REGIONAL OVERVIEW OF EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT
OF THE
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The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:35 p.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Eni F.H. Faleomavaega (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. Faleomavaega. Subcommittee will come to order. This is a hearing of the Foreign Affairs Committee’s Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific and the Global Environment, and today we have as our special guest the assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, the Honorable Kurt Campbell. As is the practice, the chairman and the ranking member usually give opening statements, and in the process, we should be getting more members coming in from their respective offices. The ranking member, my good friend, Congressman Manzullo, is tied up in a markup at the Financial Services Committee, but I am sure that he will be here shortly.

Mr. Secretary, thank you for joining us today. I appreciate your efforts and those of Secretary Clinton and President Obama in upgrading our relations with the Asia Pacific region. Your collective efforts have delivered demonstrable positive results. Indeed, with few exceptions I believe this administration has done an excellent job in its first year managing relations with this most dynamic and important region. For example, despite the challenges posed by China, this administration has defied the practice of many of its predecessors by getting off to a positive start with Beijing.

Beijing’s relatively mild response to weapons sales to Taiwan and the visit by the Dalai Lama, I believe, reflect a maturation of our ties, particularly as a result of the Strategic and Economic Dialogue and other high-level interactions, as well as relative calm in the Taiwan straights with President Ma’s election. However, there is also cause for concern regarding issues ranging from Copenhagen to Google. Yet I believe the maturation of the United States-China relationship also suggests China’s own interest in peace and security as the country attempts to maintain internal social stability by meeting the economic, and increasingly, the social and political demands of its 1.3 billion citizens.

There is no doubt that China’s artificially weak currency and the country’s position on Iran will pose difficult problems this year. Yet, if both sides hew to the positive, cooperative and comprehen-
sive United States-China relationship as agreed last year, I believe we should be able to work things out.

Meanwhile, as the Congressional Research Service has noted, “Relations between the United States and South Korea arguably have been at their best state in nearly a decade.” Last year’s joint vision statement provided an important marker in the evolution of the bilateral relationship toward a truly global orientation.

On North Korea, our two countries are working as closely as ever, which is critically important in transferring any wartime operational control from the United States to Korea in the near future. With Seoul chairing the G–20 this year, the Republic of Korea has a vital role to play in supporting international growth and development. That said, I am concerned that if the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement remains in limbo, the effect could become increasingly corrosive. That is why I fully support the timely passage of the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. United States-Japan ties, a subject this subcommittee will address specifically in a hearing in 2 weeks, remain on a solid footing despite a degree of media hyperventilation over basing issues, host nation support and potential changes in Japan’s foreign policy.

With the Democratic Party of Japan in power for the first time in 50 years, we need to demonstrate patience, a word you have wisely reiterated in recent weeks. So long as we are guided by our shared interests and our broad, deep and enduring ties, I believe we will find mutually satisfactory answers to basing and other issues, especially the problem with Okinawa. In Southeast Asia, your team has made important strides in reversing the previous administration’s neglect of the region. Last year’s initiation of a long-needed policy change permitting United States engagement with Myanmar, which you personally led, and Secretary Clinton’s signing of the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation set the stage for enhanced relations with the region.

President Obama’s participation in a first-ever U.S.-ASEAN Summit and his personal links to Indonesia, including his trip there to launch the U.S.-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership later this month, will further bolster our ties. However, I urge you, Mr. Secretary, to make continuing human rights abuses in West Papua a priority as we develop the partnership. Meanwhile, our alliances in Thailand and the Philippines remain robust, as do our diplomatic, economic and security relations with Singapore and Malaysia. United States interactions with Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have become increasingly cooperative, and the fact that Vietnam is chairing ASEAN this year offers an effective means of strengthening ties.

Our relations with Cambodia have deepened, particularly after last year’s lifting of the ban on direct assistance to the Cambodian Government and on Export-Import Bank financing for United States companies seeking to do business in Phnom Penh as well as in Laos. As we discussed last week, I strongly advocate forgiving Cambodia’s debt in order to improve that country’s economy and to address the legacy of war. Toward that end, I also believe we should take a more proactive stance in funding demining operations in Laos and in addressing the tragic effects of Agent Orange in Vietnam. In addition, I hope we can compliment our diplomatic,
political and strategic overtures in Southeast Asia with real progress on trade, including on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, on other initiatives with individual Southeast Asian countries and ASEAN as a whole, and ultimately a free trade area for this region.

In the Pacific, the administration has been on the right track with Secretary Clinton’s meeting with Pacific Island leaders during the U.N. General Assembly. As you noted, Mr. Secretary, her commitment to holding such meetings annually is a great improvement. Your having moved forward on returning USAID to the Pacific Islands through the $13 million requested for Fiscal Year 2011, an initiative I have pursued for more than a decade, I believe, will have an important, positive effect. As you know, Mr. Secretary, I have been screaming for the last 20 years about the fact that we have not had a USAID presence in the Pacific.

I look forward to Secretary Clinton’s rescheduled trip to Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea, and, as you mentioned in our discussion, her plans to stop in American Samoa as part of the trip, which, as you indicated, she was slated to do originally. Following up on our discussions, I have also invited her to stop over as I believe such a visit would support your efforts to strengthen United States-Pacific Island relations and American Samoa’s position as a regional leader. It would also give her the chance to thank the thousands of Samoan men and women serving in the Armed Forces during a year that will be marked both by rebuilding efforts in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake and tsunami, and by the 110th anniversary of the United States flag being raised in American Samoa. Our people in the military services put their lives on the line every day in the most dangerous parts of the world. In fact, in Iraq we have a higher per capita combat mortality rate than any other U.S. State or territory.

I applaud Secretary Clinton in meeting her objectives to deepen our historical ties, build new partnerships and work with existing multilateral organizations. As she has aptly stated, “America’s future is linked to the future of the Asia Pacific region, and the future of this region depends on America.” I am very, very happy that we are joined this afternoon by one of our distinguished colleagues and senior members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and our former ambassador to the FSM, my dear friend, Congresswoman Watson from California, for her opening statement.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Faleomavaega follows:]
Mr. Secretary:

Thank you for joining us today. I appreciate your efforts and those of Secretary Clinton and President Obama in upgrading our relations with the Asia Pacific region. Your collective efforts have delivered demonstrable, positive results. Indeed, with few exceptions, I believe this Administration has done an excellent job in its first year managing relations with this most dynamic region.

For example, despite the challenges posed by China, this Administration has defied the practice of many of its predecessors by getting off to a positive start with Beijing. Beijing’s relatively mild response to weapons sales to Taiwan and the visit by the Dalai Lama, I believe, reflect a maturation of our ties, partly as a result of the Strategic and Economic Dialogue and other high-level interactions, as well as relative calm in the Taiwan Straits with President Ma’s election. However, there is also cause for concern regarding issues ranging from Copenhagen to Google. Yet, I believe the maturation of the U.S.-China relationship also suggests China’s own interest in peace and security as the country attempts to maintain internal social stability by meeting the economic, and increasingly, social and political demands of its 1.3 billion citizens. There is no doubt that China’s artificially weak currency and the country’s position on Iran will pose difficult problems this year. But if both sides heed to “a positive, cooperative and comprehensive U.S.-China relationship,” as agreed last year, I believe we can work toward solutions.

Meanwhile, as the Congressional Research Service has noted, “relations between the United States and South Korea... arguably have been at their best state in nearly a decade.” Last year’s Joint Vision statement provided an important marker in the evolution of the bilateral relationship toward a truly global orientation. On North Korea, our two countries are working as closely as ever, which is critically important in transitioning wartime operational control from the United States to Korea in the near
future. And with Seoul chairing the G-20 this year, the ROK has a vital role to play in supporting international growth and development. That said, I am concerned that if the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement remains in limbo, the effect could become increasingly corrosive. That is why I support the timely passage of KORUS both here and in the National Assembly.

U.S.-Japan ties, a subject this Subcommittee will address specifically in a hearing in two weeks, remain on a solid footing despite a degree of media hyperventilation over basing issues, host nation support and potential changes in Japan’s foreign policy. With the Democratic Party of Japan in power for the first time, we need to demonstrate patience—a word you have wisely reiterated in recent weeks. So long as we are guided by our shared interests and our broad, deep and enduring ties, I believe we will find mutually satisfactory answers to basing and other issues.

In Southeast Asia, your team has made important strides in reversing the previous Administration’s neglect of the region. Last year’s initiation of a long-needed policy change permitting U.S. engagement with Myanmar—which you personally took the lead on—and Secretary Clinton’s signing of the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation set the stage for enhanced relations with the region. President Obama’s participation in the first-ever U.S.-ASEAN summit and his personal links to Indonesia, including his trip there and the full launch of the U.S.-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership later this month, will further bolster our ties. However, I urge you to make continuing human rights abuses in West Papua a priority as we develop the Partnership.

Meanwhile, our alliances with Thailand and the Philippines remain robust, as do our diplomatic, economic and security relations with Singapore and Malaysia. U.S. interactions with Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have become increasingly cooperative, and the fact that Vietnam is chairing ASEAN this year offers an effective means of strengthening ties. Our relations with Cambodia have deepened, particularly after last year’s lifting of the ban on direct assistance to the Cambodian Government and on Export-Import Bank financing for U.S. companies seeking to do business in Phnom Penh as well as in Laos. As we discussed last week, I strongly advocate forgiving Cambodia’s debt in order to improve that country’s economy and to address the legacies of war. Toward that end, I also believe we should take a more proactive stance in funding demining operations in Laos and in addressing the tragic effects of Agent Orange in Vietnam.

In addition, I hope we can complement our diplomatic, political and strategic overtures in Southeast Asia with real progress on trade, including on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, on other initiatives with individual Southeast Asian countries and ASEAN as a whole, and ultimately, a Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific.

In the Pacific, the Administration has been on the right track with Secretary Clinton’s meeting with Pacific Island leaders during the U.N. General Assembly and, as you noted last week, her commitment to holding such meetings annually. Your having moved forward on an initiative I have pursued for more than a decade—returning USAID
Ms. Watson. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. I feel this is a very timely hearing so we can look to the state of affairs in East Asia and the Pacific. Samoa is such an important part of that region, and I look forward to returning again. In these last few months we have seen a considerable change in the region. Japan saw a shift in leadership for the first time in 50 years from the Liberal Democratic Party to the Democratic Party of Japan. North Korea left negotiations and carried out a nuclear test. Though the administration has made some strides with respect to building a more positive relationship with China, there is a long way to go, increasingly complicated by the friction of the Sino-United States economic relations.

With this changing environment in the region it is important to reevaluate our strategy in order to maintain some stability. Therefore, I thank you, Secretary Campbell, for coming to answer our questions and to address some of these changing issues. I also, again, thank the chairman, and I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. Faleomavaega. Thank you, Congresswoman. I appreciate your testimony. Again, our subcommittee is very honored to have with us assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, Secretary Campbell. Secretary Campbell was appointed and nominated by President Obama and he became assistant secretary in June of last year. A very, very distinguished record. A history in the Asia Pacific region, a former associate professor of public policy and international relations at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Dr. Campbell served in several capacities, also as deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Asia Pacific. Also was a director on the National Security Council staff as a White House fellow, an officer in the Navy. What hasn't he done?
Received his bachelor's degree from the University of California in San Diego and his doctorate in international relations from Oxford University's Brasenose College, and was a distinguished Marshall Scholar. Mr. Secretary, I again thank you for coming, and I am going to give you the floor. Please share with us your wisdom. I am sure that my colleagues and I will have some questions and comments on the state of affairs in this important region of the world, the Asia Pacific. Mr. Secretary?

