

**NOMINATIONS OF THE 112TH
CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

—
FEBRUARY 7 THROUGH NOVEMBER 28, 2012
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
112TH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION

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**NOMINATIONS OF RICHARD MORNINGSTAR,
TIMOTHY BROAS, AND JAY ANANIA**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13, 2012

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

Hon. Richard L. Morningstar, of Massachusetts, to be Ambassador
to the Republic of Azerbaijan
Timothy M. Broas, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom
of the Netherlands
Jay Nicholas Anania, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Republic
of Suriname

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:49 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jeanne Shaheen, presiding.

Present: Senators Kerry, Shaheen, Menendez, Cardin, Lugar, and Barrasso.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will come to order. I am going to exercise the prerogative of being the Chair with the ranking member's consent and start the hearing, even though I have asked Senator Shaheen, who is now here, to chair the hearing. And what I will do is recognize Senator Shaheen to formally open the proceedings, and then we will go from there.

Senator SHAHEEN [presiding]. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Since it is your committee, you can start whenever you are ready, and I appreciate that and apologize for being late.

We are here today to consider the nominations of Richard Morningstar to be United States Ambassador to Azerbaijan, Mr. Timothy Broad to be the United States Ambassador to the Netherlands, and Mr. Jay Nicholas Anania to be the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Suriname.

And, Mr. Chairman, I do not know if you would like to go ahead and do the introductions, and then I have an opening statement since I know you have to go on.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN F. KERRY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS**

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate that. I have to go on to another meeting and appreciate that enormously.

First of all, thank you for letting me say a few words and for chairing this. I really appreciate it. And I am very pleased that the

President has nominated such strong candidates to serve as Ambassador to Azerbaijan, the Netherlands, and Suriname.

Jay Anania has served as a career Foreign Service officer, which we always welcome here, to take on chief of mission roles. He served in a variety of important and challenging posts, most recently at our Embassy in Baghdad. And he is a highly qualified nominee, and I know he is going to be an excellent Ambassador in Suriname. We look forward to confirming you.

Tim Broas comes to us from a long and very distinguished career in the private practice of law. For the last 3 years, various legal associations have listed him as one of the best lawyers in America, and some even have given him the super lawyer's award. No doubt this experience will be put to good use as he takes the post in The Hague because the Dutch proudly refer to themselves as the international legal capital of the world. We are very fortunate that he has agreed to serve on behalf of our country.

I have known Tim for many years, and I can tell you that he is as decent and humble as he is passionate about serving his country. He embodies not just the accomplishments to which every American should aspire, but he is a living example of the kind of compassion and strength that we expect from our Nation's diplomats.

I will say on a personal note I know he is a quintessential family man. This September he will celebrate his 27th wedding anniversary with his wife, Julie, herself an accomplished lawyer. And together they have raised three extraordinary children: Emily, Allison, and Mattie, who are here today with him. I got to know Emily when she was an intern in my Washington office and during her years at Dartmouth College. It is a testament to things unseen that Emily is still here with us today. As a freshman when many of the rest of the freshman classes were agonizing over what courses to take or clubs to join, she was diagnosed with leukemia, and anyone who knows her will understand that she is a fighter. Through courage, grit, and sheer determination she stared down adversity and keep her dreams afloat. And Tim never let go during that process. He was there every step of the way with compassion and grace and a unique sense of humor that is always leavening in those stressful moments.

Tim and I share a mutual appreciation for Bruce Springsteen. Back in 2004 when my Presidential campaign was in full swing, "the Boss," who campaigned with me, wrote an op-ed that I think sums what is best about Tim. This may be the first confirmation hearing at which "the Boss" is quoted on behalf of the nominee, he wrote, "It's through the truthful exercise of the best of human qualities, respect for others, honesty about ourselves, faith in our ideals, that we come to life in God's eyes. It is how our soul as a nation and as individuals is revealed."

So I can tell you that in him I think the President has nominated a man of the highest integrity who will represent this Nation with honesty, with respect for other people, and an unwavering faith in our ideals.

Finally, I am delighted to introduce an old friend from Massachusetts, Richard Morningstar, to serve as our Ambassador to Azerbaijan. I have known Dick Morningstar since I entered politics

in Massachusetts, and I have worked with him now for decades. Many times he has answered the call to serve our country in various posts, and he is now doing so once again in a post where I believe our country, and the President need his skills far more than he needs the job. He will bring the right intelligence, commitment, and broad experience, including profound regional experience to this task.

Ambassador Morningstar currently serves as special envoy for Eurasian energy at the State Department, where he has worked tirelessly and with great skill to enhance Europe's energy security and assist the Caspian and Central Asian countries to find new routes to the market. It is a position of strategic importance to the United States, and it is the kind of position that Dick has excelled in.

In the interest of time, I am not going to detail his long list of previous accomplishments, but I will say for the record that he has served as Ambassador to the European Union, a Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Caspian Basin energy diplomacy, Ambassador and Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, and, above all, he had the good sense to be born and educated in Massachusetts.

It is a pleasure to welcome him here today. And I understand that his wife, Faith, and his daughter, Jill, and son-in-law, Al Fitzpayne, are also in attendance. So we welcome all them here this afternoon. And a quick shout out to Dick's son, Tim, and his wife, Liz, who also did a terrific job of helping me back in 2004.

Before I wrap up, I just want to underscore that really no issue may be more important to us than stability in the south Caucasus than a lasting and peaceful resolution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. And as cochair of the OSCE Minsk Group, the United States is committed to a comprehensive peace settlement that is going to require sustained engagement and political will. And I know Secretary Clinton's recent travel to the region underscores our determination to move forward on this issue.

So, Ambassador Morningstar, your nomination could not be more timely, and I want to say personally that I am grateful for your continued dedication to public service, and grateful for your friendship and support.

I urge my colleagues to support all three of these nominees and hope we can move them as expeditiously as possible. Thank you, Madam Chairman, very much.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, Senator Kerry. We very much appreciate the fact that you are able to be here at the start of this hearing. And I also want to recognize Ranking Member Lugar, who is the ranking member on the full committee, and thank him for being here as well. Would you like to make any kind of a statement following the Chair?

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD G. LUGAR,
U.S. SENATOR FROM INDIANA**

Senator LUGAR. My statement would simply be that I am delighted with the remarkable quality of the candidates that are in front of us today. I have had the special privilege to work with

Ambassador Morningstar and look forward to his testimony. And we will have questions for him in due course.

We are grateful to all three of you for coming to our hearing and for your public service.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, Senator Lugar.

I have a very brief statement that I will make before turning it over to the ranking member of this subcommittee, Senator Barrasso, for his statement before we finally turn it over to you all. So you have a brief reprieve before we begin asking you questions.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JEANNE SHAHEEN,
U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Senator SHAHEEN. I want to start by congratulating each of you on your nominations. We all thank you for taking on these very important jobs and look forward to hearing from you this afternoon.

I also want to just make sure that you take the opportunity, if you would like, to introduce any family or friends that you have here with you. I see a big crowd, so that says to me you must have lots of people who care about you and this nomination here with you. So feel free to do that. We ask a lot of our diplomats and their families, and we know that service abroad is sometimes very challenging, and it is very important to have the support of your families.

First on the agenda today, the committee will examine our relationship with Azerbaijan, a critical partner for the United States in the strategically vital Caspian region. This year marks the 20th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan is currently a U.N. Security Council member, and, as such, recently attended the NATO summit in Chicago. It has made important contributions as a NATO partner for peace country in Iraq, in Kosovo, and in Afghanistan. And today it remains a key point for the transport of troops and supplies into and out of Afghanistan. And, of course, as Senator Kerry mentioned earlier, it has massive energy supplies. Azerbaijan is also a crucial component of the Southern Corridor with those energy supplies to bolster our energy security in Europe.

Human rights remain a concern in Azerbaijan, and I was pleased to see that this was a point that Secretary Clinton made when she visited there recently. It was also encouraging to see a prominent opposition activist who was released from prison prior to the Secretary's visit. And I hope that others who are being detained there for simply expressing their views will be released soon as well.

Unfortunately, violence has once again flared up over the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh in recent weeks. I am concerned about the escalating tension in this region and call on all sides to peacefully resolve the dispute and comply with the 1994 cease-fire agreement. There is no military solution to this conflict, and continued violence could be a disaster for both sides. Diplomacy, under the auspices of the Minsk Group, will be key to any peaceful and sustainable resolution that turns the page on the violence of the past.

Our second nominee and the second issue that we will consider this afternoon is United States policies with respect to the Netherlands. And I understand that there are some representatives here

from the Dutch Embassy. We do apologize for the timing of the hearing because it is coming in a direct conflict with the soccer championship game against Germany, so we are impressed that you are here. And, Mr. Broas, we are going to have to ask you about this game before this hearing ends.

But as a founding member of NATO and a strong member of the European Union, the Netherlands is obviously a critical and important ally that shares wide-ranging interests and values with the United States. Dutch troops have been very valuable contributors to the engagement in Afghanistan where they fought in some of the toughest southern provinces of that country. Today Dutch troops provide support to the police training programs that are run by the EU and NATO, and they are one of the strong active participants in the joint development of the F-35 fighter program. And they were the first non-U.S. NATO ally to offer a contribution for the European phased adaptive approach missile defense plan.

Netherlands, like so much of Europe, has been hit hard by the global downturn and the ongoing debt crisis in Europe. And as a member of the eurozone and one of the few AAA credit rating countries left in Europe, the Dutch will need to play an important role in working toward a resolution in Europe that addresses both debt and growth throughout the continent.

Finally today we will be assessing U.S. relations with the Republic of Suriname, a young South American country which gained its independence from the Netherlands in 1975. Suriname is a constitutional democracy with two decades of continuous democratically elected civilian governments. With an economy dominated by mineral and energy deposits, a number of U.S. mining companies have a strong presence and an interest in the country.

Perhaps one of the biggest challenges for the United States and Suriname remains drug trafficking. The country is a transit point for cocaine and other illegal narcotics, and the United States will need to deepen relations with Suriname if we are to curb illicit trafficking and strengthen rule of law in this region of the world.

I will not do any more to introduce our three nominees as Senator Kerry did that very eloquently. So I will now call on Senator Barrasso for his opening remarks.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN BARRASSO,
U.S. SENATOR FROM WYOMING**

Senator BARRASSO. Well, thank you very much, Madam Chairman, and I would like to also congratulate each of the nominees who are before us today. These are very important nominations for our country and for our future. Each of these positions is important to fostering vital relationships and promoting U.S. national interests. There are some real challenges ahead. It is important that the United States continue to be a strong leader across the globe.

Should you represent our Nation as a U.S. ambassador, it is important for each of you to provide strong stewardship of American taxpayer dollars, demonstrate professionalism, and good judgment, and vigorously advocate for the priorities of the United States. So I look forward, Madam Chairman, to hearing the goals from each of these individuals with regard to the countries that they will be

moving to, and for whom they will be representing the United States, and then all of your plans for achieving those goals.

So I join you, Madam Chairman, in congratulating each of you on your nomination, and would like to extend, as you did, a warm welcome to all of the families, and congratulate them as well.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I will ask each of you to give us your testimony before we open it up for questions. And we will start with Ambassador Morningstar and just go right down the table. So, Ambassador.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD L. MORNINGSTAR, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Thank you very much, Madam Chairman, and thank you for your comments, with which I fully, fully agree. And also thank you to the other distinguished members of the committee for the privilege of appearing before you today as President Obama's nominee as the United States Ambassador to Azerbaijan. I am grateful for the opportunity to testify.

I would like to particularly thank Senator Kerry and Senator Lugar for their very kind comments. And, Senator Lugar, I truly appreciate your support over the years. And I think that even going back to the 1990s when we were working on the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, that our policy in the Caspian and in the Caucasus region has been truly bipartisan. And because of that, I think we have been able to achieve a lot over the years.

I am also humbled by the confidence that the President and Secretary Clinton have placed in me, and if confirmed I look forward to working with this committee, other Members of Congress, and your staffs to advance the interests of the United States in Azerbaijan.

I would like to briefly introduce my wife, Faith, who has been such a strong support during all of my government wanderings—and my daughter, Jill, who actually has served very capably as the recipient of my wife's vents during all of my government wanderings, and my son-in-law, Al Fitzpayne, whom some of you may know well because he is now the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs at the Treasury Department. And also our three oldest friends are here today, and that is Sally Fowler, Dr. Jay Kaufman and Susie Kaufman. And we are certainly glad that they are here as well.

Long before my current position as the Secretary's Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy, and before my appointment as the United States Ambassador to the European Union, I served as special advisor to the President and Secretary of State for assistance to what were then called the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. One of the primary goals during that time was the stabilization and development of the entire south Caucasus region, a goal that we continue to pursue today.

