

REINVIGORATING U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7, 2001

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 2:34 p.m. in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Henry J. Hyde (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Chairman HYDE. The Committee will come to order. We apologize for the delay. The Floor votes are among the many things over which we have no control, so thank you, General, for your patience.

Without objection, the Subcommittee assignments, which the Members have before them, are adopted.

We are genuinely honored today to have before us the new Secretary of State, Colin Powell, for the first of what we hope will be many appearances before our Committee. Mr. Secretary, I know I speak for all Members in extending to you our congratulations on your appointment and our wishes for your success.

All of us are very eager to hear from you, but before recognizing you I will exercise my prerogative as Chairman to offer a few thoughts. I will then recognize the distinguished Ranking Democratic Member, Mr. Lantos, to offer some remarks of his own, and then we will get to you, Mr. Secretary.

As a new century opens, the United States finds itself at a unique moment not only in its own history, but in that of the world as well. We stand at the pinnacle of power in virtually every area—military, economic, technological, cultural, political. We enjoy a primacy that is unprecedented and virtually unchallenged. Our potential at times seems unlimited, to some perhaps even permanent.

When I ponder the world and America's role in it, there is indeed much to be thankful for, many accomplishments to take pride in and much that inspires hope. But as pleasant as these thoughts may be, I confess that I also see much that concerns me.

The source of that concern is not the long list of problems we daily confront around the globe, nor even the possibility of some larger challenge in the future that we cannot handle. These possibilities, of course, must command the attention of anyone who seriously contemplates America's place in the world, but I am confident that our resources are sufficient to handle the likely obstacles and dangers.

The concern I speak of is of the longer term, specifically how well we will use the enormous power we currently possess to secure the future for our country and the generations to come. The wealth of

opportunities we currently possess are not permanent. The luxury of choice may be a passing one.

To believe that we shall always be above the fray, untouched and untouchable by the forces of destruction still at work in this world is a dangerous illusion. Our current summer may yet prove fleeting. The principal problem, the one that concerns me the most, is that we have no long-term strategy, no practical plan for shaping the future.

Nearly a decade has passed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and without question the world is a vastly better place because of it, but the fall of that empire took with it the central organizing principle of our foreign policy for the last half century.

Now, I have read and heard many learned discourses and debates on what the new U.S. agenda should be, but I confess that I have yet to see a compelling path identified that shows us how we should use the power we currently possess to bring into being the world we want.

Instead of a firm course, I see drift. Instead of shaping the evolution of events in pursuit of long-term objectives, we have been busy responding to problems as they arise, guided by an agenda that has been more thrust upon us by circumstance than one we have ourselves constructed for our own purposes.

That is not to say that many remarkable things have not been accomplished in the past decade—the dismantling of the Soviet empire, the liberation of the eastern half of Europe, the expansion of NATO, the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the continued spread of democracy, the resolute defense of our allies and the containment of our enemies around the world.

But these and other successes are no substitute for a long-term vision. Not only do we risk leaving the future to chance. We gamble with what we have come to take for granted. Let me illustrate my point with a couple of examples.

I believe we are watching the beginnings of an unraveling of the Atlantic relationship. By the Atlantic relationship, I mean something more than just NATO. I mean the entire complex of connections between North America and Europe, the close identity of interests that we and our allies have constructed out of the ashes of World War II.

This relationship is the very foundation of the post-war international system, the irreplaceable center on which the stability of the globe depends. It is from this core that the democratic and economic revolution now transforming the world has spread.

That relationship is fraying. Slowly, quietly, it is being hollowed out even as the responsible officials reaffirm their commitment. There is no crisis to compel action, but I fear that should a crisis come it may be too late.

Closer to home, there is Mexico. Our two countries have kept each other at arm's length for virtually our entire histories, and both countries are the poorer for it, but we cannot escape the fate that geography has decreed for us. There is no other country on the planet which has the potential to affect us so broadly, so immediately.

We are in the process of transforming each other. Mexico is currently undergoing the most hopeful revolution in its long history,

the success or failure of which will have a profound impact on the United States. They cannot be allowed to fail.

Now, the President is to be congratulated for his understanding and recognition of Mexico's importance, signified by his use of the term "a special relationship" to characterize our ties, a designation hitherto reserved only for our closest allies. When I look more closely at how we actually intend to assist Mexico's entry into the ranks of the developed world, I have trouble identifying any guiding strategy on our part.

As for Asia, that giant continent veers between great hope and great chaos. China's rise to a world status commensurate with the immense resources of its people is a certainty. That rise, and the aspirations which must accompany it, cannot but impact the system we and our allies have brought forth and maintained in East Asia since World War II.

Our hope is that democracy will, in time, tame this potential challenge, but there is no guarantee that we will win that race, and we may be faced with difficult decisions much more quickly than our planners have assumed.

In Asia, one can point to many areas of progress and many areas of concern, and I have no doubt that your attention will be sorely taxed by the current and future problems that region will unfailingly produce, but again I ask. What is our long-term strategy toward this region? How do our goals there fit into our global objectives?

A similar inquiry can be constructed for every region—the Middle East, south Asia, Latin America, Africa. There are a long list of other concerns—terrorism, the many assaults on human rights, the stability of the international financial system, the trade in weapons and narcotics and on and on and on, as many as one would care to list. There are far more than enough to overwhelm our attention and keep us and our successors busy indefinitely.

So again I say what concerns me most is that in the crush of the present there is little or no evidence of the development of a long-term strategy, no identification of a clear destination toward which we should be headed.

Instead, for all of our undoubted power we often seem to be at the mercy of the currents, carried downstream toward an uncertain destination instead of moving toward one of our own choosing. While our attention is transfixed on the latest crisis that CNN has decided must be dealt with, the underlying structures are shifting and historic opportunities fading.

Despite our power, we must resist the temptation of believing we can fix every problem, indulge in every wish. Part of our strategy must be to decide what we cannot do, what we choose not to do and to ensure that others take up their responsibilities.

I raise this issue not because I have a ready solution to offer, but because I fear no one else does either. A practical, long-term vision is sorely needed. It is a prerequisite that we dare not postpone until some more convenient time.

I say this not as a Republican. Indeed, there is no hope for success unless it is broadly bipartisan. We need consensus in this body and in this city, as well as the support of the American people.

So even as we revel in our good fortune, my great hope is that we will use this gift of time to plan for the future, unhurried, uncoerced, but mindful of the task at hand, aware that our opportunity to do so is a mortal one. Our choice is clear. We can endeavor to shape the future or simply allow it to shape us.

A century ago, Britain stood majestically at the height of her power. Within 40 years, the knife was at her throat. She survived because the United States was there to rescue her.

Mr. Secretary, as you are well aware, there is no one to rescue us. That is why we must think long and hard about how we can use the opportunity that providence and the labor of two centuries have provided us to so shape the world that the need for rescue never occurs.

Despite this concern, I greet the future with soaring hope; a hope born of the qualities of mind and spirit our new President and our new Secretary of State bring to the great enterprise of strengthening the cause of peace and freedom in the world.

Thank you for indulging me.

Mr. Lantos?

[The prepared statement of Chairman Hyde follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE HENRY J. HYDE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, AND CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

We are genuinely honored today to have before us our new Secretary of State, Colin Powell, for the first of what we hope will be many appearances before our Committee. Mr. Secretary, I know I speak for all Members in extending to you our congratulations on your appointment and our wishes for your success. All of us are very eager to hear from you, but before recognizing you, I would like to exercise my prerogative as Chairman to offer a few thoughts. I will then recognize the distinguished Ranking Democratic Member, Mr. Lantos, to offer some remarks of his own.

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The concern I speak of is of the longer-term, specifically how well we will use the enormous power we currently possess to secure the future for our country and the generations to come. The wealth of opportunities we currently possess are not permanent; the luxury of choice may be a passing one. To believe that we shall always be above the fray, untouched and untouchable by the forces of destruction still at work in this world, is a dangerous illusion. Our current summer may yet prove fleeting.

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Despite our power, we must resist the temptation of believing we can fix every problem, indulge in every wish. Part of our strategy must be to decide what we cannot do, what we choose not to do, and to ensure that others take up their responsibilities.

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So, even as we revel in our good fortune, my great hope is that we will use this gift of time to plan for the future, unhurried, uncoerced, but mindful of the task at hand, aware that our opportunity to do so is a mortal one. Our choice is clear: We can endeavor to shape the future or simply allow it to shape us.

A century ago, Britain stood majestically at the height of her power; within forty years, the knife was at her throat, and she survived only because the United States was there to rescue her. But, Mr. Secretary, as you are well aware, there is no one to rescue us. That is why we must think long and hard about how we can use the opportunities that Providence and the labors of two centuries have provided us to so shape the world that the need for rescue never occurs.

Despite this concern, I greet the future with soaring hope. I believe our new president and secretary of state bring qualities of leadership to this critical endeavor, and I have confidence that we will prevail.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me first commend you for a very thoughtful and eloquent statement, much of which I agree with.

It is clear, as Secretary Powell's distinguished predecessor Larry Eagleberger once observed, that during the period of the Soviet-U.S. confrontation the issues were much simpler. A bipolar world offers the simplicity that this moment of unipolarity denies us. Your raising the issue, I think, is an appropriate way to begin our work.

I would be a bit more optimistic than you appear to be, Mr. Chairman, in saying that we do have an agenda, and the agenda is the enlargement of the arena of free and democratic societies. This is to be implemented in differing ways, in different places, but that clearly is our long-term objective. That is our vision. There is no doubt in my mind that our Committee and the Secretary are equally committed to that vision.

Mr. Secretary, on behalf of all the Democratic Members I want to extend to you a most warm welcome. We greet you in a spirit of bipartisan friendship, and we wish you great success as our new Secretary of State. If you succeed, Mr. Secretary, the United States succeeds in its mission of creating a peaceful, civilized world where governments are democratic and human rights are respected.

I know I speak for all Members of this Committee in suggesting that you visit us as often as your schedule allows. We are convinced that our frequent and candid dialogue advances U.S. national interests, which is the goal of the department you head, and it certainly is the goal of this Committee.

It is my hope, Mr. Chairman, that we can soon schedule a second meeting with the Secretary so the Members of the Committee who will not get a chance today to ask him questions will be able to do so, and my recommendation would be that when the Secretary returns we begin with the Members who will not have had a chance to ask a question today.

Mr. Secretary, you bring to this most important job in our governmental firmament a proud record of distinguished public service and extraordinary qualities of leadership, charisma, expertise and authority. There is no doubt in my mind that you will go down in the history books as one of our great Secretaries of State.

Since assuming this post, you spoke eloquently and repeatedly of the protracted starving of our diplomatic and other international activities over a long period of time during both Democratic and

Republic Administrations and Congresses, and you could not be more correct.

In constant dollars, the International Affairs budget has decreased by over 41 percent in the last decade and a half. The International Affairs budget of our Government is less than 1 percent of our total budget. Foreign assistance as a percentage of our gross domestic product is less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 percent.

To put this in perspective, this puts us last among the industrialized nations in the world. On a per capita basis, little Denmark devotes ten times as much to foreign assistance than we do.

I want to commend you for being forthright and candid in acknowledging the inadequacy of the resources at your disposal to do your job. If I may quote you, "We need more money, we need better people, we need better facilities, and we need better management practices." You told your State Department colleagues, Mr. Secretary, "I will fight to get you what you need to be successful, to serve the American people proudly."

I want to publicly commend you, Mr. Secretary, for doing your best to get adequate funding for our international responsibilities both publicly and, as I understand it, behind the scenes. Despite your best efforts, the budget we have before us is a profound disappointment. It shortchanges the State Department and undermines diplomatic readiness.

In real terms, the \$23 billion allocated for foreign affairs represents a minimal increase over last year and less than the amount Congress appropriated in fiscal year 2000. Incredibly, the Administration's budget before us proposes to spend less money 5 years from now than we spent last year. Mr. Chairman, this is no way to reinvigorate our foreign policy.

I want to assure you, Mr. Secretary, that we on our side will do everything in our power to help you get the resources you need. You are in a unique position to fund our international programs adequately because of your high standing both within the Administration and the Congress, and with the American people. We on our side will do our best to help you in this endeavor.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

The other Members, if they have an opening statement, without objection it may be received and made a part of the record at this point in the record.

Today we welcome as our witness Secretary of State Colin Powell, who was sworn in as the 65th Secretary of State on January 20, 2001. Secretary Powell is known to us all from his leadership of the forces in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. He rose to the rank of four star General during his military career, which culminated as the twelfth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

He has been awarded numerous U.S. and foreign military awards and decorations, and his many civilian awards include two Presidential Medals of Freedom and the Congressional Gold Medal.

Since his retirement from the military, Secretary Powell has been active in many important endeavors, including the Alliance for Youth, a national non-profit organization devoted to the building of character and competence of America's young people.

We welcome your appearance today before the Committee on International Relations, Mr. Secretary. Please proceed with a summary of your statement. Of course, your full statement will be made a part of the record. Thanks for your patience.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE COLIN L. POWELL,
U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE**

Secretary POWELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Lantos, for your very, very cogent and to the point opening statements. It is a great pleasure to be before the Committee for the first time, and I look forward to working with all the Members, and I will be back here as often as you invite me or as much as you can stand me, whichever may be the case.

I am very pleased to be here to present the President's budget submission for function 150, the State Department and our aid programs. It represents a 5-percent increase that is, I think, a down payment on further increases that I will be fighting for, and the President has given me every indication he will try to do more for the Department in the years ahead. Thus, this is just a beginning, if I may say, Mr. Lantos, of a process that will be continuing.

As I learn more about the Department, as I discover more problems that have to be dealt with, as I discover new challenges that have to be funded, you can be sure that I will be up here after I have been through the halls of the Office of Management and Budget and the Oval Office and gotten my final instructions. I will be up here to fight for what I believe we need.

I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that in that fight I will always try to do it in a bipartisan fashion. I know so many of you from the old days. We have had some interesting days when I was National Security Advisor or Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I assure you that I will always approach this in a bipartisan way representing my President and representing our Administration, but always trying to bring this bipartisan spirit to what we are doing because at the end of the day we are doing it for the American people.

President Bush was elected to represent the foreign policy interests of the American people and, in order to do that in the best way, bipartisanship, I think, is key so that the American people can see we understand the kinds of challenges we face.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to put my whole statement in the record at this point. The statement is a little different from previous years in that it reflects the needs of the Department as opposed to a tour de horizon of the world. You will see inside my statement that I am talking about the need for security funding, infrastructure funding, etc.

You will see some of the ideas I have to improve the manner in which we build Embassies, for example, the Foreign Buildings Office, which many of you are quite familiar with. I am going to move it out of its current location. I am going to put a retired Army Corps of Engineers General in charge of it who knows how to build things. He built the Dulles greenway. He built Fort Drum, New York. His name is Major General Chuck Williams.

We are putting people in places in the Department who know how to get the job done and who do not just ignore the studies of

the past, but take studies like the Catin study to help us figure out where we ought to be going in the future. To that end, I will be coming to you with a number of organizational ideas in the future.

I will be doing things to improve the morale and the training and the recruitment of our Foreign Service officers, of our civil servants and of our Foreign Service Nationals as well. They are in the forefront of diplomacy. Presidents have summit meetings, Secretaries travel around the world, but it is those men and women day in and day out within the State Department family that get the foreign policy job done for the American people.

Mr. Chairman, in the interest of time I would like to take just a few minutes to respond to your comments and Mr. Lantos' comments and then leave the bulk of our limited time today for questions.

Mr. Chairman, my heart soars, as does yours, when I reflect upon the world that is in front of us with all of its opportunities and all the many risks and challenges that you mentioned. The reason my heart soars is that when I look at all of these challenges, and now they are all coming to my office all day long—whether it is Iraq, whether it is the Middle East, whether it is weapons of mass destruction, whether it is trafficking in women, whether it is human rights—I am seeing them all now.

What gives me the strength every day to deal with them and what gives me hope and what allows my heart to soar is the certain knowledge that we have a system that works. It is our system of freedom. It is our system of democracy. It is our system of the free enterprise nature of our economic model. It is our system that believes in the individual rights of men and women.

If we hold true to the principles of our system and if we keep advocating that system around the world, we are going to continue to reshape this world in a way that will benefit all mankind. I think this is a time of great opportunity for us.

There is no other ideology out there that can truly compete with what we can offer to the world. We know it works. It defeated the Soviet Union. It is changing China, and we are not unmindful of the challenges that are still there, but it is changing China.

What we have to do is build on our successes and not be afraid of the challenges and the risks and to use the power we have—our political power, our diplomatic power, our military power, but especially the power of our ideas to remain engaged in the world, and that is exactly what President Bush and his national security team intend to do.

How? First, as you heard from President Bush, start with our own hemisphere. It was no accident that his first meetings were with Prime Minister Chretien of Canada, and then President Fox of Mexico. (He visited him.) We understand Mexico's importance to us now, that it is our second largest trading partner after Canada.

We have begun work with President Fox to start a new way of approaching these problems. I will be chairing committees that were formed at that summit to deal with the problems of integration. NAFTA is the great engine that can help break down barriers and give opportunities to Mexico, to provide jobs in Mexico for Mexicans and deal with the immigration problem that we all face, so I am hopeful of what we can do in our own hemisphere.

It is for that reason we are going to be committed to an Andean plan going beyond Plan Colombia in order to make sure that we deal with the drug supply problem in that part of the world. It is the same reason that we are looking forward to the Summit of the Americas next month in Quebec where all of the democratic loving nations of this hemisphere will come together to talk about democracy and education.

Those are the two principal agenda items. Then we will talk about trade, and then we will talk about a free trade agreement of the Americas so that we can link from the top of our hemisphere to the bottom, with trade barriers going down, for the purpose of all the nations of this hemisphere getting access to information and technology and the wealth creating potential of the free enterprise/free trade system.

We are not unmindful that we have our great alliances outside of this hemisphere, and that is why on my first trip overseas I not only went to the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, but I came back through Brussels to meet with my NATO colleagues and to meet with my new EU partners.

It is a different NATO. It is a different Europe than the Europe I knew so well as a soldier during the Cold War when I stood aside the Fulda Gap waiting for the Soviet Guards Army to come at me. It is gone. The Fulda Gap is now a tourist trap. They are selling postcards and giving out trinkets. The post that I occupied for all those years is now a college for German university students.

That is wonderful, but we have to remember that that alliance is still vital, and the message I gave to them is the United States will remain engaged in this alliance and in the European Union as well, and we can build it up. It is not going away. It is not going to fall apart.

They may want to look at things like the European security and defense identity. We have made the case that it has to be an essential part of our NATO efforts as well, and we think they understand that. NATO is still alive and well, and that is why nine more countries are standing there waiting to see if they can join this great alliance.

Why do they want to join? Is it to become a partner with their other European friends? Yes, but the real reason is they want to join so that they can have that connection with the bastion of freedom, and that is represented here in North America by the United States and Canada. That is why they want to be part of NATO, and that is why we have to keep letting this alliance grow.

I think we have the potential to cause NATO to be that in the future what it was in the past, the bulwark of security, peace and freedom on the Eurasian land mass and something that Russia will have to deal with. Russia's future is to their west because they need the technology, the information, and the economic know-how that comes from the west. That is what brought Gorbachev to the west those years ago that we so well remember, I think, and it will happen again.

I look to Asia. I have made the point and the President has made the point repeatedly that we are going to begin our engagement in Asia by looking at our great alliances there; our alliance with Japan, our alliance with South Korea. And the South Korean presi-

dent, as you know, is in town today. I just had a breakfast with him, and then meetings with him and the President and then lunch with him. From that base of strength with our allies, we can engage countries like China who are trying to find their way.

We have no illusions. It is a communist nation. It holds in disregard the rights of its citizens, but at the same time it is a nation that is not the nation it was 20 years ago. We have to have some hope and encouragement for such a nation.

The same thing with Vietnam, and the same thing especially with the country that was the subject of such discussion earlier today with President Kim Dae-jung, and that country is North Korea.

Let me use the Korean peninsula as just an example of the way in which I think the world will move with all of the dangers and challenges. In due course I know you will want to talk about Iraq and the Middle East, but because I am so fresh from this meeting with Kim Dae-jung let me use it as a little example.

We have two countries on this peninsula. One country thriving, led by a freely elected man 75 years old who spent 16 years in jail, who spent most of his adult life struggling to make sure that his country remained embedded in the topsoil of freedom. He has been successful. They are thriving. They are our great partner. They are people who enjoy a level of wealth that they could never have dreamed of just a few years ago.

There to the north is this despotic, broken regime that has only one source of power, a single man with no representational activities on the part of anybody else in the country. Their economy is failing. They cannot keep going. Desperately they open the door just a little bit to see what is out there that can help them.

Now they are starting to realize that they have got to figure out a way to get access to the food that will come in from the west, how to get access to the information, unless they are willing to die. They do not want to die as a regime. He wants to hold onto power. We understand that. We have no illusions about that regime.

As the two Presidents spoke today, they realized that in working together from a position of strength we can start to see what is possible with that regime and make sure that they understand this position of strength, that when our concerns are satisfied about what they are doing with weapons of mass destruction, what they are doing with large armies on the border of their neighbor, what they are doing to suppress their people, what they are doing against human rights.

All of that is unacceptable to the kind of nation that is going to be successful in the future. When they come to that realization. If they come to that realization, good things are waiting for them.

It is just a comparison between what is and what can be, what we see the power of democracy and the free enterprise system can do and what it has not done in North Korea. Hopefully the day will come, and when they are ready to engage, if they are serious and they want to let us in so we can monitor and verify what they are doing, then we will find a time and place of our choosing to engage as well.

I find these times very, very troubling and dangerous. The Middle East is a cauldron at the moment. We have challenges with

Iraq, and I can talk about that in a few moments, but at the same time I am full of optimism and hope. I am full of optimism and hope because of the nature of the system we have, because of the power of our ideas and because I have seen what the power of these ideas did to win the Cold War.

It is the ideology that works, and I think the rest of the world will slowly, surely realize that if they want to be successful in this 21st century they had better figure out how to get a part of this ideology, how to use it.

What we have to do is not be afraid, but remain strong. Not be arrogant, but be humble. Be willing to engage those who wish to be engaged with and be willing to press back and to fight and deter those who will not be a part of this new world.

With all the problems, and I assure you, Mr. Chairman, I see them just as you do, I remain optimistic. We are going to continue winning.

[The prepared statement of Secretary Powell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF COLIN L. POWELL, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am pleased to have this opportunity to testify before you for the first time as Secretary of State, in support of President Bush's budget request for FY 2002.

I know many of you quite well—some from my days as National Security Advisor, others from my time as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

And some of you are not only new to me but new to the Congress—and I welcome you and look forward to working with you, as I look forward to working with all of you on this committee and with this 107th Congress.

I know that it is traditional for Secretaries of State to come before this committee at this time of the year and to devote most of their presentation to outlining the Administration's foreign policy—a sort of around-the-world perspective.

I would like to break that mold if you don't mind and instead concentrate on a subject very dear to me and, I know very dear to you—the dollars for State Department operations particularly and for Function 150 in general.

I will be pleased to discuss with you my recent trip to the Middle East and to Europe, and to answer any questions you might have with respect to President Bush's foreign policy, and I am sure you will want to ask such questions.

But the resources challenge for the Department has become such a grave one, such a serious impediment to the conduct of America's foreign policy, that I feel I must focus on that challenge in my opening statement. I would be doing a disservice to you, the authorizers of our foreign affairs budget, if I did not do so.

Mr. Chairman, in January at my confirmation hearing I told the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that I was very concerned about the State Department's budget.

At that time, I did not have the required information to make a reasoned statement about what was needed to alleviate my concern, I just knew I had deep concern. When an agency or a department is under-resourced for as long as the State Department has been, you can feel it in your bones.

Now I have the required information and I'm ready to talk.

But let me briefly put what I'm going to say in context.

In January, at that same hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I said that President Bush would be a leader who faithfully represents to the world the ideas of freedom and justice and open markets.

The President has many ways he can do this, many different methods through which he can show the world the values of America and the prosperity and peace those values can generate.

His recent personal visit to Mexico to talk with President Fox is one of those methods.

Working out the means of cooperation and trade with a neighbor such as Mexico, however complex and difficult some of the underlying issues may be, is an undertaking full of promise for the future. President Bush knows how important such foreign policy efforts are and that is why we went to see President Fox.

And, as you know, I returned just last week from visits to Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the West Bank, as well as to Brussels on my way

home to participate in a meeting of the North Atlantic Council and to talk with some of my counterparts in Europe.

As you also may know, I was able to have a talk with Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov as well, while I was in Cairo.

Such trips by his Secretary of State are another of the methods the President has at his disposal to represent American values and interests in the councils of state around the world.

But the most important method by which the President presents America to the world, the most important method by far, is through the thousands of people who labor away at such representation every day of the week in almost every country in the world.

I am of course speaking of our front line troops in the State Department, as well as those here in America who support them.

I am talking about the Foreign Service officers, the Civil Service employees, and the Foreign Service nationals who make up the Department of State.

Theirs is the daily drudgery of foreign policy, punctuated by the thrill and excitement of diplomatic success ranging from the minor to the sublime, from the courteous handling of a visa application to the inking of a treaty limiting conventional arms in Europe.

Mr. Chairman, there are no finer people chipping away at tyranny, loosening the bonds of poverty, pushing the cause of freedom and peace, on the US government payroll.

And it is a mystery to me how they have continued to do it over the years with so little resources.

Many of you have visited Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo where our GIs are stationed. It is a superb, first-class facility put in overnight to make sure that our troops are taken care of. But if you visited some of our dilapidated embassies and other facilities in the region, you would wonder whether the same government was taking care of them. The same bald eagle is clutching the arrows and the olive branch, but in many of State's buildings that American eagle is very ill-housed.

Also at Camp Bondsteel there are excellent capabilities with respect to information technology, including the capability to send unclassified e-mails. In many of State's facilities there were no such capabilities.

Now since the time that construction was begun on Camp Bondsteel, with the help of this committee and of the Congress as a whole, and with the good work of former Secretary Albright and her dedicated people, we have made great strides in our unclassified information technology at State.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and all the members on this committee, for what you have done to get this ball rolling.

Many of you were active in steering the Admiral James W. Nance and Meg Donovan Foreign Relations Act—our authorizing legislation and an important counterpart to the later appropriations bill—through this committee and ultimately to floor passage.

In that regard, I want to single out Representative Chris Smith, the bill's House sponsor, and Representatives Cynthia McKinney and Ben Gilman, its co-sponsors, for their very active involvement.

I know you will be shepherding similar authorizing legislation through this committee soon, and we at the State Department look forward to working with you on it.

And I want to thank all the Members of this committee for the attention you have shown to our foreign policies and for your active encouragement of many of your other colleagues to support the resources needed by State Department programs and people.

My hope is that, in the first year of the Bush Administration, you will work with us to continue this good progress we have made, and to see that our operations and our foreign affairs are put back in balance with everything else we do in the world.

For example, now that we have made such strides in our *unclassified* information technology, we have to continue those strides by gaining broad-based Internet access. At the same time, we have to begin work to create *classified* Local Area Network capabilities, to include classified e-mail and word-processing.

Mr. Chairman, as you well know, some of our embassies in addition to lacking up-to-date information technology are not as secure as they should be—and so we have *people* who are not as secure as they should be. But again thanks to the House and Senate's attention to this matter, we are beginning to get a handle on it.

I understand that when the FY 99 emergency supplemental was being put together, we did not have the sort of robust buildings program that was needed to meet security needs. We had to prove that we could ramp up to such a program and then manage it.

Let me just say that in the two and a half years since the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, we are well on the way to doing just that.

We provided an immediate stand-up of facilities in Dar Es Salaam and Nairobi and within twelve months replaced each with more secure interim facilities that will be in place until the new replacement facilities are finished.

We broke ground on those permanent facilities in August.

Likewise, we just completed construction in Kampala, Uganda and our people have moved in just 15 months after construction began.

We will also move into a new embassy in Doha, Qatar in early June of this year.

Other new construction projects where we have broken ground include Zagreb, Istanbul, and Tunis.

Ground-breaking for Abu Dhabi will occur this spring.

In addition, we've funded over 1200 individual perimeter security upgrades with over 50 percent now completed.

But we are still not moving quickly enough nor efficiently enough.

And I want to work with you and the other members of Congress to gain your confidence so that we can move faster and eliminate some of the barriers that cost money to overcome.

In that regard, we are carefully studying construction costs.

I know that we can do better in adapting the best practices of industry and smart engineering techniques and technologies to embassy construction.

The hundred-foot set-back, for example, can sometimes be overcome by better and smarter construction.

Blast protection remains the same but the dollar costs are significantly lower because acquisition of land is exorbitantly expensive. If we can provide the same degree of security through a better built wall that has only, say, a fifty-foot set-back, then that's what we are going to do.

And we believe better overall management is also achievable so that construction delays don't eat up precious more dollars.