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE KURT M. CAMPBELL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Ms. Watson. Thank you both for your leadership on these issues and your commitment. I cannot imagine a more timely hearing than to discuss American strategy and our commitments in the Asian Pacific region. Before I get started, I would like to ask that my full testimony be submitted for the record. It is rather lengthy and detailed and I don't want to read it. I would rather us have a conversation.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Without objection. Any other ancillary materials you would like to submit for the record, Mr. Secretary, you are more than welcome.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you. I will do so. Mr. Chairman, I think the truth of the matter is the United States faces both challenges, real challenges, but also opportunities in the Asian Pacific region, and now we have the opportunity to look back over the last year to what we have accomplished and some of the things that we would like to work on in the time ahead. First of all, let me say that one of the most significant issues that we deal with is that when we look back on this period in 20 or 30 years, I think there will be no doubt that although we are importantly engaged in Iraq and Afghanistan and in issues in South Asia, the truth is, I think, really the fulcrum of history, the most dynamic region of the world, the most important issues for our prosperity and our role in global politics, those issues are playing out in the Asian Pacific region.

It is absolutely essential that the United States convey to the key players in the Asian Pacific region that we are here to stay and that we are going to play a dynamic and continuing role in all aspects of foreign policy, national security, the promotion of human rights and our values, trade, economics in the region going forward. It is absolutely essential. I have to say, Mr. Chairman, there really wasn’t a word in your statement, or yours, Ms. Watson, that I would disagree with. I think I would associate myself very strongly with everything that you have said. You will have noted that from the outset of the administration our senior team, the President, the Secretary and other senior officials, Secretary Gates and others, have tried to make clear not only with their words, but their actions, about their strong commitment to the region.

Secretary Clinton’s first visit as Secretary of State was to the Asian Pacific region. During the first year in her capacity as Secretary of State she visited the region four times and she will have a similar record in the period ahead. She has taken enormous steps not just in Northeast Asia, but also in Southeast Asia as well. I
must also say that she has a vision of drawing India, a critical country for the United States, one of the arriving nations in global politics, to bring India more closely into our discussions and our dialogue associated with critical issues in the Asian Pacific region. President Obama visited, important visit to Southeast Asia for APEC.

Also the first ever, as the chairman indicated, U.S.-ASEAN Summit in Singapore, and also important discussions with our friends in Japan and South Korea, and I think an important visit to China as well. In the coming weeks he will be making another visit to Asia where he will stop in Guam, an American protectorate. The chairman has given us excellent advice about how to think about that trip. Also, stops in Indonesia where he spent time as a young person, and Australia as well. We are looking forward to that, and I think it is another opportunity to reaffirm our strong commitment to the region as a whole. We face not only traditional challenges of the kind that we faced for decades, questions about an uncertain set of circumstances on the Korean peninsula, we still face challenges there, we have the responsibility of the maintenance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Straight, and we also face the challenge of terrorism in Southeast Asia in various forms.

In addition, we face new challenges, such as the challenge of climate change. Some of our partners and friends in the region believe that this is one of the greatest challenges of the 21st Century. I would concur with that assessment, and I know that will be one of the issues that the President and the Prime Minister in Australia will be discussing in a couple of weeks’ time. In some specifics, Mr. Chairman, I would say that, as you indicate, we have a new government in Japan, really the first fundamental transition in government power in Japan, in over half a century. We are working very closely with our partners in the new government. I must underscore that they have taken several steps that the United States deeply appreciates.

Today, they are the largest supporter of assistance to Afghanistan. They have stepped up in a big way. In many respects, more significant and substantial investments than some of our traditional partners in Afghanistan. They have been very supportive in the wake of the Copenhagen meetings in terms of following through with critical, credible steps in terms of trying to deal with the potential consequences of climate change. We are also working closely on issues associated with our security relationship. I must tell you, Mr. Chairman, like you, I am confident that we will find a way forward to work through our issues on Okinawa. We share many of the same goals. We want to reduce the burden on the people of Okinawa, but at the same time, we believe the maintenance of American forces in Japan is a cornerstone of our commitment to the Asian Pacific region.

The only thing I would disagree with, you said our relations with Korea are the best they have been in 10 years. I would say how about ever. This is the best I have ever seen relations between Washington and Seoul. The summit that I witnessed between our two leaders was the best I have ever experienced. I must say we are deeply grateful for the very substantial commitment that we get on a range of issues from our South Korean friends. Their re-
cent commitment to Afghanistan, their increase in support for a vari-
ety of investment and humanitarian assistance in the Asian Pa-
cific region and elsewhere is much appreciated.

I think you and others have rightly underscored the challenge of
the relationship with China. We will have much more to discuss
about that in the question and answer. I would just simply say that
we recognize that this is probably the most complicated and com-
plex relationship that the United States deals with on a daily
basis. There are going to be issues that we work closely on, there
are going to be issues that we need to cooperate, but there are also
going to be issues on which the United States and China disagree.
We are working closely with our friends in Beijing on a range of
issues currently. At the top of the list are critical issues to the
United States. I would argue, and we would argue, to the global
community they include Iran, North Korea, climate change and
also continuing efforts to ensure that we are seeking a true recov-
ery economically.

There are a range of issues that our two sides deal with. As you
have underscored, Mr. Chairman, we have had a recent period of
some disagreements, but we are confident that we are going to be
able to maintain positive momentum going forward. There is a sub-
stantial ballast in our ship in United States-China relations and we
recognize the importance of this relationship. We are also com-
mitt ed to maintaining peace and stability across the Taiwan
Straight. You will have noted the steps that we have taken in this
regard in recent weeks, and we stand by those. You have also seen
a substantial increase in our commitments in Southeast Asia. We
have a comprehensive partnership with Indonesia that the Presi-
dent will launch in a few weeks.

Secretary Clinton underscored her commitment to the region
through a MeKong Delta initiative. We have signed the Treaty of
Amity and Cooperation. We are in deep discussion with our friends
in Southeast Asia about the next steps associated with architec-
ture. We talked about that, Mr. Chairman, when I met with you
last week. Clearly, the United States wants to play a role in the
multilateral institutional discussions in the region, and we will
have more to talk about in the near future. We are also engaged
in a careful dialogue in Burma. We recognize the challenges there.
We have not lifted our sanctions.

We have very clear guidelines about how we would like to pro-
ceed, and we call on the government there to continue to take steps
to hopefully lead to a dialogue inside the country and also to re-
lease political prisoners and to stop some of the violence against in-
digenous groups, including ethnic minorities, and of course the
longstanding call on the part of the United States to release Aung
San Suu Kyi.

Our relationship with Australia is outstanding, and we have
taken recent steps to make sure that we are working more actively
with the new government and new friends in New Zealand. Then
again, as I underscored at the outset, Asia as a region is growing
in many respects and India’s role in this respect is critical. So, in
conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would just say we have our work cut
out for us and enormous challenges. The region still looks to the
United States for leadership and for commitment, and we will con-
continue to try to provide that as we move forward. Thank you for this opportunity.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Campbell follows:]

Testimony of Kurt M. Campbell
Assistant Secretary of State
Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs
U.S. Department of State

Before the
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and the Global Environment

March 3, 2010

“Regional Overview of East Asia and the Pacific”

Mr. Chairman, Representative Manzullo, and Members of the Subcommittee, thank you very much for inviting me here today to testify about the vital importance of Asia-Pacific countries to the United States and for the opportunity to underscore key aspects of our engagement strategy for the region.

I would also like to take this opportunity to highlight and thank Representative Faleomavaega for his leadership in advancing both awareness of the importance of the Asia-Pacific region and of our 15-million strong Asian-Pacific Diaspora. This community truly makes America an Asia-Pacific power. Through their hard work and perseverance, many of the original Asian immigrants – who often fled persecution, war, and poverty – have educated and raised a new generation of Asian-American leaders. A look at President Obama’s cabinet reveals the success of this new generation with three members whose heritage is intimately tied to the Asia-Pacific; I speak of Secretaries Locke, Chu, and Shinseki. We are also led by a President who is, in many ways, our first Pacific President -- his ties to the region stretch from Hawaii to Indonesia. Asian-Americans have had successful careers serving in public office and have been revolutionary figures in business, the medical sciences and information technology. I look forward to working with you, Mr. Chairman, and with Members of this Subcommittee to find ways to continue to underscore the importance of this community to America, particularly during this year’s Asia-Pacific American Heritage month in May.
There should be no doubt that the United States, itself, is a Pacific nation. In every regard -- geopolitically, militarily, diplomatically, and economically -- Asia and the Pacific are indispensable to addressing the challenges and seizing the opportunities of the 21st century. As the Asia-Pacific century emerges, defining the new international environment, the United States must enhance and deepen its strategic engagement and leadership role in the region.

Even though we face challenges in other parts of the world, arguably the most significant geopolitical events of the 21st century are playing out in the Asia-Pacific. The rise of new powers — India and China — and their interactions with the existing order and established powers, such as Japan and the United States, pose both significant opportunities and challenges. Using history as a guide, we recognize that over the past 500 years the rise of new powers has sometimes caused conflict with existing powers. However, the probability of conflict need not destine us for conflict. Instead, a comprehensive strategy that creates space for new powers can ensure that they emerge peacefully and in a way that bolsters, rather than undermines, the international system.

Animating the calculation that the emergence of new powers necessitates conflict is an assumption that the U.S. is a nation in decline, soon to be eclipsed by new and rising powers. Nothing could be further from the truth.

We are the world’s most powerful economy, a global magnet for higher education, a trendsetter for popular culture, and the most militarily capable force in the world. Underpinning our soft and hard power assets is our unwavering commitment to human rights and democracy. Adherence to those principles is our strongest trait as a nation.

However, our strength cannot be a substitute for cooperation. The rapid emergence of transnational security challenges demands collective action. In fact, working with allies and partners is critical to solving some of the most pressing challenges of the 21st century. Nowhere is this truer than in the Asia-Pacific region.

The mutual importance of the ties between Asia-Pacific countries and the United States is most apparent in our economic relationships. The region is home to almost one-third of the Earth’s population. The Asia-Pacific region is a key driver for technological innovation and accounts for almost one-third of global GDP. Moreover, trade with Asia is increasing faster than any other region in the world. In fact, the United States exports more merchandise to Asia than it does to the
European Union, and nearly as much as it does through the North American Free Trade Agreement. American and Asian economies are growing increasingly interdependent while forging the global economic recovery. Free trade and robust economic engagement will remain a critical pillar for our strategic engagement in the Asia-Pacific region.

Despite significant economic growth and vitality, the Asia-Pacific region is home to many of the most pressing security challenges of the modern era. What is often absent in our discussion about the “Asian miracle” are the challenges posed by uneven growth, poverty, and weak and ineffective governments. Hundreds of millions have yet to benefit from the fruits of the Asian miracle, and income inequality continues to strain the capacity of governments to provide for their citizens. Compounding these challenges is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, extremist groups in Southeast Asia, unresolved territorial disputes, and growing competition over energy and natural resources. Perhaps the most significant unintended consequence of the Asian miracle has been the acceleration of greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere and its resulting effects on the global climate. Asia’s densely populated littoral nations will likely suffer as climatic variations trigger ever more intense natural disasters in the region.

The severity and transnational nature of these challenges demand united action and American leadership. They also indicate the need for America to enhance, deepen, and sustain our engagement to seize opportunities and minimize risk.

Renewed Engagement Generates Results – Let me now take this opportunity to briefly list the steps we have undertaken over the course of 2009 and the first few months of this year to broaden U.S. engagement in the region.

First, we have reengaged in the region through visits of our senior leadership and attendance at high-level meetings. At the end of March, President Obama will be making his second trip to the region. He will visit Guam and spend some time with our service members stationed there, and then travel to Indonesia and Australia to strengthen and deepen our bilateral relationships with those countries.

That trip is one of a series of visits and initiatives that the Administration has undertaken in Asia. In November 2009, President Obama spent 10 days visiting Japan, Singapore, China, and South Korea, strengthening U.S. leadership and economic competitiveness in the region, renewing longstanding alliances, and forging new partnerships. Upon his return to Washington, he also hosted Prime
Minister Manmohan Singh of India for the first official State visit of his administration – underscoring the importance of the U.S.-India relationship "for peace, stability and prosperity in Asia, and for the betterment of the world."