I have vivid memories during the 1990s of working through my office to supply fuel oil and wheat to Georgia and Armenia to help them through some very difficult winters. And over the years, I have made several trips to all three Caucasus countries.

This year, the United States and Azerbaijan celebrated the 20th anniversary of the establishment of our diplomatic relationship. This milestone is an opportunity to take stock of how far we have come in the three core areas of importance to the relationship: security, which also includes the Nagorno-Karabakh situation, energy and other economic issues, and democratic and economic reform.

The United States has long recognized Azerbaijan as a stalwart partner on international security. Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, then Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev was among the first to extend a hand of support in our time of need and to offer close cooperation in our efforts to combat terrorism. That cooperation continues to this day. American and Azerbaijani soldiers have served together in Kosovo and Iraq, and they now serve together in Afghanistan. Azerbaijan has shown a continued commitment to the allied effort in Afghanistan, including its vital role as a transportation route in the Northern Distribution Network for supporting NATO's operations in Afghanistan.

The United States and Azerbaijan have also enjoyed 20 years of cooperation on energy security, as has already been mentioned. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, which I worked on in the past, and the development today of the Southern Corridor for gas, represent powerful symbols of Azerbaijan's pursuit of closer Euro-Atlantic integration and global commitment to energy security, a key part of our strategy to diversify energy routes and sources for European markets.

But Azerbaijan's integration into the West can and must expand well beyond pipelines. The United States must also continue to work with Azerbaijan on advancing democratic and economic reforms, including promoting respect for the rule of law, transparency, and fundamental freedoms. There is no question that Azerbaijan is located in a tough neighborhood, facing real pressures. However, democratic reforms are essential to Azerbaijan's long-term security and prosperity. It is in Azerbaijan's own interest to undertake these reforms, both to ensure long-term stability and to unleash the full potential of its people. As Azerbaijan advances along this path, our bilateral relationship will become even stronger.

As Madam Chairman has said, the Secretary of State last week, while in Baku, made a strong statement affirming our commitment to working with Azerbaijan to advance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and how important those issues are. And if confirmed, I will do everything in my power to help Azerbaijan succeed in developing as a strong, independent, and modern democracy.

To achieve a more secure and prosperous future for the region, there is no higher priority for the United States than the peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As a cochair of the OSCE Minsk Group, the United States continues to assist the sides to achieve a peaceful, lasting, negotiated settlement of the conflict based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, including the nonuse of force or threat of force, territorial integrity, and the equal rights and self-determination of peoples. If confirmed, I will support the administration's commitment at the highest levels to

achieve this goal. I will also support the efforts of the U.S. cochair, Ambassador Robert Bradtke, as we work closely with the sides to reach a settlement. Only a negotiated settlement can lead to long-term peace and stability in the region.

Finally, Madam Chairman, our wide range of shared interests intersects with many of the United States highest foreign policy priorities, but there is still much that we can do to bring our governments, our societies, and our people even closer together.

Madam Chairman, thank you very much for considering my nomination, and I look forward to getting into a lot more detail on the questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Morningstar follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD MORNINGSTAR

Thank you, Madam Chairman, and distinguished members of the committee, for the privilege of appearing before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to Azerbaijan. I am grateful for the opportunity to testify this afternoon, and I am humbled by the confidence that President Obama and Secretary Clinton have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee, other Members of Congress, and your staffs to advance the interests of the United States in Azerbaijan.

I would like to introduce my wife, Faith, who has joined me here today, along with my daughter, Jill Morningstar, and son-in-law, Al Fitzpayne.

Long before my current position as the Secretary's Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy, and before my appointment as U.S. Ambassador to the European Union, I served as Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Assistance for the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union. One of the primary goals during that time was the stabilization and the development of the entire South Caucasus region—a goal that we continue to pursue today. I have vivid memories during the 1990s of working through my office to supply fuel oil and wheat to Georgia and Armenia to help them get through some difficult winters. Over the years, I made several trips to all three Caucasus countries.

The United States stands only to gain—and to reap benefits well into the future—from an Azerbaijan that is peaceful, democratic, prosperous, and strategically linked to the United States and our European allies. Azerbaijan has enormous potential.

This year, the United States and Azerbaijan celebrated the 20th anniversary of the establishment of our diplomatic relationship. This milestone is an opportunity not only to appreciate the depth of our cooperation, but also to take stock of how far we've come in the three core areas of importance to the relationship: security, energy, and democratic and economic reform. The administration believes we must intensify our cooperation in these areas and work together to resolve the ongoing challenges that the region continues to face.

The United States has long recognized Azerbaijan as a stalwart partner on international security. We remember that following the attacks of September 11, 2001, then-Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev was among the first to extend a hand of support in our time of need and to offer his country's close cooperation in our efforts to combat terrorism. That cooperation continues to this day. American and Azerbaijani soldiers have served together in Kosovo and Iraq, and they now serve together in Afghanistan. Azerbaijan has shown a sustained commitment to the allied effort in Afghanistan, including its vital role as a transportation route in the Northern Distribution Network for supporting NATO's operations in Afghanistan. Thousands of flights have crossed Azerbaijan's airspace en route to Afghanistan, and thousands of containers have departed Baku in support of the International Security Assistance Force. The United States works closely and productively with Azerbaijan on the U.N. Security Council, where this year Azerbaijan began its first-ever term as a nonpermanent member.

The United States and Azerbaijan have also enjoyed 20 years of cooperation on energy security. In my current position as Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy, I work closely with Azerbaijan. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, which I worked on in the past, and the development today of the Southern Corridor for gas represent powerful symbols of Azerbaijan's pursuit of closer Euro-Atlantic integration and global commitment to energy security—a key part of our strategy to diversify energy routes and sources for European markets. If confirmed, I will continue to work with Azerbaijan to diversify its energy routes and bolster its critical energy infrastructure

protection. But Azerbaijan's integration with the West can and must span well beyond pipelines.

The United States must also continue work with Azerbaijan on advancing democratic and economic reforms, including promoting respect for the rule of law, transparency, and fundamental freedoms. There is no question that Azerbaijan is located in a tough neighborhood, facing real pressures. However, democratic reforms are essential to Azerbaijan's long-term security and prosperity. It is in Azerbaijan's own interest to undertake these reforms, both to ensure long-term stability and to unleash the full potential of its people. And as Azerbaijan advances along this path, our bilateral relationship will become even stronger. An independent judiciary, a free media, a vibrant civil society, political pluralism, competition through free and fair elections, and respect for fundamental freedoms are essential components of any democracy, and we need to work together to increase the pace of Azerbaijan's development in these areas. The Secretary of State last week, while in Baku, made a strong statement on these issues. If confirmed, I will do everything in my power to help Azerbaijan succeed in developing as a strong, independent, and modern democracy.

To achieve a more secure and prosperous future for the region, there is no higher immediate priority for the United States than the peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As a cochair of the OSCE Minsk Group, the United States continues to assist the sides to achieve a peaceful, lasting negotiated settlement of the conflict based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, including the Non-Use of Force or Threat of Force, Territorial Integrity, and the Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples. If confirmed, I will support the administration's commitment, at the highest levels, to achieving this goal. I will also support the efforts of the U.S. cochair, Ambassador Robert Bradtke, as we work closely with the sides to reach a settlement. The President, Secretary of State, and Ambassador Bradtke have made major efforts to facilitate a settlement. We must continue these efforts. Only a negotiated settlement can lead to long-term peace and stability in the region.

Madam Chairman, if I am confirmed, I will have the great honor of advancing a relationship that has progressed, steadily and uninterrupted, for the 20 years since Azerbaijan declared its independence. Our wide range of shared interests intersects with many of the United States highest foreign policy priorities. But there is still much we can do to bring our governments, our societies, and our people even closer together.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.
Mr. Anania.

**STATEMENT OF JAY NICHOLAS ANANIA, OF MARYLAND, TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF SURINAME**

Mr. ANANIA. Madam Chairman and members of the committee, I am pleased to appear before you today. I am grateful for the confidence Secretary Clinton placed in me and deeply honored by President Obama's nomination to serve as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Suriname.

I am extremely pleased that my wife, Lourdes, and parents, Joan and Edward Anania, are with me here today. Lourdes and I have shared the challenges and pleasures of the Foreign Service since 1984, and we have served together during six overseas postings. I could not have reached this stage in my career without her love and support.

I would also like to recognize my mother, Joan, whose own foreign affairs career was cut short by the discriminatory policies that applied to women in the 1950s. Thankfully women no longer have to resign if they decide to marry. She first inspired me to consider a Foreign Service career.

My father, who was born and raised in Portsmouth, NH, also set a positive example of public service with his U.S. Army and Department of Defense civilian career.

While representing the United States abroad in such diverse places as Mexico, Jordan, Cuba, the United Arab Emirates, Ger-

many, Hong Kong, and currently in Iraq, I have drawn on my experience as an American to encourage people to see that working together helps make progress possible. Although countries cannot immediately change the legacy of centuries, a commitment to human rights, decency, and a shared future by all sectors of society, without regard to ethnicity or religion, can help a nation in its efforts to overcome legacies of the past.

If confirmed, I look forward to representing the United States in Suriname, one of the most ethnically and religiously diverse countries in the world. The ancestors of Suriname's people hail from various regions, including some where I have served, and their customs and religious beliefs reflect the world's diversity. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the many communities of this remarkable nation.

My first priority would be protecting the safety and welfare of Americans in Suriname, both private citizens and the official community. If confirmed, I will work with the Suriname Government to adopt policies and promote development that increases American investment and tourism between our two countries.

If confirmed, I also plan to work to strengthen democracy and transparency in government. Suriname has made real progress in the 21 years since the reestablishment of civilian rule, and in 2010, Suriname held its fifth consecutive free and fair national election. It is very much in the United States interests that Suriname remains a stable democratic partner, and if I am granted the opportunity to serve there, one of my highest priorities will be to advance that goal.

The United States, Suriname, and other nations in the region share a vital interest in protecting the rule of law. People cannot feel secure if they do not have a legal system they can count on. Close cooperation between duly constituted law enforcement institutions in both countries and strengthened law enforcement capabilities are important shared interests. Suriname has made progress in its battle to stop trafficking in persons, arms, and narcotics, and stands to benefit greatly from bilateral and regional assistance under several U.S.-sponsored programs, including the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative.

Under our CBSI partnership, Suriname will receive significant assistance to improve port security, provide technical training to its law enforcement officers, combat money laundering and financial crimes, and develop biometric screening measures for its ports of entry.

Suriname remains a key partner for the United States in our efforts to promote citizen security in the Caribbean. The administration is working with partner countries to protect the global environment, and to combat the dangers posed by pollution, and the risks of climate change. Some of the people of Suriname, heirs to a wonderful rain forest and other natural areas, see ecotourism as one way to demonstrate that these environments are worth protecting from destruction by clear cutting, or illegal logging, or mining. If confirmed, I will work hard with the Surinamese to help protect their wonderful natural environment, a goal I firmly believe is in both the interests of the United States and of the people of Suriname.

Suriname is a land of significant natural resources from bauxite and gold to untapped petroleum reserves. Free trade is a key part of the economic engine that drives progress and growth, and it is in our interest to increase our trade and economic ties with Suriname.

If confirmed, I look forward to representing the United States in Suriname, working with you, and your colleagues in Congress on behalf of the administration, while also working closely with the government and people of Suriname in a genuine spirit of cooperation and mutual respect.

I would be happy to answer any questions you might have. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Anania follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAY ANANIA

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, I am pleased to appear before you today. I am grateful for the confidence that Secretary Clinton has placed in me, and I am deeply honored by President Obama's nomination to serve as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Suriname.

I am extremely pleased that my wife, Lourdes, and parents, Joan and Edward, are with me here today. Lourdes and I have shared the challenges and pleasures of the Foreign Service since 1984, and we served together during six overseas postings. I could not have reached this stage in my career without her love and support. I would also like to recognize my mother, Joan, whose own foreign affairs career was cut short by the discriminatory policies that applied to women in the 1950s. Thankfully, this particular policy no longer exists, and women no longer have to resign from the Foreign Service if they decide to marry. She first inspired me to consider a Foreign Service career. My father also set a positive example of public service with his U.S. Army and Department of Defense civilian career.

While representing the United States abroad in such diverse places as Mexico, Jordan, Cuba, the United Arab Emirates, Germany, Hong Kong, and currently in Iraq, I have drawn on my experiences as an American to encourage people to see that working together helps make progress possible. Although countries cannot immediately change the legacy of centuries, a commitment to human rights, decency, and a shared future by all sectors of society without regard to ethnicity or religion can help a nation in its efforts to overcome legacies of the past.

