:]

[Press Release—January 17, 2001]

SENATOR HAGEL TO SUPPORT POWELL FOR SECRETARY OF STATE

Support Comes After Personal Meeting and Confirmation Hearing

WASHINGTON, DC.—U.S. Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) added his enthusiastic support today for the nomination of Secretary-designate Colin Powell as Secretary of State. Hagel met with Powell last week and participated in his confirmation hearing today in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"Over the next four years the U.S. will be confronted with geopolitical, military and economic challenges around the world. These challenges will require leadership, understanding and statesmanship. I believe Secretary-designate Powell is extraordinarily well-prepared to meet these challenges," Hagel said.

"Not since the distinguished service of General George Marshall has a soldier-statesman come to this position with Secretary-designate Powell's degree of experience. Like General Marshall, Secretary-designate Powell has seen the best and the worst of the world. As I have traveled around the world, I have found Secretary-designate Powell is respected by world leaders as a man of dignity and a man of his word. His skills as an effective manager will be an essential tool in the State Department," Hagel said.

Hagel met with Powell to discuss many issues that will face him as the next Secretary of State. During today's hearing, Hagel asked Powell to comment on the need to integrate trade and economic policy into foreign policy, sanctions reform, climate change, U.S. policy toward Iran, peace in the Middle East and American leadership in the world.

A son of immigrants, Secretary-designate Powell served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the highest military position in the Department of Defense, from October 1, 1989 to September 30, 1993. He is the recipient of numerous military awards and decorations, including the Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 Oak Leaf Clusters), the Army Distinguished Service Medal (with Oak Leaf Cluster), the Bronze Star Medal, and the Purple Heart. Among the civilian awards he has received are two Presidential Medals of Freedom, the Congressional Gold Medal and the Secretary of State Distinguished Service Medal. He also received an honorary knighthood from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain.

Senator HELMS. Gentlemen, our friend is about to lose his voice, so be as brief as you can, please. First, Senator Dodd.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate your patience, General, in trying to cover these last few areas here, and we will get it done and get you on your way here. A couple of quickies.

Let me just mention again, I am not interested in engaging in a discussion about it. Again, we talked about this. Northern Ireland, there is a great sense of optimism, I think, within both communities, both traditions in Northern Ireland, over the Good Friday Accords and where we are heading with that. I am not suggesting it needs any immediate attention specifically, except to the extent that I would hope that the new administration would see the value in trying to at least offer their good offices where appropriate to assist in achieving the goals contained in that historic accord and bring an end to one of the long outstanding conflicts in Europe. We talked about it. Again, I do not expect you to——

Mr. POWELL. I certainly agree with you and we will.

Senator DODD. I appreciate that.

Again, I just want to mention briefly, I know Senator Biden and Senator Helms have raised it, and that is with regard to the Department itself and moves that you want to make in order to get this up to speed. I underscore the points. We have some tremendously valuable people who serve in our State Department, but I think you will find a willing committee up here to be of assistance to you when you lay out some plans on how we can see to it the Department is able to function more expeditiously.

I could not help but notice here in the audience Barbara Larkin and Kay King, who have been terrific and done wonderful jobs. Barbara worked here on this committee for a number of years and has been a remarkable contact for all of us, been a great asset, I know, to the present Secretary, and I wanted to mention her and Kay as well and thank them for their service to the country.

Mr. POWELL. May I make an observation, Senator. I have been transitioning into the Department for the last several weeks now and I want to take this opportunity to put in the record and thank Secretary Albright and all of the people on the outgoing Clinton team for the courtesies they have shown to me and for all the wonderful work they have done.

I am glad that you have taken note of Ms. Larkin and Ms. King and the other colleagues behind me. I would have done it at the end, but thank you, Senator, because they have been helping me enormously, even though they are part of the outgoing administration. So it has been a very, very fine and smooth transition and handoff down at the Department of State.

Senator DODD. I appreciate your comment.

Mr. POWELL. I would like to express my appreciation to them as well.

Senator DODD. Thank you.

Again, I do not know what the intentions are with regard to the naming of a special envoy, special assistant. I do not know what the proper title has been. But Mack McLarty and Buddy McKay have occupied an office. I am not quite sure where their office is, but in dealing with Latin American issues. Again, if you would just give some thought to that. I realize you can start making a case where every region of the world could make a case for that. But they have been tremendously helpful, both of them have been, and I know you will consult them.

Mr. POWELL. I know both of them and they have both done a terrific job. I am studying that now. To be to the point, Senator, there are a very large number of envoys running around and I have to make sure we really need them.

Senator DODD. I do not disagree with that.

Mr. POWELL. Because part of my plan with the State Department is to put our Foreign Service officers in charge of the work of the Department, to motivate them, to give them a sense of responsibility and let them know we trust them, we have confidence in them.

There will be no new studies, no more new group of wise men coming together to tell us how the State Department should be organized.

Senator DODD. I can hear the cheering now.

Mr. POWELL. I am drowning in studies. They are all fine, they are all noble. It is now time to do something with them and not commission another study. So we are going to start doing things and share with you what we plan to do, whether it is reorganization—it is not going to be a grand scheme of reorganization. We are just going to start fixing things, the recruiting system, the embassy building system, one by one by one, like coral coming up out of the water, I hope.

Senator DODD. You will hear loud applause from this side of the dais on a lot of that. So I commend you for it.

The last two issues I want to raise, the chairman has raised both of them and expressed his opinion about them. Senator Helms and I have worked together for 20 years on this committee and we have had our agreements, we have had our disagreements on some issues. These are two on which we have some disagreement.

One is regarding Cuba, that he has talked about already. There has been unfortunately, I think on the part of some anyway, a desire to sort of demonize those of us who have looked for an alternative way of creating what Zbigniew Brzezinsky called the "soft landing," the transition, when it comes—and I think it will come sooner rather than later—in Cuba and how we might engage the 11 million people in that country, the overwhelming majority of whom do not support Fidel Castro, but would like to see a policy developed in this country which would speak to them.

We passed last year with 72 votes in the Senate of the United States lifting the embargo on food and medicine. It was John Ashcroft and myself who offered the amendments to lift the embargo. I do not know what John is calling himself today, but he was a conservative back then when he was offering that. My colleagues Senator Hagel, Senator Warner, Senator Roberts, and there were a number of others. Obviously, with 72 votes, this was not just a Democratic Party initiative.

Again, I am not asking you here to embrace a particular point of view and I realize it is difficult and there are a lot of emotions associated with this. I have great respect for the exile community and what they have been through. We had Mel Martinez, the new designate to be HUD Secretary, before us today, and the compelling story of what he has been through and his family has been through. So none of us carry any brief for a government that has caused so many people to have to leave their homes and the destruction that has been caused to human beings as a result of the leadership of Castro.

But we are also looking for ways in which we might create a different dynamic so that we can start to figure out a way to bring some opportunity to people there. Again, I just want to express from my point of view this is an issue I think we ought to engage. I think it is important, and it needs to be in the best interests of the United States and not particularly interest groups, as important as they are. So there is a difference of point of view on that.

The second issue is the International Criminal Court. I heard your strong words here. When President Clinton signed the international agreement, he committed the United States not to work against the purposes or objectives of the treaty. Again, I would not vote for the treaty to ratify it as it is presently worded, for the very

reasons that you have outlined, that there are some legitimate concerns about what would happen to men and women in uniform in the country.

But as it presently exists, right now it is an ad hoc operation. We have these conflicts and then we have ad hoc tribunals. As someone who was an infant of about a year or 2 years of age when my father went to a place called Nuremberg and was executive trial counsel there, I heard him lecture his children growing up over the years that had there been such a tribunal prior to the outbreak of World War II it might just have made a difference. If there had been some place where those people who argued that they only did what they did because they were ordered to, knowing that they would pay a price for it, we might have had a different set of circumstances.

So while there are legitimate concerns about an International Criminal Court, there is also great value in one that could work and would not place, as I say, our own military personnel in harm's way. One of the ironies is that under the treaty as it is, even if we do not sign it, there is the potential that our own people could be subjected to the jurisdiction of the treaty if they are operating in nations that have signed it.

So there is a value, it seems to us, in trying to change this and make it work in a way that would serve our interests. We are entering a new millennium, a new world, a global economy. It is shrinking all the time, and these issues are important.

So again, I would not sign or I would not support the treaty as it is presently written, but I think it is a good idea. It deserves some work and I hope we would not just write it off.

Mr. POWELL. My mind is not closed on this, Senator. It is just this particular treaty in this particular form.

Senator DODD. I appreciate that.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HELMS. Senator Brownback.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, General. A couple of questions. I just want to followup on a couple of items. Sorry I have not been here the whole time. I am also on Judiciary and Senator Ashcroft's hearing has been a little tough as well.

No. 1, I want to get back to Central Asia and the cross-cutting issues that are involved in that region of the world, because I think it really is a microcosm of a lot of major cross-cutting issues that you are going to be facing: terrorism, drugs, gun-running that is taking place in this region. You just had an exchange with Senator Hagel which I appreciated about what is taking place there now.

I have hosted two meetings of the Presidents of this region, of the Central Asians, the Stans and the South Caucasus, that is Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia. They really want to be well-related to the United States. They want to be strongly related. They want to have a strong East-West axis in their outreach and not just be a pawn of Russia or what is to the south of them or a militant fundamentalism taking place, growing up in their own back yard.

They are really concerned about this, and they do not think they have got much time, that they have got to show real growth taking place in their nations, have real opportunities coming for their peo-

ple within the next couple of years, or who knows which way it goes. Do they have to go back into a Russian sphere of orbit and have to be economically and otherwise dependent on them? Do we get pulled into a militant fundamentalism because our people just are not satisfied with what we have produced in this transition?

This is a critical time for them, and it is a critical area. I have held a number of hearings on this topic. I have traveled to the region. I have worked with the Presidents in the countries. They are all not Jeffersonian democracies, nor Jefferson themselves. But I really would urge you to work with them.

I would urge you to focus as well on Afghanistan, which we walked away from after the fall of the Soviet Union. God bless them that they were one of the linchpins that helped bring it down. But now it is one of the—75 percent of the heroin production in the world. It is a huge place. It is a summer camp for terrorism, or terrorists. We are really going to need to focus there.

I am urging a unified approach, working together with all of the countries in the region, encouraging them to work together. We passed the Silk Road Strategy Act 2 years ago to encourage the countries in the region to work together. I think that can be built on, but it needs to have some pretty aggressive steps and it needs to have economic growth and it needs to be together and the United States has to be aggressively involved and we are going to have to stare the Russians down at times in that area.

So I just wanted to put that out there, and I urge you to look particularly at Afghanistan. Potential support for the northern alliance in Afghanistan might be something we want to look at.

The second issue I want to lay in front of you is what is taking place overall in the world of trafficking of human beings. I just got back from Thailand—12-, 13-, 14-year-old girls sold into prostitution. The Thais are trying to work on it. I think they really do want to start to address it. We need to put pressure on them, because you look in the eyes of those little girls and you just, if you have got the ability to help them you need to do it. To whom much is given, much is expected. Maybe it is because I have daughters that age. It is just impossible for me to look at that without doing something.

Finally, I want to hand to you a series of photographs and direct stories that a staff member of mine just received on a trip to the Sudan about a month ago. She was in with a group, Christian Solidarity International, that was doing a slave redemption program. If you can imagine, in the year 2001 we are still doing this: over 4,000 people bought back.

If you look at those pictures and read some of those stories of women who were taken in slave raids, mutilated, gang-raped, treated like dogs, and then now bought back in a chattel system, it is unthinkable that it is still going on. There are things we can do for the southern Sudanese to get them to a place where they can have freedom and be able to not be subjected to this horrifying thing that still goes on in the year 2001.

It really is an unthinkable situation. I would offer to travel in with you, with your new Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, to the Sudan, to a slave redemption trip, to see with your own eyes, to talk to the people themselves of what this is that is taking place.

It will not require us to send in the Marines to solve it. Really, I think some clear steps and clear statements from the United States can have action take place and have this stopped that is taking place. If this was happening in Europe today, there would be no question. We would be all over it. We would not stand for it. This is intolerable to have this taking place. Yet, it is Africa, so what happens?

It needs to stop. I know you have a heart to deal with that and I really would offer my services in any way I can to assist in that taking place and some common steps, modest steps that I think can be taken to really solve I think the most horrifying situation that currently exists in the world today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator. I certainly share your view about this and I share the deep emotion that you hold for this issue, and I look forward to working with you on it, and perhaps taking that trip.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you.

Senator BIDEN. We are getting ready to close down, but I want to check. Senator Nelson says he has a couple questions. Senator Allen, do you have any more questions?

Senator ALLEN. My only comment I would make is that the statement that the General gave today is an outstanding statement. I do not know how these are disseminated here in the U.S. Senate, but it is one of history, of traditions of our country, brought to the present day and the future. It really is a great summary of our history, the historic nature of his life, but also where we need to go as a Nation. I think it would just be great reading for high school students across the world. It is in plain English that real people in the world will understand. I commend you for it, General. However we can get this disseminated—hopefully the newspapers will print it. Read it on line.

But I would only conclude, Mr. Chairman. I have no other time other than that and, General, thank you, good luck. We hope to have you nominated and ratified as soon as possible.

Senator HELMS. Could I say, the dissemination of the text of the Secretary's remarks this morning will be on our Web site.

Senator ALLEN. Good.

Senator BIDEN. Senator Nelson, then we will close.

Senator NELSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Do you think there should be, Mr. Secretary-designate, any changes in our policy with regard to the export of satellites, encryption materials, conventional weapons, computers?

Mr. POWELL. I have difficulty answering that since I am about 7 years out of cycle with respect to the current standards and criteria. I used to be quite expert in it, and so I would be reluctant to make a statement without reviewing the various criteria that now exist.

