

Testimony of Andrew J. Shapiro
U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
Nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs
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Madame Chairwoman and distinguished members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. It is an honor and a privilege to testify before you. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to President Obama and Secretary Clinton for nominating me for this position and can assure you that, if confirmed, I will work every single day to meet the high standards and expectations that the Administration and this Committee have set.

I am delighted that joining me today are my wife, Yael Weinman, and my parents, Dr. Lawrence R. Shapiro and Miriam Shapiro. My sons, Samuel and Zachary, also provide me with tremendous pride and joy. I'm also delighted that my sister, Dr. Deborah Shapiro Plumer; my nephew, Adam Plumer; and my aunt, Ann Bialek, all travelled down from New York to share this day with me. My family has always been supportive of my involvement in public service despite the sacrifices that it often demands and I am tremendously appreciative of their love and support.

As the Committee knows, I had the honor of serving on Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton's staff as her primary foreign and defense policy advisor for the eight years prior to her confirmation as Secretary of State in January. That experience has imbued me with a deep understanding of the role that Congress plays in helping to formulate our national security strategy. Secretary Clinton has been the most significant mentor in my professional life and I plan to follow her example in establishing a close relationship with this Committee. As Secretary Clinton stated during her own confirmation hearing, "For me, consultation is not a catch-word, it is a commitment."

Since its establishment in 1960, the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs has served as the State Department's primary link with the Department of Defense. During my tenure as Senator Clinton's Senior Defense and Foreign Policy Advisor, I served as her primary liaison to the Senate Armed Services Committee. In that role, I had countless interactions with Pentagon officials and our men and women in uniform, and also visited numerous military installations in the United States and around the globe. If confirmed as Assistant Secretary, I will bring those experiences and relationships with me to the Bureau.

The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs is staffed by nearly 300 foreign and civil service employees, contractors, and military officers. As such it is representative of the type of cooperation and teamwork that will be essential to implement Secretary Clinton's and the Obama Administration's vision of "Smart Power."

A strong partnership between the State Department and the Department of Defense is critical to addressing the serious international challenges that the United States faces today. Fortunately, both Secretary of State Clinton and Secretary of Defense

Robert Gates have expressed a commitment to a State-Defense relationship that is complementary, not competitive. As Secretary Clinton noted in her confirmation hearing before this Committee, Secretary Gates has been particularly eloquent in articulating the importance of diplomacy in pursuit of our national security policy and foreign policy objectives. In particular she said, "Secretary Gates is more concerned about having a unified, agile and effective U.S. strategy than in spending our precious time and energy on petty turf wars." If confirmed, I pledge to work to ensure that the partnership between the State Department and the Department of Defense envisioned by Secretary Clinton and Secretary Gates is successful on a day-to-day basis.

In today's international environment, the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs has a critical role in providing the Secretary of State a global perspective on political-military issues. The Bureau plays a significant role in a wide array of political-military issues from Asia to the Middle East to Africa and the Western Hemisphere. I will briefly highlight some of the most significant issues that, if confirmed, I expect to address during my tenure as Assistant Secretary:

Management of Military Assistance: The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs manages approximately \$5 billion in military assistance through three programs: (1) Foreign Military Financing (FMF) which provides grant assistance to purchase U.S. defense articles and services; (2) International Military Education and Training (IMET) which provides grant assistance to foreign military and civilian personnel to enable them to attend U.S. military schools; and (3) Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) which provides grant assistance for countries to participate in non-UN peacekeeping operations including U.S.-led operations and for building global peacekeeping capacity.

In today's global environment, these programs provide critically important tools to the United States and if confirmed, the management of these tools will be among my top priorities.

Piracy: The attempted capture of the Maersk Alabama and the continued attempts on ships off the Horn of Africa are reminders that we must act swiftly and decisively to combat the threat of piracy. As Secretary Clinton has stated, "These pirates are criminals. They are armed gangs on the sea. And those plotting attacks must be stopped, and those who have carried them out must be brought to justice."