If confirmed, I look forward to representing the United States in Suriname—one of the most ethnically and religiously diverse countries in the world. The ancestors of Suriname's people hail from various regions, including some where I have served, and their religious beliefs also reflect much of the world—Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and the oldest continuous Jewish community in the Americas. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the many communities of this remarkable nation.

My first priority would be protecting the safety and welfare of Americans in Suriname—both private citizens and the official community. If confirmed, I will work with the Suriname Government to adopt policies and promote development that increases American investment and tourism between our two countries.

If confirmed, I also plan to work to strengthen democracy and transparency in government. Suriname has made real progress in the 21 years since the reestablishment of civilian rule, and in 2010 Suriname held its fifth consecutive free and fair national election. It is very much in the United States interest that Suriname remains a stable democratic partner, and if I am granted the opportunity to serve there, one of my highest priorities will be to advance that goal.

The United States, Suriname, and other nations in the region share a vital interest in protecting the rule of law. People cannot feel secure if they do not have a legal system they can count on. Close cooperation between duly constituted law enforcement in both countries, and strengthened law enforcement capabilities, are important shared interests. Suriname has made progress in its battle to stop trafficking in persons, arms, and narcotics. Suriname stands to benefit greatly from bilateral and regional assistance under several U.S.-sponsored programs, including the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI)—a multiyear, multifaceted initiative that complements the Central American Regional Security Initiative and the Merida Initiative in Central America and Mexico. Under our CBSI partnership with Government of Suriname and other Caribbean neighbors, Suriname will receive significant assistance to improve port security, provide technical training to its law en-

forcement officers, combat money-laundering and financial crimes, and develop biometric screening measures for its ports of entry. Suriname remains a key partner for the United States in our efforts to promote citizen security in the Caribbean.

The administration is working to protect the global environment and to combat the dangers posed by pollution and the risks of climate change. An important part of this effort is working cooperatively with other countries around the world. Some of the people of Suriname, heirs to a wonderful rainforest and other natural areas, see eco-tourism as one way to demonstrate that these environments are worth protecting from destruction by clear-cutting or illegal logging or mining. If confirmed, I will work hard with the Surinamese to help protect their wonderful natural environment, a goal that I firmly believe is in both the interest of the United States and of the people of Suriname.

Suriname is a land of significant natural resources, from bauxite and gold to untapped petroleum reserves. Free trade is a key part of the economic engine that drives progress and growth, and it is in our interest to increase our trade and economic ties with Suriname.

If confirmed, I look forward to representing the United States in Suriname, working with you and your colleagues in Congress on behalf of the administration, while also working closely with the government and the people of Suriname in a genuine spirit of cooperation and mutual respect.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Anania. I am pleased to hear about your New Hampshire roots, too.

Mr. Broas.

**STATEMENT OF TIMOTHY M. BROAS, OF MARYLAND, TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS**

Mr. BROAS. Madam Chairman, Ranking Member Barrasso, and distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, thank you for the privilege of appearing before you today. I am deeply grateful to President Obama and to Secretary Clinton for their support and confidence in nominating me to be U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. If confirmed by the Senate, I pledge to devote all my energy to represent the United States to the best of my ability.

If you will permit me, I would like to introduce the members of my family who are here: my wife, Julie Broas, who is from Indiana and worked for Senator Lugar as an intern many years ago; my daughter, Emily Broas, who recently graduated from Dartmouth College; my daughter, Allison Broas, a senior at Boston College; and my daughter—my youngest daughter, Madeline Broas, fresh from her high school graduation this weekend, and bound for Hanover, NH, to follow in her sister's footsteps to Dartmouth. I am happy they could join me today. They have been patient, steadfast, and loving supporters of me throughout this process for which I am forever grateful.

I would also like to thank Senator Kerry for his kind words and his gracious introduction. He is right about the Springsteen connection, and it is something I will never live down, proudly.

Madam Chairman and fellow Senators, all of you know well of the United States long and strong relationship of the Netherlands. The United Provinces of the Netherlands was the second nation to officially recognize the United States when the Dutch Government accepted the credentials of U.S. Minister John Adams on April 19, 1782. Since then, the Netherlands has remained one of our oldest and most reliable diplomatic partners.

More recently, the Dutch have become one of our strongest economic and trade partners, as well as one of the world's most generous development and donor nations. They are our ninth-largest

trading partner and the third-largest foreign direct investor in the United States.

From 2000 through 2010, the Netherlands was the No. 1 destination in the world for U.S. direct investment, far ahead of Canada, Mexico, Singapore, and Japan. Clearly for a country barely the size of Rhode Island with only 16 million people, the Netherlands punches well above its weight. If I am confirmed, I will work tirelessly to maintain and improve our strong economic and trade relations with the Netherlands, consistent with the administration's goal to increase exports and create new jobs.

Our strong relations find harmony on many levels beyond the economic and diplomatic. The Netherlands works closely with the United States to promote security, stability, and justice throughout the world through military support and development aid, support of our strongest allies, and condemnation of our most threatening enemies, and hosting the international tribunals to litigate and resolve the world's most complex and difficult legal conflicts.

Indeed I had occasion to invoke the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in The Hague during my legal career on behalf of an American client seeking to recover property and funds confiscated in 1979 by the Iranian regime. That same Iranian regime is now threatening to upend worldwide peace and stability in an attempt to obtain nuclear weapons and threaten the security of its neighbors. The international community is united to impose sanctions on the Iranian Government, and our European partners are crucial to this effort. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to ensure that our Dutch allies remain shoulder to shoulder with us as we strive to hold Iran to its international obligations.

The Netherlands has risen to the global security challenges of our time and join with the United States and other countries as an active contributor to international security missions. As Senator Shaheen said, the Netherlands contributes to the NATO mission in Afghanistan, and it currently provides the flagship for NATO's counterpiracy mission off the Horn of Africa. The Netherlands has also participated in the alliance's Libya mission. We remain thankful for Dutch commitment to these missions.

The United States and Netherlands are committed to combating terrorism and preventing violent extremism. The Dutch counterterrorism program, which they published in 2011, follows closely plans developed in the United States and the United Kingdom. The Dutch agree that we must never lower our vigilance against the grave threat of terrorism, and that it is important to work with at-risk populations to make sure that young people do not become alienated and susceptible to radicalism. If I am confirmed, I will use the Embassy's resources to reach out to key populations in the Netherlands along these lines.

The Netherlands and the United States also share a strong commitment to the political participation of women. The Netherlands supports President Obama's Presidential challenge on women's political and economic participation. If confirmed, I pledge to advance our collaboration with the Netherlands to promote women in politics and business.

The United States and the Netherlands also share an important commitment to green energy. If confirmed, I will build on the close

cooperation our Embassy has forged with the Netherlands on alternative energy and environmental sustainability.

Madam Chairman, I have spent over 30 years representing clients in a wide variety of complex criminal and civil disputes. While some involved only money and sums small and large, others involved my clients' liberty and freedom and often his or her livelihood. I have managed teams of lawyers, clients, and consultant on cases both large and small, all with the goal of reaching the most favorable result for my client. Along the way, I have encountered legal, factual, and managerial minefields of every possible type, some predictable and some from out of nowhere.

In all of these cases, I was called upon to make critical decisions and manage diverse personalities and points of view. If I am confirmed, I will draw upon this management experience when I assume leadership of the team at the Embassy in The Hague.

Let me close with a personal story. I am one of nine children born to the late William Broas and Anita St. Germain. My only regret here today is that neither of my parents is here to see their son appear before your committee to seek confirmation as an ambassador. They would have been very proud.

My father, of Dutch descent, served honorably in the Marines in the Pacific theater during World War II. My mother lived in Paris until her father, confronted like all French citizens by the Nazi invasion and occupation of France, put her, along with her mother and her five siblings, on a small boat to New York. She eventually met my father after the war, and one of the many things that bound them together was their profound love for the freedom they found in the United States.

The experience of my parents and the love they felt for and showered on this country left a lasting lesson with me. I always believed that if I ever had the chance to serve our country, I would do so whenever the call came. When President Obama asked me to be our next Ambassador to the Netherlands, the country of my father's ancestors, I could almost hear my parents echoing my affirmative reply. If I am confirmed, I will be guided at all times by the pride and love of country that my parents instilled in me from a young age.

Thank you for your time, and I look forward to answering any of your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Broas follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF TIMOTHY BROAS

Madam Chairman, Ranking Member Barrasso, and distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, thank you for the privilege of appearing before you today. I am deeply grateful to President Obama and Secretary Clinton for their support and confidence in nominating me to be United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. If confirmed by the Senate, I pledge to devote all my energy to represent the United States to the best of my ability.

If you will permit me, I would like to introduce the members of my family who are here today. My wife, Julie Broas; my daughter, Emily Broas, who recently graduated from Dartmouth College; my daughter, Allison Broas, a senior at Boston College; and my youngest daughter, Madeline Broas, fresh from her high school graduation this past weekend and bound for Hanover, New Hampshire to follow her older sister's footsteps at Dartmouth. I am happy they could join me today. They have been patient, steadfast, and loving supporters of me throughout this process, for which I am forever grateful.

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The United States and the Netherlands also share a strong commitment to political participation of women. The Netherlands supports President Obama's Presidential Challenge on Women's Political and Economic Participation. If confirmed, I pledge to advance our collaboration with the Netherlands to promote women in politics and business.

Additionally, the United States and the Netherlands share an important commitment to green energy. If confirmed, I will build on the close cooperation our Embassy has forged with the Netherlands on alternative energy and environmental sustainability.

Madam Chairman, I have spent over 30 years representing clients in a wide variety of complex criminal and civil disputes. While some involved only money, in sums small and large, others involved my client's liberty and freedom and often his or her livelihood. I have managed teams of lawyers, clients, and consultants on cases both large and small—all with the goal of reaching the most favorable result for my client. Along the way I have encountered legal, factual, and managerial minefields of every possible type, some predictable and others from out of nowhere. In all of these cases I was called upon to make critical decisions and manage diverse personalities and points of view. If I am confirmed, I will draw upon this management experience when I assume leadership of the team at the Embassy in The Hague.

I have also had the pleasure of serving as a board member on a number of non-profit institutions, including Partners in Health and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. If confirmed, I will draw upon these experiences in my work in the Netherlands, which is such an important partner in promoting democ-

racy, human rights, developmental aid, and economic growth around the world. The Netherlands understands, as does the United States, that military and diplomatic efforts are not the only tools for combating instability; development plays a very important role. If confirmed, I pledge to advance U.S.-Dutch cooperation on democratic development, from Belarus and Ukraine, to the Middle East, and North Africa.

Let me close with a personal story. I am one of nine children born to the late William Broas and Anita St. Germain. My only regret here today is that neither of my parents is here to see their son appear before your committee to seek confirmation as an ambassador. They would have been very proud. My father, fittingly of Dutch descent, served honorably in the Marines in the Pacific theatre during World War II. My mother lived in Paris, France, until her father, confronted like all French citizens by the Nazi invasion and occupation of France, put her—along with her mother and her siblings—on a small boat to New York. She eventually met my father after the war and one of the many things that bound them together was a profound love for the freedom they found in the United States. The experiences of my parents and the love they felt for and showered on this country left a lasting lesson with me. I always believed that, if I ever had the chance to serve our country, I would do so whenever the call came. When President Obama asked me to be our next Ambassador to the Netherlands, the country of my father's ancestors, I could almost hear my parents echoing my affirmative reply. If I am confirmed, I will be guided at all times by the pride and love of country that my parents instilled in me from a young age.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. Thank you all for your testimony.

I would like to begin with you, Ambassador Morningstar.

Senator Kerry, you, and I all mentioned Secretary Clinton's recent trip to Azerbaijan, and her concerns that she raised about human rights abuses there. And, as you point out, that is not a new development in the country. It stretches back to at least 2005 when two brothers—Aliyev brothers—were jailed for political reasons, and they remain in prison there, despite two decisions from the European Court of Human Rights that their arrests were unlawful, and their trials were procedurally deficient. And this is just one example of the troubling abuses of human rights that have come out of Azerbaijan.

Can you talk about whether you think conditions there are getting better or worse, and then the opportunities you would have as Ambassador to address these kinds of abuses?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. It is hard to gauge and measure improvements. There have been changes in the laws. Those laws have to be implemented, and we have to work closely with them with respect to that.

The case that you mentioned is something that has been of concern to us, and, as I understand it, has been raised on a continuing basis since 2005. It was positive that Bakhtiyar Hajiyev, another prisoner who was released just prior to the visit of Secretary Clinton, is on parole right now. We have to continue to watch that case. And Secretary Clinton actually met with her during her visit, which was very positive and emphasized her concern for the issues. We have to deal with these cases on a case-by-case basis. We will. That will be one of my prime responsibilities if I am confirmed.