A couple of things that do, however, is that, as opposed to 10 or 12 years ago when we were reluctant to sell various kinds of computers or other items of technology, we have now discovered that they are fungible items. They are all over the world, and if we do not sell them somebody else will. They are not hard to get. So we better make sure we know what it is we have to protect and not

protect those things that are not necessary to protect and we are just doing it out of bureaucratic action.

I also think that we have to be quite agile in solving these kinds of issues quickly. One of the things we will be looking at in the State Department is how quickly we deal with the various commercial licenses that come before us for our approval, guarding the Nation's interests, protecting our secrets, but at the same time not putting our Nation at a competitive disadvantage.

Senator NELSON. Well, back when you were in the leadership, perhaps even before you were on the Joint Chiefs, we had a significant issue in the tension between Commerce and Defense on the issue of whether or not we ought to be exporting American satellites to be launched on Chinese expendable rockets. What was your feeling about that at that time?

Mr. POWELL. I do remember that. I was neither in Commerce nor Defense, but I was the National Security Adviser, so I was often called in to break the tie. I am going on a little bit of memory here, but my recollection is that we did find ways to conduct launches in ways that protected our technology and whatever we wanted protected in the satellites that would be launched. But I really am quite out of date as to how that unfolded and how it progressed.

Senator NELSON. Perhaps my memory is hazy as well, but I think that there was some serious compromise to technology transfer from the United States to the Chinese as a result of the selling of those satellites to be launched on Chinese launchers. I think that the Commerce types won the day back in the eighties and I do not think that was in the interest of the United States. I think we are going to be facing that question continuously, not only with regard to satellites, but on a number of other items as well.

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir, and I have heard those reports and I remember some of the Loral cases. I will become very knowledgeable before I come before this committee the next time.

Senator NELSON. If that fight is in the future between Commerce and Defense, it would be my hope, with your background, your expertise, your stature, that as the chief foreign officer representing the United States that you would weigh in on that.

Mr. POWELL. I will certainly give it my attention, sir.

Senator NELSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BIDEN. General, job well done.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HELMS. We are adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:42 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JESSE HELMS

CONSULAR AFFAIRS

Question. Consular Affairs has probably the largest and most vocal American constituency. The Bureau is of critical importance, although it is not without its own serious flaws. Will you work with the Committee to find ways to correct those flaws, and to ensure that consular considerations are fully and properly considered in the larger foreign policy resource picture?

Answer. I share your appreciation of the critical mission of the Bureau of Consular Affairs. With its responsibilities for American citizen services, passports and visas, Consular Affairs is the bureau most routinely in touch with the American public domestically and abroad. The Bureau is a leader in the Department's approach to customer service, the use of technology and innovative ways to deal with an ever-increasing workload. Like the rest of the Department, the Bureau could do even more to serve our American constituency with additional personnel resources. With added staff, we could more effectively meet our workload challenges, while permitting a "training float" that would provide more skills-based training for our employees.

Because of Consular Affairs' importance to the Department's mission, I promise you that it will be given full consideration in all foreign policy resource decisions. I look forward to working with you on these issues.

CONSULAR AFFAIRS: TRAVEL SAFETY PROGRAMS

Question. Many travel safety problems awaiting Americans are unreported, such as assaults on women, murders, suspicious deaths and accidents, and hotel fatalities (e.g., falls from balconies). Specific steps are needed to ensure that the traveling public is better informed about these problems. What kinds of steps will you take? Will you charge your new Consular Affairs management team with examining how the Department can work better with the travel industry and other sectors to improve safety abroad for the American traveling public?

Answer. The safety and security of U.S. citizens abroad is a top priority. The Bureau of Consular Affairs' Consular Information Program alerts the American public to potential problems they may encounter overseas. The cornerstone of the program is the Consular Information Sheet, prepared for every country in the world, supplemented by Travel Warnings and Public Announcements regarding areas of specific concern. The Bureau also publishes a variety of materials targeting specific audiences such as older Americans and students. Every American who carries a passport also carries (in it) our emergency phone number, which is accessible 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

We publicize this comprehensive information program with the help of the media, the travel industry and the Internet. Our web site now averages more than 350,000 hits a day. It is regularly accessed by individual American, travel agents, businesses, security firms, and schools and universities. Last year alone, the site received 86 million hits.

While we cannot control events, we are committed to doing everything possible to prevent tragedies from occurring. To that end, the Department will continue to provide timely and accurate information about conditions that might affect the safety and security of the traveling American public.

CHINA: DIALOG WITH THE DALAI LAMA

Question. In my view, one of the most disconcerting issues over the past couple of years has been the Chinese Government's refusal to engage in dialog with the Dalai Lama. What will the Bush administration do to encourage the Chinese Government to re-start the dialog?

Answer. The Dalai Lama has expressed willingness to enter into dialog with Chinese leaders. We will urge China to respond positively, to start a substantive dialog with the Dalai Lama or his representatives on Tibet issues and to protect the fundamental human rights of all PRC citizens.

TREATY AFFAIRS: CONSULTATION AND PRIORITIES

Question. Article II of the Constitution requires the "advice," not just "consent" of the Senate on all treaties. More administration/committee prior consultation over the last eight years might have reduced the number of unratifiable agreements entered into by the executive branch. Will you restore regular prior consultation with the committee on treaties? How will you avoid being co-opted by lingering Clinton administration treaty priorities, and set your own priorities for upcoming negotiations—particularly the Kyoto Protocol conference in May? Will you order an immediate review of all pending treaty negotiations and requests for negotiating authority?

Answer. The Department of State and other agencies involved in the negotiation of international agreements frequently discuss those negotiations with interested committees of Congress. I would expect to continue this important step.

As I indicated in my remarks with respect to the International Criminal Court Treaty during my confirmation hearings, the priorities of the Bush administration

will differ in some respects from those of the previous administration. I look forward to active consultation with the committee on the administration's ongoing negotiations and treaty priorities.

We will be examining those treaties currently pending in the Senate and will inform the committee of our priorities for action. In addition to those treaties already submitted to the Senate, past administrations have signed a number of treaties since 1976 that have not been sent to the Senate for advice and consent. We will be reviewing such treaties to see whether they merit being submitted by President Bush. Finally, we will be evaluating ongoing negotiations to ensure that the treaties being developed are consistent with the policy objectives of the Bush administration.

TREATY AFFAIRS: TREATY SIGNATURE

Question. Clinton administration legal scholars have cultivated the notion at home and abroad that murky "obligations" divined from so-called customary international "law" and the unratified Vienna Convention on treaties effectively supersede Article II of our Constitution. In their view, by mere signature of a treaty, the U.S. is somehow instantly bound—prior to Senate action on the treaty—to refrain from activity that is inconsistent with it. Will your State Department continue to perpetuate this unconstitutional myth? Do you believe that any treaty can bind the United States in any manner absent Senate ratification?

Answer. I noted during my confirmation hearing last week that once the U.S. signs a treaty, it assumes a responsibility not to defeat the intended purpose of the treaty pending ratification. I understand the United States has consistently supported this principle since the Johnson administration. We are, of course, not bound by provisions of a treaty requiring ratification on the basis of our signature alone, and we can only become bound after compliance with our Constitutional requirements. But it seems logical to me that states would be expected not to defeat the object and purpose of treaties they have signed unless they make clear they do not intend to ratify.

REVISED ANSWER TO TREATY AFFAIRS: TREATY SIGNATURE

Question. In reply to a question from Senator Helms entitled "Treaty Affairs: Treaty Signature," you wrote in part: "I understand the United States has consistently supported [the proposItion that, once the U.S. signs a treaty, it assumes a responsibility not to defeat the intended purpose of the treaty pending ratification] since the Johnson administration." Please explain the origin and content of the referenced Johnson administration position and related developments to date.

Answer. According to the Department of State's Legal Adviser's office, the Johnson administration's position was taken in 1964 when it submitted U.S. Government comments on the International Law Commission's draft articles on the Law of Treaties. One provision, adopted as Article 18, concerns a signatory's obligation to "refrain from acts which would defeat the object and purpose of a treaty" until it has made its intention clear not to become a party to the treaty. In commenting on that provision the Johnson Administration stated that the United States regarded the article as "highly desirable," adding that the article in the form it was ultimately adopted reflected "generally accepted norms of international law."

That position has been reaffirmed, according to the Department's legal office, by succeeding administrations. For example, during the Nixon administration, Secretary of State William P. Rogers commented that the "object and purpose" principle is "widely recognized in customary law." During the Carter administration, the Department's Legal Adviser found that the principle established certain immediate legal obligations for the Soviet Union related to SALT II; his Memorandum of Law on this point was furnished to the Senate on August 2, 1979. His successor advised Secretary of State Vance that the principle would continue to apply notwithstanding President Carter's decision to request a delay in the Senate's consideration of the SALT II treaty. With respect to that treaty, the Reagan administration confirmed that the principle applied to the United States and the USSR between signature in 1979 and the date in 1981 when the United States made clear that it would not ratify. Similar positions were taken by the Clinton administration.

ISRAEL: LOCATION OF U.S. EMBASSY

Question. What steps will the State Department take to implement President Bush's commitment to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem?

Answer. This is one of the many issues the new administration must discuss. We will be in touch with the White House on this matter and will follow whatever decisions and guidance are reached as a result of these discussions.

RUSSIA AND CHECHNYA: CONDITIONALITY

Question. During the campaign, President Bush called for the United States to withhold financial assistance to Russia until the Kremlin stops its brutality against the Chechen people, initiates a cease fire and pursues a peaceful and just resolution to this conflict. Will this conditionality be part of the new administration's policy toward Russia?

Answer. The conflict in Chechnya is a humanitarian tragedy that we deeply deplore, and we intend to make plain to Moscow that there must be a serious move made toward a political, not a military solution.

U.S. assistance to Russia is targeted to areas of clear U.S. national interest. For example, 80 percent of our bilateral assistance is aimed at reducing the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The vast majority of the remainder is focused on promoting grassroots reform outside Moscow.

Cutting off this assistance would be detrimental to U.S. interests, I believe; it also would be unlikely to cause Russia to reassess its strategy and tactics in Chechnya. We should, however, look for other ways to show Moscow that there are consequences for continuing to ignore the international outcry over its behavior in Chechnya.

RUSSIA/GEORGIA: HELPING GEORGIA WITHSTAND RUSSIAN PRESSURE

Question. What can and should the U.S. do to help Georgia withstand menacing pressure from Russia?

Answer. The administration strongly supports Georgia's independence and territorial integrity. There are a number of programs and initiatives in place to help counter Russian pressure tactics, and we will build on them. You can be assured that we will make Russian pressure a standing agenda item in our bilateral contacts with Russian officials.

Even in the short period since my confirmation, we have worked closely with our European and NATO partners to warn them of the threat Russia's actions pose to Georgia's independence and its consequences for regional stability. The Europeans have joined us in publicly criticizing the Russian visa regime and have approached the Russians independently regarding the gas shutoff.

We have provided strong diplomatic support for the OSCE Border Observation Mission on the border between Georgia and the Chechen Republic of the Russian Federation, and are providing $800,000 and five U.S. citizen observers to support the mission.

Our border security and law enforcement assistance program, to which we've contributed $53 million, is helping the Georgian government develop the capabilities of its border guards and customs department to exercise effective control of the country's borders. We will continue to make it a high priority to see full and timely Russian implementation of their commitment, undertaken at the November 1999 OSCE summit in Istanbul, to withdraw significant amounts of military equipment from Georgia and to close specific Russian military bases now on Georgian territory in accordance with specific deadlines.

Finally, our $3.6 million Georgia Winter Heat Assistance Program is helping Georgia maintain its energy independence targeting assistance to the most vulnerable members of Georgia's population.

CASPIAN SEA REGION

Question. What do you see as the U.S. interest(s) at stake in helping the Newly Independent States in the Caspian Sea region to strengthen their independence and achieve political and economic stability.

Answer. I see a number of core United States interests in the Caspian Sea region. One is to promote regional security and stability in a region that is bordered by Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China. Instability creates the breeding ground for the terrorism, narco-trafficking and weapons smuggling which plague this region.

Another of our interests is to diversify world energy sources by establishing secure alternative East-West corridors for the delivery of oil and gas to Turkey, Western Europe and beyond. The states in the Caspian Sea region have significant hydrocarbon reserves. These resources currently reach the West via the Turkish Straits and the Straits of Hormuz, strategic choke points that are subject to environmental and political pressure and closure. New corridors provide the added dividend of stronger long-term economic ties between these Newly Independent States and their more established neighbors.

We also have an interest in supporting the development of stable free market economies in the region, open to unhindered foreign (including U.S.) trade and investment. As these markets grow and broaden, the United States Government has actively advocated the interests of U.S. companies seeking to trade and invest in the region.

Finally, it is in our interest to foster the development of true democratic civil societies in these Newly Independent States, and firmly anchor them to the West. Only in this way can they achieve long-term political stability and economic growth. Through political dialog, membership in regional organizations like the OSCE, and use of our targeted assistance programs, we will continue to encourage the growth of non-governmental organizations, civic groups and independent media and invest in the future of these societies by engaging the next generation of leaders.

CASPIAN: CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR BAKU-TBILISI-CEYHAN PIPELINE

Question. Will the Bush administration be committed to supporting Caspian oil and natural gas pipeline projects such as the proposed Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline, which would run from Azerbaijan through Georgia and into Turkey?

Answer. We are aware of the importance of this region and will support policies aimed at four strategic objectives: enhancing the independence and sovereignty of the states in this region; reestablishing economic linkages to increase cooperation and reduce regional conflict; bolstering global energy security to ensure that new sources of oil and gas reach world markets reliably; and creating business opportunities for U.S. companies.

I understand that there are actually five specific pipelines in operation or under development:

- the Baku-Novorossiysk (from Azerbaijan to Russia) and the Baku-Supsa (Azerbaijan to Georgia) oil pipelines, both of which are functioning;
- the Caspian Pipeline Consortium project (from Kazakhstan to Russia), which is under construction;
- the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, which is under development; and
- a Caspian Gas Pipeline (from Azerbaijan to Georgia and Turkey), which is also under development.

