Mr. Chairman, thank you, and I appreciate you

asking the question, because I think we could probably take that

down two or three more levels, and maybe some of our colleagues

will do that, and if I have time, I will come back to that.

Gentlemen, thank you both. As always, we are grateful for your leadership.

Secretary Armitage, you mentioned that you believe the success

in Afghanistan and Pakistan was tied together. I assume what you

were referring to was our success in the overall region of our policies.

My question is this: Does the administration have an integration

of policies that, in fact, builds on your observation that you

just shared with us a few minutes ago, that would, in fact, enlarge

just the Afghanistan/Pakistan relationship?

For example, do you believe, do you have a policy, and is it so

integrated, and how are you doing it, that the success, and the relationship,

and our involvement in Afghanistan and Pakistan have

an impact on, are tied to, and coordinated with our policies in the

Middle East, Indonesia, other trouble spots in the world? Do you

believe, as we reverse the optics here, which has been mentioned

this morning, Senator Lugar talked about it, why is it people seem

not to care for us, some people?

Do we have an integrated policy that reverses those optics to say

the Muslim world is looking at us, or the Arab world, or any world,

through their optics, not America’s? Your comment led me to believe,

and I want you to respond to this, that, in fact, the administration

does have a policy to understand that these areas are all

linked together, Iran, Iraq, that you cannot, in fact, deal in this

universe without having some certainly spillover, symbolism,

words, deeds, actions, that, if you do one here in Afghanistan or

Pakistan, that it is tied, in fact, to how the world sees us and our

actions in the Middle East, or in Indonesia, or anywhere else.

So I would appreciate it if you could take that a little further and

explain to me if we have such a policy, and how it works.

Paul, would you like to respond to that?

A followup question to that point. Is it just our

interpretation or understanding, as you just said has been said

here, that the role model for Muslim countries really would be Turkey,

for other nations? Is that not the designation of the other Muslims/

Arabs to decide, rather than for us to decide for them, ‘‘Now,

you want to be like Turkey?’’

I have heard from other Arabs/Muslims from around the world

that Turkey is not necessarily the secular country that many Muslims

would emulate. I happen to be a great supporter of Turkey.

My bigger question is: Are we making these determinations

through our optics, or trying to understand the optics of the others,

how they see it, and not just how the United States sees it?

I am a graduate, believe it or not. It probably

takes that idea out of your mind, but——

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Welcome to each of you.

As you, Senator Lugar, and you, Chairman Biden, know each of

these individuals, I do, and I am a friend of each, and I am an admirer

of each, and not just is it a result of my narrow parochial

interests that Ambassador Tomsen resides at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

I think these two witnesses have laid out the best dynamics of

understanding of what is going on that I have yet heard and have

yet read. I think both of you, each of you, have it right, exactly

right, and I am not sure I would disagree with a sentence in any of this.

Now, with that, and I am just sorry that our two Deputy Secretaries

are not here to hear this, and I am going to send them each

a note today with copies of your testimony, and request that they

take the time to read, which you have each written.

Senator Lugar is, I think, on track with his general question that

he has just proffered, and it resembles somewhat the line of questioning

that I had for Secretary Armitage. When I asked the question,

what is the integrated overall policy of this administration,

not just in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which he acknowledged are

interrelated, and when I developed that a bit, the Secretary did not

give me a very good answer, and I had 7 minutes, so I did not have

a chance to come back and talk more about it.

But here is the point, I am concerned with what we are doing

in Afghanistan, because I fear it is being seen and will be seen as

kind of a glancing blow strategy, not our role, not our responsibility

kind of strategy, and we heard remnants of that from both the Secretaries

this morning. That was not our intent when we went to

Afghanistan, be in for the cheap, get out for the cheap, and, of

course, we declare war on Iraq weekly, and threaten to invade, and

I am not sure that helps our overall focus and discipline and resources.

And it is like the general knows so well, resources matter; but

what matters most is where you apply those resources and how you

use those resources. Because even America—in America, we have

finite military capabilities and assets, and the general knows that,

as well as do you, Mr. Ambassador.

The general’s comments here about the blow to American prestige

and honor, aside from what this would do, unravel our war

against terrorists, and our overall objective, and partly why I asked

Secretary Armitage that question about reversal of the optics. And

do you think that anything we do in that region, Afghanistan and

Pakistan is in any way interpreted by anybody else around the

world, that we may not just be, and I know this is a concern, trying

to do too much, in one sense, but at the same time, too little?.

I think there is a conflict, that my sense is that Senator Lugar

was getting to a little bit, as well as Chairman Biden, there is a

bit of a schizophrenic kind of approach to all of this. I am one who

believes and have believed, believe more today than I did a few

months ago, that our commitment in Afghanistan must include exactly

what the two of you have laid out here, and it cannot be done on the cheap.

There is just too much writing on this, and I would be interested

in your defining, each of you, a little bit deeper than your testimony

in any way that you want to take this, numbers, aid. You

mentioned, Mr. Ambassador, that you have heard and know of in

your constant relationships and contacts with people over there,

that the aid is not getting done. That cuts right to the credibility of our word, our commitment.

Now, we can come up and testify at all these fancy hearings, and

say, ‘‘Oh, no, we have $4.5 billion,’’ but, in fact, when you get on

the ground over there, do they really have $4.5 billion, and where

is it going? The unraveling process will come quickly, as each of

you know, because each of you had real-life experiences in these kinds of things.

So I throw out to each of you, as I have made some comments

overall, but to take my thoughts, comments, questions, and proceed

in any direction you wish to go, because I do not think either one

of you overstates the concerns you have, based on not just your

own experience and knowledge, but on a perception and a perspective that few of us have.

So go ahead, Mr. Ambassador, you begin.