I also think that it is very important that we not just say, hey, you know, you ought to do better in this and it is important. We have to be able to convey how much it is in their interest to make changes, and to open up society, and to create, hopefully, greater stability within the society.

One final point is, and that I will be very much involved in, during the work that I did in the 1990s coordinating our programs in

the former Soviet Union, I spent a lot of time, and, in fact, tried to reshape our programs to emphasize more building civil society from the bottom up. And I think that is going to be the, in the longer term, the best way that we are going to see improvement in Azerbaijan.

And one of the things that I am committed to do if I am confirmed is to look at every program that we have there and to work with USAID and other agencies, and with the our Embassy to try to determine what really helps and what does not. What can we do to improve the situation? And try to use some of the experience that I have had from the past to help bring that about.

Senator SHAHEEN. I think that is terrific, the kind of thing we ought to be doing everywhere. You talked about helping or trying to help convey the message that it is in the interest of Azerbaijan to open up and to understand why supporting institutions, rule of law, human rights is good for them. That is one specific way that you can help do that, looking at those programs and what works. Are there other ways beyond just kind of job owning that you will have the opportunity to do as Ambassador that can help convey those messages?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. I think it is important to convey the message that the relationship between Azerbaijan and the United States and Azerbaijan and Europe, for example, will be even stronger if we recognize these things. I know that Senator Cardin, who was here a moment ago, is very interested in the whole transparency issue.

There has been some progress in Azerbaijan in that area. They are a member of EITI, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. That can work hand in hand with the Cardin-Lugar bill, which would require the disclosure of project payments and so on. And I think these kinds of activities are going to make it even more possible for Western companies, international companies, to be involved in Azerbaijan, to be able to do so without threat of corruption and the like, and will help over a period of time to pull Azerbaijan further toward models and values that we consider to be important. And we have to just keep being imaginative and working in every area that we possibly can in a constructive way to make progress.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I am going to come back to this because I am running out of town. But on Nagorno-Karabakh, we are seeing tensions flare there again. Can you talk about what the resolution of this dispute would mean and how some of the other players in the region might be either helping or trying to disrupt an effort to resolve the dispute?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. I cannot imagine any specific thing that could help create more stability within the whole Caucasus region than resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. From the standpoint of creating regional growth, from the standpoint of creating more political stability, it is extremely important.

I will give you an example in a very specific way. I get asked the question all the time, why cannot Armenia participate in the Southern Energy Corridor? Well, the fact of life is that it is impractical because of the dispute with Azerbaijan. If Nagorno-Karabakh were ever settled or resolved, Armenia could become a full-fledged

member working on energy infrastructure, on energy transit, and the like to its great benefit, and to Azerbaijan's great benefit and to the region's great benefit. That would be one example.

Another example. I have to believe that Nagorno-Karabakh is a huge distraction when there are other critical security issues within the region that Azerbaijan faces. The issue of Iran becomes greater every day with respect to Azerbaijan, the whole Caspian Sea area. There are any number of issues. And resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh would allow Azerbaijan to focus even more on some of the other political and security issues that are critically important. I could go on and on. I will stop there, but obviously it would be a very good thing.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I am out of time.

Senator Lugar.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you very much, Madam Chairman. I thank you, and I thank my colleague, Senator Barrasso, for yielding this time.

Ambassador Morningstar, just last week President Obama made the rare step of endorsing the trans-Anatolian gas pipeline known as TANAP. TANAP would be a major new gas pipeline transiting Turkey and would be largely financed by Azerbaijan. TANAP would replace the need for the proposed Nabucco trunkline section within Turkey, but it would require pipelines to carry gas from Turkey's Bulgarian border onward to Europe, such as through a scaled-down version of Nabucco.

There are several rival pipeline proposals to carry Caspian gas to Europe, and each may have some economic credibility. But they vary greatly in strategic benefit and whether they warrant U.S. Government backing. Specifically, our first priority must be to help relieve our Eastern European allies from their overdependence on Russian gas, and, in doing so, not subject them to European energy companies heavily influenced by Russian-state controlled companies.

Transit decisions made by a BP-led consortium developing Shah Deniz gas and the Government of Azerbaijan will directly impact U.S. policy, including the extent to which projects in the Caspian warrant consideration as strategically important to the United States, vis-a-vis our sanctions regime on Iran.

Could you please clarify the administration's position following the President's comments on TANAP, and describe what have been the primary delays in gas projects advancing in the years since you and I attended the Nabucco treaty signing in Ankara? In short, has the United States endorsed TANAP?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Thank you very much for the question, Senator Lugar. First of all, let me briefly outline what our policy has been over the last couple of years.

It became apparent to us that, at least in the first instance, there is probably not enough gas to make a full 31 bcm Nabucco pipeline commercially viable. The Shah Deniz consortium as a result of that is looking at three alternatives. And by the way, I might add that there will ultimately be plenty of gas, but not in the first instance. So they are looking at two possible smaller pipelines with respect to Central and Eastern Europe, the so-called southeast Europe

pipeline and a scalable Nabucco pipeline, and then one of the pipeline projects to Italy, the trans-Adriatic pipeline.

Our position is that any of those pipelines—the administration's position has been that any of those pipelines can work and would be acceptable with two conditions—one that gas be supplied to the vulnerable countries in the Balkans, and second, that there be concrete guarantees that any such pipeline could be expanded, which will absolutely be necessary as more gas becomes available.

I think that the TANAP pipeline could be very helpful in this way. A final decision will not be made until mid-2013 as to the actual size of the pipeline, but by having a dedicated pipeline across Turkey, that will make it more possible to be flexible and to be able to adjust the size of what can then be taken into Central and Eastern Europe. So I see it as very positive.

There is a commitment on the part of Turkey and Azerbaijan to get an agreement completed by the end of June. You know what that has been like over the last few years, and hopefully that will happen. But it will happen certainly at some point, and I think we should support it strongly.

Senator LUGAR. Well, I thank you for that expert testimony based on years of working through those problems.

Another priority issue. As you know, the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program has been involved in Azerbaijan for a number of years. And recently the focus has been on Caspian energy security and biothreat discussions. I would simply like to ask that you make this work a priority in Azerbaijan when you assume your new responsibilities in Baku, and would ask if you have any thoughts as to how to advance this cooperation when you arrive in Baku.

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Excuse me. The first few words?

Senator LUGAR. The Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program and the bioweapons threat.

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. It is something that I would, if confirmed, certainly want to look at. And it relates to, I think, a very interesting policy issue that we have with respect to Azerbaijan, which is how to work through our security assistance to Azerbaijan without in any way—and I emphasize: without in any way—affecting the balance with respect to Nagorno-Karabakh and giving any advantage to Azerbaijan with respect to that situation.

And I think that we need to work very carefully to determine in what areas we can help, including areas relating to things like maritime security, counterterrorism, and training in various ways. And we have to do it in a way in which we are extremely careful. But given the security situation in that area, as you so well know, we have to look at all these issues, and I will if confirmed.

Senator LUGAR. I would like to commend your efforts to advance many critical initiatives as the special envoy for Eurasian energy. Key initiatives such as the Unconventional Gas Technical Engagement Program and opening the Southern Corridor from the Caspian in Eastern Europe, offer opportunities to promote economic growth and shift power dynamics in energy markets in favor of the United States and our allies.

The special envoy position was created by Secretary Rice at the urging of Vice President Biden and myself, and it was propelled

with the strong support of Secretary Clinton. Several former Soviet states will come under tremendous pressure from Russia, and energy is a primary point of leverage.

I am hopeful you will join me today and encourage the continuation of the special envoy role following your departure to Baku. But more to the point, will the special envoy for Eurasian energy continue to report directly to the Secretary of State given the creation of the new Energy Bureau?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. You have touched upon an issue that is obviously being discussed within the State Department right now. I can promise you that the functions of our office, my present office, will continue, and we are working to determine what that structure should be. And obviously your points, as always in the energy area, will be very important, and we will continue to work with you and your staff with respect to that issue.

Senator LUGAR. I thank you for your assurance.

Madam Chairman, I have four more questions I would like to submit for the record, if possible.

Senator SHAHEEN. Absolutely, without objection.

Senator LUGAR. Senator Barrasso.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

If I could, Ambassador Morningstar, just to continue—a continuation on the line of questioning from Senator Lugar in terms of energy as a point of leverage. Increased development of gas supplies in Azerbaijan can play an important role in helping to diversify European gas supplies. However, it is going to be vital that the development of energy resources not benefit Iran. In Baku, you are going to be about 100 miles from the border with Iran. When you take a look at the map of Azerbaijan and Iran, there is about 100 miles of border between the two.

So can you give a little bit about how Iran is involved in Azerbaijan's gas supply, energy sector, and what we can do to try to prevent Iran in terms of gaining technical or financial benefit from any projects that may be going on?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. First of all, the best thing that we can do is develop a Southern Corridor and to develop routes that to go to Europe, because if we are not successful in developing those routes, then Azerbaijan will find other options as to where that gas may go, which one theoretical option or possible option is obviously Iran.

There is right now, I would say, a minor relationship between Iran and Azerbaijan with respect to gas. That includes the fact that gas cannot be supplied directly to the separated Azeri province of Nakhchivan. Basically the gas has to get there through Iran, and there is a swap arrangement with Iran that allows that to happen. And at least at this point—at least I am not aware of any alternatives.

You may be referring also to the fact that in the original Shah Deniz I project, since its inception in 1996, there is a 10-percent ownership interest, and I might say, passive ownership interest, by NICO, which is a subsidiary of the National Iranian Oil Company.

And our position on that—it presents frankly a very difficult policy issue. The Shah Deniz project is a critical project because it is what will allow Azeri gas to get to Europe, but yet there is

a 10-percent ownership interest by an Iranian company. But we believe that if that project were not able to go forward because of that 10-percent passive interest, that the ramifications would be a lot worse than Shah Deniz moving forward, because what it would mean is that the project would be left with partners who would not be particularly friendly, and that that gas would end up going to different places, which we would obviously want to avoid.

I know it is now being considered in legislation as to how to take this into account. I do not discount for a second what a difficult policy issue that is, but, you know, we are certainly hopeful that we will not find ourselves in a situation in which we shoot ourselves in the foot. And in the meantime, we will do everything we can to minimize the participation of the Iranian company in this project, which is now a very passive investment.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you very much.

Mr. Broas, I want to start off. I enjoyed the story of your parents. My dad would have been 95 today. He would have been shocked, surprised, and very pleased, and I know your father would be not shocked, but very pleased to see you here today in front of this committee. So thank you for mentioning that.

I did want to ask you, historically the Dutch have been strong supporters, I always thought, of European integration. But they voted 2005 against a European Union constitutional treaty. Can you just give us your overview, your thoughts, and understanding of the view today of the people in the Netherlands regarding the European Union?

Mr. BROAS. Thank you, Senator. Thank you for your comments. Is that good?

Senator BARRASSO. Much better.

Mr. BROAS. OK, sorry. As you know, the Dutch were one of the founding members of the EU, and they are strong supporters of the EU, and I do not doubt for a minute that they will continue to be a strong supporter of the EU. And if confirmed, as an ambassador, I will certainly advocate the administration's position that they should continue to be a part of the EU.

You are right that lately there have been some political dustups and some disagreements. And, in fact, we all know that there is a caretaker government in charge right now, and they are waiting for elections in September to see whether they can form a new government. And all I can say, Senator, is that if confirmed, I will advocate the administration's position, and do my best to see that the Dutch remain a part of the EU and a supporting member of the EU.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, I appreciate it.

And then, Mr. Anania, your father is here. And, you know, looking at your parents while you were talking about them, your mom was looking on with skepticism, but your dad, that was one of the proudest fathers I have ever seen, and it was great to watch him watch you talking. So thank you, and congratulations.

I want to talk about the relationship with Venezuela and how would you characterize Suriname's relationship with Venezuela? What type of influence does Venezuela have in Suriname?

Mr. ANANIA. Yes, thank you, Senator. That relationship is of great interest to the administration, and President Bouterse has,

in fact, at times made some rhetorical statements in favor of joining the Venezuelan-led ALBA Union. However, the rhetoric fortunately has been quite different than the actions of the government, and so far they have taken no steps to join ALBA.

On the other hand, Suriname is the recipient of some modest quantities of oil via the PetroCaribe program that Venezuela runs. So we continue to watch that relationship very carefully. It is a friendly relationship between the two countries. There is a Venezuelan Embassy in Suriname.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you. My time has expired. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Menendez.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair. And congratulations to all of the nominees on their nominations.