Georgia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan share our strategic objectives and view these projects as absolutely critical to their countries' economic future and independence. The Turks, a NATO ally, see the pipelines as strategic links into the Caucasus and Central Asia and remain concerned about any radical increase in the amount of oil shipped through the Bosporus.

Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan has moved significantly ahead in recent months: all framework agreements are in place, and a sponsors' group of investors formed in October and is currently conducting engineering and financing efforts. The project needs to attract additional investors among oil companies operating in Kazakhstan, thereby improving the project's economics and extending its strategic reach across the Caspian and into Central Asia. It must be commercially viable, of course but that is a judgment the companies involved must make.

SANCTIONS

Question. You and the President-elect have both criticized the Clinton administration for its proliferation of military interventions, and have said that greater care must be taken before sending American troops abroad. The two major alternatives to military intervention are diplomacy and economic leverage. So while, as you have said in the hearing, we should be careful not to overuse sanctions, does your prudence regarding military intervention mean that sanctions will remain an important tool of U.S. foreign policy?

Answer. I certainly would not rule out the use of sanctions—many of which, of course, are law. When properly designed, implemented and applied as part of a coherent strategy, sanctions can be a valuable tool of U.S. foreign policy for enforcing international norms of behavior and protecting our national interests. Whenever possible, however, sanctions should be imposed with multilateral support to enhance their effectiveness.

Unilateral economic sanctions are not a panacea. We should turn to sanctions only after considering other options, and after weighing the potential costs against anticipated benefits before they are imposed. Sanctions should target the foreign government or group responsible for the offending action with minimal adverse effects on innocent parties. Keeping in mind that sanctions do not always achieve their goal within a short time, they should be frequently reviewed to determine whether they are relevant and serving the original purpose. Finally, the President

should be allowed to use sanctions flexibly to respond to constantly changing and evolving situations and to balance competing national interests.

IRAQ: FLIGHT CONTROLS

Question. As you noted when you were designated as Secretary of State, the sanctions regime against Iraq should be "re-energized." One example of the deterioration of the regime is the spate of international commercial flights—initiated by Russia and France—into Baghdad. While some of these countries are purposely violating sanctions for political reasons, others assert that these flights do not violate sanctions. The Clinton administration maintained that these flights require not only notification but approval from the sanctions committee, in your view do these flights constitute a sanctions violation? If so, pursuant to the terms of Section 534 of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act of 2000, should assistance be provided to nations that violate sanctions on Iraq?

Answer. As I made clear in my testimony, the viability of the sanctions regime vis-a-vis Iraq is important to the Bush administration. The UN Sanctions Committee has approved most flights that have gone into Iraq. Some such flights have gone after notification to the committee but before approval, however, and a few have gone without either notification or approval. In our view, flights without approval are not in accordance either with the relevant Security Council resolutions or with long-standing practice. Several countries, including France and Russia, have asserted that flights carrying passengers or humanitarian items do not require committee approval. The Bush administration will continue to work with the French to develop a flight control regime, on which the sanctions committee could agree and that would protect the core elements of sanctions.

The applicability of the legislation you have cited to flights occurring without approval is one of the issues that the new administration intends to review.

IRAQ: REMOVAL OF SADDAM HUSSEIN

Question. Bearing in mind your response to the questions regarding the Iraq Liberation Act, please discuss how the United States should proceed on the removal of Saddam Hussein from power. Would your assessment change if the United States lacked the backing of its allies and neighbors in the region?

Answer. It is up to the Iraqi people to remove Saddam Hussein from power; they would plainly be better off without him. Our policy objectives in the region would also be better met without him, but the United States cannot impose a new leadership on Iraq from the outside. We will work with the Iraqi opposition to encourage internal forces not only to bring about the change, but to make the right kind of change. Obviously there needs to be more overt recognition in the region and among allies that the Iraqi people want and deserve a new government. As I stated in my testimony, the President, Dr. Rice, Mr. Rumsfeld, and I are reviewing our policy. There are no easy answers. We expect to consult closely with Congress as we grapple with this problem.

KASHMIR: U.S. ROLE

Question. In the last few months there has been some positive movement in the Kashmir peace process between India and Pakistan. What role can or should the United States play in facilitating even greater progress in this peace process, particularly in light of the fact that this is a potential flashpoint between two nuclear states?

Answer. I believe we should conduct a thorough review of the situation on the ground and of previous U.S. efforts to encourage a peaceful resolution, and then seek to build on those efforts. Restraint of forces, respect for the Line of Control, renunciation of violence, and resumption of dialog would appear to be a good starting point.

I am heartened by India's suspension of offensive operations and Pakistan's policy of "maximum restraint." It is important that militant groups reciprocate India's suspension of operations and help build a peace process.

I believe the best role for the U.S. at this stage is to offer quiet counsel and advice separately to both sides, encouraging them to take further positive steps.

IRAN: U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS

Question. In your statement you indicate that U.S. differences with Iran "need not preclude greater interactions" through commerce or dialog. Is that approach predicated on improved behavior by the regime? Conversely, given the resurgence of

hard-liners in Iran in recent months, do you believe cultural or commercial rapprochement should be the response of the United States?

Answer. We believe the United States must carefully and continuously review all areas of our interaction with Iran—political, cultural, or commercial—to ensure that our policies effectively promote U.S. objectives. That review should continue regardless of how the Iranian government chooses to respond. The U.S. goal is not to punish the Iranian people, but to effectively pursue U.S. interests. However, the differences between the U.S. and the Government of Iran are substantial and longstanding. In the end, the pace of any rapprochement between our countries must be a function of Iran's willingness to address U.S. concerns.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE

Question. Will you work with the Committee on Foreign Relations to secure an increase in funding for security assistance programs?

Answer. Yes, I believe these programs are important and will be happy to work closely with the committee to that end.

HAITI: U.S. POLICY TOWARD ARISTIDE GOVERNMENT

Question. With regard to Haiti, what specific steps will you take to distance U.S. policy from the incoming de facto regime of Jean Bertrand Aristide and target Haitian officials credibly alleged to have been involved in political assassinations, property confiscation, or narco-trafficking?

Answer. I believe we must engage the Government of Haiti in order to advance and protect our national interests there and in the region. We intend to hold President-elect Aristide to his December commitment to former President Clinton to rectify serious problems with elections, drug trafficking, the security and judicial systems, human rights, illegal migration and other key bilateral issues. We will also encourage the Government of Haiti to halt political intimidation and violence; target the root causes of the problems undermining democracy and stability in Haiti, including official corruption and narcotics; and give greater priority to institution building. Finally, we will work to protect American commercial and investment interests and to advance the rule of law in Haiti, including full investigation of, and accounting for, political murders and the prosecution of human rights violators.

HAITI: POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Question. What will you do to implement a proactive policy of working with the opposition and other democratic elements in Haitian civil society?

Answer. I believe it is important to work closely with Haiti's political parties and diverse civil society to strengthen democratic institutions and protect human rights. USAID has proposed a two million dollar civil society program for this fiscal year, with a significant portion reserved for support and long-term development of political parties.

The Department has strongly supported an initiative launched on January 18 by civil society organizations aimed at achieving a peaceful dialog among Haiti's political parties. The OAS is also establishing a semi-permanent mission in Haiti to facilitate dialog among Haitian political, civic, and business leaders. You can be sure that the Bush administration will press President-elect Aristide to fulfill his December 27 commitment to install a broad-based government that includes technocrats and members of the opposition.

BROADCASTING TO CUBA

Question 1. Will the State Department support innovative measures to broaden the reach of Marti broadcasting to overcome jamming? Specifically, will you support "pulse programming" to increase the signal strength and use an airborne transmitter to increase the availability of the radio and TV signal on the island?

Answer. I have not had time to review the specific options available to overcome jamming. Certainly, direct communication with the people of Cuba is a crucial aspect of our Cuba policy. We will continue to use all the tools we have at our disposal—people-to-people exchanges, book programs and Internet facilities—to get our message across. As Secretary of State, I will serve on the Broadcasting Board of Governors, which no doubt will review how our message can best reach the Cuban people.

Question 2. Will you review programming and encourage the development of programs to communicate with the Cuban military and bureaucrats who may encourage peaceful change?

Answer. Castro has long tried to keep the truth about Cuba's economic, moral, and political failure from reaching the people of Cuba. Getting our message out—through people-to-people exchanges or more direct programming—is important and the critical roles to be played by junior and mid-level officers and bureaucrats in Cuba's inevitable transition make reaching out to those people a wise investment in Cuban democracy. I will use my seat on the BBG to encourage radio and TV Marti to continue to focus on this audience.

CUBA: HAVANA CLUB

Question. Will you now advise and permit OFAC to deny any pending requests for issuance of licenses for transactions that contravene U.S. law and our stated policy?

Would the Madrid Protocol require the U.S. to register any trademark whose registration is currently prohibited, or may in the future be prohibited under U.S. domestic law, regulations or public policy?

Answer. OFAC requests for foreign policy guidance often involve a number of complicated issues, including in the instance of the Havana Club case. You can be assured that, under my direction, the Department's guidance will take fully into account applicable U.S. law and policy.

I understand that, based on discussions between the Department and the United States Patent and Trademark Office, our officials have concluded that the Madrid Protocol, if implemented through legislation such as was pending before the 106th Congress, would not require the United States to register any trademark whose registration is currently prohibited under domestic law or regulations. I'm not in a position to say at this point whether other changes in domestic law, regulations, or policy might in some manner affect the registration of any trademark in the United States.

CUBA: SOL MELIA

Question. Officers in the State Department's Bureau for Western Hemisphere Affairs (WHA) responsible for investigations under the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 have concluded that the Spanish firm Grupo Sol Melia (GSM) is trafficking in property owned by a U.S. national. (Paragraph 5 of the "Guidelines Implementing the Title IV of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act" (*Federal Register,* June 17, 1996), states in part, "Determinations . . . under Title IV *will* be made when facts or circumstances exist that would lead the Department *reasonably to conclude* that a person has engaged in confiscation or trafficking . . .." Paragraph 6(a) states, "An alien who may be the subject of a determination under Title IV *will* be sent a notification . . . that he/she will be denied a visa . . . 45 days after date of the notification letter . . ..") As you are now aware of this conclusion, it should trigger an immediate decision by you to sanction GSM without further delay.

What office in the State Department will be ultimately responsible for making this determination? Will you instruct that officer to act without further delay to comply with the U.S. law and to provide the committee a copy of the determination letter to GSM?

Answer. There are a number of investigations under Title IV of the Libertad Act and decisions are taken in accordance with the facts and the law. The Department takes its enforcement responsibilities seriously, and I can assure you that the Department will act in accordance with the requirements of the law.

Title IV authority resides with the Secretary of State. Under the previous administration, the Secretary's authority to make determinations pursuant to Title IV was delegated to the Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs. That delegation of authority also provides that the Secretary, Deputy Secretary or Under Secretary for Political Affairs may exercise the authority to make a determination under Title IV.

I am aware of the importance of this issue to Congress and will review Title IV issues further with those in the Department who have been following these matters. However, I do not believe that it would be appropriate for me to comment on the internal decision-making process regarding a specific case. We will inform you promptly when decisions under Title IV are made. Again, you can be assured that we will act in accordance with the law.

CUBA: TITLE III WAIVER

Question. Do you pledge to review the current waiver of Title III and comply with the legal requirement that such waiver genuinely hastens the democratic transition in Cuba?

Answer. Cuba's democratic transition is an important issue for both the administration and the Congress. I can assure you that we will apply the law in a way aimed at encouraging democratic and economic change and respect for human rights in Cuba, and at developing an international consensus to support those goals.

CUBAN POLICY: COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION

Question. What steps will the Department of State take to ensure the passage of a resolution on human rights in Cuba at the upcoming meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva? Do you pledge to be personally involved to convince governments of the need for such a resolution as a statement of principle in defense of human rights in Cuba?

Answer. This administration gives very high priority to passage of a resolution at the UNCHR reflective of the human rights situation in Cuba. As in past years we will coordinate closely with countries that share our views, including the drafters and co-sponsors of this year's version. The Department is already at work on developing a plan on how to maximize support for this resolution at the Commission. Given the importance of doing everything we can to ameliorate the human rights situation in Cuba and to give hope to political dissidents and others working for positive change there, I will follow this issue closely, and weigh in personally with other governments as required.

ECUADOR: EMELEC

Question. Will you instruct the U.S. Embassy in Quito to assist the American trustees in resolving this case [Empresa Electrica del Ecuador, Inc. (EMELEC)] and to notify the Ecuadorian government that its normal relations with the United States depend on its equitable treatment of these and all U.S. investors and property claimants?

Answer. I understand that the U.S. Embassy in Quito has urged the Government of Ecuador to amicably settle its dispute with EMELEC, and that my predecessor raised this issue with officials in Quito during her visit there last year. We believe it important that, in all such property disputes, there should be a clear and committed effort by all parties to come to terms. We will continue to urge the Government of Ecuador to sort out fairly all competing interests in this case, including those of the Progreso Depositors Trust, and will convey the importance that we attach to prompt and full repayment of the Export-Import Bank debt on which EMELEC is a co-maker.

CHINA: CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION

Question. Do you believe this commission can play a constructive role in promoting human rights and legal reform in China? Will you recommend that President Bush and Congress move quickly to set it up?

Answer. Yes. I believe the commission can play such a role, and I look forward to working toward its creation in a timely manner.

VIETNAM: RESPONSE TO SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Question. Will the Bush administration take serious action, for example, withholding the decision to grant Vietnam Normal Trade Relations, if serious human rights violations, such as blocking refugee claims by Montagnards and others, continue?