President Obama’s November trip also included participation in the 17th Annual Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders’ meeting in Singapore— an important forum for U.S. trade since APEC members account for 53 percent of global GDP, purchase 58 percent of U.S. goods exports, and represent a market of 2.7 billion consumers. Our participation has produced concrete results that further U.S. strategic and economic interests. APEC Leaders endorsed the Pittsburgh G-20 principles and agreed to implement the policies of the G-20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable, and Balanced Growth, further expanding the global commitment to achieve more balanced growth that is less prone to destabilizing booms and busts. They also put forward a strong statement of support for concluding the Doha Round in 2010, and agreed to reject all forms of protectionism. In addition, Leaders’ continued to work to break down long-standing trade and investment barriers that have slowed economic integration in the Asia-Pacific region. Specifically, they agreed on core principles to promote cross-border services trade that will provide a strong basis for our efforts to facilitate and promote trade in services in the Asia-Pacific region.

Leaders also focused on eliminating obstacles to the flow of goods through supply chains, and simplifying rules of origin documentation and procedures. Leaders’ pledged to make growth more inclusive through APEC initiatives that will support development of small and medium enterprises, facilitate worker retraining, and enhance economic opportunity for women. Finally, Leaders’ took steps to ensure environmentally sustainable growth in the region by agreeing on an ambitious plan to address barriers to trade and investment in environmental goods and services. President Obama also co-hosted the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Leaders Meeting, the first ever with all 10 ASEAN members represented, clearly demonstrating renewed U.S. engagement with Southeast Asia.

Under the leadership and guidance of President Obama, Secretary Clinton, and Secretary Geithner, we hosted the first U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue in July of 2009, and we have agreed to hold the next round in Beijing. The dialogue set a positive tone for the U.S.-China relationship and allowed us to define a broad agenda, while underscoring challenges and opportunities in U.S.-
China relations. The agenda for the upcoming dialogue is comprehensive in scope and forward-looking in vision.

Secretary Clinton’s February 2009 trip included the first visit of a Secretary of State to the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta, Indonesia. Her July trip included meetings with regional foreign ministers at the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in Thailand and the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) with ASEAN members, the launch of the Lower Mekong Initiative and the Secretary’s announcement of the intent to establish a new U.S. Mission to ASEAN. Her November visits to the Philippines, Singapore, and China included attendance at APEC Ministerial meetings and consultations with allies and regional partners that further solidified relationships and deepened U.S. multi-lateral engagement. In January of this year, Secretary Clinton gave a major policy speech that outlined principles for U.S. engagement with Asia’s multilateral organizations, with a particular focus on developing their capacity for problem solving. The pace of our engagement with the region signals the renewed emphasis we place on developing partnerships in this critical region.

However, high-level visits and dialogues are only one aspect of our revitalized commitment to the region. Let me now turn to another area of renewed engagement: Burma. As you are well aware, the Administration’s formal review of U.S. policy towards Burma reaffirmed our fundamental goals: a democratic Burma at peace with its neighbors that respects the rights of its people. A policy of pragmatic engagement with the Burmese authorities holds the best hope for advancing this goal. Under this approach, U.S. sanctions will remain in place until Burmese authorities demonstrate that they are prepared to make meaningful progress on U.S. core concerns. The leaders of Burma’s democratic opposition have confirmed to us their support for this approach. I visited Burma on November 3 and 4 for meetings with Burmese officials, including Prime Minister Thein Sein, leaders of the democracy movement, including Aung San Suu Kyi, and representatives of the largest ethnic minorities. In my meetings, I stressed the importance of the release of political prisoners and emphasized that a dialogue on reform with all stakeholders is essential if the elections planned for 2010 are to have any credibility.

This year we also have the opportunity to further strengthen our cooperation with our Pacific partners. I want to underscore the Obama Administration’s commitment to stepping up our engagement with Australia, New Zealand, and the
Pacific. At the end of this month, as I previously stated, President Obama will visit Australia and Guam. He will seek to expand and deepen our bilateral alliance relationship with Australia. This is one of our strongest alliances in the region and in the world. Australia works with us pursuing common objectives on issues ranging from Afghanistan, where they are the largest non-NATO contributor, and helping counter proliferation of WMD. In Guam, the President will visit our troops and meet the Governor to discuss ways to revitalize the economy while protecting the environment.

Secretary Clinton is also dedicated to increasing our engagement in the Pacific. She entered office with a deep appreciation of the commitment and the sacrifices that the Pacific Island peoples have made for the United States. From American Samoa and Tonga’s commitment to supporting military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq to the islands’ support for the U.S. and the international community in the United Nations General Assembly, we see clear strategic alignment between Washington and the diverse and expansive Pacific Island nations. The Secretary’s upcoming trip to the Pacific will build on her meeting with Pacific Island leaders in September of 2009 in New York at the UN General Assembly, when all parties committed to work together to address climate change and other transnational issues. The U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Susan Rice, continues this effort, meeting regularly with her Pacific Island counterparts to share views and build cooperation on key issues before the United Nations.

Within weeks of assuming my current responsibilities as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, I also traveled to Cairns, Australia to represent the United States at the Pacific Island Forum’s Post Forum Dialogue of key partner countries and institutions. Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd chaired the proceedings, which focused on improving the coordination and effectiveness of development assistance efforts with assistance partners in the region. At the same time, we continue to undertake steps to further enhance our relationship with New Zealand and look forward to pursuing a forward looking agenda for the relationship.

**U.S. Strategic Framework for Engagement in the Asia-Pacific Region** – The Asia-Pacific region is of vital and permanent importance to the United States and it is clear that countries in the region want the United States to maintain a strong and active presence. Our policy will ensure that the United States acts as a resident
power and not just as a visitor, because what happens in the region has a direct effect on our security and economic well-being.

Over the course of the next few decades climate change, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and widespread poverty will pose the most significant challenges to the United States and the rest of the region. These challenges will continue to be highly acute in East Asia. This situation demands that the United States play a leading role, including by strengthening and broadening our alliances, building new partnerships, and enhancing capacity of multilateral organizations. Fundamental to this approach to regional challenges will be continued encouragement of China to be a force for regional stability, security, and prosperity and its continued integration into the international system. A forward-looking U.S. strategy that builds on these relationships and U.S. strengths as a democracy and an incumbent power in the Asia-Pacific is essential to manage both regional and global challenges.

With the positive outcomes of our renewed engagement as a backdrop, I would like to discuss a series of axioms that will continue to guide our efforts. Intrinsic to our engagement strategy is an unwavering commitment to American values that have undergirded our foreign policy in modern history.

It is precisely because of the emergence of a more complex world that Secretary Clinton detailed the five principles for how we view the Asia-Pacific multilateral architecture and U.S. involvement. These include the foundation of the U.S. alliance system and bilateral partnerships, building a common regional economic and security agenda, the importance of result-oriented cooperation, the need to enhance the flexibility and creativity of our multilateral cooperation, and the principle that the Asia-Pacific’s defining institutions will include all the key stakeholders such as the United States. The five strategic precepts guide the Obama administration’s engagement in East Asia and the Pacific.

For the last half century, the United States and its allies in the region – Japan, the Republic of Korea, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand – have maintained security and stability in East Asia and the Pacific. Our alliances remain the bedrock of our engagement in the region, and the Obama Administration is committed to strengthening and modernizing our alliances to address both continuing and emerging challenges. And, we must recognize that those alliances are, at their core, security alliances. Major multilateral exercises, such as the
recent Cobra Gold exercise co-hosted with Thailand, are tangible examples of the
enduring value of our alliances by continuing to provide opportunities to improve
force readiness and advance political and military objectives with our partners in
Asia.

Our security relationships are particularly important in East Asia where traditional
balance-of-power calculations still animate inter-state relations. The United States
must maintain a forward-deployed military presence in the region that both
reassures friends and reminds others that the United States will remain the ultimate
guarantor of regional peace and stability. There should be no mistake: the United
States is firm in its resolve to uphold its treaty commitments regarding the defense
of its allies.

Our treaty alliance with Japan is a cornerstone of our strategic engagement in Asia.
This year marks the 50th anniversary of the U.S.-Japan alliance and offers a unique
opportunity to chart a forward-looking vision for the alliance in partnership with a
new government in Tokyo. We share Prime Minister Hatoyama’s assessment that
the “The U.S.-Japan security arrangements continue to be indispensable not only
for the defense of Japan alone, but also for the peace and prosperity of the entire
Asia-Pacific region.” The U.S.-Japan relationship is both strong and
comprehensive; it links the world’s two largest economies and is supported by our
people-to-people exchanges and our shared commitment to democracy and human
rights.

The U.S. and Japan are now conducting unprecedentedly open and direct
discussions on a number of important alliance issues. Some have taken the fact of
this candid dialogue between allies as suggesting that the relationship is in trouble:
This is not the case. In fact, a recent poll in Japan showed 86 percent support for
Japan’s relationship with America — the highest number in the history of the
alliance. Claims that the election of the Democratic Party of Japan will undermine
the U.S.-Japan alliance are false. Our vigorous engagement to address complex
and sensitive issues is strengthening not weakening the relationship.

One of the most reported areas of discussion between the U.S. and the Japanese
government revolves around the roadmap for realigning U.S. forces in Japan –
specifically the Futenma Replacement Facility (FRF) on Okinawa.
The Guam International Agreement, signed by Secretary Clinton during her
February 2009 trip, carried the transformation of the Alliance to the next stage. As
part of our ongoing efforts to assist the Government of Japan with its review of the FRF Agreement, a high-level working group met in Tokyo in November and December, and the Government of Japan is continuing its review with a view to reaching a satisfactory conclusion in May. I also had very detailed consultations in Tokyo in February of this year, and will return there later this month in support of the expeditious resolution of the FRF.

In addition to seeking resolution of these specific basing issues, we are working to create a more durable and forward-looking vision for the alliance that builds upon Japan’s important global role in several areas, including climate change and humanitarian and development assistance programs, to name a few.

We are also working vigorously with our other critical ally in Northeast Asia, the Republic of Korea, both to modernize our defense alliance and jointly to achieve a partnership that is truly global and comprehensive. This year marks the 60th anniversary of the start of the Korean War – the scars of which are still visible today. As we reflect upon the last 60 years, we have been fortunate to build a strong and enduring alliance relationship with South Korea. The United States remains steadfastly committed to the defense of the Republic of Korea and to an enduring military presence on the Peninsula. The relationship also continues to evolve from one solely focused on peninsular challenges to one that is also playing an increasingly important role in the international arena. Building on the Joint Vision Statement articulated last June by President Obama and President Lee Myung-bak, we are committed to creating a more dynamic relationship that builds on our shared values and strategic interests. We are also supportive of Korea’s ongoing efforts to play a more significant role in global affairs. Just recently the ROK agreed to send some 200-plus peacekeeping forces to Haiti and will deploy a Provincial Reconstruction Team to Afghanistan in the coming months. We look forward to the Republic of Korea’s hosting of the 2010 G-20 Leaders Meeting in November in South Korea.

Japan and the Republic of Korea have been key partners in our joint efforts to maintain peace and stability in Northeast Asia and, in particular, to denuclearize North Korea through the Six-Party process. The process suffered serious setbacks in 2009 when North Korea abandoned negotiations, abrogated its agreements, and carried out a series of provocations, including its April 5 missile test and its May 25 announcement of a second nuclear test. As President Obama said, North Korea’s actions blatantly defied U.N. Security Council resolutions and constitute a
direct and reckless challenge to the international community, increasing tension and undermining stability in Northeast Asia. However, the international community’s unified response to North Korea’s provocations is another example of the fruits of U.S. engagement in the Asia-Pacific region. The U.N. Security Council, led by the Five-Party partners, unanimously condemned the DPRK’s actions and passed UNSCR 1874, introducing tough sanctions against North Korea’s weapons and proliferation finance networks. We welcomed Thailand’s subsequent seizure of North Korean weapons in December 2009, in support of UNSCR 1874.

