The committee will come to order. We have a

Roll call vote on in the Senate, and other members are at least delayed.

I hope some of them will be able to get here, but I have been

authorized by the minority to proceed, which I appreciate.

This afternoon, the Foreign Relations Committee will be addressing

U.S. policy regarding North Korea. Now, before getting into the

Bush administration’s review of this policy, I think it is worth remembering

with whom we are dealing. The Communist dictatorship

in North Korea has been one of the most evil regimes in this

world. In more than 50 years the rulers of Pyongyang have terrorized,

tortured, imprisoned, and murdered their own people, all of

whom, and all of which continues to this good day, unabated, as

we meet here in Washington, DC.

Freedom House has described North Korea as, ‘‘arguably the

most tightly controlled country in the world.’’ Now, that control is

exercised through a variety of means, one being a penal code right

out of George Orwell’s ‘‘1984.’’ According to the State Department,

the North Korean Penal Code stipulates capital punishment for,

and I am quoting, ‘‘crimes against the revolution,’’ and that includes

In recent years, upwards of 10 percent of its population perished

from starvation and disease, but the North Korean regime is continuing

to lavish its funds on its huge and offensively posturing

military while watching the distribution of food by foreign humanitarian

groups.

Now, several questions I think must be addressed concerning the

policy of the United States regarding North Korea, but all of them

in my view must be premised upon a clear understanding of the

despicable regime with which we are dealing.

One issue that is properly being reviewed by the Bush administration

is the future of what is called the Agreed Framework. Now,

I have never believed that it has been sensible to provide nuclear

reactors to North Korea, a regime that has a history of aggression

and is a proven proliferator of weaponry. Now, what conceivable interest

does it serve the United States to give nuclear technology to

such a regime?

In late 2000, it was reported that the Clinton administration

sought South Korean and Japanese support for replacing the nuclear

reactors with conventional power plants, and in March of this

year the author of the Agreed Framework, Robert Gallucci, whom

we have with us today, expressed his preference for the conventional

power option.

Last, we must consider the threat posed to the United States and

its allies by North Korea’s ongoing missile program. We already

know that from its 1998 test that North Korea has the capability

to deliver a sizable warhead to Alaska and Hawaii. Moreover, we

have yet to deal with North Korea’s missile production deployment

and/or exports.

In its zeal to dispense with the nuclear era and missile threat

from North Korea and foster relations with its inhuman and dictatorial

regime, the Clinton administration completely ignored

North Korea’s massive conventional army that still looms just over

the border from Seoul, and we will continue to do that at our own

peril.

So those are among the issues that I hope that our witnesses will

examine today, and Senator Biden, when he comes, and if he is

able to come, we will yield to him wherever we stand in the process.

I am very pleased and proud of the witnesses here today, and I

am grateful to each of you for being here, and if I get your name

wrong, please correct me. Dr. Norbert Vollertsen. This gentleman

is formerly of the German Emergency Doctors, a humanitarian

group assisting North Korea. Mr. Chuck Downs, former Deputy Director

of the East Asian Office of the Pentagon, and author of the

book, ‘‘Over the Line: North Korea’s Negotiating Strategy.’’ I had

a copy here, and I will get it back. Ambassador Robert Gallucci,

dean of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, and last but not

least, Ambassador James Laney, former Ambassador to South

Korea.

And I suppose I always believe in starting on the left and proceeding

to the right, so we end up in the right. Dr. Gallucci, we

will be glad to hear from you. I believe there has been some agreement

about our timing so that we can have a lot of questions. You

may proceed, sir.

Yes, sir. We appreciate that. You can read from

it as you please.

We appreciate your coming.

Ambassador Laney. That is a familiar name down in my country.

Thank you, sir. We have been joined by the distinguished

Ranking Member, Senator Biden. Do you have any

opening comments?

Thank you very much, doctor.

Suppose we have a round of about 7 minutes each and we will

see how we do on that.

I am fascinated by your presentation, Dr. Vollertsen. You mentioned

that the food aid inspection process in North Korea is

rigged, and that the North Korean elites are profiting from the aid

they get from the West. Now, do you have a suggestion about how

to rectify that situation?

Well, that is very sensible, and I agree with you,

but should we cease humanitarian aid until North Korea verifiably

allows the aid to go to those who need it most?

Well, I agree with that, but this business of getting

to it and correcting it, which is not a simple process, you mentioned

that the North Korean people suffer from psychosomatic illnesses.

Do you want to elaborate on that a little bit?

Now, I want to move on to Mr. Downs and others,

but on the refugee situation I want to discuss that briefly.

Well, you have made quite a contribution to this

hearing, and I appreciate it.

Now, the next question goes to any of the other three or all.

Henry Sokoski and Victor Galinsky have identified the fact that it

would take at least 3 years for the IAEA fully to inspect and document

North Korea’s nuclear program, something that is required

before key nuclear components can be shipped to North Korea

under the Agreed Framework.

Now, given the obvious fact that we are at the stage whereby

‘‘key’’—and I put quotation marks around key. Key components will

need to be delivered also in about 3 years. Does it make really any

sense to proceed with the Agreed Framework at this time, and I

would like all three of you to address that.

I know the media and others will be dying to

know who said that. That was Will Rogers, who could have been

elected from either party, he was that popular. He chose not to be

a politician.

Senator, we welcome you, sir.

Sure, go right ahead.

Doctor, I admire your passion, and I can tell by

the expressions on the other witnesses faces that they do, too.

Let us see, the North Koreans have offered to extend the current

missile test moratorium to when, 2003, or something like that?

Do you think we ought to—well, I will put it another

way. How do you think we ought to interpret that, and I

would ask all three of you.

One of my friends is Ruth Graham, Billy Graham’s

wife—excuse me. You wanted to say something.

Please do.

I agree with that. Doctor.

Well, I have presided over a lot of hearings, and

this one ranks very high on the ones that really have been of interest

to me. I know you gentlemen, each of you came at the sacrifice

of your time. A good record has been made or is in the process of

being made, and the Senators who were not able to be here are

likely to have some questions that they would like to pose to you

in writing, and I am going to suggest that they do so, and I hope

that you can find time to respond.

In the meantime, I am grateful for the time you have spent to

give me a very informative afternoon. I have been the beneficiary

of your coming here.

I have one final question. Have you ever met Franklin Graham?

He is not a doctor, but he is with the Samaritans, and I can see

that you do not know him. I am going to have somebody give you

his name and address.