This Committee recently heard testimony from Captain Richard Phillips of the Maersk Alabama. We were all inspired by the courage and heroism of the captain and his crew, and by the bravery and skill of the U.S. Navy. These individuals are examples of the best that America has to offer. But now it falls to us to ensure that others are not put into a similar situation. In Secretary Clinton's words, "we may be dealing with a 17th century crime, but we need to bring 21st century solutions to bear."

On April 15, Secretary Clinton announced four immediate steps as part of a broader counter-piracy initiative. As an initial matter, Secretary Clinton made clear that the United States does not make concessions or ransom payments to pirates.

Second, she called immediate meetings with our partners in the international Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia to develop an expanded multinational response. The response to the State Department's original request through the Contact Group for nations to contribute naval vessels has turned out to be very successful. But now we need increased cooperation and coordination in several key areas that will allow the international community to more effectively deal with this threat. A meeting of the Contact Group took place in New York last Friday and addressed such topics as military coordination, prosecution of suspected pirates, and development of a public diplomacy strategy to discourage piracy and understand pirate financing. Results of the meeting included agreement to create an international trust fund to assist with the prosecution of pirates, and a declaration by the four largest flag states that they will require commercial vessels flying their flags to adopt self-protection measures.

Third, the Secretary tasked a diplomatic team to engage with Somali Government officials from the Transitional Federal Government as well as regional leaders in Puntland to press these leaders to take action against pirates operating from bases within their territories. We must recognize, however, that piracy is ultimately a product of instability and lack of governance in Somalia, Somaliland, and Puntland. A durable solution to piracy requires a comprehensive approach to addressing the full range of challenges facing Somalia.

And fourth, because it is clear that defending against piracy must be the joint responsibility of governments and the shipping industry, the Secretary announced efforts to work with shippers and the insurance industry to address gaps in their self-defense measures.

If confirmed, I will lead a comprehensive effort to follow up on the Secretary's counter-piracy initiative in order to reduce the incidents and impact of piracy off the Horn of Africa.

Defense Trade: The sale, export, and re-transfer of defense articles and defense services is an integral part of safeguarding U.S. national security and furthering U.S. foreign policy objectives. The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs' Directorate of Defense Trade Controls (DDTC) is charged with controlling the export and temporary import of defense articles and defense services covered by the United States Munitions List (USML). My understanding is that the Bureau has made great strides in reforming the Defense Commercial Sales (DCS) process in terms of reducing the case backlog and average processing time. The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, through its Office of Regional Security and Arms Transfers (RSAT), also manages the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) process. By implementing the Secretary of State's authority to authorize all U.S. arms sales, the Bureau plays a leading role in enhancing regional security and bilateral defense relations. If confirmed, I will work to insure that the Secretary's authority is implemented efficiently, transparently and in keeping with U.S. foreign policy objectives.

Countering the Proliferation of Conventional Weapons: The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs exercises leadership within the U.S. government in curbing the

proliferation of conventional weapons such as small arms and man-portable air defense systems (MANPADS), including the destruction of excess, loosely-secured, or otherwise at-risk weapons and munitions, and the removal of landmines and other explosive remnants of war that pose hazards after the cessation of armed conflict. Early in my career working for Senator Clinton, I worked on legislation that she sponsored to help landmine victims and thus I understand well the toll that explosive remnants of war can have on civilians. Moreover, MANPADS, when in the hands of terrorists, insurgents, and other non-state actors, pose a potential danger to commercial aviation around the world. If confirmed, efforts to curb their proliferation will remain a priority.

I've briefly discussed a few of the top priorities of the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs and the opportunities that exist for strengthening the State Department-Department of Defense relationship. If confirmed, I pledge to work closely with this Committee and Congress to support the President and Secretary's foreign policy agenda.

Thank you for the time and opportunity to appear before you today. I look forward to taking your questions.