Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, welcome to the Committee. I’ll try not to beat

up on people from the State Department, and I will not raise the

‘‘K’’ word in our discussions today. I believe in the basic goodness

of people and the Russian people, but Russia has changed. The

former Soviet Republic no longer exists because of a flaw in economic

policy and political policy. But whatever the reasons, it is

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important, I feel very strong, that we should have good relations

with Russia, and I think we could do it on a people-to-people basis.

I happen to believe that the leaders of too many governments,

the Russian Government, our government probably and some other

governments, have a lot of flawed leaders, and our systems don’t

always put the best and the brightest there. But in this era in

which television is the medium, the person who gets there is the

person who stands up on top of a tank and gives a speech, even

though he has, maybe, a brain that is pickled by whatever. Or

someone becomes a leader because he gives one speech and makes

one statement in the province—and I will not use the ‘‘K’’ word—

and he becomes the leader of Yugoslavia. That even happens today

and probably in this country.

But still, accepting those premises, my question is who dictates

Russian foreign policy toward the United States? Who dictates Russian

foreign policy toward China? Who dictates Western foreign

policy toward Western Europe? And who dictates Russian foreign

policy toward the former Soviet Republics?

Now, and as an adjunct to that, I would like to know who dictates

U.S. foreign policy toward Russia? How do you arrive at your

foreign policy conclusions? Now, that is the first question.

Second question, there was a book that was published this year

called ‘‘The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage, Espionage in the

United States during the Stalin Period,’’ and it was based on, as

I am sure the period that an American writer or Russian writer

had access to the KGB files in 1992. These files indicated that

Alger Hiss was guilty, the Rosenbergs were guilty, a member of the

State Department or more than one were spying for the Soviet

Union, and even a Member of Congress from New York State was

spying for the Soviet Union.

My question is, what is the State Department doing to make sure

that you don’t have someone that is spying for Russia today? The

reason I ask that question is, do people in the Russian Government,

whoever these people are that are dictating Russian foreign

policy, do they know what our foreign policy is before Members of

Congress? Do they know it because of their espionage, or do they

know it because they are in this hearing room? I don’t think this

is the best place to learn what our foreign policy is going to be, but

I am sure there are people here.

One of my great games that I play in this room is that I try to

pick out who from the country being discussed is here representing

that country. I already picked out about three people here that I

assume are working for the Russian Government. But I won’t put

them on the spot.

But, anyway, if you could answer those questions, I would appreciate

it, and hopefully that will——

Is their level of sophistication greater than this

country or less or——

Dr. McFaul, could I get you to clarify one of your

points. Was your second category pro-Western pragmatists or protagonists?

Do you think I would be correct in my assumption,

feeling, that the leadership of Belarussia would fit into your fourth

category of anti-Western ideologies?

My question about the view is, what is the likelihood

of Russia forming a union with Belarussia as part of a greater

Russia, and if so, how would that impact their foreign policy for the

future?

General Scowcroft, I was in the Air Force this time

30 years ago, so I am impressed with your affiliation with the Air

Force; but you were part of an Administration or two Administrations

that I feel had sophisticated foreign policy and carried it out

very effectively and accomplished their goals and had some overall

strategic foreign policy.

I think that probably one of the problems that the Administration

had was that they did not put as much emphasis on domestic

foreign policy, and probably that contributed to losing the election

or either didn’t put emphasis on it or did not laud your successes.

I feel like currently we have an Administration that has put a

lot of emphasis on domestic foreign policy and has a very unsophisticated

foreign policy. I am from Louisiana and, a lot of people from

Arkansas think that dealing with Louisiana is foreign policy, but

that is neither here nor there.

My question is, how does this play out in Russia? I think most

of the nations in this day and time that have any semblance of democracy,

elect leaders or choose leaders based on domestic policy

and these leaders often are very unsophisticated on foreign policy,

and that becomes a secondary goal or objective, and it creates a lot

of problems between nations.

What are the chances of getting a group of leaders in Russia that

will have this increased sophistication on foreign policy, or do they

have it now?

One quick question. I have a daughter who went

to Russia some years ago in this people-to-people program. How effective

do you think these programs are in developing a better relationship

with these?

Is there any way that we can get more people-to-people relationship,

because I don’t have a lot of confidence in the politicians in

either country.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.