

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

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—————  
MARCH 16 THROUGH DECEMBER 8, 2011  
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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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S. HRG. 112-399

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
112TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

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KENNETH A. MYERS, JR., *Republican Staff Director*

\*Note: WILLIAM C. DANVERS (assumed *Staff Director* position as of October 3, 2011)

## NOMINATIONS

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 2011

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

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Paul D. Wohlers, of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia  
William H. Moser, of North Carolina, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Moldova  
John A. Heffern, of Missouri, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia  
Thomas M. Countryman, of Washington, to be Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Non-Proliferation  
Jeffrey DeLaurentis, of New York, to be Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador, and Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations

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The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 3 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Office Building, Hon. Jeanne Shaheen presiding.  
Present: Senators Shaheen, Menendez, Barrasso, and Risch.

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

Senator SHAHEEN. Good afternoon, everyone. We have a full house. I hope that means we have lots of relatives and it's not just because there's nothing else going on in the Senate this afternoon. Welcome to all of you.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is here today to consider the nominations of: Paul Wohlers, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia; William Moser, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Moldova; John Heffern, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia; Tom Countryman, to be Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Non-Proliferation; and Jeffrey DeLaurentis, to be Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador, and Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I'm sure we have an acronym for that title. [Laughter.]

We will do these nominations in two panels, and today we will examine a wide variety of posts and positions with responsibilities spanning regions and institutions across the globe. Each of them is important in strengthening U.S. influence and in safeguarding American interests. I want to congratulate each of you on your nominations and welcome you and your families and friends as we discuss the challenges and opportunities that you face should you be confirmed.

In the interest of time, I'm going to submit my full statement for the record and point out that three of our nominees have been named for ambassadorial posts in important countries in the strategic regions of southern and Eastern Europe. Macedonia seeks full European integration, including by joining the EU and NATO. Its full integration can't be achieved, however, until the Macedonians and the Greeks resolve the lingering impasse over the country's name. Separately, Macedonia faced a parliamentary crisis earlier this year, due largely to complaints of media oppression.

Moldova is Europe's poorest country, according to the World Bank. It faces low living standards and a weak economy, but has shown a real commitment to reform and expanding democratic values.

We've maintained close ties with Armenia since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, due to Armenia's promotion of democratic principles. Unfortunately, the quality of recent elections and the failure to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh issue have not been encouraging.

Today we also examine the United States relationship with the United Nations. In particular, we will look at the role of the U.N.'s peace and security functions, including peacekeeping operations.

Finally, the committee will examine the role the United States should be taking to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons and materials. The proliferation of such weapons and materials threatens not only U.S. security, but global stability.

I want to thank each of you for your willingness to take on these important and challenging posts, and I look forward to hearing your views.

I want to take a moment to briefly introduce our first panel before turning it over to you for your opening statements, and I will also turn it over to Senator Barrasso to make a brief statement. But first up today is Paul Wohlers, the nominee to be Ambassador to Macedonia. Paul has a distinguished record in the Foreign Service, serving multiple tours in Europe and the Department's Executive Secretariat. He is a graduate of the Naval Academy and currently serves as the Deputy Executive Secretary at the State Department.

Next is William Moser, who has been nominated to serve as Ambassador to Moldova. William is also a Foreign Service officer, having served in a wide range of management officer positions. He currently serves as the Department's Deputy Assistant Secretary for Logistics Management.

Finally, we have John Heffern, nominated to be Ambassador to Armenia. A career member of the senior Foreign Service, John has a wide range of experiences, including extensive service in Asia and Europe. He additionally spent time on the Hill, first with Senator

Danforth and later as a State Department Pearson Fellow. He currently serves as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. mission to NATO.

As each of you give your opening statements, I hope you'll feel free to introduce your family or any friends who are here to support you. Now I'd like to turn it over to Senator Barrasso before we ask the panel to begin.

[The prepared statement of Senator Shaheen follows:]

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

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is here today to consider the nominations of Paul D. Wohlers to be Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia; William H. Moser to be Ambassador to the Republic of Moldova; John A. Heffern to be Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia; Thomas M. Countryman to be Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation; and Jeffrey DeLaurentis to be Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador, and Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Today, we will examine a wide variety of posts and positions with responsibilities spanning regions and institutions across the globe. Each of them is important in strengthening U.S. influence and in safeguarding American interests. I want to congratulate each of you on your nominations, and welcome you and your families as we discuss the challenges and opportunities that you may face should you be confirmed.

Three of our nominees have been named for ambassadorial posts in important countries in the strategic regions of Southern and Eastern Europe. We will examine a wide range of issues regarding these countries today.

Macedonia seeks full European integration, including by joining the European Union and NATO. Its full integration cannot be achieved, though, until the Macedonians and Greeks resolve the lingering impasse over the country's name. Separately, Macedonia faced a parliamentary crisis earlier this year, due largely to complaints of media oppression.

Moldova is Europe's poorest country, according to the World Bank. It faces low living standards and a weak economy, but has shown a commitment to reform and extending democratic values. Moldova is taking significant steps to create a transparent legal system, to fight corruption, and to end human trafficking, but much work remains. Further, the unresolved status of Transnistria hinders Moldova's ability to strengthen its institutions and economy.

We have maintained close ties with Armenia since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, due to Armenia's promotion of democratic principles. Unfortunately, the quality of recent elections and failure to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh issue have not been encouraging.

Today, we also examine the United States relationship with the United Nations. In particular, we will look at the role of the U.N.'s peace and security functions, including peacekeeping operations. In recent years, numerous conflicts have led to an escalation in the use of U.N. peacekeepers. This expansion of operations has drawn attention to weaknesses and failures of the United Nations in these activities.

Finally, the committee will examine the role the United States should be taking to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons and materials. The proliferation of such weapons and materials threatens not only U.S. security, but global stability. We face a great number of challenges, including stopping illicit networks, countering North Korean and Iranian nuclear programs, and implementing existing nonproliferation regimes. Additionally, we must look at how nuclear energy programs are being implemented globally.

I want to thank each of you for your willingness to take on these important and challenging posts, and look forward to hearing your views. I want to take a moment to briefly introduce our first panel before turning it over to you for your opening statements.

First up today, is Paul Wohlers, the nominee to be the Ambassador to Macedonia. Paul has a distinguished record in the Foreign Service, serving multiple tours in Europe and the Department's Executive Secretariat. He is a graduate of the Naval Academy, and currently serves as the Deputy Executive Secretary at the State Department.

Next, is William Moser, who has been nominated to serve as Ambassador to Moldova. William is also a Foreign Service officer, having served in wide range of Management Officer positions. He currently serves as the Department's Deputy Assistant Secretary for Logistics Management.

Finally, we have John Heffern, nominated to be Ambassador to Armenia. A career member of the Senior Foreign Service, John has a wide range of experiences, including extensive service in Asia and Europe. He additionally spent time on the Hill, first with Senator Danforth, and later as a State Department Pearson Fellow. He currently serves as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Mission to NATO.

As each of you give your opening statements, feel free to introduce any family or friends here to support you.

First on our second panel is Thomas Countryman, who has been nominated to be the Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation. Tom is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, serving most recently as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, specifically focusing on Balkans issues. Tom has a great deal of experience working on International Security issues, previously serving in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, as Foreign Policy Advisor to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and on the National Security Council Staff.

Finally, we will consider the nomination of Jeffrey DeLaurentis to be Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador, and Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. As a Foreign Service Officer, Jeffrey has served in a number of positions in the State Department, especially focused on Western Hemisphere and United Nations issues. He currently serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for South America.

As each of you give your opening statements, feel free to introduce any family or friends here to support you.

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

Senator BARRASSO. Well, thank you very much, Madam Chairman. I just want to join you in congratulating each of the nominees who are here today as the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations meets to consider these very important nominations. Each post is important to fostering vital relationships, addressing important problems, and securing United States national interests.

So I also want to extend a warm welcome to all the friends and the family who are with you and I look forward to them, as you had suggested, introducing the family and friends that are here. So with that, thank you very much, Madam Chairman, and it is indeed a warm welcome to each of these nominees. [Laughter.]

Senator SHAHEEN. You can't really appreciate how warm it is because it's usually freezing in this room. So it's either feast or famine.

Mr. Wohlers, would you like to begin?

**STATEMENT OF PAUL D. WOHLERS, OF WASHINGTON, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA**

Mr. WOHLERS. Yes. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Madam Chairman, members of the committee, it's a privilege to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia. It's a great honor to have this confidence placed in me by the President and by Secretary Clinton. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and with the Congress in advancing U.S. interests in Macedonia, building on the excellent work of my predecessors.



I'm delighted today to be accompanied by my family and I'd like to introduce them briefly, if I may: first my wife, Mary Jo, who's a registered nurse and has held our family together through many, many moves over 27 years in the Foreign Service.

Senator SHAHEEN. We're going to ask her if she would stand up and be recognized.

Mr. WOHLERS. My three daughters, Rachel and Julia and Jessica. Also I'm pleased today to be accompanied by my niece, Marion, who's also the daughter of a Foreign Service family.

So as you can see, I have great pride in being part of a Foreign Service family. I think Foreign Service families are true unsung heroes and diplomats themselves. I know that my three daughters and my wife—and I know Marion—have served much of their lives living, working, and going to school overseas, serving as examples of American values to the people around them, and sometimes even bearing the sting of criticism from people at their schools who did not agree with American policies. So I've been delighted to have them by my side all my life, and my life would have been empty without them.

As you're aware, I have served previously in Macedonia, an experience which I believe will enhance my effectiveness as Chief of Mission should you decide to confirm me. If confirmed, I will return to Macedonia during an important period. On September 8, Macedonia will mark the 20th anniversary of its independence, and August 13 will be the 10th anniversary of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which ended the country's civil conflict in 2001. The framework agreement, concluded with United States and European Union help, remains the foundation for Macedonia's peaceful and democratic development. The agreement ended the conflict by addressing the ethnic grievances of the people through principles of equal rights for all citizens regardless of ethnicity.

