Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask unanimous

consent. I understand Mr. Flake is willing to yield me his 1

minute, and I would ask unanimous consent that that 1 minute be

incorporated into the 1 minute that you were going to grant us.

Okay. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Since the fall of Soviet communism, with Russia ready to be our

friend at that point and pulling back its military and letting all of

those people free, ending the Cold War, we have managed to make

an enemy out of Russia. We have pushed them into the arms of

China and Iran, which is contrary to the long-term interests of

both of our countries. Whether it is an unwillingness to let them

into the Western markets or demanding that the new Russian

democratic government pay for the debts of the Communist dictatorship

that preceded it or just the attitude of being clearly belligerent,

we have pushed the Russians in the wrong direction.

In the case of Kosovo, we insisted on the rights of the Kosovars

to be independent of Serbia. We bombed Serbia to ensure this independence.

We did this knowing the special relationship between

Belgrade and Moscow. I happen to have supported that operation.

I support the Kosovars, and yet that does not mean that I can be

dishonest and then not admit that the independence of Kosovo is

clearly analogous to the desire of these breakaway regions in Georgia

to be independent of Georgia.

For us to posture otherwise undermines our credibility, and repeating

it over and over again that there is no correlation, undermines

our credibility. It is an obvious reality.

Furthermore, all of the intelligence sources that I have talked to,

and I talked to a lot of them over the break, verify that the recent

fighting in Georgia and in its breakaway provinces was started by

Georgia. The Georgians broke the truce, not the Russians, and

none of the talk of provocation and all of this other stuff can alter

that fact.

Yes, some would cling to the fig leaf that the South Ossetians

may have provoked the attack by firing a rocket or an artillery

shell. This is reminiscent of the Gulf of Tonkin provocation. Let me

just say that——

The Russians are right. We are wrong. The

Georgians started it. The Russians ended it. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Okay. That is fine. It did not. I agree with

that. Then they attacked in great numbers. How many Ossetians

were killed by the Georgians when they came into Ossetia?

It was 150. How many Georgians were killed

after the Georgians came in and killed these Ossetians to try to

terrorize them back, under their submission, into Tbilisi, and then

the Russians intervened? How many Georgians were killed?

Okay, 150, less than 150 in each case, but

near 150.

How many Serbs were killed by American military operations to

make sure that the Kosovars had their right of self-determination?

About 500 is the answer, Mr. Secretary.

Now, we can talk until we are blue in the face, trying to say

there is no analogy here, but it does not cover up the obvious analogy

between Kosovo and what is going on in Georgia, where you

have breakaway republics similar to what the Serbs faced. Now,

the only difference is, of course, we are Americans, and they are

Russians, and the people trying to break away there were pro-Russian.

Let me ask you, is it NATO’s job now to make sure that any

group of people that want to be independent, like the Kosovars or,

let us say, the Ossetians, is it NATO’s job now to force all of those

people, utilize force, and protect any nation that is using force

against people who want their own self-determination, to protect

those governments who are using force to keep people from breaking

away and becoming independent and creating democratic selfgovernment?

I respect all of the work that you did in

Kosovo, and I just returned from Kosovo, over the break, and I will

tell you, it is so evident that there is great damage to our credibility

by repeating what is so obviously untrue.

I would suggest that, as I did in my opening statement, we have

just been pushing the Russians and pushing the Russians, making

them into an enemy when they, at first, wanted to be friends.

I remember when terrorists blew up hundreds of their children,

and our President of the United States did not even bother to go

over there and to express our sympathy and unity with those people.

Finally, let me just note, with all of this talk, this ominous threat

about Russia, here we end up seeing just the opposite reaction

about what is going on in China. When you compare what the Russians

have done to democratize and no democracy at all in China,

and the fact that we have caught 50 spies in the last 6 years from

China stealing military secrets from us; Mr. Secretary, how many

Russians have we caught stealing military secrets from us in the

last 5 years? The answer is zero, and that is not saying that they

do not have intelligence services.

The Russians are being portrayed as our enemy, the Chinese as

our friend, yet the Chinese are the ones with the totalitarian state.

This double-standard is not being missed in Moscow. Either we are

for democracy, either we are for those people in Kosovo and in

Ossetia and elsewhere and, I might say, in Georgia for their right

to be separate from Russia, to begin with, and if we lose that, we

have lost the high ground.

We are already losing our credibility right now. Let us not lose

the high ground. Let us be for self-determination and a democratic

process and not think that, because we are part of NATO, that

gives us the right to go in and back up these governments that are

using force on ethnic groups that want to be free and independent.

All right. Well, listen, I, again, do not have

to remind people that my anti-Soviet credentials are——

[continuing]. Without doubt. I am one of the

few people that I know that actually engaged with Soviet troops

during the Cold War. And let us just note that this is not the Soviet

Union, and I think, to the degree that we cannot change the

mind-set of some people to understand that the Cold War is over,

that has contributed greatly to the negative relationship that we

have now. This is not just a KGB thug that now came up and, because

he is a bad guy, our relationship is going to hell, no.

