The committee will come to order.

After recognizing myself and the ranking member, my good

friend Mr. Berman of California, for 7 minutes each for our opening

statements, I will recognize each member for 1 minute for opening

statements. We will then hear from our witness. Thank you. And

I would ask that you summarize your prepared statement to 5 minutes

before we move to the question and answer period under the

5 minute rule.

Without objection, Mr. Steinberg’s prepared statement will be

made a part of the record. And members may have 5 legislative

days to insert statements and questions for the record, subject to

the limitations in the rules.

The Chair now recognizes herself for 7 minutes.

Mr. Deputy Secretary Steinberg, I would like to recognize the

Iranian Americans from my District and around the nation who are

in the audience this morning and have family members in Camp

Ashraf in Iraq. They are extremely concerned about the safety and

the welfare the residents in Camp Ashraf and the actions of the

Iraqi Government against them. I urge the State Department to

ensure that the Iraqi Government will comply with its obligations

under the Status of Forces Agreement and international human

rights standards.

Thank you, sir.

The President’s address to the nation on Monday on the situation

in Libya was a welcome development but left many questions unanswered.

The President justified intervention by asserting ‘‘There

will be times when our safety is not directly threatened but our interests

and values are.’’ The President has also said that he authorized

military action to ‘‘enforce U.N. Security Council Resolution

1973’’ and the ‘‘writ of the international community.’’

Whether we agree or disagree with the decision to intervene in

Libya, concerns have now raised across both sides of the aisle

about implied future obligations under the Responsibility to Protect,

a vague concept first articulated in a U.N. General Assembly

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resolution more than 1 year ago, which the U.N. has endorsed but

failed to define.

Reports that the Senior Director of Multilateral Affairs on the

National Security Council Staff, Samantha Power, reportedly

helped lead the charge to intervene in Libya based upon this principle—

over the objection of military planners—only compounds

those concerns. Some Americans therefore question whether we

have assumed obligations to forcibly respond to crises everywhere,

including Ivory Coast, Sudan, or Syria.

Another area of concern is the scope, duration and objectives of

the NATO-led operation and the political mission that have not

been sufficiently defined. Nor have the anticipated short, medium

and long-term commitments of the United States.

The President has called for Ghadafi to step down in favor of a

government that is more representative of the Libyan people. However,

administration officials have also said that Ghadafi himself is

not a target and that the United States is not pursuing regime

change.

But then, Reuters reported yesterday afternoon that the President

had signed a ‘‘secret order authorizing covert U.S. Government

support for rebel forces seeking to oust the Libyan leader’’

and that the President had said the objective was to apply ‘‘ ‘steady

pressure, not only militarily but also through these other means’ to

force Ghadafi out.’’

So, Mr. Deputy Secretary, which is it? What is our objective?

Further, what are the contingency plans if Ghadafi is able to

cling to power? Would a political agreement that left Ghadafi in

power be an acceptable outcome? What are the implications for

Libya, for the region, and the United States if the civil war reaches

a stalemate? When referring to Libyan opposition, is the President

referring to armed rebels, to members of the Transitional Council,

or to both? And what do we know about the armed forces? What

do we know about the members of the Transitional Council? What

assurances do we have that they will not pose a threat to the

United States if they succeed in toppling Ghadafi? And how will

opposition forces, both political and military, be vetted?

Just yesterday, Secretary Clinton stated that Resolution 1973

amended or overrode previous U.N. Security Council resolutions

imposing an arms embargo on Libya. The Secretary said the resolution:

‘‘Amended or overrode the absolute prohibition on arms to

anyone in Libya, so that there cold be a legitimate transfer of arms

if a country should choose to do that.’’

So, Mr. Secretary, I ask how is the U.S. defining ‘‘legitimate?’’

Does the administration contend that U.N. Security Council Resolution

1973 overrides U.S. prohibitions? And does that mean that

U.N. resolutions create U.S. laws?

There are reports that some opposition figures have links to al-

Qaeda and extremist groups that have fought against our forces in

Iraq. My constituents are asking: Just who are we helping and are

we sure that they are true allies who will not turn and work

against us?

These are valid concerns, particularly given the administration’s

less than stellar record on promoting democracy and governance in

Libya, which would have included funding organizations run by the

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Ghadafi family had this committee not intervened by not signing

off on the funding.