Answer. We take seriously concerns that have been raised about Vietnam's human rights practices. We will to continue to raise our concerns directly with the Vietnamese government and thereby promote progress on improving human rights practices in Vietnam.

Since 1998, Congress has agreed to waive Jackson-Vanik amendment provisions for Vietnam. This waiver has been based on Vietnam's cooperation on freedom of emigration issues, which has allowed us to approach completion of many refugee admissions categories under the Orderly Departure Program. Vietnamese cooperation has permitted progress in processing of Montagnard cases; I am told that all but 44 cases (364 people) have been cleared by the Vietnamese government for interviews.

I do believe that engagement on these issues is important to the health and durability of our relations with Vietnam. Granting Normal Trade Relations can also promote economic reform in Vietnam, with potential benefits to the Vietnamese people and to the cause of human rights.

CAMBODIA: 1997 GRENADE ATTACK

Question. Will the Bush administration commit to reviewing the evidence in this case and, if it finds credible evidence of Hun Sen's involvement, take appropriate political measures against him? Also, will the administration commit to a full declassification of the FBI's April 1998 report to Congress?

Answer. The FBI is the investigative agency in this case and the Department of State has cooperated fully with the FBI in its investigation. I understand that the FBI has, as yet, drawn no conclusions.

Since the FBI is the lead investigative agency, we defer to the FBI and the Justice Department to determine whether declassification of the 1998 report to Congress would be appropriate.

LAOS: DISAPPEARANCE OF AMCITS LY AND VANG

Question. What steps will the Bush administration take to get to the bottom of this matter? Will the administration commit to stopping business-as-usual with Laos—specifically, downgrading relations, opposing IFI loans, and forgoing a pending trade agreement—until this matter is resolved?

Answer. The Bush administration will vigorously pursue the disappearance of American citizens Ly and Vang, who reportedly traveled into Laos in April 1999 from Thailand. In addition to pursuing all credible leads through the work of our Embassy Bangkok Legal Attaché and with the FBI here, the Bush administration will make it clear to the Laotian Government that we expect a much higher level of cooperation from it, both in Vientiane and in Bokeo Province, where the two reportedly were last seen. We expect to pursue fully all credible leads in Laos.

Clearly, U.S.-Lao relations have suffered as a result of this unresolved disappearance. At least in part because of this problem in our relations, I believe that it is essential not to downgrade relations further, but to have a U.S. ambassador in Laos as quickly as possible. Since the summer of 1999, U.S. interests have been represented only at the chargé level, decreasing the weight given to U.S. positions on this and other issues by the Government of Laos. In addition to the welfare and whereabouts of American citizens traveling in Laos, we have several other priority concerns. These include the fullest possible accounting of our missing in action from the Vietnam War, counter-narcotics cooperation, and promotion of human rights and religious freedom. The Lao have established a good record on the MIA, humanitarian de-mining and counter-narcotics issues, and have sometimes acted positively in reaction to our requests on religious freedom issues. As to the other issues you have cited, the previous administration signed a Bilateral Trade Agreement with Laos in 1997; we have not yet reviewed how to proceed with that agreement. IFI loans are considered on a case-by-case basis and we should consider them on their merits.

TAIWAN: TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES BY SENIOR LEADERS

Question. Will the Bush administration maintain restrictions on visiting Taiwan officials?

Answer. The United States has long granted transits for Taiwan's senior leaders for the safety, comfort and convenience of the traveler. We remain committed to this policy. During a transit, we expect the activities of the traveler will be private and consistent with the purposes of a transit. We do not consider public or media events, as well as meetings with public officials to be consistent with the nature of a private transit. This approach is consistent with longstanding U.S. policy and practice, as well as with our unofficial relationship with Taiwan.

TAIWAN: ARMS SALES AND MIL-MIL TIES

Question. How will the Bush administration consult with Congress on Taiwan arms sales issues? Will the Bush administration establish a military-to-military relationship with Taiwan, including direct, secure communications links?

Answer. We are fully aware of the requirement for consultations contained in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act and will act in accordance with the law. The administration would welcome a dialog with Congress regarding the most appropriate way to meet Taiwan's legitimate self-defense needs in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act.

The United States has an abiding interest in the peaceful resolution of cross-Strait differences. The administration remains committed to make available defense articles and services to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self defense capability, as provided in the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), and will consult with Taiwan on its defense requirements.

TAIWAN: THE SIX ASSURANCES

Question. Will the Bush administration continue to view the Six Assurances as official U.S. policy?

Answer. As I noted in my statement before the committee, the United States will continue to expect and demand that differences across the Taiwan Strait be settled peacefully. Such a settlement must be worked out by the two sides and be acceptable to people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. We will not mediate, and we will not pressure Taiwan.

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: RED TAPE

Question. This committee worked to fold the U.S. Information Agency into the State Department, to streamline bureaucracy. But I understand that in the early months after consolidation, Foreign Service officers working on public diplomacy, visitor programs, and exchanges faced a highly bureaucratic mindset in the State Department. As an important and relatively inexpensive means to communicate U.S. goals and principles, and a major concern of the President, will you work to see to it that under State Department administration, public diplomacy does not fall prey to more red tape rather than less?

Answer. Foreign affairs reorganization gave the Secretary of State tools, resources, skilled people and approaches that are new and different from what the Department had before. By incorporating the skills of Public Affairs Officers, with their knowledge of grant programs, global information networks, long-term exchanges, media/public opinion research, and advanced technology, I believe we can define a "new American diplomacy" fit for 21st century challenges.

The State Department's "new diplomacy" launches programs, uses technology, and moves people and information around the world rapidly. So the answer is, yes, we need to be sure the Department's support for all its people and functions is fast, flexible, effective and efficient.

We gained from USIA officers and specialists who value and use professional training on a regular basis. I will be seeking the resources to continue providing these and all the Department's employees with the professional training they need to do their work.

Integration earned kudos from the Inspector General for the excellent prior planning that laid the groundwork for the ambitious undertaking. Yet, it is still a work in progress.

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROMOTION RATES

Question. Is it true in the last cycle of FSO promotions, the State Department did not know how to use the personnel evaluations from the old USIA, and that resulted in public diplomacy officers not receiving promotions (signaling that taking public diplomacy assignments will not be rewarded in FSO careers)?

Answer. The Department addressed the differences in the State Department and former USIA employee evaluation reports during its training of the 2000 Selection Board members. A Public Diplomacy (PD) officer serving on each Board that reviewed the performance records of PD employees was available to answer questions regarding the duties of PD officers and the former USIA personnel evaluation reports. For the most part PD officers competed against each other. I have looked at the statistical summary of the 2000 competition and found that PD officers actually received a higher percentage of promotions than any other group of generalist officers last year, with the following results: Class 3 to 2: PD-50.7%, other generalists 26.8%; Class 2 to 1: PD-19.9%, other generalists-10.6%; Class 1 to OC: PD-18.7%, other generalists-16.7%. These results certainly suggest that Public Diplomacy is a rewarding career track in the Foreign Service.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

SIERRA LEONE: POLICY ON TRAINING WEST AFRICAN PEACEKEEPERS

Question. The Clinton administration developed a plan to train and equip battalions of Nigerian troops to serve as part of UNAMSIL. It's anticipated that the first two battalions will be sent to Sierra Leone in a matter of weeks. The current plan calls for five additional battalions to be trained.

Will you recommend that the train and equip program for West Africa continue? Do you anticipate any change in the current policy of no U.S. troops on the ground in Sierra Leone?

Answer. My preliminary view is that the current program to equip and train up to seven West African battalions from Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal for service in UNAMSIL should be completed, in conjunction with parallel efforts by the UK to train the Sierra Leone Army. Although we are sending three U.S. military officers to work with UK officers as advisors in restructuring the Sierra Leonean Ministry of Defense, I do not anticipate sending U.S. combat troops to Sierra Leone.

SIERRA LEONE: EVALUATION OF U.S.-TRAINED NIGERIAN TROOPS

Question. If the policy remains the same, how will you, in conjunction with the Department of Defense, measure or evaluate the efficacy of the training that the Nigerian battalions have received without the presence of United States military observers?

Answer. Although there are no plans to station U.S. military observers in Sierra Leone, there are several means by which we will be able to monitor the performance of the West African battalions we have trained for service to UNAMSIL. Our Embassy in Freetown is in constant liaison with UN political and military authorities and will have ready access to their assessments of the battalions' effectiveness. Our close liaison with UK forces operating in Sierra Leone, including the three U.S. officers detailed to the UK training mission in Freetown, will be an additional source of valuable information. Our ongoing bilateral contact with the Nigerian, Senegalese and Ghanaian armed forces in those nations' capitals will provide us with a further perspective on how the training supplied to these forces is being applied. Finally, we are in continuing close contact with the numerous nongovernmental organizations present in Sierra Leone. Their independent observations will also be factored into our overall evaluation of our training's effectiveness.

INTERACTION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Question. American forces are deployed all over the globe to demonstrate our commitment to our allies and as a force for stability. In addition, our engagement strategy has meant that the military sees one of its missions as helping to "shape" the international environment. What this means, in reality, is that the Department of Defense has an increasingly important role in American diplomacy. The military, by virtue of its physical presence overseas and its substantial resources, particularly compared to significantly under-funded diplomatic accounts, is partly filling the void created by reductions in our diplomatic readiness.

Even if we can improve our diplomatic readiness, foreign policy decisions like peacekeeping operations and humanitarian assistance operations will mean that the Department of State and the Department of Defense need to be much more closely aligned in their long-term planning processes and daily interaction. Given your experience in the Defense Department, you have the background to make important improvements in interagency coordination on major policy issues.

What steps do you think may be necessary to improve long-term planning and coordination between the Department of State and the Department of Defense on national security policy?

Answer. When I was at the Pentagon, there was daily interaction between State and Defense on a wide number of national security issues. I am sure that is the case today as well. having said that, I have no doubt that this coordination can be strengthened, and I intend to see whether the high degree of cooperation we now see in areas like arms control, bilateral discussions with Russia, and policy consultations in NATO can be broadened to other areas. Our goal should be to foster cooperative relationships at all levels, including the CINCs, in areas such as security assistance and Theater Engagement Planning. State Political Advisors supporting CINCs and the military services can play a very useful role, and CINC coordination with embassies and the regional bureaus in State no doubt can be stronger. State personnel should continue to participate in exercises at military schools and joint

training centers, and a strong State-Defense Exchange Program can ensure Foreign Service and military officers are placed where they will have the most strategic value to both Departments.

INTERACTION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Question. Given the clear foreign policy requirements for certain operational capabilities, like the airlift used for both military operations and humanitarian assistance, do you think it important to have the State Department participate at a high-level in the upcoming Quadrennial Defense Review?

Answer. The Quadrennial Defense Review will have a profound effect on our national security and foreign policy objectives. For that reason, I believe State must be involved in the upcoming process from an early stage, at both the working and senior levels. Given the inextricable link between diplomacy and use of force around the globe, it is clear that State and DOD must engage closely on setting priorities, aligning resources to policy, and making tradeoffs, when necessary, to support an effective use of resources. DOD's planning regarding force structure and strategy is an important element in shaping the context of U.S. diplomacy, and State's contribution will be an important element of DOD's analyses of threats, settings and objectives.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR

ARMS CONTROL: DEBT RELIEF FOR NONPROLIFERATION

Question. Mr. Secretary, Russia owes the United States and our Allies billions in former Soviet debt. Russia is unlikely to ever fully repay these debts. The United States has continuously attempted to use debt relief as a lever for Russian action and reform with varying degrees of success. Do you believe debt relief could be used as a tool of U.S. non-proliferation policy toward Russia? For example, might a specific amount of debt relief be forgiven and the savings utilized by Russia to finance the elimination of weapons of mass destruction?

Answer. I agree whole-heartedly with the non-proliferation goals implied in your question. At this time, Russia appears to have the capacity to pay its debt service in full. We and other Paris Club creditors expect Russia to meet all of its obligations to the Paris Club in 2001. We do not see a financial case for Paris Club debt relief in 2001, nor has Russia reached agreement with the IMF on a program—a prerequisite for such relief.

The suggestion that our arms control aims might be met through debt reduction is interesting, but under current conditions could be difficult to implement successfully. While the United States has provided Russia debt rescheduling through the Paris Club in the past, the purpose of these reschedulings has been to enhance the prospects of repayment, not to influence Russia's foreign or domestic policy. U.S. authority to reschedule debt is based on a threat of imminent default; debt rescheduling, as a rule, is undertaken to maximize payment to the United States.

Funding our threat reduction and non-proliferation goals directly may ensure greater USG control over the use of the money to be spent to achieve our non-proliferation goals.

RUSSIA: FREE TRADE ZONES AT FORMER SOVIET WEAPONS PRODUCTION AND RESEARCH FACILITIES

Question. Do you believe the establishment of free trade zones at former Soviet weapons production and research facilities further U.S. non-proliferation policy goals?

Answer. Developing free trade zones at former Soviet weapons production and research facilities could help to ensure permanent transition to civilian activities by creating export opportunities for peaceful products. Implementing such a plan would prove very challenging, but the suggestion is an intriguing one that we should further explore.

NONPROLIFERATION PROGRAMS—RUSSIA/IRAN

Question. In recent months, frustration over Russian cooperation with Iran has led some policy-makers to consider the cessation of a number of U.S. programs and initiatives. Unfortunately, some proposals have included threats to cease vital non-proliferation and dismantlement programs in Russia. I believe this is a serious mistake. Clearly, we do not condone Russian actions, but how are our interests ad-

vanced by ending efforts that benefit U.S. national security interests. If Russia were to continue these actions in the face of American cessation of nonproliferation programs, as many believe, how would American national security interests have been advanced? Instead of continued dismantlement of former Soviet weaponry and redirection of weapons scientists, the U.S. would have contributed to the proliferation dilemma by stopping the elimination of the very weapons we fear may proliferate.

