

Questions for the Record
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General

1. Under her Transformational Diplomacy policy, Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice began a major initiative, the Global Diplomatic Repositioning program, which proposed rebalancing the number of Foreign Service Officers overseas by moving them from places like Washington D.C. and Europe to places where they are needed most, such as China, India, Brazil, Egypt, etc. and also to potentially hostile areas such as Afghanistan and Iraq. Will the administration continue to develop and execute this program? What do you see as the major successes and weaknesses of this program? What changes would you suggest be made to this initiative.

President Obama and Secretary Clinton are committed to assuring that our diplomatic resources are targeted on the areas of highest priority and importance to U.S. national interests. The Global Diplomatic Repositioning program reflected that basic approach, and if confirmed, Deputy Secretary Jack Lew and I will work with Secretary Clinton to assure that this effort is carried forward in a way that reflects emerging needs.

2. There are several Department of Defense core competencies that are critical to the success of State Department operations; rapid global mobility (airlift operations), provincial reconstruction teams, and DOD's massive logistics system (rapidly distribute humanitarian relief via land, air, and sea). How do you foresee the State Department partnering with the DOD to increase collaboration and increase utilization of these areas of expertise? Do you support the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI)? If so, how can the capabilities of the State Dept and DOD be more effectively merged?

Secretary of State Gates has made clear that he supports an enhanced partnership with State Department to make sure that all the elements of U.S. power can be deployed in support of U.S. national interests. If confirmed, I look forward to working with my counterparts in the Defense Department to assure that the civilian activities can be supported to the maximum extent possible consistent with the law, and to consulting with the Committee and Congress should changes be desirable. In this context, the Administration will review the Global Peace Operations Initiative and consult with the Committee on how the Administration plans to take it forward.

3. What steps will you take to make sure that the State Department combats violations of religious freedom and related human rights worldwide as required by U.S. legislation? Former Sec. of State Madeline Albright wrote that the State Department routinely ignores the "religious factor" in achieving U.S. global objectives. Some studies indicate that the robust promotion of freedom of religion or belief by the U.S. will aid in fostering durable

democratic societies, insuring sustainable local economic development, and fighting extremism. Do you agree with these views?

President Obama and Secretary Clinton have highlighted the importance of a foreign policy that reflects our values, including our commitment to freedom of conscience. In his inaugural address, President Obama sent a clear message to those who deny the rights of their citizens, including the freedom to worship: “To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.” And Secretary Clinton addressed this issue with clarity and passion in her testimony before this Committee: “[R]eligious persecution ... is anathema to Americans. [W]e believe in the freedom to worship. ... I believe that that is an area that we want to talk more about, that we want to raise, because of the significance. You point out rightly that ... we have given a lot of aid and ... we have given a lot of blood on behalf of certain countries that -- that persecute not just Christians but people of other religious beliefs, even interfaith beliefs within the same denomination or particular view of religion.” And I wholeheartedly concur in all of those comments.

Use of Force

4. In your 2005 LA Times Article you advocated that “preventive military force has a role in managing today’s security challenges.” Further you wrote “understanding that role is step one; establishing agreed standards for its use is step two; and implanting these standards in an effective institution is the third step.” What role do you see for the State Department in Step Two, establishing agreed standards? What diplomatic criteria do you believe needs to be met prior to preventive action? How does one implant these standards in an effective institution?

The State Department has vital role in working with our friends and allies, as well as within international institutions, to articulate basic principles that all states should accept, governing the use of force to protect national security interests, in response to emerging national security threats such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation and genocide. Sometimes these rules may be formally adopted by organizations such as NATO in documents such as the NATO strategic concept; sometimes they may be better suited for informal agreement.

Family Planning

5. For more than 30 years the Hyde amendments, which prohibit federal funding for domestic abortion services, have been supported by Republican and Democrat administrations and Congresses. Unfortunately, while this is the domestic policy of the United States, President Obama has vowed to reverse our foreign policy by repealing the Mexico City policy and use federal taxpayer dollars to fund abortion services overseas. Do you support President Obama’s efforts to lift the Mexico City restrictions? Do you believe our foreign policy should contradict long held domestic policies?