Today, 10 years from Ohrid and after 20 years of independence, Macedonia is working toward becoming a stable, multiethnic democracy. However, there is much more to be done in Macedonia. First, though, I think the citizens of Macedonia are to be congratulated for the June 5 election, in which people turned out in great numbers and behaved peacefully and with dignity.

Following this accomplishment, now this is the time for the people of Macedonia and the leaders of Macedonia to refocus on moving toward greater prosperity, stability, security, and Euro-Atlantic integration. While democratic structures are in place in Macedonia, full respect for the rule of law and independent institutions remains a problem. An independent judiciary, free and independent media, and strong civil society are vital cornerstones for all democracies, and we have concerns about Macedonia's development in these areas.

The United States is a partner with Macedonia in confronting these challenges. Macedonia's continued reform and integration into the Euro-Atlantic community remains a priority. Macedonia became a European Union candidate country in 2005. In December 2009, the European Commission recommended setting a start date for accession negotiations.

Macedonia also has made strides in defense reform in order to meet NATO's performance-based standards for membership. At the

November 2010 NATO summit in Lisbon, allies reaffirmed that Macedonia will receive an invitation to join the alliance as soon as the dispute with Greece is concluded. We will continue to support the U.N. process to help Macedonia and Greece find a mutually acceptable solution to this question.

Macedonia has proven itself as a net provider of security, as evidenced by its contributions both regionally and globally. Macedonian troops have served honorably in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Indeed, Macedonia has been one of the highest per capita contributors to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. These contributions to regional and global stability reflect our shared values and the depth of our partnership with Macedonia.

If I am confirmed, my foremost priority as Ambassador would be promoting United States interests in Macedonia, while working to advance Macedonia's own internal transformation on the path to full Euro-Atlantic integration. I will continue to pursue the U.S. goals of strengthening the rule of law, fighting corruption, promoting economic growth and prosperity, and reinforcing democratic institutions.

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, thank you again for this opportunity to appear before you. I stand ready to answer any questions you might have later on.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Wohlers follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PAUL WOHLERS

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia. I am honored by the confidence placed in me by the President and Secretary Clinton. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and the Congress in advancing U.S. interests in Macedonia.

I am delighted and proud to be accompanied today by my family: my wife, Mary Jo, who has held our family together during multiple moves over almost 27 years in the Foreign Service; my three daughters and one son-in-law—first, Rachel and her husband Ryan; then Julia and Jessica. Foreign Service families are unsung heroes and true diplomats themselves—my wife and daughters have been living, working, and going to school overseas for much of their lives, serving as examples of American values to their friends and colleagues, and sometimes, even at school, feeling the sting of criticism from those who did not agree with U.S. policies. My life would have been empty without my family, and I am thankful that they have always been by my side as we pursued a Foreign Service life together.

As you are aware, I have served previously in Macedonia, an experience which I believe will enhance my effectiveness as Chief of Mission, should you decide to confirm me. If confirmed, I will return to Macedonia during an important period. On September 8, Macedonia will mark the 20th anniversary of its independence, and August 13 will be the 10th anniversary of the Ohrid Framework Agreement that ended the country's civil conflict in 2001. The Framework Agreement, concluded with U.S. and EU help, remains the foundation for Macedonia's peace and democratic development. The Agreement ended the conflict by addressing ethnic grievances through principles of equal rights for all citizens irrespective of ethnicity. Today, 10 years from Ohrid and after 20 years of independence, Macedonia is working toward becoming a stable, multiethnic democracy.

There is much more to be done in Macedonia. The citizens of Macedonia deserve congratulations for the June 5 election in which the people turned out in high numbers and behaved peacefully and with dignity. Now is time for the people of Macedonia, along with their leaders, to focus on moving toward greater prosperity, security, stability, and Euro-Atlantic integration. While democratic structures are in place, full respect for the rule of law and independent institutions remains a problem. An independent judiciary, free and independent media, and strong civil society are vital cornerstones for all democracies, and we have concerns about Macedonia's development in these areas.

The United States is a partner in confronting these challenges. Macedonia's continued reform and integration into the Euro-Atlantic community remains a priority. Macedonia became a European Union candidate country in 2005 and in December 2009 the European Commission recommended setting a start date for accession negotiations. Macedonia has also made strides in defense reform in order to meet NATO's performance-based standards for membership. At the November 2010 NATO summit in Lisbon, allies reaffirmed that Macedonia will receive an invitation to join the alliance as soon as the dispute with Greece over the name is resolved. We will continue to support the U.N. process to help Macedonia and Greece find a mutually acceptable solution.

Macedonia has proven itself as a net provider of security as evidenced by its contributions both in the region and globally. Macedonian troops have served honorably in Iraq and Afghanistan. Indeed, Macedonia has been one of the highest per capita contributors to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. These contributions to regional and global stability reflect our shared values and the depth of our partnership with Macedonia.

If I am confirmed, my foremost priority as Ambassador will be promoting U.S. interests in Macedonia while working to advance Macedonia's own internal transformation on the path to full Euro-Atlantic integration. I will continue to pursue the U.S. goals of strengthening the rule of law, fighting corruption, promoting economic growth and prosperity, and reinforcing democratic institutions.

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to appear before you. I would be pleased to answer any questions that you may have.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Moser.

**STATEMENT OF WILLIAM H. MOSER, OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF  
MOLDOVA**

Mr. MOSER. Madam Chairwoman, Ranking Member Barrasso, it is an honor and a privilege to appear before you today as the President's nominee to the Republic of Moldova. I deeply appreciate the confidence and trust that President Obama and Secretary Clinton have placed in me and if confirmed I look forward to working closely with Congress to promote United States interests in Moldova.

First of all, though, I think it would only be right for me to introduce my wife and my three children, if I could get them to stand as you requested, Senator Shaheen. My wife, Marie, my son, Stephen, my daughter, Rebecca, and my son, Daniel. I'm very proud to have them here because they too, as Paul noted in his remarks, have grown up in the Foreign Service and I think that they are very happy to be here to witness this process today.

I was born and raised in North Carolina and, as you noted, Senator Shaheen, I still have that accent that doesn't go away. I visited my family there over the Fourth of July holiday. The State of North Carolina and Moldova have a very strong partnership. If confirmed, I hope to play a role in maintaining and expanding this partnership. If confirmed, I will work to strengthen our relations and to support Moldovan efforts to strengthen democratic and free market reforms and further integration with Europe.

Vice President Biden delivered this message in his recent trip to Moldova when he stated: "The American people have watched your struggle and celebrated your successes, and we are determined to help you build on your achievements. We strongly support your commitment to political and economic reforms and taking on hard issues."

As Moldova prepares to celebrate the 20th anniversary of its independence, the United States will continue to support the Moldovan people in their efforts to build a democratic, prosperous, and secure European state.

Moldova continues to make strides in its economic and political development and its integration into Europe. The United States wants to assist Moldova on this journey, not just because of our longstanding friendship between our peoples, but also because a democratic, peaceful, and prosperous Moldova would contribute to our longstanding objective of a Europe whole, free, and at peace. Moldova deserves our continued support and encouragement.

Madam Chairwoman, Ranking Member Barrasso, I thank you again for the opportunity to share my thoughts about the relationship with Moldova, and if confirmed I look forward to working closely with you and with the committee. I would also be happy to answer any questions you have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Moser follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM H. MOSER

Madam Chairman, Ranking Member Barrasso and members of the committee, it is an honor and a privilege to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Moldova. I deeply appreciate the confidence and trust that President Obama and Secretary Clinton have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with Congress to promote United States interests in Moldova.

I want to introduce my wife, Marie, and two of my three children, Daniel and Stephen. I was born and raised in North Carolina and visited my family there over the recent July 4th holiday. The State of North Carolina and Moldova have a strong partnership. If confirmed, I hope to play a role in maintaining and expanding this partnership.

If confirmed, I will work to strengthen our relations with Moldova and to support Moldovan efforts to strengthen democratic and free market reforms at home and further integration with Europe. Vice President Biden delivered this message in his recent trip to Moldova, when he stated, "the American people have watched [your] struggle and celebrated your successes, and we are determined to help you build on your achievements. We strongly support your commitment to political and economic reforms and taking on hard issues." As Moldova prepares to celebrate the 20th anniversary of its independence, the United States will continue to support the Moldovan people in their efforts to build a democratic, prosperous, and secure European state. I would like to take a moment today to touch upon the strategic focus areas in our relationship with Moldova: democratic development, free market development, and security.

FIRST: DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

Moldova's parliamentary elections in 2009 and 2010 met most international commitments and were generally well administered and offered voters genuine choice. However, the international election observer mission fielded by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe noted that "further effort is needed to improve public confidence in Moldova's democratic process." If confirmed, I will look for new ways to support the efforts of the Moldovan people to further their nation's democratic development and to continue to expand our dialogue with all responsible elements of the political spectrum. Moldova's governing coalition has an ambitious reform agenda, based on a widespread recognition that much remains to be done to reach to its stated goal of good governance. Judicial reform, greater transparency and other efforts to reduce corruption are among the governing coalition's top priorities, priorities which we support through our assistance programs. Moldova has taken steps to combat trafficking in persons, which remains a significant problem, and we are cooperating closely with Moldovan authorities to address this issue. Moldova's chosen foreign policy of European integration is one that the United States strongly supports. Moldova's steps toward association with the European Union involve meeting European standards and norms for democracy, good governance, free trade and in many other areas. If confirmed, I will work closely with my European counterparts in Chisinau to advance our shared agenda in Moldova.