Furthermore, ending programs designed to redirect weapons experts would simply enlarge the pool of scientists and engineers in search of income and increase the information and skill available to would-be proliferators. Do you support the cessation of non-proliferation programs in the face of Russian cooperation with Iran?

Answer. Non-proliferation assistance programs clearly are important to our national security. It is also important to U.S. national security that Russian put a stop to the assistance that some Russian entities have provided to Iran's nuclear and missile programs. This will be a top priority for the Administration and will be a constant subject of U.S. diplomatic efforts pursued at the highest levels. The United States can only be secure if we achieve both objectives. We look forward to working with the Congress on these programs.

RUSSIA/NIS: INTERNATIONAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CENTERS NONPROLIFERATION PROGRAM

Question. Mr. Secretary, the International Science and Technology Center in Moscow is currently providing direct payments to over 35,000 former weapons scientists and engineers now involved in peaceful pursuits. Do you support the continuation of this nonproliferation program? Do you have plans to expand or modify the ISTC program?

Answer. The International Science and Technology Centers program is an important nonproliferation tool. Centers in Moscow and Ukraine have evolved from "brain drain" prevention efforts to complex, mature multilateral organizations that meet multiple U.S. national security interests. I plan to continue this program and appreciate Congress' funding for the program in the FY 2001 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill. I intend to work with you and the appropriations committees to seek continued strong funding for this important program, as well as others.

NATO ENLARGEMENT

Question. Do you support the continued enlargement of the NATO Alliance? When do you believe the Alliance should consider a second round of enlargement? Who do you believe are the most likely candidates for membership?

Answer. The Bush Administration strongly supports the NATO enlargement process and believes that the door to NATO membership shall remain open to all nine aspirant countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia). NATO has agreed to review the enlargement process at its next summit, which will be held in Prague no later than 2002. Between now and then, we and our Allies will continue to review the preparations and capabilities of the states applying for membership. NATO must judge aspirants to be "willing and able" to assume the obligations of NATO membership, and the addition of any new member must contribute to the political and strategic interests of the Alliance.

NMD: CONSULTING WITH THE ALLIES

Question. What strategies are you considering to win allied support from American allies for American missile defense plans? Should we concentrate our efforts on those nations currently believed to be optimal sites for long-range radar or should we expand our scope to include potential partners in missile defense efforts?

Answer. The key to NMD diplomacy with U.S. allies is dialog that will help us maintain allied cohesion and collective security while allowing us to do what is necessary to meet our national defense requirements. The Bush administration will consult closely with all of our allies as we develop our approach to missile defense, both to convey its potential benefits to everyone and to explore how we can cooperate on common missile defense efforts.

I know that a number of allies have raised concerns about Russian and Chinese reactions to the U.S. NMD program, and about the need to preserve the basic structure of arms control agreements. A U.S.-Russia agreement on NMD would satisfy many of these concerns. We hope to persuade Russia of the need to modify the ABM Treaty, and to persuade Beijing that our planned NMD system is not intended to neutralize China's strategic deterrent forces. We will, of course, consult with our allies on our approach on these issues as well.

INDIA/PAKISTAN: RISK OF WAR AND PROLIFERATION

Question. Have you considered a change in policy toward India and Pakistan to reduce the threat of nuclear war between the two nations and address potential proliferation risks?

Answer. We will conduct a thorough review of all aspects of our policies toward India and Pakistan. There may be some changes in specific areas, but this administration will continue to encourage both countries to find ways to resolve the tensions between them and avert a costly and dangerous arms race.

We will continue to work cooperatively with both countries to enhance their export control procedures, an area in which some progress has already been made. We will also seek the most effective means to encourage both sides to restrain their nuclear and missile programs, and to reduce the risk that tensions and conflict could lead to a nuclear exchange.

BIOTECHNOLOGY: U.S. LEADERSHIP

Question. How do you propose to ensure U.S. leadership in crafting a sensible set of international rules regarding biotech trade, one that safeguards against real risks but does not reflect the hysteria and junk science inherent in many reactions to these products?

Answer. I can assure you that the Department of State will project strong U.S. leadership in support of sensible, science-based trade rules for biotech trade. To be successful, we will need to address even more vigorously the politicization, lack of understanding, and concern about biotech evident in many recent instances. We will work hard to enhance international understanding of what science tells us about biotechnology, which we believe has great potential to address human hunger and health, while addressing legitimate concerns about this technology. We will work to build the capacity of developing countries to use biotechnology to meet urgent needs safely and sustainably, and strengthen their support for open markets. Most importantly, we will join with USTR, USDA, Commerce, USAID and other USG agencies to field strong negotiating teams, employ public diplomacy effectively, and build support for our position—including through our embassies. Our strategy will have four key elements: (1) bringing together relevant "domestic" and "international" agencies to create an effective U.S. interagency approach and team; (2) getting input from relevant U.S. groups; (3) starting early to establish strong negotiating positions and strategies; and (4) building a more forceful and effective coalition of like-minded countries. We will work with Congress to ensure your continued support and to ensure that we have adequate staffing and funding of the programs we need to get this done.

BIOTECHNOLOGY: COORDINATION IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES

Question. What are you prepared to do to ensure we have a coordinated approach in international bodies and agreements, such as the OECD, the Biodiversity Convention, Codex Alimentarius, and the WTO, in order to ensure a sound international framework?

Answer. Ensuring a coordinated approach in international fora and agreements that address biotechnology will be important to the Bush administration. The State Department already has substantially strengthened efforts, in Washington and abroad, to establish and project that coordinated approach. State is not the lead agency in all policy discussions on biotechnology, of course. Nonetheless, I will instruct the Department to coordinate early and vigorously not only with other USG agencies (e.g. USTR, USDA, USAID, EPA, FDA, and Commerce), but with our international friends and allies to ensure a sound international framework in all the fora you mentioned. This is important not only to ensuring that interagency differences are resolved before they reach other shores, but to craft effective strategies early-on that can win international support for our positions. This, again, is an area in which greater resources can help us advance America's policy interests overseas.

BIOTECHNOLOGY: COORDINATING U.S. AGENCIES

Question. Do you think that a more coordinated response from the various U.S. agencies involved in this issue—such as USDA, State, USTR, FDA, and EPA—could help in these efforts? What can you do to help ensure such coordination?

Answer. A more coordinated USG approach can certainly help on biotechnology, but we must also ensure that we have the resources to implement the coordinated approach effectively. Biotechnology is a relatively new issue, and it cuts across the responsibilities of various U.S. agencies, and across bureaucratic lines within agencies. The State Department's approach to biotechnology, for example, must take into

account our trade interests and WTO obligations, our domestic regulatory framework, our environmental obligations and our political relationships with key partners. The FDA, EPA, various parts of USDA, USTR, USAID, Commerce, the White House's OSTP, OMB, State and other agencies have major equities. State has already played a major role in improving the coordination of the positions taken by the USG on biotechnology internationally, including through White House-led meetings. I believe State's foreign policy role implies a responsibility to further strengthen and coordinate our international efforts on biotechnology. I will work with the new administration to do so.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Question. What is your view of the importance of international education in these times? What will you do as Secretary to ensure that the United States has a proactive policy for promoting the international education of our students?

Answer. International educational exchanges are important to the State Department's mission. The programs carried out under the Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, including the distinguished Fulbright and related academic exchange programs, create a climate for advancing American interests by establishing a context for better understanding the United States, its people and its policies.

International education is tremendously important to America's political and economic well-being. The nearly 500,000 international students now studying in the U.S. at the post-secondary level enrich our campuses, develop a life-long appreciation for our cultural and our academic institutions and contribute over $12 billion annually to our economy. In the future, the goodwill these former students bear for our country will be one of our greatest foreign policy assets.

EXPORT CONTROLS

Question. After the coalition war in Kosovo, DOD determined that one significant inhibitor to our allies having comparable technical capabilities as the U.S. was our own export control system. It pressed State hard for reforms and to some extent succeeded. Do you share the view that our export control system should be modified to encourage more cross Atlantic defense trade and cooperation?

Answer. I would be happy to discuss this further with my colleagues on President Bush's national security team. The Department of State has a vital role to play in export control reform and transatlantic defense cooperation, and has in fact played a leading role in launching the Defense Trade Security Initiative (DTSI). We are open to other ideas and initiatives designed to increase defense cooperation with our allies.

I understand that the Kosovo/Operation Allied Force Action Report, sent to Congress early last year, did not identify U.S. export controls as a major impediment to allied force interoperability. A recent GAO report reached a similar conclusion, i.e., in that there were no export license problems at State associated with Kosovo.

EXPORT CONTROLS: U.S. MUNITIONS LIST REVIEW

Question. One of the defense trade initiatives announced last May was to review the products and technologies on the U.S. munitions list. That process has not started. Many items on the munitions list seem to be comparable to commercial products that have been modified for military use. Would you advocate focusing the military export controls system on a limited number of uniquely military products and technologies, or a broader range of items?

Answer. The process of reviewing products and technology covered by the U.S. Munitions List actually has been underway for several months. Currently, the review is focusing on the following commodities: Category I—Firearms, Category V—Explosives, Category VIII—Military Aircraft, Category XIV—Toxicological Agents, and Category XVI—Nuclear Weapons Design. When the review is completed, I will be in a better position to judge what, if any, steps need to be taken.

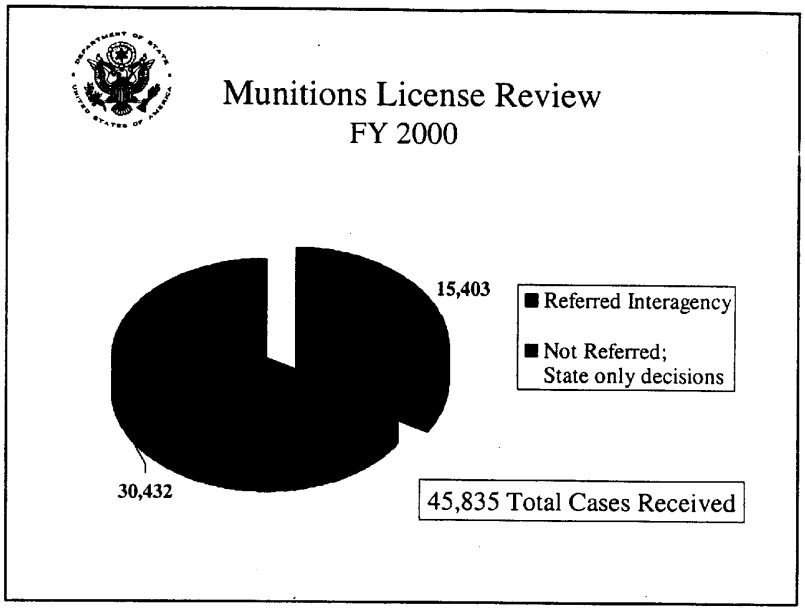
EXPORT CONTROLS: MUNITIONS LICENSE PROCESSING

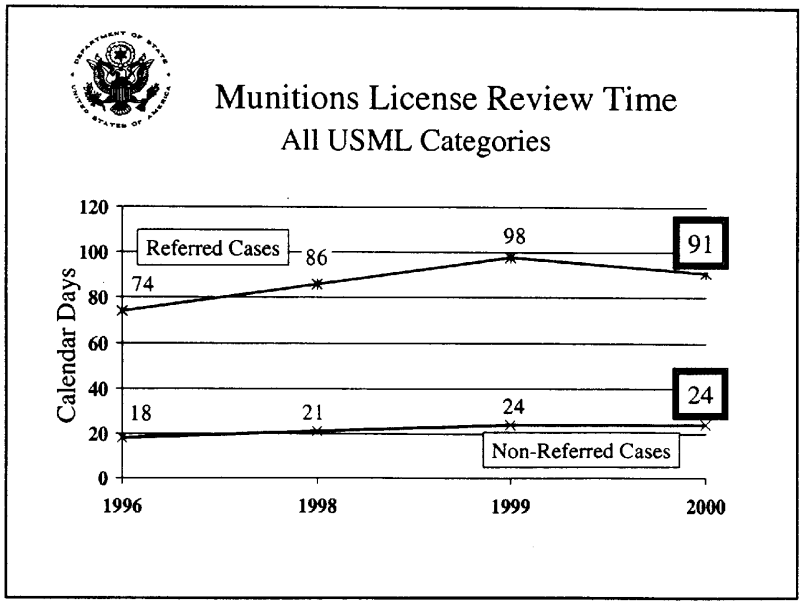
Question. A number of representatives from Allied governments and U.S. foreign industries have expressed concern about the steady increase in the time it takes to process export licenses. In order to get an objective view of the problem, I included an amendment in the FY 2000 State Department authorization Act that asked State for a review of the licensing process under the Arms Export Control Act. I still have not been provided that report. Part of that study involved providing data on the time it took in 1999 to process the major categories of licenses, staffed and not

staffed to other agencies. We asked for these data so that we had an objective basis on which to make recommendations for change, if needed. I would appreciate an effort to provide a printout of that statistical data, perhaps for 2000 as well as 1999, which I understand is readily available. Would it therefore be possible to have such a printout in the next few weeks or so?

Answer. I will ask that a printout be made available to you, as quickly as possible. Despite limited resources, the State Department has made and continues to make progress in improving the time it takes to process munitions export control license applications. As shown in the attached charts, average processing time for cases handled solely by the Department is 24 days; the average for cases referred to other agencies is 91 days.

I can assure you that, as Secretary of State, I understand the importance you attach to thorough but quick vetting of export license requests. This is one of many areas in which greater resources for the Department is needed if we are to be as effective as possible in promoting the U.S. national interest abroad.


Munitions License Review
FY 2000
15,403
30,432
Referred Interagency
Not Referred;
State only decisions
45,835 Total Cases Received


Munitions License Review Time
All USML Categories
Calendar Days
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Referred Cases
74
86
98
91
18
21
24
24
Non-Referred Cases
1996
1998
1999
2000

SANCTIONS REFORM

Question. Mr. Secretary, the use of unilateral economic sanctions as a tool of American foreign policy has expanded over the past decade. Sanctions against others have their role in foreign policy but many of us believe they have been overused and, in some cases, may even be counter-productive to U.S. national interest, however well-intended they may be.