The focus of my questions are with you, Ambassador Morningstar, as you might guess. I appreciate the fact that this is probably not the assignment you were looking for and that you were happy doing what you were doing. This is something that the Secretary has asked you to do, so I understand that. But it is also an opportunity to discuss policy issues vis-a-vis your nomination here.

Last week, Secretary Clinton was touring the South Caucasus, and her visit to the region coincided with an escalation of ceasefire violations by Azeri forces, including a cross-border incursion that killed three Armenian soldiers and wounded five others, as well as a breach along the Nagorno-Karabakh line of contact. These actions confirm, in my view, the threat by the President of Azerbaijan that Armenia will live in fear.

I look at that statement, "Armenia will live in fear," and I look at the speech that was given in an official state address to his people, in which Azerbaijan's President, Aliyev, stated that, "Our main enemies are Armenians of the world."

Now if confirmed, what steps will you take to address this ongoing problem along the line of contact? And do you think that, based upon those types of statements, that proposed sales of military hardware to be used in conjunction with the Azerbaijan's military helicopter fleet is really in the national interests of the United States?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Well, first of all, let me just preface my comments with just one thing. I want to make very clear that I am very happy and excited to go to Azerbaijan, and it is a country that is extremely important to our national interests. And so I am looking forward to being there.

Senator MENENDEZ. Duly noted.

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Second, when I am in Baku, if I am confirmed, and when I deal at the highest levels of the government, whether it be with the President or the Foreign Minister, or the like, I will follow administration policy and work also with Bob Bradtke, our Nagorno-Karabakh negotiator, very closely.

I think it is fair to say that, and I will say, that any language that is counterproductive, you know, such as the language that you have said, that any actions by any party that bring about loss of life, as the Secretary of State said last week, create increased tension, can create escalation that can have unpredictable and un-

foreseeable consequences and make even more difficult the task of achieving a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh.

I will do everything that I can, looking at it from the Azerbaijan side of things, if confirmed, to discourage that and talk about how unacceptable that is. And I think that goes without saying. And it is important. I think it is critically important. I do not think any party should inflame the situation by either unhelpful rhetoric or by escalating tensions through actions that result in the tragic loss of life.

With respect to the question of the sales of military hardware, it raises a difficult issue, but something that we have to pay incredibly close attention to. We have to comply strictly with the waiver provisions under section 907. I think we also have to recognize that Azerbaijan does live in a difficult neighborhood. There are increasing tensions with respect to other neighbors, particularly Iran. And that we have to provide, I think, security assistance, possibly military assistance, in ways that cannot be used to exacerbate any situation with respect to Armenia or Nagorno-Karabakh. And I think we have to do that—we have to be very strict in doing that. But that still would allow us to do some things that are important, whether it be maritime security in the Caspian, whether it be cooperating on counterterrorism with respect to Iran, with respect to some of the other things we do. I fully appreciate your concern.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I did not hear President Aliyev say his main enemy or security concern is Iran. He said his main enemy or enemies are Armenians of the world. And so when we are talking about giving military or selling military hardware to the Azerbaijanis, I think about what the Helsinki Final Act's bottom lines are. When I asked a similar question to former ambassador-designee, Mr. Bryza, because there had been another incident where four Armenians had been killed. He reiterated the three pillars of the Helsinki Final Act: nonuse of force or the threat of force, the principle and territorial integrity, and equal rights and self-determination of people. Well, nonuse of force or the threat of force, obviously that gets enhanced by giving military hardware to the Azerbaijanis, especially when they say our major enemy is the Armenians of the world.

I have a real problem with us going ahead and selling military hardware to Azerbaijanis based upon what has happened. He did not say the Iranians are their threat.

Let me ask you, if I may, with the indulgence of the chair, two other questions. One is, why was Azerbaijan's demolition of the Christian Armenian cemetery in Djulfa not included in the State Department's international religious freedom report? Do you know?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. No, I do not know, but I can say that if I am confirmed and if I go to Baku, I will make every effort to visit that cemetery, that any kind of desecration such as that is, you know, unacceptable, outrageous. And I will do my best to get there and see it.

Senator MENENDEZ. So do I take your response to mean—and correct me if I am wrong—that if confirmed, you will personally travel to Djulfa to investigate the destruction of the cemetery?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. I will make my best effort.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I would assume that your best effort would only be impeded by the Azerbaijanis not letting you go. I want to try and understand what your best effort is. You are going to do everything possible to go.

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Yes.

Senator MENENDEZ. OK. Second, what specific steps will you take if confirmed and if you have the opportunity to go, which I would expect you should be, to have the cemetery preserved as a protected holy site?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. I think that it is important as one of our major priorities to press for religious freedom in Azerbaijan. It is not an all-negative record. They have been helpful with respect to some communities, but not others. What we need to do is to take very strong positions as an administration and in Baku if I am there to protect the rights of the Armenian church as well as to rectify the situation with respect to the cemetery. And that would be a major part of the agenda.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I appreciate that answer. Finally, I do not expect you to answer differently than have previous nominees before this committee. But I do have to ask you whether or not you contest any of the facts of what transpired in 1915 as it relates to 1.5 million Armenians who were brutally massacred or marched to their deaths in the waning days of the Ottoman Empire.

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. No, I do not.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Secretary. I look forward to following up with Ambassador Morningstar.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I am going to give Ambassador Morningstar a little break here and—

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. No, it is fun.

Senator SHAHEEN [continuing]. Focus on the other two nominees for a few minutes.

Mr. Broas, I want to start with you because as you mentioned and Senator Barrasso mentioned, the Netherlands currently has a caretaker cabinet. Its government is one of those that has fallen as the result of the fiscal crisis in Europe and disagreements over what the austerity measures mean there. The caretaker cabinet that is currently in power agreed on an emergency austerity deal, but elections are coming up in September, and it raises the prospect that a new Parliament might withdraw support for that agreement.

Can you talk about what the implications of that might be for the Netherlands, and the ripple effect that might have throughout the rest of Europe, and also whether we have an official policy on whether we are going to urge the country to support the current austerity deal that has been advocated in Europe, or whether we will have any statement at all relative to that?

Mr. BROAS. Thank you, Senator. I do not know what the administration's position will be, and I will just wait for the elections to see what happens in September. So I do not know sitting here today what position I will be advancing, if I am confirmed as Ambassador.

The eurozone crisis that we are all reading about and hearing about is being felt very deeply in the Netherlands. We, of course, the United States, we are not a member of the eurozone. We do not

have a say in this. We do not have a vote. But we have a huge stake in this. As you know, the EU is our biggest trading partner, so the outcome of these negotiations is critical to the United States. And if I am confirmed to be an ambassador, I will certainly strongly and diligently advance and advocate the position of the administration, to the extent it takes a position with respect to the austerity measures being advanced by the rest of the EU.

Senator SHAHEEN. Certainly I would think that one of our positions is that we hope the Europeans will move expeditiously to do everything they can to address the crisis there. And I appreciate that they have been working toward it. But as you point out, there are significant implications for the inability to positively respond to the crisis, not only for Europe, but for the United States and for the rest of the world.

Mr. BROAS. And, Senator, I fully expect the Netherlands, as one of the few AAA-rated sovereign debt countries in the EU, I fully expect them to be a leader in these negotiations, and that the rest of the EU will look to the Netherlands for support and leadership.

Senator SHAHEEN. And have they taken that kind of a role to date? Have they been aggressive?

Mr. BROAS. To my knowledge, they have been—in light of their caretaker government situation, they have been fairly neutral lately. That is my understanding.

Senator SHAHEEN. OK. One of the things that you pointed out in your testimony is the importance of the trade relationship between the United States and the Netherlands. And certainly even in my home State of New Hampshire, there is a very important bilateral trade relationship with the Netherlands. Can you talk about what role you might play as Ambassador, as the top U.S. official in the Netherlands, to help promote that trade relationship?

Mr. BROAS. Certainly, Senator. Thank you for the question. As I said in my opening statement, they are one of our biggest and most reliable trading partners. And as you know, the Port of Rotterdam is the biggest port in Europe. So many things transship through Rotterdam and through the Amsterdam airport that it is a huge trading center, and it remains one of the biggest investors in the United States. And vice versa we are one of the biggest investors in the Netherlands.

As Ambassador, if I am confirmed, I will certainly have an open door and welcome the Dutch companies, to meet with them, and advance, and advocate for them to continue and to increase their trade relationships with all of our States and vice versa. I will have an open door to American companies. As you know, there are 2,100 U.S. companies with offices in the Netherlands, and they are all doing business with Dutch companies and Dutch consumers. And so I will have an open door, and I will welcome commercial opportunities from the Netherlands and from the United States to maintain that trade relationship.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. So it is fair to say that you will commit to making commercial ties and business advocacy a top priority.

Mr. BROAS. That is going to be one of my top priorities, absolutely, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. Great, thank you. You pointed out that the Netherlands was a founding member of the EU. It is also a founding member of NATO, and has been a significant contributor to the alliance. It has participated in supporting the operations in Libya, and, as we mentioned both of us in our testimony, supporting our operations in Afghanistan, although their role there has changed. It is the first non-U.S. NATO ally to contribute to the alliance's new missile defense system. And it also participating in the multinational program to develop the F-35 joint strike fighter, something that has been a very important priority in this country, though not without its detractors and not without controversy.

Can you talk about the opportunity that you will have as Ambassador to learn more about what is going on with the development of the joint strike fighter, and the cooperation that you might advocate for the continued effort toward development of the plane, and what role you see for the joint strike fighter in the Netherlands?

Mr. BROAS. Thank you, Senator. Yes, I would be happy to.

As you know, the Dutch have invested over a billion dollars since 1997 in the joint strike fighter program, and the research, and the development. And they remain one of the key contributors to the development and construction of the joint strike fighter. If I am confirmed as Ambassador, I will certainly advance the administration's position to have the Dutch continue to contribute to the development of the program and to commit to purchase as many of the planes as possible once constructed.

They have committed, so far to my knowledge, to buying 2, but they have also had discussions about buying as many as 85. And as Ambassador, I am going to advocate very strongly that they purchase at least 85.

Senator SHAHEEN. Good, we appreciate that. As we are talking about NATO, I had the opportunity to be in Chicago for the NATO summit, and it was, I thought, a great opportunity for those countries who have participated in NATO to point out the continuing relevance of our alliance, how important it is to our transatlantic partnership, and to so many other countries around the world.

And one of the things that has been challenging, particularly as we deal with the fiscal issues that we are facing both in Europe and the United States, are the resources that are needed to continue NATO's role in the world. One of the things that was touted in Chicago and that is talked about to address those fiscal challenges is the new Smart Defense Initiative that is being promoted.

Can you talk about how this concept of pooling military resources is being received in the Netherlands? And it is my understanding that the Dutch have agreed to purchase new refueling tankers with the French and the Germans and to share those aircraft. And can you talk about how that is being received as well?

Mr. BROAS. Yes, thank you, Senator. Yes. At the Chicago meetings on NATO, the Dutch did commit, as did several other members of the EU, to adopting the smart defense approach, employing technology and missile defense as the top priorities for the future of NATO's alliance. My understanding is that they have also agreed to replace the older Hawk missiles with the Patriot missiles, and that that is something they have committed to.

My understanding is that the Dutch are very enthusiastic and very actively considering all of the commitments and discussions that were in Chicago, and that they are very enthusiastic about the Smart Defense Program.

Senator SHAHEEN. That is great. Thank you. I think, as you point out with the Dutch and was touted in Chicago, that smart defense is something that makes sense as we try and figure out how to use our limited resources. I think we are all concerned that it not become an opportunity for countries to contribute less than their fair share to NATO as well. So I will just say that for the record and not ask you to respond to that.

I want to go now to Suriname. And, Mr. Anania, you pointed out that—you mentioned the new President of Suriname who was elected in 2010. And only as we were preparing for this hearing did I learn how controversial he has been, that he was convicted in absentia by the Dutch for smuggling cocaine in 1999, that he has been on trial over the past 4 years for the 1982 killing of 15 prominent political opponents, although he denies any direct involvement in those killings. The likelihood of any conviction appears slim given that the national assembly has now approved an amendment granting amnesty to offenses committed between 1980 and 1992.

The U.N. High Commission on Human Rights and Amnesty International have both called for the amnesty law to be reversed, and there was a large silent march there in April 2012 to protest the law.

Given the controversial trial, the issues surrounding the President, can you comment on the state of democracy and the rule of law in Suriname and whether there are any efforts under way to urge a repeal of that amnesty law?

Mr. ANANIA. Yes, Senator. Thank you for the question. It is a very important issue of great concern to the people of Suriname at the moment, and you are right to highlight it with your question.