Better overall management includes bringing on board an experienced operations executive to manage the Overseas Facilities Program, as recommended by the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel. It also includes realigning the Foreign Buildings Office from within the Bureau of Administration to a stand-alone organization reporting directly to the Undersecretary for Management—requiring, of course, consultation with the Congress. And I hope I'll have your support on that.

The combination of strong leadership, realignment of the function, and an industry panel to assist with identifying best practices from the private sector, along with implementation of other OPAP recommendations, will greatly improve the management of the overseas buildings program.

I have asked one of the Army's finest engineers, retired Major General Charles Williams, to head this effort. He is an expert at reducing costs while delivering high quality and I've no doubt he will offer us new ways to execute and to manage our embassy construction.

As a result, we may be able to reduce that hundred-million-dollar price tag on new embassy construction. I am committed to working with you and the appropriators on this issue.

Mr. Chairman, in the past we have not in all cases done the best we could to see that our overseas personnel were as secure as they should be—but together, you and I can change that. Together, we can continue this very positive effort we have begun to pull the State Department into the Twenty-First Century.

And that is what we are after in the President's Budget for Fiscal Year 2002—to continue this very positive forward momentum.

The President's request of about \$23.9 billion—a five-percent increase over this year—will do just that.

We are providing increased funding, for example, toward our steadfast commitment to the safety of our men and women serving overseas.

These dollars will allow us to continue to address our infrastructure needs including the construction of new, secure facilities and the continuing refurbishment of existing ones.

These dollars also provide the means to improve security operations—including the hiring of additional security officers who are essential to the prevention and deterrence of terrorist attacks against our embassies, such as those that occurred in Nairobi and in Dar Es Salaam.

We will not be deterred by such attacks from doing our job in the world—but we will take measures to protect our people.

The President's Budget also provides funds for modernizing—and in some cases acquiring for the first time—the required information technology for the conduct of foreign affairs.

These dollars will allow us to modernize our secure Local Area Network capability, including e-mail and word-processing. Likewise, they will allow us open access channels to the Internet so that our people can take full advantage of this enormously important new means of communication and research. This access will also increase communications and information sharing within the foreign affairs community.

Mr. Chairman, this development alone has the potential to revolutionize the way we do business.

Take for example the great products turned out by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, or "FBIS" as we call it.

No longer will an ambassador or political or economic officer in one of our embassies have to wait for the bound copies to arrive by courier or mail at his desk or office, often delaying the hottest, most recent news.

Switching on the computer, accessing the Internet, and clicking on the FBIS account puts the latest news from in-country and regional newspapers and periodicals at your fingertips almost instantly.

Similarly, clicking onto your e-mail account allows you to query any subject matter expert in the system as swiftly and securely as modern technology permits.

When I arrived in the Transition Office at State in December of last year, the first thing I put on the table behind my desk was my computer with access to my e-mail account.

I didn't want to be out of touch for an instant.

We are talking of course about unclassified communications. But unclassified communications are a considerable part of our everyday routine.

As you know, we need secure methods of communications also. And with the President's Budget we will continue installing these secure methods everywhere we need them.

The Department of State intends to exploit fully the ongoing technology and information revolutions. Our long-term investment strategy and ongoing acquisition of new technology will continue to address the many information needs of our foreign policy professionals.

I have personally committed to this transformation and the President's Budget for 2002 is the next step toward fulfilling that commitment.

I have also personally committed to reinvigorating the Foreign Service—an arm of our professional public service apparatus every bit as important as the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, or Coast Guard.

To do this, we need to hire more of America's brightest and most talented young people who are committed to service.

And we will only be successful if we change how we recruit, assess, and hire Foreign Service Officers. And we are doing that. We also need to be smarter about how we market the State Department if we are to win the fight for talent.

Funding alone will not solve our human resource challenges. We must create a place of work that can compete with our higher paying private sector competitors for the very best young people America has to offer.

And I assure you we will, by providing a career that rewards innovation, recognizes achievement, and demands accountability and excellence. With your help we will win the fight for talent and that victory will be reflected every day in America's foreign policy.

The President's Budget provides the dollars to hire a significant number of new foreign service officers so we can establish a training float—a group of FSOs that will begin to relieve some of the terrible pressures put on the conduct of America's foreign policy by the considerable shortage of FSOs we are currently experiencing.

Mr. Chairman, there are other areas of the President's Budget that I want to highlight in addition to embassy security, construction and refurbishment; information technology; and hiring of new people for the Foreign Service.

There are the program areas that must be funded to advance America's foreign policy interests overseas—the backbone of our foreign affairs.

These are programs aimed at restoring peace, building democracy and civil societies, safeguarding human rights, tackling non-proliferation and counter-terrorism challenges, addressing global health and environment issues, responding to disasters, and promoting economic reform.

For example, the Budget expands counterdrug, alternative development, and government reform programs in the Andean region.

The Budget provides for military assistance to Israel to help meet cash flow needs for procurement of U.S. defense systems, and to demonstrate our solid commitment to Israel's security.

The Budget fully funds all 2002 scheduled payments to the Multilateral Development Banks and the U.S. commitment to the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries debt reduction initiative.

The Budget increases funding for Migration and Refugee Assistance—to give crucial and life-sustaining support to refugees and victims of conflict throughout the world.

The Budget reflects the Bush administration's leadership in promoting the protection of human rights, for example, in combating impunity for crimes against humanity in Sierra Leone.

The Budget increases resources for combating global HIV/AIDS and trafficking in women and children, and for basic education for children.

With respect to HIV/AIDS and other global infectious diseases, I want to thank Representatives Sherman and Gilman, as well as Representatives Leach and Lee, for your attention last year to the plus-up of funds for HIV/AIDS.

I will also point out that when the plus-ups were made for HIV/AIDS, the billpayers were important accounts such as Foreign Military Financing. What we really needed was an overall increase.

And when Members went to conference on the bill that is what we got—an overall plus-up with FMF funding restored. That development is worth thanking all of you for again—because that action helped provide the full resources that are vital to these programs.

The President's Budget for 2002 also provides money to support peacekeeping operations around the world, such as those in Bosnia and in Kosovo.

The Budget also supports political and economic transitions in Africa, with emphasis on those countries, such as Nigeria and South Africa, that have a direct bearing on our national security and on those countries that have demonstrated progress in economic reform and in building democracy.

Building democracy and civil societies remains a top priority of this administration, so our Budget also supports short- and long-term programs to support democratic elements in countries where alternative voices are silenced. Toward this end, the Budget increases funding for U.S. international broadcasting to support the free flow of information by providing accurate information on world and local events to audiences abroad.

It also sustains our efforts to remove landmines in former war-ravaged countries—landmines that kill and maim children and innocent civilians.

The Budget supports our efforts to reduce risks posed by international terrorism, and to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction by supporting stronger international safeguards on civilian nuclear activity and by helping other countries to improve their controls on exports of potentially dangerous technology.

The Budget also provides increased funding for the Peace Corps, another group of bright and talented individuals committed to service. The Peace Corps has more than 7000 currently serving volunteers addressing a variety of problems in the areas of agriculture, education, the environment, small business, and health matters.

Mr. Chairman, before I conclude my prepared statement, let me call your attention to several areas upon which I want to place special emphasis.

In addition to what I have already highlighted with respect to the money for the Andean region, you know that much of that money is directed at Plan Colombia.

We are asking for money to continue and expand programs begun with the \$1.3 billion emergency supplemental in FY 2000.

Colombia is the source or transit point of 90 per cent of the cocaine and over 50 percent of the heroin that arrives in America. Those percentages are increasing, by the way.

Neighboring countries, such as Bolivia and Peru, have conducted effective coca eradication programs, but maintaining their successes will require vigilance and U.S. support.

The Bush administration believes strongly that any successful counterdrug strategy in the region must include funding to bring greater economic and political stability to the region and a peaceful resolution to Colombia's internal conflict.

We must capitalize on the ground work of programs funded thus far, including the expansion of Andean eradication and interdiction programs, sustained alternative development programs, and continued attention to justice and government reform initiatives.

In addition, the President's Budget requests funding for Ecuador, Brazil, Venezuela, and Panama, to strengthen their efforts to control drug production and the drug trade. Our efforts must be regional in scope and this money keeps them so.

Mr. Chairman, I also want to emphasize our efforts to de-layer the bureaucracy at State to promote a more effective and efficient organization for the conduct of our foreign policy.

We have begun an initiative to empower line officers—the true experts in most areas—and use their expertise to streamline decision-making and increase accountability.

The current organization sometimes complicates lines of authority within the Department and hinders the development and presentation of a coherent foreign policy, and thus mars its effectiveness.

I ask your help on this serious matter. When I want to carve out needless and even hurtful pieces of the current organization, I will need your support. I won't do it unless I am certain it is necessary, but when I do it I will look for your assistance and backing.

I feel very strongly about this effort. Throughout the last four years I have seen up close and personal how American business has streamlined itself. This streamlining is sometimes ruthless; it is sometimes hard; it is almost always necessary. We need to do the same thing at the State Department.

Mr. Chairman, consistent with the effort to reduce subsidies that primarily benefit corporations rather than individuals, our Budget for international affairs will include savings in credit subsidy funding for the Export-Import Bank.

As you know, the Export-Import Bank provides export credits, in the forms of direct loans or loan guarantees, to U.S. exporters who meet basic eligibility requirements and who request the Bank's help.

The President's Budget proposes savings of about 25 per cent in the Bank's credit subsidy requirements through policy changes that focus the Bank on U.S. exporters who truly cannot access private financing, as well as through lower estimates of international risk for 2002.

These changes could include a combination of increased risk-sharing with the private sector, higher user fees, and more stringent value-added tests.

These efforts at redirection anticipate that the role of the Export-Import Bank will become more focused on correcting market imperfections as the private sector's ability to bear emerging market risks becomes larger, more sophisticated, and more efficient.

Mr. Chairman, there is one more issue I want to highlight here.

I want to stress the urgency of releasing \$582 million in arrears payments to the United Nations and lifting the cap on peacekeeping payments so we can pay at the rate we agreed at the UN after more than a year of negotiation.

If we do not deliver on our end of this commitment, we will halt the momentum for UN reform and accumulate new arrears.

I also want to work with you to allow payment of the third and final tranche of arrears. This includes de-linking the agencies and organizations involved so that bad performers have only themselves to blame and those agencies and organizations not affected by benchmarks can receive their arrears now.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I believe we have an historic opportunity with this Budget to continue—and even to speed up a little—the refurbishment of our foreign policy organization and, ultimately, of our foreign policy itself.

I believe this is as it should be for what we are doing, finally, is redressing the imbalance that resulted from the long duration—and necessary diversion of funds—of the Cold War.

For over half a century we found it absolutely imperative that we look to our participation in that titanic struggle for ideological leadership in the world as the first and foremost requirement of our foreign policy and our national security.

Now, the Cold War is over. Now, as all of you have recognized, we are involved in spreading the fruits of our ideological triumph in that war. Now, we have need of a more sophisticated, a more efficient, a more effective foreign policy. Indeed too, a more traditional foreign policy—with the exception that there is nothing traditional about the information and technology revolutions nor about the speed with which they are bringing the potential for a wider and more prosperous freedom to the entire world.

Now is the time to provide to the principal practitioners of that foreign policy the resources they need to conduct it.

Thank you, and now I welcome your questions.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. I have been listening to testimony for this is my 27th year in Congress, and I cannot say I have ever been excited by testimony, but you have done it.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. It is very exciting and challenging.

We are going to go to questions now. I would ask the Members, and I am imposing on you to be brief so that as many of us can get an opportunity to question the Secretary, whose time is limited.

I will ask just one rather short question, Mr. Secretary, regarding Iraq. What is our policy, to contain Saddam Hussein or to remove him?

Secretary POWELL. There are several policies really, and let me answer your question by describing three baskets of things we do.

First, we work within the UN system to make sure he does not develop and put into his inventory weapons of mass destruction. That is a result of the resolutions he had reached with the end of the Gulf War. That has nothing to do with regime overthrow. That is not a UN objective and is not part of the oil for food program or the sanctions program.

The United States, working with some of its allies, principally the United Kingdom, also has a no fly zone which is used to protect the Kurds in the northern part of the country and also to provide warning and protection in the southern part of Iraq, and we have been flying in those no fly zones for some time.

The third part of U.S. policy does deal with regime changes. It has been part of the Government's policy for a number of years now to advocate that the country would be better off without this regime, and to that end and with the support of the Congress we have been supporting organizations that are committed to that proposition. The principal one known well to this Committee is the Iraqi National Congress.

As part of the new Administration's look, we are reviewing all three of those baskets. When we took office on the 20th of January and I stepped into the cockpit to see what was going on, especially with respect to the sanctions basket as it is called—the UN effort—what I found was a plane that was descending, and it was on the way to a crash.

The sanctions were starting to fall apart. Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime had successfully put the burden on us as denying the wherewithal for civilians and children in Iraq to live and to get the nutrition and the health care they needed. That was not true, but we had gotten that burden.

I found that our allies wanted the sanctions to go. Some of our allies did. I found weakening throughout the Gulf region with respect to the sanctions. I found the Russians wanting to make a serious change, the Syrians wanting to make a serious change, the UN wondering if this regime, this sanctions regime, can continue.

Mr. Chairman, what I discovered was something that was collapsing, and what we have been trying to do for the last 6 weeks now is to see how we could stabilize this collapsing situation and find some basis of stabilization that would bring the coalition back together—the UN, our permanent five colleagues in the UN, and the moderate Arab nations, and all others who are concerned about the Iraqi regime.

One model we are looking at, the model I am discussing with all of my colleagues and I discuss in other lands and discuss with you

today, begins with this proposition. First, let's stop talking about what we are doing to the Iraqi children. It is not us. It is him.

Let's start talking about exactly what the sanctions exist for in the first place, and that is to keep them from developing weapons of mass destruction. It is not to hurt a civilian population. That was never the purpose of it. The oil for food program was put in place to take care of the civilian needs, but to make sure he did not get weapons and he did not get materials that could develop weapons of mass destruction.

If that was the goal, let's take a look at how we are applying the sanctions and make sure the sanctions apply to that goal and take a hard look at any other things we are doing within the sanctions regime that might be denying civilian goods to his population and get that off our shoulders as a burden. Everybody is pointing to us as being responsible for the problems of the civilian population.

If we do that, I think we are in a much stronger position with all of the coalition members together again and are making it clear in a way that cannot be denied by Saddam Hussein or by any other Arab leaders—make it perfectly clear that the sanctions are directed at weapons of mass destruction.

I would not call it easing the sanctions. What has been happening is not only an easing of sanctions. It verges on a collapse of sanctions. This gives us a new floor that all can agree to.

As I took this idea around the Gulf region, and as I talked to my NATO and United Nations colleagues about it, I found pretty good support. In fact, in Syria when I discussed it with President Assad, who has been calling for the end of sanctions, he saw some merit in this because he, too, is concerned about weapons of mass destruction. He even suggested that if we can move in this direction he is willing to put the flow of oil through that pipeline under UN control, which it is now not under.

Another piece of this policy is to get those front line states like Syria back under UN sanction control. This policy also involves making sure we understand that at the end of the day the only way to get out of this money controlling regime is for us to be satisfied that no such weapons exist or are being developed.

The inspectors have to go back in. My judgement is we should not plead with the Iraqi government to let them in. We have put these tougher sanctions in at a level we all can support. We start closing down some of these outlets that exist from the front line states, and then we let him know this is the way it is going to be, and we are going to keep control of your money until our inspectors have satisfied themselves, so you let us know when you are ready to let the inspectors in.

We also reserve the right under this policy, that if and when we find facilities or other activities going on in Iraq that we believe are inconsistent with their obligations, to take military action against such facilities and will do so. That is the UN piece.

On the no fly zone piece, it is essentially between us and the United Kingdom. Secretary Rumsfeld and his associates in the United Kingdom are reviewing how we are conducting those no fly zone operations to see if we are doing them in the best possible way to achieve the objective.

With respect to the third basket, which is regime change and opposition activities, last week I released more money for the Iraqi National Congress so they can step up the level of their activity, and the Administration is also undertaking a fuller review of other things that can be done to support opposition activities against the regime.

That is the approach we are taking, Mr. Chairman. We are still in a consultative stage. It is something that the United Nations will have to consider.

There is an Arab summit coming up, and we will have to see what their judgement is, but I think the characterization that I have sometimes seen that we are easing up or giving up is quite incorrect. We discovered a collapsing situation. We are trying to fix that collapsing situation with respect to the sanctions.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you very much.

Mr. Lantos?

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I take it you mentioned Kim Dae-jung's age because you wanted to indicate there is room for young people in South Korea?

Secretary POWELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. LANTOS. I also have one question, but I would like to put it in some kind of perspective. My question relates to the current violence in Israel and the area surrounding Israel.

Over the past 8 years, the outgoing Administration and the President directly worked diligently, as you know, Mr. Secretary, to help broker a peace between Israel and her neighbors. The Barak government offered breathtaking concessions to both Syria and the Palestinians in hopes of securing agreements with both of them.

The net result has been not only a complete rejection of those concessions by both Syria and the Palestinians, but a return to violence by the Palestinians that has yet to be curtailed. While we all have hoped that a comprehensive peace could be achieved, it now seems clear that the Palestinians are not yet ready for a peace agreement.

The Palestinian campaign of violence and terrorism continues unabated. We have not seen any effort by the Palestinian Authority, its institutions and its leadership to end that violence. In fact, what we have seen is the Palestinian Authority's military units participate in that violence and acts of terrorism.

Recent reports by a Palestinian Authority official revealed that this violence was organized and planned long before Mr. Sharon's visit to the Mount. There are daily reports of suicide bombers, drive by shootings with the intent of terrorizing Israel's civilian population.

Now, the United States opened a dialogue with the PLO, which we all supported, because they made a commitment to end their policy of terror and to support sincerely a negotiating process. It becomes now clear with every day that those commitments are clearly not valid.

It is time for us, I believe, to let Yasir Arafat know that we will no longer tolerate terrorism instead of diplomacy. It is time to publicly place the blame where it belongs. It is time to tell Mr. Arafat that if his policies continue the U.S. will no longer deal with him

as a political leader, but we will deal with him once again as a terrorist.

Now, during the campaign, Mr. Secretary, President Bush stated the following:

“I recognize the importance of the peace process and the key role that the United States can play, but my support for its role is not conditional on the outcome of the peace process. America’s special relationship with Israel precedes the peace process, and Israel’s adversaries should know that in my Administration the special relationship will continue even if the Arabs cannot bring themselves to make true peace with Israel.”

Would you care to tell us whether this is currently the policy of the Administration?

Secretary POWELL. It certainly is, Mr. Lantos. Our support for Israel is unchanged. For 50 years now we have supported this democratic nation, which has such close ties to the United States, and in fact we can take some credit for the existence of the State of Israel in the support that President Truman gave.

You can be sure that whatever might be happening with the peace process, whatever might be happening in any other process that is underway in the area, the United States support for the security independence of Israel will always be there. President Bush reaffirms that in every one of our conversations on the Middle East situation.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. I still have a few moments. I would like to follow up with an item. The Israeli-Egyptian peace makes it mandatory for the two countries to maintain a resident Ambassador in each other’s capitols.

Now, Mr. Mubarak has withdrawn the Egyptian Ambassador many months ago, and I am wondering what steps, if any, we are taking to insure that Egypt lives up to its contractual obligation under the peace treaty.

Secretary POWELL. We have made the point to Egypt that we think it would be in the best interest of the stability in the region, and in light of agreements, for their Ambassador to return to Israel. They have chosen not to do so at this point.

I hope that if we can start to get this spiral of violence turned around, and the kind of points you made a moment ago, sir, I made to Yasir Arafat just about 10 days ago. Unless the violence goes down, you cannot expect to see economic activity pick up. You cannot expect to see the siege lifted.

We have to get this spiral of violence going in the other direction. Until I think the violence starts to subside and some stability is restored and some confidence building measures take place, perhaps at that time President Mubarak might choose to change his mind and send the Ambassador back.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Gilman?

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, I join in welcoming you to our Committee. We thank you for sharing your thoughts with us. We look forward to the opportunity to meet with you and hope we will share many

more days ahead. We look forward to your distinguished contributions in your new post.

With regard to the resources that you have indicated your department needs, on my watch as Chairman of our Committee total resources available for the State Department in real dollars, according to the Congressional Research Service, rose to a level significantly higher than ever before.

In constant dollars, spending on State Department activities by predecessor agencies was \$2.1 billion in 1981, and it is now \$4.3 billion, in the year 2001. State Department funding has nearly doubled. Indeed, you may need even more.

We hope you will take a look at the 150 account, which you have already discussed as being a 5-percent increase. It may need even more than that in the days ahead, and I for one will be pleased to support that.

Permit me to ask you to consider several questions. With regard to Iraq, it is gratifying to hear your thoughts about Iraq. I have been concerned, as many of us have been, with regard to some of those statements to the effect that the sanctions against Iraq have been hurting the Iraqi people.

It should be obvious to all of us that Saddam Hussein's bank accounts are pretty heavy right now; that it is Saddam who is hurting his people, not the sanctions. Saddam certainly has more than enough money available to provide all the food and medicine that his people need. He simply refuses to do so and is using it to purchase more weapons.

Loosening the sanctions against Iraq could provide Saddam Hussein with a greater ability to increase his weapon account, and we would be depending on sensitive help from nations that have not provided dependable help in the past. I am pleased to hear you say you will try and stabilize the cooperation with our allies in that direction.

Mr. Secretary, we applaud you for doing more to disrupt Saddam's sanction-busting efforts. Why, I ask you, do we permit oil to be exported by way of Syria, evading the United Nations? Why do we allow the airport in Baghdad to remain open if it is being used to bust our sanctions?

A further question. With regard to Haiti, before returning to power in Haiti Mr. Aristide made a number of promises to former President Clinton, including his commitment to resolve Haiti's ongoing crisis through dialogue and through compromise.

France's Ambassador to Haiti publicly asked why Mr. Aristide precipitously installed a government and a new electoral college when his priority should have been a dialogue with Haiti's civil society. Clearly all parties, including the opposition, must be committed to that dialogue for it to work.

That being said, it is obvious that Aristide is not keeping his promises, but is presenting us with a *fait accompli*. Have we made it clear or are we going to make it clear to Mr. Aristide after having spent billions of dollars to try to help that country that our priority toward his government will be determined by constructive action on his part rather than mere promises?

One final question. With regard to Jerusalem, through the years we have authorized resources for moving the American Embassy in

Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. While President Clinton did not sign the Jerusalem Embassy Act—he refused to either sign or veto it—it became law as adopted by the Congress.

President Bush—and I appreciate what he said—said he would “immediately begin the process” of moving the Embassy there. Can you tell us when that can be accomplished, and is there any activity in that direction? I will welcome your response.

Secretary POWELL. I will be very brief.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Secretary POWELL. On sanctions, if we modify the policy in the direction that I described, no more money goes to Saddam Hussein. It merely gives him more civilian goods he can choose to buy or not to buy. It does not give him any access to weapons that he does not have now.

In fact, the weapons sanction piece of this has worked rather well. His army is one-third original size, and there is no glaring evidence of a capability that we have to worry about at the moment, but we are sure he has something and he is working on something.

Second, with respect to the Syrian pipeline, as I noted earlier you are quite correct. They say they were just testing the pipeline. We think there was more use to it than just testing it, and that is why I was pleased that President Assad said he would be willing to put it back under UN control.

With respect to the airports, I will have to take a look at that. At the moment it is not clear that the manner in which the airport is being used is violative of any particular aspects of the sanction regime.

On the Haiti situation, the previous Administration negotiated an eight point plan that Mr. Aristide was to abide by before we would start any financing of any of his activities or releasing aid. We are monitoring that eight point plan, and we reserve the right to add other points to that plan if we think it is necessary.

What I would like to do, Mr. Gilman, is rather than just go off the top of my head, the last report I had on it about 2 weeks ago said that there had been some compliance toward those points and some non-compliance, and so I will put something in the record on that.

[The information referred to follows:]

Question:

Have we made it clear or are we going to make it clear to Mr. Aristide after having spent billions of dollars to try to help that country that our priority toward his government will be determined by constructive action on his part rather than mere promises?

Written response:

President Bush wrote to President Aristide on February 13 and, noting that Aristide has pledged to resolve the controversies that impede Haiti's progress, expressed our conviction that Aristide's December eight-point commitment to rectify election problems and address other serious issues is a starting point for realigning the relationship between our two countries.

We have further informed President Aristide, through our Ambassador to Haiti, that a national accord resolving the electoral impasse is a minimal prerequisite for our consideration of much-needed bilateral assistance and a potentially favorable U.S. view on renewed lending from the international financial institutions.

Secretary POWELL. On Jerusalem, President Bush is committed to moving our Embassy to Jerusalem. The process is ongoing. We have not started any actions yet, and in light of the very difficult situation that exists right now we will continue to examine how that process should start; but it does remain his commitment to move the capitol—excuse me, the Embassy—to the capitol of Israel, which is Jerusalem.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, if I might just submit some additional questions in writing to the Secretary in order to save time?

Chairman HYDE. Without objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Berman of California?

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, it is great to have you here. In your rather breathtaking testimony you spoke of the power of ideas, and for some other time at some future date I would be curious about how the ability of Americans to spread the power of their ideas in order to promote democracy, freedom and pluralism—

Secretary POWELL. I would love to do that.

Mr. BERMAN [continuing]. Is consistent with our sort of a relic of American foreign policy. There are legal constraints on the ability of Americans to travel to certain countries simply as one of the tools of foreign policy, a tool which I think ends up undermining the goals of the foreign policy you spoke so eloquently about; but that is for another time.

I would like to talk a little bit about the budget and, if I have any time, about Iraq. I actually saw the 5 percent increase and I said you must have waged a heck of a fight at a time when for a lot of different reasons, some of which I like and some of which I do not like, there were tremendous pressures to constrain the Administration's budget proposal. Here—my guess is this was not a result of a grassroots outpouring of the American people—the 150 function goes up by 5 percent.

Then I looked at the out years, and I said whoa. My assumption is that somewhere there was a conversation, and you said, I will worry about the out years in the out years, and that is not a flight path that we should assume is the last word on this subject.

We are appropriating this year. Those out years are intolerable. They go back to the kinds of things that were being done in 1995 and 1996 and 1997 around here.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you, Mr. Berman. My concern was this first year, and that is what I fought for, recognizing that there were limitations as to what we could do in the out years at this time. From my Pentagon experience, I realized that out years always come around again.

Mr. BERMAN. Yes, they do.

Secretary POWELL. I will be back.

Mr. BERMAN. Okay. Secondly, you talked a lot about operations, and there are critical issues there. That is probably our first obligation; to make sure that the operations of the Department are efficient and are well funded and are well staffed.

There are questions between the balance of Washington and the outposts and whether we are too heavy in Washington and too light

in our Embassies and consulates around the world. There is also tension that this is only a 5-percent increase. There are programmatic needs crying to be filled that have in many places been cut quite seriously.

When Mr. Gilman talked about 1980 and 2000 he was talking about the State Department budget. If you take the entire International Relations budget since 1985, it is way below, and the program is where the huge costs—that is, where the blood has been sucked out of the turnip.

I would hope as you get specific on these items that the programmatic issues of aid—aid to Africa, specific kinds of programs that are critical to what we want to see happen in the rest of the world—also get the attention in this budget.

Secretary POWELL. I will, Mr. Berman. It is those kind of programs that achieve the kinds of objectives that I was talking about of democracy and economic development and giving people access to the world that is out there, helping to spread the internet, doing something about HIV AIDS because it is a catastrophe in subsaharan African.

We have an obligation, if we believe in democracy and freedom, to stop this catastrophe from destroying whole economies and families and societies and cultures and nations, and so thank you for that support.

I will also argue as we go forward, with all due respect. There are some constraints that are placed in such accounts by earmarking them. I hope at some point we can have a discussion on earmarking.

Mr. BERMAN. The Senate also should hear your comments.

Secretary POWELL. You did say yes, did you not, Mr. Berman?

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Leach of Iowa?

Mr. LEACH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, first on resources. As a young Foreign Service officer 30 years ago, I served in the bowels of your department. I have been very concerned about the way resources have been allocated over the past several decades, and I am pleased with your commitment in this direction.

It struck me the bigger problem is management, and one of the reasons that I think your selection is extraordinary is not simply your background, but that you seem to have a natural instinct possibly because of your Pentagon experience to work within institutions.

Your first weeks, in which you have brought the Department together and brought the President of the United States to the Department, I must say are exceptionally impressive. I know of no change around in attitudes in any institution of governance that has been more remarkable in a shorter period of time than that which has occurred at the Department of State. We want to express our appreciation for you for that.

From the Asia Subcommittee's point of view, I want to raise an issue that relates to what I think is going to be as difficult outside of the Middle East issue as there will be in the next 2 years, and that is symbolized by events this week with the announcement of a 17 percent increase in Chinese funding for defense.