I believe we need to change our approach to employing unilateral economic sanctions in the conduct of American foreign policy. Do you have any thoughts or suggestions about how we can make improvements in this tool of foreign policy?

Answer. I spoke at some length in my testimony about the need to review how we, as a government, use sanctions in our foreign policy, believe that the President must have flexibility and discretion to use economic and political sanctions for foreign policy purposes given the variety of situations that might arise. Sanctions can be an important tool of U.S. foreign policy, but they should be used prudently and with multilateral support whenever possible. In particular, food and medicine should not be used as a tool of foreign policy except under the most compelling circumstances.

In looking at unilateral economic sanctions, I believe that the executive branch and the Congress need to consider ways to balance the potential gains and costs to our economy—to American companies, farmers, workers and consumers. We should review periodically the effectiveness of sanctions we impose. know that many Members of Congress are very interested in sanctions reform issues and hope that we can work together closely to forge an agreed approach to this issue.

RESPONSE TO ADDITIONAL QUESTION SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY SENATOR CHUCK HAGEL

CLIMATE CHANGE: THE KYOTO PROTOCOL

Question. What is the Bush administration position on the Kyoto Protocol? How will the State Department approach these early negotiating sessions?

Answer. We intend to undertake a thorough review of international climate change policy to ensure that U.S. economic and environmental interests are well protected in all future negotiations on climate change. We will work closely with Congress in formulating our policy in this area. A decision on the timing of the next round of climate change talks has not yet been made. We will ensure that we have sufficient time to conduct a thorough policy review before the negotiations resume. Given the failure to reach agreement last November in The Hague, we think that all parties would benefit from additional time to review policies and consult with others.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY SENATOR GORDON SMITH

BALKANS: KOSOVAR ALBANIAN DETAINEES IN SERBIA

Question. What action do you think the United States should take in order to secure the safe release of the Kosovar Albanian detainees in Serbia and how do you view the future relationship between the United States and the new reformist government?

Answer. The new leadership in Belgrade has expressed a determination to undertake sweeping democratic and economic reform. If Belgrade lives up to that determination, and to its commitment to respect its international obligations, we expect to be able to return one day to the historically warm relationship between the U.S. and Serbia.

The International Committee of the Red Cross and reliable Serbian NGOs (Humanitarian Law Center, Yugoslav Lawyers Human Rights Group, Helsinki Group) estimate there are more than 600 Kosovar Albanians currently being held in Serbia who are charged with political crimes. The recently enacted FRY amnesty law is expected to result in the release of about a third of those detainees. This is inadequate. I will continue to press the Belgrade government to pursue all available legal options to secure the release of all citizens charged with political crimes under the previous regime.

BALKANS: U.S. PARTICIPATION IN PEACEKEEPING

Question. As Secretary of State, will you support the continued participation of U.S. troops in the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo?

Answer. I will look carefully at our peacekeeping commitments worldwide. In the Balkans, and in Kosovo in particular, we will honor our commitments to the people of the region and to our NATO Allies. Should we ultimately decide to reduce our troop levels in the region, this will be done carefully as part of an overall review of all of our commitments overseas.

BALKANS-SERBIA: CONDITIONALITY OF U.S. ASSISTANCE

Question. To what degree should the United States condition its assistance to the new government of Serbia on the latter's commitment to turn over indicted war criminals, to stop its support of separatists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and purge its ranks of Milosevic's cronies?

Answer. Our current assistance package is already conditioned. The $100 million in FY 2001 Support for East European Democracy (SEED) funds appropriated for Serbia requires certification of progress by the FRY government on several key issues by March 31, 2001. These issues include cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia, cooperation on the Dayton Accords and evidence of implementing policies that reflect a respect for minority rights and the rule of law.

The issues you raise are important, and we will press the Serbian government for progress in each area. Certainly the health of our bilateral relationship requires that there be such progress. At the same time, we have an interest in remaining engaged in promoting democracy, rule of law and humanitarian goals in Serbia and in the broader Balkan region. This should remain an area of dialogue between the Administration and the Congress.

RUSSIA: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Question. What will you do beyond rhetoric to ensure that religious freedom is protected in Russia?

Answer. Religious freedom will be a priority human rights issue for the Bush Administration in Russia as elsewhere. The Russian Government must demonstrate its 1997 Law on Religions is not implemented in a way that would have the effect of discriminating against religious communities in Russia. It needs to create a clear legal process, consistent with international norms on religious freedom, where all groups can be assured their rights are protected.

We intend to reach out to religious groups—both in Russia and in the United States—in order to track the Russian Government's implementation of this law and to respond appropriately if the law's implementation infringes on religious freedom or is applied unfairly and inconsistently. In that regard, it is important that the Russian Government build on early efforts by President Putin, who has made a commendable effort to reach out publicly to Russian Jews, an effort that must be directed at all segments of the Jewish community. It also strikes me as critically important that he and the Russian Government show a commitment to investigate and prosecute those responsible for anti-Semitic acts, and attacks on other minority religions.

NATO ENLARGEMENT

Question 1. How do you prioritize NATO enlargement in the agenda you intend to bring to the Euro-Atlantic relationship?

Answer. President Bush and I attach high priority to the further enlargement of NATO. We see NATO's enlargement as useful in creating a more stable environment in which we can build with our partners a peaceful, undivided, and democratic Europe. Stability in Europe is a key interest of the United States. We are committed to work with our NATO partners to ensure that the Membership Action Plan for the nine aspirants—Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia—is effective in advancing toward this goal.

Question 2. Can you tell us today that you will urge our European allies to move the process of enlargement decisively forward at the Prague summit?

Answer. I would rather review the progress made by the nine aspirant countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia—before committing to a course for the Prague Summit. We want to be sure that any country invited to join the Alliance is committed to NATO's goals and capa-

ble of meeting the responsibilities that membership entails. This will be a matter requiring thorough consultation with the Alliance and with Congress.

Question 3. Can you assure us that the same standards that were used to assess the applications for NATO membership submitted by Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary will be used to assess those of the other Central European democracies seeking membership in the Alliance?

Answer. The basis for adding new members to the Alliance is, as it has been, Article 10 of the Washington Treaty. The same standards that were used to assess the candidacies of the three newest members are in use now in assessing the nine aspirant countries. These standards are contained in the Membership Action Plan document agreed to by the Allies at the 1999 Washington Summit.

NATO/ESDP: POTENTIAL CONFLICT

Question. Your statement provides a very optimistic outlook concerning the future of the evolving relationship between NATO and the EU. Do you see any potential for ESDP—the European Security and Defense Identity that the Europeans are constructing within the EU—to undercut Alliance cohesion and unity?

Answer. I believe it is in America's interest to have a stronger and more capable Europe that can bear more of the burden of responding to localized crises in the future. ESDP/ESDI can contribute to this more balanced trans-Atlantic partnership, thus strengthening rather than weakening the Alliance.

The devil is always in the details, of course, and it will be important that we and our Allies consult closely as Europe's Security and Defense Identity takes shape. But, as long as NATO and the EU continue to share a common vision of the indivisibility of our security interests, I believe we can work this out in a manner consistent with these interests.

NATO/ESDP: EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR COHESION

Question. What do Europeans need to do to ensure that ESDP—the European Security and Defense Identity that they are constructing within the EU—will in the end reinforce, as opposed to undercut, the Alliance's cohesion?

Answer. NATO must remain the principal forum for political and military cooperation on trans-Atlantic security. Moreover, NATO and EU efforts must reinforce each other with close and frequent contacts to ensure transparency and to avoid duplication. Our European Allies and partners also must improve their defense capabilities.

RUSSIA: CHECHNYA

Question 1. How will the Bush administration's policy toward the war in Chechnya differ from that of its predecessor, the Clinton administration?

Answer. The conflict in Chechnya is a stalemate, and it has led to a humanitarian tragedy in which the civilian population has suffered through the destruction of its homes and a lack of food, water and medicine. There are repeated, credible reports that Russian forces have committed summary executions, arbitrary detentions, torture and other humanitarian and human rights violations. It is not entirely clear whether the extraordinary lack of discipline in Russian units is part of a policy, or is only tolerated or simply represents a lack of command and control over units in Chechnya. What is clear is that the Russian Government has not taken significant steps to hold those responsible accountable for these actions.

Peace and stability in the North Caucasus cannot be imposed through continued fighting. The conflict in Chechnya can only be ended by a political settlement between the Russian Government and the Chechens. The Bush Administration will insist that Russia take the necessary steps to investigate and prosecute those responsible for human rights and humanitarian violations, in keeping with its international commitments and obligations. To alleviate the suffering of civilians, Russia and the Chechen separatists must allow the greatest possible access to humanitarian workers. Kidnappings must be prevented, with all parties offering assurances for the security of humanitarian aid workers. The international community must remain engaged and use its influence to create the conditions that lead to a settlement and hold Russia accountable for human rights violations. We and our partners also will urge Moscow to address the socio-economic roots of the conflict to forestall any resurgence in the cycle of violence.

Question 2. What steps should be taken by the U.S. Government to more effectively pressure the Kremlin to cease its military operations in Chechnya, to end its

atrocities against the Chechen people and undertake negotiations with the Chechen resistance toward a just and enduring peace?

Answer. We need to make clear to Russia that its actions in Chechnya are not compatible with its desire to become a part of an international community that shares a commitment to liberal democracy and civil society. Our friends and allies must join us in conveying this message.

The OSCE Assistance Group, which was established following the first Chechen war, has a role to play in monitoring the human rights situation and in facilitating humanitarian assistance in Chechnya. Russia committed in 1999 to allow the group to return, but has yet to fulfill this promise. We will urge our OSCE partners to join us in working for the group's return.

The upcoming session of the UN Commission on Human Rights will be an opportunity for the international community to review Russia's human rights record in Chechnya and to demand that Moscow explain its failure to heed the UN Commission's call for a national, independent commission of inquiry to investigate alleged breaches of international humanitarian and human rights law, and for access to Chechnya by UN special rapporteurs.

RUSSIA/GEORGIA: RUSSIAN INTIMIDATION AND U.S. INTERESTS

Question. Over the last two months, Russian President Putin significantly increased his government's efforts to intimidate Georgia. The Russian Government has encouraged the secessionist movements in Georgia, repeatedly turned off Georgia's energy supplies, and menacingly accused Tblisi of supporting the Chechen resistance. How do these developments affect U.S. interests?

Answer:. The Bush Administration will continue U.S. policy of strongly supporting Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. An independent, stable, prosperous Georgia that respects human rights and democratic freedoms is in the interest of the Georgian people; these qualities also can make Georgia a stable anchor at an important geo-strategic crossroad. We will support Georgia's efforts to become a reliable regional partner, firmly integrated into Euro-Atlantic institutions. We also support Georgia's participation in the development of an east-west energy transit corridor in order to improve the energy independence of the countries of the Caspian region and to diversify world energy supplies.

We are concerned at recent Russian pressure tactics that appear designed to undermine Georgia's stability and independence, and to impede Georgia's ability to integrate itself into international security and economic structures. These tactics could, if not checked, adversely affect the U.S. interests I have cited above. Moreover, our ability to move forward in building a more productive relationship with Russia is influenced to a great extent by progress we see Russia making in developing relations with its own neighbors that are based on respect for sovereignty, independence and mutual self-interest, free from pressure or coercion. Russia's campaign of pressure raises legitimate doubts about the kind of relationship with Georgia it desires.

RUSSIA-IRAN: ARMS SALES

Question. Russia has developed an extensive and troubling relationship with Iran, one that has featured the sale of submarines, missiles, tanks and other sophisticated military equipment. It now appears that these arms sales from Russia to Iran will continue to grow. Do you believe that these Russian arms sales to Iran should trigger restrictions upon Russia as defined by the Gore-McCain Act?

Answer. The transfers of military equipment from Russia to Iran since 1995 about which I have been briefed do not appear to meet the statutory criteria for imposing sanctions under the Gore-McCain legislation. However, Russia continues to transfer arms to Iran and may yet enter into new arms contracts. The Bush Administration will continue to register opposition to such sales at senior levels. Further transfers of arms to Iran could trigger sanctions under various statutes, including the Gore-McCain legislation, or under discretionary sanctions. Such transfers would require a thorough review before making any such sanctions determinations. I plan to take up the issue of conventional arms transfers to Iran with my Russian counterpart when we meet.

NORTHERN IRELAND: TERRORIST GROUPS

Question. The major paramilitary groups (the Irish Republican Army and the Combined Loyalist Military Command) are observing cease-fires, but some splinter groups continue to carry out acts of violence and terrorism and are a consistent threat in Northern Ireland. The Real IRA claimed responsibility for the single worst

terrorist incident in Northern Ireland's history in Omagh in August 1998. Should the United States designate these splinter groups as terrorist organizations?

Answer. The Department of State is reviewing various splinter groups from Northern Ireland to determine if they meet the criteria for designation as Foreign Terrorist Organizations ("FTC's") pursuant to the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. Although these splinter groups are not designated as FTC's at this time, their violent activities have been described at length in the Department's annual terrorism report. U.S. law enforcement agencies aggressively target any illegal activities by these groups on U.S. soil that could undermine the Northern Ireland peace process. Clearly, British and Irish concerns about the activities of the "Real IRA," in particular, are well founded. We will remain in close consultation with the two governments on this matter.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FUNDING

Question 1. Do you believe that the current level of funding for international programming is adequate (about one penny of every dollar) and, if not, what do you believe are the necessary resources needed to maintain our diplomatic readiness and to provide critical assistance to our allies?

Answer. The current level of international affairs funding is not adequate. We need a step increase in international affairs resources.