The record on transfers of military-related items involving Libya

is also disconcerting. For example, for over 1 year, I requested a

detailed national interest justification for two proposed weapons

transfers to Libya. The Department failed to give us that written

justification. Ultimately, the proposed transfers were withdrawn

but only after Ghadafi began the slaughter of civilians.

Remarkably, however, the committee received a letter from Secretary

Clinton earlier this week regarding the overall Congressional

consultation process for defense sales and seeking to limit

the time for Congressional review. It is ironic that ill-advised weapons

transfers to the Ghadafi regime were only stopped as a result

of this committee’s due diligence, yet the State Department now

complains about our efforts to carry out careful due diligence on all

weapons transfers.

I hope that the administration will commit to working with Congress

effectively and transparently to address vital national security

and foreign policy concerns relating to arms sales.

The committee will continue to press for answers on the U.S.

strategy in Libya going forward and our short, medium and longterms

commitments.

And now I am pleased to yield to my good friend, the esteemed

ranking member, Mr. Berman, for his opening remarks.

[The prepared statement of Chairman Ros-Lehtinen follows:]

Thank you, Mr. Berman. I thank you

for talking about the Iran sanctions, and I totally agree with that.

So pleased to yield to my friend from New Jersey, the chairman

for the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights,

Mr. Smith.

Thank you so much.

Mr. Ackerman, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on the

Middle East and South Asia.

Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Ackerman. Thank you.

Mr. Burton, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and

Eurasia, is recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Burton.

Mr. Payne, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Africa,

Global Health, and Human Rights is recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Payne.

Mr. Rohrabacher, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight

and Investigations.

Thank you.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Meeks, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Europe

and Eurasia.

Mr. Sherman. I apologize. You were there first. I apologize. I

missed your card.

Thank you so much.

Mr. Royce, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation,

and Trade.

Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Royce.

Now we are ready to hear from Mr. Meeks. This is going to be

a good 1 minute because you had a lot of time to prepare. Sorry

about that.

The ranking member on the Subcommittee on Europe and Eurasia.

Thank you, sir.

Chairman Chabot, who chairs the Subcommittee on the Middle

East and South Asia, is recognized.

Thank you so much.

My list indicates that Mr. Connolly is next to be recognized for

1 minute.

Thank you, Mr. Connolly.

Dr. Paul of Texas.

Thank you, Dr. Paul.

Mr. Higgins of New York.

Thank you so much.

The vice chair of the Subcommittee on the Middle East and

South Asia is recognized, Mr. Pence of Indiana.

Thank you.

Ms. Schwartz of Pennsylvania is recognized.

Thank you so much.

Mr. Wilson of South Carolina is recognized.

Oh, I am sorry, I forgot. Mr. Wilson has the minister for the day.

So, we will go to Judge Poe; that is just the way it is.

Thank you so much.

Ms. Bass of California is recognized.

Mr. Cicilline of Rhode Island.

Thank you.

Mr. Johnson of Ohio.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. Cardoza of California.

Thank you, Mr. Cardoza.

Ms. Buerkle of New York, the vice chair of the Subcommittee on

Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade.

Thank you.

Mr. Sires of New Jersey.

I apologize to my colleague, my fellow Floridian, Ted Deutch. You

know, the ones you love the most—uh-oh. Mr. Deutch is recognized,

then we will go to our side, and then we will go to Mr. Sires.

Yes. I stopped before I got myself in

deeper trouble there.

Thank you. Thank you. I am sorry,

Ted.

Ms. Ellmers of North Carolina.

Thank you.

Mr. Sires. Do not be mad.

You are so small, it is easy to jump

over you.

Thank you, Mr. Sires.

Mr. Marino of Pennsylvania.

Thank you.

My other Florida colleague, Frederica Wilson of Florida, is recognized.

Thank you.

Thank you, Ms. Wilson.

Pleased to yield to Mr. Fortenberry, the vice chair of the Subcommittee

on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights.

Thank you so much.

And lastly, Mr. Murphy of Connecticut.

Thank you very much, sir.