It strikes me that we are potentially in an action/ reaction cycle where in China there is a huge misunderstanding of American policy. Whether it be the 19th century where we stood for the open door or in the last 30 years where we have been very consistent with a policy based on the three communiques in the Taiwan Relations Act, we have argued for and stand for one China. By the same token, there should be no change in the status of Taiwan based on use of force or coercion.

What I would like for you to comment on if you could, sir, is whether you are concerned about what appears to be a Chinese misunderstanding and whether you could affirm that the policy of the United States is one of consistency, as well as one of wanting to bring China into the world forthcomingly rather than to isolate it, which the Chinese apparently think is an emerging trend in this Administration.

Secretary POWELL. We have tried to communicate to the Chinese and will do so more effectively toward the end of the month when the Vice-Premiere comes here for a visit, that we do not view them as an enemy. We do not wish to make them an enemy.

At the same time, we have to be realistic about the relationship. They are not a strategic partner. They are a trading partner. They are regional competitors. We sometimes have very different interests in the region. We do not like how they treat their people. We do not like the fact that they export arms and missiles and other things. They have gotten a little better lately, but we have reservations about some of the things they have been doing.

So the approach that the Administration wants to make to China is that we understand they have interests. We have interests. Let's talk about our interests. Where they are common we can move forward. Where they diverge, where we disagree, let's talk about that disagreement.

I think what we have to show to the PRC leadership is coherence and consistency over time, and we ought to talk about human rights and proliferation and arms control. Why are you increasing your budget 17 percent? Give us some transparency in what you are doing, the kind of transparency you can see in our budget, if you really want us to build a solid relationship with each other.

We are going forward with national missile defense. Here is why it is not a threat to you. Let's talk about it. If you think it is a threat, let's hear your arguments. We do not think it is. We think we have the better argument. All of these things we should discuss.

It will all be within the context of the Taiwan Relations Act and the three communiques. We recognize the one China principle, and we strongly believe that Taiwan is a thriving democracy that is doing exactly the kinds of things I described in my opening statement, and under no circumstances will we ever tolerate anything that changes the status of Taiwan unless it is being changed as a result of open, free, balanced negotiations between the two parties, which is what was anticipated by the original Taiwan Relations Act and the three communiques in President Nixon's opening back in 1972.

Mr. LEACH. Thank you, sir.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Faleomavaega?

Mr. FALEOMAVEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, would like to express the sentiments echoed earlier by the leadership and the Members of this Committee to welcome you, Mr. Secretary.

I will not be asking you about C-rations and MREs, Mr. Secretary, but I will submit to my colleagues and the Committee that in all the years I have served on this Committee, I know of no Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who took the time literally to help a Member resolve somewhere, somehow, in some part of the world a corporal in the Army's needs and to show that this man cares about the soldiers and airmen and to show that he truly is a soldier's soldier.

Mr. Secretary, I will never forget the experience in working with you in that.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Secretary, I know the time is running. I will have one question.

There is a growing consensus that global climate change is occurring and that nations must engage in a good faith process to find solutions. Even the initial skepticism over global warming expressed by many U.S. businesses has been replaced by an acknowledgement of the problem. Major auto and oil companies such as Ford and Amoco have declared reduction of carbon dioxide to be a top priority.

The United States has 4 percent of the world's population, but is responsible for almost 25 percent of the carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere, the main cause of global warming. As the world's per capita leader in fossil fuel emissions, polls have shown that Americans see climate change as a serious threat and want our Government to take measures.

Mr. Secretary, given these concerns, what are your plans to move forward? The Keogh report calls for the upcoming UN climate summit to be held this year in Germany in May.

Secretary POWELL. We have asked for that conference to be pushed back until the end of July in order to give us adequate time within the new Administration to formulate our position.

We certainly agree that global warming is a problem. The extent of the problem and nature of the problem and the solutions one should take toward that problem, whether it is emissions controls or how best to use the natural sinks that exist—we need some time to formulate a position between State Department, Treasury Department, EPA and a number of the new leaders who have come into the Administration. I have asked for that additional time to make sure that we go to that conference armed with a solid position that reflects the best that science has to offer and tries to deal with the problem in a way that is balanced, so that all nations will have to make a contribution to the solution to the problem in a way that is sensitive to our economic concerns and interests. We are hard at work on it, sir.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Chairman, thank you. I have other questions I will submit for the record in the interest of time to have other Members ask questions.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you. You are very thoughtful.

Doug Bereuter of Nebraska?

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and the Ranking Member for the eloquence and cogency of your initial introductory statements.

Mr. Secretary, welcome to this Committee. I think you can sense that this is a Committee that is very much interested in working cooperatively with you and advancing our mutual concerns and goals.

I am very much concerned with what has happened on the Macedonian border and in Macedonia in the last 10 days, and I think that the Kosovar inspired violence there is something that we need to take note of and counteract as quickly as possible.

Some Americans may in fact be aiding it—well intentioned, but ill advised. I would hope that you could look at Lord Robertson's proposals and accept them, build upon them, endorse them, improve them, and make sure that we stop this violence.

I recall my first term on the Intelligence Committee when, with the possibility Yugoslavia would disintegrate, we were warned very clearly, in very great detail, what would happen if Croatian and Serbian violence began and then spread to Bosnia and Kosovo and ultimately to Macedonia. That would be very much contrary to the interest of NATO and, therefore, our vital national interest. I am concerned about that. I hope you will do what you can immediately to try to reduce that problem.

I know that the presentation you made is on budget function 150, and I want to go right to the nuts and bolts or, maybe more accurately, steel and concrete. I like your focus on trying to reform the Foreign Building Office (FBO). Your proposals there are certainly a major step in the right direction, and I share, based on your recommendations and the experience with Major General Charles Williams, that your trust is in him to change things there.

As you know, Mr. Secretary, from our previous conversations, OPAP (Overseas Presence Advisory Panel) or the Kaden report and the Carlucci report propose a more fundamental reform creating an overseas facility as an authority to replace the FBO. These reports propose that such a corporation should have the ability to use the full range of financial tools and receive funds from rents, appropriations, asset sales, forward funding commitments, Treasury loans and retain service fee functions.

They would also have the authority to engage in cost effective financing alternatives such as the lease purchase and sales lease back arrangements. We have an impossible building backlog for new construction for consulates and Embassies and retrofitting for security reasons. It is going to take longer all the time to complete these projects despite our best efforts, so I am wondering if what is being proposed by you for the new initiative is the first step.

Do you need additional assistance? Do you need more time to think about a more dramatic change? I am convinced that moderate tinkering around with the FBO without privatization of this process, at least in part in selective locations, will not ever get us to the point we are addressing our building needs.

Mr. Secretary, I am with you all the way so far, but are we going to go further?

Secretary POWELL. I think it is a first step. I wanted to stabilize the situation. I brought General Williams in to make an assess-

ment of the office, see what the immediate problems were. A lot of money has not been allocated. We are not quite sure what is happening in a number of the places where the money was allocated, how it is going, so I wanted to bring him in and stabilize it.

The first thing I gave him to read was the Kaden report. We may well be back in due course to take you to a second and third step that gets us there, but I am not prepared to take that step all at once.

In order for General Williams to do his work, I may need some expedited authorities from Congress. I will be talking to this Committee, as well as the appropriators, on such expedited authority. I have received some warm comments back so far that that might be possible.

Sir, with respect to Macedonia, I share your concern. Lord Robertson is waiting in my office right after this meeting for us to discuss the situation. I have been in constant touch with him. I was with him in Brussels last week.

As you know, U.S. forces have been doing more patrolling on the border, and we had U.S. forces in action earlier this morning against some of the Albanian terrorists. In fact, the action was continuing this afternoon. We have them holed up in a house. We are trying to get some of them out. A couple of the Kosovars were wounded. We are doing what we can short of becoming one of the major belligerents in the contest.

We think the ultimate solution first is to find a way on a conditioned basis to let the Yugoslav armed forces back into that ground safety zone and then begin the process of dialogue between the opposing sides with us reserving the right to go back into the zone if things do not turn out well; or, if we have to—also reserving the right to order the Yugoslav army back out, so the phasing of that and the conditionality of that I will be discussing with George Robertson this afternoon.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Payne of New Jersey?

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much.

It is good to see you, Mr. Secretary. If time permitted I would have asked a question regarding the process of the peace prospect in northern Ireland and how it was going.

I would have asked probably about the Cyprus situation and whether negotiations there between the Greek cypriots and the Turkish are moving forward so that occupied territory can be relinquished again, but since time is short I will ask the question that is, of course, central to my Subcommittee and my interest for many years.

As you may know, we were able to move the Clinton Administration into somewhat of a focus on Africa. We were pleased that he took the 12 day, six country tour in his second term and second trip, as you know, to Nigeria and Tanzania.

In addition to that, many of his Cabinet people from the Secretary of State and Secretary of Transportation and on and on, Sergeant General, Secretary of the Treasury, went and started to become engaged in trying to assist countries in Africa, and also the African Growth and Opportunity Act came up.

Let me ask specifically in the 2 minutes we have left. What is the view of Africa in general? I know there has not been an Assist-

ant Secretary appointed yet, but just in a nutshell how do you view the problem in the Congo, with Sudan still being a prior government. I know that the Administration does not like sanctions, but I strongly think sanctions should be on Sudan.

In a thumbnail, I also appreciate the fact that you did have several meetings I think with the Africa Bureau, and if I understand, perhaps your first meeting as the Secretary. That certainly is a great indication.

Would you be able to just bring me up to date on where you are?

Secretary POWELL. Just in a nutshell, Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Secretary POWELL. Yes, I did meet with Dr. Susan Rice and her whole team as my first meeting when I started transitioning into the State Department because I wanted to have a good understanding of what had gone before. Those were helpful meetings.

I also wanted to make a statement that Africa would be a priority for President Bush and for me; not necessarily a military or national security priority, but just a priority in the sense that this is a continent of 800,000,000 people who have great needs, and those needs can be satisfied in many ways by United States action and United States effort.

In the first 5 weeks that I have been in office, I have met with President Kabila. I have met with President Kagame. We have talked about what to do in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to get things moving. Things are now moving a little bit there.

We are going to be engaged. The biggest challenge of all is perhaps HIV/AIDS, and I will not belabor that because it is well known to the Committee. I thank the Congress for the funding that has been increased to help with that crisis.

Also, we are going to be looking at those countries in Africa that are moving in the right direction and invest in them, understanding that it is democracy and privatization and free enterprise activities within their economy that will move in the right direction, and we will encourage that and support it with our efforts.

For those nations that still live under regimes that are totalitarian, the Cold War is over. We do not have to support you any longer. We are going to put pressure on you to get on the right track, or you are going to discover that there is not a lot waiting for you here.

We will do what we can to help your people. We are not going to do what we can to help the regime unless the regime starts to follow in the direction that we think is the proper direction for their people. We will be engaged. Africa will be a priority.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Smith of New Jersey?

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, welcome to the Committee. It is great to see you. I do appreciate your kind words in your written testimony for me, Cynthia and Ben. I would just add that Sam Gejdenson also worked very hard on the Embassy Security Act. As you know, it provides \$5.9 billion for Embassy—over 5 years—for Embassy protection.

It also has a number of other disparate measures to it that I hope you and your staff will look very carefully at. One of them was an authorization for \$750 million for refugee protection. We

have had numerous hearings, and many of us have traveled all over the world to refugee camps. The need is absolutely compelling.

We know that Africa is being shortchanged in terms of a per capita basis for refugee protection monies, and I do hope that we can do all that we can to not only meet the \$750 million in the appropriation, but hopefully to exceed it.

There is also language in there dealing with human rights in northern Ireland. I know this Administration will be very robust in promoting peace at the core of that and in the minds of many of us. I have held six hearings on this and I have gone over there. It does not make me an expert, but I am very concerned, like many others, about the policing reforms particularly with regards to the RUC.

I do have a very specific question. You have expressed interest in streamlining the State Department, and I think many of us would all like to see streamlining and constantly redoing and making better that which exists. A few of the specific posts, though, have been created by specific legislation.

As you know, last year we passed the sweeping landmark legislation on trafficking, which is an abomination. Fifty thousand women, mostly women and children, are brought to the United States every year, many for forced prostitution. Some of them are 13 and 15 years old. You know the issue.

We now have the tools to protect those women and young girls, so we can go after the perpetrators. It does create an Office of Trafficking, and we hope that that office will report to you directly, or minimally to the Under Secretary for Global Affairs. I hope that that could be the case.

On the issue of religious freedom, this Congress took a yeoman's step in a bipartisan way to establish the International Religious Freedom Act, and that created an Ambassador at Large, which you know so well. That Ambassador at Large has done a great job in highlighting the importance of religious freedom, and we have heard, and I do not know if it is true, that there is some talk of double hatting. I certainly hope that does not happen. There is enough on the plate really to keep this very separate from some other hat like democracy leader, Assistant Secretary in Human Rights.

Finally, the Tibetan coordinator. That may be double hatted. We just hope it would be a senior diplomat of real stature to carry that message forward. On those three issues, though, I do hope you will be helpful.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you, Mr. Smith. I appreciate the \$750 million for refugee protection, and I will take a look at the allocation on human rights and especially the policing aspect of it in northern Ireland. I will also watch closely human rights in general.

In the 5½ weeks I have met with roughly 32 foreign ministers and Presidents—a lot of them. In every meeting where there was a need we talked about human rights. We are not shrinking away from it.

On trafficking, religious freedom, the offices you described, I discovered there were 55 special envoys and other things that were sort of in crustations around the Department. I looked at them, and I said which ones do we really need? Seven are in law. I could

not touch those. I am not a fool. They are fine. Do not worry about them, Mr. Smith.

I found about 23 or so that I did not need any more, and I just wrote them off the books. If I need something new later I will put them back. The other 20 odd or so were serving legitimate purposes and functions and I kept them for the time being; some of them for 6 months. Then I will see whether I will sunset them. The ones you mentioned are fine.

I will carefully look at the organizational arrangement to make sure that, if they are not directly under me, I will have visibility of their activities on a regular basis.

With respect to religious freedom, as you know, it is vacant at the moment. I am looking for somebody to fill that position.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Menendez of New Jersey?

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, thank you for your past and present service to our country.

We were pleased to see that the President announced additional assistance for earthquake relief for El Salvador, but many of us believe that the amount is not nearly enough.

We are even more concerned that this assistance is coming at the expense of other important programs in El Salvador and in Latin America at a time when the region has been suffering from a state of natural disasters, which have strained the economies of the affected countries and almost reversed much of the progress we made over the last two decades. We spent billions during the 1980's to promote democracy in these countries. Now is the time to help them move forward.

In light of the fact that the President has declared our relationships in the western hemisphere to be a foreign policy priority, what real commitment in terms of economic and development assistance do you intend to put toward this region?

Secondly, the Clinton Administration took a lot of criticism for waiving provisions of Helms Burton and not sufficiently enforcing others. Will the Bush Administration continue to waive, or allow enforcement of, title 3 of Helms Burton, which allows U.S. citizens to sue foreign corporations for taking illegally confiscated property?

Will the Administration vigorously enforce title 4 of that act, and will the Administration change the wet foot/dry foot policy that repatriates Cubans to Castro's tyranny, which I personally believe is a violation of our human rights principles?

I look forward to your answers.

Secretary POWELL. On the relief effort in El Salvador, we were able to provide \$18 million right away, and there is another \$110 million, \$52 million in the first year, \$58 million in the second year. I think it is a fairly substantial contribution.

When a need like that comes along, you generally have to find offsets for it and find sources for it unless you are able to get new sources of money. That may be necessary in our later actions with the Congress with respect to supplementals. We had a good discussion with President Flores about it when he was here visiting President Bush.

On the Helms Burton, both titles 3 and 4, I do not have a single answer for you. We will be as faithful to the law as the law re-

quires, using or considering waiver authority only when we believe there are serious and great overriding national interests for which waiver authority is provided, but we will use it in a limited way and only when we are absolutely sure that there is a national interest to be served that would require us to use that authority.

Let's see. I missed one. Forgive me, Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Wet foot/dry foot policy.

Secretary POWELL. I will have to review that, sir, and see whether or not we are planning to make changes to current policy on that.

Mr. MENENDEZ. You are clearly not making a commitment here today that you are not going to waive title 3?

Secretary POWELL. No. I cannot at this time.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Nor are you making a commitment—

Secretary POWELL. I would be taking away—

Mr. MENENDEZ [continuing]. To vigorously enforce title 4?

Secretary POWELL. I think it would be inappropriate for me at this point without having a specific case in front of me to say I am giving away the President's authority under the legislation.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY [presiding]. Thank you, Mr. Menendez.

The Chair recognizes the Chair of the International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Secretary, it is always a pleasure to see you. Following up on my colleague's question regarding Cuba, I will also ask you about that, but I also have two written statements on which I would appreciate your getting back to me regarding the repression and corruption in Kazakhstan and on children's survival issues.

As you know, the State Department recently released its annual reports on human rights abuses, and it provides ample evidence of systematic, ongoing, and in fact escalating human rights violations by Cuba's totalitarian regime. I wanted to know, Mr. Secretary, is passage of a resolution condemning the human rights violations in Cuba a priority for the Department at the upcoming session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights?

What is your view concerning the unfortunate efforts to include in that positive resolution anti sanctions language which would certainly derail our efforts?

You had mentioned in your statement regime changes as part of the U.S. policy and strategy toward Iraq. Would you then agree that an integral component of U.S.-Cuba policy needs to be support for dissidents, for democracy advocates, for opposition to bring about a regime change in Cuba and a transition to this democratic movement?

What directives have you or will you issue regarding assistance to independent groups, dissidents, and political opposition groups not only in Cuba, but in all non-democratic authoritarian or totalitarian regimes? Will we take a proactive approach to helping these individuals?

Secretary POWELL. With respect to your first point, the Cuba resolution at the Geneva human rights conference will be a priority, and we have indicated such. We are now gathering our forces together. It is going to be a very, very tough fight, as you know.

We are having difficulty with the actual resolution at this point because of the anti-sanctions additions that have been placed on it, and we are making it clear to its proponents that this is a very serious problem and will make it difficult for us to line up behind such a resolution.

We are also working very hard to figure out how to get around that, and we are also pulling together our public delegation, the public members of our delegation who will attend that conference, and also designating an Ambassador at Large who will attend the conference, so we are on top of that.

With respect to regime change in Cuba and any other totalitarian state, I think we have a history that will continue into the future of doing what we can to support dissidents in ways that sometimes may be overt, sometimes may not be overt, assisting people who are fighting for their freedom and wish to cause changes in regimes that are of a totalitarian nature.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Muchas gracias.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE [presiding]. Mr. Sherrod Brown of Ohio.

Mr. BROWN. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, thank you for joining us. I have two questions.

Today in your testimony and in your confirmation before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee you spoke about "the tragedy of AIDS and tuberculosis and other scourges that are facing mankind." Many of us are concerned with U.S. Trade Rep. policy of pressuring developing nations to forsake compulsory licensing and parallel importing.

These mechanisms used by our Government, the USTR, these mechanisms of parallel importing and compulsory licensing are permitted under international trade agreements and allow poor nations to secure lower priced drugs for TB, malaria, HIV/AIDS and for other killer diseases.

To his credit, President Bush plans to uphold the announced Executive Order 13155 which prevents the USTR from intervening in this questionable manner on access to AIDS drugs, narrowly constructed access to AIDS drugs, when subsaharan African is at stake.

Contrary to the goal of conquering infectious diseases, however, our overall trade policy with prescription drugs, and those over zealous trade pressures effectively have spread, have contributed to the spread of these diseases in many areas around the world. Your international stature and influence I think can have a great deal of influence on the international HIV/AIDS crisis and other infectious diseases around the world.

My first question to you is, would you recommend to the President that he place humanitarian relief above any drug industry pressure, as he thankfully did in Africa, but also extend that African trade policy to other countries devastated by AIDS such as Thailand, and eventually India when it joins the WTO?

My second question concerns Taiwan. During the 106th Congress, this Congress passed legislation to support Taiwan's eventual entry into the World Health Organization. Many of us were disappointed in spite of these Congressional efforts that the President and the former Administration did nothing, and in fact, acted

against what we in Congress wanted in terms of WHO admission for Taiwan or at least for observer status.

Forty-one colleagues from both sides of the aisle have joined me in sponsoring legislation already this year for the Secretary of State to initiate a plan to endorse and obtain observer status for Taiwan at WHO meetings. In its 1994 Taiwan policy review, U.S. declared its intention to support Taiwan's participation in appropriate international organizations.

My second question is could you elaborate on how this Administration, especially State, will support Taiwan's participation in appropriate international organizations, especially the World Health Organization?

The first question was, as I said, would you recommend to the President that he place humanitarian relief above drug industry pressure as he did in Africa and extend that narrowly constructed Africa AIDS policy to other countries devastated by AIDS and other infectious diseases?

Secretary POWELL. I will deal with the problem you described first.

I cannot quite bite on your second question that I would say to the President you must always place humanitarian considerations over drug pressure, drug company pressure. It may be other factors other than drug company pressure. There may be legitimate interests and concerns that have been raised.

I think the President would always go into such a discussion with me or the trade reps or with humanitarian reps or with drug company reps with a desire to do everything possible to get drugs at prices that are affordable in the hands and in the bodies of people who need them the most. I think that would always be his predisposition.

Whether he also has to take into account other interests, I have to give him the option to do so. If I am in the room I would always do the same thing; try to see if we can make it work so people get what they need, but I cannot say that under no set of circumstances could there be an alternative argument that might be persuasive on a particular case on a particular day.

With respect to the World Health Organization, as you all know, we have been working hard in past Administrations. I have not done a policy review of this yet in this Administration, but the past policy has been, which seems to have served the nation well, to find ways for Taiwan to participate without belonging to these international organizations. This is because under the agreements we have, the Taiwan Relations Act and the other communiques in our relationship with the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, membership in such international bodies should be reserved for the People's Republic of China.

We believe there are ways—and I have to review this—but the Administration, the Government's position over the years has been there should be ways for Taiwan to enjoy the full benefit of participation without being a member.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Secretary. We do need your support even for observer status, which we have not been able to do yet.

Secretary POWELL. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. The gentleman from California, Mr. Royce?

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I thank you, Mr. Secretary. I will start by saying that I am very supportive of your efforts to revive the State Department. It is an important mission, and I think we all wish you well.

I serve as Chairman of the Africa Subcommittee, and I have been very pleased with the attention the Administration has placed on Africa to date. I had the privilege of co-leading with you an election observation delegation about 2 years ago, so I am well aware of your understanding of the importance of Africa to America. There is no doubt that U.S. policy can positively alter the course of events on the continent, and it is in our interest to do so.

I noticed at your confirmation hearing your reference to the African Growth and Opportunity Act, and you said, "It is one of the most important measures that Congress considered last year." I could not agree more. This was bipartisan legislation that is critical to the goal of bringing Africa into the world economy.

Now as I see it we have two challenges ahead. First, implementing this legislation in a way that maximizes its benefits, and this means avoiding the bureaucratic blocking that threatens the flow of goods between U.S. and Africa. It also means holding the U.S.-Africa economic forum that the legislation establishes.

Second, I think we should be looking at enhancing this legislation primarily by expanding or ideally eliminating the caps that were imposed on duty-free African textile imports. With the poverty and all the other challenges we are confronting in Africa, I find it very objectionable that we were forced to cap the benefits of this bill.

The Africa trade bill is paying real dividends, I believe, but we need to do more, and it is time for us as a nation to follow our enlightened self interest when it comes to trade with Africa. The bill did expand our exports into Africa considerably, and I was wondering what thoughts you had on these issues.

Lastly, I recently returned from a trip to India. We visited Bhuj and witnessed the massive devastation there at the epicenter. I also observed the fine American effort with relief and reconstruction that is underway, and I would like to hear your thoughts about how we are going to help our friends in this increasingly important country.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Royce. If I may, I would like to congratulate you on the efforts you put into the Growth and Opportunity Act. It was your leadership I think that helped carry it over the top.

I remember fondly our days together in Nigeria supervising that election, and I think we can be proud now as to the start that President Obasanjo has made putting his country back on the right path.

With respect to implementation of the act, as you know a number of countries have now gone over the first hurdle to get ready for the benefits of the act, and we are working on this forum that is required by the act. I do not have any details with me today, but I would be more than happy to provide those details for the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

Written response:

Thirty-five countries have been designated eligible for AGOA benefits and 1,835 additional products have been added to the Generalized System of Preferences list for duty-free import under AGOA. Five countries so far have met the requirements and been certified for textile benefits, and we expect several more will be shortly. We are working with nine countries now to help them implement the textile visa systems and meet all the legislative requirements.

We look forward to the first annual Forum meeting and are coordinating with the other Cabinet agencies involved. Shortly we will consult with the Congress and our African partners on scheduling and an agenda.

Secretary POWELL. Similarly, let me examine the policy change—I guess it will have to be a legislative change—we suggest with respect to eliminating the cap and get back to you on what an Administration position would be since it would affect other departments other than State Department.

I, too, am proud of what we were able to do to help the Indians and especially around the City of Bhuj, and we will within our limited assets continue to try to assist them. They have been very appreciative of the help that we have given to them, and it was a terrible tragedy. I do not have any specific additional numbers that I can provide to you at this time, however.

Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. The gentlelady from Georgia, Ms. McKinney?

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, I have three issues I would like to address with you. One is Afro-Latinos, the second one is the International Arms Trade Code of Conduct, and the third one is your human rights vision.

Let me just frame this issue of Afro-Latinos. There were 150,000,000 people of African descent living in Latin America, and they constitute as much as 40 percent of the region's poor. However, multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF have almost no representation by Afro-Latinos, and there are few development projects designed to assist them.

Afro-Latinos have been hardest hit in Colombia where they comprise 70 percent of the country's 2,000,000 internally displaced people. Afro Colombian leaders have been murdered, kidnapped, and forced into exile.

A friend and colleague of mine, Senator Piedad Cordoba, was president of the Human Rights Committee for the Colombian Senate and has been mentioned as a possible presidential candidate. Ms. Cordoba was outspoken against the violence in Colombia and a harsh critic of the armed actors who got their funds through drug trafficking and kidnapping.

As a result, Carlos Castano, head of the Colombian paramilitary forces, the AUC, had her phone tapped, made threats on her life and attempted to kidnap her children. To protect herself and her family, Ms. Cordoba posted armed guards outside her home 24 hours a day. Unfortunately, her guards were assassinated in a drive by shooting.

Finally, on May 21, 1999, Ms. Cordoba was kidnapped by Castano's forces and was held for 16 days. After her release she fled with her family to Canada, where she now lives. Later, Carlos Castano appeared on Colombian television and referred to her as "la insulinta negrita," the insolent little black woman. This is how

powerful Afro-Colombian leaders are treated in Colombia, and, sadly, her story is not unique.

My question to you is, how can you, Mr. Secretary, assure that Afro-Latinos in particular will not see their leadership targeted in this way for elimination and silencing?

On the other two issues of the International Arms Trade Code of Conduct, which was signed into law in 1999, I have to say that I was sad to see that the State Department's human rights reports fail to include the reporting criteria on the International Arms Trade Code of Conduct. I am hoping that will not be the situation in next year's human rights reports.

Finally, Amnesty International reported this morning that it did a search in preparation for the human rights hearing that we had this morning. Unfortunately, they were not able to find one quote of yours where you outlined your human rights vision. Could you provide us now with your human rights vision in this setting?

Secretary POWELL. I believe in the dignity of man and woman. I believe that God put each of us on earth in order to pursue the talents that God has given to us, and it is the purpose of government to provide that opportunity. It comes right from our founding documents. I believe in it deeply, and I will always work to that extent.

Perhaps Amnesty International should have called me instead of doing a Lexis-Nexis search.

With respect to the human rights report and International Arms Trade Code of Conduct, allow me to look at that and see what we will do for next year. There is a concern that the report is starting to capture so many things, and so many other issues are being placed on it, that we do not want to make it so big and burdensome that it does not serve its original intended purpose.

On Afro-Latinos, I deplore what happened to Ms. Cordoba and to her family. I wish I could say yes, I am going to make it all better tomorrow. I cannot, but I will be sensitive to the plight of Afro-Latinos as I go about my business in the hemisphere.

Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Peter King of New York?

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, it is a pleasure to welcome you. Like the other Members of the Committee, I certainly look forward to working with you. It is especially reassuring to have a New Yorker in your position.

I would like to touch on two issues, if I may. You mentioned that there were nine countries that were considering or requesting admission to NATO. If you could give us some idea what priority the U.S. would give each of those nine countries?

Secondly, on the issue of the northern Ireland peace process, I am reassured that the Administration has said that it will continue the current policy. I would just note, though, that at his press conference with Prime Minister Blair the President said that he would become involved if he were requested by the British Prime Minister.

I hope he would be equally receptive if he were asked by the Irish Prime Minister, because this has become an international issue with the adoption of the Good Friday Agreement.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you very much, Mr. King. I am proud to be a New Yorker. A Virginian now, but I am still proud of my New York roots. I have to be careful here.