As soon as I have put together the specific programs and the dollar details to support these programs, and once I have the President's approval, I will take my case to Congress to secure the increase necessary to ensure that the State Department has sufficient resources to do the job.

Question 2. What might you do to help increase the funding levels? What might you do to educate the American people about the importance of our diplomatic operations to our national security and economic prosperity?

Answer. We have to do a better job making sure the American public knows that the State Department and the Department of Defense form a team that is vital to protecting our national interests around the world. And like DOD, we need to be appropriately funded.

That is the message I will work to get out.

SALES OF FIGHTERS TO KOREA

Question. The State Department, along with the Department of Defense, has already put their full support behind the Boeing F-15K in its competition to be the next Korean fighter jet. This sale is important to the U.S. national security interests as it will reinforce our ties with South Korea and will help to keep the F-15 line open.

Can you assure me that under your leadership the Department of State will continue to support this important initiative?

Answer. Yes. We believe it is in the United States' interest to continue to support this initiative.

The selection of the F-15K by Korea's Government would promote the interoperability between Korean and U.S. Armed Forces and complement the U.S. force structure currently deployed in the Pacific.

A Korean decision to team with U.S. industry on this project would strengthen the already close security and commercial relations we have enjoyed for over 50 years.

ISRAEL: U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

Question. Can you assure us that the fundamental premise of strong support for the state of Israel will be the cornerstone of the Bush administration's policy toward the Middle East?

Answer. The Bush administration's commitment to the State of Israel is unequivocal. It is based on shared democratic values, bonds of friendship, common interests, and joint cooperation in many areas.

The United States has an unshakable commitment to Israel's security and well-being and to Israel's qualitative military edge over any likely combination of adversaries. This has been the position of successive U.S. administrations and will continue under President Bush.

ISRAEL: NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PALESTINIANS

Question. Would you agree that the Government of Israel has made dramatic concessions to the Palestinians in its quest for a Middle East peace?

Answer. Both sides have assured us they remain committed to seeking a negotiated permanent status agreement. While refusing to compromise his government's red lines, or his view of Israel's security needs, Prime Minister Barak has been willing to propose and consider imaginative solutions to bridge the remaining differences between the parties.

ISRAEL: PALESTINIAN ACTIONS

Question. Would you also agree that the Palestinians have not responded to those concessions at the negotiating table and instead, in direct violation of their Oslo commitments, have resorted to violence in order to achieve maximal gains?

Answer. The United States remains deeply concerned by the ongoing violence in the West Bank and Gaza. Such violence is incompatible with efforts to reach a negotiated solution to the differences between the parties. The Bush Administration will continue to encourage both sides to implement their commitment to take action to bring the violence under control. In the negotiations the Palestinians have responded in substantive ways to the proposals that have been put on the table. Clearly, those responses have not been sufficient to close the gaps between the sides.

ISRAEL: U.S. ROLE IN THE ISRAEL/PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS

Question. Do you think it is possible to conduct negotiations if one side is either uninterested or incapable of compromise? Do you believe the United States can impose a settlement on the parties? Isn't now a good time to step back and reassess the Middle East peace process and the U.S. role in that process? Do you have any thoughts on what can be done to ensure that the Palestinians live up to the promises they made at Oslo, especially relating to ending incitement and the renunciation of violence?

Answer. A just, lasting, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East has been a long-standing bipartisan objective of the United States. To last, an agreement cannot be imposed by the United States or any other outside party. Rather, an agreement must be reached by the parties themselves. The Bush Administration will be prepared to support the parties in their efforts to achieve this objective.

ISRAEL: SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP

Question. Would you agree that the U.S. and Israel have a special relationship and that the U.S. is unshakably committed to Israel's security? Hasn't that relationship been vital to Israel's survival and been a reason why the U.S. is the key outside player in the peace process? Doesn't a perception of U.S. "evenhandedness" hurt the process and weaken Israel?

Answer. The United States and Israel have a unique bilateral relationship based on shared democratic values, bonds of friendship, common interests, and joint cooperation in many areas. The U.S. has an unshakable commitment to Israel's security and well-being and to Israel's qualitative military edge over any likely combination of adversaries.

The United States is uniquely positioned to play a central role in the Israel-Palestinian negotiations—as requested by the parties—precisely because of its relationships with both Israel and the Palestinians.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR PAUL WELLSTONE

TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Question 1. As Secretary, will you commit that you will personally engage on the issue of trafficking internationally and within the U.S. Government to ensure that this human rights abuse is taken seriously and vigorously pursued?

Answer. I am committed to engaging on this issue and will continue the United States Government's efforts to combat this serious human rights abuse. I appreciate you personal commitment on the issue, and that of many of your colleagues. Trafficking of persons is one of the most current challenges to human rights. I assure you that the Department will continue to work with other agencies to implement the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000.

Question 2. Questions have arisen regarding where the Office on Trafficking authorized by the act will be placed. Will you establish an office within the Department that reports to you or to a very senior official in order to manage the cross-

cutting issues (human rights, refugees and migration, and law enforcement) within the Department and with the broader interagency questions?

Answer. I am still reviewing a number of issues related to the Department's organization, including this one. Once we have reached a decision, we will inform the Congress.

Question. 3. In addition to ensuring that this problem gets significant resources within the Department, will you actively work to help identify resources in other agencies so that victims in the United States that are freed from these terrible practices get the assistance and protection they need, not just as a humanitarian gesture, but to encourage them to come forward and break up these trafficking rings?

Answer. We will work closely with other agencies to identify the necessary resources to protect victims and help them testify against their traffickers. Inter-agency meetings to discuss implementation of the provisions of the new trafficking law will be useful in this regard.

CHINA: COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION

Question. This spring, the United Nations Human Rights Commission will meet in Geneva. Given the continuing human rights abuses by the Government in Beijing, would you recommend that the United States sponsor a resolution condemning China's human rights practices? If not, how else should the United States put pressure on the Chinese to improve its human rights record? I would also like to express my concern about a particular human rights case, one of many that concern me. Ngawang Choephel, a former Fulbright student at Middlebury College in Vermont, was arrested during a trip to Tibet to record traditional Tibetan song and dance. He was given an unprecedented 18-year sentence for espionage. The Clinton administration has highlighted Ngawang's case and pushed hard to secure a visit to him from his mother, whom I have come to know and respect. How would you advance the case of Ngawang and others like him who are unjustly imprisoned in China?

Answer. On the question of a UNHCR resolution on China, the Administration will soon have the issue under advisement. Human rights issues are a core part of our relationship with China, and the Bush Administration will press the Chinese Government to meet its international obligations to respect fundamental human rights.

I appreciate your raising the case of Ngawang Choephel. Clearly, we should seek his release and the release of others imprisoned for exercising internationally recognized rights of peaceful expression, association, or assembly. This will be part of our dialogue with the Chinese Government.

HUMAN RIGHTS: FOREIGN POLICY GOAL

Question. Do you believe that supporting human rights abroad improves the ability of the U.S. to achieve other foreign policy goals, such as promoting trade and fighting drugs and terrorism or do you believe that these goals are in competition with each other?

Answer. Human rights and democracy promotion will be important components in our efforts to address a wide range of global problems of the 21st century. Indeed, democratic governments that ensure high standards of human rights protection are our best partners in closer cooperation on a wide range of potential problems.

These core values will remain key elements of our bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.

DRL BUREAU FUNDING

Question. At the present time, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor receives approximately $12 million in annual funding—about one-third of one percent of the total State Department budget. Do you believe that additional funding would improve the Bureau's ability to fulfill its mission, including fulfilling the many congressionally mandated responsibilities, such as the new report on religious persecution? Will you seek additional resources for the Department of State and the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor?

Answer. The Department's funding is insufficient for the many problems it is called to address. I have already said in my testimony to the committee that I will seek enhanced funding for the Department of State. Once I complete my review of the Department's funding needs and discuss this with the President, we will provide you with a better sense of our resource needs.

UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND (UNFPA)

Question. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is the world's largest organization providing family planning services and maternal and child health care. It works to improve access to and the quality of voluntary family planning services in approximately 150 countries in the poorest regions of the world. The United States has been inconsistent in its support of UNFPA, but recently Congress and the Administration reinstated funding for UNFPA for FY-2000 and for FY-2001. Will you work with the Senate to ensure that sufficient funding continues for this vital health organization?

Answer. We recognize that UNFPA does invaluable work through its programs in maternal and child health care, voluntary family planning, screening for reproductive tract cancers, breast-feeding promotion, and HIV/AIDS prevention. Its multilateral activities also can complement our important bilateral population assistance efforts. We look forward to working with you and your colleagues to secure the funding necessary for UNFPA to continue these activities. We will also work closely with the Congress on other areas of concern, including oversight of UNFPA's program in China.

COLOMBIA: CERTIFICATION

Question. What are your views on the human rights conditions established by the Plan Colombia assistance legislation? As Secretary of State, would you recommend a waiver of these requirements if they had not been met? If the conditions are waived, what other pressures could be brought to bear on the Colombian military to promote greater compliance with human rights standards.

Answer. Rather than look back at decisions taken by the previous Administration, let me assure you that the Bush Administration is committed to the comprehensive goals of "Plan Colombia," all of which are important to the health of that country and the region. Human rights are, in that regard, an important component of President Pastrana's efforts, as they will be of our policy toward Colombia. I understand that the Government of Colombia is making concrete progress in improving human rights in Colombia, but that more work continue is needed before the government can satisfy all the statutory conditions contained in the Colombia supplemental legislation.

I can assure you that progress toward meeting the requirements of the supplemental legislation will be important to our bilateral relationship with Colombia. We remain committed to working with that government to improve the human rights environment. Our assistance to Colombia's military and police forces will remain in strict accordance with Section 563 of the FY 2001 Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act (P.L. 106-429). Indeed, this provision and the conditions on assistance in the Emergency Supplemental Act have served as an incentive for the GoC and military to deal with credible allegations of gross human rights violations in security force units.

Clearly, our assistance package is needed to sustain Colombia's counternarcotics efforts, help Colombia's Government and people preserve Colombia's democracy, and help meet Colombia's many humanitarian challenges. It is also in the national security interest of the U.S. to promote economic reform and hemispheric stability, all of which are addressed by our support for Colombia. Continued engagement is, in that regard, important.

COLOMBIA: PRIVATE CONTRACTOR ASSISTANCE TO THE COLOMBIAN MILITARY

Question. What assistance is currently being provided to the Colombian military through private contractors? Under the Bush administration, what role do you see for private contractors in providing assistance to the Colombian military?

Answer. I understand that Dyncorps, with Department of State funding, has U.S. and third-country civilian contractors supporting the UH-1N helicopter project with the Colombian Army in order to provide aeromobility to the counternarcotics brigade. A number of other U.S. private companies provide services to the Colombian military with Department of Defense funding. These private contractors are engaged in programs including design, contract and oversight services for infrastructure projects to support the UH-1N, Huey-II, and UH-60 helicopters being provided Colombia by the U.S. Contractor assistance is also being given for ground radar support. One company, Military Personnel Resources Inc. (MPRI) is assisting Colombia in restructuring its military to become a more modern, professional force and to successfully engage the drug threat throughout the country.

Private contractors can make an important contribution to U.S. and Colombian programs to professionalize and strengthen key Colombian institutions and we an-

ticipate that civilian contractors will continue to play a useful role in the months to come.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR RUSSELL FEINGOLD

SIERRA LEONE/LIBERIA/GUINEA

Question. Overall, events in the West African countries of Sierra Leone and Liberia seem to suggest a new trend in strong-man politics whereby violent regimes hold entire populations hostage in order to win concessions, and even the guise of legitimacy, from the international community, all the while commandeering natural resources and using illicit trading networks to finance their regimes. Many observers are concerned about Guinea's vulnerability to similar forces. Given the fact that the U.S. cannot and should not intervene everywhere, how can we avoid being manipulated by the kind of hostage-taking tactics that we have seen in West Africa, and how can we prevent other countries from falling victim to this criminal brand of politics?

Answer. The best response to "strong-man" politics, hostage taking, and other forms of the "criminal brand of politics" is mobilizing a strong international reaction against those who practice such policies. Concerted multilateral action is always more effective than unilateral responses. Outlaw regimes that are stigmatized, sanctioned, or subjected to armed intervention under UN auspices usually find it hard to withstand such sustained pressure over the longer run. At a minimum, such regimes are generally forced to modify their objectionable behavior.

The problem is the international community is often unable or unwilling to mount the kind of sustained pressure needed to change the behavior of "strong-man" regimes. In this sense, our first and best response to containing outlaw regimes is vigorous U.S. diplomacy. This is the approach we have taken in Guinea, for example, where it is clear that recent violence affecting hundreds of thousands of civilians and refugees is largely due to Liberian President Charles Taylor. We are working to isolate Taylor internationally and to impose sanctions on his regime. We are supplying assistance to Guinea, including limited military aid, and are urging other concerned states to do likewise.

SIERRA LEONE: TRAINING WEST AFRICAN TROOPS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN SIERRA LEONE

Question. The U.S. is currently training West African troops slated to join the United Nations force in Sierra Leone. Do you support this initiative? If so, what about the fact that these troops are likely to see very ugly combat? The RUF has proven its willingness to test international resolve time and again. However, there are lines that should not be crossed, even in serious combat situations, and Nigerian troops do not have a strong foreign service. Do you agree that the U.S. needs to monitor the human rights performance of the troops we train?

Answer. We support the initiative to train and equip West African troops to join the United Nations force (UNAMSIL) in Sierra Leone. We also agree that troops in combat, no matter what the provocation, must adhere to internationally-accepted standards of conduct. Therefore, I am committed to continue the longstanding policy of monitoring the human rights performance of the troops we train. This process must start even before training begins; when units are vetted for human rights violations under the "Leahy amendment" requirements. The UNAMSIL equip and train program includes a teaching module on human rights. Once U.S.-trained forces are deployed in Sierra Leone, they will be monitored by UNAMSIL's human rights unit staffed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission, as well as by the U.K.-staffed unit in the Sierra Leone Ministry of Defense. The U.S. Embassy in Freetown will also monitor the troops' performance, including through contacts with human rights non-governmental organizations in the field. We will monitor reports that relate to the performance of all UNAMSIL troops, but especially those we have trained.