President Obama has supported repeal of the Mexico City policy, as has Secretary Clinton. Longstanding law, authored by Senator Jesse Helms, expressly prohibits the use of U.S. funds for abortion. The Mexico City policy is an unnecessary restriction that, if applied to organizations based in this country, would be an unconstitutional limitation on free speech.

6. How will the “ABC Method” under the PEPFAR program be utilized in the formation and/or reevaluation of administration policy as applied to foreign aid? Specifically will the administration continue to support the ‘A’ and ‘B’ Components of PEPFAR?

The President has applauded President Bush's efforts to combat HIV/AIDS. He is committed to fully implementing the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief and to ensuring that best practices drive funding. We will review PEPFAR options and consult with the Committee as we move forward.

Israel

7. The United States and Israel have signed a memorandum of understanding laying out expectations for U.S. military assistance to Israel for the next 10 years. This aid enables Israel to maintain its qualitative military edge (QME) – effectively its ability to defend itself against all possible conventional threats.

- Are you and the Administration supportive of the 10-year U.S.-Israel aid agreement?

Yes.

- Do you intend to send to Congress a request for \$2.775 billion for Fiscal Year 2010?

The State Department will be working with OMB on the President’s budget request for FY 2010, so it is premature for me to comment on issues involving budgetary support.

8. U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding

Just last week, the U.S. and Israel signed a Memorandum of Understanding that restated America’s “steadfast commitment” to Israel’s security, “including secure, defensible borders, and to preserve and strengthen Israel’s capability to deter and defend itself...” The agreement reaffirmed a high level of security, military and intelligence cooperation as well as U.S. assistance to Israel. Specifically, the MOU discussed the many things the U.S. and our allies should do to ensure that smuggling to Gaza is prevented in order to deprive Hamas the ability to rearm.

- The agreement was signed by former Secretary of State Rice but, I’m told, reflects the thinking of the Obama Administration as well.
- Does it, in fact, reflect current Administration thinking? Could you explain the details go into a little detail about the MOU?

- What particular steps is the Obama administration willing to take in order to help prevent the smuggling of weapons into Gaza?

The Obama administration supports actions necessary to ensure a sustainable ceasefire. It is strongly committed to working with the government of Israel and other partners in the region, including Egypt, to end the smuggling of weapons and other contraband into Gaza, which has fueled the recent conflict. Generally speaking, international agreements convey from one administration to a next in order to ensure some continuity of relations and that is particularly so with close allies like Israel. The Administration is prepared to provide appropriate officials to brief the Committee further on the particulars.

9. Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Historically, the United States has played an important role in working to bring about an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Generally, the U.S. policy has reflecting the understanding that: 1) ultimately, peace must be negotiated in a bilateral fashion between Israel and the Palestinians; 2) our desire for peace is not sufficient to create a willingness on the part of the Arab states and Palestinians to reach an agreement; 3) conditions must be right on the ground; 4) though the U.S. plays a very important role, there should be no imposed solutions and; 5) as far as international involvement is concerned, the U.S. should maintain a primary position.

- How would you define the proper and most effective U.S. role in support of Israel-Palestinian peace?

The specific role the Administration would play in helping Israel and the Palestinians reach agreements, including on final status issues, would very much be determined as an outgrowth of consultations with the parties. We have just begun those consultations and will be making this a top priority.

- How will the new Secretary structure U.S. involvement in the peace process? How involved will you be? Will there be a special envoy? How do you imagine the work being divided among various State Department entities, the White House and the NSC?

The Secretary is committed to having a special envoy for North Korean human rights and a policy coordinator and special envoy for Burma as required by law. We will ensure that these envoys have appropriate access to the Secretary and to me, and we will keep the Committee fully informed as we move forward.

Iran

10. What is President Obama's starting point with the situation in Iran as it approaches the capability to produce a nuclear weapon while also testing medium and long-range ballistic missile technology?