I would not like to give you a prioritization of the nine countries at this time. One of the challenges that NATO is going to have over this spring and summer is to come to some judgement within the alliance as to the standards we want those nine countries to meet before we consider admitting them into NATO.

As you know, with three of those countries in particular there is a unique set of sensitivity—the Baltic states and our relationship with Russia, but Russia will never be given a veto as to whether they come in or not.

The decision on accession will be made at the NATO summit in the fall of 2002 in Prague, and the basis upon membership will ultimately rest on whether they have met the standards, if they can contribute to the alliance, are we able to defend them under the provisions of the alliance, and especially do they meet the standards of democracy and economic reform and stability.

You can be sure that this will be a high priority for us. There are some who suggest to do all nine. The big bang theory it is called. There are others who suggest we have probably gone as far as we should, and let's just push it off for a while.

There are others who argue no, we really do have to bring in some. These people want to be part of this alliance, and we should not fear adding to the size of the alliance. All of these things will have to be discussed, and we will start discussing them in the upcoming NATO meetings this spring.

With respect to northern Ireland, the President will be engaged as requested, and I am sure he will say the same thing to Mr. Hearn. In the State Department I have made sure that we are following things closely, and I have designated one of the new members of my team to be my personal representative to monitoring the situation and getting involved if necessary.

Mr. KING. Mr. Secretary, will the Irish issue be in the State Department or the NSC?

Secretary POWELL. I am sorry?

Mr. KING. Will the Irish issue be in the State Department or the NSC?

Secretary POWELL. Dr. Rice and I have not had a full discussion of this, but my expectation is that it will for the most part be driven out of the State Department with whatever we need to do to make sure that the NSC is fully involved, participating, coordinating with us and representing the views of the President.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Engel of New York?

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and welcome, Mr. Secretary. I am going to get more specific than Mr. King. You are from the Bronx, and so am I. The Bronx is very proud of you.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you.

Mr. ENGEL. I want to reiterate the two points that Mr. Lantos made in his opening statement. One is about funding. During the past decade, U.S. foreign aid spending on diplomatic priorities has dropped substantially, and I believe very strongly, and I know that

you do, too, that now that we have won the Cold War we must not lose the peace by under funding critical diplomatic programs.

I also want to second what Mr. Lantos said about the violence in the Middle East. I get very nervous when I hear people saying that we need to stop the violence on both sides. I think it is very clear that the violence is really coming from one side, the Palestinian side, and that Mr. Arafat is using violence and terrorism as a negotiating tool. We cannot let him do that.

I have two questions. One is on the Balkans, and one is on the Middle East. I first of all want to express my appreciation to the Administration for not hastily withdrawing or reducing the number of U.S. troops in Kosovo. The United States has made a commitment to the security of the region, and we must not undermine everything for which America's armed forces worked so hard.

As you know, Mr. Secretary, there are reports that national elections in Kosovo may not be held until the end of this year or even until early next year. Meanwhile, some of our European allies are advocating that the UN create a national government in Kosovo that has very little authority. I think that would be a tragic mistake.

If we want the Kosovars to take responsibility for reducing violence in the country, building democratic institutions and rebuilding their society, we have to give them the authority and ability to get the job done, and we have to do it, in my opinion, this year with national elections in Kosovo.

Can you please tell me what the Administration's position is on the question of when a national election takes place and whether we support creating a real government with real responsibilities in Kosovo?

Secretary POWELL. I discussed this last week in my meetings in Brussels, and there is a difference of opinion. The opinion we are taking, and I have not discussed this directly with the President, but the position we are advocating is having national elections this year deciding this quickly so that we can launch the OSCE and give them the time they need to organize such elections.

Mr. ENGEL. Well, I am very happy to hear that. I believe very strongly that the Kosovars need to run their own affairs, and I believe that when they do have that kind of a government we will see a lot more responsibility. I think it is very, very important.

The second question is on the Middle East. Last year Israel withdrew its small number of troops from the former security zone in Lebanon. The UN has confirmed Israel's complete withdrawal, and the Secretary General praised Israel's action.

Meanwhile, while Israel is taking steps for peace the militant Hezbollah organization, with support from Iran and Syria, continues its terrorist campaign against Israel's northern border. At the same time, Syria occupies much of Lebanon with 35,000 military and intelligence personnel and controls much of Lebanon's government. During and since the last Lebanese elections, however, a multi-religious opposition movement has taken route, which is standing against Syria's continued occupation of Lebanon.

My questions are, what is the United States doing to halt Hezbollah's terrorist attacks on Israel? Are we pressing the Lebanese to deploy their army to the south and take control of the re-

gion? Is it still the policy of the United States that all Syrian forces should withdraw from Lebanon, and what are we doing to press Syria to withdraw?

In conjunction with this, will Syria remain on the State Department list of terrorist nations, and what is our country doing to encourage the new democratic opposition movement in Lebanon?

Secretary POWELL. We have expressed our regret that Hezbollah continues to take this action, and in my meeting with President Bashar Assad in Damascus about 10 days ago I made that point to him and requested that he do what he could to restrain Hezbollah activities in south Lebanon.

We believe that it would be for the benefit of all parties if eventually at some point, and I would like to see it tomorrow, but it is not going to happen tomorrow, for the Syrian army to leave Lebanon. With respect to Syria being on the terrorist list, they remain on the terrorist list.

With respect to, I think you said, supporting dissident elements in Lebanon, I do not have an answer for you on that one, sir. I will have to take a look at what programs may be going on that I am not yet aware of.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Chabot?

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, it is an honor to be with you here this afternoon. Although you may not be from my city, Cincinnati, I did have the good fortune to share the stage with you about 5 years ago, with Bob Dole and somebody with whom you always served on Council and are very familiar with, Ken Blackwell,—

Secretary POWELL. Yes.

Mr. CHABOT [continuing]. Who is now Secretary of State of Ohio.

Secretary POWELL. Yes.

Mr. CHABOT. It is certainly an honor. We appreciate your service to our country and wish you the best as the 65th Secretary in our nation's history. We really do appreciate your service.

I would like to use my time today to discuss with you an issue I believe needs to be dealt with at the highest levels of our Government. In the last few years I have been actively involved in the issue of international parental child abduction, along with my democratic colleague from Texas, Nick Lampson, who has also been a great leader, and many of the other Members of Congress have also been involved in this important issue.

I first became aware of the issue through a gentleman in Cincinnati named Tom Sylvester whose then baby daughter, Corina, was abducted by her mother in 1995 and taken to Austria, where she remains today. The Sylvester case remains unresolved not because of any lack of effort by Mr. Sylvester or by the Congress or by the State Department, but because of the intransigence of the Austrian government.

Officials in your department, Mr. Secretary, will no doubt tell you that Tom Sylvester has played by the rules. He has done everything asked of him, and he has been stonewalled at every turn. Despite a number of Court Orders in both the United States and Austria, including an Order by the Austrian Supreme Court, Corina has not been returned to her father.

Your predecessor, Secretary Albright, was quite helpful in this case. We asked for a personal meeting with her, and she obliged. We asked that she contact the Austrian chancellor and the foreign minister, and she did so.

Her personal involvement I believe helped to send a strong message to those offending nations who fail to honor their obligations under the Hague Convention. It was also an expression of solidarity to all those parents throughout the country who face the same painful ordeal that Tom Sylvester faces every day.

We need to bring our children home. You can be a great help to the cause, Mr. Secretary. We hope that, like Secretary Albright, you will be willing to meet with us to discuss the issue, and your involvement will bring continuity to the case and the many other cases.

It will send a powerful signal to those governments which stone-wall the good faith efforts of left behind parents, and it will alert the international community that the United States Government is serious about insisting that all contracting parties to the Hague Convention on the civil aspects of international child abduction comply fully with both the letter and the spirit of their international obligations under the convention, and I hope that you also agree to meet with us.

Mr. Secretary, we look forward to your leadership. Stolen American children scattered across the globe are being kept from their custodial parents. The Sylvester case is particularly appalling, but there are many others, and those left behind parents in the United States and around the world face many of the same obstacles that Tom Sylvester faces.

Lady Catherine Meyer, for example, the wife of the British Ambassador to the United States, has detailed her own battle to be reunited with her two sons in an excellent book entitled, *They Are My Children Too*. I would recommend it to you and any of the folks within the State Department.

While she is a British citizen battling with an obstinate German government, her case rings familiar with that of many American families. These American parents and these American children need our help. It is time to bring our children home.

I thank you, Mr. Secretary. I look forward to working with you, and I hope we can count on you to make this issue a top priority during your stewardship. Let me also wish you the very best as you represent this great nation throughout the world. I greatly appreciate your thoughts on this important issue of international child abduction.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you, Congressman. I will be involved and look forward to meeting with you and your colleagues. These are terrible tragedies, each and every one of them, and these nations are acting irresponsibly.

I was familiar with the Sylvester case, and Lady Meyer is a great, close friend of mine. I am very familiar with her case and her book and know the agony that she has gone through, so it will have my personal attention.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. We appreciate your personal commitment. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. Gregory Meeks of New York?

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary. I have joined my friends Peter King and Elliott Engel in that we are proud you are a New Yorker. Though we cannot claim you in Queens, we know that you still have some roots in Queens.

Secretary POWELL. I lived in Queens.

Mr. MEEKS. Right. We will take it.

Let me say this. You have indicated briefly and there was a hope that the end of the Cold War would result in a better, more peaceful world. Unfortunately, that has not fully been realized, particularly in Africa. Violent conflicts have resulted in massive displacement with civilians bearing the brunt of the suffering.

Based on past experiences, most notably the tragic loss of lives in Somalia back in 1991, we have been reluctant to send our troops to respond to African crises. Most of the wars in Africa, however, that are taking place today, for example, in the Congo and Sierre Leone have their roots in the weak political institutions inherited from the Colonial Period and/or regimes that we helped put in place or supported because of the Cold War.

I believe we have a duty to help the United Nations succeed in its efforts to address these complex African conflicts along with support for both UN and regional peace keeping efforts, including troop training and logistical support. There is a need to support concurrent UN strategy for peace. These strategies may include post conflict economic development, justice initiatives and demobilization of ex-combatants.

In addition, Nigeria has shown its commitment to confronting crises in west Africa by providing ECOMOG troops for peace keeping operations in Liberia, Sierre Leone and Guinea-Bissau. These troops' commitments have been costly in both human lives and financial resources.

My question is, Mr. Secretary, does the new Administration have specific plans to continue the support for the training of Nigerian troops for their role in regional peace keeping under an international military education training program, and how far does the Administration plan to go in demonstrating its support for the United Nations and regional peace keeping efforts in its overall political commitment to African issues?

Secretary POWELL. We do support continued training of the Nigerian battalions—I am not sure if it is under IMET or in kind training or other, whatever programs are supporting that training—and other battalions of other African nations as well.

The Administration will continue to help the UN efforts in the best way that it can. I think we help best when we provide true training, logistical support, and the kind of economic support that is required after a conflict is settled. We will continue to be very careful, as President Bush has said on more than one occasion, on the actual commitment of American troops to peace keeping operations. That will be rare rather than frequent, as the President has indicated.

In fact, in many instances there are other troops who can do the job and perhaps do it better than U.S. troops could, such as the kinds of troops training in Nigeria and Ghana and other places. I think the focus of our effort will be to prepare units from the region

who are better able to do the job and provide the kind of support that we can provide more effectively—training, logistics, and, in the case of the Nigerian battalions, the actual equipment that they need to go make their deployments.

Chairman HYDE. John Cooksey of Louisiana?

Mr. COOKSEY. I still want to call you General. I worked in east Africa. I spent 6 years in Kenya and Mozambique and was in Sierra Leone last year, and I have more than a passing interest.

Quite frankly, I feel that our foreign policy for the last whatever number of years, and even before 1992, neglected Africa. I feel like the last few years we have had sort of a “photo op” type foreign policy that cost the lives of some American soldiers in Somalia and thousands of people in Rwanda and Burundi and the Congo, and I just met the opposition leader from the Congo.

I know you have discussed this, but I would really like to get some idea that we will have an African foreign policy because those people are just as important as the people in the Middle East, Europe, the former Soviet Republics, and in Mexico.

If for no other reason, half of the infectious disease in the world is among those 800,000,000 people in Africa. I am a physician. Infectious diseases are important. Today you can get on an airplane in the Congo, be here 24 hours later, and be carrying ebola virus or some other condition or AIDS, or whatever.

I am anxious to see that this Administration will have a real African foreign policy that shows real interest because there are a lot of wonderful, kind, gentle people in Africa who just happen to tolerate bad politics and bad politicians. Of course, we do that in this country too sometimes—

Chairman HYDE. Not lately.

Mr. COOKSEY [continuing]. I was in the Air Force, not the Army, but I would hope that we use the military properly as an instrument of foreign policy in the future.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you, Dr. Cooksey. I, too, think that the military is a proper institution to be used for foreign policy objectives, but you will always hear me say we have to have a clear political objective that we are trying to achieve and an understandable purpose that can be explained to the American people, and we know how we are going to do it. We are going to put the resources to the task and get it done.

I can assure you that Africa will not be a photo op foreign policy matter for this Administration. I am in the process now of just completing my interviews, frankly, for the new head of the African Bureau of the State Department. It is going to be somebody who has lived there, who has been a business person there, who knows every country and will be a gifted advocate for our policy.

The President and I have discussed this on a number of occasions over the last 6 weeks, and you can be sure that he will be active. I am already looking at my first opportunity to visit. It will not be into my fourth year. It will be sometime in this first year, as early in the first year as I can make it. It will be active. It will not be photo op, Dr. Cooksey.

Mr. COOKSEY. Good. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. Barbara Lee of California?

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Hello, Secretary Powell. Good to see you. I want to thank you also for joining us today to actually help us understand and frame the Bush Administration's foreign policy.

While you were not able to meet with Congressman Leach and myself regarding the devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic, I want to just let you know that I am really encouraged by your comments thus far about the global AIDS crisis, particularly as this disease is devastating Africa, and do look forward to meeting with you soon to talk about it in more depth.

Secretary POWELL. Yes.

Ms. LEE. When the Congressional black caucus met with the President, of course, he also indicated that attacking the HIV/AIDS pandemic in subsaharan Africa was a priority of his Administration.

In the hearings during the last couple of years, we learned a couple of things. One, that AIDS is really a crucial priority and a national security threat, and, two, that the United States' response really has not gone far enough.

As I reviewed President Bush's budget blue plan for fiscal 2001, there appears to be a commitment to increase bilateral spending efforts as a response to the AIDS crisis, but there was really not a funding request assigned to the African AIDS crisis where 75 percent of the infections are.

I wanted to ask you, with regard to funding, can we insure that any increase in funding for HIV and AIDS as it relates to subsaharan African or on a global basis does not actually come at the expense of other global health programs?

Also let me just ask you about our multilateral strategy. The World Bank AIDS Trust Fund was not included in the budget blueprint presented by the President. Congressman Leach and myself have written to you, the President, and our National Security Advisor, Dr. Rice, regarding the importance of this fund, and we look forward to your response on that.

Specifically, the Global AIDS and Tuberculosis Act of 2000 was passed and signed into law. It was passed on a bipartisan basis last year and authorized \$150 million a year for the trust fund, which we anticipate leveraging up to \$1 billion, so that is very significant in terms of a U.S. response to this pandemic.

Finally, let me just address our relationship with South Africa. The previous Administration established a binational commission between the United States and South Africa. It was established, of course, because South Africa is one of the United States' most strategic allies on the continent.

It plays a crucial role in further developing and maintaining our relationship to South Africa, and so I was just wondering with regard to this commission, will the current Administration continue to support the commission's effort? What are your plans with regard to the commission?

Secretary POWELL. On the first question of whether or not an increase in HIV/AIDS, and how it is being spent with respect to different regions, I will examine it closely to make sure there is no short changing of the great need that exists in subsaharan African.

I will also examine the program again to see whether or not there is any competition or whether in any way it undercuts any of the other health programs that are so important. That would be foolhardy if it were doing that. If there is a way to avoid this, we certainly want to do that.

[The information referred to follows:]

Question:

In the President's Blue Print, there is not a funding request assigned to the AIDS crisis in Africa or globally. What level of funding should we expect from the Administration and the State Department? And how can we ensure that neither agencies, regions of the world, or other global health programs will be traded off for one another in the year-end negotiations?

Answer:

The President's FY 02 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations provides for \$369 million for USAID in international assistance for HIV/AIDS programs around the world. Of this, the greatest part, \$190 million, is specifically budgeted for African countries under the expanded response. Most of this money is contained in the Child Survival and Infectious Diseases budget category specifically designated to these programs. We would hope that the Administration's FY02 budget request is fully funded to obviate the need for trade-offs that would adversely affect other global health programs.

Question:

What will the State Department do to provide badly needed life saving AIDS drugs to desperately ill people?

Answer:

The U.S. is working with international partners to help make HIV/AIDS drugs more accessible to developing nations. In our programs, we will train health providers and strengthen health delivery systems in order to provide better care. We will also procure diagnostic tests, and drugs in order to fight the opportunistic infections associated with HIV, especially tuberculosis. This should prolong life and enhance the quality of life for the greatest majority of persons living with HIV/AIDS. We will provide the antiviral drug, nevirapine, to inhibit mother to-child transmission of HIV infection, to both mother and newborn. We will partner with governments and other health care providers to establish pilot projects to evaluate the feasibility of using antiretrovirals more extensively in low resource settings.

Question:

Why was the multilateral strategy, the World Bank AIDS Trust Fund, not included in the Budget Blue Print presented by the President for FY 01?

Answer:

The Budget Blueprint did not address specific program allocation levels. However, as part of the overall \$369 million included in the President's Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, \$20 million is included to support the HIV/AIDS Trust Fund.

Ms. LEE. Thank you.

Secretary POWELL. On the Global AIDS and TB Act funding, I will have to take the question and find out why there is no item in the budget that you have been able to detect.

With respect to the commission, I think you are referring to the Gore-Mbeki Commission.

Ms. LEE. Right.

Secretary POWELL. That leadership model will not be in this new Administration, but you can be sure that the kinds of things they discussed and the importance of those issues will not be short-changed.

We will find other fora and other organizations that we can create or other arrangements we can create, but we will not be having

the number of Vice-Presidential level commissions that existed in the previous Administration. There are about six or eight of these.

The one thing we are trying to do is to regularize these kinds of interactions within the State Department and other cabinet positions so that it is not always a Vice-Presidential to Vice-Presidential or Vice-Presidential and Presidential level commission and summit meeting that gets all of the attention, but that the interaction is regularized so the existing institutions of both nations can be working together on a more regular basis.

Ms. LEE. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. We look forward to your response on the AIDS.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. We have trespassed on your time shamelessly, and we are going to ask you to just take one more questioner.

Secretary POWELL. Yes, sir.

Chairman HYDE. Then we thank you for giving us the time you have, and we will surely want to welcome you back—

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman HYDE [continuing]. For those people who did not get to ask a question.

Before we go to Mr. Tancredo, Mr. Lantos has a motion.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have the right to submit questions for the record to our distinguished Secretary of State.

Chairman HYDE. Without objection. So ordered.

And now Mr. Tancredo for the final question.

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, just in order to get things moving quickly let me just say ditto to all the wonderful things that have been said about you. I guess that makes me a Colin Powell ditto head. That is okay. I accept that.

Your testimony with regard to the position of the Administration vis-a-vis the African continent is especially interesting to me. I would like to focus even more on one place there because just a few hours ago now, I guess, we introduced the Sudan Peace Act.

Your vision, as you described it so eloquently, about how foreign policy should be conducted and for what purpose, leads me to believe that there is hope for us here and that this Administration is ready to do something dramatically different than it has been doing in Sudan.

I wonder if you could tell me today in as specific terms as possible what the Bush Administration is prepared to do to bring an end to war in Sudan?

Secretary POWELL. Tomorrow afternoon I am meeting with my entire staff of the Africa Bureau and bringing in others as well from other agencies.

Last week when I was beginning to really hone in on the Sudan to get an understanding of the complexity of all those issues, getting an understanding of the nature of the tragedy that is occurring there—other Members have pointed this out to me with considerable emotion—I told my staff okay, look. We just have to set aside an afternoon next week for us all to sit around and let me get into this totally, this one country. Not a region. We are not

talking about democracy and freedom. We are going to talk about this one country.

That will be tomorrow afternoon, sir. I do not have and am not even going to try to give you a pat answer right now, but I do know that there is perhaps no greater tragedy on the face of the earth today than the tragedy that is unfolding in the Sudan.

The only way to deal with that tragedy is to end the conflict. When you end the conflict, then you can start to repair the society and repair the families and repair the lives that are being lost there now. It will be a priority, but I am not going to try to give you an off-the-top-of-the-head answer. I will be ready for you next time we talk.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Secretary, I just wish you Godspeed.

Secretary POWELL. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. And so do we all. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

The meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m. the Committee was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DOUG BEREUTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA

Mr. Secretary, I welcome you in your first appearance before the Committee as Secretary of State and extend my hearty congratulations on your nomination and confirmation. Given your outstanding military career including service as Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff during the Persian Gulf War, your appointment to serve as Secretary of State sends an important signal about the Bush Administration's commitment to making foreign policy a highly visible and serious part of its overall agenda.

Mr. Secretary, it has been reported that you view diplomacy as America's first line of defense. I certainly agree with you. Our presence overseas sends the most direct impression of who we as a nation are and of what we embrace as our foreign policy goals to those nations with whom we have diplomatic ties.

The Bush Administration's proposed 5% increase in funding for the State Department is encouraging—mildly so—and especially necessary are the increases in the areas of embassy security and telecommunications which I will address later. I read in one account your comments that the Department needs a “steep increase” in funding and that you “will be back” to get funding for specific programs. I hope you will, Mr. Secretary, while of course I will look at the details, I would expect to strenuously support your request for additional funding. Also, Mr. Secretary, I am very interested in your comments on your assessments of the Department's funding and reform needs beyond the resources proposed in this budget.

As I mentioned earlier, I am pleased that the Administration's proposal includes \$1.3 billion for embassy security—an increase of \$500 million—which would provide for “the construction of new secure facilities” for our men and women overseas. Through my responsibilities as a member of the International Relations Committee, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and a member of the House delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, I have had the pleasure of meeting and working with many outstanding Foreign Service Officers and civil servants serving in our overseas embassies and consulates. Their dedication to representing U.S. national interests is almost always noticeably impressive and inspiring. I feel very strongly that Congress and the American people must in turn remain dedicated to supporting their effort by providing the necessary resources to provide for their effectiveness and security.

Mr. Secretary, in your confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you indicated that you have directed “an independent assessment” of how to address the embassy security issue, including embassy construction. Any comments you have on the findings of this assessment are welcome.

As you are certainly aware, several other published reports have outlined, among many other items, the dire need to update, for the benefit of embassy security, the State Department's physical plants overseas. The Overseas Presence Advisory Panel (OPAP) Report, chaired by Lewis Kaden, and the Carlucci Report contain recommendations which would completely overhaul the embassy construction and management system.

Mr. Secretary, for the record, since you are very aware of this situation, the Foreign Buildings Office (FBO) currently constructs and manages all overseas State Department facilities—non-residential and residential. For a whole variety of reasons, it often takes literally a great many years, even a decade or more, to work through the priority systems and the labyrinth of bureaucracy associated with constructing a new embassy. In part, the potential solution to this problem is stymied by the scoring rules imposed by OMB, re-enforced by congressional budgeting practices,

that require all the costs of construction or lease purchase be scored in the first year. This makes it extremely difficult to secure the necessary appropriations in a timely fashion. It also costs taxpayers millions of additional dollars by forcing the Department to rely on short-term lease arrangements which are far more expensive in the long run than either lease/purchase or sale/leaseback. Recently, I have tried unsuccessfully, to change this situation, but I am committed to making this change.

Mr. Secretary, as you are aware, the OPAP, or the Kaden Report, and Carlucci Report both propose an innovative approach to resolving the problem by establishing a performance-based government corporation (the Overseas Facility Authority (OFA) to replace FBO. These reports indicate that such a corporation should have the ability to use the full range of financial tools and receive funds from rents, appropriations, asset sales, forward-funding commitments, Treasury loans, and retained service fee revenues. It should also have authority to engage in cost-effective financing alternatives such as lease/purchase and sale/leaseback.

The OPAP Report concludes that "in order to undertake the sort of fundamental change in the funding and management of U.S. Government overseas assets, FBO should be replaced by an OFA with more authority, more flexibility, and increased participation by other U.S. Government agencies." Both the Carlucci and the OPAP reports make, I believe, compelling cases as to why a public corporation would be a more efficient and effective way of managing U.S. Government facilities overseas and of dealing with the urgent issue of making these facilities more secure.

Mr. Secretary, I would ask you to give the Bush Administration's stance on this issue, if not today, then as soon as possible. It seems to me that there would be many advantages to proceeding with the OPAP recommendation to replace FBO with a Federal government corporation. One of these advantages is that we will have secure embassies years earlier than would otherwise be the case. We have an impossible backlog of urgent construction or security upgrade requirements that is increasing in length every year. Mr. Secretary, we absolutely must make a fundamental change in the way the Department builds or retrofits its overseas facilities. We cannot continue on the current course. Therefore, I hope the State Department will continue to look at this excellent recommendation and then move expeditiously towards implementing the proposal. I would be pleased to assist in shepherding legislative initiatives to cut the backlog of embassy construction projects and I volunteer to assist. As you may recall, I pushed successfully, with the help of my colleagues, an initiative which fully authorized the amount for embassy and plant security outlined in the Crowe Report.

Mr. Secretary, of course I recognize that the effectiveness of operations in our embassies and consulates does not, however, rest solely on the conditions of the structures. Today's Foreign Service Officers must also have an effective communications systems. Several people, whose judgment I trust, have approached me with their concerns about the ability of officials overseas to electronically communicate with their co-workers in the U.S. and to conduct information gathering as a result of outdated computer hardware and software. This impossibly bad situation is very well documented. For the country which leads the world in information technology, it is embarrassing how poorly we have equipped our State Department to carry out its mission.

I understand that the Bush Administration's budget proposal includes a \$200 million increase over last year's budget request in the area of computers and telecommunications. I would be interested in learning what part of the actual investment in new equipment needed that the \$200 million constitutes.

Mr. Secretary, of course you have forcefully noted that it is not secure buildings and effective communications systems alone which will improve our overseas presence. Ultimately, it is the men and women serving as Foreign Service Officers and as civil servants who execute the Administration's policies. In recent years, I have heard reports that many employees, in both the Foreign Service and the civil service, feel too far removed from the overall mission of the Department. Your efforts to utilize the talents of Foreign Service Officers in a greater range of positions and your meeting with the civil servant community at the Department (a significant departure for a Secretary of State, I understand) are to be highly commended. These immediate outreach efforts certainly will bear fruit as you seek to make reforms. If you are ready to preliminarily discuss your intentions regarding the direction the Department will take under your guidance in the areas of recruiting and retaining capable, dedicated personnel in the long term, we are anxious to hear them at this time or when appropriate.

Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE EARL F. HILLIARD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ALABAMA

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The International Community faces unique challenges. Democratic ideals often emerge in times of peace and economic prosperity, however the challenge is to achieve the same objectives in a changing political landscape.

Newly independent regions have been left with little preparation and few resources to govern effectively and meet the needs of their population. Former colonial states still struggle to effectively compete and participate on an equal basis in the changing international marketplace.

The new backdrop of a global economy and sophisticated technology can aid as well hinder our goals. The effectiveness of traditional military strategy has decreased in this new setting. Civilians have increasingly become the targets of war, and soldiers are now asked to defend against obscure opponents during peace-keeping operations.

I am in agreement with the Secretary when he stated during his nomination hearing, "*The passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act was one of the most important measures that Congress considered last year*". Establishing a strong economic base and strengthening trade relations will have as much or even greater impact, than any diplomatic or military action the U.S. could initiate.

Once individuals have acquired the means to meet the basic necessities of life, they obtain the luxury of transcending the usual struggles faced by a majority of the world's population and can focus on expensive values such as freedom, equality and world peace. We, as Americans, take this for granted, yet enjoy this luxury in greater proportion than most. We have noble goals when we seek to give others the same privilege, but we must be respectful when we seek to accomplish this task.

I look forward to hearing the Secretary's testimony and wish him success in transforming policy into a promising, and lasting reality.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ELTON GALLEGLY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Secretary, as Chairman of the Europe Subcommittee, I want to welcome you here today and to express our Subcommittee's interest and willingness to work with you and the Department on all issues relating to Europe. Your experience, expertise and management style will certainly serve the Department well.

I also want you to know that our Subcommittee has already had contact with Assistant Secretary Dobbins and the Europe Bureau and the response thus far has been very positive and helpful and we are appreciative of that.