In our effort to promote a peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue, and in close coordination with our partners in the talks, the United States sent U.S. Special Representative for North Korea Policy Ambassador Stephen Bosworth to Pyongyang on December 8 for discussions with North Korean officials about the nuclear issue. In these discussions, the DPRK acknowledged the importance of the Six-Party Talks and reaffirmed the September 2005 Joint Statement on the verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful manner. They did not, however, reach agreement on when and how North Korea will return to Six-Party Talks, a matter that U.S. officials discussed in Tokyo, Seoul and Beijing just last week. Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula remains at the core of our efforts to assure peace and stability in the region.

Another component of our effort is building a relationship with China that is positive, cooperative, and comprehensive. I think those of us who work on the China account on a daily basis understand that we have differences over issues such as human rights, intellectual property rights, and the transparency of China’s military modernization programs. Most recently, Beijing has voiced concerns about the Administration’s decision to pursue the sale of defensive armaments to Taiwan as authorized by the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act and about President Obama’s and Secretary Clinton’s recent meetings with the Dalai Lama. Nonetheless, as Secretary Clinton has noted, “With China, we seek areas of common purpose while standing firm where we differ.”

I am confident that U.S. and Chinese leaders will continue to work together on a number of important initiatives. We will need to persist in addressing these issues of disagreement through frank dialogue, eliciting Chinese cooperation on areas of mutual concern while directly addressing differences. To this end, we look forward to co-chairing the next round of the Strategic and Economic Dialogue in
Beijing where will pursue progress on a number of important global issues. As Secretary Clinton has stated, our relationship with China is mature enough to handle differences of opinion while continuing to work together on issues of shared and long-term significance to the security and prosperity of both countries.

We need to recognize Asia’s importance to the global economy. Close U.S.-Asian economic cooperation is vital to the well-being of the U.S. and international economic order. However, as President Obama noted in his recent trip to the region, “We simply cannot return to the same cycles of boom and bust that led us into a global recession.” The United States and Asia need to emphasize balanced growth and trade.

Today, the 21 APEC economies purchase almost 60 percent of U.S. goods exports. It is worth highlighting that four of these Asia-Pacific economies (China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Taiwan) are now among our top-twelve trading partners. And, taken as a group, ASEAN is also a large and critical trading partner and represents our fourth largest export market. Strong Asian participation in APEC, the WTO, and the G-20 reflects the increasing importance of Asian economies and their centrality to strengthening the multilateral trading system and sustaining our economic recovery.

While our economic relationships with APEC countries are strong, we cannot be complacent. Indeed, despite strong export growth to the Asia-Pacific, the United States’ share of the total trade in the region has declined by 3 percent in the past five years. We must ensure our competitiveness in this vital region and promote continued integration of the U.S. economy with APEC economies, which will benefit workers, consumers, and businesses in the region and create jobs back here in the United States. To do so, the Administration will continue to work with the Congress, stakeholders, and the Republic of Korea to work through outstanding issues of concern so we can move forward on our bilateral free trade agreement. In addition to the significant potential economic benefits it can generate, moving this agreement forward is also a crucial part of solidifying and updating our bilateral alliance with South Korea. Strategically, it can be a way to reinforce our economic engagement and leadership in the region, enhancing U.S. credibility.

We also will begin negotiations later this month of a high-standard, regional, Asia-Pacific trade agreement, known as the Trans-Pacific Partnership. This agreement will create a platform for economic integration across the Asia-Pacific region,
advance U.S. economic interests to the fastest-growing economies in the world, and help create and retain high-paying, high-quality jobs in the United States. We look forward to working in partnership with Congress as we establish the negotiating objectives for this agreement.

And, in 2011, the United States will host APEC for the first time in 18 years, providing us with unique opportunities to demonstrate our commitment to and engagement in the region, shape the organization’s agenda in ways that reflect our values, and support the competitiveness of U.S. businesses and workers in this dynamic region. Through APEC, we will continue to advance regional economic integration, and by reducing barriers to trade and investment in the region, increase U.S. exports and support jobs at home.

The U.S. commitment to democracy and the protection of human rights is an intrinsic and indispensable aspect of our character as a nation and our engagement in the Asia-Pacific region. Let me be clear, the promotion of democracy and human rights is an essential element of American foreign policy. It is part of who we are as a people. We believe human rights are not only core American values, but also universal values. These values are a force multiplier in a region where democratic norms are on the ascent. We believe that citizens around the world should enjoy these rights, irrespective of their nationality, ethnicity, religion, or race. The United States will continue to speak for those on the margins of society, encouraging countries in the region to respect the internationally recognized human rights of their people while undertaking policies to further liberalize and open their states. As President Obama said in his speech on the way forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan, “We must promote our values by living them at home.” President Obama has eloquently stated that our willingness to speak out on human rights and other democratic values is the source of our moral authority and courage.

In order to ensure that the promotion of human rights and the rule of law as well as the development of civil society remain strong pillars of our engagement, we will continue to adopt new and creative approaches that seize the opportunities of a dynamic information age. The freedom to speak one’s mind and to choose one’s leaders, the ability to access information and worship how one pleases are the bases of stability. We need to reassure our partners in the region that we will always stand on the side of those who pursue those rights.
Fortunately, democratic governance is rapidly developing within Asia; advancing human rights, freedom, and democracy is critical to alleviating poverty and conditions that catalyze extremism. Sustained economic growth requires governments that are transparent, non-corrupt, and responsive to the needs of their people. Our strategy is to maintain pressure on local decision-makers to improve governments’ human rights records while cooperating closely with international and non-governmental organizations involved in monitoring and reporting on human rights. It is encouraging to see the emergence of institutions like the Bali Democracy Forum and other civil society groups in recent years, which proves that these values are shared and not, as some have charged in the past, a matter of the United States imposing its values on the region. Promoting good governance helps institutionalize our progress in helping to protect human rights.

East Asia’s economic dynamism, increasing integration, and geostrategic significance are fostering a trend toward establishment of regional institutions and greater regional integration. This integration is catalyzed by the proliferation of Asian-based free trade agreements and enhanced bilateral interactions from India to Japan. In many ways understanding Asia through conceptual categories of “Southeast” and “Northeast” Asia is increasingly insufficient. For one thing, transnational security challenges – like climate change and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction – transcend sub-regions. Asia is also integrating and developing a complex array of regional organizations – like ASEAN, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the East Asia Summit – that offers Asian nations a platform for regional policy discussions and deliberations.

Although the United States does not need to belong to every Asian organization, we do need to carefully consider how to engage with those that could promote American interests and values. As the Asia-Pacific region evolves, so should our own approach to regional economic and security cooperation. In January of this year, Secretary Clinton delivered a major address at the East-West Center in Honolulu that described the blueprint for how America will engage the Asia-Pacific’s multilateral organizations, i.e., its “architecture.” In her speech, she emphasized the need to develop the capacity of organizations to make them more solution oriented, make our approaches more flexible, and develop a common agenda – all utilizing our alliances and partnerships as a basis from which to define and to achieve common goals. We are consulting with allies and partners in the region and with Congress on how the United States, working with our Asian counterparts, can engage with and shape the region’s evolving multilateral bodies.
Strong links to key regional institutions in Asia can help ensure that the United States remains a critical partner in this dynamic region. As the Secretary stated, the defining institutions of the Asia-Pacific region should include the United States and all key stakeholders.

Regional engagement can also be an effective way to enhance our efforts to deal with transnational security challenges such as climate change, pandemics, or environmental degradation. For example, actions by APEC, ASEAN, and increasingly by ARF to improve cooperation among regional emergency management agencies are important in light of the spate of recent natural disasters that have battered the region. The United States has assisted these efforts, including by providing training to ASEAN disaster management officials and fostering the creation of regular ARF disaster relief exercises. Multilateral efforts – those with and without the United States – are also proving effective in addressing transnational threats, such as terrorism, piracy that threatens our sea lanes and traffickers who exploit women, children, laborers, and migrants. Working with ASEAN, the U.S. will seek to streamline and strengthen the broader ASEAN Regional Forum’s institutional processes in order to create a more action-oriented agenda, especially with respect to transnational and non-traditional security challenges.

**Conclusion**

The Asia-Pacific region is vital not only to U.S. regional interests but its global ones as well. We are a vital contributor to the region’s security and economic success. The Asia-Pacific region, in turn, has a profound impact on our lives through trade, our alliances, and partnerships. As the region continues to grow economically and as new dynamics and international institutions take shape, the United States will be an active player, not a distant spectator.

The United States faces a number of critical challenges in the coming years in its engagement with Asia. These include rising and failing states; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; critical global issues like climate change, violent extremism in some parts of Southeast Asia; poverty and income disparity; and military imbalances in Northeast Asia. The essential ingredient in meeting these challenges is United States leadership. We are both willing and able to play an active role in helping the countries of the region enhance their capacity to succeed.
Under President Obama and Secretary Clinton’s leadership, we are ready to face these challenges. We look forward to working with Congress and this Committee to seek opportunities to influence positively the future direction of the region.

Thank you for extending this opportunity to me to testify today on this vitally important issue. I am happy to respond to any questions you may have.
Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Secretary. We are joined now by the distinguished ranking member of our subcommittee, the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Manzullo. I would like to offer him time if he has an opening statement that he wishes to share with the committee.

Mr. MANZULLO. Mr. Chairman, thank you for calling this important hearing, and welcome, Mr. Secretary, to this hearing today. I recall with fondness the special relationship that we had with Ambassador Chris Hill, former assistant secretary of Asia, when he held the same position. We know that we are going to have the same close working relationship with you. In fact, in April of this year the ambassador from Thailand is coming to my district to talk about Southeast Asia issues, and we are very much looking forward to that and sharing his insight with the students, and faculty and the community at Rockford College. Asia Pacific region is one of the most important areas of the world for the United States.

Maintaining good relations in Asia are important not only for geopolitical reasons, but for its vital economic trade and jobs-related purposes as well. According to the East West Center, Asia accounts for 27 percent of total export related jobs in America. Given the fact that America’s export sector accounts for almost 40 percent of total gross domestic product, it is vital that we get our relationship with Asia correct. The congressional district I have the honor to represent depends heavily on exports and foreign direct investment to maintain the jobs that we desperately need. I want to thank the administration for doing a good job at managing broader United States-Asia relations. The administration’s focus on Southeast Asia, in particular, is a step in the right direction.

However, with regard to Burma, China and Japan, the record is a little mixed. The administration needs to be tougher on Burma and scrap its misplaced efforts to engage the military junta. Burma’s conviction of Nyi Nyi Aung, an American citizen, on trumped up political charges is the largest example for why we need to end this pointless engagement exercise. Burma will not change regardless of how much we want it to. We have all followed the travails of Aung San Suu Kyi and the continuous harassment that she has had. I think the administration needs to be a lot tougher on Burma. The administration needs to act more assertively with Beijing to ensure that America’s interests are not negatively impacted.

China continues with this business as usual attitude when it comes to important issues, such as currency manipulation, intellectual property rights violations and lack of religious freedom. Despite the administration’s efforts to reset relations with China, it is clear the leaders of China care more about protecting their country’s own interest than to forge a new relationship. The cyber attack on Google is the perfect example of this relationship imbalance. Though, to be sure, we have worked with China and seen just a little bit of good light with regard to intellectual property challenges and know that they are engaged in that, but we really need more help from the U.S. Government to encourage China to continue to protect intellectual property rights.