## SECOND: FREE MARKET DEVELOPMENT

Moldova remains one of Europe's poorest countries with per capita GDP of less than \$3,000 a year; many of its citizens, unable to find adequate work at home, work abroad. Thanks in part to a nearly \$600 million IMF stand-by agreement, Moldova's economy is beginning to recover, but more reform is required to achieve sustained economic growth. Moldova seeks a diversified, export-oriented economy; improvements to the investment climate are key to attracting the investment that could increase exports. If confirmed, I plan to work with Moldova on these issues. The United States has been helping to bolster private sector competitiveness and improve the legal and regulatory environment. We have dramatically increased our investment in Moldova's future through the Compact with the Millennium Challenge Corporation signed last year. The \$262 million package provides assistance for irrigation and road infrastructure improvements intended to support Moldovan farmers in their transition to high value-added agriculture and to help them get their produce to market.

## THIRD: SECURITY

Moldova's number one security challenge remains the unresolved conflict with Transnistrian separatists. Moldova has been a divided land for the past 19 years after the brief armed conflict ended between government forces and the separatists. The United States is committed to a peaceful resolution of the Transnistria conflict that guarantees Moldova's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. I am convinced that this longstanding conflict can and should be resolved. The United States remains committed to the 5+2 process, involving the two parties to the conflict, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Russia and Ukraine, with the EU and the United States serving as active observers. The United States has repeatedly called for the immediate resumption of official negotiations, which have been stalled since 2006. Recent discussions among the 5+2 participants, which have facilitated confidence-building initiatives and explored conditions for the resumption of formal talks, have shown some progress. If confirmed, I intend to do what I can to move this process forward, including outreach throughout Moldova, as well as the Transnistria region. Beyond the Transnistria conflict, the United States provides assistance to Moldova through various programs to help create a modern, sustainable, military force, led by a Ministry of Defense and Joint Staff that are compatible with Euro-Atlantic structures and can integrate into multinational structures and missions. Moldova currently receives \$750,000 in International Military Education and Training funds (IMET) and \$750,000 in Foreign Military Financing (FMF). These funds are used to support Moldova's efforts to achieve its NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) objectives, enhance Moldova's capacity to conduct peace and stability operations in support of multinational coalition operations, and strengthen Moldova's cooperation with other partners to enhance regional security and stability.

Moldova continues to make strides in its economic and political development and its integration into Europe. The United States wants to assist Moldova on this journey, not just because of the longstanding friendship between our peoples, but also because a democratic, peaceful and prosperous Moldova would contribute to our longstanding objective of a Europe whole, free and at peace. Moldova deserves our continuing support and encouragement.

Madam Chairman, Ranking Member Barrasso, I thank you again for the opportunity to share my thoughts about the relationship with Moldova. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you and this committee.

I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Moser.  
Mr. Heffern.

**STATEMENT OF JOHN A. HEFFERN, OF MISSOURI, NOMINATED  
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

Mr. HEFFERN. Thank you, Senator Shaheen. Madam Chair and distinguished members of the committee, for me as well, it's an honor to be before you as President Obama's nominee for next Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia. I'd also like to introduce my family. I'm delighted that they can be here today. My wife, my wife of 32 years, Libby. I would just add a note on Foreign Service

spouses, Senator. I know you know this already, but Foreign Service spouses do play a really important role overseas in projecting—helping U.S. image overseas, working with the community, the U.S. community at the Embassy, and the local community, and certainly Libby has done that for the 29 years that we've been doing this together.

Then I've got—we have five children. We have—where are we? We have Lisa—we have Lisa and her husband, Ryan Waters; we have Lucy—Lucy; and then Sarah, Sarah and her boyfriend, Jamie Pett is here with us today; and we have Woody and we have Alley. And thank you very much for making it possible for our families to be here, to join us for this special occasion today. Thank you.

My 88-year-old mother, though, Madam Chairman, is not able to be here with us today. She's a naturalized American from India, and I really owe it to her and to my deceased father. My interest in foreign affairs and the Foreign Service comes from them. My father was in World War II, a World War II veteran, and met her in India, and was briefly a Foreign Service officer himself. It's from that experience that I developed my interest in foreign affairs and in Asia. So I'm sorry she was not able to be here with us today.

Madam Chair, again I'm honored to have been nominated by President Obama and Secretary Clinton for this important post, and if confirmed I will build upon the fine work of my predecessors to deepen and strengthen our relationship with Armenia.

The Obama administration has greatly strengthened our relations with Armenia. In April 2010 the Presidents of our two countries held their first bilateral meeting in 10 years, and when Secretary Clinton visited Yerevan last year it was the first time that an American Secretary of State has visited Armenia in 19 years.

The administration has expanded development assistance to Armenia into key areas of governance, of economic growth and market competitiveness, and has been able to maintain overall funding levels for Armenia despite budget cuts elsewhere in Europe and Eurasia. If confirmed, I would also work to expand United States-Armenia trade and investment, building on the strong connections, existing connections, between the American and Armenian people.

On the political front, the United States has encouraged Armenia to improve its human rights and democracy record, and we've actually seen some positive results on that front this year, which we can talk about, Madam Chairman. Armenia will hold important national elections next year and in 2013, and we see these elections as opportunities for the government to demonstrate its commitment to democracy.

The administration supports Armenia's courageous steps to begin a process with Turkey to address their history and to find a way to move forward together toward a shared future of security and prosperity. Through the OSCE's Minsk Process, the United States also supports Armenia and Azerbaijan as they work toward a peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

There is still a lot to do in all these areas, Madam Chair, but I believe my 29 years as a Foreign Service officer has prepared me for this important assignment. During this time I have served faithfully both Democrat and Republican administrations. Following my instructions from Washington, I've done my best to ad-

vance U.S. interests and to uphold American ideals. In addition, I pledge to the committee that if confirmed I will report candidly and objectively to Washington on my views and my recommendations from the field.

Madam Chair and members of the committee, President Obama has recognized and deplored the horrific events that took place in the final days of the Ottoman Empire. He has publicly called the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians at that time one of the worst atrocities of the 20th century. The President has urged Turkey and Armenia to work through their painful history to achieve a full, frank, and just acknowledgment of the facts. If confirmed, I will do my best to fulfil the President's vision in this sensitive area.

Madam Chair, thank you for your time today. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, other members of the committee and staff and with Congress as a whole as I represent the United States in Armenia. Thank you and I look forward to your questions and comments today. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Heffern follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN A. HEFFERN

Madam Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you as the President's nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia. I am pleased to be joined today by my wife, Libby, and our children, Lisa (and Ryan), Lucy, Sarah, Woody, and Alley. We welcome this opportunity to again serve our Nation overseas.

My mother, a naturalized American from India, could not be here today, but I would note that I owe my interest in the Foreign Service to her and to my deceased father, who was a WWII veteran and, briefly, an FSO as well.

Madam Chairman, I am honored that President Obama and Secretary Clinton have nominated me for this important post. If confirmed, I will build upon the fine work of my predecessors to advance our bilateral relationship with Armenia in all its facets: diplomatic, political, economic, trade, and in our deep people-to-people ties.

The Obama administration has strengthened U.S. relations with Armenia. In April 2010, the Presidents of our two countries held their first bilateral meeting in 10 years and, when Secretary Clinton visited Yerevan last year, it was the first visit by a Secretary of State to Armenia in 19 years.

We have expanded development assistance to Armenia in several areas, especially in governance, economic growth, and market competitiveness, and maintained overall funding levels despite budget cuts in Europe and Eurasia. Specifically, including FY 2011, we have invested more than \$38 million since 2009 in democracy and governance programming, including over \$16 million for civil society development. During this period, we have also devoted over \$17 million to promote better access to health care and launched a new 5-year, \$22 million on enterprise development and market competitiveness. Over the past 5 years, the Millennium Challenge Corporation has invested almost \$180 million in Armenia to improve irrigation infrastructure, provide technical and financial assistance to farmers and agribusinesses, and improve rural roads. If confirmed, I would like to work on expanding the United States-Armenia trade relationship, building on the already strong connections between Americans and Armenians, to foster more trade and investment between our countries.

On the political front, the U.S. has encouraged Armenia to improve its human rights and democracy record, and we have seen some positive developments this year, with the government releasing those still detained from the protests after the Armenian elections in 2008. Armenia will hold important national elections in 2012 and 2013, which are opportunities for the Government of Armenia to demonstrate its commitment to democracy. The administration supports Armenia's courageous steps to begin a process with Turkey to address their history, and to find a way to move forward together in a shared future of security and prosperity. Through the Minsk Process, the U.S. supports Armenia and Azerbaijan as they work toward a peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

There is still a lot to do. If confirmed, I would continue the efforts of my most able predecessor, Ambassador Masha Yovanovitch. I will seek, as she did, opportuni-

ties to enhance our relationship with Armenia, should the Senate confirm me for this position.

My 29 years as an FSO have prepared me for this assignment. During this time, I have served faithfully in both Democratic and Republican administrations. Following my instructions from Washington, I have done my best to advance U.S. interests and uphold American ideals. In addition, I pledge to the committee that, if confirmed, I will report candidly and accurately to Washington my views and recommendations from the field.

My work at NATO with Armenia and other Caucasus partners has introduced me to this complex and fascinating region. I look forward to enhancing my understanding of the country and the region by working with the Armenian Government, the Armenian people, and the Armenian-American community.

Madam Chair and members of the committee, President Obama has recognized and deplored the horrific events that took place in the waning days of the Ottoman Empire. He has publicly called the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians at this time one of the worst atrocities of the 20th century. The President has urged Turkey and Armenia to work through their painful history to achieve a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts. If confirmed, I will do my best to fulfill the President's vision.

Madam Chairman, I would like to thank you for your time today. I want to assure you that, if confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you, with members of this committee, and with the Congress as a whole in representing my fellow Americans as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia.

Thank you and I welcome your questions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, and thank you to each of you for your testimony today.

I think they finally got the air conditioning working, so hopefully it will cool off, probably not in time for you to finish your questioning.