Mr. Secretary, for more than a decade after the fall of the former Soviet Union and after the rejection of totalitarian political authority and closed economies, a significant part of the world has moved closer to the goals of freedom, democracy, market economies and a lessening of military conflict and competition. And yet, this country still needs to more clearly articulate the role the United States will play in a post-cold war world and how best this nation will use the political, military and economic power we enjoy. Your task will not be easy as you respond to the challenges presented to the United States every day. But I am confident you will be up to the task.

With respect to Europe, I believe our policy will, of necessity, have to adjust to the changing times on that continent. We are seeing the expansion of a one-Europe initiative which is seeking respect as a major player in the international community and, I believe, an attempt to lessen overall U.S. dominance in the area. As a result we face many challenges such as the impact of E.U. enlargement; NATO expansion; the question of a missile defense system; the European Security and Defense Initiative and multiple trade disputes. These bi-lateral issues are not insurmountable but they are providing irritants in the trans-Atlantic relationship.

Beyond that, we must be vigilant in the Balkans. We must look to problems in the Aegean and the Caucasus and we must continue to promote the peace process in Northern Ireland. Finally, we must be steadfast in our approach to Russia so that we do not see a backward slide to a more authoritarian political structure in that great nation.

In sum, Mr. Secretary we have a full agenda and we wish you well in your role as our Chief diplomat.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BARBARA LEE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Secretary Powell, I want to thank you for joining us today to frame for us the State Departments foreign policy agenda. While you were not able to meet with Congressman Leach and I prior to today's hearing, I want to let you know that I am encouraged by your comments, thus far, about the global AIDS crisis, particularly as this deadly disease is devastating Africa and look forward to meeting with you soon.

In hearings last year, two things were made clear. One, AIDS is a crucial priority and two, the U.S.'s bilateral response does not go far enough.

As I reviewed the President's Budget Blue Print for FY01, there appears to be a commitment to increase bilateral spending efforts as a response to the global AIDS crisis. However, I remain dismayed that there is no mention of increasing our multilateral efforts as well.

1. Why was the multilateral strategy, the World Bank AIDS Trust Fund, not included in the budget blue print presented by the President?

2. In the President's Blue Print, there is *not* a funding request assigned to the AIDS crisis in Africa or globally. What level of funding should we expect from the Administration and the State Department? And, how can we ensure that neither agencies, regions of the world, or other global health programs will be traded off for one another in the year end negotiations?

3. Finally, what will the State Department do to provide badly needed life saving AIDS drugs to desperately ill people?

The previous Administration established a Bi-national Commission between the United States and South Africa. The commission was established because South Africa is one of the United States' most strategic allies on the continent, Thus, the commission plays a crucial role in further developing and maintaining the US's relationship with South Africa. Will the current administration retain the commission? What will the State Department do to support the commission's efforts?

4. Jeffrey Schilling, a constituent from my district, has been held hostage by the Abu Sayef in the Philippines since last year. Reports indicate that he is now quite ill. Can you tell me what the State Department is doing to ascertain his condition? Is there more that can be done to obtain his release?

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ERIC CANTOR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Chairman,

I would like to first welcome our distinguished witness, The Honorable Colin Powell. Secretary Powell is the right man at the right time to implement our nation's foreign policy. He set the right tone his first day on the job when he addressed the employees and said "I'm not coming in just to be the foreign-policy adviser to the President, I'm coming in as the leader and manager of this department."

Internal reform is just one of the many challenges facing Secretary Powell in the coming months and years. Another crucial issue that requires the Secretary's immediate attention is the instability in the Middle East. During his Senate confirmation hearing, Secretary Powell stated that, "we seek a lasting peace based on unshakeable support for the security of Israel . . ." I applaud the Administration's notion of peace with security and for not adopting the previous Administration's position of peace at any cost. I believe that the Bush Administration and Secretary Powell are off on the right foot in dealing with the Middle East. Any peace deal must be agreed to by the Israelis and Palestinians, on their terms, not ours. Israel and her neighbors must work at their own pace and not be forced into an artificial time frame created by the United States.

Before any peace deal is discussed, the violence perpetrated by Yasser Arafat and his people must come to an end. Only then should Israel return to the peace table. I have been disappointed to read statements in the press blaming "both sides" for the current Palestinian violence against Israel, thereby equating Israeli self-defense measures with Palestinian terrorism.

I commend Secretary Powell and President Bush for taking a new regional approach to Middle East foreign policy. The Israel-Palestinian question is only one part of a bigger picture. The Bush Administration's policy of taking a comprehensive approach to stability and prosperity in this vitally important region of the world is a sound one. Syria and Iran are quickly becoming major threats to the region and U.S. policy to address this potential danger is essential.

Furthermore, I urge President Bush to direct the move of the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv. Israel is the only country where we have an embassy that

is not located in the capital, and moving the embassy would be the first step in the United States recognition of Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel.

I look forward to working with Secretary Powell on these issues and others. President Bush could not have picked a better person to lead American foreign policy in this new century. Once again, welcome and I look forward to hearing your testimony today. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

BARBARA LEE
9TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEES:
FINANCIAL SERVICES
Housing and Community Opportunity
Subcommittees:
Domestic and International Monetary Policy
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Subcommittee on Africa



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0509
February 6, 2001

REPLY TO OFFICE CHECKED

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The Honorable George Walker Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was good meeting you at our session with the Congressional Black Caucus and at the Democratic Caucus Retreat. I am writing you today to follow up on our conversations regarding our mutual commitment to fighting the global AIDS crisis, particularly as it is devastating Africa.

It is a moral imperative for the United States to take the lead in addressing this crisis; AIDS will claim more lives than all the armed conflicts in the last century combined. Each day 5,500 people die of AIDS, and UNAIDS reports that number is expected to more than double in the next ten years.

In the 106th Congress, Congressman James Leach and I led a successful bipartisan campaign to authorize and appropriate funds for the Global AIDS and Tuberculosis Relief Act, H.R. 3519 (P.L. 106-264). This was the first major step the United States has taken in developing a multilateral strategy, the World Bank AIDS Trust Fund, to combat the HIV/AIDS crisis globally.

The World Bank AIDS Trust Fund is a landmark public/private partnership that is designed to leverage contributions with additional resources from the international donor community as well as from the private sector, thereby increasing the initial U.S. contribution to potentially over \$1 billion a year. These funds will provide grants to support HIV/AIDS best practices in the countries hardest hit by HIV/AIDS, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.

I respectfully request your support for \$150 million to fully fund the World Bank AIDS Trust Fund authorized under H.R. 3519. Specifically, I am requesting that you include the \$150 million for the trust fund in your budget.

It is important that the U.S. contribution to the World Bank AIDS Trust Fund does not come at the expense of our bilateral programs, primarily those housed at USAID and other government agencies.

PRESIDENT GEORGE WALKER BUSH .
FEBRUARY 6, 2001
PAGE TWO OF TWO

We are in the midst of a global health crisis, and it is critical that we continue to act decisively in order to address the effects of HIV/AIDS in Africa and other developing nations. To advance our commitment to this issue, I have requested a meeting with Secretary Colin Powell and National Security Advisor, Dr. Condoleeza Rice, to discuss the African AIDS crisis. Their statements about the importance of this issue and of Africa generally are very welcome.

I look forward to working with your administration in the war against this deadly disease. Thank you in advance for your consideration. This is an issue which I will continue to devote my time and energy. I am glad that it will clearly be a high priority for your Administration.

Sincerely,



Barbara Lee
Member of Congress

BL/mtr

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

January 30, 2001

Honorable Colin Powell
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Powell:

Congratulations on your confirmation as Secretary of State. As you begin your service, we wanted to express our appreciation of your sincere concern about the global AIDS crisis, particularly as it relates to Africa.

As you are aware, the global epidemics of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis are claiming millions of lives each year. As the death toll increases, these diseases are devastating whole countries, undermining education and health care infrastructures, and wiping out decades of economic progress.

We want to inform you of our efforts to confront this epidemic on the legislative front. In the 106th Congress, we led a successful bipartisan campaign to authorize and appropriate funds for the Global AIDS and Tuberculosis Relief Act, H.R. 3519 (P.L. 106-264). This was the first monumental step the United States has taken in developing a multilateral strategy, the World Bank AIDS Trust Fund, to combat the HIV/AIDS crisis globally.


The World Bank AIDS Trust Fund is a landmark public/private partnership that is designed to leverage contributions with additional resources from the international donor community as well as the private sector. These funds would make possible grants to support HIV/AIDS best practices in the countries hardest hit by HIV/AIDS, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. As we continue to fight the war on HIV/AIDS, we believe the trust fund should be among our top priorities. In this regard, we believe it also symbolizes a re-ordering of priorities of the World Bank in a way that is consistent with both liberal and conservative critiques of the institution. The Melcher Report, for instance called for greater attention by the bank to the AIDS crisis.

We are in the midst of a global health crisis, and it is critical that we continue to act decisively in order to address the effects of HIV/AIDS in Africa and other developing nations. We are respectfully requesting a meeting with you and National Security Advisor Dr. Condoleezza Rice to discuss this matter further. We will contact your office to schedule for a mutually convenient time for a meeting. Thank you in advance for your consideration of our request.

Sincerely,



Barbara Lee
Member of Congress



James A. Leach
Member of Congress

cc: Dr. Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

January 30, 2001

Dr. Condoleeza Rice
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20504

Dear Dr. Rice:

Congratulations on your appointment as the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. As you begin your service, we wanted to express our appreciation of your sincere concern about the global AIDS crisis, particularly as it relates to Africa.

As you are aware, the global epidemics of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis are claiming millions of lives each year. As the death toll increases, these diseases are devastating whole countries, undermining education and health care infrastructures, and wiping out decades of economic progress.

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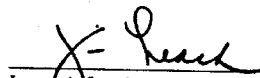
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Sincerely,



Barbara Lee
Member of Congress



James A. Leach
Member of Congress

cc: Secretary Colin Powell, Secretary of State

Washington, DC 20515

January 26, 2001

The Honorable George Walker Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We write to you today as members of Congress who have been deeply involved in finding ways to expand access to affordable HIV and AIDS drugs for the sub-Saharan Africa, to request a meeting. We worked hard to convince the previous administration to issue the May 10, 2000 Executive Order titled "Access to HIV/AIDS Pharmaceuticals and Medical Technologies." We are concerned because it has been reported in the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, *Bloomberg News* and elsewhere that you may rescind that Executive Order. We believe this would be a mistake, we urge you not to take such action, and request that you meet with us to discuss this issue.


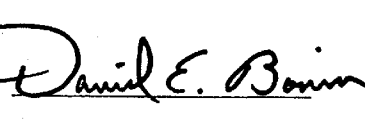
The HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa not only presents a moral imperative for a U.S. role, but poses a serious threat to our security and that of the international community. Last year the United Nations Security Council designated the problem as a global security threat.

As you know, Africa bears the brunt of the HIV/AIDS crisis. In sub-Saharan Africa, between one-third and one-fifth of all children have already been orphaned by AIDS. Twelve million men, women, and children in Africa have already died of AIDS. Today in Africa, 5,500 people are buried daily because of AIDS and, according to UNAIDS, that number is expected to more than double in the next ten years. This disease will claim more lives than all the armed conflicts of the last century combined. But for most of the continent's population, life-saving drugs are not accessible due to exorbitant prices.

In the past, numerous African nations were dissuaded by the United States from taking steps to make some of these critical drugs more affordable. We believe that the Executive Order issued on May 10, 2000 was a step in the right direction and should be strengthened and not reversed. In the first days of your Administration you have made a commendable effort of reaching out to members of Congress on both sides of the aisle. We believe that this is an issue that warrants dialogue and, again, urge you to meet with us before taking any action that would restrict the efforts sub-Saharan African nations are taking to deal with the HIV/AIDS crisis.

Thank you for your consideration of our request. We look forward to your response.

PRESIDENT GEORGE WALKER BUSH
JANUARY 26, 2001
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Sheldon Brown Bill Sander

John Dingell Nancy Pelosi

Eddie Bernice Johnson Barney Frank

Anna Escobedo Cabral Sam Farr

Jim McDermott Howard Radler

Sammy Baldwin Donald Payne

Cooper Miller Dale E. Linder

Henry A. Waxman Harold L. Bernier

Carolyn B. Maloney Bob Franks

PRESIDENT GEORGE WALKER BUSH
JANUARY 26, 2001
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Neethamson

Josh [unclear]

Mike Honda

Bill Delahunt

Jane Harman

Elijah F. Cummings

Lueta Loney

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

Question:

Is it a mistake to think that Prime Minister-Elect Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount sparked Palestinian violence?

Answer:

We think it is incumbent upon all concerned parties to avoid actions that inflame the situation and create tension.

PA INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE

Question:

Does the U.S. agree that official organs of the Palestinian Authority such as members of Arafat's Force 17 are engaged in terrorist attacks? Are the Fatah Tanzim also engaged in such acts? These incidents and the Minister's statement are a clear indication of the violations of the PLO commitment to "renounce the use of terrorism and other acts of violence." What is the administration doing to raise these issues with the Palestinian Authority?

Answer:

Both sides have been called upon to respect the agreements they have signed. For the Palestinians, this includes implementing their commitment to renounce terrorism and violence, to exercise control over all elements of the PLO and the Palestinian Authority, and to discipline violators. Since the violence broke out, elements of Fatah and members of the PA's security forces have instigated and participated in anti-Israeli violence. It is not clear, however, whether they acted with the approval of the PA or PLO senior leadership. We will continue to raise this issue with Chairman Arafat and encourage him to bring the violence under control.

SRI LANKA

Question:

Recently, progress appears to have been made in Sri Lanka with regard to the tragic ethnic strife in that country. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have declared a unilateral cease-fire since December and, with the assistance of the Government of Norway, progress has been made to begin genuine negotiations and dialogue between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE. Many of the underlying reasons for this ethnic strife are rooted in discriminatory practices, human rights violations, a weak judicial system, and generally poor rule of law practices in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, is the United States prepared to increase funding, through Economic Support Funds or Development Assistance resources, for the rule of law, good governance, and human rights programs in Sri Lanka as requested by Members of the International Relations Committee?

Answer:

The Administration agrees that use of foreign assistance funds to improve the climate of human rights, good governance and rule of law in Sri Lanka can make a significant contribution to ending the conflict there. For this reason, of the approximately \$1.6 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) the State Department's South Asia Bureau has allocated for Sri Lanka in FY 2001, more than \$1.3 million will be applied to projects that help address the underlying causes of the conflict.

Specifically, \$300,000 will go to community-based organizations for development of inter-ethnic confidence building measures. Another \$300,000 in ESF will promote delivery of legal services by supporting legal services clinics, funding branch offices of the national Human Rights Commission, and helping to develop a consortium of legal aid organizations. A third \$300,000 ESF program will help local election monitoring organizations document election irregularities and fund the development of a database of documented irregularities. Lastly, the Department is targeting \$410,000 in Sri Lanka to help "At Risk Youth" recover from the effects of the Sri Lankan conflict. Additional funds will go to training journalists and promoting professional journalistic coverage of the conflict, as well as assisting the government of Sri Lanka in developing efficient and clean energy use.

In FY 2002, the State Department will request \$3 million in ESF specifically for Sri Lanka to strengthen support for democratic institutions and community-based organizations, and to mitigate the worst effects of the conflict, especially on Sri Lankan children.

Question:

Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Clinton signed a "vision statement" last year that set out a series of goals for the relationship between the world's oldest democracy, the US, and the world's largest democracy, India. Among those goals were bilateral meetings at the cabinet level across a range of issues. Do you expect that the Bush Administration will implement this "vision statement" and are there additional efforts that you now contemplate in order to deepen our relationship?

Answer:

The Bush administration is strongly committed to broadening this country's continuing dialogue with India. Regular ministerial meetings will occur on a full range of subjects, and American officials will seek out opportunities to meet with their Indian counterparts.

On May 17, for example, India's Foreign Secretary and Under Secretary Grossman are planning to meet in Washington to continue the "Foreign Office Consultations" described in the "Vision Statement." In June, the Joint Working Groups on Counter-Terrorism and Peacekeeping will meet here also.

Deputy Secretary Armitage is going to New Delhi on May 10/11 to discuss the President's NDU Speech, in the process furthering our dialogue on security issues.

PAKISTAN'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY/U.S. ASSISTANCE

Question:

Nearly a year and a half after the military coup in Pakistan, we see little real progress toward restoring democracy. While the military leader has promised national elections in 2002, he has undermined the people's ability to organize or hold political assemblies, eroded press freedoms, weakened the existing political parties, and failed to deal with Pakistan's economic crisis. What are you planning to do in order to help Pakistan prepare for real, free and fair elections and a stronger economy and civil society?

Answer:

We continue to stress to the Government of Pakistan that the speedy return to representative, civilian rule is critical for the stability and development of Pakistan. While General Pervez Musharraf, head of Pakistan's military regime, has stated publicly he would abide by the Pakistan Supreme Court order to return the country to democracy by October 2002, he has not clarified important aspects of Pakistan's return to democracy as we have continued to urge. We have also expressed concern over the Government's arrest of thousands of political activists during the last two months in the Punjab and Sindh provinces to prevent public rallying. However, we would like to note in this context that General Musharraf has not eroded press freedoms. To the contrary, the press has enjoyed more freedom under Musharraf than it had under the democratically elected regime it had replaced. Also, corruption does not appear to be as much at the forefront of political life as under the previous regimes.

The USG is involved in a number of initiatives aimed at strengthening Pakistan's civil society and helping the country prepare for its transition to democracy and for free and fair elections by October 2002. However, we are limited in the types of programs we can support, due to a number of bilateral sanctions including sanctions triggered by the military coup (Section 508 of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act) and nuclear-related sanctions. This has restricted our ability to support democratic reform. However, since 1995, through an exception to the sanctions that allows for nongovernmental assistance, we have funded a Pakistan NGO Initiative (PNI) to support civil society in the areas of education, health, empowerment of women and micro-credit finance. PNI has enabled over 9,000 girls to receive schooling, over 10,000 women to gain access to credit and over 150,000 community members to gain access to better health facilities.

In addition, in the coming months, we will be implementing programs through NGO's that strengthen civil society's participation in the country's democratic development and that promote political party reform (FY 2000-02, approximately \$3 million in Economic Support Funds).

Thanks to legislation spearheaded by Senator Brownback and enacted in FY 2001, authority now exists that allows the United States to engage the Pakistan government directly in the area of basic education. We are now working with USAID to implement a program to increase access to and improve the quality of primary education in Pakistan. We view improving Pakistan's weak education system as key to addressing many of the economic, political and social problems in Pakistan. In FY

2001, \$2 million has been allocated to improve basic education in Pakistan. We hope to increase this amount in the out years.

On the economy, General Musharraf has put together an able economic team, which has crafted an ambitious economic reform agenda. Last year the IMF approved an economic stabilization package for Pakistan that required some difficult reforms. The seriousness with which the Government has begun to implement these reforms has earned it credibility with the creditor and donor community. While Pakistan's economic performance this year has been mixed, it has stayed on track on its reform, and thus qualified for the second tranche of IMF funding. Exports and the manufacturing sector have picked up, but a serious drought and water shortage will have a significant adverse impact on the agricultural sector, which will ripple through the economy. So far our approach has been to express support for the economic reforms that are necessary for a sustained economic recovery. We have also supported the January Paris Club rescheduling of Pakistan debt. An economically stable and prosperous Pakistan is in the U.S. interest.

Question:

Do you anticipate that as part of your request for additional funds, you will provide for more resources for the Colombian National Police? Right now, I understand that they have a desperate need for supply planes. Are we going to consider Colombia's requests for supply planes, spare parts and other operating expenses, which the CNP needs?

Answer:

There will be additional funding for the Colombian National Police (CNP) in the FY 2002 request. Our response will consider the totality of the CNP request, as made through our Embassy in Bogota, and will be prioritized within the funds available. In other words we will work through our Embassy with the CNP to fill their priority needs. That said, our contribution was never envisioned as being able to satisfy all of Colombia's operational needs, and we knew from the beginning that the Government of Colombia's contribution, as well as those from other donors, would become critical factors vis-a-vis expanded operations in Colombia.

HAITI: ARISTIDE—ACTION AND PROMISES

Question:

Have we made it clear or are we going to make it clear to Mr. Aristide after having spent billions of dollars to try to help that country that our priority toward his government will be determined by constructive action on his part rather than mere promises?

Answer:

President Bush wrote to President Aristide on February 13 and, noting that Aristide has pledged to resolve the controversies that impede Haiti's progress expressed our conviction that Aristide's December eight-point commitment to rectify election problems and address other serious issues is a starting point for realigning the relationship between our two countries.

We have further informed President Aristide, through our Ambassador to Haiti, that a national accord resolving the electoral impasse is a minimal prerequisite for our consideration of much-needed bilateral assistance and a potentially favorable U.S. view on renewed lending from the international financial institutions.

SECURITY SETBACK FOR NEW EMBASSIES

Question:

This committee has held numerous oversight hearings on embassy security. One of the critical security issues facing embassies all around the world is establishing a 100-foot physical setback, required since the Inman Report. This setback helps defend our employees against terrorist attacks. I believe that 80 percent of our embassies do not meet the setback requirement at present.

In your written testimony, you indicate that you are willing to settle for a setback as small as 50 feet in some circumstances. Are you prepared to demonstrate to the Committee that a reduced setback, when combined with those other physical steps you seem to be prepared to approve, will provide the same level of physical (blast) protection as a 100 foot setback when combined with the other physical barriers now required?

Answer:

The Department of State is committed to providing a secure work environment for all our overseas personnel. However, in some circumstances, the Department

may simply not have the option of procuring a site that would allow for a full 100 feet of setback. That decision is based not on a single factor, but on the totality of circumstances, which must be reconciled as the Department moves forward to meet its obligations. If a 100 foot setback is not attainable given the realities faced, does compromising on setback still afford a significantly improved and secure environment for our employees? The decision is made based on input from multiple sources. Integral in the process is the exploitation of every opportunity to mitigate the lack of setback. These methods may include better reinforcing the structure from blast, taking advantage of topographic features, or other anti-blast methodology.

Congress has provided the Secretary with waiver authority from the legislatively mandated requirement to provide 100 feet of setback and to collocate our personnel. These methods may include enhanced building wall construction, taking advantage of topographic features, or other anti-blast methodology.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE TOM LANTOS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE
OF CALIFORNIA

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Question:

What is the U.S. going to do to reinvigorate the Lusaka process in the DRC? Does the U.S. condone the continued occupation of the DRC by Rwandan and Ugandan troops? What security guarantees is the U.S. prepared to give to the Rwandans to reassure them that the genocide of 1994 will not be revisited upon them? What does the Secretary envision as the appropriate role for U.N. peacekeepers in the Congo?

Answer:

The Lusaka process has been reinvigorated by the willingness of the new government of the DRC to engage in the process. We welcome the progress that the parties have made on withdrawal of troops and deployment of U.N. observers. We also welcome the progress made on the preparations for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue. The process is generally proceeding well. We will continue to urge the parties to meet their commitments to the Lusaka process.

The Lusaka Agreement calls for the ultimate withdrawal of all foreign forces. We have never condoned the occupation of the Congo by Rwandan and Ugandan troops. We believe that the parties can best resolve this issue through the framework of the Lusaka process.

The security of Congo's neighbors is another essential element of the Lusaka Agreement. The Agreement recognizes Rwanda's legitimate security concerns about the presence in the Congo of those who participated in the 1994 genocide. The governments of Congo and Rwanda are discussing the difficult issue of disarmament of these armed groups in the context of the Lusaka Agreement. We will work with the parties to ensure that individuals who are responsible for the genocide and other atrocities are brought to justice. We encourage continued talks to resolve the disarmament issue in a manner that will satisfy Rwanda's security concerns. It will ultimately be a matter for the Lusaka parties to deal with the issue of disarmament. Disarmament of the dangerous armed groups in the Congo is not an appropriate role for U.N. peacekeepers and it is not part of the U.N. Security Council mandate.

The role of the U.N. peacekeepers is to verify disengagement and withdrawal of military forces.

LIBERIA AND THE WEST AFRICA CRISIS

Question:

What will be the new Administration's approach to this regional crisis and Liberian President Charles Taylor, in particular?

Answer:

This Administration is deeply concerned by the continuing violence, instability, and suffering in West Africa, particularly Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea. The Administration believes that President Taylor's continued support for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels in Sierra Leone contributes to this tragic situation.

On May 7, a ban on the import of rough diamonds from Liberia and a travel ban on senior Liberian government officials took effect as part of UN Resolution 1343. We sponsored this resolution which passed unanimously March 7 and immediately strengthened the 1992 arms embargo on Liberia. We will work closely with the UN

Liberia sanctions committee to achieve effective enforcement of these sanctions, which are aimed at severing Liberia's support to the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels in Sierra Leone. We are exploring a number of other options, possibly including additional sanctions, to convince Liberia to forego its negative role in the subregion.

Liberian sanctions are part of our comprehensive strategy to stop the conflict, address humanitarian needs, and enhance stability throughout the region. We also support the existing strong mandate for the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), which is now deployed deep into RUF territory and is planning additional deployments so that the Government of Sierra Leone can extend its authority throughout the country. In addition, we support the establishment of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which will bring to justice those bearing the greatest responsibility for violations of international humanitarian law. Also, we are working closely with countries in the region, through our train and equip program—Operation *Focus Relief*—and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to increase the political and military pressure on the RUF to comply with its commitments to disarm and demobilize. The United States also provides about \$50 million per year in humanitarian assistance to Sierra Leone, the largest single source. Further, we are providing economic, humanitarian, and non-lethal military assistance to Guinea to help it deal with the humanitarian and security impact of RUF attacks across its borders and provide for the nearly 500,000 refugees and 100,000 internally-displaced persons in areas affected by the fighting.

AFRICAN CRISIS RESPONSE INITIATIVE FUNDING

Question:

The African Crisis Response Initiative was developed to give Africa the capability to respond more quickly to crises on its continent than if it had to wait for the mobilization of forces under the U.N. command. Given the many wars on the continent, will the Administration continue to support and full fund ACRI?

Answer:

The enhanced capacity for peacekeeping and complex humanitarian response that ACRI partnership Provides has permitted the participants to join in peace support or humanitarian relief operations mandated by African subregional organizations or coalitions of the willing. For example, Mali and Ghana sent forces to Sierra Leone as part of the ECOWAS peacekeeping force. Benin sent a contingent, at the urging of ECOWAS, to restore order following political upheaval in Guinea-Bissau, while Senegal sent peacekeepers to the Central African Republic. Malawi put its ACRI equipment to constructive use responding to the Mozambique floods.

Discussions are underway to improve and enhance the program while responding to continuing African requests to meet changing peacekeeping conditions on the continent. The Administration is requesting full funding, \$20 million, for the program in FY 2002.

GLOBAL AIDS CRISIS

Question:

Seventy-five percent of HIV infections are in Africa, where resources to confront the epidemic are most scarce. According to CDC, a 15-year-old boy in South Africa has almost a 70 percent chance of dying of AIDS. In neighboring Botswana, his chances are nearly 90 percent.

How will the State Department assist Africa in addressing this issue? Are there any plans to increase the number of USAID personnel assigned abroad to work in this area? Will the level of funding for HIV/AIDS increase this year?

Answer:

The United States continues its strong commitment to addressing international HIV/AIDS issues. President Bush's FY2002 budget proposal reflects the U.S. commitment to curb new infections, help those with HIV/AIDS, and work to find a cure.

The budget proposal includes \$480 million in overall funding to fight the international HIV/AIDS epidemic. The Department is seeking a 10% increase over FY 2001 request levels for USAID, bringing the USAID budget to more than \$350 million in HIV/AIDS prevention and assistance. In FY 2001, about two-thirds of USAID's HIV/AIDS-fighting expenditures will be in sub-Saharan Africa. We anticipate a similar proportion in FY 2002.

Between 1992 and 1999, the number of USAID foreign service employees working overseas declined by 40 percent due largely to budget cuts. These underlying staffing shortages are now compounded by the need to add technical expertise in new

areas of program emphasis, including reduction of mother-to-child transmission. USAID Administrator Natsios is aware of these challenges, and he and I will work to assess critical staffing needs of Missions abroad and develop strategies to meet those needs.

I co-chair with Secretary Thompson a new cabinet-level task force to ensure that the US Government's international HIV/AIDS policy is well coordinated and reflects a wide range of sectoral interests.

We are working with our G-8 partners and the U.N. to have all partners meet their commitments for funding HIV/AIDS prevention, care, and treatment.

The Administration is supportive of the goals of those who have suggested the establishment of an international trust fund for HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria. We are urgently considering how this can best be done.

GLOBAL HIV/AIDS CRISIS

Question:

Why was the multilateral strategy, the World Bank AIDS Trust Fund, not included in the Budget Blue Print presented by the President for FY 01?

Answer:

The Budget Blueprint did not address specific program allocation levels. However, as part of the overall \$369 million included in the President's Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, \$20 million is included to support the HIV/AIDS Trust Fund.