Concerning Japan, the administration must act quickly to correlate and lay out a long-term ramification of protracted uncertainty on basing at Okinawa. I strongly encourage the administra-
tion to make it crystal clear to the Japanese Government that Congress expects it to honor the preexisting agreement. I would also state that accompanying the ambassador from Thailand will be the ambassador from Japan, giving tremendous honor to Rockford College, appearing at a joint session dealing with economic and economic viability in Asia and Southeast Asia, so we are very much interested in the State Department working in that area, and, Mr. Secretary, very much interested in working with you on an even closer basis. I know I can speak for my chairman, but we would love to have coffee with you some morning with the members of our subcommittee and talk about a variety of issues. Is that correct, Chairman?

Mr. Faleomavaega. Absolutely.

Mr. Campbell. I would welcome it. I have had the opportunity to do that with the chairman, and any time we are available. I do very much appreciate your support for this kind of endeavor.

Mr. Manzullo. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Manzullo follows:]
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA, THE PACIFIC, AND THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

Donald A. Mrazulo (IL-16), Ranking Member
Opening Statement

March 3, 2010

Mr. Chairman, thank you for calling this important hearing regarding America’s relationship with the Asia-Pacific region. I am delighted to welcome Assistant Secretary Campbell to the subcommittee. Mr. Chairman, I recall with fondness the special relationship that we had with Chris Hill, the former Assistant Secretary for Asia, when he held the same position. I sincerely hope that Mr. Campbell will work with us in a similar fashion during his tenure as the Administration’s top Asia manager.

The Asia-Pacific region is one of the most important areas of the world for the United States. Maintaining good relations in Asia are important not only for geopolitical reasons but it is vital for economic, trade, and jobs-related purposes as well. According to the East West Center, Asia accounts for 27 percent of total export-related jobs in America. Given the fact that America’s export sector accounts for almost 40 percent of total gross domestic product it is vital that we get our relationship with Asia right. The congressional district that I have the honor to represent depends heavily on exports and foreign direct investment to maintain the jobs we desperately need.

I commend the Administration for generally doing a good job at managing broader U.S.-Asia relations. The Administration’s focus on Southeast Asia, in particular, is a step in the right direction. However, with regard to Burma, China, and Japan, I believe the record is mixed at best. The Administration needs to be tougher on Burma and scrap its misplaced efforts to “engage” the military junta. Burma’s conviction of Nye Nyi Aung, an American citizen, on trumped up political charges is the largest example for why we need to end this pointless engagement exercise. Burma will not change regardless of how much we want it to.

The Administration needs to act more assertively with Beijing to ensure that America’s interests are not negatively impacted. China continues with its “business as usual” attitude when it comes to important issues such as currency manipulation, intellectual property rights violations, and lack of religious freedom. Despite the Administration’s efforts to reset relations with China it is clear that the leaders of China care more about protecting their country’s own interests than to
Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you. I would like to turn the time now to our good friend, the gentlelady from California, for her questions.

Ms. WATSON. Thank you. In the State of the Union the President spoke of strengthening our relationship with Korea. In her statement last week, Secretary Clinton also mentioned the importance of our Korea relationship. The budget request includes an economic support fund with $2.5 million for North Korea for democracy promotion and human rights programs. In your statement you noted that the administration is committed to building a more dynamic relationship with South Korea, and our ranking member also did. Can you expand on the plan? How will you measure the effectiveness of your strategy? What is the administration's posture on China's role in the Korean peninsula? Are there plans for the Korean FTA?

Believe me, in my brief trip last August that was our number one topic when we got to South Korea, the FTA. I have met with visiting delegations that have come from Korea, and we had to go there, we do an exchange, and I told them we probably wouldn't be able to take up the FTA last year, but we certainly are going, after we get past our other issues that we are dealing with now, we will look at an FTA. They are very, very interested. So can you just bring us up, these issues?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you so much. Let me try to talk collectively on all the issues that we confront and our opportunities on the Korean peninsula. Let me just say that the President mentioned the free trade agreement in the State of the Union, the Secretary has on several occasions, and when we met with President Myung-bak in Seoul in November he made a very passionate and very committed plea to the United States to take this opportunity to engage with South Korea, and that South Korea had enormous opportunities with China and elsewhere, but this was really the opportunity for the United States to take an important step. I found the argument extraordinarily persuasive. I am optimistic, as you indicate, that just as the President and the Secretary has said, that we will be taking this up in due course.

Ms. WATSON. I have the largest South Korean community in the whole United States, about 160,000, and Korea town is right where
my office is located so I am in dialogue with them all of the time. One of their issues was the balance of trade. We have to wait on our turn when we deal with these policies as a caucus on the floor, but I certainly am going to be doing all I can to see that we get to a good discussion and a policy. I know that the chair is also very interested, and the ranking member, too, so we are going to be doing all that we can.

Mr. Campbell. Great. I appreciate that very much, Congresswoman. I must say, when I met with the chairman and other members, they have also made clear why they think this agreement would be good for Korea, very good for the United States. Clearly, there are probably some issues that have to be discussed, but overall I think there is a deep appreciation about how important this is to American strategy, to American commitment in the region, and we take this very, very seriously. I must say, I personally appreciate your commitment and support of this overall endeavor. In terms of North Korea, obviously we face enormous challenges. We are trying to put forward as part of the Six-Party framework an approach that makes very clear to North Koreans that they must come back to negotiations, they must commit denuclearization and must abide by the commitments they have made in the joint statement in 2005, and that that is the essential next step.

I think we have been very patient, honestly, and I think Secretary Clinton’s general concept of strategic patience has been applicable here. We are lock step with South Korea, Japan and other countries in our strategy and our desire to make sure that North Korea takes applicable steps to bring them in line with the commitments they have already made in 2005. At the same time, we remain very concerned about the human rights and the tragic circumstances that North Koreans continue to live under brutal circumstances. I have worked closely with your members, Senator Brownback and others on the other side of the, the other body, on strategies for how the United States can support people, refugees and others who have left North Korea.

We have worked very closely with the South Korean Government on efforts at assisting refugees to be resettled inside South Korea, and we are also looking at opportunities for educational exchange for newly arrived North Koreans who make the successful transition to South Korea to have the opportunity to come to the United States for purposes of study. This is a very real and challenging set of problems and we accept them head on. The South Koreans are very generous in their support for resettlement, and we think our primary commitment in this regard is to support South Korea in this overall effort, but we take it seriously. We have had dialogues with China about steps that we would like to see them take in assisting.

Many of the people who flee North Korea go through China and we think that is absolutely essential. We talk with Chinese friends about the Korean peninsula, about North Korea, particularly in the venue of the Six-Party framework, and I think our general goal, of course, is to bring North Korea back in line with its earlier commitments associated with the Six-Party Talks. Still, lots of work to be done and enormous challenges on the peninsula going forward.
Ms. Watson. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, can I use a few more minutes? I had some questions about Japan.

Mr. Faleomavaega. Sure.

Ms. Watson. Okay. The change in government from the liberal Democratic Party to the Democratic Party Japan has altered the United States-Japanese relations in the last year. The planned relocation of the U.S. Marines Futenma Air Station to Okinawa has stalled. I was on the island of Okinawa many years ago for 2 years. The reason why there wasn’t a real big push to get us out of there is because we were about 95 percent of their economy. The Okinawans worked in our residence, they worked in our PX, they worked in our officers’ quarters and so on, so we had a pretty good feeling, but now I know things have changed. I do read that there are demonstrations from time to time for us to leave.

What is the state of our security relationship with Japan in light of its geopolitical vulnerability to North Korea? How does the new regime in Japan affect United States-Japan relationships with respect to global warming, Six-Party Talks and the upcoming Japanese hosted APEC summit?

Mr. Campbell. Thank you very much, Congresswoman. Again, critical questions about Japan. I would say that Japan is an essential partner of the United States in the Asian Pacific region. We just cannot accomplish nearly what we need to unless we have a strong partnership between Washington and Tokyo. We have tried to walk a careful path when it comes to Japan and our issues associated with Okinawa and other aspects of our security relationship. On the one hand, we have tried to be very firm and clear about what our expectations are and what we believe is essential for the maintenance of our mutual security and to best allow for the United States to play its role as the guarantor of peace and stability in the region.

At the same time, we expect a new government, it is natural to ask questions, to explore new opportunities and new choices, and it is incumbent on us as a partner to work with them through that process, not to be dictatorial, but to act as a partner, to listen and to consult. That is what we are in the process of doing. Okinawa is very difficult politics. We appreciate that and we understand it. We have made very clear to the central government that we still believe that the current plan that was negotiated several years ago is the best way forward. At the same time, we remain open to other suggestions and ideas. I must say, many of these we have also looked at as well. We still think this is the best way forward.

In addition to these issues, however, Japan is one of our closest allies on a range of issues, including steps to prevent and deal with global climate change, they are supportive of our endeavors in Afghanistan and they are close partners when it comes to thinking about how to successfully engage North Korea. So I must say that I think some of the rhetoric and discussions about United States-Japan relationship is indeed, as the chairman said, a little bit overblown. This is one of our closest global partners. Frankly, we think that there is just a natural chemistry and a natural and strategic rationale for our two countries to work very closely together. So we are trying to be patient and firm at the same time, and also clear about how critical we believe this relationship is as we go forward.
Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I thank the gentlelady from California. I have about 200 questions I wanted to ask you, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, we better get started quick then.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Shortened down just to a couple, Mr. Secretary. Looking in terms of the numbers, I believe you have quite a responsibility with this region in the world. My guess tells me that you have responsibility for well over 2.7 billion people in terms of geographical responsibility. Am I correct on that, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am not sure they would all feel that way, but, I mean, in terms of the region, the region that I am working on does indeed extend from Japan all the way down to Australia and New Zealand. It does encompass the largest population groups, the most dynamic economies and some of the greatest challenges that are confronting global politics today.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I have a question for you concerning a country that is not even on the radar screen in terms of our national priorities. I believe that we really dropped the ball in not correcting some of the things we have done wrongfully against this country. In the first place, this country never attacked us and they never declared war against us. We are the ones who simply went over there and bombed the heck out of them. I am talking about the country of Laos, Mr. Secretary. We dropped 270 million bombs on this country, approximately 2 million tons. About 80 million of the bomblets from the cluster bombs failed to detonate. As a result of this bombing we did, some 50,000 Laotians died.

It is my understanding that one of the problems that we have had is that when our pilots, whatever their bombing missions—whether it be up north, Vietnam, or wherever—had to come and just drop them off. And it happens to be that poor Laos and Cambodia were caught. My point is that I wanted to share with you a very serious concern, Mr. Secretary. Total U.S. direct funding to help deal with unexploded ordnance, Mr. Secretary—and I am talking about 80 million bombs that failed to detonate—has amounted to only $176,000. This is absolutely outrageous, and it is not the America that I know.

Total U.S. donations to the UNDP, supposedly through the damage trust fund for some 11-year period, is only $3.1 million. It would take approximately 100 years to complete this. If this is the rate that we are spending on helping the Laotian Government correct this, what I consider an injustice, really, on our part, and that we never seem to just—there just seem to fly away and never seem to bother with it. The fact that this country with a small population of only 4 million people and we are not giving the proper assistance that these people really need. Approximately 300 people, children and women especially, die as a result of getting hit with unexploded ordnance. I want to ask you, Mr. Secretary, is the State Department going to review this dismal record? In my opinion, given the bombs that we dropped on this country, shouldn’t we make a little better donation to help clean up the place? Would you care to comment on that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would, Mr. Chairman. I thank you, and I thank you for your passion and commitment on this particular issue. I must also tell you that in my meetings with Senator Webb and others in the other House, they have also raised this issue with me.
I will be in Laos next week and I expect these issues to come up directly. I would like nothing more to be able to work with you to assist with my department to try to get some more support. I, too, believe that this is not only a critical issue strategically, but it is also a critical moral issue, and so I think it makes sense. I want to tell a story on me that I don't think is particularly favorable, but it will give you a sense of some of the challenges that we occasionally face at the State Department.

