

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Secretary of State-designee Hillary Rodham Clinton
Senator Robert P. Casey, Jr.
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
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Grand Strategy and U.S. Foreign Policy

Historically, the United States has adopted one of four grand strategies, or some combination of the four: neo-isolationism (avoidance of foreign entanglements), selective engagement (traditional balance of power realism that works to ensure peace among the major powers), cooperative security (a liberal world order of interdependence and effective international institutions), and primacy (American unilateralism and continued hegemony).

Which grand strategy, or combination of strategies, do you think best describes how you would seek to promote U.S. national security today?

I appreciate that the Members of the Committee, the American people, and many others around the globe are interested in how the Obama Administration will protect our security, advance our interests, and promote our values in the world. The President-Elect has promised a new direction for our foreign policy, and while we must always take into account the lessons of history, it should not be surprising that the paradigms of the past neither adequately describe our present realities, nor provide a comprehensive guide to what we should do about them. In my prepared statement, I will explain why today's world requires that we practice what some have called "smart power," which entails leading with diplomacy, and marrying principles and pragmatism to advance our security and interests in an increasingly complex and interdependent world.

Global Education for All

In the 110th Congress, you introduced the Education for All Act, an important piece of legislation to invest up to \$10 billion, over 5 years, as part of an international effort to enroll in school the 75 million children in poor and conflict-affected countries that have been left behind. During the course

of his campaign, President-Elect Obama committed to erasing the global primary education gap by 2015 and capitalizing a “Global Education Fund” with at least \$2 billion in funding towards the goal of universal access.

As Secretary of State, will international basic education remain a priority for you? If so, please describe what policies you would like to design and implement to support it, how would you envision Congress supporting your efforts, and how this significant investment will benefit the recipients, and the United States?

The United Nations developed the Millennium Development Goals to help reduce the crippling burden of global poverty. One of those goals is to achieve universal primary education by the year 2015. The United States joined other UN member states in adopting the MDGs in 2000, and I applaud our government’s commitment to reaching all of these goals, including universal primary education. I look forward to implementing President-Elect Obama’s vision and ensuring that the U.S. remains a leader in efforts to help all girls and boys access quality basic education. We should coordinate our efforts with others, including the World Bank’s Fast Track Initiative, in order to maximize our investment in global education

I know there are many ideas as to how the United States can best contribute to the global efforts to achieve universal basic education, and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with my colleagues in Congress and education experts to develop a comprehensive strategy for education assistance.

I believe that any strategy should include the following components:

- **Adequate access to at-risk children: Our efforts to achieve universal education must reach all children, particularly those who are most likely to be out of school. We must ensure that children in conflict areas or disaster sites have the opportunity to continue their education. We must ensure that often-marginalized populations, such as children with disabilities and indigenous or minority ethnic groups, have access to education. And it is imperative that our global education efforts include increasing enrollment of girls, who currently account for a majority of children that lack access to education.**

- **Quality education: Our efforts to achieve universal basic education cannot simply be measured by enrollment figures. Rather, we must ensure that every child has access to a quality education, and is in an environment that is conducive to learning. Specifically, we must ensure that we have adequate resources, including a trained teacher workforce and educational materials, and an environment that is free from violence.**
- **Accountability: We must ensure that our increased investment comes with a plan for coordination, so that we are complementing, not duplicating, other efforts. It is also important to have strong management within our government to oversee these efforts, facilitate cooperation among agencies and our other partners, and ensure that we are making continued progress toward universal basic education.**

Weapons in Space

The Bush administration refused to engage in multilateral talks regarding any constraints on the testing or deployment of anti-satellite weapons. China conducted one such test in 2007 that produced tens of thousands of pieces of space debris that will last for a century or more. Space debris can be lethal to satellites upon which American citizens, our armed forces, and the American economy depend. What is your view toward diplomatic initiatives to increase space security?

Please outline your broad views on whether or not the deployment of new weapons in space enhances or undermines U.S. national security. Under your leadership, will the State Department pursue diplomatic initiatives to enhance space security?

During the campaign, President-elect Obama outlined his view that weaponizing space was not in America's interest. That remains his view and my view.