Mr. Heffern, I would like to begin with you. You mentioned in your testimony the history between Armenia and Turkey. The Armenia-Turkey Protocols of 2009 were I think a very positive step toward improving relations between the parties, but unfortunately the protocols have not been ratified. Can you talk about what the prospects are for reviving reconciliation talks between Turkey and Armenia and what other steps might be possible to encourage the two countries to address their mutual past?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, yes. The administration strongly supports and we welcomed and congratulated both governments, the Government of Turkey and the Government of Armenia, for their courageous decision to sign the protocols in Zurich in October 2009. Secretary Clinton had a major part in that. She was there for the signing ceremony. And we remain committed to doing whatever we can to encourage the two parties to get the protocols back on track.

The Secretary has talked to both parties regularly. The Secretary has made it clear; Secretary Clinton has said the ball is in Turkey's court and that we hope and expect that they will be able to work to find a way to work together to resume that.

For me, if I'm confirmed at the Embassy, I would work with our Embassy in Ankara to devise effective and hopefully constructive confidence-building measures for cross-border exchanges and other things to try to build trust from the bottom up, in addition to the Secretary and the President's work with the leaders to try to get the protocols back on track.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

You also mentioned Nagorno-Karabakh, which is another of the issues facing Armenia. You pointed out the Minsk Process, which unfortunately ended without any agreement on the basic prin-



principles. So can you elaborate a little more on the status of these talks, what steps can be taken to help move them forward and to encourage the parties to reach some sort of a negotiated resolution to the Nagorno-Karabakh question?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, the President and Secretary have been also deeply involved in this. We remain committed to the Minsk Process as sort of the only game in town to try to resolve this dispute. The purpose, as you know, of the Minsk Process is to find a lasting, peaceful, and just solution to this conflict that will help the parties, help the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, and help bring some stability and prosperity and peace to the South Caucasus region. That's the purpose of it, as you well know.

The United States participates as one of the cochairs. Ambassador Bradtke is our representative and he was at the Kazan meetings that you referred to. Indeed, the parties were not able to agree on the basic principles there, but they did issue a statement with President Medvedev that they have made some progress on some of the issues and they remain committed to the process.

Foreign Minister Lavrov recently visited the capitals with some additional proposals from President Medvedev and I'm not briefed on what those proposals are. I don't know what the prospects are for the next steps. But we are working—we the United States are working as cochair with the other cochairs and with the two parties and with the authorities, the de facto authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh, to find a solution.

Senator SHAHEEN. I will point out, as you know, I just returned from Serbia and the OSCE's Parliamentary Assembly, where they appointed a special representative to help address Nagorno-Karabakh. So hopefully that may be helpful as well in moving the discussions forward.

Finally, you pointed out that there will be elections held again in 2012, a Presidential election in 2013. I had the interesting fortune to be in Armenia in 2003 for an international observation mission to their parliamentary elections and those were not free and fair elections, and unfortunately there have been—elections have been plagued by accusations of fraud and abuse for too long.

So what are the prospects for that to be turned around by 2012 and 2013? Are there measures in place? Is there an independent election commission that is moving forward in a way that holds some prospect that the upcoming elections will be freer and fairer than those in the past?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, I'm not well briefed on the 2003 elections. On the 2008 elections, they also were flawed elections and we've said so publicly, that they were not the kind of elections that meet international standards. Then in the aftermath of the elections there were some protests and some detentions and violence in response to those protests. It was not a great situation in 2008.

In the last 6 months, though, Senator, there have been some positive signs. Ambassador Yvonovich has made this one of her top priorities and worked very much, very closely with the parties and the government to find a way forward to work with them on democracy and human rights.

Some useful things have happened. They have reopened the square for freedom of assembly. They've allowed some of the oppo-

sition groups and parties to actually have rallies and assemblies in the Freedom Square, so that's a good thing. They have—the government has released finally, after much prodding, all of the detainees from the post-2008 unrest, and they have assured the Armenian people that they will launch a full investigation of the events post-election 2008.

So they have made some useful steps in the last 6 months that have been helpful in giving us some indication that the next elections in 2012 and 2013 will hopefully be better in meeting international standards.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. That's very encouraging.

Senator BARRASSO.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you very much, Madam Chair.

Mr. Heffern, following up, if I could, on Senator Shaheen's questioning, the administration has requested funding in fiscal year 2012 in order to focus on economic growth as well as democratization in Armenia. The U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation I think, as you know, has expressed concerns about freedom of the press, about democratization in Armenia.

Due to these concerns, a portion of the Millennium Challenge Corporation's compact with Armenia was ended. How would you characterize the current status of democratization in Armenia and what efforts are we taking to improve that?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, there's a couple of elements to your question. Not only the democracy side, but also the governance side I think is important. What we're trying to do through our bilateral assistance program, and since their independence the United States has been the largest bilateral donor to Armenia. So what we're trying to do through our bilateral assistance is to work on governance, increase, improve the business climate, investment climate, to encourage western investment and trade, to keep them focused on the West.

Part of that, of course, involves governance and rule of law and democracy and human rights. I mentioned to Senator Shaheen the three or four useful steps they've made in the last 6 months. If confirmed, I'll go and I will build—I will try to build on what Ambassador Yvonovich has done and work with the people and the parties and the government there to see what we can do to make the next round of elections meet international standards.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you.

Mr. Moser, talking about Moldova, the poorest nation in Europe, continues to face serious problems, including corruption, crime, and human trafficking as well, as you know. In the 2011 Trafficking in Persons Report, actually, the Department of State highlighted concerns with Moldova. While some progress has been made, the report states that the Government in Moldova does not fully comply with even the minimum standards for elimination of trafficking.

Can you tell me what efforts are currently being taken to fight the problem of human trafficking and what's the United States currently doing to assist Moldova on this issue?

Mr. MOSER. Senator BARRASSO, thank you very much for that question. One of the focuses of our democracy-building programs is of course to strengthen the rule of law, because in the Trafficking in Persons Report of this year, even though Moldova went up a

step from a tier 2 watchlist to a tier 2 country, we still said that there were real problems in the judiciary and in the independence of the judiciary and in arresting corrupt officials.

Now, we do a couple things. Through our International and Law Enforcement Bureau, we're working on training police officials and strengthening the judiciary, and also with our AID programs we're also doing further judicial training in technical assistance to build up prosecutorial capacity.

I realize that the Moldovans have a long way to go, particularly on the corruption issue, and one of the things that I think that has to be drawn together is that for the Moldovans to really make the steps toward European integration and toward economic development that they themselves profess that they want to make, that they are going to have to make a business climate that is free of corruption, so people will want to invest there.

So this is a whole complex of issues, that you don't get the economic development without having the correct and corruption-free democratic development that Moldova really needs. That's what I think that, if confirmed, that I would like to work on as Ambassador.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you.

Mr. Wohlers, the United States has supported Macedonia's candidacy for NATO as well as for the European Union membership. But, as you know, Greece has blocked Macedonia's accession to NATO and the European Union due to a dispute actually, I think, over its name. While there have been many efforts to reach a solution to the dispute, really they haven't found a solution yet.

Can you tell us what progress, if any, has been made between Macedonia and Greece on solving this dispute, and what is your view of the prospects of finding a solution?

Mr. WOHLERS. Thank you, Senator. You're correct that this is a 20-year-old dispute which has not been resolved, and it goes to the heart of our desire to have Macedonia fully integrated into the Euro-Atlantic community, because that can't happen until we resolve this name dispute. We fully support the U.N. process under the auspices of Matthew Nimetz to resolve this issue and we also support direct engagement between Athens and Skopje. We have encouraged both sides to show maximum flexibility, compromise, sense of respect for each other's history and traditions, in moving forward on this issue. We have made it clear that whatever mutually acceptable solution they arrive at we will accept. We're not going to impose a solution on this.

This goes back to our major goal of stability in Southeastern Europe, of which we think the integration of Macedonia into the Euro-Atlantic community will be a key part. But integration can't move forward until the name issue is resolved. So this is an issue that needs strong leadership by both sides. It's not going to be easy. Obviously, if it were easy it would have been done long ago. It's going to require painful compromises on both sides, and that's why they need to have strong leadership to move this forward.

If confirmed, I will work very diligently with the Macedonian authorities to encourage them to show maximum flexibility, maximum cooperation and respect, and hopefully we can move forward on this.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Menendez.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Congratulations to all of you on your nominations.

Let me start with you, Mr. Heffern. In your opening statement you said that "President Obama has recognized and deplored the horrific events that took place in the waning days of the Ottoman Empire." And you went on to say, I noted, that "he"—I assume that was the President—"publicly called the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians at the time one of the worst atrocities of the 20th century."

I welcome that statement, but I'd like to explore it a little bit more with you. Do you agree that there were mass killings, ethnic cleansing, and forced deportations of over 1.5 million Armenians during the period that the Ottoman Empire existed?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, yes. As the President has said, the massacres and the forced deportations leading to the deaths of 1.5 million Armenians is acknowledged and recognized and deplored by President Obama. And yes, sir, I believe it as well.

Senator MENENDEZ. OK. And those were conducted at the time by the Ottoman Empire; is that true?

Mr. HEFFERN. Those were conducted at the time, in the final days of the Ottoman Empire, yes, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. Now, we as a country and I assume this administration recognizes the Turkish Republic as a successor state to the Ottoman Empire, is that true?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, I assume that's true. I don't know that that's true. I assume that's true. I mean, it has to be true, so yes, sir. I'm going to just take that as true, but I have to say I don't know that specifically.

Senator MENENDEZ. Let me ask you this. Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which the United States has both signed and ratified, states: "In the present convention, 'genocide' means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such: [a] killing members of the group; [b] causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; [c] deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." And it goes on to other elements.

Those are from a convention which we the United States have signed. Now, if that is a convention the United States is willing to be a signatory to, would not the facts that you acknowledge in your opening statement during the period of 1915 to 1923 and that, in furtherance of the answers to my questions, meet the definition of article 2?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, you have accurately described article 2, the definition of genocide in the convention. So yes to that part of the question. And yes to the facts that were in my statement and that you've repeated. But the characterization of those events, Senator, is a policy decision that is made by the President of the

United States, and that policy is enunciated in his April 24 Remembrance Day statement.