And now we are fortunate to have before us the U.S. Deputy Secretary

of State, Mr. James Steinberg, who has just been named, as

we had heard, dean of the Maxwell School of International Affairs,

and university professor for social science, international affairs and

law at Syracuse University. Best wishes, Mr. Steinberg, on your future

endeavor.

He has had a long and distinguished career. He served as dean

of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University

of Texas and as vice president and director of Foreign Policy Studies

at the Brookings Institute.

He also served as Deputy National Security Advisor to President

Clinton and held a number of positions at the State Department

including Chief of Staff, Director of Policy Planning and Deputy Assistant

Secretary for Analysis in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

He has written numerous books and articles, and holds a BA

Harvard and a JD from Yale.

And I would like to thank you for your help in securing the freedom

of three journalists who had a direct link to my area in South

Florida. Thank you for taking my call, and so many calls about

their predicament. Thank you for your help in making sure they

got home safety.

Mr. Steinberg, you are recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary. I think

we’ll get to your other points in the questions.

Yes.

Thank you, sir.

Last night the regime’s former Intelligence Chief and Foreign

Minister defected, as some members had pointed out. Will the U.S.

Government question him or any other former regime member

about the attack over Lockerbie, Scotland that killed hundreds of

Americans? Americans, including my constituent John Binning

Cummock, are demanding answers and this man has them. Have

any of these former officials been deposed by the Department of

Justice? What is the plan going forward to get information from

them about that attack?

And if I could remind the Secretary to please respond to the letter

delivered to her by the families of Pan Am 103, including my

constituent Victoria Cummock.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Berman is recognized.

Thank you very much.

And acting with the consent of the ranking member, I would like

to engage in a colloquy version of the authorization query. Mr. Deputy

Secretary, the committee would like to make a request of you

on a different issue. As part of the budget authorization process the

Department has frequently provided the committee with draft legislative

language for the changes in statutory authority that it is

seeking, as well as supporting explanations and information. I

would like to ask my good friend, the ranking member, if he would

he join me on the record today in asking the Department to convey

any such request to us as soon as possible so that we can give them

adequate consideration as part of the State Department authorization

process?

Thank you, Mr. Berman.

And, Mr. Steinberg, can you commit to us that the Department

will at least let the committee know within the next week whether

or not any request for new or changes in existing statutory authorities

will be forthcoming, even if they have not yet been finalized?

That would be so helpful. Thank you,

Mr. Steinberg.

Thank you, Mr. Berman.

With that, I turn to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa,

Global Health, and Human Rights, Mr. Smith of New Jersey.

Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Ackerman, the ranking member of the Subcommittee on the

Middle East and South Asia is recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. Burton, chairman of the Subcommittee

on Europe and Eurasia.

Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr.

Burton.

Mr. Payne, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Africa,

Global Health, and Human Rights.

Thank you so much.

Mr. Rohrabacher, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight

Investigations is recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Royce.

And I would like to tell the members of our committee that the

Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. is in the side room if any of you

would like to go and discuss the situation with the radiation leaks,

and the terrible humanitarian crisis that his country is undergoing.

And more than anything, he would like to thank the Members of

Congress for the help that the U.S. has given to his beleaguered

country.

Mr. Sherman, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Terrorism,

Nonproliferation, and Trade, is recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Steinberg. And thank

you as well, Mr. Sherman.

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation,

and Trade, Mr. Royce of California is recognized at this time.

Thank you, Mr. Royce.

Thank you. Good point.

Mr. Meeks, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Europe

and Eurasia, is recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Steinberg.

Thank you, Mr. Meeks.

Mr. Pence, Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia

vice chair.

Thank you, Mr. Steinberg.

Thank you, Mr. Pence.

Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Connolly.

Ms. Buerkle, the vice chair of the Subcommittee on Terrorism,

Nonproliferation, and Trade is recognized.

Thank you to both.

Ms. Bass of California is recognized.

Thank you very much, Ms. Bass.

Mr. Duncan of South Carolina.

Thank you so much, Mr. Duncan.

Mr. Cicilline of Rhode Island is recognized.

Thank you, Mr. Cicilline.

And batting clean-up, Ms. Schmidt of Ohio.

Thank you very much, Ms. Schmidt.

Thank you, Mr. Steinberg for excellent testimony. We look forward

to continuing this conversation on such an important issue.

And with that, the committee is adjourned.

Thank you.