First of all, the United States certainly expects Suriname to actively participate in the Western Hemisphere region's general consensus supporting democracy and human rights, and we certainly do look with concern upon these most recent actions. The President was democratically elected. It is a coalition government that he leads. He has a solid majority in their national assembly. But nonetheless, his past is checkered, and he previously did lead a military coup against the civilian government. So we continue to be very concerned about any actions that the government might take to infringe upon, in this case, an independent judiciary.

In fact, the national assembly did pass an amnesty law which would apply to the murders which took place in 1982. However, the court proceeding has not been terminated, and so at this point the people of Suriname are very carefully discussing the situation. And I think you are right to be concerned that the prosecution will end; however, it has not yet ended, and the court is still considering it.

So for that reason, the Embassy and the administration continue to encourage the Government of Suriname to respect the separation of powers within its democratic structures in keeping with its own constitution.

Unfortunately, the Constitution of Suriname calls for the creation of a constitutional court, but there has never been one

created. And this has further exacerbated the situation and made it difficult to determine what the outcome of this particular amnesty law or what impact it will have on the trial will be.

Senator SHAHEEN. And are there other areas where there are concerns about human rights violations and rule of law in Suriname?

Mr. ANANIA. Well, in general, the Bouterse government does generally respect the rule of law and human rights as they seek to improve Suriname's infrastructure and economic conditions. However, Suriname is a middle-income country, probably trending toward the low end of that scale, and it is quite a large country with not a lot of people in it. So its borders are porous, and the ability of the government to enforce law throughout the country is often very limited. And so there certainly are documented cases of human rights abuses, which have taken place within Suriname. Particularly there is a large informal and, in many cases, illegal gold mining sector, which operates within the interior of the country. And most of the people who are working in that sector are coming from other countries, particularly Brazil.

And so the administration does have concerns about potential trafficking in persons both for labor or the sex trade, and we continue to engage with the Government of Suriname, which has made progress in these areas. They have a fairly good legal regime. There have been some limited prosecutions. And if confirmed, I pledge to you that we will continue to follow these issues closely, and beyond that, seek to assist and advise the Government of Suriname to combat these gorges, which unfortunately do exist in the country.

Senator SHAHEEN. The porous borders also make drug trafficking a bigger concern. And certainly we have assisted Suriname in fighting drug trafficking, and by training antidrug units, police officers, and custom officials. Is there evidence that cooperation has been effective?

Mr. ANANIA. I would say, yes, there is, but the effect is limited, it must be said. As I noted, Suriname is a country with modest means. The government does not have large law enforcement resources. It is a very large country. So while they do have generally a free and independent judicial system, and while they have prosecuted successful many small-time drug traffickers, there is continuing concern that there might be larger scale activities undertaken either unknown to the government or possibly even with the connivance of some officials.

We do have a Drug Enforcement Agency office at the Embassy. It is quite active. And I am pleased to have learned that the relevant law enforcement entities in Suriname do cooperate closely with us. They participate in many of our training programs. And they are very grateful for the support that we offer. And we have, in fact, increased the dollar value of the programs within Suriname, so I would say that this is a bright spot in the relationship.

Senator SHAHEEN. And given that it has had mixed success, are we looking at trying to do anything differently? Is Suriname looking at trying to do anything differently? Is there an effort to get more buy-in from the population there to address the issues around

drug trafficking, or do we think continuing the program as it has existed is what is warranted?

Mr. ANANIA. Well, again, we have to speak of limited resources both on the part of the Government of Suriname, but also from the United States. I was pleased to see that we have increased our training dollars fairly significantly. It should be up to about a million dollars. But I think we have to restrain our expectations for the impact that such a small amount of money could have in a place like Suriname, which, after all, is a very wild country.

Senator SHAHEEN. One of the things that I understand is that President Bouterse is making strengthening ties with China a priority. Have we seen an increase in influence on the part of China in the country? And are there ways in which we should be cooperating or working together to try and look at where there are areas of mutual interest that we could cooperate on, the United States and China, in Suriname?

Mr. ANANIA. Well, that is an important development in the economy history of Suriname. China is very interested in Suriname as they are in many other countries of the world because Suriname does have such a large array of natural resources. So, in particular, logging and mining industries are very attractive to China, and they have obviously devoted some significant resources to building a strong relationship with Suriname.

There are also political elements of that because Suriname continues to support a one China policy, which has, of course, for many years been a major priority for the Government in Beijing.

In terms of cooperation, that is actually an interesting question, and there may be some areas in particular. Unfortunately in many cases, extractive industries lead to damage to the environment, and that is very much a concern in Suriname. I mentioned informal mining that goes on, particularly gold mining. The price of gold is very high now, and there has been an influx of informal/illegal gold miners. And they have caused great environmental degradation because, in particular, I understand that these operators use quantities of mercury in their gold mining operations, and this poisons rivers and destroys the environment.

There is also concern frankly that some Chinese companies may not be interested in preserving the environment, and, therefore, may go in and clearcut forests, rain forests in particular, or otherwise cause damage to the environment. And this is, of course, not an issue that is solely confined to Suriname. This is an issue in many countries in Africa and elsewhere in Latin America as well. So it remains to be seen if we could find common ground.

I must also say, building on one of the earlier questions, that I definitely believe that promoting U.S. industry and economic ties between our countries would be extremely important. And in this area, I guess we could say that China may be the competition, and I would certainly, if confirmed, work to advance the argument that having United States firms working in Suriname would, in fact, be more likely to result in protection of the environment.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. You make a very important point. And as you suggest, China is investing in a lot of parts of the world, and we need to think about how we are affected by that growing influence around the world.

Ambassador Morningstar, there are two issues I want to raise with you before closing out the hearing that have not been explored in the kind of detail that I had hoped. One is Iran, and several people have mentioned Iran. But can you talk about how concerned you are about Iran's influence in Azerbaijan, and how extensive that is, and what approach we might take to counteract the influence that Iran is having in Azerbaijan?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Thank you. I think it is a really important question, and Iran is a concern, and it is a concern, I believe, to the Azeri Government. I think they have made that very clear. And they are concerned about the influence that Iran is having internally within Azerbaijan.

We also have to recognize that Azerbaijan is in a difficult situation. Iran is a neighbor. To some extent, I think it has to walk a tightrope. At the same time, they recognize the dangers. And I come back to the point, and not to reiterate too much, but they are looking for our help with respect to Iran, and that we do have to provide help from the standpoint of how from a civil society standpoint they can deal with the Iranian situation, but also from the standpoint of security assistance. And that is recognizing that—I said this before to the questions from Senator Menendez—that we have to very strictly draw the line with respect to assistance that can be in our interest and helpful to Azerbaijan as opposed to assistance that could be used with respect to the dispute with Armenia.

Now that is a difficult line to draw, but we have to make every effort to draw that line in working with Congress and working with the Senate and your staff to ensure that that happens. And I think there is a lot we can do. I believe that when I get there, that is going to be a very major issue, if confirmed.

Senator SHAHEEN. It is interesting to me that Azerbaijan has recently agreed to purchase 1.6 billion dollars' worth of Israeli-made weapons. And there was a March Foreign Policy article that reported that Azerbaijan has likely given Israel access to its military bases for activities targeting Iran, though I think it is important to point out that both countries have denied that report.

So can you talk about how we should we view this weapons deals between Azerbaijan and Israel, and what that growing military relationship between the two countries signals for Iran?

Ambassador MORNINGSTAR. Well, I think we obviously have to watch it very closely. Israel is our close friend and ally, and Azerbaijan is another close friend.

I do not think at this point, at least the best information I have, we do not know much about that arms agreement and what it entails, how much it really does entail, and so on. And I think we need to learn more about it. But it is incumbent upon us, to the extent that there is a relationship that grows, and, again, recognizing that they have denied some of the more explosive allegations with respect to their cooperation, that we need to work closely with both countries to understand what, if anything, is really happening.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I want to thank all of you for agreeing to take on this responsibility and for your testimony

today. I think we will keep the record open for, what, another 24 hours?

VOICE. Yes, 48 hours.

Senator SHAHEEN. For another 48 hours in case any questions come in from the committee.

But at this time, I would like to close the hearing and, again, congratulate you all. And we look forward to working with you in your future roles in these ambassadorship posts.

Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 4:24 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF RICHARD MORNINGSTAR TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

Question. Just last week President Obama made the rare step of endorsing the Trans-Anatolia gas pipeline, known as "TANAP." TANAP would be a major new gas pipeline transiting Turkey and would be largely financed by Azerbaijan. TANAP would replace the need for the proposed Nabucco trunkline section within Turkey, but it would require pipelines to carry gas from the Turkish-Bulgarian border onward to Europe such as through a scaled-down version of Nabucco.

There are several rival pipeline proposals to carry Caspian gas to Europe. Each may have some economic credibility, but they vary greatly in strategic benefit warranting U.S. Government backing. Specifically, our first priority must be to help relieve our Eastern European allies from their overdependence on Russian gas, and, in doing so, not subject them to European energy companies heavily influenced by Russian state-controlled companies.

Transit decisions made by the BP-led consortium developing Shah Deniz gas and the Government of Azerbaijan will directly impact U.S. policy, including the extent to which projects in the Caspian warrant consideration as strategically important to the United States vis-a-vis our sanctions regime on Iran.

- Please clarify the administration's position following the President's comments on TANAP and describe what have been the primary delays in gas projects advancing in the years since you and I attended the Nabucco Treaty signing in Ankara? In short, has the United States endorsed TANAP officially?

Answer. President Obama sent a letter to President Aliyev congratulating Azerbaijan at the 19th Annual Caspian Oil and Gas Conference. The letter did not specifically mention TANAP but rather recognized the critical importance of Azerbaijan in the role of the Southern Corridor and the signing of gas transit agreements between Azerbaijan and Turkey.

It has become apparent that there is not sufficient gas to fill a full scale Nabucco pipeline by 2017-18. By the early to mid 2020s, there will likely be sufficient gas from Azerbaijan and possibly Turkmenistan and Iraq. The United States supports any commercially viable pipeline that brings Caspian gas to Europe provided the following two conditions are met: (1) a significant portion of the gas must be supplied to our friends and allies in the Balkans and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, which are particularly dependent on a single source of gas; and (2) the pipeline must be expandable, so that additional sources of gas can be accommodated once they become available. TANAP could play an important and valuable role in bringing Caspian gas to Europe.

Delays in opening the Southern Gas Corridor have stemmed primarily from the difficulty of reaching agreement among all of the stakeholders on what export route will best address their commercial and political interests. In my role as the Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy, I have been working diligently on this issue and continue to work closely with all the companies and parties involved to achieve energy security for Europe as soon as possible. With the recent progress in narrowing down potential routes, it appears likely that the Shah Deniz Consortium will reach a decision on a final export route within the next year.

Question. As you know, the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program has been involved in Azerbaijan for a number of years. Recently, the focus has been on Caspian energy security and biothreat discussions. I'd like to ask that you make this work a priority in Azerbaijan when you assume your responsibilities in Baku.

- Please indicate how you will advance this cooperation when you arrive in Baku.

Answer. The Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) Program has been a critical component of our security assistance to Azerbaijan, serving as a vivid example of how our assistance to Azerbaijan bolsters vital U.S. interests in the region. Just this month, the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA) conducted a successful training session for Azerbaijani officials in Baku on combating proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). If confirmed, I pledge to ensure that these efforts remain a priority at the U.S. Embassy in Baku.

In another prominent example of our CTR cooperation with Azerbaijan, DTRA Director Kenneth Myers traveled to Azerbaijan last year to attend the opening of a new state-of-the-art disease-monitoring laboratory. The construction of the laboratory was financed by the U.S. Government within the framework of DTRA's Cooperative Biological Engagement Program (CBEP); the lab was the first of 10 regional diagnostic labs to be opened within the framework of this program, which aims to secure dangerous pathogens, promote disease reporting and response, and advance research on pathogens and potential countermeasures. United States-Azerbaijan cooperation has also led to the renovation of two national level diagnostic laboratories for the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Agriculture, bringing the facilities, equipment, and procedures of these institutes up to international standards. In addition to the upgrades to Azerbaijan's physical infrastructure, the CBEP has completed numerous training events and cooperative research projects, building skills among Azerbaijani scientists in areas such as biosafety, biosecurity, laboratory techniques, epidemiological analysis, and international research standards.

The CTR program also had a successful partnership with Azerbaijan's maritime security forces in bolstering Azerbaijan's capacity to secure its interests in the Caspian. An interagency effort continues to address Critical Energy Infrastructure in the Caspian, and this issue will remain a priority for the Embassy.

If confirmed, I will look forward to continuing these critical efforts to enhance Azerbaijan's capacity to reduce, eliminate, and counter the threat of WMD, a vital U.S. interest.