Senator MENENDEZ. Are you aware of cables that exist from former Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who was the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, from 1913 to 1916; from the U.S. consul in Aleppo, from the U.S. consul in Harput; from Ambassador Morgenthau, who was succeeded by Abraham Elkus, who served as Ambassador from 1916 to 1917? Have you had an opportunity to read any of those?

Mr. HEFFERN. Senator, I've seen the compilation that Mr. Sarafian has put together of documents from the time. So yes, sir, I have seen a large number of them.

Senator MENENDEZ. You have no reason to dispute what those dispatches were?

Mr. HEFFERN. Those Foreign Service officers at the time, sir, reported what they saw and how they perceived events at the time, yes, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. I just want to say, Madam Chair, this is a difficult set of circumstances.

And I appreciate your answers.

This is an inartful dance that we do. We have a State Department whose history, full of dispatches, cites the atrocities committed during this period of time. We have a convention we sign that clearly defines these acts as genocide. We have a historical knowledge of the facts which we accept that would amount to genocide. But we are unwilling to reference it as genocide.

If we cannot accept the past, we cannot move forward. So I find it very difficult to be sending diplomats of the United States to a country in which they will go, and I hope you will go, as some of your predecessors have gone, to a genocide commemoration, and yet never be able to use the word "genocide." It is much more than a question of a word. It is everything that signifies our commitment to saying "never again." Yet we can't even acknowledge this fact, and we put diplomats in a position that I think is totally untenable.

Nevertheless, I appreciate your straightforward answers to my questions. I have one other set of questions for you, Mr. Wohlers, and only caught the tail end of my colleague's questions, so I hope they are not redundant. This whole issue of Macedonia; it's more than a name. There are historical realities here. There is concern of irredentism, as well as concerns with the fact that one of the first acts of the new Prime Minister was to erect a 72-foot high bronze statue of Alexander the Great in the central square of the city of Skopje, a monument challenging Alexander's Hellenic roots, costing \$13 million in a country with 32 percent unemployment; and teaching children what is greater Macedonia and making claims of a greater Macedonia, when we know that 52 percent of that land mass is in Greece.

Some people say, why are they fighting over a name? This has real significant consequences. Do you go into this assignment fully appreciating that?

Mr. WOHLERS. Yes, Senator; I believe I do. You're correct, completely correct, in saying this is more than just a name. This is an issue of identity. We have worked in the past and, if confirmed, I

will continue to do so, with the Macedonian authorities, as we have also in Athens with our Embassy there, to impress upon both sides the need to move forward on this issue with a great sense of compromise, a great sense of respect for each other's histories and traditions, a willingness to make the painful compromises that are necessary to resolve this very delicate issue.

As you said, it's an issue which is very emotional for both sides. We want to make sure also, and I would do so if confirmed, that neither side is engaging in any kind of provocative or inflammatory rhetoric or actions, which can only make the process even more difficult. It's hard enough as it is. Otherwise, as I said earlier, we would have resolved this long ago. But it requires real leadership on both sides to move forward on this very difficult issue.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I know that the previous government had rejected U.N.-offered names that described solely FYROM's sovereign territory. Such names included "Northern Macedonia" and "Upper Macedonia," which Greece accepted.

I always worry when we refer to some issues in the world as emotional issues. Sometimes that characterizes it in a way that makes them seem irrational. Senator Rubio and I, who sit on this committee, have a very strong stance on U.S. Cuba policy. Some people like to describe that as emotional. We have a very significant view as to what U.S. foreign policy should be.

In this case, I hope when we ascribe the word "emotional" to it, it is not trivializing that. Because for both of these countries, and certainly Greece, this is far more than a name. This is questions of territory, identity, and a concern of those who have aspirations of getting territory that is clearly within the Hellenic Republic possibly being desired and sought after by its neighbor.

Mr. WOHLERS. Well, I agree completely, Senator. Emotionalism is not irrationalism. I didn't mean to equate those. If confirmed, I would work very closely with the Macedonian authorities, as I said, to make sure there are no movements of irredentism. I think we're trying to make sure that does not happen. The policy of the Macedonian Government has been that they do not have any irredentist claims on Greece. But should there be anything like that, I would request that you would let me know so we can work with the authorities to make sure it does not continue. There's no place for that. That will only make the issue more difficult.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair, for your courtesy.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Risch.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Mr. Heffern, I have an issue I'd like to bring up with you about Armenia as it affects Idaho, believe it or not. Certainly it doesn't rise to the level of the issue concerning the Ottoman Empire or whether Alexander the Great was a Macedonian or a Greek. Those are things that have been around a long time.

But we have—every year in Rexburg, ID, which is in eastern Idaho, there is an international dance festival and I wind up sometimes, I guess, refereeing the issuance of the visas for the people there. I have to tell you, working with the State Department is a real pleasure. A lot of us are critical of various agencies of the Federal Government, but the State Department really tries hard to ac-

commodate people. I've personally been present on some of the visa interviews and watched, personally observed how they're done, and those people do a great job of that.

But let me tell you what's going on. One of the groups that they like to participate in this dance festival—and it's a dance and folk festival that memorializes and celebrates the various cultures around the world, and Armenia is important in that regard. They have—in the past they've applied for visas and have had difficulty with the State Department, being told they need one kind of visa and then it doesn't work out.

Because of the bureaucratic difficulties last year, they weren't able to attend last year. We're having issues again this year on it. It's in late August, so it probably won't be on your watch. But I want to put this on your radar screen so that when you get a call from me in 2012 you'll know what this is all about.

Having said all of that, again I really compliment the State Department on how they handle these. You know, I think Americans don't really realize, out of the 7 billion people on the face of this planet, how many of them want to come here for one reason or another, many of whom who want to come here and not leave here. They've got to sift through all these, and they really do a great job.

But in any event, we're having difficulties with it. We're still having difficulties with it. We're going to continue to work on it, and after you confirmed I hope that you remember this and if it comes across your desk I hope you remember this country boy from Idaho telling you that we need some help in that regard.

To your wife, I have to tell you that it isn't just the spouses of the Foreign Service people. Senate spouses make a lot of difference, too, as I'm sure Senator Shaheen will confirm. They're very important to us. And that's particularly true when we are traveling internationally with our spouses.

So thank all three of you for your service to America. Thank you for willing to take on these positions, particularly in the difficult times that the world is in right now.

Thank you very much, Madam Chair.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Senator Risch.

I want to go back, Mr. Wohlers, to Macedonia. I think we do appreciate how deeply felt the name issue is for people on both sides of the border, whether it's Macedonia or Greece. But as you point out, this is an issue that really cries out for resolution. In your statement you pointed out that Macedonia received candidacy status for the EU in 2005, ahead of most of its neighbors, several of whom now have surpassed it. Croatia has now been accepted. Serbia is well on the road to candidacy status. And both of those countries are undertaking the difficult challenges that they need to in order to be accepted into the EU.

As you pointed out, the future for Macedonia clearly is with the Euro-Atlantic institutions. It's with the EU, it's with NATO. And their lack of a resolution to this question is having a significant impact on their economic status and on their ability to move forward. So I do appreciate your commitment to doing everything that we can from the U.S. perspective to encourage them to go to the table and to help find a resolution to this difficult issue.

Can you talk about what the current state of interethnic relations is in Macedonia, and are all of the parties who have—many of whom have been in the news in the last year or so, committed to continued territorial integrity, or do you think that the country could eventually break down along ethnic lines?

Mr. WOHLERS. Well, Senator, I think that the basis for movement forward on the ethnic issues there is the framework agreement, the Ohrid Framework Agreement of 2001. As I said, August 13 will be the 10th anniversary of that event. They have made considerable progress in those 10 years in terms of interethnic relations. There is considerably more local government, where the areas and municipalities with minority populations have much more control of their daily lives. They have considerably improved the hiring of ethnic minorities, both in the government and in staffing in the military. There is greater use of the minority languages and symbols, and the largest ethnic Albanian party is the junior partner in the most recent government and will be in the new government as well and will have significant positions of power in that government.

So there has been considerable progress since 2001. That having been said, that progress has slowed recently and we're concerned about that. We have made that clear to the authorities, the Macedonian authorities, that there needs to be continued and further progress on this.

A number of laws have been passed but not implemented. Of course, it's easy sometimes to pass laws; it's something else to implement them and to move forward. So we will be encouraging them to move forward on many of these issues to continue the improvement in the ethnic relationship.

One of the problems, as you pointed out, is integration into the Euro-Atlantic community, of which the ethnic Albanians in particular are very supportive, and the longer that doesn't take place the more uncertainty they have.

But I don't see any indications at this point that there's any desire to break off or to split the country apart. I think they're committed to a unified Macedonia. They're working in the government. They're working in all the ministries. Certainly we will continue to work there, should I be confirmed, to continue that process.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. That's encouraging.

So finally, what in your view can the United States and the EU, for that matter, do to encourage the Macedonians to solve their current political crisis over the opposition's boycott of Parliament and the prospects for new elections?

Mr. WOHLERS. Well, they had elections in June and they're moving forward toward a new government. So we're hopeful now with this newly developed parliament that we won't have that issue. Obviously, if you're not in Parliament you can't—if you don't play, you can't affect things.

We've never been, obviously, in favor of boycotts. They need to be involved in the governmental process. But they've got a new Parliament starting shortly. I believe that they will be playing constructive roles, all the parties. We'll certainly be encouraging them to do that, and I would do that should I be confirmed.



So I think we're moving forward. There are still, obviously, many issues to be resolved, and we will be working closely with the Macedonian authorities through our assistance programs, through our public outreach, to do just that.

Senator SHAHEEN. Great. Thank you.

Finally, Mr. Moser, on Moldova. There have been informal talks under way to resolve the Transnistria conflict. Do you have any assessment of where those informal talks are and whether there's more that we can or should be doing to try and encourage those talks and a resolution?