Question:

In the President's Blue Print, there is not a funding request assigned to the AIDS crisis in Africa or globally. What level of funding should we expect from the Administration and the State Department? And how can we ensure that neither agencies, regions of the world, or other global health programs will be traded off for one another in the year-end negotiations?

Answer:

The President's FY 02 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations provides for \$369 million for USAID in international assistance for HIV/AIDS programs around the world. Of this, the greatest part, \$190 million, is specifically budgeted for African countries under the expanded response. Most of this money is contained in the Child Survival and Infectious Diseases budget category specifically designated to these programs. We would hope that the Administration's FY02 budget request is fully funded to obviate the need for trade-offs that would adversely affect other global health programs.

Question:

What will the State Department do to provide badly needed life saving AIDS drugs to desperately ill people?

Answer:

The U.S. is working with international partners to help make HIV/AIDS drugs more accessible to developing nations. In our programs, we will train health providers and strengthen health delivery systems in order to provide better care. We will also procure diagnostic tests, and drugs in order to fight the opportunistic infections associated with HIV, especially tuberculosis. This should prolong life and enhance the quality of life for the greatest majority of persons living with HIV/AIDS. We will provide the antiviral drug, nevirapine, to inhibit mother-to-child transmission of HIV infection, to both mother and newborn. We will partner with governments and other health care providers to establish pilot projects to evaluate the feasibility of using antiretrovirals more extensively in low resource settings.

TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

Question:

You have the good fortune of being Secretary of State during the implementation of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, which passed the Congress last year. In order to ensure that this issue continues to get a significant amount of interest, will you ensure that the Department establishes a separate office with a high-level director that reports directly to you? Will you personally take a leadership role in ensuring that other agencies coordinate and address this issue intensely?

Answer:

Trafficking in persons, especially women and children, is a serious human rights abuse and criminal issue. As chair of the Cabinet-level Anti-Trafficking Task Force, I will coordinate with other government agencies to ensure the full implementation of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.

At the State Department, we are in the process of establishing the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons and looking at possible high-level candidates for the directorship. The director will have access to Under Secretary Dobriansky, the Deputy Secretary Armitage and me.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Question:

I believe it is important to make sure that U.S. military assistance and U.S. arms sales do not get into the hands of people who commit human rights violations. Don't you agree that some portion of the money set aside for U.S. security assistance should be used to make sure this does not happen in the future?

Answer:

We are already obligated under section 563 of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act (P.L. 106-429) (the "Leahy Amendment") not to provide any of the funds made available by that act to any unit of the security forces of a foreign country if the Secretary of State has credible evidence that such unit has committed gross violations of human rights, unless the Secretary determines that the government of such country is taking effective measures to bring the responsible members of the security forces unit to justice. The annual DOD Appropriations Act (P.L. 106-259) contains a similar provision applicable to training programs. We are committed to implementing the Leahy Amendment.

Furthermore, we leverage U.S. assistance to encourage host nation governments to prevent such violations and to hold persons who commit such violations accountable.

Therefore, we prefer not to divert security assistance funds for an alternative monitoring process.

ARMS CONTROL/MISSILE DEFENSE

Question:

Some have claimed that the ABM Treaty originally concluded between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. no longer exists, since the Soviet Union no longer exists. Is it the Administration's view that the ABM Treaty is currently binding on the United States? Is it the Administration's position that we should dispose of the ABM Treaty even before we have a technologically proven and reliable system to deploy? Is the Bush Administration's NMD system designed to be effective against China's nuclear forces?

Answer:

As the President made clear in his May 1 speech, this Administration is treating the ABM Treaty as in effect. That said, the 1972 ABM Treaty reflects the thinking of the Cold War.

We seek to work together with Russia to replace the ABM Treaty with a new framework that reflects a break from the past adversarial relationship and that reflects a new, cooperative relationship based on openness, mutual confidence, and real cooperation including the area of missile defense.

Our missile defenses will not be a threat to China or any other state—except to those who would use missiles to attack or blackmail the United States or our allies.

PEACEKEEPING

Question:

Do you anticipate that the Bush Administration will end its support for any of the existing UN peacekeeping missions around the world? If so, which ones? In terms of peacemaking operations to stop potential genocides around the world, what standards will you use to determine whether to initiate or participate in these operations, and how are those standards different than the ones used by the Clinton Administration?

Answer:

We do not anticipate ending our support for any of the current fifteen UN peacekeeping operations.

As a permanent member of the Security Council with veto power, the United States supported these operations in the beginning and has voted in favor of renewal because we believed it was in our best interest and because it allows us to address serious security problems while sharing the burden.

We are firmly committed to making UN peacekeeping as effective as possible and keeping these operations under review. We will consult with the Congress on new developments. The U.S. has a continuing obligation, as the most prosperous nation and sole superpower, to support these operations.

Our evaluation of any proposed peacekeeping operation will first consider whether it advances U.S. interests. Then we will assess the level of international interest to see if adequate support for a multilateral operation exists. We will insist on having clear objectives, an acceptable level of risk, and a reasonable duration with a realistic exit strategy and end-state.

These are the same criteria used by the previous administration. The difference will be in how they are evaluated. The President has made it clear that we will be examining peacekeeping proposals in a far more critical way to ensure they are effective and further U.S. interests.

SPECIAL ENVOYS

Question:

The State Department has announced that it will be cutting back on Special Envoys to the Middle East, Cyprus and other regions in conflict. In the absence of these Special Envoys, what is the new modus operandi for dealing with these conflicts?

Answer:

A reduction in the number of special envoys is a decision that reflects no diminution of interest on our part in dealing with particular challenges; to the contrary, where we eliminate a special envoy it will be because we believe the work can better be done—more efficiently and more effectively, that is—by the State Department bureau responsible for that issue. I want to empower the existing bureaus to do their jobs. These bureaus are staffed by talented professionals who know their areas and who have the requisite expertise to promote U.S. national interests.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIOLENCE

Question:

In statements made by President Bush and by your State Department spokesman, the unprovoked Palestinian violence against Israeli citizens has been treated in largely equivalent terms as the Israeli government's efforts to protect Israeli citizens against that violence. Does the Administration really view the Israeli government's efforts to restore order and protect its citizens as being equivalent to the organized violence being carried out by Palestinian terrorists?

Answer:

Both sides have a responsibility to break the cycle of violence. The United States has made very clear to the Palestinians that they must carry out their responsibilities to prevent continued provocative acts of violence emanating from areas under their control. That includes shootings, bombings, and mortar attacks. These attacks undermine efforts to defuse the situation and bring an end to violence.

CONTROL OF IRAQI REVENUES

Question:

What is to prevent Saddam Hussein from substituting assets lost through "smart" sanctions with assets derived from the increased flow of commerce which will result from lifting the present sanctions?

Answer:

The new Iraq policy is designed to strengthen controls on Iraq's ability to acquire weapons and weapons-related materials through tighter control of Iraq's oil revenues and increased border and export controls. At the same time, the new policy expands Iraq's range of trade in civilian goods.

Similar to the current Oil-for-Food program, Iraq will be allowed to export unlimited amounts of oil. Purchasers will deposit payment into UN-approved escrow accounts outside of Iraq's control. Iraq will be allowed to contract with suppliers for civilian goods. The suppliers will be paid directly from the escrow accounts. Iraq will at no time have access to funds in the escrow accounts. Consequently, increased civilian trade will not lead to direct Iraqi control of revenues.

Question:

After President Bush's meeting with Prime Minister Blair, the President announced support for the European Defense Initiative. What assurances did he receive that this proposal will not jeopardize the operations of NATO? At a time when European Defense budgets are shrinking to the point where there is emerging a "generation gap" between their weaponry and ours, how do they intend to meet their NATO commitment and at the same time develop a new defense structure?

Answer:

During their meeting in February, British Prime Minister Tony Blair reassured President Bush that the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) is intended for circumstances where NATO as a whole chooses not to be engaged militarily as an Alliance. The President welcomed Prime Minister Blair's assurances that ESDP would be developed to make Europe a stronger, more capable partner in deterring and managing crises affecting the security of the transatlantic community.

At the 1999 Washington Summit, Allies affirmed that "a stronger European role will help contribute to the vitality of our Alliance for the 21st century." In this regard, we welcome the determination of our European Allies to reinforce the Alliance's European pillar through strengthening their military capabilities and avoiding unnecessary duplication. We note that the EU Headline Goal capability is not a separate force or standing army. We also note that because most European countries contribute military assets and capabilities to both NATO and the EU, the two organizations will draw upon the same pool of European forces. We are, therefore, seeking to ensure that NATO and EU efforts are coherent and mutually reinforcing so that increases in defense spending support mutually compatible NATO and EU goals.

SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENT MEDIA IN RUSSIA

Question:

Recently, the Russian Government has been putting pressure on independent media sources in Russia. Do you agree that the U.S. needs to continue and find new ways to support independent media in Russia?

Answer:

A free press is crucial for Russia's continued democratic development. Supporting the growth of strong, vibrant, independent media is one of our highest priorities. We are providing assistance to both print and broadcast media through production grants and training and by consulting with them on how best to promote their economic viability and make them more effective advocates for journalistic freedom.

We are consulting with other donors to develop a joint response to the immediate crisis and to help prevent other outlets from meeting the same fate as NTV, Itogi and Segodnya.

We will also examine media assistance in the Administration's overall review of our Russian assistance programs, a process that we hope to complete by late June.

CHANGES IN NIS ASSISTANCE

Question:

What changes, if any, in democracy, good governance, support for independent media and other non-ETRI (Enhanced Threat Reduction Initiative) assistance funds do you envision? What level of resources does the State Department consider to be sufficient for this effort?

Answer:

Our FY 2002 request for the FREEDOM Support Act (FSA) for the New Independent States (NIS) totals \$808 million, of which over 90 percent would be directed to non-ETRI programs that support democratic and market reform.

This budget request would direct a larger share of funds than last year towards promoting change at the grassroots of NIS societies, by supporting exchanges that bring NIS citizens—including large numbers of young people—to the U.S. for first-hand exposure to our system; strengthening NGOs; increasing Internet access; and aiding pro-reform regional and local governments. With freedom of the press under threat in many countries of the region, the most notable change next year will be an increase in support for the independence and viability of the media.

RUSSIAN PRESSURE ON GEORGIA AND AZERBAIJAN

Question:

Although the U.S. has continued to strongly protest Russia's pressure on the government of Georgia, including the imposition of a visa regime and an interruption of gas deliveries for Georgia's power plants, the situation has not improved. What specifically is the U.S. doing to ensure that the sovereignty of Georgia and Azerbaijan is not threatened by the Russians? How far is the U.S. prepared to go to protect Georgia's sovereignty?

Answer:

The United States strongly supports the independence and sovereignty of Georgia and Azerbaijan. There are a number of programs and initiatives in place—both bilateral and multilateral—to help us counter Russian pressure tactics, and we will continue and build on them.

Pressure on the countries of the South Caucasus is a standing agenda item in our bilateral contacts with Russian officials, and we coordinate carefully with our European partners on this issue. Over the last two years, the United States has spearheaded diplomatic and assistance initiatives, both through the OSCE and bilaterally, to prevent spillover into Georgia and Azerbaijan of Russia's campaign in Chechnya, to demand full and timely implementation of Russia's Istanbul Summit commitment to withdraw military equipment and close military bases in Georgia,⁷ and to counteract Russia's interruption of energy supplies to Georgia. At present we are actively assisting the Georgians to develop strategies to prevent energy shortfalls next winter. The United States remains committed to supporting Georgia and Azerbaijan's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Most importantly, U.S. assistance priorities are focused on helping to develop the long-term capacities—protecting their borders, and meeting their citizens' material and social needs—that will render the South Caucasus vulnerable to external threats.

EAST TIMOR: US SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

Question:

East Timor is on the verge of independence after decades of rule by Indonesians. However, thousands were killed in East Timor's struggle for independence, hundreds of thousands displaced, and Indonesian-supported militias destroyed almost all of East Timor's infrastructure as that burned their way to West Timor. Doesn't it make sense to continue to support the multilateral efforts underway to develop East Timor's economy and its security situation so that it won't become permanently dependent on international aid? Shouldn't we be encouraging American firms to become involved in East Timor, and reduce barriers to East Timorese exports to the U.S.?

Answer:

The U.S. and the international community as a whole have been heavily engaged in working with the East Timorese in the reconstruction of their country and preparing for independence later this year. Part of this preparation has been laying the groundwork for a thriving private sector that will allow East Timor to become a full participant in the international economy.

Towards this end, such physical infrastructure as electricity, roads, telephones and roads have been re-established. A monetary and fiscal authority is in place, two banks have established themselves, and schools, including a university, have been reopened to provide the economy with skilled workers. Much, however, remains to be done. Investment law needs to be put in place, longstanding property disputes need to be resolved so that investors have secure title to physical assets and, most importantly, negotiations with Australia over the sea bed energy assets between the two countries must come to a successful conclusion. This alone would bring in significant tax and royalty revenue, create employment and demonstrate how East Timor deals with major foreign investors, in this case, a major American oil firm.

Through USAID, the US has been the most active of all East Timor's donors in growing the agriculture sector into an export-producing industry. The East Timor coffee cooperative is an USAID inspired project which has been successful in bringing thousands of farmers together to produce organic coffee for the international market, including Starbucks. This project will be expanded to include other agricultural products such as vanilla. These projects not only generate export earnings but absorb large quantities of labor in a country that is still largely rural.

As East Timor becomes independent and its new administration sets its economic policies, we will continue to be supportive of Timorese efforts to create an economy which will lessen their current dependence on foreign assistance.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Question:

The budget blue print made reference to "delaying the bureaucracy" and reducing the number of middle management positions in the State Department. Can you elaborate on this? Are you planning to reorganize the State Department?

Answer:

Secretary Powell has made clear that he will not embark on a grand scheme of reorganization of the Department. That said, there will be individual organizational changes to increase the efficiency of the Department's operations. Twenty-three special envoy positions were eliminated as a way to reduce layers of bureaucracy and clarify lines of authority. Those functions were woven back into the operations of existing Bureaus. In four months the Secretary will review six additional "special envoy" titles for possible elimination. Seven titles required by legislation were retained.

The Secretary is also planning to reorganize the Department's budget and planning authorities to achieve organizational unity with respect to financial management, strategic planning, and budget activities. This proposed reorganization will improve and strengthen the coordination of budget formulation, presentation, and execution responsibilities.

The Department is continuing to implement the human resource recommendations of the Report of the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel (OPAP). Many of these recommendations: developing a comprehensive human resources strategy, reshaping the reporting and policy functions, and supporting the concept of small posts, are designed to streamline operations and enhance the Department's effectiveness.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY THE HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

LIBYA

Question:

What actions are you and the Administration taking to ensure that sanctions against Libya are not removed before the country (1) accepts responsibility for the actions of its officials, (2) pays compensation to the families, and (3) renounces terrorism?

Answer:

Following the verdict in the Pan Am 103 trial, we launched an extensive diplomatic effort to maintain international pressure on Libya to comply with the demands outlined in UN Security Council resolutions. We enlisted the support of Security Council members and of other countries that lost nationals in the bombing of Pan Am 103. Our efforts continue. We, along with the United Kingdom, have also met with Libya's permanent representative to the United Nations to outline the remaining requirements that Libya must satisfy.

As President Bush said, we will continue to pressure Libya to accept responsibility for this act and to compensate the families of the Pan Am 103 victims.

As noted in this year's annual State Department report on terrorism, Libya has taken some positive steps on terrorism, including issuing official statements renouncing terrorism. We now wish to ascertain if these steps reflect a new policy. A Libyan decision to pay appropriate compensation and accept responsibility for the actions of Libyan officials in connection with this crime would be a strong indicator of a new direction in Libyan policy.

The burden is on Libya to act in its own interest. We will sustain our diplomatic effort as long as necessary.

Question:

As you know, the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act of 1996 will expire this August. Has the Administration considered reimposing the sanctions or adding new ones in light of Libya's refusal to renounce terrorism?

Answer:

The Administration has not yet determined a position on the question of ILSA renewal. Noting the August expiration date, we will have some thoughts to share with the Congress in moving forward together on this matter. In the aftermath of the Lockerbie verdict, we are continuing to work to secure full Libyan compliance with

UN Security Council Resolutions, especially acceptance of responsibility and payment of appropriate compensation. As noted in this year's annual State Department report on terrorism, Libya has taken some positive steps on terrorism, including issuing official statements renouncing terrorism. We now wish to ascertain if these steps reflect a new policy or are simply a tactical maneuver.

NORTHERN IRELAND: IMPLEMENTATION OF PATTEN REFORMS

Question:

Does the State Department believe the Patten reforms are being fully implemented?

Answer:

We strongly support the goals of the Patten Report—to take the politics out of policing and establish a service that enjoys the support of the community as a whole. Police reform along the lines of the Patten Report recommendations is one essential building block of peace in Northern Ireland.

Implementation of the Patten recommendations is still ongoing. The process has not yet concluded. We support the efforts of the parties and the governments to overcome the difficulties surrounding this matter and to ensure that such a service is established. We will monitor developments closely and prepare a report for Congress in accordance with the law.

NORTHERN IRELAND: ADVANCING POLICING REFORM

Question:

What do you believe we can do in the interim to help to advance policing reform in Northern Ireland—so that more and more Catholic nationalists are attracted to careers in the new police service—to integrate a 93 percent Protestant police force?

Answer:

We can support the goals of the Patten Report—taking the politics out of policing and establishing a force that enjoys the support of the community as a whole. However, it is up to the parties and the governments to determine whether that process is successful. We will look at appropriate training and other cooperation consistent with U.S. law once that force is in place.

NORTHERN IRELAND: ROLE OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE PEACE PROCESS

Question:

How would you respond to the assessment that the distancing of the Department of State and the National Security Council from the peace process until it is appropriate or the United States is asked to return could ultimately cause the collapse of the process?

Answer:

The substance of this Administration's policy will continue to reflect the bipartisan consensus in this country that supports the Good Friday Agreement; our approach will differ in that the State Department, as the Cabinet agency charged with conducting foreign policy, will have the lead operational role. But we are all carrying out the President's policy, and the President has told Prime Ministers Blair and Ahern that he will help in any way he can.

Working with colleagues here in Washington and at our posts in Belfast, Dublin and London, Richard Haass, the Administration's point person for Northern Ireland, will work to ensure the United States fully supports the British and Irish governments and the parties in their efforts to implement the Good Friday Agreement. Clearly, the intensity required will fluctuate depending on events on the ground.

We expect that a more active phase of intra-government and intra-party negotiations will recommence after expected British Westminster elections. The British and Irish governments and the parties to the Good Friday Agreement know that we are willing to offer our good offices, in any way that might be appropriate.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM
AMERICAN SAMOA

ARMS CONTROL/MISSILE DEFENSE

Question:

Is it wise to invest tens, if not hundreds, of billions of dollars in a program that threatens the ABM Treaty and arms control efforts, is opposed by many of our European allies and the international community, and is of questionable technology—when NMD will do nothing to make our nation more safe against terrorist attacks using weapons of mass destruction that can presently be delivered by low-tech means over land or sea?

Answer:

The President has established as a top priority for the Administration the deployment at the earliest possible date of effective ballistic missile defenses, based on the best available options, that are capable of defending not only the U.S. but also friends and allies and deployed forces overseas.

The new threats that we face, especially from weapons of mass destruction and long-range ballistic missiles, are growing. It is these threats that are at issue, not defenses against them.

The United States today faces threats from diverse, unpredictable, and risk-prone states that are aggressively seeking to develop or acquire weapons of mass destruction and longer-range missiles as a means of their delivery.

CHINA: DEMONIZATION

Question:

Mr. Secretary, now that we have prevailed in the Cold War, there is a tendency by some to want to replace the former Soviet Union with China as the greatest enemy and threat to the security of the United States. What are your thoughts on the “demonization” of China, and is it productive or counterproductive?

Answer:

I do not believe that China has been “demonized” in the United States. Our policy should be and is based on a clear-eyed assessment of our interests, which include our values. As I have said before, 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. We want to cooperate with China where we can. At the same time, we intend to hold China to its bilateral and multilateral commitments and to international norms of behavior generally and on human rights in particular. We should not and will not keep silent if China does not respect these commitments and norms. This is not demonization; this is giving expression to our national values and principles and is a normal component of any country’s foreign policy.

CHINA: HANDLING THORNY ISSUES

Question:

To encourage China to become a responsible member of the international community, how should we go about handling thorny issues with China over Taiwan, human rights abuses, and nonproliferation concerns?

Answer:

As the President has said we will be frank, but respectful. We seek to build constructive relations with China based on dialogue on the issues where we agree as well as disagree.

PACIFIC ISLANDS

Question:

Congress has passed legislation recognizing the importance of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the Pacific Island nations and urging that the Administration call a summit meeting with the Pacific Island heads of government and state. The Pacific Ocean covers one-third of the earth’s surface and the 22 Pacific Island nations and territories wield control over millions of square miles of the ocean. These vast tracts of ocean encompass productive fisheries, undersea minerals and important sea lanes—vital assets in the future of the global economy. Asian nations, such as Japan,

China and South Korea, recognize this and have made heavy diplomatic investments in the region to promote their interests.

For economic as well as strategic reasons, the United States should not permit other nations to step into the vacuum created by the lack of a strong U.S. policy and presence in the region. To protect our interests, many have urged that the United States government convene a summit meeting with the leaders of the Pacific Island nations to improve diplomatic relations.

What are your thoughts on such an initiative?

Answer:

The United States enjoys good diplomatic relations with and appreciates the strategic and environmental importance of the Pacific island nations. It actively cooperates with many of these nations to protect fishing stocks, to protect the environment and to combat international crime in the Pacific region. The United States believes its current bilateral and multilateral cooperation with Pacific island nations provides for a strong presence and effectively addresses our most important policy interests in the region.

Given prevailing regional peace and stability and the U.S. Government's good relations with states there, we do not believe a regional summit is necessary.

THE GLOBE

Question:

Mr. Secretary, there is a growing consensus that global climate change is occurring, and that nations must engage in a good faith process to find solutions. United Nations studies project that in the next century, the Earth may warm by as much as six degrees centigrade, raising sea levels by 50 centimeters or almost 20 inches. Already, rising sea levels threaten the existence of low-lying island nations in the South Pacific, such as the Solomons, Marshall Islands and Kiribati, and have caused massive flooding in Bangladesh, Egypt, and China. Many consider global climate change to be the most challenging environmental issue to ever face our generation and generations to come.

Even the initial skepticism over global warming expressed by many U.S. businesses has been replaced by an acknowledgement of the problem, as evidenced by the adoption of emissions-reduction targets more stringent than the Kyoto Protocol by major companies like IBM, Johnson and Johnson, and Polaroid. Major auto and oil companies, such as Ford and Amoco, have declared reduction of carbon dioxide to be a top priority.

The United States has four percent of the world's population but is responsible for almost 25 percent of the carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere, the main cause of global warming. As the world's per capita leader in fossil fuel emissions, polls have shown that Americans see climate change as a serious threat and want our government to take measures. Mr. Secretary, given these concerns, what are your plans to move forward the Kyoto Protocol at the upcoming UN climate summit to be held this May in Bonn?

Answer:

The Administration is currently undertaking a cabinet-level review of U.S. climate change policy. This review will consider what policies the United States should pursue domestically and internationally to more effectively and affordably address climate change.

We are aware of the IPCC projections regarding sea level rise, and we understand that small islands feel particularly vulnerable to sea level rise and other potential impacts of climate change. Unfortunately, the Kyoto Protocol would do little, if anything, to stem sea level rise because it exempts some of the largest emitters in the world. The Administration opposes the Kyoto Protocol for this reason and because it would cause serious economic harm to the United States.

Since the U.S. is a party to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), we intend to participate in the upcoming resumed session of the Sixth Conference of the Parties (COP-6 bis) to the UNFCCC, which is scheduled to take place in Bonn July 16-27. However, our objectives for COP-6 bis will naturally depend on the results of our cabinet-level policy review. Moreover, at present it is not possible to foresee all the possible issues that will be raised at COP-6 bis and how they might be resolved. In the interim, we plan to continue to exchange views with other countries that are friends and allies as our policy review progresses. We are looking forward to working productively with other countries on an effective and fair response to the challenge of climate change.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE DAN BURTON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE
OF INDIANA

ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

I have been very concerned about the political situation in Kazakhstan. Over the last two years, I have had several groups, both from Kazakhstan and the U.S., come to me and express their deep concerns about President Nazerbayev's administration. I have been told that the judiciary lacks independence and that freedom of the press is virtually non-existent under the Nazerbayev administration. I have also been told that many people in Kazakhstan are quickly losing faith in democracy and, as a result, the influence of Islamic extremists is growing.

Question:

Could you tell me what strategies the State Department may be considering to confront the rise of Islamic extremism in Kazakhstan and throughout Central Asia?

Answer:

Islamic extremism poses a threat to Kazakhstan and other Central Asian states through acts of terrorism. In September 2000, the Secretary of State designated the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan a "Foreign Terrorist Organization" under U.S. law. U.S. counterterrorism efforts in Central Asia include fostering regional cooperation to address terrorist threats and promoting comprehensive counterterrorism strategies that incorporate respect for human rights and rule of law. The U.S. will host a second Central Asia Regional Counterterrorism Conference June 18-20 in Istanbul.

To help Kazakhstan prepare to combat transborder security threats, the U.S. will provide \$4 million in assistance and training under the Central Asia Security Initiative this year for border and export controls and over one million dollars in Anti-Terrorism Assistance to the Government of Kazakhstan. The U.S. will also provide over \$25 million in democratic and economic assistance for Kazakhstan's transition to a free-market democracy, the key to its long term security and stability.

BBG REDUCTION IN BROADCASTING TO TURKEY

Question:

On January 19, 2001, less than 24 hours before President Bush's inauguration, the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) announced a decision to reduce Voice of America's (VOA) broadcasting to Turkey. Currently, the VOA broadcasts in Turkish eight hours and 45 minutes a week. Under the new plan first announced by the Board, VOA Turkish broadcasting would have been cut to one hour and fifteen minutes a week. Later, the BBG revised its plan and increased Turkish broadcasting to three and one-half hours per week. Mr. Secretary, were you ever consulted by the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors regarding their recently announced plan to reduce VOA Turkish broadcasting? Do you support the cut to three hours and 30 minutes per week? Would you support restoring Turkish broadcasting back to eight hours and 45 minutes per week?

Answer:

In an annual review of language services January 10, at which the Department's representative was present, the BBG voted to eliminate VOA Turkish and replace it with an internet-based Turkish service. The Department advised the BBG against eliminating the VOA Turkish Service. We are pleased the BBG modified their original decision. We feel a half-hour daily program in Turkish, as ultimately decided by the BBG, is the minimum acceptable level of service.

Turkey is an important Ally and friend. We cooperate closely as NATO members and bilaterally on a vast range of issues. Turkey plays a vital role in the Middle East, where the BBG has decided to increase USG broadcasting. Through VOA and RFE/RL, the U.S. government broadcasts to all of Turkey's neighbors, including Greece. I believe it is just as important to present to the Turkish public in their national language the kind of news, information and analysis about America and its policies that the VOA provides to other publics in the region.

Although the dominant source of news and information in Turkey is now television, radio remains significant and considerably more widespread than the Internet.

The Department respects the BBG's expertise and authority on U.S. government international broadcasting and will continue to consult closely with them.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE ROBERT MENENDEZ, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF NEW JERSEY

DECLINE IN ASSISTANCE LEVELS FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Question:

Though the numbers are not yet official, and I know that you are fighting for more, the request this year will be for approximately \$448 million, about a 10 percent decrease from last year's figures. For a region that contains 17 percent of the world's countries, 13 percent of the globe's population, and fully 30 percent of the world's impoverished, this is not sustainable. How and where do you propose to do more?

Answer:

We do, in fact, propose to do far more in FY 2002 and our request level fully reflects that intention. Though our request level for Development Assistance funds (DA) is down marginally, our request level for Child Survival and Disease funds (CSD) increased slightly. More to the point, however, our request level for Economic Support Funds (ESF) is up by more than \$50 million over our appropriated level for FY 2001. Similarly, our International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE) request is up by 373% over the appropriated level for FY 2001. \$292.5 million of these INCLE funds are for alternative development and institution building. We will use these resources to take advantage of all opportunities to advance our foreign policy objectives in the region, with the foci of our expanded efforts on the Andes and on the Caribbean.

It is our intention, by parlaying our limited Economic Support Funds, Development Assistance funds and Child Survival and Disease resources with the proposed significant increases in International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement funds (INC), to augment our regional efforts in the Andes to address the social and political roots of the narcotics epidemic. Our resources in the Andean region will be focused upon providing alternatives to illicit narcotics production as a way of life, upon modernizing outmoded, inefficient and corrupt judicial systems, strengthening and modernizing democratic institutions and helping our regional allies provide their citizens with economic growth and safe, secure, neighborhoods to counter the climate of lawlessness which has fostered and sustained the explosive growth of illicit narcotics production and drug trafficking.