Question. Ambassador Morningstar, I would like to commend your efforts to advance many critical initiatives as the Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy. Key initiatives such as the Unconventional Gas Technical Engagement Program and opening the Southern Corridor from the Caspian to Eastern Europe offer opportunities to promote economic growth and shift power dynamics in energy markets in favor of the United States and our allies.

The Special Envoy position was created by Secretary Rice at the urging of Vice President Biden and myself, and it was propelled with the strong support of Secretary Clinton. Several former Soviet states still come under tremendous pressure from Russia, and energy is a primary point of leverage. The constant presence of a high-level U.S. Envoy demonstrates U.S. commitment to these countries and to energy security at little taxpayer expense.

I am hopeful that you will join me today in encouraging the continuation of the Special Envoy role following your departure to Baku. But more to the point, please indicate whether the Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy continue to report directly to the Secretary of State given the creation of the new Energy Bureau.

Answer. Thank you for the support you have given to addressing energy security challenges generally, as well as in Europe and Eurasia particularly. As you know, Secretary Clinton has appreciated your leadership on the integration of energy security with American foreign policy, as these issues directly affect our national security and prosperity. Secretary Clinton has tasked the Assistant Secretary of the Energy Resources Bureau and, until his confirmation in the interim, our Coordinator for International Energy Affairs, Carlos Pascual, to lead our energy issues in Europe and Eurasia to ensure that we sustain the highest level of attention in the Department, while mobilizing the full support of the Energy Resources Bureau. Ambassador Pascual will continue to report to the Secretary directly on these matters.

Question. Good governance of oil and gas resources and revenues is fundamental to the future prosperity and democratic development of Azerbaijan. I have had several conversations with President Aliyev on this topic, and he has professed his intention to pursue the "Norway model" in transparency and spending of revenues.

To that end, the State Oil Fund of Azerbaijan has made remarkable progress. However, more needs to be done, particularly to account for SOCAR's (State Oil Company of Azerbaijan) revenues and to improve civil society involvement.

The Cardin-Lugar amendment will require many oil companies operating in Azerbaijan to disclose payments through SEC filings. If confirmed, what will be your

priority areas to further improve transparency in Azerbaijan, and how will you advocate for the purposes of the Cardin-Lugar amendment?

Answer. Advocating for transparency and compliance of international standards and U.S. laws will be a key priority in engaging both the public and private sector at all levels in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan was the first country to complete Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) validation, with the Board finding Azerbaijan EITI compliant in February 2009. Azerbaijan will be up for revalidation in 2014, and we will continue to monitor its compliance and place consistent emphasis on the importance of EITI and the Cardin-Lugar amendment, which is an extremely valuable complement to EITI. Once the SEC issues final regulations, the Embassy will work with the Government of Azerbaijan to create the necessary conditions for companies listed in the United States to be compliant with U.S. law.

Azerbaijan has also signed on to the Open Government Partnership (OGP), a global partnership between governments and civil society in which governments commit to an action plan to promote transparency and fight corruption and submit to independent monitoring on their progress in carrying it out. If confirmed, I will continue to work closely with both the government and civil society groups to help Azerbaijan carry out its commitments under the OGP.

Question. What is your view of the Nabucco West proposal? Is Nabucco West premised on TANAP becoming a reality? Would the 2009 Intergovernmental Agreement still be valid for Nabucco West?

Answer. The United States supports any commercially viable pipeline that brings Caspian gas to Europe provided the following two conditions are met: (1) a significant portion of the gas must be supplied to our friends and allies in the Balkans and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, which are particularly dependent on a single source of gas; and (2) the pipeline must be expandable, so that additional sources of gas can be accommodated once they become available.

There will ultimately be large amounts of gas to ship through Georgia and Turkey to Europe. We believe that TANAP could be an excellent project, because it would be a dedicated pipeline across Turkey that would provide greater flexibility as more gas becomes available. Nabucco West, however, is not necessarily premised on TANAP becoming a reality. The parties are discussing how best to utilize the Nabucco IGA as part of the project.

Question. What is your view of the Southeastern Europe Pipeline (SEEP) proposal? If reports are correct that SEEP would rely on much existing infrastructure, how would it be able to handle additional gas supplies, if Iraq or Turkmen gas comes online in the future?

Answer. A full Nabucco pipeline may not be the first pipeline, but ultimately there will be significant gas available in the future from Azerbaijan and possibly Turkmenistan and Iraq. The South East European Pipeline (SEEP), as well as the two other pipelines being considered (Nabucco West and the Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP)), are still in the running. We would support SEEP, or any commercially viable pipeline that brings Caspian gas to Europe, provided the following two conditions are met: (1) a significant portion of the gas must be supplied to our friends and allies in the Balkans and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, which are particularly dependent on a single source of gas; and (2) the pipeline must be expandable, so that additional sources of gas can be accommodated once they become available.

The final architecture of SEEP is not yet clear. The expandability of SEEP to handle potential future volumes of gas from countries beyond Azerbaijan is an important question, and one that we will be examining closely as the process of choosing an export route for Shah Deniz gas proceeds.

RESPONSES OF RICHARD MORNINGSTAR TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR BARBARA BOXER

Question. According to news reports, on June 4-7, at least eight Armenian and Azeri soldiers were killed during fighting along the border of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In a troubling development, the fighting—which reportedly began after Azeri forces attempted to penetrate Armenian lines—took place at the same time that Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton was visiting the region.

- If confirmed, how will you respond, publicly and privately, to new acts of aggression that now extend beyond the Nagorno-Karabakh region into the Armenian-Azerbaijani border area?

- How will you specifically work to ensure that the Azerbaijani Government respects the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Minsk Group negotiated cease-fire?

Answer. As a cochair of the OSCE Minsk Group, the United States remains committed at the highest levels to assisting the sides of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to reach a lasting and peaceful settlement. During her recent visit to the region, Secretary Clinton made clear that these cycles of violence must end and that the sides should exercise restraint, comply with their obligations under the 1994 cease-fire agreement, and take the steps necessary for peace. The Secretary also expressed concern about the danger of rising tensions, which could have unpredictable and disastrous consequences.

If confirmed, I will work with U.S. Minsk Group cochair, Robert Bradtke, and engage at the highest levels of the Azerbaijani Government to urge respect for the cease-fire and strengthen its implementation.

Question. Last year, then-Ambassador Matthew Bryza attempted to visit the Armenian cemetery of Djulfa to investigate the 2005 destruction of Armenian Khachkars, or burial monuments. The desecration of one of the oldest and largest Armenian cemeteries was an affront to religious freedom and was criticized by the European Parliament and international archaeological bodies. Disturbingly, the Azerbaijani Government denied Ambassador Bryza's request to visit the site.

- If confirmed, will you commit to attempt to travel to Djulfa to investigate the destruction of the cemetery? What steps will you take to ensure that other religious sites and monuments in Azerbaijan are protected?

Answer. The United States has publicly condemned the desecration at Djulfa and reiterated our concerns to the Azerbaijani Government on this issue, urging a transparent investigation of the incident. Despite our requests to visit the Djulfa Cemetery, local authorities have so far refused permission to do so. If I am confirmed, I pledge to make every effort to visit the cemetery at Djulfa. I will also amplify our concerns to the Government of Azerbaijan and stress the need to respect and safeguard Armenian religious and cultural sites in Azerbaijan.

As a strong proponent of preserving world cultural heritage, we urged Azerbaijan and Armenia to work with UNESCO to investigate the destruction of these cultural monuments.

Question. I am deeply concerned by recent reports of attempts by Iran-linked operatives to kill foreign diplomats, including American Embassy employees and their families, in Azerbaijan. According to news reports, U.S. Embassy officials in Azerbaijan have been alerted to plots against employees at least three times in the past 2 years.

I am also troubled by inadequate security at the U.S. Embassy building in Baku. According to a 2007 report by the Office of the Inspector General, the Embassy is "lodged in a 100-year-old building and has an unprotected annex 30 minutes away through horrific traffic." For the safety of our citizens serving in Azerbaijan, it is imperative that the Embassy go through the Compound Security Upgrade Program and relocate. In her recent visit to Azerbaijan, Secretary Clinton reminded President Aliyev about the need to build a new, state-of-the-art chancery, which has been under negotiation with the Azerbaijani Government for more than 10 years.

- What will you do to protect U.S. Government employees—particularly regarding threats from Iran—and how do you intend to communicate to the Azerbaijani Government the urgency of this situation?
- What are the existing obstacles to relocating the Embassy and when do you expect that a new facility could be ready?

Answer. If confirmed, my highest priority as Ambassador will be the safety and security of our staff and their families in Baku. Our security cooperation with the host government is a key component of that effort. Azerbaijani authorities have announced the arrest of a number of individuals since the start of this year for allegedly plotting attacks against foreign interests in Azerbaijan. We are appreciative of our cooperation with the Government of Azerbaijan and we continue to work closely with Azerbaijani authorities to provide for the safety and security of our Embassy and personnel in Baku.

The upgrading our Embassy facility in Azerbaijan must be the highest priority, both to improve security and to provide a larger and more modern workspace similar to our other embassies throughout the region. As part of this ongoing effort, we have been working to obtain property for a New Embassy Compound in Baku, fully compliant with current security standards.

Even in my role as Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy, I have raised the issue with President Aliyev in the strongest possible terms. And while in Baku earlier this month, the Secretary also conveyed to the Azerbaijani Government the importance of accelerating the process toward building a modern, secure, state-of-the-art chancery in Baku.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I will continue to stress the importance of this effort to the government and do everything possible to surmount the remaining obstacles and ensure that this project becomes a reality.

Question. In February, Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev stated in a public speech that was later posted on his Web site that “[Azerbaijan’s] main enemies are Armenians of the world.”

Statements such as the one above foment anti-Armenian sentiment in Azerbaijan, which exacerbates existing tensions and makes it increasingly difficult to reach a permanent peace agreement regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

- If confirmed, what will you do to work with the Azerbaijani Government to counter anti-Armenian sentiment and to further a meaningful peace process?

Answer. The United States has joined with the other Minsk Group Co-Chairs to urge that all sides show restraint in their public statements and on the ground to avoid misunderstandings and unintended consequences. Secretary Clinton reiterated these points during her travel to the region earlier this month, and if confirmed I will reinforce this message at the highest levels of the Azerbaijani Government.

As Secretary Clinton and the other Foreign Ministers of the OSCE Minsk Group Cochair Countries noted in a joint statement earlier this year, a new generation has come of age in the region with no first-hand memory of Armenians and Azeris living side by side, and it is important to emphasize that prolonging these artificial divisions only deepens the wounds of war. If confirmed, I will make the case that irresponsible rhetoric is unacceptable and undermines our efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict. I will urge the Azerbaijani Government to show restraint in its rhetoric and to prepare its people for peace, not war.

Question. Congress has enacted legislation known as “Section 907” prohibiting U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan until it meets a number of conditions, including taking demonstrable steps to cease “offensive uses of force against Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.”

Yet just last week, the Azeri military was involved in a violent attack that left three Armenian soldiers dead.

Furthermore, the Azeri Government continually threatens to resolve the conflict by force. According to *The Economist*, the Azeri President—Ilham Aliyev—threatened war to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in nine separate speeches in 2010 alone.

- Is the Government of Azerbaijan fully meeting the conditions of section 907?
- Do you support continuing to waive section 907, as the administration has done for the last several years?
- Should the U.S. Government be providing military aid to the Government of Azerbaijan at the same time that it is committing acts of aggression and threatening renewed war against both Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia?

Answer. Since 2002, the President has waived section 907 on an annual basis. Deputy Secretary Burns signed the 2012 waiver on behalf of President Obama again this year. If confirmed, I will support the appropriate application of this waiver authority and any and all other statutory requirements that dictate the conditions of U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan, including section 907.

Azerbaijan is an important security partner for the United States and our assistance to Azerbaijan is provided in this context, helping to further common objectives including counterterrorism, border control, and maritime security. Azerbaijan has over 90 troops stationed in Afghanistan and provides critical support for U.S. and coalition aircraft bound for Afghanistan. U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan has enhanced Azerbaijan’s interoperability with NATO and U.S. forces and advances vital U.S. security interests in the region.

If confirmed, I will advocate for assistance programs in areas that serve these key U.S. interests while ensuring that our security assistance cannot be used for offensive purposes against Armenia and does not undermine ongoing efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Question. As you know, a goal of U.S. policy in the South Caucasus is to foster regional cooperation and economic integration. Yet, Azerbaijan continues to undermine U.S. efforts in the region.

For example, in May 2011, Azeri President Aliyev stated in his Republic Day address, "As far as Armenia is concerned, we will continue to make efforts to isolate Armenia from all regional projects. We do not hide it. This is our policy."

- How will you address Azerbaijan's continued attempts to isolate Armenia?
- How will you work to promote regional cooperation and economic integration?