Mr. MOSER. Well, I will say the first thing that you have to be happy about is that we had a set of informal talks. The good news is on this that we're scheduled to have another set in the fall, that the parties did not agree to break off negotiations, but to agree to get together again in the fall, although the United States stands firmly committed that official talks will begin again, and that is the goal that we're pressing for.

Now, if confirmed, I will be the Ambassador to Moldova and I will try to work extensively with outreach both to the officials in Chisinau and also the officials in Tiraspol to try to press them toward bringing this conflict toward resolution, because I do believe that in my role of being in the country that people-to-people contact can help them to get to talk to each other.

Senator SHAHEEN. Are there other regional players who are playing a role in this, both positive and negative? Has Russia's support for the separatists exacerbated the issues there?

Mr. MOSER. Well, I would put it this way, is we have to first of all praise Ukraine for its efforts to try to work toward resolution. In fact, the Russians have made very clear in their statements that they want to work toward a resolution of this conflict. So I think at this point all the other actors in the equation are working toward a positive resolution. We just need to get the parties that are really involved—and that is the officials within the country—to really come to serious negotiations.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Several times during this afternoon's discussions we've pointed out that Moldova is one of the most economically depressed countries in Europe. Has it been hit even harder by the global economic downturn and are there plans under way in the government to help reform their economy? I think you mentioned some of those. Have they made any positive progress?

Mr. MOSER. Well, at the time in 2010 the IMF gave a \$600 million stabilization fund to the Moldovans, and they've been helping the Moldovans take the right measures economically. Now, one positive report I recently read in the Moldovan press, that in the first quarter of 2011 reports are that their economy grew by 8.4 percent. Now, that is probably a rebound from a previous period of depressed growth, but this is actually a very positive development.

But if confirmed, one of my goals is to really work with them to really work toward the real goal, which is to make a business climate that is conducive to international investment. This is something in our long-term stake. We really are—I am really seriously committed to our policy of a Europe whole, free, and at peace, and you can't get there unless you take a country that borders on the

European Union and make sure that it shares in the economic progress.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Risch, do you have any other questions?

Senator RISCH. No, thank you very much.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Well, then I will again thank all of you. I look forward to a speedy confirmation. Hopefully that will happen. And I think we'll move to the next panel. Hopefully we will be able to get them out before too late this afternoon.

First on our second panel is Tom Countryman, who has been nominated to be the Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation. Tom is a career member of the senior Foreign Service, serving most recently as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, specifically focusing on Balkan issues. I can tell you in that capacity I have had a chance to work with him and he is very knowledgeable and his expertise will be very much missed on that issue.

Tom has also a great deal of experience working on international security issues, previously serving in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs as foreign policy adviser to the Commandant of the Marine Corps and on the National Security Council staff.

Finally, we will consider the nomination of Jeffrey DeLaurentis to be Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador, and Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

As a Foreign Service officer, Jeffrey has served in a number of positions in the State Department, especially focused on Western Hemisphere and United Nations issues. He currently serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for South America.

Again, as each of you give your opening statements feel free to introduce any family or friends who are here to support you. So I'll ask you to begin, Mr. Countryman.

**STATEMENT OF THOMAS M. COUNTRYMAN, OF WASHINGTON,  
NOMINATED TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND NONPROLIFERATION**

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. Thank you, Chairman Shaheen, and good afternoon. I appreciate you making time to consider my nomination.

I thank you also for the kind words that you and other Senators and my colleagues have said about the Foreign Service family. It applies with the deepest gratitude also to my family. Let me introduce first my wife, Dubravka, and my son, Andrew. My elder son, Stefan, is away studying physics at Columbia University. They are my strength, they are my joy, they are what propels me to give the best possible effort to creating a more secure future for them.

I'm sincerely humbled by the honor of appearing before you and asking for your confidence and by the honor of being President Obama's choice to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation. I'm grateful for the confidence the President and Secretary Clinton have shown in nomi-

nating me and I'm fully aware of the important responsibilities that I will undertake on behalf of our country should I be confirmed.

While managing the ISN Bureau will be a new responsibility for me, I'm not a new face at the State Department and I've worked with you, your staff, and many on the Hill in my previous positions. I believe my experience in Washington and in building international partnerships abroad will serve us well if you choose to confirm me. I'm also keenly aware of the importance of consulting with Congress early and often. My hope, if confirmed, is that we will have a close relationship that will allow us to communicate, not only when we face a national security crisis, but in the quieter times in between, so that we can better prepare for the future.

As you know, in his April 5, 2009, speech in Prague, the President committed the United States to seeking the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons and committed us to take concrete steps toward that end. His remarks laid out an ambitious nonproliferation agenda that includes working to strengthen the global nonproliferation infrastructure regime, including by strengthening compliance with these obligations, working toward a new framework for civil-nuclear cooperation, ensuring that terrorists never acquire a nuclear device, and securing all vulnerable nuclear materials around the world within 4 years.

This agenda is ambitious, but I believe it is essential. I believe it is achievable, and if confirmed I will work vigorously to make it a reality.

ISN's agenda, of course, is not only nuclear-related. Nonproliferation in today's context also includes addressing biological, chemical, missile, and destabilizing conventional weapons capabilities. Here also we have much important work before us. The Biological Weapons Convention Review Conference will occur later this year. At this important multilateral gathering, we will have a chance to build global capacity to combat infectious diseases, prevent biological terrorism, and promote confidence in the biological nonproliferation regime.

The world looks to our leadership in areas involving export controls, bio, chemical, and nuclear safety and security, and dealing with the proliferation challenges of Iran, North Korea, and Syria. If confirmed, I will pursue these tasks vigorously. The government's work in this area is vital to keeping America and our partners secure.

I've barely scratched the surface of the critical work to which I will be committed if confirmed. The continued growth and success of programs and initiatives such as the Proliferation Security Initiative, the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, the Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance Program, the United States Security Council Resolution 1540, and the Global Threat Reduction Program are all essential pieces of our effort.

These cooperative initiatives reflect positive and concrete steps that we've already taken on the road to increased international security and nonproliferation. They also highlight the singular work that the State Department does in cooperation with other agencies, building long-term capacity to stem proliferation and serving as the connective tissue among agencies tackling this threat overseas.

If confirmed, I will contribute my energy and dedication to the work of many professionals in the Department, across the government, and in Congress already engaged in these important endeavors. Together we will continue to ensure that the United States is up to the task of realizing the ambitious and bold vision laid out by the President in Prague.

Thank you, Madam Chairman, for your time and your attention, and of course I'm happy to answer all of your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Countryman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THOMAS M. COUNTRYMAN

Good afternoon, Chairman Shaheen, Ranking Member Barrasso, and members of the committee. Thank you for making time to meet with me today to consider my nomination.

Madame Chairman, before I begin my testimony, please allow me a moment to recognize members of my family who have joined me today for this important occasion: my wife, Dubravka, and my son, Andrew. My elder son, Stefan, is away studying physics at Columbia University.

Their support strengthens my resolve and furthers my commitment to work each day toward a safer and more secure world not only for all of us, but for generations to come.

I am sincerely humbled by the honor of appearing before the committee, and by the honor of being President Obama's choice to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation. I am grateful for the confidence that the President and Secretary Clinton have shown in nominating me for this position, and I am fully aware of the important responsibilities that I will undertake on behalf of our country should I be confirmed.

While managing the ISN Bureau will be a new responsibility for me, I am not a new face at the State Department, and I have worked with many of you and your staff in my previous positions. I believe that my experience both in Washington and in building international partnerships abroad will serve me well if you chose to confirm me. I am also keenly aware of the importance of consulting with the Congress early and often. My hope, if confirmed, is that we will have a close relationship that will allow us to communicate not only when we are facing a national security crisis, but also in the quieter times in between, so that we can better prepare for the future.

As you know, in his April 5, 2009, Prague speech, the President committed the United States to seeking the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons, and to taking concrete steps toward that end. His remarks that day also laid out an ambitious nonproliferation agenda that includes: working to strengthen the global nonproliferation regime, including by strengthening compliance with nonproliferation obligations; working toward a new framework for civil nuclear cooperation; ensuring that terrorists never acquire a nuclear device; and securing all vulnerable nuclear materials around the world within 4 years. This agenda is ambitious but I believe it to be both essential and attainable. If confirmed, I will work vigorously to make it a reality.

ISN's agenda is not only nuclear-related. Nonproliferation in today's context also includes addressing biological, chemical, missile, and destabilizing conventional weapons capabilities. Here too there is much important work before us.

As one example, the Biological Weapons Convention Review Conference will take place at the end of this year. At this important multilateral gathering we will have a chance to build global capacity to combat infectious diseases, prevent biological terrorism, and promote confidence in the biological nonproliferation regime.

Similarly, the world looks to our leadership in areas involving export controls; biological, chemical, and nuclear safety and security; and dealing with the proliferation challenges of Iran, Syria, and North Korea. If confirmed, I will vigorously pursue these tasks. Indeed, the government's work in this area is vital to keeping America and our partners secure.

I realize that I have barely scratched the surface of the critical work to which I will be committed, if confirmed. The continued growth and success of programs and initiatives such as the Proliferation Security Initiative, the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, the Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance Program, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540, and the Global Threat Reduction Program are all essential to our efforts. These cooperative initiatives reflect positive, concrete steps we have already taken on the road to increased inter-

national security and nonproliferation. They also highlight the singular work that the State Department does, building long-term capacity in partner countries to stem proliferation and serving as the connective tissue between other agencies tackling this existential threat overseas.

If confirmed, I look forward to contributing my energy and dedication to the work of the many professionals in the Department, across the government, and in Congress who are already engaged in important nonproliferation endeavors. Together, we will continue to ensure that the United States is up to the task of realizing the bold and ambitious vision laid out by the President in Prague.

Thank you, Madame Chairman, Ranking Member Barrasso, and members of the committee for your time and attention today and for your consideration of my nomination. At this time, I am happy to answer your questions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Mr. DeLaurentis.

