Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank the

chairman of this committee for holding this timely hearing.

And I want to thank both these gentlemen, these two Secretaries,

for their just truly exceptionally, outstanding leadership. It

has been magnificent listening to you. I continue to be impressed

with your leadership, in that you have an understanding of situations.

You are principled, but you are also very pragmatic.

In following up on part of the answer that was to Senator Nelson’s

question, we are running into a lot of history here, history

and geography, and for everyone, and I am glad to hear your positive

outlook, and it is good to be optimistic.

But let us recognize the history of the instability, and violence,

and the lack of democracy in this country just in the last 100 years

of Afghanistan. In the last 100 years, they have had 12 rulers,

most of which ended their terms being assassinated, deposed, or exiled.

I could go through them. You ought to go through them all, from

1919, Durani Pashtun, Hadid Bula Khan, assassinated, because too

much British influence, Amanulah Khan, deposed and exiled in

1929 due to a revolt by the Ghilzias, in opposition to his modernization

ideas; 1929, one that did not even last 1 year, another,

a Tajik overthrown and killed; another one assassinated; next one,

deposed and exiled; overthrown and killed after that; next one,

killed in a shoot-out.

From 1978 to 1979, Hafizullah Amin, overthrown and killed, invading

Soviet military forces; Karmal, 1986, replaced and exiled.

Another Pushtun in 1992 overthrown and killed. The Mujahadeen

retreated to the extreme northeast. And, of course, Mullah Omar

fled in the face of the United States’ attacks and bombings, and

also attacks by anti-Taliban forces.

This is what you all are facing, as we are trying to bring some

stability and concepts of universal freedoms and human rights to

this country, which has no history of it. In fact, when it was ever

tried, it ended up being to the detriment, extreme detriment of

whomever was trying to move it that way.

Now, we are talking about draining this swamp. The people of

Afghanistan are fortunate that the good leadership and efforts of

our military forces have removed from that swamp the Taliban

forces, their repression and intolerance. What we now need to do

is fill in that swamp with soil, so that these concepts of security,

and freedom, and individual liberty can take root and grow.

Now, in doing so, we first have to install security and a structure

that will endure, so that you can have this concept of individual

rights, and a concept put into a constitution that one’s group

rights, or ethnic rights, or tribal rights are protected, and that individual

rights are protected, and also, obviously, a constitution.

Now, how this is going to be formed? I would like to hear your

views as whether this is a federation or a confederation that secures

security, No. 1. You talked about agriculture and health, economic

development, education, and opportunities through individual

freedom. Some of the more powerful warlords have expressed

reservations about the loya jirga, and have intimated that

they would resist any control, centralized control, from Kabul. This

is not at all surprising, again, looking at Afghanistan’s history; but

it does certainly present a problem, as far as having a unified country.

So what we are going to end up with? And this is my concern,

and I would like you all to address it, is whether we are going to

end up with all of these—you will try to get a regional force, or a

national force, but you may end up with regional forces, and you

are either going to have this current regime being a transitional regime,

hopefully, to a pluralistic democracy, with respect and protection

of individual rights, thereby securing all ethnic groups; or you

are going to end up with a divided country, with the Northern Alliance

group, the Tajiks, and the Hazaras, and the Uzbeks, and then

the southern part, generally by Pushtuns, or the third approach is

going to be a very long-term caretaker ward of the international

community of obviously all the bordering neighboring countries, as

well as others, which means a very, very long deployment, and

probably not very satisfactory.

Now, where do you see this moving? In the short term, I see this

as a Balkanized country. How do you see our ability to influence

people to actually join a national force, as opposed to being in a regional,

or tribal, or warlord force, and how do you see us, as well

as our allies, trying to be James Madisons, in a different sense, in

structuring a constitution that has buy-in from all the people, and

all the factions, and the warlords of Afghanistan?

Well, will we be insisting that, regardless of how

they form this confederation, or federation, or constitution, that,

obviously, security matters, but also that these universal rights are

respected——

By law.Thank you, gentlemen.Thank you, Mr. Chairman.