Answer. The only path to peace, stability, and prosperity in the region is a lasting, peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As a cochair of the Minsk Group, the United States remains committed, at the highest levels, to helping the sides achieve this outcome. If confirmed, I will emphasize to Azerbaijan's leadership that it is in Azerbaijan's interest to accelerate efforts toward peace and regional economic integration.

As part of this effort, the United States and the other cochairs have proposed confidence-building measures, including humanitarian and people-to-people contacts, which should be used to promote mutual understanding among peoples of the region. The sides have agreed to pursue such measures, and if confirmed, I will urge the Azerbaijani Government to move forward with these vital initiatives to help move the region toward peace.

A peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict would also allow the essential and long overdue integration of Armenia into the vital energy routes and infrastructure that are developing across the region. If confirmed, I will make the case in Baku that Azerbaijan stands only to gain from such an outcome.

RESPONSES OF RICHARD MORNINGSTAR TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Do you support the proposed sale of military hardware to be used in conjunction with Azerbaijan's military helicopter fleet for border surveillance and "police-type" activities? What message would this sale send to the Azeris about cross-border incursions and what message does it send about U.S. even-handedness or seriously encouraging Baku to agree to Minsk Group cochair demands that it remove its snipers from the "line of contact" in the Nagorno-Karabakh region?

Answer. The United States reviews all license applications in light of our international commitments and U.S. laws. In this specific case, I understand that the applicant seeking the Department's approval for a proposed license agreement has now requested that the Department remove Azerbaijan from the sales territory of the agreement. The Department will honor this request from the applicant when it delivers the statutory notification of the sale to Congress.

If confirmed, I will ensure that our security assistance to Azerbaijan cannot be used for offensive purposes against Armenia, and does not undermine ongoing efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

As a cochair of the OSCE Minsk Group, the United States remains deeply committed to assisting the sides of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to reach a lasting and peaceful settlement. We reiterate at every opportunity that there is no military solution to the conflict, and that only a peaceful settlement will lead to security, stability, and reconciliation in the region.

Question. Baku has rejected successive appeals by the OSCE and the U.N. Secretary General to withdraw its snipers from the line of contact. Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership have consistently said they will withdraw their snipers provided Azerbaijan agrees to do the same.

- What will you do to convince Azerbaijan to support the Minsk Group and U.N. Secretary General's call to pull back snipers, as both Armenia and the Nagorno Karabakh Republic have agreed to do?

Answer. If confirmed as Ambassador, I will support our U.S. cochair for the OSCE Minsk Group, Ambassador Robert Bradtke, in his efforts to work with the sides to achieve a lasting, peaceful resolution to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. I will urge the highest levels of the Azerbaijani Government to take steps—including the withdrawal of snipers—to improve the atmosphere for negotiations, prevent unnecessary casualties, and strengthen implementation of the cease-fire. I will emphasize at every opportunity that there is no military solution to the conflict, and that only a peaceful settlement will lead to security, stability, and reconciliation in the region.

Question. Why wasn't Azerbaijan's demolition of the Christian Armenian cemetery in Djulfa included in the State Department's International Religious Freedom Report? Will it now be documented in future editions of this report?

Answer. The incident remains of great concern to the Department, and if confirmed as Ambassador, I will raise the issue frequently and forcefully with the Azer-

bajani Government. I will also review reports of the incident and its relationship with the International Religious Freedom Report.

The United States has publicly condemned the desecration at Djulfa and called for a transparent investigation. If confirmed, I pledge to make every effort to visit the cemetery and will emphasize the need to respect and safeguard Armenian religious and cultural sites in Azerbaijan.

Question. Will you, if confirmed, personally travel to Djulfa to investigate the destruction of the Djulfa Armenian cemetery? What specific steps will you take, if confirmed, to see the Djulfa Armenian cemetery restored or preserved, to the extent possible, as a protected holy site?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I pledge to make every effort to visit the cemetery at Djulfa, including pressing for permission from the appropriate authorities if needed. I will also amplify our concerns to the Government of Azerbaijan and stress the need to respect and safeguard Armenian religious and cultural sites in Azerbaijan.

The United States has publicly condemned the desecration at Djulfa and reiterated our concerns to the Azerbaijani Government on this issue, urging a transparent investigation of the incident. Despite our requests to visit the Djulfa cemetery, local authorities have so far refused permission to do so.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit, during your trips to Washington, DC, to consult with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and other Senators regarding United States-Azerbaijani relations and the issues raised during your confirmation hearing?

Answer. If confirmed, I will be happy to meet with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, other Senators, and their staffs to discuss United States-Azerbaijan relations and the issues raised during my confirmation hearing. I will also be available for any consultations at any time in Baku.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit, during your trips to Washington, DC, to consult with the leaderships of the Azerbaijani and Armenian American communities regarding the issues raised during your confirmation hearing?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I would look forward to visiting and meeting with members of the Azerbaijani- and Armenian-American communities both in the United States and in Azerbaijan, as my predecessors have done before. If I am confirmed, I would also be happy to meet with both communities prior to leaving for Baku. It would be a valuable opportunity to understand and respond to their concerns, update them on the status of the United States-Azerbaijan relationship, and to exchange views on a wide range of issues.

Question. The administration's position has been that the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and the normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia are on separate tracks. The former Ambassador to Baku since leaving that post has contested that assessment and said that we need to manage the two processes together.

- What is your view of the path to resolving each of these issues? Should Baku have a role in negotiations between Armenia and Turkey?

Answer. Our interest is in seeing Armenia and Turkey heal the wounds of the past and move forward together in a shared future of security and prosperity. Our policy is guided by this goal. The United States strongly supports the efforts of Turkey and Armenia to normalize their bilateral relationship, and has urged the parties to ratify the normalization protocols without preconditions. We believe the ball is in Turkey's court.

We have consistently emphasized that there is no linkage between the protocols process and the Nagorno-Karabakh negotiations. These are two separate processes.

As a cochair of the Minsk Group, the United States remains firmly committed to achieving a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict based upon three core principles of the Helsinki Final Act: the nonuse or threat of force, territorial integrity of states, and equal rights and self-determination of peoples. If confirmed, I would work with U.S. Minsk Group Cochair Robert Bradtke and engage at the highest levels of the Azerbaijani Government to support these efforts.

Question. Over the past decade, strategic energy projects launched with U.S. support in the South Caucasus have created long-term development opportunities for most of the nations in the region. However, these initiatives have not benefited Armenia, due to Turkish and Azerbaijani policies. Ongoing attempts to isolate Armenia from regional projects, such as the Azeri-proposed rail bypass of Armenia, also run counter to stated U.S. policy goals of regional cooperation and economic integration.

- What concrete steps will be taken to eliminate the Turkish and Azeri blockades of Armenia and Azerbaijan's continued pattern to try and isolate Armenia?

Answer. The United States believes that the only path to peace, stability, and prosperity in the region is a lasting, peaceful settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. A settlement of the conflict would have a profound impact in promoting regional cooperation and economic integration. As a cochair of the Minsk Group, the United States remains committed, at the highest levels, to helping the sides achieve this outcome.

To support this goal, the United States and the other cochairs have proposed confidence-building measures, including humanitarian and people-to-people contacts, which would promote mutual understanding among peoples of the region. The sides have agreed to pursue such measures, and if confirmed, I will emphasize to Azerbaijan's leadership at the highest levels that it is in Azerbaijan's interest to accelerate efforts towards peace and regional economic integration.

One of the many unfortunate consequences of the conflict is that Armenia has been precluded from participating in regional energy projects and other projects. A peaceful resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict would allow the essential and long overdue integration of Armenia into the vital energy routes and infrastructure that are developing across the region. If confirmed, I will make the case in Baku that Azerbaijan stands only to gain from moving the region forward toward peace, prosperity, and stability.

The United States also strongly supports the efforts of Turkey and Armenia to normalize their bilateral relationship, and has urged Turkey to ratify the normalization protocols without preconditions. We have consistently emphasized that there is no linkage between the protocols process and the Nagorno-Karabakh negotiations. These are two separate processes.

Question. You testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 2009 that "At the heart of our policy is the belief that energy security is best achieved through diversity—diversity of suppliers, diversity of transportation routes and diversity of consumers." On the one hand the United States values the Azeri relationship because of role the Azeris play in providing alternative sources to Russian oil and gas to Europe and Israel and on the other hand the Azeris are continuing to provide natural gas to Iran.

- What is U.S. policy regarding Azerbaijan's gas supply relationship with Iran? How crucial is Azerbaijan to securing alternative energy supplied for Europe? What specific actions can be taken to integrate Armenia into regional energy initiatives?

Answer. We work closely with Azerbaijan on energy security, and we share Azerbaijan's goal of establishing a Southern Corridor for natural gas exports to Europe. Azerbaijan plays a key role in our efforts to promote a diversity of energy routes and sources for European energy consumers. The government in Baku clearly recognizes the benefits that multiple routes to market would bring to Azerbaijan.

The Shah Deniz gas field and potential future developments in Azerbaijan are critical to European energy security, particularly for those countries that are largely reliant on a single source. Azerbaijan has been an active and willing strategic partner for both the United States and Europe in efforts to achieve this important goal. If gas from Shah Deniz does not go to Europe, Azerbaijan would be forced to sell it to Iran, Russia, or further east.

It is our policy to minimize the gas supply relationship between Azerbaijan and Iran, and if confirmed, I will advance this policy. We are aware that Azerbaijan has a swap relationship with Iran whereby Azerbaijan provides gas to Iran in exchange for Iranian gas supplies to the exclave of Nakhchivan. At present, there is no alternative to supply gas to this isolated region of Azerbaijan.

If confirmed as Ambassador in Baku, I will emphasize to the government the benefits that Azerbaijan stands to gain from a peaceful, lasting settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which is the best path toward regional cooperation and economic integration. A peaceful resolution of the conflict would allow the integration of Armenia into the vital energy routes and infrastructure that are developing across the region.

Question. By all account the human rights situation in Azerbaijan has declined significantly over the last year. President Aliyev has been in power since 2003. Do you see him become more entrenched and less tolerant of dissent?

Answer. Advancing respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Azerbaijan continues to be a key pillar in the bilateral relationship. As the Secretary said during her recent visit to Baku, "The United States remains strongly committed to working with the government and people to advance respect for human

rights and fundamental freedoms." She urged the government to respect its citizens' right to express views peacefully, including dissenting views, and to release those who have been detained for doing so in print or on the streets or for defending human rights. If confirmed as Ambassador, I will reinforce this vital message at the highest levels of the Azerbaijani Government.

We continue to believe that respect for these rights is essential for promoting the sort of dialogue between citizens and their government that forms the basis for positive change and the deeper development of a culture of democracy in any society. The United States continues to raise these concerns privately and publicly, including concerns about many specific cases. For example, last year, following the authorities' efforts to thwart the gathering of opposition groups in Baku, we urged the Azerbaijani Government to uphold its own international commitments to the rights of all its citizens to freedom of assembly and freedom of expression, which are guaranteed under the Azerbaijani Constitution, and which are enshrined in OSCE agreements to which the government has committed.

The 2013 Presidential election will be an opportunity for the government to demonstrate its commitment to these fundamental freedoms, and the United States will continue strong diplomatic and assistance efforts to encourage such progress.

Question. In an official state address to his people, Azerbaijan's President Aliyev stated that "our main enemies are Armenians of the world." Last year, Azerbaijani citizens were questioned, on national security grounds, simply for suspicion of having voted for Armenian artists in a Europe-wide singing contest. Also, in August 2011, the head of Azerbaijan's Presidential Administration's Political Analysis Department Elnur Aslanov told a gathering of hundreds of Azerbaijani students, who were studying abroad, that Ramil Safarov, who was convicted of murdering an Armenian with an axe while he was sleeping in his dorm room in Hungary, is an inspiration and "give[s] special spirit to Azerbaijani youth."

- What plans do you have for confronting Azerbaijan's official anti-Armenian rhetoric?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make the case that inflammatory rhetoric is unacceptable, dangerous, and undermines our efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict. As a cochair of the Minsk Group, the United States has repeatedly called on all sides to show restraint in their public statements and on the ground to avoid misunderstandings and unintended consequences. Secretary Clinton emphasized this message during her travel to the region earlier this month, and if confirmed I will urge the Azerbaijani Government to show restraint in its rhetoric and to prepare its people for peace, not war.

As Secretary Clinton and the other Foreign Ministers of the OSCE Minsk Group Cochair Countries noted in a joint statement earlier this year, a new generation has come of age in the region with no first-hand memory of Armenians and Azeris living side by side, and it is important to emphasize that prolonging these artificial divisions only deepens the wounds of war.