One of my first briefings still kind of learning the ropes, I had come from the Department of Defense and we have a different set of zeros, and so very able, incredibly committed staff started briefing me on some foreign assistance efforts. I am looking at something and I saw it, I said, well, this looks about right. I think, you know, $22 million for this particular effort is correct. There was kind of silence. So finally someone got up enough courage and said, well, actually, you know, Curt, it is $22,000. Right? So we have some very real challenges here and lots of competition for scarce resources. I must say, given, Mr. Faleomavaega, your commitments, Congressman, and Senator Webb's and others, I think there is room for a greater dialogue between the executive branch and our friends on Capitol Hill on this issue. I must also say I think a small amount of money can go a long way here.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I could not agree with you——

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think we are actually in violin agreement here. I would love to work with you to see what we can do going forward. Thank you.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I think that perhaps we spent almost $1 billion in building that embassy that we have in Baghdad. Over $900 million in building an embassy there for 15 million people.

I note with interest that the President is going to go to Indonesia this month. I don't know if you were aware, but there was a national blog during the Presidential election that claimed I was a special agent for then-Senator Barack Obama. And when I visited Indonesia and the school that he attended when he was young—which I did visit—my assignment was to make sure that there was no record whatsoever indicating that Barack Obama was born in Indonesia. Unbelievable. The birthers are really at it thinking that this is really God's honest truth.

Mr. Secretary, there has been one issue that I have been following for years, and that is the situation in West Papua. I don't want to get into the history of how Jakarta and the dictator Suharto just went and took over West Papua by force. Then, they got 1,000 West Papuan chiefs to vote 100 percent to be with Indonesia, which was an absolute sham. There was no question. Even the United Nations observers who went there wrote a report saying that this was a sham. Lately, the West Papuans have been looking at a document that was supposedly meant to help them. It was called a special autonomy law that the Indonesian Government passed in 1991 under President Megawati.

To this day, Mr. Secretary, I have no idea if the provisions of this special autonomy law for West Papua have been implemented. In fact, I have every reason to believe they have not done anything to implement the provisions of this important law. Then there is
also the latest development. I think someone in the State Department or the Department of Defense fully supports giving military training to Kopassus. Now, there has been a lot of harm done in terms of the Kopassus presence not only in West Papua, but all over Indonesia. I would appreciate if you could follow up on this and see where we are with the needs of the people of West Papua.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I am going to withhold my question. I want to yield to my good friend from California, Mr. Royce, if he has an opening statement or questions.

Mr. ROYCE. I do. I appreciate that, Mr. Chairman, and I will just make a couple of points. Asia right now is half of the world’s economy and is rather aggressively pursuing regional economic integration. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce tallies 168 agreements in force in Asia. We are a party to merely two of those, Australia and Singapore. So I am glad when I hear you say that the President is talking more about the importance of trade, but I think we need concrete action. I think, for example, the Korean-American Trade Agreement, KORUS, that would be one example. The Europeans are stepping in and doing that same agreement while we are locked out. That means that American workers and American consumers lose in the long run if we are not engaging in these trade agreements in Asia.

I think the second challenge here is to make human rights part of the strategic outlook, and that also concerns me because whether we are talking about China, or Vietnam, or North Korea, or Burma—and I think for a minute just about what I have seen in the last few months in Vietnam and the crackdowns there and the press reports that come across my desk. There are 17 activists that were recently convicted in 1-day show trials. In North Korea there are some 200,000 political prisoners who are rotting away in the gulags there. We all monitor China’s assaults on individual freedom and on free speech of their citizens, and what is happening in Burma concerns us all. I think that we often get caught up in the question of the here and now.

Will China sign on to Iran's sanctions? What is North Korea’s latest demand? What we are missing is the big picture. We are missing that often these abuses against their own people are more indicative of the direction in which these countries are headed, and frankly, the need for us to do more to hold them to account. That needs to be better ingrained in our policy. I will give you an example. As far as putting Vietnam back on the list of countries of particular concern, I would say at a time when the Commission on International Religious Freedom reports about what is happening to the Catholic Church, what is happening with detentions, and threats, and harassment and violence by what they call contract thugs against religious leaders; at a time when police officers beat and shock prisoners with electric batons, according to the Human Rights Watch; at a time when the Buddhist church is terrorized by undercover police and by local communist officials, and it is across the board, whether it is Protestant, or Buddhist, or Catholic, now is the time, in light of these abuses, to relist Vietnam on the CPC list.
Now, legislation I have authored has gone over to the Senate to attempt to affect that. These are steps that you, frankly, could take, and should take. I will ask you about that. Then, I am also concerned about the Philippines. I am concerned about the elections there. I have been engaged in the past in these election observer efforts overseas and elections in May are approaching there. Past polls have been hampered, of course, by accusations of corruption. I have heard from the Filipino community in southern California that they are concerned about that upcoming election and that it may be similarly hampered if there aren’t election observers. So I would ask you, what is being done to lay the groundwork for this election, whether it is observers or other actions, to help ensure a fair process? Is NDI, IRI, are these institutions going to be there on the ground to help monitor? I would appreciate your response.

Mr. Campbell. Thank you very much, Congressman Royce, and thank you for coming today. On the first point let me just say that when you travel around Asia and spend time in Asia the Asian friends look to us for many things. They are grateful and appreciative for our role as the provider of peace and stability. Our four deployed forces play a critical role in the prosperity that that region has enjoyed for the last two generations. They are also supportive of our deep commitments to democracy and human rights. I think if you look at one of the great achievements of American foreign policy, it is the trend of democratization and the greater respect for human rights.

You see that in countries like South Korea, Indonesia and other countries in Southeast Asia, so I accept that very clearly. It is also the case that Asian trends really look to the United States to be a leader on economic issues and on trade. That is just undeniable. That is something that in every meeting I have with my Asian interlocutors, the issue of what the American commitment is in this respect. Now, I think the President has tried to say a couple of things, and I think the administration is trying to work on others. He has in almost all his senior meetings, Congressman, tried to underscore that there is going to have to be a rebalancing of sorts between Asia and the United States going forward, that over time that—first of all, it is not going to be possible to return to what we might call the status quo ante bellum whereby very inexpensive Asian capital comes into the United States under good terms and that we buy relatively inexpensive Asian products leading to a massive trade imbalance—that as we go forward, the United States is going to have to save more and Asians are going to have to buy more American goods, that is absolutely clear, and that, in particular, we have got to see some of the big economies stepping up to assist in this respect.

I think that what we are seeing, both with the free trade agreement and the TPV formula are prospects and possibilities of substantial improvements in American economic performance in the Asian Pacific region, so I am with you. I support that, and I think that is the right way forward. I must also say, and I think you will appreciate this, in the current environment, I mean, the President has made very clear it is hard sometimes to defend and explain trade when you are dealing with very substantial problems associ-
ated with unemployment, but nevertheless, I do believe that this is a strong area——

Mr. ROYCE. Let me interject there and say that there are some estimates that 345,000 jobs could be lost if Europe signs this trading agreement with Korea and the United States does not. So I understand the rhetorical position that it is hard to argue this point, but at the same time, if we are left out of trade agreements and Europe fills the breach, that means the loss of jobs.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Congressman, and I will tell you very clearly, many of our Asian friends have made the point that this is a closing window. They want the United States in the game. I must say, the challenge is not just from Europe, it is from China, it is from other countries, and it is a very real and deep challenge. I think one of the arguments that we have got to be clear about is the one issue that I would disagree with you on is I think you can't look at this picture in terms of Asia in its totality. You have got to break it up. There are components of Asia and of our trade agreements that are very good for the United States, and there are some areas that are much more challenging. Obviously, China is in a very challenging position, but Australia, we have a very substantial surplus, and many studies of other trade agreements or prospective trade agreements suggest that they could be very good for the United States.

Mr. ROYCE. Let us move on because I wanted to quickly get your thoughts on the Philippine election, if we could, on that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you. I mean, look, we have some history with Philippine elections. They are periods that require greater American and international vigilance in advance of those elections. We are taking those steps and we are doing a variety of things, let me just say. One, we are trying to keep our ears open. We hear lots of reports, and we think it is important to make sure that we have a good sense of what is going on on the ground. We are looking at, you know, the new voting machines, all of those things. We have very high-level dialogue with our excellent ambassador and others, with the Filipino Government, with the appropriate authorities about what are expectations are in terms of the upcoming election, and we also expect that there will be substantial external observers, including those from the United States.

There is a discussion between not just the Republican National Institute and the Democratic National Institute, but other groups as well associated with the United Nations. So I think we have enough warning, enough knowledge, and also, the Philippines is so important to us it is critical that this election go through in a smooth way, in a way that Filipinos and Americans can be proud and work together going forward.

Mr. ROYCE. And the CPC list, as it affects Vietnam, countries of particular concern, given the——

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am aware of your letter, Congressman, and what I would like to ask is the opportunity to get back to you in due course. This is an issue that will be taken up in the next several weeks in the United States Government. I must say, we face a very real challenge in the Asian Pacific region on some of these issues. One of the great concerns is that we have I would say a bit of a dichotomy with Vietnam, very real concerns about backsliding
on issues of human rights and religious issues in recent years, but
at the same time, this is a government that sees that it wants a
closer relationship with the United States for strategic reasons.

One of the things that we have tried to argue with them, it is
going to be very hard to have that kind of relationship unless they
take specific steps to improve their situation at home. So I under-
stand that, and I guess what I would like is a little bit more time
to be able to process. I am going to be in the region next week. I
will have some specifics, and I would promise, if you will allow me,
to get back directly in touch with you.

Mr. Royce. I will, certainly, Assistant Secretary Campbell. I
would just ask you to remember, unless we exert leverage, given
what has happened there in terms of human rights abuses and the
way they basically took advantage of a situation to then clamp
down and beat senseless a lot of pro-democracy—and not even just
pro-democracy activists, we are talking about everything from
young people using the internet to Buddhist monks who simply
want to practice their faith. I have been to Vietnam and talked to
some of these political prisoners about what they faced and what
has happened to their countrymen, including the loss of life on the
part of some of the Buddhists in Vietnam as a result of these beat-
ings. So let us exert a little leverage in this, and we can do it with
a CPC list re-designation. Thank you very much, Assistant Sec-
retary Campbell. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Faleomavaega. Thank you. The gentlelady from California.

Ms. Watson. I want to move to the environment, and I am so
pleased and proud to see that the Secretary also went down to
Chile. You know, we witnessed this weekend probably an earth-
quake in Chile of biblical proportions. I mean, I think in many
ways it was worse than the one in Haiti. That earthquake led to
hundreds of deaths, like it did in Haiti, and also threatened Pacific
islands and nations in direct danger of a massive tsunami. Hawaii
and Japan both waited with bated breath as swollen waves passed
by their respective shores.

Clearly, tsunamis pose potential collateral damage to many is-
lands and ports, even when the epicenter of disaster is far off. It
looks like we are really having trouble in our Pacific areas. So what
plans are underway to improve forecasting, detection, preparation
and evacuation? I did see the Secretary saying that she bought
equipment for communications and so on. So if you could just ex-
pand on that for us? There have been reports of repression on eth-
ic minorities in Burma—well, let us have you deal with Chile, and
then we will go on to Burma.