Land Mine Ban Treaty

More than 10 years ago, President Clinton was a leader in the global effort to ban antipersonnel landmines, being the first head of state to call for the "eventual elimination" of these weapons in 1994. The world community rallied, and 122 governments signed the Mine Ban Treaty in December

1997. The United States did not sign, as objections were raised by the Pentagon about the possible continued need for these weapons. At that time, President Clinton set out a policy that would have the United States developing alternative technologies and joining the treaty by 2006. The Bush Administration then undertook a review of this policy and announced in February 2004 that the United States' new policy was to never join the treaty.

Please outline whether or not you intend to revisit the U.S. position on the Land Mine Ban Treaty as Secretary of State.

The incoming Administration has not taken a position on the landmine treaty. We are committed to working with our friends and allies around the world to reduce the threat posed by landmines.

Cluster Munitions Treaty

On December 3, 2008, 94 nations, including some of the United States' closest military allies such as Great Britain, France, and Australia, signed a treaty in Oslo, Norway banning the production, stockpiling, transfer and use of cluster munitions. The Bush Administration did not participate in the negotiation of the treaty and did not sign it. However, the U.S. government did acknowledge that these are weapons of grave humanitarian concern, and in June 2008 Secretary Gates articulated a new U.S. policy that in ten years, the military would stop using and begin destroying its arsenal of cluster munitions.

A spokeswoman for the Obama Transition Team was quoted on December 3 in The Chicago Tribune that the next President would "carefully review the new treaty and work closely [with] our friends and allies to ensure that the United States is doing everything feasible to promote protection of civilians."

Can you confirm that this policy review will take place? If so, what is the time frame for the policy review? Please outline the broad principles that are likely to guide the Obama Administration's policy review on cluster munitions.

The incoming Administration has not taken a position on the new cluster bomb treaty. I look forward to working with the President-Elect

and the rest of the national security team on this issue in order to develop a policy that upholds our moral obligations while protecting our troops. The new Administration will carefully review the treaty in consultation with military commanders and work closely with our friends and allies to ensure that the United States is doing everything feasible to promote protection of civilians – especially children.

China

By 2025, China is expected to have the world's second largest economy and be a leading military power. It also could be the world's largest importer of natural resources and the biggest polluter. Many believe that the United States-China relationship is the most important bilateral relationship in the world. While the United States and China have fundamental differences on key issues, including the future status of Taiwan, it also has common areas of cooperation, such as securing the peaceful nuclear disarmament of North Korea.

Please outline how the United States will view China under President Obama. Will the Obama Administration view China as a national security threat to the United States, a cooperative partner for a common security agenda, or some combination of the two?

It is difficult to put a label on a complex relationship. We have to find ways to work cooperatively with China on issues of shared concern – including climate change, North Korea, and proliferation – while we also candidly and frankly express our views when and where we disagree – as on democracy, human rights, for example. With American leadership and this pragmatic approach, we can improve our relationship with China and advance our shared interests. That is the approach that I will take into my job if I am fortunate enough to be confirmed.

The Role of Special Envoys

Numerous press reports indicate that you are looking at the appointment of a series of regional envoys to manage such hotspots as the Middle East, Iran, South Asia, North Korea and other crises.

Can you describe your thinking behind this approach of appointing a series of special envoys to help manage the key foreign policy hotspots for the next Administration?

How will these special envoys co-exist with the regional Assistant Secretaries, e.g. for Near Eastern Affairs, for South Central Asian Affairs, etc.? Do we run the risk that these regional Assistant Secretaries will be marginalized?

How will you ensure that the interagency process will be respected as these special envoys carry out their duties? That the equities of the Defense Department, the National Security Council, and other key Executive Branch components are not ignored or brushed off?

If confirmed, I am committed to using the full range of tools and resources at my disposal to ensure that the State Department carries out its vital mission during this challenging time. I hope to bolster the Department's senior ranks by becoming the first Secretary to fill the second Deputy Secretary position. I've asked Jack Lew to join me at the State Department, so that we can tap into his expertise in budgeting and management to ensure that the department has the resources it needs to carry out its mission, and that those resources are deployed effectively. And like Secretaries of State have in the past, I anticipate using envoys as additional means to achieve the President-Elect's goals for America's foreign policy. No specific decisions have been made about specific envoys, but I can tell you that these envoys will work in tandem with the Department's existing structures -- and collaboratively through the interagency process -- to bring additional focus and resources to a given issue or area.