In the Caribbean,—our nation's vital "Third Border"—we are developing a package of targeted assistance that will enhance our cooperation with Caribbean partners to address the economic, health and educational deficiencies that have led to a decline in the quality of peoples' lives. The centerpiece of this "Third Border Initiative" is \$20 million in FY 2002 to further HIV/AIDS prevention and education programs in the region. Through President Bush's initiative to establish three "Centers for Excellence"—including one in the Caribbean and one in the Andes—we will make a down payment of \$10 million on promoting improved educational opportunities throughout the Americas.

In addition, in the coming year we intend to expend greater resources in Mexico to help President Fox to address corruption, promote education and to maintain the democratic momentum his election established. In El Salvador, 2002 will mark the second year of President Bush's two-year \$104 million commitment to assist that nation's recovery from the devastating earthquakes of earlier this year.

U.S. RESPONSE TO EARTHQUAKES IN EL SALVADOR

Question:

President Flores has asked for help; he's facing \$2.43 billion in reconstruction costs. What prospects do you see for the U.S. providing a reasonable amount of that aid?

Answer:

Various U.S. Government agencies have already provided \$27 million in emergency disaster relief. Earthquake reconstruction costs for El Salvador are estimated at between \$1.6 billion to \$2 billion. We have made a commitment to provide \$110 million in reconstruction assistance in FY 2001/02.

At the Madrid Consultative Group donors meeting on March 7, a total of \$1.3 billion in international assistance was pledged for El Salvador. The U.S. commitment represents a significant portion of the grants of new money contained in that figure.

THE DRUG WAR AND HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS

Question:

Our penchant for focusing first and foremost, when dealing with our neighbors to the South, on the flow of illicit narcotics out of their countries is beginning to harm our relations in the region. You have stated that "good relations with our hemispheric neighbors (is) a paramount priority." While the issue of drug control is an important one, the U.S. in the past few years has focused far too singularly at times on eradicating and interdicting drugs. Our relations and our priorities are beginning to suffer. Hopefully, your visit with President Bush to see President Fox in Mexico will help to better balance our focus. What else, though, do you see as concrete steps you will take toward picking up some of the issues that have been relatively neglected, such as democracy and civil society promotion, transparency, and anti-corruption, rule of law and judicial strengthening, environmental and labor issues and, overall importance, poverty reduction?

Answer:

Our key foreign policy objectives in the Hemisphere—fostering economic development, deepening and strengthening democracy and addressing the hemispheric scourge of transnational crime, including narcotics production, trafficking and consumption—are mutually supportive.

The illegal drug trade poses a significant threat to our efforts to strengthen democracy by undermining programs that promote civil society, transparency, the rule of law and anti-corruption. Similarly, our efforts to support economic growth, protection for the environment and progress on labor issues are undercut by the corruption, violence, and tremendous social havoc created by transnational crime, particularly narcotics trafficking.

The complexity of the problems in the region requires a comprehensive approach to solutions which will address our nations' goals in the region. None of the region's problems you highlight can be successfully addressed in isolation. After much consideration, the Administration has proposed to allocate approximately \$880 million in FY02 funds for an Andean Regional Initiative. This initiative, which is being briefed to Congress, will focus Economic Support Funds, Development Assistance, International Narcotics Control, Childhood Disease and Survival funds, and Foreign Military Financing to promote and support democracy, democratic institutions, and respect for human rights; address poverty by fostering sustainable economic development and trade liberalization; and significantly reduce the supply of illegal drugs to the United States at the source.

LATIN AMERICA

Question:

Colombia/Plan Colombia: Given the amount of money that we are providing Colombia in support of that country's Plan Colombia to eradicate illicit drugs, are we paying close enough attention to the problems and whether or not we are effectively working toward their solution?

Answer:

Yes. I think that one of the outstanding initiatives we have been able to pursue, with broad bipartisan support, is a realistic assessment of Colombia's problems, as well as its ability to respond. We have also developed a fluid and effective inter-agency response mechanism. Our support for Plan Colombia is structured as part of an integrated overall strategy, which looks at all the problems complex and inter-related as they are—as part of the whole. In that regard, we and the Colombians are monitoring our efforts and progress and trying to adapt to successes and mistakes and to an ever-changing environment.

Question:

I realize that you are doing away with many of special envoy positions at the State Department, but should we be considering a special coordinator for Colombia?

Answer:

No. During my transition into the Department of State, I specifically reviewed the organization and command structure for many of the Department's special programs, including our efforts in Colombia. I believe that the current organization, which includes weekly interagency coordination teleconferences and regular interaction between U.S. and Colombian officials, is working well. I am, in general, opposed to the proliferation of special coordinator positions.

Question:

Also, could you tell us what is being done to ensure that alternative development programs are working ahead of eradication efforts? And, are you willing to work with your colleagues in the White House and throughout the Bush Cabinet to make sure we are doing everything we can to bring down demand for illegal drugs in this country?

Answer:

Actually, aerial eradication and alternative development efforts are, in general, being conducted in different areas. We conduct alternative development where small family farms grow coca, and we focus our spraying on large-scale agro-industry coca plots. The timing of the voluntary eradication that accompanies alternative development projects depends on the farmers themselves, as they are responsible for the removal or their illegal crops during the initial twelve months of the program.

While the Department has a less significant role to play in domestic programs, my personal commitment to addressing drug issues in this country are widely known and supported by this Administration.

COLOMBIAN PEACE PROCESS

Question:

What is the Administration doing to support the Colombian Peace Process?

Answer:

The Administration shares President Pastrana's assessment that Colombia's inter-related problems of drugs, violence by guerrillas and paramilitaries, institutional weakness and poverty cannot be effectively resolved while illegal armed combatants continue to wreck havoc upon civilians. We also share President Pastrana's belief that Colombia's civil strife cannot be won by military means. We support President Pastrana's efforts to reach a negotiated settlement with both the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and National Liberation Army (ELN) guerrillas. We have publicly called upon the FARC and the ELN to reciprocate the Government's good-faith efforts.

The Colombian Government carefully manages its peace discussions with the FARC and ELN guerrillas. At the request of the Government and the guerrillas, the U.N. is playing a helpful role trying to advance the FARC and ELN peace discussions. Specific countries are also involved in the Colombian peace process, whether as active facilitators in the ELN/Government discussions or as essentially passive observers in the FARC/Government discussions. We welcome this international engagement. Although we frequently exchange views with the Colombian Government and others on the peace talks, we are not party to either of the peace talks.

BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL

Question:

The largest country in Latin America, Brazil, is a country very much like ours. Almost our equal in land mass, and with nearly 180 million inhabitants, and sharing much of the same history and many similar problems—both are rich with immigrants, and trouble by race relations; both have vast natural wealth, beauty and biodiversity, yet share threats to the environment and a similar rate of HIV/AIDS infection. Both, too, have great aspirations to be leaders in the region and the world. Yet it seems we rarely talk to each other about working together to address problems in the region of poverty, corruption, threats to democracy, drug flows, and the like. Do you envision greater cooperation in the future with Brazil?

Answer:

Our bilateral relationship with Brazil is outstanding. Since 1994, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's personal interest in developing an internationalist, forward-looking Brazilian foreign policy has created new opportunities for concrete bilateral cooperation. Traditionally, Brazil stressed non-interventionism in its international relations.

While Brazil's efforts to exercise leadership in South America and differences over trade issues often dominate the headlines, our governments are steadily developing a framework of agreements and consultative mechanisms to institutionalize our growing cooperation. Over the last two years, we have signed agreements strengthening cooperation on defense, energy, technology, law enforcement, and agriculture. We have been meeting annually to discuss our Common Agenda on the Environment since 1995. Regular diplomatic consultations provide opportunities to reiterate

our commitment to deepening our collaboration with the GOB on regional and global issues.

THREATS TO DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA

Question:

Democracy in Guatemala may be threatened as we speak. What would the State Department response be to an interruption to the constitutional, democratic order in Guatemala? What about recent or ongoing threats to democracy in Peru, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Paraguay? What will the State Department do to encourage human rights and democratic transition in Cuba, the only remaining state in the region without a democratically-elected government?

Answer:

REGION. In their Declaration at the Summit of the Americas in Quebec in April, the elected leaders of the Hemisphere firmly recommitted themselves to the rule of law and democratic government. They affirmed that any unconstitutional interruption of the democratic order in a state in the hemisphere would disqualify it from participation in the Summit process.

However, in a number of countries in the Hemisphere, weak democratic institutions, corruption, lawlessness, and poverty retard and threaten democratic progress. Regionally, we must promote democratic reforms to reinforce the institutions of democratic government, including the judiciary and civil society, and strengthen the economic underpinnings of democracy by promoting free and open trade.

GUATEMALA. Although democracy in Guatemala seemed at risk in early March, timely and resolute action by the organization of American States, with our support, to back democratic government and constitutional order averted a potential crisis. Our assistance program supports Guatemalan government efforts to pursue political reforms, open an inclusive political dialogue, and combat corruption to address some of the underlying causes of political instability.

PERU. With strong U.S. support, Peru has made substantial progress in strengthening democratic institutions. We provided funding for a special mission from the organization of American States (OAS) to establish a national dialogue in Peru to negotiate democratic reform. We also provided technical assistance, voter education, and observer mission funding to help Peru stage transparent and democratic national elections in April, to rectify the deeply flawed electoral process of May 2000. We plan to provide assistance for such long-term reforms as decentralization and improving civil-military relations.

VENEZUELA. Although Venezuelan democratic change to date has occurred through a series of free and fair elections, current trends bear watching. We will continue to monitor the situation closely, encourage the Venezuelan government to strengthen checks and balances, and look for opportunities to support Venezuelan civil society organizations dedicated to protecting democracy.

ECUADOR. Our quick response to threats to democracy in Ecuador in January 2000 persuaded military leaders and congressional deputies to restore order by installing constitutionally-elected Vice President Noboa as President. For the last 15 months, President Noboa has guided Ecuador toward economic and political stability, implementing reforms while addressing the demands of Ecuador's marginalized poor.

PARAGUAY. Despite a faltering economy and burgeoning fiscal deficit, Paraguay has shown remarkable ability to weather crises. With Argentina and Brazil, we have encouraged President Gonzalez Macchi to combat corruption and undertake reform measures to spur economic growth and build popular support. A U.S.-assisted OAS electoral observation team helped assure voter confidence during the election of the country's Vice-President.

CUBA. The fundamental goal of United States policy toward Cuba is to promote a peaceful transition to a stable, democratic form of government and respect for human rights. Our policy has three fundamental components: maintaining pressure on the Cuban government for change through the embargo and the Libertad Act, providing humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people and helping develop civil society in the country and addressing cross-border issues such as migration. We also pursue multilateral efforts to urge our friends and allies to actively promote a democratic transition and respect for human rights.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM
THE STATE OF FLORIDA

CHILD SURVIVAL COMMITMENT

Question:

Can you please comment on this Administration's commitment to child survival and can you assure me that funding will not be reduced in FY 2002 for these important programs.

Answer:

This Administration maintains a strong commitment to child survival. Despite the tremendous demands on our development assistance budget, we are providing a slight increase in FY 02 funding for child-survival and maternal health. We will continue our strong support of programs in diarrheal disease control, child nutrition including vitamin A distribution, treatment of acute respiratory infection, breastfeeding promotion, and the development of health technologies that improve child survival. Over the past 15 years, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), with Congress' support, has spent over \$3.5 billion on child survival programs, a period during which under-five mortality has fallen from 145 deaths per 1,000 live births to about 116 per 1,000 live births today.

IMPRISONED POLITICAL ACTIVISTS

Your report on Human Rights in Kazakhstan has mentioned the case of politically motivated imprisonment of two members of the opposition Republican Party of Kazakhstan, Pyotr Afanasenko and Satzhan Ibrayev. OSCE and international and domestic human rights observers charged that government prosecution and sentencing of them was politically motivated. Some Human Rights observers also criticized the authorities for incarcerating Afanasenko and Ibrayev in ordinary prisons rather than in special institutions created to protect former members of the security forces from possible retribution by other prisoners. Right now both political activists are experiencing continuous harassment and being held in inhumane conditions in the Gulag-style prison camps. Their lives are in danger.

Question:

What is our U.S. State Department or U.S. Embassy in Kazakhstan doing to raise this horrendous case with the Kazakhstani regime and to protect basic rights of two political activists?

Answer:

The U.S. Embassy in Kazakhstan reported on the arrests and trials of Afanasenko and Ibrayev, bodyguards to opposition figure leader Akezhan Kazhegeldin. Our 2000 Country Human Rights Report for Kazakhstan noted that although there could be a factual basis for the cases, international and domestic human rights groups have charged that government prosecution and sentencing of them was politically motivated. We regularly raise human rights concerns as a central issue of our relationship with Kazakhstan at the highest levels in both Kazakhstan and Washington. We specifically urge the Government of Kazakhstan to put more substance into its stated commitment to democracy and to allow the legitimate activities of a political opposition.

SILENCING POLITICAL OPPOSITION

Your report mentioned that Kazakh authorities confiscated the passport of Amirzhan Kosanov, an official of the opposition Republican Party of Kazakhstan and known Kazakh poet and journalist, he tried to fly to London to brief British Human Rights organizations on the situation in Kazakhstan. The government alleged that Kosanov had access to state secrets when he served as press secretary to former Prime Minister and now opposition leader Akezhan Kazhegeldin. Authorities used the 1999 Law on State Secrets to justify their actions. Mr. Kosanov is suing the government to recover his passport, but the case is being deliberately stalled by the courts in the country where every judge is appointed personally by the corrupt President Nazarbayev. Apparently, poetry now is a state secret in Kazakhstan!

Question:

How much longer will we tolerate such behavior of oppressive regimes that are trying to silence their critics using any ridiculous means? What has the U.S. Embassy in Kazakhstan done to address this issue?

Answer:

Once again, whatever merit there may be to the charges against Amirzhan Kosanov is overshadowed by the Kazakhstani government's manipulation of the judicial system. The government contends that as secretary to the then Prime Minister, Kosanov had access to state secrets and that he refused to sign a standard non-disclosure agreement and follow other simple procedures under the 1999 law. The government further claimed that other former officials with knowledge of sensitive information were allowed to travel after complying with the procedures. Our 2000 Country Human Rights Report for Kazakhstan noted the details of Kosanov's case. We regularly raise this and other human rights concerns at the highest levels of the Kazakhstani Government.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE EARL F. HILLIARD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF ALABAMA

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Question:

According to the news media, the war in the Congo has been dubbed "Africa's World War One," because of the number of nations involved. Do you agree with the media's analogy? What analysis would you use to examine this particular crisis?

Answer:

The complexity of the issues and the tragic scale of human suffering defy easy summaries. Certainly, the number of countries involved in this war is unprecedented in Africa. All of the foreign states having troops in the Congo have given their own reasons for being there.

There are many causes of the war which have to be considered in any analysis. They include: decades of misrule in Congo/Zaire; the lack of a government in Congo with broad support from the people; the continuing effects of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the legitimate security concerns of Congo's neighbors. One of the results of the war is the exploitation of Congo's natural resources which are being used now, a they were 100 years ago, for the benefit of foreigners rather than the Congolese people.

We believe that the Lusaka Agreement provides the framework for all the parties to find a solution that will address the causes of the war and to establish the regional stability and security that will allow foreign troops to go home. While finding peace is principally a matter for the parties, there is an important role for the United Nations and others including the United States to play in supporting the process.

THE AFRICAN GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ACT (AGOA)

Question:

In your confirmation hearing before the Senate you stated, "The passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act was one of the most important measures that Congress considered last year." What particular elements of the bill do you find most critical? How do you plan to implement those elements into your current role as Secretary?

Answer:

The most critical element of the African Growth and Opportunity Act is the package of trade and other incentives for sub-Saharan African countries to continue to open their economies, build free markets, and advance human rights, worker rights, democracy, political pluralism, and respect for rule of law.

I look forward to working with African nations to advance these mutual objectives in the context of extending trade preferences to individual countries and participating in the annual U.S.-Sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Forum later this year.

Thirty-five countries have been designated eligible for AGOA benefits and 1,835 additional products have been added to the Generalized System of Preferences list for duty-free import under AGOA. Five countries so far have met the requirements

and been certified for textile benefits, and we expect several more will be shortly. We are working with nine countries now to help them implement the textile visa systems and meet all the legislative requirements.

We look forward to the first Forum meeting and are coordinating with the other Cabinet agencies involved. This will be an important opportunity to begin with sub-Saharan Africa the kind of broad economic dialogue we have with other regions. Shortly, we will consult with the Congress and our African partners on scheduling and an agenda.

TARGETING OBJECTIVES FOR AFRICAN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND TRADE

Question:

Do you plan to target objectives and programs within the State Department to facilitate economic growth and trade relations with Africa?

Answer:

Yes, we do. Expanded trade and investment is an important priority for Africa. We are grateful for the bipartisan support in the Congress for the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). The State Department and other agencies are working to implement it and to help African countries take full advantage of it. Through an interagency effort and through our embassies in Africa, we are carrying out an energetic and creative effort that has included, for example, a private sector speakers program on AGOA, regional seminars, including on customs issues, and training of commercial officers from African embassies here. In addition, our embassies in Africa are helping governments understand the complex textile anti-transshipment measures required for textile and apparel benefits. Through the Africa Trade and Investment Policy Program, funded by USAID, government agencies and nongovernmental organizations are carrying out a variety of programs in Africa aimed at trade and investment-enhancing policy reform and creating business linkages.

Concern for openness of world markets to trade with Africa and other developing countries is one reason we support a new round of multilateral trade liberalization, which would bring down barriers between developing countries and with developed country markets in ways that will go far beyond what we can achieve on our own.

NEW CHALLENGES

Question:

As Secretary, you will be faced with enormous challenges in rapidly changing areas such as health care, crime, and a global economy. Are you willing to adopt cutting edge strategies to deal with these issues? If so, can you provide an example where you foresee having this opportunity?

Answer:

I am willing to adopt—and will adopt—innovative strategies to deal with challenges successfully. One of the most dramatic challenges our government has to deal with is the pandemic caused by HIV/AIDS, currently affecting many countries in Africa and expanding rapidly in the former Soviet Union, the Caribbean and Asia. President Bush has formed a task force to confront this challenge. Secretary Tommy Thompson and I co-chair this task force. Both of us are busy organizing our respective portions of the government, as well as creating the proper interagency architecture to energize all the relevant cabinet level and agency people that can help in the fight against HIV-AIDs. We are also actively engaged internationally to create a sound global strategy to save lives and ease the suffering caused by HIV-AIDs. Finally, the United States has world-class medical knowledge and institutions, and they will join us in leading the world to new approaches to the terrible problem of HIV-AIDs. I hope to be part of many efforts to bring U.S. teamwork and know-how to bear creatively on today's global challenges.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY THE HONORABLE THOMAS G. TANCREDO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Question:

What is the Administration's position on organizing the Inter-Congolese Dialogue and appointing a mediator?

Answer:

The Congolese parties to the Lusaka Agreement agreed in December 1999 to appoint the former President of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, as the facilitator of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue.

Former President Laurent Kabila's lack of co-operation with the facilitator was an obstacle to progress on the Inter-Congolese Dialogue, which we view as an important part of the Lusaka Peace Process. However, President Joseph Kabila has said that he supports the Dialogue process. The Congolese parties met with President Masire in Lusaka on May 3rd and 4th and reaffirmed their commitment to Lusaka and to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue.

Question:

Does the Administration believe that such a neutralization [of Congolese military forces by the U.N.] would be effective in stopping a leader from rising to power simply based on the strength of the military forces that back him?

Answer:

The U.S. strongly supports MONUC's current role in assisting the parties in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement but does not anticipate MONUC becoming involved in enforcement action.

This is the position of Secretary-General Annan, as well. He stated in his April 17, 2001 Report to the Security Council on the situation in the DRC: "Any recommendation I make concerning the assistance MONUC can provide to the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement process will be based on the assumption that MONUC will not be called upon to use enforcement action."

CONGO FUNDING

Question:

In addition, I understand that the funds for the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to the Congo have been frozen. What is the Administration's position on these funds?

Answer:

The Department has not received any bills this year for the UN peacekeeping operation in the Congo.

We have allocated funds in a reprogramming notification to Congress for our FY 2001 CIPA appropriation which we hope will be approved soon.

The UN is proceeding with the planned deployments.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY THE HONORABLE BRAD SHERMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

ARMS CONTROL/MISSILE DEFENSE

Question:

Do you agree that adhering to the provisions of the ABM Treaty continues to serve as a cornerstone of strategic stability between the U.S. and Russia? And is the concept of a unilateral U.S. National Missile Defense system deployed by 2006 (which may or may not work by that date, if ever) and built only by withdrawing from the ABM Treaty and without the support of our NATO allies acceptable to you?

Answer:

The 1972 ABM Treaty reflects the thinking of the Cold War and the adversarial relationship we then had with the former Soviet Union.

We need a more healthy foundation for our political relations with Russia. The ABM Treaty, as currently formulated, is not a sound basis for our strategic relations with Russia, and it does not address today's strategic reality.

Our missile defenses will not be a threat to any state except to those who would use missiles to attack or blackmail the United States or our friends and allies. They will exist solely to defend the United States and its friends and allies against attack or blackmail.

NONPROLIFERATION

Question:

What are your views about what more can be done to stem or slow the spread of weapons of mass destruction to rogue states such as Iraq and Iran? How do you pro-

pose to deal with Russia on this issue, given its past cooperation with Iran on nuclear technology and missile issues?

Answer:

Stopping Iraq and Iran from acquiring and developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and ballistic missiles is vital to our nonproliferation strategy. However, our approaches to the two countries must be quite different. Iraq is subject to UN sanctions. To prevent Iraq from reconstituting its programs, we need to re-focus existing controls and target them on Iraq's WMD and missile programs. We also need to be sure Iraq does not smuggle oil out of Iraq (to gain cash free of UN oversight) or illegal goods into Iraq by tightening borders and export controls.

In the case of Iran, we have to persuade individual countries not to supply Iran with nuclear and missile technology, although there is no international legal bar to them doing so. The toughest target is Russia. We have made clear to Russia at the highest levels that its continued nuclear and missile cooperation with Iran threatens our national security and is a problem for our bilateral relations. I will be candid in articulating these concerns in upcoming meetings with Foreign Minister Ivanov.

GETTING THE PALESTINIANS TO LIVE UP TO SIGNED AGREEMENTS

Question:

Clearly, there can be no real peace between Israel and the Palestinians unless both sides accept the fact that they will have to live in peace with each other and that both will have to make concessions in order to make that peace. Since the Oslo process began over seven years ago, there has been an intense debate within Israel about the extent of those concessions. Unfortunately, there has been nothing resembling such a debate on the Palestinian side. What can be done to encourage such a debate and to prepare the Palestinian people for peace and not for continuing conflict? What can be done to ensure that the Palestinians live up to the agreements that have already been signed?

Answer:

The United States has made very clear to the Palestinians that they must carry out their responsibilities to break the cycle of violence, and prevent continued provocative acts of violence emanating from areas under their control. That includes shootings, bombings, and mortar attacks. These attacks undermine efforts to defuse the situation and bring an end to violence. We have also urged the Palestinian leadership to help prepare the groundwork for eventual co-existence with Israel by, among other things, addressing the issue of incitement.

ANTI-ISRAEL UN RESOLUTIONS

Question:

In my view, progress in the peace process and in our bilateral relations with the countries of the Arab world has not been hurt but, in most instances, helped by the clarity that comes with the consistency of our close ties to Israel. Is that your view as well? In that regard, will you have any hesitation about recommending the veto of anti-Israel U.N. resolutions that are one-sided and unhelpful to our and Israel's interest in the Middle East?

Answer:

The special relationship between the U.S. and Israel has been maintained since Israel's founding and remains a central and unshakeable tenet of U.S. foreign policy.

The U.S. is committed to preventing adoption of resolutions in the Security Council, as well as in other UN bodies, that unjustly single out Israel or complicate the search for a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace.

The Administration will use every available diplomatic tool, including the veto when necessary, to block passage of resolutions that are unbalanced or that seek to prejudge issues that can only be settled through negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

ISRAEL'S AID RESTRUCTURING PLAN

Question:

In 1998, Israel and the United States constructed a bold plan to restructure the aid that Israel receives from the U.S., proposing a ten-year plan to gradually eliminate its economic aid and slightly increase its military assistance. Do you support the plan?

Answer:

The aid restructuring plan proposed by the Government of Israel in 1998 was accepted by both Congress and the previous Administration; the Bush Administration is continuing this process. We are now in the third year of that ten-year process. Over the ten-year period, economic assistance to Israel will be phased out at the rate of \$120 million per year, and military assistance increased by \$60 million each year. This restructuring reflects the unshakeable commitment of the United States to Israel's security, while recognizing the strong economic progress Israel has achieved over the past two decades.

SUPPLEMENTAL AID PACKAGE FOR ISRAEL

Question:

The previous Administration submitted to Congress a supplemental aid package, for Israel to respond to two specific threats: to help Israel alleviate the large expenses it incurred while pulling out of Lebanon and to help Israel confront new strategic threats, including through theater missile defense efforts and combating weapons of mass destruction. Mr. Secretary, I support increased military assistance to Israel, and I would like to know: will the Administration submit a supplemental aid package for Israel and, if so, when and for what amount?

Answer:

At present, there are no plans to request a supplemental aid package for Israel. If additional needs arise, they will be evaluated later in the year.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE RON PAUL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF
TEXAS

DEALING WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN

Question:

Why do we trade and subsidize a country like China, pursue talks with Iran and North Korea, and act as a conduit for peace in the Middle East while all we seem to know what to do with Iraq is bomb, kill and impose sanctions? Surely we are not expected to believe Saddam Hussein is the only totalitarian in power today?

Answer:

Iraq brutally invaded Kuwait and used missiles to attack Saudi Arabia and Israel. The UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Iraq to prevent Saddam Hussein's regime from reconstituting weapons of mass destruction, rebuilding its military, and once again threatening the region's security. Those controls remain in force because Iraq has refused to comply with its obligations under relevant resolutions, including disarmament, and continues to pose a serious threat to the region.

The U.S. carefully abides by UN Security Council resolutions on Iraq and is currently working to ensure those resolutions effectively achieve their purposes without unnecessarily adversely affecting the Iraqi people.

BASIS FOR NO-FLY ZONES, BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH IRAQ, AND TRADE WITH IRAQ

Question:

Is not the continued bombing of Iraq an act of war? Where does the Administration get its authority to pursue this war? Is this policy not in violation of our Constitution that says only Congress can declare war? There is not even a UN resolution calling for the U.S.-British imposed no-fly zone over Iraq. Our allies have almost all deserted us on our policy toward Iraq. Is it not time to talk to the Iraqis? We talked to the Soviets at the height of the Cold War; surely we can do the same with Iraq today. We trade with and subsidize China and we talk to the Iranians; surely we can trade with Iraq?

Answer:

The no-fly zones were established in order to carry out vital UN Security Council resolutions, in particular UNSCRs 678, 687, and 688. The coalition maintains the no-fly zones against military but not civil aircraft flights and has employed force only in self-defense, when threatened or fired upon. If Iraq were to cease its threats against coalition aircraft, coalition strikes in response would cease.

UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Iraq to prevent Saddam Hussein's regime from reconstituting weapons of mass destruction, rebuilding its military, and

once again threatening the region's security. Those sanctions remain in force because Iraq has refused to comply with its obligations under relevant UN Security Council resolutions, including disarmament, and continues to pose a serious threat to the region. Until Iraq complies with those resolutions, we see no purpose in pursuing bilateral discussions with Baghdad. UN Security Council resolutions allow for civilian trade with Iraq under the UN Oil-for-Food program. U.S. businesses participate in that program.

U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE GULF

Question:

If investors of a foreign nation had a stake in oil production in the Gulf of Mexico and their country were dependent on oil imports for subsistence, is that country justified in militarily dominating the gulf and use of U.S. soil for basing operations? My guess is that Americans would be furious even if done with our government's official approval. Yet we expect the Arab world—a world quite different from ours—to accept our presence and domination. Is it not possible for our policy in the region to show more “humility” rather than pursue a policy that incites Islamic fundamentalists against us, leading to what they see as acts of self-defense and we see as acts of terrorism?

Answer:

The U.S. military presence in the Gulf promotes regional security and responds to the concerns of our friends in the region. Our presence is not directed against the people of any country in the region. There is probably more that we—together with the governments in the region—could do to explain this better to the people of the region, and we will look for ways to do this. Fundamentally, though, our policy in the region responds to core U.S. interests to promote regional security and free economic trade.

SUPPORT FOR THE IRAQI NATIONAL CONGRESS

Question:

How would you, the U.S. government, and the American people respond if a foreign power subsidized subversive groups whose goal it was to overthrow our government as we are doing with the Iraqi National Congress?