**STATEMENT OF JEFFREY DeLAURENTIS, OF NEW YORK, NOMINATED TO BE ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR, AND ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

Mr. DeLAURENTIS. Madam Chairman, Ranking Member Barrasso, and other distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations. I am grateful to the President, Secretary Clinton, and Ambassador Rice for this opportunity and for their confidence in me.

I should say up front that unfortunately my wife, Jennifer, is traveling overseas for professional reasons, so is not here with me today.

In his March speech dedicating the Ronald H. Brown Building, the new home of the United States Mission to the United Nations, President Obama said, "The world is more secure and the interests of the United States are best advanced when we act collectively." That basic truth underlies the very purpose of the United Nations, as well as the broader commitment of the United States to provide energetic and sustained global leadership at the U.N. to deepen our security.

If confirmed, I will work to advance America's interests and values at the United Nations as we work with the international community to forge common responses to common problems. As Ambassador Rice has noted, "America can't police every conflict and every crisis and shelter every refugee." We live in an interwoven age of threats that pay no heed to borders. Now more than ever, American security and well-being are inextricably linked to those of people everywhere. So our security depends on our ability to work together with others to confront these threats.

Now more than ever, the U.N. provides a crucial venue for countries to come together, shoulder their responsibilities, and carry together the costs of upholding peace and security. Of course, the United Nations is far from perfect. We must continue to be clear about the U.N.'s shortcomings. But let us also remember the indispensable role the U.N. plays in tackling the threats and challenges of the 21st century: preventing conflict, helping halt the spread of

nuclear weapons, isolating terrorists and human rights abusers, and advancing American values.

I have had the privilege of spending nearly half of my Foreign Service career in multilateral diplomacy. Each assignment has reinforced my view that our efforts at the U.N., although challenging at times, unquestionably advance American interests and values. If confirmed, I will work to bolster U.N. peacekeeping and political missions in Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and elsewhere. I will seek to strengthen peacekeeping mandates, prevent abuses by peacekeepers, and give the U.N. what it needs to more effectively protect civilians. I will work to ensure full and rigorous implementation of Security Council sanctions on Iran and North Korea, as well as other council sanctions targeting individuals and companies associated with terrorism, atrocities, and transnational crime. I will strongly encourage the U.N.'s efforts to advance democracy and human rights in the Middle East and elsewhere and press for equality and women's rights, and I will support the administration's efforts to lead the charge for comprehensive reform of the U.N. and to help the U.N. fulfill its potential. If confirmed by the Senate, I'll be a strong advocate for American interests and values.

Madam Chairman, I am grateful to this committee for considering my nomination and, if confirmed, I will look forward to working closely with the members and staff on these critical issues. Thank you and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. DeLaurentis follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JEFFREY DELAURENTIS

Madam Chairman, Ranking Member Barrasso, and other distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations.

I am grateful to the President, Secretary Clinton, and Ambassador Rice for this opportunity and for their confidence in me.

Before proceeding further, let me introduce my wife, Jennifer, who is with me today.

In his March speech dedicating the Ronald H. Brown Building—the new home of the United States Mission to the United Nations—President Obama said, “The world is more secure and the interests of the United States are best advanced when we act collectively.” That basic truth underlies the very purpose of the United Nations—as well as the broader commitment of the United States to provide energetic and sustained global leadership at the U.N. to deepen our security. It is also the tenet that has shaped a good part of my own career at the State Department over the last 20 years. If confirmed, I will work to advance America's interests and values at the United Nations, as we work with the international community to forge common responses to common problems.

As Ambassador Rice has noted, “America can't police every conflict, end every crisis, and shelter every refugee.” The U.N. brings 192 countries together to share the cost of providing stability, aid, and hope in the world's broken places.

We live in an interwoven age of threats that pay no heed to borders—from terrorism to pandemic disease, from criminal networks to environmental degradation. Now more than ever, Americans' security and well-being are inextricably linked to those of people everywhere. So our security depends on our ability to work together with others to confront these threats. Now more than ever, the U.N. provides a crucial venue for countries to come together, shoulder their responsibilities, and carry together the costs of upholding peace and security.

Of course, the United Nations is far from perfect. Progress sometimes comes too slowly. It is all too easy to find examples where the U.N. could be more efficient and effective, and where it has stumbled in the past. We must continue to be clear about the U.N.'s shortcomings. But let us also remember the indispensable role the U.N. plays in tackling the threats and challenges of the 21st century, preventing

conflict, helping halt the spread of nuclear weapons, isolating terrorists and human rights abusers, providing desperately needed medicine and shelter, combating global poverty, promoting democracy, and advancing American values.

I have had the privilege of spending nearly half of my Foreign Service career in multilateral diplomacy, including two assignments at the U.S. Mission to the U.N. in New York and one at the U.S. Mission to the U.N. in Geneva. Each assignment has reinforced my view that our efforts at the U.N., although challenging at times, unquestionably advance American interests and values. At the U.N., we react to today's crises while trying to avert those to come. At the U.N., we pursue actions that will make us more secure. And because of the U.N., the international community does not always look to America to solve every problem alone.

Madam Chairman, I would welcome the opportunity to return to multilateral work if confirmed. Under the leadership of President Obama, Secretary Clinton, and Ambassador Rice, our entire approach toward multilateral diplomacy is being reinvigorated—and it has produced results for the United States at the U.N. The State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review noted that the United States must partner with other countries to better address issues of shared concern and to reform and reshape international organizations so they can effectively confront 21st century challenges. It recommended that we update our approach to multilateral diplomacy, expand the ranks of diplomats skilled in multilateral diplomacy and improve links between our multilateral and bilateral diplomacy, especially with respect to our engagement with the United Nations. It would be my highest honor to pursue these goals in order to better advance our country's interests at the U.N.

U.S. national security depends on a more effective approach to fragile states, an approach that is comprehensive enough to prevent us from having to intervene multiple times in a country emerging from conflict. Fostering security and reconstruction in the aftermath of conflict is a central national security objective. The United Nations plays a leading role here by organizing, directing, and promoting peacekeeping and stability operations, and setting the stage for peace-building and development. In today's difficult fiscal environment, if confirmed, I will work to ensure that U.N. peacekeeping resources are deployed efficiently, effectively, and within the parameters of approved mandates.

If confirmed, I will work, in particular, to bolster lifesaving U.N. peacekeeping and political missions in Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and elsewhere. I will seek to strengthen peacekeeping mandates, prevent abuses by peacekeepers and give the U.N. what it needs to more effectively protect civilians. I will work to ensure full and rigorous implementation of Security Council sanctions on Iran and North Korea as well as other Council sanctions targeting individuals and companies associated with terrorism, atrocities, and transnational crime. I will strongly encourage the U.N.'s efforts to advance democracy and human rights in the Middle East and elsewhere, and press for equality and women's rights. And I will support the administration's efforts to lead the charge for comprehensive reform of the U.N. and to help the U.N. fulfill its potential.

If confirmed by the Senate, I'll be a strong advocate for American interests and values.

Madam Chairman, I am grateful to this committee for considering my nomination, and if confirmed, I will look forward to working closely with the members and staff on these critical issues.

Thank you and I look forward to your questions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you both very much for your statements.

Dr. DeLaurentis, as you as a representative of the United States look at America's role at the U.N. and concerns that we have with respect to the U.N., can you elucidate on what you think the biggest challenges that we face there are? Does it have to do with the organization of U.N. operations? Does it have to do with particular issues that are before the U.N. right now? Are there other things that we're especially concerned about?

Mr. DELAURENTIS. Madam Chairman, thank you for that question—it's a broad one.

Senator SHAHEEN. It is.

Mr. DELAURENTIS. First and foremost, in these difficult budget times, it's important to remember that the U.N. maintains inter-

national sanctions regimes, deploys peacekeepers in Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Haiti, and of course U.N. missions support our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan.

We're constantly working with the U.N. to improve its budgets, become more cost effective, make peacekeeping better, include benchmarks in the mandates of peacekeeping missions, and also improve the logistic and other kinds of support for peacekeeping missions.

We're always looking for ways to improve the operations of U.N. peacekeeping and, of course, throughout the U.N. system. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Since you mentioned peacekeeping, how would you characterize the U.N.'s record on peacekeeping for the last decade?

Mr. DELAURENTIS. Of course, peacekeeping has grown over the past decade, but I think it's been very good and it's getting better. The U.N. has 120,000 troops all around the world, as I mentioned, working on many missions that are important to the United States. The U.N. has actually managed to close a couple of missions in the last decade in Chad and Nepal. We are constantly reviewing every mission with each mandate renewal, looking again to improve operations as they continue.

Senator SHAHEEN. What's our position on reform of the Security Council?

Mr. DELAURENTIS. Madam Chairman, thank you for that question. It's a difficult issue, one that the U.N. has been at work on for a long time. But I think it's important that the Security Council be relevant and efficient to address the challenges of the 21st century. As a result, we are open in principle to a modest expansion of both permanent and nonpermanent members.

For the permanent members, in particular, they need to be strong advocates and players in the maintenance of international peace and security. They should be strong advocates for the promotion and protection of human rights. They should be democracies and again large players in the activities of the Security Council.

There are discussions under way at the U.N., which we participate in. There aren't any proposals so far that have garnered widespread support among the membership, so I suspect that we'll be at this for some time to come.

Senator SHAHEEN. As we're looking at a potential expansion of the Security Council, are we assuming that any potential permanent member should also have a veto?

Mr. DELAURENTIS. No, the administration would be opposed to any expansion of the veto beyond those members who already have it.

Senator SHAHEEN. Can you talk about what steps we're taking to discourage the effort at the U.N. to seek recognition of an outside peace deal with Israel between the Palestinian Authority and, for that matter, to recognize Palestine as an independent state?

Mr. DELAURENTIS. Senator, the administration's position on this is very clear. Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the U.N. in September will not lead to the creation of a Palestinian state. All our efforts at this moment are focused on bringing about direct negotiations between the parties. That's where we believe all the attention



should be and any efforts at the U.N. will not be helpful in that regard.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Let me just point out that a number of us on the committee had the opportunity to meet with former Chilean President Michele Bachelet, who is now heading the Office of Women at the U.N.