Russia was wide open to being our friends, and, like you say, all

of the interest of both of our countries is to work together, and, systemically,

we froze Russia out of our markets. The EU, of course,

never let the Russians in their markets, even as looters from the

West flooded into Russia, making themselves partners with Russian

crooks, and so patriots in Russia were able to look and see

their country being looted by foreigners who had made deals with

their own corrupt elements in their own society.

Where is that going to leave a patriot? This is not even negative

nationalism at play here in Russia; it is people who believe in their

country.

You just said that we cannot make sure that aggression is rewarded.

What are the Russians to think about that? We know absolutely

the Georgians were the ones who broke the truce. They

committed the aggression. They went in and killed 150 Ossetians,

and what is it? The Ossetians are a separate ethnic group that has

a different language. Do either one of you believe that the majority

of Ossetian people do not want to be independent of Georgia in a

free election, that that is what they would choose? No, but everybody

understands the Ossetians want to be free and independent,

just like the Kosovars.

So are the Russians going to sit down and let aggression be rewarded

by letting the Georgians come in there and slaughter a

group of Ossetians who just want, basically, their own self-determination,

just like the Kosovars? I can identify with that because

I supported the Kosovars. I thought it was a good idea for us to

use military might to defeat the Serbs, who were down there ready

to kill the Kosovars and to eliminate their right of self-determination.

What we have got right now; we have turned Russia into an

enemy with hostility and double standards, and part of that hos74

tility is keeping them out of our Western markets. If we are going

to have peace in the world, we need the Russians at our side.

I sat next to Ronald Reagan half-a-dozen times when Ronald

Reagan said, ‘‘This missile-defense system we are talking about,

the Russians should be our partners, and if they can ever get them

out of Eastern Europe, that is what we are going to do. We are

going to make them our partners in building a missile-defense system

that will protect all of us.’’

He said that a half-a-dozen times, and, instead, what did this administration

do? It moved forward in missile defense, and then, fait

accompli, announces, ‘‘Oh, yes, we are going to put it up on your

border,’’ and expect them not to think that that is a hostile act. It

is our hostility, and not Russian hostility, that is being manifested

right now in our relationship with Russia.

I am an American patriot, and I want what is best for my country,

and I do not blame Russian patriots. I was against the Soviet

Union because it was being run by people who were ideologically

being driven because they hated America’s democratic and capitalistic

system, but, as you say, that is not true of the Russian people

at all. They have got good hearts, and they are good people. I do

not know about the nature of Putin. He may be a real bad guy, or

he might be just a patriot reacting to the looting of his country, and

you are very welcome to refute——

Great.

You are suggesting that the Russians are trying

to dismantle Georgia?

You are not just saying Ossetia and these

two breakaway regions where people do not want to be part of

Georgia and do not speak Georgian, that that is dismantling their

country——

[continuing]. As compared to Kosovo.

Abkhazians lived in Abkhazia or Georgia?

I am not sure, but——

I did not know what percent.

Right.

Right.

That is correct. It is exactly the same argument

that the Serbs used against the Kosovars, exactly.

Exactly the same argument, exactly the same

argument. What you have to do is decide who is there today, and,

unfortunately, you cannot make up for all of these past errors. I

agree with you. There was a conflict, and that conflict was started

because Joseph Stalin decided to make those borders and put

Abkhazia and these countries together under the Georgians because

he was a Georgian.

Yes.

I would suggest that when we do elections in

this world, because of the complications that are inherent with

what we are talking about, that we have to talk about elections

based on people who live in a territory right now, and I know that

that is not justice for everybody in the world, but it is a workable

way of moving forward.

Okay.

Maybe you can answer it because you are an

expert on this. How many, before Stalin put these provinces into

Georgia, how many of them were Georgians then? How many were

native to the ethnic group?

Right.

Well, I happen to believe, to answer your

question, and I am not speaking for anybody, I happen to believe

that we should be on the side of self-determination, and we should

just hunker down and say, ‘‘Okay. This is the principle we believe

in,’’ and, at the end, it will make us many more friends around the

world than if we decide, No, we are going to support any country

that tries to suppress an ethnic group that is trying to break away,

even if that ethnic group was put in that country by Joseph Stalin

or some colonialist.

What was that?

The Russians gave up Kazakhstan, did they

not?

Okay.

So you were opposed to our efforts in Kosovo?

Oh, okay.

Right.

Okay. Well, if we are talking about an analysis,

all of the sinister talk that we hear coming out of our leadership

now about this horrible genocide that the Russians were committing

against Georgia—I got many, many briefs, intelligence

briefings on this in Europe during the break, and I was very diligent

on this, and I was talking to intelligence people from other

areas and they all suggested that the Georgians who went into

Ossetia killed more people than the Russians that went into Georgia.

More Georgians were slaughtering these other people than the

other way around.

Mr. Chairman, could I ask for a clarification

on that one point?

Did the Russians recognize Ossetia before or after the truce was

broken when the Georgians invaded Ossetia?

Okay.

Can we go back to my original question? Did

the recognition of Ossetia happen after the Georgian Army entered

Ossetia or before, which was a violation of the cease-fire?

It happened afterwards. Thank you.

Would you say that that was comparable to

our bombing of Belgrade when we were there to protect the

Kosovars expanding that war into Serbia?

I supported that, by the way.

I would say that we would have to have one

standard instead of a double standard.