Mr. Campbell. Thank you very much, Congresswoman Watson.
I think that when it comes to certain kinds of natural disasters, ty-
phoons, earthquakes and the like, the United States has a multi-
faceted strategy for how to try to deal with these challenges. The
truth is we have learned a lot since 2004 since the tragic tsunami
hit Indonesia and other countries in Southeast Asia. First, there is
now a much more comprehensive set of sensors on the floor of the
Pacific and using other instruments that allow us to better predict
how and when a seismic event might lead to tragic tsunami-like
waves.
Ms. Watson. Let me just ask you to put a pen in that. We went to Aceh afterwards and there was a gentleman there who had predicted this level of tsunami and so on, and I think that he was criticized and really fired from his job. So after it hit, and there was so much destruction. In fact, we flew over by helicopter and we just saw ripples in the water where islands have been. They couldn’t even tell the number of people because the last time they took the census there had been more babies born. Just swept off of the globe. And so they found him to be right. So he was the one that was on the air. We heard his predictions and all. I see that our Secretary, as I mentioned, took communication equipment over. So I am just wondering if the people are more in tuned with the forecast. Go ahead.

Mr. Campbell. I think the problem in parts of Indonesia, and Malaysia and elsewhere is that there was insufficient warning, and, in fact, knowledge. This complex sensor system that has now been activated in the Pacific gives us a much greater clarity and more warning time. So, if you will recall, after the Chilean earthquake we had several hours in which to prepare in Hawaii and other American protectorates, and we got the word out to Japan and other countries. So I would say in many respects that the recent event indicates that our preparedness has improved substantially. If I can mention just one last thing, Congresswoman, but the truth is what we have to be prepared is to respond. We have had our horrible rains in the Philippines this year, terrible cyclones, other situations in Guam, in American Samoa and elsewhere.

Ms. Watson. In California, my State.

Mr. Campbell. That is right, but in the Pacific, by far and away, despite all the discussion about rising powers, it has been the United States by more than any other country that has been able to provide humanitarian assistance, to get our forces there on the scene rapidly and to provide necessary steps toward recovery. We are very proud of that. I think that record over the last 6 to 8 months in this respect is quite substantial. We intend to keep those efforts up as we move forward.

Ms. Watson. I know that on one of the Hawaiian Islands they did have a system, and at the time of the tsunami hitting within that region of Aceh the system had not been completed around to that side of the delta, so you are informing us now that they have completed it.

Mr. Campbell. I don’t know about every aspect of it, but almost all the critical components, these are sensors on the bottom of the Pacific that are able to detect shifts in pressure, that they are now in place. So they were able to track very clearly what was the tidal aftermath of the seismic event on the shore of Chile. Yes.

Ms. Watson. I hear that in the Hawaiian Islands they hardly had a wave.

Mr. Campbell. Yeah. Well, you know, the truth is that there were a lot of questions about whether in Hawaii the emergency authorities overreacted and that put people on higher ground and in various, you know, safe areas. You know, I think that kind of question is just wrong. Clearly, it is much better, you know, to take steps that potentially prepares for the worst. If it doesn’t occur, it is a few hours of inconvenience. So I was very proud of the steps
that both the government of Hawaii and other parts of the Pacific as well and our commanders, our Pacific commanders took impor-
tant steps to ensure that we were well-prepared.

Ms. Watson. Well, the tragedy there on Aceh was the fact that
the waves come in and then they recede. Children and fishermen
ran to pick up the fish that were there, and then here comes the
water 500 miles an hour. I think many people saw the pictures of
boats up against the hillside.

Mr. Campbell. Horrific. Yeah.

Ms. Watson. Thirty to 40 feet high. Hotels, you know, just flood-
ed that had five and six floors. So it is better to be over prepared
and get to higher land than to allow——

Mr. Campbell. Yeah. I agree. Thank you, Congresswoman.


Mr. Faleomavaega. We are also joined by another distinguished
member of the committee, my good friend, the gentleman from
California, Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. Rohrabacher. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Mr.
Secretary, just a couple questions on a couple little areas here. I
notice in your overview that you have stated that restrictions on
the Export-Import Bank, I guess it is, U.S. Export-Import Bank fi-
nancing of U.S. companies, the prohibition on them from doing
business in Laos and Cambodia have been lifted. I know Cambodia.
Cambodia does have now opposition parties. There has been some
freedom of speech, even though it is still in the grip of a tough guy
who is less than democratic. But Laos? Are there any opposition
parties permitted in Laos?

Mr. Campbell. Let me say that, as you know well, Congressman,
we have very real challenges of governance in many parts of South-
east Asia. We believe that it is in American interest given the na-
ture of some of the strategic challenges, economic challenges that
we face in the Asian Pacific region that we need to step our en-
gagement in Southeast Asia, and to do it carefully and not to in
any way send a message that the United States does not care
about the——

Mr. Rohrabacher. Well, maybe you can tell us the progress that
you have seen in Laos. You say you have taken the step now to
eliminate the prohibition from the U.S. Export-Import Bank in fi-
nancing business investments in Laos. What are the steps that you
can point to? Do they have freedom of religion there? Do they have
freedom of the press? Can you tell us now that they have ceased
their persecution of the Hmong people? Are any of those things you
can point to?

Mr. Campbell. I would try to answer that question this way,
Congressman. I do believe that one of the missions of American en-
gagement on the business side, that when the United States is in-
volved responsibly in terms of our business activities in Southeast
Asia, that our values go with it. So I do believe that there is a de-
sire in Laos, a careful one, to have a better relationship with the
United States. I also agree with you completely that they are at the
very earliest stages of any kind of progress in some of the issues
that you and I care about.

The truth is it has only been a couple of years, only a few years
ago that Laos had almost no interest in the outside world. To the
extent that they had outside external engagement, it was primarily with China. So they have said, look, they want to develop a careful relationship with the United States. The truth is, Congressman, this is not like we are opening the flood gates——

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yeah, but you haven’t made——

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am sorry. Let me just get it.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Sure.

Mr. CAMPBELL. This is just meant to be a very careful initial step to see if we can begin some progress. I share many of your concerns about the domestic situation inside the country, but at the same time, I feel very strongly that the United States needs to step up its game in Southeast Asia.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Secretary, my suggestion to you is that if indeed we move forward and take a step, like ending this prohibition on Export-Import Bank financing, and we don’t expect something specific to see, you know, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, opposition parties, well then, we have sent exactly the wrong message to dictatorships. If the only thing they have to do is treat the American ambassador better and have little teas and things for us, that is not the right message. It is how they treat their people, not how they curtsy up and kiss American diplomats on the cheek. Let us go to China. We have had a one-way free trade relationship with China for a number of years.

Most of us would think that that has been unacceptable and it has resulted in $1 trillion of wealth being transferred from our country to their country. Your administration is not responsible for this. You are responsible for what happens now. The Clinton and Bush administrations before you are responsible for maintaining that policy, especially the Clinton administration, which made most favored nation status with China a permanent situation. We also now see that they have stolen, they continue to steal our technology, making them more competitive, even with our businesses that have stayed here, and we now see a major build up of their military. Still, they have no free press, no opposition parties, people are still being arrested for their religious convictions, et cetera, in China. What does the administration, what specific things, are we demanding of the Chinese for us not to start trying to call into question this one-way free trade that we permitted?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you, Congressman. Well, first of all, let me just say that I think the President, our Secretary and others have been very clear that for the United States to have an effective relationship in the Asian Pacific region, particularly with China, there needs to be rebalancing, and that we cannot return to a situation where Asians provide relatively cheap credit to the United States and that we buy inexpensive goods from Asia, that we can’t return to that status quo ante bellum, and that the United States must save more in this process, and we must be able to export more to China going forward.

Now, there are a whole host of discussions that are ongoing on issues associated with trade and currency which are really not part of my purview, but I will say there is a deep understanding that the current situation is in imbalance and that there will need to be, as the President indicated, some rebalancing going forward. We
have stated clearly that we believe that, you know, the relationship with China is important. We are trying to work with China on a range of issues, including on climate change, on Iran, on North Korea and the like, but at the same time, we are trying to send a very clear message that we will stand by our issues that are in American strategic interest and our core values.

So you will have noted a few weeks ago that we made one of the largest sales, as demanded by the Taiwan Relations Act, to Taiwan, we have also had an important meeting, a spiritual meeting, with the Dalai Lama, and we will continue to take steps, as Secretary Clinton did, to speak out on issues, like internet freedom. I think we recognize that this is a relationship that is going to have elements where we probably are going to be able to work together hopefully effectively, but there is going to be areas that we are going to continue to have substantial disagreement as we go forward.

Mr. Rohrabacher. Is our country still accepting the designation of the Uighurs as being terrorists?

Mr. Campbell. I think there was a specific organization during the Bush administration—I believe it was in 2002 or 2003—that was deemed on a particular list, Congressman. I do not know the status of that now, and I will get back to you on that.

[The information referred to follows:]

**Written Response Received from the Honorable Kurt M. Campbell to Question Asked During the Hearing by the Honorable Dana Rohrabacher**

The United States designates certain organizations and individuals for inclusion on terrorism lists based on credible information, but the United States does not designate entire ethnic groups as terrorists. Uighurs are an ethnic minority group who principally live in western China and Central Asia.

A small minority of Uighurs have been associated with the East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM, a.k.a. Eastern Turkistan Islamic Party, ETIP), which the United States, after careful review of information, designated for placement on the Terrorist Exclusion List (TEL) in 2002. A TEL designation bolsters homeland security efforts by facilitating the U.S. Government’s ability to exclude aliens associated with entities on the TEL from entering the United States. In addition to the TEL designation, in 2002, the United States designated ETIM under Executive Order 13224. The consequences of that E.O. designation are that all ETIM-related property and transactions under U.S. jurisdiction are frozen and all U.S. persons engaging with or for the benefit of ETIM are subject to civil and/or criminal liability. Also in 2002, ETIM was added to the UN Security Council Al-Qa’ida and Taliban Sanctions Committee’s Consolidated List of individuals and entities associated with al-Qa’ida or the Taliban. In April 2009, the Sanctions Committee added ETIP leader Abdul Haq to the Consolidated List, and in August, the United States designated Haq under E.O. 13224 for support to al-Qa’ida.

Mr. Rohrabacher. One last question, Mr. Chairman, and that is the Falun Gong are clearly the object of repression in China. We have documented many stories of people being picked up, and whatever it is, that the communist Chinese Government there, or the Chinese dictatorship, however you want to label it, has focused in on the Falun Gong. Christians don’t have freedom of religion, Muslims don’t, the Tibetans don’t, the Uighurs don’t, but the Falun Gong, they definitely don’t have rights there and they are being picked up. What have we done? For example, have we investigated the charge that the Falun Gong has made that some of their people have been arrested and that there have been human body parts sold from the prisons in which their people were incarcerated?
Mr. CAMPBELL. Congressman, I actually don't know about that issue. I would put that also to the list, and I promise I will get back to you directly. I know we have raised issues of human rights with Chinese authorities, and on this particular issue I am just not aware of the information. I will get back to you.

[The information referred to follows:]

WRITTEN RESPONSE RECEIVED FROM THE HONORABLE KURT M. CAMPBELL TO QUESTION ASKED DURING THE HEARING BY THE HONORABLE DANA ROHRABACHER

In the 2009 China Country Report on Human Rights Practices we reported that the Chinese police continue to detain current and former Falun Gong practitioners. Falun Gong members identified by the government as “core leaders” have been singled out for particularly harsh treatment, and there are reported cases of killings, disappearances, and arbitrary arrests of Falun Gong practitioners and their lawyers. Further, Falun Gong members continue to face tight restrictions on their freedom to assemble, practice religion, and travel.

With regard to organ harvesting, as the China Country Report also details, in 2007 a Chinese official acknowledged that the Chinese government harvested organs from executed prisoners. Since then, new regulations came into effect in China that include a ban on the trade of human organs and on live organ transplants from persons under the age of 18. The regulations also stipulate that the donation of human organs for transplant should be free and voluntary. The new regulations, however, make no specific reference to the extraction of organs from death penalty prisoners and we have no data about how effectively they are enforced. Although we are aware of Falun Gong allegations regarding organ harvesting atrocities, we are presently not aware of credible evidence that Falun Gong prisoners are targeted for organ harvesting.