I should add that, on a bilateral basis, USAID has funded a program to re-establish effective civilian oversight of the Nigerian Armed Forces and to "reprofessionalize" the Nigerian military. We are now in the preliminary stages of implementing that plan with the Nigerian Ministry of Defense.

NIGERIA: POLICY STRATEGY AND DEBT RELIEF

Question. I know that you are quite knowledgeable about Nigeria, and virtually all observers agree that the success or failure of the current Nigerian experiment in democracy is critical to the future of West Africa and to the continent as a whole. What will be the most important elements of your strategy for bolstering Nigeria without making the mistake of personalizing U.S. support? Where do you stand on the issue of debt relief for Nigeria?

Answer. Our essential objective will be to help Nigeria strengthen and rebuild institutions, policies and practices key to a vibrant democracy and dynamic economic growth. President Obasanjo commands tremendous respect and the Nigerian Presidency has a powerful institutional role. The Presidency is only one element of the Nigerian government and society, however, and it must work constructively with other elements, both public and private. Those elements include the National Assembly, state and local governments, the judiciary, and perhaps most importantly, the private sector and civil society. Through our bilateral assistance and our dialogue, we will continue to urge cooperative, effective participation by all Nigerian institutions in the consolidation of Nigeria's fragile democracy.

On debt relief, I understand that the U.S. holds little of Nigeria's total debt. The U.S. participated in negotiations to reschedule Nigeria's debt at the Paris Club last December, entry into force of the agreement reached at that time is conditioned on Nigeria's continued adherence to its IMF program. The Bush Administration will continue to emphasize that Nigeria needs to establish a track record of reform under its Standby Arrangement with the IMF. Our future policy, including consideration of deeper debt relief, will depend in part upon Nigeria's reaching agreement with the IMF on a follow-on Standby Arrangement this summer. I also believe we should closely monitor performance in such key areas as macro-economic policy, privatization, tackling corruption, increasing fiscal transparency, and establishment of an environment that provides incentives for investors, both foreign and domestic.

ANGOLA: BILATERAL RELATIONS

Question. The U.S. had taken a firm stand against the activities of UNITA in Angola, and I support that position wholeheartedly. But I worry that it sometimes translates into unquestioning acceptance of the government in Luanda. Obviously the U.S. has important interests at stake in Angola, which is all the more reason to seriously review our policy. Will the administration take meaningful steps to push the Angolan Government to address issues surrounding human rights, the rampant corruption that characterizes that regime, and the dismal living conditions of the average Angola citizen?

Answer. Yes. Human rights, anti-corruption efforts and bettering the lives of the Angolan people are key matters that the Bush Administration will pursue in our discussions with the government, opposition forces and civil society. There have been some positive steps, including: the start of an IMF-mandated analysis of current oil accounts, creation of an anti-corruption tribunal, increased (albeit still inadequate) social spending and establishment of a "Fund for Peace and National Reconciliation" to help reintegrate back into society those who abandon arms. These efforts must be pursued consistently in our dialog with the Angolan Government.

DRC: IMPLEMENTATION OF LUSAKA AGREEMENT

Question. The conflict in the DRC seems to grow more costly, and the outlook for the Lusaka Accord more uncertain, each day. Can you outline your strategy for getting the accord back on track?

Answer. The death of President Kabila provides an opportunity to break the stalemate in the peace process. All parties need to avoid military action and to engage in a dialog to revive the Lusaka process. We are supporting the UN Secretary General's Special Representative's efforts to arrange a ministerial-level meeting of the parties in the region and again at the UN on February 20. African leaders are discussing a regional heads of state meeting. We will work with Morjane and these African leaders to design a series of recommendations for advancing the peace process.

HIV/AIDS CRISIS IN AFRICA

Question. Clearly, prevention is the most important element to a strategy for fighting AIDS, but questions concerning the treatment cannot be ignored. What will the Bush administration do to help African countries most affected by the AIDS crisis to gain access to drugs that treat HIV/AIDS? Can you assure me that this element of our country's response will not simply be contracted out to private pharmaceutical companies, but will in fact be a policy coordinated within the government,

reflecting the multitude of U.S. interests and our national values rather than only the interests of a specific industry.

Answer. The Bush Administration recognizes that access to affordable pharmaceuticals is a critical issue in Africa and throughout the developing world. I can assure you that we will work with other USG agencies, our G-8 partners, developing nations, civil society and the pharmaceutical companies to strengthen Africa's public health infrastructure and enhance access to affordable treatments, including generic drugs to treat opportunistic infections associated with HIV/AIDS and to prolong and enhance the quality of life for persons living with HIV/AIDS.

BALKANS: USE OF FORCE AND WAR POWERS RESOLUTION

Question. I was deeply concerned by the failure of the executive branch to appropriately consult with Congress regarding the commitment of U.S. military forces in the Balkans. What are your views regarding the War Powers Act? Would you agree that, except in special cases, such as emergency circumstances requiring the United States to act in its own self-defense, the decision to authorize U.S. troops to use force abroad is one that should be made openly with Congress and with an opportunity for public debate?

Answer. Decisions regarding the deployment of U.S. forces into actual or imminent hostilities are the most important that any President must make, and congressional and public support for such decisions is essential. While every Administration since enactment of the War Powers Resolution has expressed concerns about the constitutionality and wisdom of various aspects of the resolution, as Secretary of State, I will be committed to working closely with the Congress to ensure that its views are taken into account on such matters.

LANDMINES

Question. General Powell, I know that you are as aware as anyone of the dangers landmines pose to our troops, as well as to innocent civilians. Two years ago, President Clinton and the Pentagon pledged to search aggressively for alternatives so we can join the 139 other nations, including our NATO allies, who have signed the treaty banning landmines. (101 nations have already ratified.) As Secretary of State and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, you are in a unique position to ensure that this policy achieves its goal, at the earliest possible date. Will you continue to strongly support this policy, so the United States can both ensure the safety of our troops, and set an example for other countries on an issue of such humanitarian importance?

Answer. I can assure you that the Bush Administration will remain strongly committed to ending the humanitarian crisis posed by anti-personnel land mines. I can also assure you that we will remain equally committed to protecting our soldiers sent to defend the freedom of others. As you might expect from my background, this is something about which I feel strongly personally.

The previous Administration did not sign the Ottawa Convention because of its concerns for the safety and security of our men and women in uniform and the unique responsibilities we have around the world for the security of friends and allies. It did establish a kind of "roadmap" that could lead to signing the treaty, and committed a sizable amount of funding to a search for alternatives to certain anti-personnel land mines on which our armed forces rely in certain circumstances.

After we review the progress that has been made in this important effort, we will be pleased to discuss this issue further with the Congress.

INDONESIA: ENCOURAGING REFORMERS

Question. How can the U.S. encourage the reformers within Indonesia to deal with regional and communal violence in Aceh, Irian Jaya, and the Moluccan Islands in a way that strengthens democratization and civilian institutions?

Answer. It is important that the United States remain engaged in a dialog with the Indonesian Government, urging that it address legitimate local grievances with comprehensive political and economic solutions, rather than through repression.

U.S. assistance can, in this context, play a role in developing civil society and democracy, and in strengthening both the rule of law and civilian control over the military. We can continue to work with locally based NGOs on good governance, human rights and conflict prevention and resolution. We should also coordinate our aid with the international community to ensure the most leverage for our assistance.

ISRAEL: PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF STATEHOOD

Question. What response would you recommend if the Palestinians made a unilateral declaration of statehood?

Answer. We are opposed to unilateral actions by either side which are inconsistent with their commitment to resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations.

LIBERIA: PRESIDENT TAYLOR SEEN AS WAR CRIMINAL?

Question. In the eyes of the Bush administration, is President Charles Taylor of Liberia a war criminal?

Answer. For several years, President Taylor has actively supported the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), one of the most vicious rebel groups of recent years, disrupting stability and peace in neighboring states, particularly Sierra Leone and Guinea. The December 2000 UN Experts Panel report to the UN Sierra Leone Sanctions Committee provided unequivocal and overwhelming evidence of these activities. Our policy is to ensure that Charles Taylor and the Government of Liberia cease supporting the RUF. To that end, we are pressing ahead with a resolution in the UN Security Council imposing multilateral sanctions on Liberia until such activities cease. We are committed to deterring any activities that are inconsistent with our goal of peace and stability for Sierra Leone and the region, and to holding accountable those responsible for any such activities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR BARBARA BOXER

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW)

Question. I think that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women is a powerful tool that would assist you, as Secretary of State, in pushing other nations to grant equal rights for women. After reviewing this treaty and the work the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did in 1994 when it favorably reported this treaty by a vote of 13-5, please tell me if you believe that the U.S. should join 166 nations and ratify this treaty. If not, what specific provisions of the treaty do you oppose?

Answer. The U.S. is committed to promoting and protecting women's rights. Existing U.S. constitutional and statutory law provides broad and effective protections and remedies to protect women against gender-based discrimination. At the time the Convention was submitted to the Committee in 1994, the Clinton Administration proposed a ratification package consisting of reservations, understandings, and declarations. The new Administration will review that package. In the course of this review, we would be glad to hear the views of the committee and its members on this treaty.

SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING

Question. As you know, the United States has been a leader in a global effort to expand access to voluntary family planning to women and families in the developing world, and this has helped to reduce the rates of infant and maternal mortality. Yet the funding level remains about 30 percent lower than it was in 1995. How do you view family planning and reproductive health programs in the context of U.S. foreign assistance?

Answer. We recognize the critical role that voluntary family planning plays in saving the lives and protecting the health of women and their children around the world. We also recognize the important linkages between women's social, economic and political status and development. The CIA's "Global Trends 2015" report predicts that the world's population will increase by another 1.2 billion people by 2015. Family planning services are key to sustainable population growth, critical to the lives and health of women and their families, and integral to combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As stated in the January 22, 2001 White House statement, we remain committed to maintaining the $425 million funding level provided for in the FY 2001 appropriation, which is an increase from FY 2000.

POSITION ON GLOBAL GAG RULE (MEXICO CITY POLICY)

Question. Some Members of Congress have been trying to impose a set of restrictions on family planning aid known as the global gag rule—which would deny U.S.

assistance to any foreign nongovernmental organization that either provides legal abortions in its own country or which takes part in a public discussion about changes in abortion policy in its own country, with its own money. Can you please tell us what is your position on the global gag rule and will population aid remain an important priority during your tenure as Secretary of State?

Answer. As stated in the January 22, 2001 White House statement, we support our government's long history of providing international health care services, including voluntary family planning, to couples around the world who want to make free and responsible decisions about the number and spacing of their children. We know that one of the best ways to prevent abortion is by providing quality voluntary family planning services; thus, we are committed to maintaining the FY 2001 appropriation funding level of $425 million. We do not believe that our funds should go to foreign organizations that, even with their own funds, provide, advocate or actively promote abortion. Any restrictions related to this policy, however, should not limit organizations from providing post-abortion care.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR ROBERT TORRICELLI

TAIWAN: PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Question. Will the Bush Administration support Taiwan's membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and observer status in the World Health Organization (WHO)? What concrete steps will the Administration take to promote Taiwan's participation in these organizations?

Answer. The United States has actively promoted Taiwan's accession to the WTO, and the Bush Administration will continue to do so. The U.S. objective is a "win-win" outcome where both Taiwan and the PRC accede to the WTO on the merits of their accession agreements and at the same WTO General Council session. We believe this objective is achievable.

On the WHO, we will continue to impress upon the WHO Secretariat the interest of the U.S. in finding appropriate ways for Taiwan to benefit from—as well as contribute to—the work of the WHO. On the question of observer status, a majority of the World Health Assembly would have to vote affirmatively to grant Taiwan observer status. Taiwan is far short of having the necessary votes and suffered a strong defeat when the issue last came to a vote in 1997. We will work with Taiwan to explore ways for its non-governmental organizations and medical community to participate in WHO activities through international nongovernmental organizations, such as the World Medical Association, which have relations with the WHO.

TAIWAN: TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES BY SENIOR LEADERS

Question. Will the Bush Administration extend to officials of Taiwan who wish to travel to the United States the full courtesies and freedom of movement appropriate to officials of a democratic and friendly government?

Answer. The United States has long granted transits for Taiwan's senior leaders for the safety, comfort and convenience of the traveler. We remain committed to this policy. During a transit, we expect the activities of the traveler will be private and consistent with the purposes of a transit. We do not consider public or media events, as well as meetings with public officials to be consistent with the nature of a private transit. Our approach on transits and visits is consistent with longstanding U.S. policy and practice, as well as with our unofficial relationship with Taiwan.

RESPONSE TO ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR OLYMPIA SNOWE

ENHANCING THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Question. I would like for you to share with us your vision for the future of U.S. foreign policy with respect to the Percy Amendment as well as ways in which the U.S. can continue to play a leadership role in international fora to enhance women's economic, social and political status.

Answer. Under my leadership, the State Department, working with USAID, will continue to support the basic tenet of the Percy Amendment to integrate concern for gender issues in international organizations. The U.S. has taken a leadership role in international fora on this issue through U.N. agencies and international meetings; in the OECD's Development Assistance Committee; and, by calling for at-

tention to gender in World Bank programs. We also play a leadership role on other issues affecting women. We have increased our monitoring and reporting on trafficking in persons, which most often involves and affects women and girls, and are developing programs to address this human rights abuse. The Department also initiated a Women in Economics and Business "virtual team" to increase our dialog on international issues affecting businesswomen's interests.

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