The new Administration will present the Iranian regime with a clear choice: abandon your nuclear weapons program, support for terror and threats to Israel and there will be meaningful incentives; refuse, and we will ratchet up the pressure, with stronger unilateral sanctions; stronger multilateral sanctions in the Security Council; and sustained action outside the UN to isolate the Iranian regime. A nuclear-armed Iran is unacceptable, and all elements of American power are on the table to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon – that must begin with the power of aggressive American diplomacy.

North Korea

11. Senator Clinton testified that the administration would consider new restrictions against North Korea for their uranium enrichment activities. What specific options would you propose the Obama administration consider following enactment of previously lifted sanctions on North Korea?

The new Administration will pursue direct diplomacy bilaterally and within the Six-Party talks to achieve the complete and verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs, and an accounting for North Korea's past plutonium production, uranium enrichment activities, and proliferation activities. Sanctions should only be lifted based on North Korean performance. If the North Koreans do not meet their obligations, we should move quickly to re-impose sanctions that have been waived, and consider new restrictions going forward.

12. The Bush Administration appointed Special Envoys for North Korean Human Rights and Burma, though these Special Envoys never were able to impact the setting of U.S. policy direction or priorities. Will you continue to appoint Special Envoy's for these two countries and how would you make sure that their advice is included when setting policy and diplomatic priorities?

The Secretary will appoint a Special Envoy for North Korean Human Rights as required by law. We will ensure that these envoys have appropriate access to me and the Secretary.

China

13. Chinese aid and economic expansion in Africa has outpaced any other nation and it is estimated that by 2010 they will exceed the U.S. as the number one exporter to the continent. Please explain the State Department's strategy with regards to aid and also building partner capacity with U.S. companies to lessen any further loss of influence in the region.

In Africa, the foreign policy objectives of the Obama Administration are rooted in security, political, economic, and humanitarian interests, including: combating al Qaeda's efforts to seek safe havens in failed states in the Horn of Africa; helping African nations to conserve their natural resources and reap fair benefits from them; stopping war in Congo; ending autocracy in Zimbabwe and human devastation in Darfur; supporting African democracies like South Africa and Ghana--which just had its second change of power in

democratic elections; and working aggressively to reach the Millennium Development Goals in health, education, and economic opportunity.

As my colleague Jack Lew said today, we have to leverage the resources of international organizations, allies, corporations, foundations, and NGOs to maximize our impact. We must learn from efforts that have not succeeded, while bolstering those that are delivering results. We will review the most effective ways to build partner capacity with the private sector to achieve our objectives.

Middle East

14. President-elect Obama has said that among his foreign policy priorities will be to rebuild and revitalize our relationship with the European Union. One opportunity of mutual concern may be to work together on religious freedom problems in Saudi Arabia.

The head of the EU Parliament visited Saudi Arabia at the end of December and raised religious freedom concerns with every high-level Saudi official he met, specifically requesting that non-Muslim places of worship be permitted in the Kingdom in the same way that mosques are allowed to be built in Europe. Given that Saudi Arabia is the only Gulf state that prohibits non-Muslim places of worship, would you be willing to stand with the EU by publicly urging the Saudi government to more actively address their dismal religious freedom and human rights record and to permit non-Muslim places of worship?

- What priority would you give to getting genuine confirmation of previous Saudi promises to reform educational textbooks that promote anti-Semitism and hatred towards non-Wahabi Muslims, Christians and other faith groups?
- How would you work to end religious repression of non-conforming and minority Muslims, such as Shi'a and Ismailis, and the millions of Muslim and non-Muslim expatriate workers in Saudi Arabia?

Saudi Arabia has a key role to play in nearly all of the major challenges we face in the region. We have cooperated closely with the Saudis, but also had major points of disagreement on the treatment of women and religious minorities, as well as the export and support of Islamic extremism. The President will place a high priority on engaging the Saudis in a comprehensive dialogue on all of these issues. We need to lay out for them a clear regional strategy that addresses our priorities and what we expect from our partners.