Promoting greater respect for human rights, including religious freedom, is among our key foreign policy objectives in China. We continue to urge the Chinese government to be more accountable to its citizens and treat its people in accordance with its constitution and international obligations, as well as universal human rights standards.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. You have been here first year, you know, we have got the first year under your belt.

Mr. CAMPBELL. 7 months for me.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. 7 months for you. We are looking forward to working with you.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I would hope that this administration takes advantage of the opportunities we have to come to grips with some of the challenges in these relationships that I have outlined in my questions. So thank you very much.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you very much, Congressman.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank the gentleman from California. I do have a couple of questions, Mr. Secretary. Please be patient. I believe it was last year that our Government conducted the Pacific Partnership Program, which I think consisted of a mercy hospital vessel that went all over the Pacific with scores of doctors and trainers visiting about six or seven different island countries and giving vaccinations and medical treatment.

I would like to suggest that the administration continue the program. My concern—which I have mentioned to some of our friends in the administration—is whether we will have to wait another 40 years for something like this to happen. It is a positive program, it has never been done before, and I would strongly, strongly urge the administration to continue the program. I think it goes a long way to help the island nations.
Following what Congressman Royce stated earlier about the free trade agreement with South Korea, we have all known that one of the problems mentioned as an issue was auto parts. That was mainly raised by our friends from the Michigan delegation. The thing that I see as a positive feature of the free trade agreement with South Korea is that you are talking about potential exports from our country of between $11 billion and $20 billion, which means more jobs, exports going to this country. We don’t have to worry about labor issues and we don’t have to worry about health hazards. I was just wondering, what is the administration’s position? Are we serious about continuing the dialogue or negotiation with the South Korean Government to pass the free trade agreement between South Korea and the United States?

Mr. Campbell. Thank you very much, Congressman. I think you know that the Pacific Partnership Program was extraordinarily successful. It is one of several initiatives that we have tried in the Pacific in recent years that, frankly, have exceeded really our most optimistic expectations in terms of success. Let me give you another one. We have an ocean rider program whereby, you know, many of the Pacific Island nations have vast territorial seas in which there are sometimes illegal fishing and other acts that are done in these areas that are antithetical to their interests but they can’t patrol, they can’t protect their natural resources.

When a national from their military or coast guard or other rides on an American ship, we are then able, with their authority, to actually stop and to sometimes take action against those that are violating fishing rights and the like. With the fines and others that have come from this program it has been terrifically successful for a number of states in the South Pacific, and your staff has been instrumental in helping this program. We look to continue it going forward.

Mr. Faleomavaega. I might also mention, Mr. Secretary, that there is the latest development now among certain Pacific Island nations, about five or six including the Solomons, FSM, the Marshalls, Papua New Guinea, wanting to establish some kind of a cartel similar to OPEC, but controlling the sale and the catch of tuna. You are talking about a $4-billion industry that doesn’t go to the benefit of these island nations. There is now organized what is called a Nauru Agreement. A summit was held about 2 weeks ago in Palau by these island nations to establish an OPEC-like organization so they can get more of the benefits.

The problem here is that most of the fishing is done by foreign countries or foreign companies. The island nations get a pittance as a result. Of course, my own little territory is impacted by the fact that we at one time processed tuna there for the largest processor in the world. No longer. Thailand is now doing this. Definitely I want to work with your office concerning the Oceans Program, see how we can help the island nations to develop this.

Mr. Campbell. I agree with that, Chairman. I would just say that I think our goals in this respect our twofold. Not only do we want to see more of the profits go to the Islanders, but at the same time, I think we have to recognize this is one of the last stocks of healthy tuna in the world and that we have a really critical responsibility to make sure that this fishing resource is treated in a way
that allows for the best ability to sustain this critical natural resource going forward. If I can, just on the, I do believe, as I indicated, the meetings between President Myung-bak and President Obama left me quite optimistic. I think the President stated very clearly of his desire to have necessary discussions going forward.

They didn’t put a particular timetable at that juncture, but I believe that the United States Government and the Korean Government will take the appropriate steps in the near future. I am still quite confident that we will get this agreement done. I know how important it is to Korea, but I also think increasingly it is very important to the United States. I accept very clearly some of the statements that you and others have made about the potential benefits that will come to the United States.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. On the Korean issue, and especially on the situation with North Korea, I make an observation. I know that our policy is to try to tell North Korea to cut its nuclear program. But how do you denuclearize a country that already has nuclear bombs? Are we consistent in terms of our policy in putting pressure on North Korea? Did we do it against Pakistan? Did we do it against India? I don’t think so. What I wanted to find out from you is if we think that North Korea is so unstable that we have to denuclearize the country when they already have about eight or nine nuclear bombs?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The truth is, Mr. Chairman, there are examples in global politics of countries that have willingly given up nuclear weapons because they believe that they find themselves in a better circumstance strategically after that. I would put in that category, although Libya never made it to the final step, but Libya abandoned its nuclear programs, South Africa did, the Ukraine did, other countries, as former parts of the Soviet Union that had major sort of components associated with the Soviet nuclear arsenal, and so I first of all think that it is entirely appropriate for the international community and the United States to call for denuclearization in North Korea, not simply because we have concerns about North Korea, and those are very real.

We have seen them proliferate a vast amount of equipment and capabilities that are antithetical to global maintenance of peace and stability. We have concerns about many of the actions that they have taken, and we have concerns about the very nature of their government. Also, I think an acknowledged nuclear state in Northeast Asia would pose very significant challenges to the maintenance of the kind of relationships we want with both Japan and South Korea. So, no, I am completely comfortable and I think that the approach that we have taken is the appropriate one. We have made very clear that if North Korea wants to join the family of nations, if they want to work with us on economic growth, on greater integration in the booming economies of Northeast Asia, then they must take several steps. One of them is denuclearization. We also want to see progress on specific economic, and also human rights issues. We think that is the appropriate approach. I must tell you, Congressman, on this issue we have rock solid support from the South Koreans, Japanese and others as we go forward.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I am a little puzzled to the extent that probably I am one of the few members who has ever been to the Mar-
shall Islands where we bombed that island archipelago to bits and pieces. We detonated 67 nuclear bombs on the Marshall Islands including the first hydrogen bomb. To this day, we still have not provided justice to these people. I really would like to work with you in making sure that we give better treatment to the people in the Marshall Islands. We still have not done them justice. I also visited the island of Mururoa where the French Government detonated almost 200 nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, on the surface and below it. Just really, really one of those episodes.

I think it was 2 years ago when I was invited by the President of Kazakhstan to visit Semipalatinsk where the Soviet Union exploded its first atom bomb in 1949. And guess what? That place is still radioactive since the Soviets detonated 450 nuclear devices there, including the most powerful hydrogen bomb ever exploded. That was not in Kazakhstan, but some 1.5 million Kazaks ended up exposed to the horrors of nuclear radiation, similar to what happened to the Japanese when we dropped the bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima. So I have this sense of contradiction that I wanted to share with you. On the one hand we are telling these countries not to develop nuclear weapons, but the five permanent members of the Security Council continue to have their own nuclear weapons.

My question: Is it right for these five permanent members of the Security Council to tell the rest of the world not to have nuclear bombs, but it is okay for the five to have them? That is where I am a little puzzled myself. I can understand deterrence; I can understand making sure that we are always prepared and dealing from a position of strength. But with Iran, why are they motivated to develop an atomic bomb? Because Israel has one, even though Israel will never admit or deny it. Then the Arabs want to have a bomb, too. So it goes on and on. Where will it stop? Of course, then al-Qaeda and the terrorists will stop at nothing and will try to get a bomb that can be taken in a suitcase or a dirty bomb that is just as bad, if not worse. So I just want you to walk me through how it is possible for some countries to continue to have nuclear weapons but the rest of the world cannot.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Let me try, if I can, Congressman, just to make three points. We have gone a little further afield in terms of our specific patch here, but let me try to——

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Well, North Korea.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, no. Let me try to specifically suggest. I think one of the things that President Obama has underscored, and he has been very much influenced by some elder statesmen, many of whom served during the Cold War and others, and he believes, as do many others, that it is absolutely critical on the part of the United States, and indeed other leading nations, to reduce the significance of nuclear weapons in our global strategy. I think you will see at the upcoming nuclear summit and through a variety of other programs and policies of the United States that we are attempting to do that. We are trying to diminish the role of nuclear weapons in our global strategy.

At the same time, we recognize that these weapons have been invented, they exist. The most important deal, if you will, the arrangement that is underscored in the Nonproliferation Treaty, is
that at the same time that the established nuclear weapons must reduce their arsenals in order to ensure that other states do not try to build them. We have seen one part of the arrangement essentially fulfilled, but, as you underscore, the arsenals over the Cold War of the United States and the Soviet Union went up. You are going to see some specific steps, hopefully, after an agreement with Moscow that the United States and Russia will reduce its nuclear arsenals, so I actually think that that is a very important step as part of fulfilling this essential bargain. We think strengthening of the Nonproliferation Treaty is an essential component to global security.

Mr. Faleomavaega. Especially with 90 percent of the nuclear weapons now in existence in the possession of the Russians and us.

Mr. Campbell. I accept that. I think we have to reduce those. We also recognize the very real worries about a nuclear weapon that would end up in the hands of a terrorist. Now, on the specific issues of the legacy issues in the Pacific, I must say I agree with you. I think the United States has some unique responsibilities associated with dealing with some of the horrific challenges, but also, the enduring commitments to the Pacific region. When we have met before I underscored to you I think when people say Asia Pacific they focus more on the former than on the latter, and I think, you know, see how we do, but I will say, you know, I have been here 7 months, we have got a new, you know, AID office in the Asia Pacific, we are going to try to work on the compacts, we are going to try to make sure we have high-level visits, we need to work with these countries and these places on climate change and on continuing issues of health and HIV. Those are continuing challenges of the United States, and we cannot shirk these responsibilities. I would add to them the challenges of the Marshall, and Bikini and the like. So I hope that I will be a good partner for you in this endeavor, Congressman, and I share your sense of concern about these historical matters.

Mr. Faleomavaega. Mr. Secretary, I know you have been very patient, and I deeply appreciate your patience and all the questions that have been raised. I deeply appreciate your presence, and I wish you all the best on your upcoming trip. Please, let us do this again. Thank you very much.

Mr. Campbell. I will come back and let you know how things go. Thank you very much, Congressman.

Mr. Faleomavaega. Hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:06 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]
APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD
SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND THE GLOBAL
ENVIRONMENT
Eni F. H. Faleomavaega (D-AS), Chairman

February 24, 2010

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Subcommittee on
Asia, the Pacific and the Global Environment, to be held in Room 2172 of the Rayburn
House Office Building.

DATE: Wednesday, March 3, 2010

TIME: 2:30 p.m.

SUBJECT: Regional Overview of East Asia and the Pacific

WITNESS: The Honorable Kurt M. Campbell
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs
U.S. Department of State

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need
of special accommodations, please call 202/225-9031 at least four business days in advance of the event; whenever
practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee
materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee as noted above.
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Day: Wednesday
Date: March 3, 2010
Room: 2172 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Start Time: 2:37 p.m.
End Time: 4:07 p.m.

Recesses:

Presiding Member(s): Chairman Eni F.H. Faleomavaega

CHECK ALL OF THE FOLLOWING THAT APPLY:

Open Session X
Executive (closed) Session
Television                     X
Electronically Recorded (taaped) X
Stenographic Record

TITLE OF HEARING: "Regional Overview of East Asia and the Pacific"


NONCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes X No ___ (If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

ACCOMPANYING WITNESSES: (Include title, agency, department, or organization, and which witness the person accompanied.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: (List any statements submitted for the record)

Chairman Faleomavaega, Ranking Member Manzullo, Assistant Secretary Kurt Campbell (witness).

(Handwritten Signature)

Lisa Williams
Staff Director