Answer:

We have always believed that change in Iraq must come from the Iraqi people themselves. So long as the Saddam Hussein regime is in power, Iraq will continue to be a threat to the countries of the region, and the people of Iraq will continue to live in circumstances of almost unparalleled oppression. We, therefore, support the Iraqi National Congress (INC), which has an important role to play in planning for the future of Iraq, and which supports instituting a representative government, respectful of human rights, and willing to live at peace with its neighbors.

US LAWS: INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

Question:

On the topic of the International Criminal Court, I have two questions, I am pleased that the Administration, as well as the Chairman of this Committee, have spoken against the ICC as an infringement upon U.S. sovereignty.

95. As a policy matter, can you explain why the Administration has not spoken similarly against the WTO, the International War Crimes Tribunal, or the idea of fighting wars based on UN or NATO resolutions and why these instrumentalities are any less threatening to our sovereignty. Also on the ICC topic, if the Administration is not going to pursue ratification of the treaty, will you support my resolution, H.Con.Res. 23 calling on the President to declare to all nations that the United States does not assent to the treaty and that the signature of former President Clinton should not be construed to mean otherwise.

Answer:

As a sovereign state, the United States is free to enter into cooperative arrangements with other states. The Administration has strong objections to the ICC's purported authority to exercise jurisdiction over U.S. nationals without the consent of the United States. The other organizations you mention (WTO, UN, NATO) are entities in which the United States has agreed to participate. With regard to UN and NATO resolutions in particular, resolutions authorizing use of force can only be taken with U.S. consent.

The International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, to which you may be referring, were established by the United Nations Security Council with strong U.S. support to address violations of international humanitarian law.

On signature of the ICC treaty, we are of course not bound by provision of a treaty requiring ratification on the basis of our signature alone, and we can become bound only after compliance with our Constitutional requirements. The Administration has no intention to submit the treaty to the Senate or become a party to it.

U.S. LAWS

Question:

Since World War II, each of our Presidents has engaged in wars—both big and small, from Korea to the continued bombing of Iraq—without an explicit declaration of war from Congress. Yet, the Constitution clearly vests the decision to go to war (as opposed to the execution by the commander in chief, once declared) with the Congress. If, however, the “war decision” is allowed to come from Presidential directives or UN resolutions, of what value to the American people is the constitutional constraint upon a President who would otherwise wage war without congressional approval? Do you believe the War Powers Resolution is unconstitutional? If so, why? If not, why not?

Answer:

The President has extensive authority as Commander-in-Chief under the Constitution to order the deployment of US forces in order to protect US interests. Congress also has important authorities in this area, including its authority with respect to the appropriation of funds in addition to its authority to declare war. Congress is fully capable of acting to constrain military operations that it opposes when it so chooses.

With respect to the War Powers Resolution, every Administration since its enactment in 1973 has raised questions about its constitutionality and wisdom. This Administration certainly shares those concerns, and believes the provisions purporting to require the withdrawal of US forces from actual or imminent hostilities within stated time periods are unconstitutional. Despite these concerns regarding the Resolution, we are strongly committed to working with Congress in this area of foreign policy, and fully recognize the importance of congressional and public support for decisions to deploy US armed forces.

Question:

Is it not clear that a U.S. treaty, although it is called the law of the land, was never intended to be used to amend our Constitution?

Answer:

It is my understanding that Article V of the Constitution sets out the procedures for amending the Constitution.

Those procedures include no mention of the use of treaties or the treaty-making power.

ENDING MILITARY DRAFT AND SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRATION

Question:

In your earlier remarks before this Committee you said that you regard the military as a vital component of U.S. foreign policy. I am wondering if you, as a former military officer, would comment on the antiquated idea of a military draft and selective service registration. I believe you have spoken against the draft in the past. Do you still hold that a draft is unwarranted? Would you support ending draft registration?

Answer:

I favor continuation of peacetime registration to maintain the capability to reconstitute U.S. forces. Maintaining the requirement to register for selective service signals to young Americans that readiness to come to our nation's defense remains an obligation of all our citizens. It provides insurance against our possible underestimation of the level of threat to American interests. It also signals allies and potential adversaries, who watch for signs of U.S. resolve. Additionally, as fewer and fewer members of society have direct military experience, it is increasingly important to maintain the link between the All-Volunteer Force and our society at large.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE ELIOT L. ENGEL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

BUSH ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS

Question:

How do you expect a Bush presidency to differ from the previous administration regarding the Middle East Peace Process? Given that the Palestinians have demonstrated a lack of interest in real compromise through negotiations, is the Administration reassessing its role vis-a-vis negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis?

Answer:

The United States remains actively involved in the Middle East. My first foreign trip was to the Middle East. President Bush and I have met with a number of leaders from the region and will continue to do so. The President and I talk frequently by phone with regional players, and our diplomats in the field are engaged daily with the parties.

The U.S. has a vital interest in a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We are actively engaged with both sides in an effort to halt the violence and restore trust and confidence between them.

BUSH ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO DEALING WITH ARAFAT

Question:

How does the administration plan to let Yasir Arafat know that we will no longer tolerate terrorism instead of diplomacy? If Arafat continues to acquiesce and increase his support for the use of violence and terrorist activity, contrary to his Oslo obligations, will the U.S. no longer deal with him as a world leader, but rather as a terrorist?

Answer:

The United States has made very clear to the Palestinians that they must carry out their responsibilities to break the cycle of violence, and prevent continued provocative acts of violence emanating from areas under their control. That includes shootings, bombings, and mortar attacks. These attacks undermine efforts to defuse the situation and bring an end to violence.

PLOCCA REPORT

Question:

The PLO Commitments and Compliance Act (PLOCCA) calls for a report on Palestinian compliance every six months. This report was due in late February. When does the State Department plan to transmit this report to Congress? Can you certify that the Palestinians are living up to their commitments?

Answer:

The next PLOCCA report will cover the reporting period from December 15, 2000 to June 15, 2001. The last PLOCCA report covered the period from June 15, 2000 to December 15, 2000. As was the case with previous reports, the next PLOCCA report will respond to the reporting requirement, including the issue of PLO actions and policies with respect to its commitments set forth in Chairman Arafat's September 9, 1993, letters to Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and Norwegian Foreign Minister Holst and those in, and resulting from, the good faith implementation of the Declaration of Principles (DOP) and subsequent agreements.

U.S.-ISRAELI BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

Question:

In recent years, U.S.-Israel bilateral relations have been defined almost exclusively in terms of what happens in the peace process. As President Bush stated during the campaign, "I recognize the importance of the peace process and the key role that the United States can play. But my support for Israel is not conditional on the outcome of the peace process. America's special relationship with Israel precedes the peace process. And, Israel's adversaries should know that in my administration, the special relationship will continue, even if they cannot bring themselves to make true peace with the Jewish state." Is that your view as well? How do you expect to help strengthen the relationship?

Answer:

President Bush's comments reflect the views of the Administration. It is the policy of this Administration to broaden and deepen our relationship with Israel for the mutual benefit of our two countries.

ISRAEL'S AID RESTRUCTURING PLAN

Question:

In 1998, Israel working with the United States, initiated a bold plan to restructure its aid levels, proposing a ten-year plan to gradually eliminate its economic aid and slightly increase its military assistance. Last year, the Clinton Administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Israel in support of that plan. Do you support the plan?

Answer:

The aid restructuring plan proposed by the Government of Israel in 1998 was accepted by both Congress and the previous Administration; the Bush Administration is continuing this process. We are now in the third year of that ten-year process. Over the ten-year period, economic assistance to Israel will be phased out at the rate of \$120 million per year, and military assistance increased by \$60 million each year. This restructuring reflects the unshakable commitment of the United States to Israel's security, while recognizing the strong economic progress Israel has achieved over the past two decades.

SUPPLEMENTAL AID PACKAGE FOR ISRAEL

Question:

Mr. Secretary, I support this increase in military assistance to Israel and am curious as to what your thinking is regarding the supplemental aid package to Israel. Will the Administration submit a supplemental aid package for Israel and, if so, when and for what amounts?

Answer:

At present, there are no plans to request a supplemental aid package for Israel. If additional needs arise, they will be evaluated later in the year.

EGYPT-ISRAEL RELATIONS

Question:

Will you remind Egypt of the commitments it made at Camp David to full recognition, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with Israel, and the termination of economic boycotts against Israel? When do you expect the Egyptian Ambassador to return to Israel?

Answer:

Egypt has been a staunch advocate of peace in the Middle East since the 1978 Camp David Accords, which still form the bedrock of Middle East peace. Egypt's commitment to peace with Israel remains solid.

Working with the Jordanians, Egypt has offered suggestions to Israel and the Palestinians on ways to stop the ongoing violence. We believe this effort by Egypt and Jordan is constructive. We have commended the effort. Following his May trip to Cairo, Israeli Foreign Minister Peres advised the Secretary that the Egyptians have played a constructive role in this effort.

The GOE has said the withdrawal of their Ambassador was a minimal step in response to actions by the Government of Israel that the people of Egypt found intolerable. High level contacts geared towards ending Israeli-Palestinian violence and restoring negotiations continue. The Egyptian Embassy in Tel Aviv remains open and functioning. We have urged the GOE to return its Ambassador to Tel Aviv, and we will continue to do so. The GOE has assured us it wishes to return its Ambassador once violence diminishes and a productive atmosphere for talks is restored.

HIZBALLAH ATTACKS

Question:

What is the United States doing to halt Hizballah's attacks on Israel? Are we pressing the Lebanese to deploy their army to the South and take control of the region?

Answer:

We remain concerned about Hizballah attacks across the Blue Line. The situation has the potential to become very dangerous. We have called upon all sides at every opportunity to exercise maximum restraint and take steps to end the violence.

We continue to call on the Government of Lebanon to exercise sovereign control over the south—both militarily and administratively. While Lebanon has dispatched some security personnel, augmented its administrative presence, and restored order at some points on the border, these steps fall short of Lebanon's full responsibilities under UNSCR 425.

SYRIAN PRESENCE IN LEBANON AND SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM

Question:

Is it still the policy of the United States that all Syrian forces should withdraw from Lebanon? What is the United States doing to press Syria to remove its armed forces from Lebanon? Will Syria remain on the State Department list of terrorist nations? What is our country doing to encourage the nascent democratic opposition movement in Lebanon?

Answer:

We remain committed to Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity and have long supported the withdrawal of all foreign forces. The Syrian presence is an issue that should be decided between Syria and Lebanon. We can most effectively contribute to this objective by working to achieve comprehensive peace.

Syria retained its designation as a state sponsor of terrorism in our 2000 assessment. Future designations will be determined by Syria's actions.

Lebanon has an active political life, a multi-party system, and vigorous public debate on domestic and regional issues. We meet with representatives from Lebanon's full political spectrum, excluding Hizballah, and through our assistance programs, seek to strengthen democratic values and national cohesiveness.

IRAN

Question:

Iran remains a very serious threat for the U.S. and Israel. It continues its aggressive pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them, its violent opposition to the Israeli—Arab peace process, and its support of international terrorism. Iran is a major supplier of Hezbollah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad and Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khomeini recently stated that "It is the mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to erase Israel from the map of the region." (Tehran Radio, 2/5/01) Iran has tested a missile that can hit U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf as well as Israel.

The United States has undertaken a series of unilateral steps to improve relations with Iran over the past few years, but to no avail. Iran has pocketed the gestures and has not responded to these efforts at improved relations or even supported dialogue with our government. Despite this lack of progress, some in the Administration have talked about adjusting the sanctions regime and reaching out to Iran.

Do you detect any changes domestically in Iran or in its foreign policy relating to these major issues? Is it your sense that the situation is improving or worsening? What policy regarding Iran do you expect the Administration to take? Do you believe it makes sense to ease up on U.S. sanctions against Iran just when the Iranian regime appears to be stepping up support for terrorist actions against the U.S. and Israel?

Answer:

We have seen little or no improvement in the areas of major concern to the United States, including support for terrorism, the pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and long range missile technology, opposition to Middle East peace negotiations, and human rights.

In light of this, the new administration plans to review U.S. Iran policy in its entirety to consider whether adjustments or modifications are warranted, keeping in mind that our core concerns have not changed. We will consult closely with Congress in this process.

REBUILDING THE COALITION TO ENSURE CONTROLS REMAIN ON IRAQ

Question:

Mr. Secretary, you have proposed adjusting the international sanctions against Iraq by reducing or eliminating economic sanctions and strengthening the regime designed to prevent key weapons technologies from reaching Saddam Hussein's military. How will you go about rebuilding the coalition to ensure that key sanctions remain on Iraq until it allows the return of UN weapons inspectors?

Answer:

We are consulting closely with regional states and UNSC members on a new approach to Iraq. We have found widespread concern that Iraq continues to pose a threat to the region. We have also found the general perception that current UN sanctions punish the people of Iraq and strengthen the regime's grip on power.

The new approach seeks to establish a reunified consensus on addressing these concerns. It strengthens controls on weapons and weapons-related materials by tightening border and revenue controls. It also expands the range of civilian trade with Iraq and reduces the current level of holds on Iraqi goods under the UN Oil-for-Food program. We will continue to consult with regional and UNSC states on the details of implementing this new approach to ensure that it enjoys strong support and backing.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE NICK SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE
OF MICHIGAN

CHINA: U.S. RESPONSE TO PRC PROVOCATIONS

Question:

If China decided that the U.S. will continue to act tepidly rather than aggressively in response to its provocations over Taiwan, it could decide that further actions, such as firing missiles at Taiwan's ten major airfields would not meet with a significant U.S. response. What would the United States do if such an action were to occur? How should we communicate our resolve to China?

Answer:

It is, as was stated in the Taiwan Relations Act, "the policy of the United States to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means to be a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States." China is well aware of this.

We have consistently insisted to the PRC over the years that any resolution of the Taiwan question must be peaceful and acceptable to the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The PRC is well aware of our resolve on this issue.

TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT AND AEGIS DESTROYERS

Question:

Section 3(A) of the Taiwan Relations Act states that the United States "will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability." What steps are being taken to ensure compliance with these provisions? What is the status of the United States response to Taiwan's request for Aegis Class destroyers?

Answer:

The Administration is committed to upholding the Taiwan Relations Act, including its security provisions. We regularly consult with Taiwan on its defense requirements and will continue to do so. The Administration's decisions are based solely on our assessment of Taiwan's defense needs.

State and DOD consulted with the staffs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee in classified settings both prior to and following the most recent talks with Taiwan military representatives. At those consultations we reviewed the Administration's decision on the provision to Taiwan of ships equipped with the Aegis-like Evolved Advanced Combat System (EACS). We would be pleased to brief you on this decision at your convenience. We look forward to consulting periodically with the Congress on Taiwan security issues in the future.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE JOSEPH CROWLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

OTHER HEALTH QUESTIONS

Question:

What will this Administration be doing to ensure that UNFPA receives the funding it so desperately needs?

Answer:

The Administration is committed to supporting UNFPA and its voluntary and non-coercive family planning programs. To that end, the Administration has requested \$25 million for UNFPA in FY 2002, the same amount as authorized for FY 2001.

The USG will provide solid financial and political support so that UNFPA can continue its valuable work.

DEFERRED PAYMENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)

Question:

I would like to know what the intention of the Administration is with regard to payments to the IAEA. Will there be a review of the current fourth quarter payment policy and, if so, will consideration be made of a change in that policy so that we can make our payment in the first quarter? In the interest of the IAEA, so important in the implementation of U.S. nuclear nonproliferation objectives, I would hope that the Administration considers such a review.

Answer:

Our practice of paying our annual dues to the ten largest international organizations at least ten months late places a severe financial management burden on them. Certainly we would prefer to pay on time. However, we cannot address this problem in a piecemeal manner. The one-time budgetary "cost" of eliminating our deferred payment practice would be about \$600 million. This would not provide "extra" money to these organizations, but would simply allow us to pay our bill when it is due and thereby eliminate the problems caused by our late payment. However given the cost of moving off deferral, we have been unable at this point to include this funding in our budget request. We continue to look for ways to address this matter constructively.

ARAB RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND THE BOYCOTT

Question:

What steps does this Administration plan to take to facilitate the restoration of Arab nations' diplomatic relations with Israel?

Answer:

The U.S. Government continues to encourage those countries which closed Israeli missions to restore them, if possible. Egypt and Jordan have maintained their Embassies in Israel, as has Mauritania, and bilateral trade continues. The largely moribund Arab League boycott of Israel is no longer an issue for U.S. firms in most places, as described in President Bush's response to House Speaker Hastert on Section 539 of the FY 2001 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act. However, the establishment of Israeli diplomatic relations with most other Arab countries and the official elimination of the boycott is likely going to come about only after peace agreements are signed between Israel and the Palestinians, Syria and Lebanon.

EFFECT OF UNSC RESOLUTIONS ON THE IRAQI PEOPLE

Question:

Like many members of this body, I am concerned about the effects of the sanctions against Iraq on the Iraqi people. While there is no question the Iraqi people are suffering, the cause of that suffering is certainly up for debate. Through the multinational sanctions regime, we established a mechanism by which Iraq could sell oil, and receive revenue to be deposited into a tightly controlled escrow account to provide food and medicine for its citizens. Saddam Hussein has chosen not to provide this assistance to his people in order to facilitate the deterioration of support for these sanctions. Your recent statement regarding revisions to the sanctions against Iraq have troubled me.

According to your revised plan, we will take steps to improve the humanitarian crisis in Iraq by permitting food, medicine and certain non-dual use items to enter the country, while simultaneously tightening the arms and weapons control aspects of the sanctions. Given that Saddam has always had the ability to provide for his citizens through the U.N. oil-for-food program, how will these adjustments do anything but reward Hussein for his non-compliance?

Answer:

The new approach to Iraq in no way rewards Saddam Hussein's regime. In fact, it targets the regime—tightening revenue and border controls and limiting the regime's ability to reconstitute weapons of mass destruction and rebuild its military.

At the same time, it expands the range of trade with Iraq in civilian goods, thereby countering the widespread perception that current UN sanctions punish the Iraqi people instead of the regime. By doing so, we make the regime more clearly responsible for the welfare of the Iraqi people. We also deny it the basis of much of its propaganda to encourage sympathetic efforts to end all UN controls and remove a major obstacle to building a consensus approach to tightening controls over its ability to use revenues and smuggling to obtain weapons and weapons-related materials.

ANDEAN REGION: PLANS FOR ASSISTANCE

Question:

In your written statement, you mentioned funding in the President's budget for Colombia's neighbors in an effort to control drug production and the drug trade. I am wondering if you could elaborate on the details of the plan.

Answer:

The Andean region represents a significant challenge and opportunity for U.S. foreign policy in the next few years. Democracy is under pressure in all of the countries of the Andes. Economic development is slow and progress towards liberalization is inconsistent. The Andes produces virtually all of the world's cocaine and an increasing amount of heroin, representing a direct threat to our health and security. All of these problems are interrelated. The region's problems need to be addressed comprehensively to advance US interests in the region.

The Administration is proposing a regional initiative to provide assistance to the Andes. The Administration's FY 2002 budget requests \$882 million in international affairs funding for counternarcotics programs, democratic institution building and development assistance in seven countries: Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela. In contrast to last year's Plan Colombia supplemental, less than half of the assistance will be for Colombia and only half will be for counternarcotics and security assistance. This non-security assistance will include significant funding for alternative development, justice sector reform, human rights and environmental protection. We have briefed the initiative in general terms both to other donors and potential recipient nations, and it has been well received. We have begun Congressional consultations in concert with presentation of the Administration's budget.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE JOSEPH R. PITTS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Question:

Recently, I joined several of my colleagues in traveling to India, Pakistan, Algeria and Western Sahara. My impression is that the Sahrawi people in the region have lost hope. There is only a small window of opportunity left to preserve peace, which if it closes will further destabilize and weaken the region. Tensions are also high between India and Pakistan. The ongoing conflict over Kashmir and the nuclear arms race threaten regional stability and our own national security. What do you see as the role of the U.S. in encouraging a peaceful resolution to the conflict over and within Kashmir; and what recommendations do you have to stem the proliferation of military technology through, and quiet the nuclear arms race between, India and Pakistan?

Answer:

We share your concern about the importance of reducing tension between India and Pakistan and averting a nuclear arms race. Closer engagement between the two governments is essential. We have encouraged India to resume direct official dialogue with Pakistan, and have urged Pakistan to improve prospects for fruitful dialogue by continuing its restraint along the line of control in Kashmir and by taking steps to reduce violence on the part of insurgent groups with ties to Pakistan.

The proposed meeting of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Secretaries on the sidelines of the June South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation committee meeting offers an opportunity to take a step in the right direction, but both sides will need to bring new flexibility.

The U.S. does not seek to mediate between India and Pakistan. We are willing to consider playing a role in promoting dialogue if this is what both sides want and if there is a reasonable prospect that our doing so could bridge differences.

The U.S. encourages restraint in nuclear and missile programs. We have urged both countries to avoid a nuclear arms race, maintain strict export controls, and continue their testing moratoriums.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY THE HONORABLE EARL BLUMENAUER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OREGON

VIETNAM BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT (BTA)

Question:

With such an easy foreign policy and trade victory waiting for action, has the Administration given thought to accelerating approval of the Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) in order to help serve as a catalyst for future trade progress with Congress?

Answer:

In addition to the Vietnam BTA, a number of other important trade initiatives will require Congress' attention this year, such as trade promotion authority, trade preference legislation, and the bilateral free trade agreement with Jordan. The Administration is interested in working with Congress to determine the best means of moving all of these important pieces of trade legislation forward this year.

The President anticipates sharing an outline of his trade agenda with Congress shortly. The Vietnam BTA is an important element of that agenda, which the President will want Congress to address expeditiously.

Question:

Does the Administration plan to have Congress pass the Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) by this summer and, if so, when do you expect it to be introduced?

Answer:

The Administration is working to achieve the earliest possible transmittal to Congress of the BTA, within the overall context of the Administration's legislative trade policy agenda.

The President anticipates sharing an outline of his trade agenda with Congress shortly. The Vietnam BTA is an important element of that agenda, which the President will want Congress to address expeditiously.

Question:

Does the Administration see the Jordan Free Trade Agreement and Vietnam NTR agreements, in addition to being important bilateral trade agreements, as important foreign policy initiatives?

Answer:

Jordan is a key friend in a volatile region. It is an important partner working with the U.S. to promote peace and prosperity. The FTA sends the signal that support for peace and economic reform yields concrete benefits.

The Vietnam Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) completes an important chapter in the 15-year bipartisan effort to normalize U.S.-Vietnam relations. Approval of the BTA by Congress and its ratification by Vietnam would send a strong pro-trade message to our allies and friends in Asia, and would also promote regional stability.

VIETNAM—BTA AND HANOI MEETINGS

Question:

The United States' involvement with Vietnam for more than half a century has been one of the most painful, divisive and controversial in our nation's history. During the last fifteen years, due in no small measure to the work of the prior two Administrations, bipartisan Congressional leadership, including Senators Kerry and McCain and former House Member Pete Peterson, tremendous progress has been made. This last year proved to be the most momentous, with the overwhelming bipartisan support for the Jackson-Vanik waiver (332-91) and the signing of the bilateral trade agreement with Vietnam. All of these culminated with the Presidential visit to Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City last November. As a member of that mission, I was struck by the warmth of the Vietnamese people and the broad recognition that we have been presented with a great opportunity to move forward. There is strong bipartisan support for the trade agreement and interest is high in moving to a new era between our two countries.

Would rapid passage of the BTA present you with a significant accomplishment to carry to Vietnam later this year when Vietnam hosts the ASEAN Conference?

Answer:

The Administration is working to achieve the earliest possible BTA transmittal to Congress, within the overall context of the Administration's trade policy agenda. While BTA passage would be a positive development to bring to the July meetings in Hanoi, our relations with Vietnam encompass more than the BTA. During bilateral meetings on the margin of the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference and ASEAN Regional Forum Ministerial, we hope to engage Vietnam on a wide range of bilateral and multilateral issues, including human rights and religious freedom.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY
THE HONORABLE SHELLEY BERKLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF NEVADA

BUSH ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO DEALING WITH ARAFAT

Question:

Mr. Secretary, the Palestinian Authority made a commitment to end their policy of violence and support negotiation and the peace process. Isn't it time to tell Chairman Arafat that the U.S. will not accept terrorism instead of diplomacy? Does being an honest broker preclude us from publicly laying blame where it belongs?

Answer:

The United States has made very clear to the Palestinians that they must carry out their responsibilities to break the cycle of violence, and prevent continued provocative acts of violence emanating from areas under their control. That includes shootings, bombings, and mortar attacks. These attacks undermine efforts to defuse the situation and bring an end to violence.

EGYPT-ISRAEL RELATIONS

Question:

The Palestinian Authority made a commitment to end its policy of violence and support negotiation and the peace process. Isn't it time to tell Chairman Arafat that the U.S. will not accept terrorism instead of diplomacy? Does being an honest broker preclude us from publicly laying blame where it belongs?

I am deeply concerned about recent actions taken by our ally and recipient of foreign aid, Egypt, which withdrew its Ambassador from Israel, in complete violation of the original Camp David accords. Furthermore, President Mubarak has made public statements supporting an economic boycott of Israel. These actions run completely contrary to the spirit and law of the peace process. As Secretary of State will you remind Egypt of their commitments to the peace process to give full recognition to the diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with Israel? When do you expect the Egyptian Ambassador to return to Israel?

Answer:

Egypt has been a staunch advocate of peace in the Middle East since the 1978 Camp David Accords, which still form the bedrock of Middle East peace. Egypt's commitment to peace with Israel remains solid.

Working with the Jordanians, Egypt has offered suggestions to Israel and the Palestinians on ways to stop the ongoing violence. We have commended this effort, and Israeli officials—including Prime Minister Sharon and Foreign Minister Peres—have said that it is constructive.

The GOE has said the withdrawal of their Ambassador was a minimal step in response to actions by the Government of Israel that the people of Egypt found intolerable. Nevertheless, high level Egyptian-Israeli contacts geared towards ending Israeli-Palestinian violence and restoring negotiations continue. The Egyptian Embassy in Tel Aviv remains open and functioning. We have urged the GOE to return its Ambassador to Tel Aviv, and we will continue to do so. The GOE has assured us it wishes to return its Ambassador once the violence diminishes and a productive atmosphere for talks is restored.

IDF HOSTAGES AND SOUTH LEBANON

Question:

On Oct. 7, 2000, three Israeli soldiers, Avi Avitan, aged 21, Benny Avraham, 20, and Omar Souad, 27, were kidnapped by Hizballah terrorists who crossed onto the Israeli side of the UN certified international border. These Lebanese terrorists, financially supported and trained by Syria and Iran, also kidnapped Elchanan Tanenbaum, an Israeli businessman, in Europe. What is this Administration going to do to help ascertain the whereabouts and bring about the release of these soldiers, and other Israeli MIA's, some of whom are American citizens? What can be done to quiet the northern border of Israel and to get Hizballah and Syrian forces to leave Lebanon?

Answer:

We are monitoring developments on this issue very closely. We immediately contacted the governments of Lebanon and Syria to urge their assistance in facilitating the soldiers' release and have been in subsequent contact, and we are in touch with Israel on this issue. We have asked UN Secretary General Annan and the International Committee of the Red Cross to urge continued efforts to gain access to the soldiers and facilitate mediation. U.S. officials have also met with family members to hear their concerns. While we will continue to do what we can to encourage resolution of this issue, the involved parties have opted to conduct negotiations through non-U.S. channels.

We continue to call on all parties to adhere to their pledge to UN Secretary General Annan to respect the "Blue Line," exercise restraint, and use their influence to prevent provocation actions that can lead to miscalculation and serious escalation.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL BY THE HONORABLE ADAM B. SCHIFF, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

SUPPLEMENTAL AID PACKAGE FOR ISRAEL

Question:

I support an increase in military assistance to Israel and am curious as to what your thinking is regarding the supplemental aid package to Israel. Will the Administration submit a supplemental aid package for Israel and, if so, when and for what amounts?

Answer:

At present, there are no plans to request a supplemental aid package for Israel. If additional needs arise, they will be evaluated later in the year.

US-ARMENIA TASK FORCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Question:

The U.S.-Armenia Economic Task Force recently held a round of meetings in Yerevan to discuss how to promote increased trade and investment between the two nations. What plans do you have for building on the work of the Task Force and helping Armenia develop economically in the face of dual blockades by Turkey and Azerbaijan?

Answer:

Since its independence, the US has provided Armenia with over \$735 million in assistance with another \$90 million budgeted for FY 2001. The US-Armenia Task

Force, now over a year old, is the best vehicle for focusing our assistance efforts to help promote market reforms, integrate Armenia into the world economy and meet priority needs, such as fighting corruption or developing the information technology sector.

One outcome of the Task Force is the support of the US Trade and Development Agency for the Armenia business and investment conference in May 2001 in New York City. Also, USTR sent a mission to Yerevan at our request to help the Government of Armenia with its efforts to join the WTO. The Task Force will continue to promote these kinds of activities as well as to focus US assistance on job creation and investment.