Iran

Iran is likely to be the most serious foreign policy challenge that confronts President Obama. Over the past three years, despite the passage of a series of United Nations Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions, Iran has continued to steadily move forward on its nuclear program, drawing closer and closer to mastering the uranium enrichment cycle that can provide the fissile material for a nuclear weapon. For the past two years, I have encouraged the Bush Administration to take a look at the utility of placing further pressure on Iran by assembling an embargo on exports of reprocessed

gasoline products to Iran. As you know, despite its vast oil resources, Iran does not have sufficient refining capacity to supply its consumers and economy with sufficient gasoline, leaving it to import refined gas.

Should the United States lead an international effort to ban the export of reprocessed gasoline products, an essential ingredient for Iran's industrial economy, to increase the pressure on Iran's leadership to end its nuclear activities in defiance of the United Nations?

We are closely monitoring this situation, and remain cognizant of potential pressure points with Iran. We will examine a range of options to apply pressure to the Government of Iran to end its illicit nuclear program, and preventing Iran from importing refined gasoline will be one such option we examine. The incoming administration will work with our international allies to persuade the Iranian regime that verifiably abandoning its nuclear weapons efforts is in its best interest.

Jubilee Act and Debt Relief

The current financial crisis is having impacts all around the world and it threatens to reduce progress towards meeting global poverty reduction goals in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In the last Congress, working with the Ranking Member, Senator Lugar, Senator Dodd, and 23 other Senate co-sponsors, I introduced the Jubilee Act for Responsible Lending and Expanded Debt Relief, to build on previous rounds of debt cancellation to make all impoverished nations with accountable governments eligible for bilateral and multilateral debt relief. I look forward to introducing the legislation again this spring.

What should be done to alleviate the impact of the global economic crisis on the world's most impoverished countries? What is your view on the role of debt relief as a tool to help poor countries free up their resources to fight poverty? Specifically, do you support expanding the list of poor countries eligible for debt cancellation to include all transparently and accountably-governed impoverished countries that qualify for so-called "IDA only" assistance from the World Bank?

President-Elect Obama and I each cosponsored the Jubilee Act in the Senate, and believe that the United States and its G8 partners must complete debt cancellation for all of the Heavily Indebted Poor

Countries (HIPC) – a commitment the President-Elect enumerated during the campaign. I have been supportive also of expanding the list of HIPC countries, and will urge that the new administration give that full consideration as part of our foreign assistance program.

The Millennium Challenge Corporation

The Millennium Challenge Corporation, or MCC, has been one of President Bush's signature development programs. It has been both praised as encompassing innovative and creative ideas, as well as criticized for being too slow to disburse funds once a compact has been signed.

I am a strong backer of the MCC, as I believe the idea of linking expanded U.S. foreign assistance to governments that demonstrate a record of good governance, market-based economic stewardship, transparency in budgets, and anti-corruption practices is a solid one – we should reward those governments that do the right thing by their people.

Can you describe to the Committee your general views on the MCC? Is this an initiative that will continue with strong support under the Obama Administration? How do you envision the MCC fitting into broader U.S. foreign assistance reform efforts this Administration may pursue?

The MCC is a unique tool in America's foreign policy portfolio. It has the potential to incentivize poverty reduction, improve health structures, and better governance in developing countries. President-Elect Obama supports the MCC, and the principle of greater accountability in our foreign assistance programs. However, there are clear challenges within the MCC, such as the pace of implementation of compacts and the danger of a lack of coordination with overall U.S. foreign assistance. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Congress to integrate the MCC as a key part of a modernized foreign assistance architecture.

Violence Against Iraqi Christians

Violence in Mosul this previous fall drove away large numbers of Iraqi Christians. This violence is emblematic of a larger pattern of severe persecution by extremists that threatens to deprive Iraq of her non-Muslim

citizens. It also highlights the possibility of increased violence ahead of provincial elections.

For over one-thousand years, Iraq has been home to people of many faiths who have lived and worshipped side by side, including Shiites, Sunnis, Jews, Yazidis, and Christians. This long and proud tradition has made Iraq a cradle of human civilization.

How do you intend to work with the Iraqi government to ensure that Iraqi Christians are not singled out for persecution and violence?

Religious persecution is anathema to Americans. We believe in the freedom to worship, and there is an office in the State Department that is committed to religious freedom. I will work with our international allies to speak out strongly against discrimination and oppression in any form – in Iraq and elsewhere -- because it violates not only American values, but also American security interests throughout the world.