Mr. DELAURENTIS. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. I think we applaud the consolidation of programs affecting women under that office. I think her leadership has been very impressive and I think—I hope it's an indication that the U.N. will continue to recognize what has become a more important part of American foreign policy, and that is that if we can ensure and improve the role of women in communities and in countries around the world that that's a stabilizing factor, it's an important economic factor in terms of how the countries do, and that that will continue to be a very important priority for the U.N.

Mr. DELAURENTIS. Thank you, Senator. I couldn't agree with you more, and if confirmed, I will certainly work hard toward that effort. It's been very clear that increasing women's participation in conflict resolution and peace processes has been enormously helpful, and American leadership has contributed very much to the number of very strong U.N. Security Council resolutions that are a good framework and base to proceed with these issues and strengthen them further. So I actually look forward very much to working on these issues. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Mr. Countryman, you talked about Iran, North Korea, and Syria. Can you talk about how you will work in your new role, should you be confirmed, to strengthen the nonproliferation regime and how we prevent those countries or discourage those countries from moving forward with weapons of mass destruction? I suppose Syria is not yet on that path, but certainly Iran and North Korea are.

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. Thank you, Chairman Shaheen. The effort to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction requires us to use a variety of different instruments, including diplomatic, political, economic, intelligence, and military strengths, all the different strengths that this government can bring to the table.

In order to strengthen those efforts, I would first focus on ensuring that the State Department, and particularly the ISN Bureau, if I'm confirmed, is doing the maximum to coordinate with the other agencies of the U.S. Government; and second, to ensure that we are being consistent with our friends around the world who share our goals, that we demonstrate a coherence and a consistency in our policy, that gives them every reason to join with us in continuing the pressure on Iran, on North Korea, and on others who are seeking to proliferate and create weapons of mass destruction.

Senator SHAHEEN. Some of us from this committee had the opportunity to meet with Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov yesterday and one of the things that he suggested was that Iran might be ready to come back to the table on negotiations around developing a nuclear weapon. Do we have any indications that that in fact might be the case?

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. Both Jeff DeLaurentis and I worked with Ambassador Lavrov in New York and if you have an indication from

Minister Lavrov that's an indication that it is so. We do, of course, seek—

Senator SHAHEEN. An indication it's an indication?

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. It's an indication that—he's well informed, a very capable diplomat, and we have really excellent cooperation in the P5+1, the five permanent members plus Germany, in devising a strategy that makes clear our determination to have Iran come back into compliance with its international obligations.

That effort proceeds well. Whether this is the moment to resume negotiations, at a time when Iran is increasing defiance of its obligations to the International Atomic Energy Agency and its obligations to the U.N. Security Council is a tough question. But we are, of course, prepared, as the President has been throughout this administration, both to engage with Iran to work out a new relationship, but at the same time to make clear that we expect Iran to come into full compliance with its obligations.

Senator SHAHEEN. So as you pointed out, the President in his Prague speech talked about the importance of moving the world in the direction of ending our nuclear weapons at some point in the future, and the administration has said that it "will lead a global effort to negotiate a verifiable treaty ending the production of fissile nuclear materials for weapons purposes."

Can you talk about how the administration will include unrecognized nuclear weapons states like Iran in a cutoff treaty?

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. Thank you, Senator. I can only talk in the most general terms because the obligation to lead the negotiation of such a treaty will fall to who I hope will be my future colleague, Assistant Secretary Gottemoeller in the Arms Control and Verification Bureau. It is a goal that we are determined to pursue. We believe that the P5, the five permanent members of the Security Council, must lead this effort.

But the question you put your finger on, how to bring in nonrecognized nuclear-capable states, is not one that's resolved and I'm afraid I won't be the one to resolve it.

Senator SHAHEEN. Can you talk about how we'll work to overcome Pakistan's objections to proceeding with negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament?

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. Again, only in general terms. I would be happy to come back with colleagues in order to get into more detail, but in general we have done everything we can to promote a productive agenda of cooperation with Pakistan in the many specific areas that nonproliferation encompasses, from border security to security of nuclear materials.

In our strategic dialogue with Pakistan and in the nonproliferation part of that dialogue with Pakistan, which I would support if confirmed, we are seeking to convince them of the advantages to Pakistan and world security of such an approach.

Senator SHAHEEN. Is there any indication of the extent to which the recent announcement that we're going to be discontinuing a portion of our aid to Pakistan is going to have any impact on the ability to negotiate with Pakistan on those other issues of nuclear proliferation?

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. Very good question, Senator. I think the only part of that that I'm really qualified to speak to is to reaffirm that

the assistance that we give to Pakistan for programs related to nonproliferation in the fields I mentioned, such as border control, we provide that money because it is in the United States interests, because it contributes directly to our security.

I think that Pakistan has recognized that it shares that interest with us and we certainly hope to continue that cooperation.

Senator SHAHEEN. The final document of the 2010 NPT treaty review conference also called for India and Pakistan to accede to the NPT and to abandon their weapons programs. What steps, if any, are we taking to persuade India and Pakistan to do that?

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. As I noted, Senator, we have a nonproliferation and a strategic dialogue with both India and Pakistan. In this dialogue and in our ongoing contact with each, we seek to have them take steps that improve the security of nuclear materials and that do not encourage additional proliferation in both countries. We hope that gradually we can create the conditions under which they will seriously consider joining the NPT. I think we must conclude that it's realistic that we won't reach that goal in the immediate future, but we continue to work toward it in our bilateral cooperation with both states.

Senator SHAHEEN. We announced, or the administration announced, its intention to support India's full membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group in November 2010, as well as the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Australia Group, the Wassenaar Arrangement. Are we also expecting that India will bring its export control regimes in conformity with these groups' guidelines before it joins?

Mr. COUNTRYMAN. Thank you, Senator. We are working both with India and with the existing members of those four export control regimes toward the goal that we promised in November 2010. It is our expectation that India would meet the standards of those regimes prior to joining.

Senator SHAHEEN. Good.

I don't have any further questions for right now, but I would be remiss, Dr. DeLaurentis, if I didn't go back and ask you a final question about Libya, since that has been so much of the part of the national discussion here. Do you expect any further action on Libya at the U.N. and is there any reason to be optimistic about the U.N.'s further engagement in Libya that will help provide a resolution to the conflict there?

Mr. DELAURENTIS. Thank you, Senator. It's a very good question, unfortunately, I was not a part of the negotiations in New York. Of course, the two Security Council resolutions provided the framework for the current action with respect to the protection of civilians clearly in harm's way, the arms embargo, and so forth.

I think there is reason for optimism. We're beginning to see an international consensus that comes closer to our position that Qadafi has to go, has to step down, and we need to move toward a democratic transition. Of course, there's a U.N. envoy involved and things are changing on a daily basis. But I think in general we can be optimistic, and I think we can be proud that we averted a humanitarian catastrophe.

Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you both very much again for your testimony here today, for your willingness to serve. I hope that we can move forward with speedy confirmations of both of you so that you can start your new positions as soon as possible.

I will point out that the record will stand open for 48 hours until the close of business on Friday July 15 for any further comments or statements.

Thank you all. The hearing is adjourned.  
[Whereupon, at 4:27 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

#### ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF PAUL WOHLERS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

*Question.* In your view, should Macedonia's accession to NATO continue to depend on resolution of its name dispute with Greece? What other measures, besides resolution of the name dispute, must Macedonia undertake to accede to NATO?

*Answer.* The United States supports Macedonia's membership in NATO. Macedonia has fulfilled key criteria required of NATO members and will receive an invitation to join as soon as the dispute with Greece over its name is resolved. Heads of State and Government concluded at NATO's 2008 Bucharest summit—and reaffirmed at the Strasbourg-Kehl and Lisbon summits—that “an invitation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be extended as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue has been reached.”

Macedonia participates in the Membership Action Plan (MAP) process and continues to be an active participant in the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and its Planning and Review Process (PARP). With 163 site protectors, army mentors, and medical personnel, it maintains one of the highest per capita contributions to NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Macedonia has implemented key defense reforms in support of its NATO aspirations and should continue to enhance the deployability of its armed forces and improve its interoperability with NATO forces.

*Question.* What effect would Macedonia's accession to NATO have on regional stability?

*Answer.* Regional stability in Southeast Europe is a foreign policy priority of the United States, and we support the full integration of Macedonia into Euro-Atlantic institutions to further that priority. As a NATO aspirant country, Macedonia has become a valuable contributor to regional security. It provides small contingents in support of the EU peacekeeping mission in Bosnia and provides support to the KFOR mission through a Host Nation Support Coordination Center.

The Euro-Atlantic integration process results in domestic reform not only in the area of security but also in rule of law, democratization, and the development of civil society. By fulfilling NATO membership criteria, Macedonia is reinforcing its ability to withstand internal and external crises, thus aiding in the stabilization process throughout the region. Assuming the name issue is resolved, Macedonia's successful accession to NATO would serve as an example to other NATO aspirants in the region, demonstrating that the necessary reforms can be accomplished, membership is in fact achievable, and NATO's open door policy is true and unwavering.

*Question.* Please describe Macedonia's energy security situation. What steps would you advocate as Ambassador to promote its energy security?

*Answer.* Macedonia imports a significant amount of electrical power, which underscores both the importance of Macedonia's participation in the Energy Community and the need for increased energy efficiency and use of renewable sources. The key for Macedonia's energy security is diversification. Of domestic production, roughly 30 percent comes from hydroelectric sources and about 70 percent comes from coal. It is estimated that the capacity for hydroelectric power generation can be increased with several projects that are in the development stage.

Through USAID assistance programs, the United States has helped Macedonia realize its Energy Community commitments to ensure a rational energy market and has funded the development of the Energy Efficiency Strategy and Action Plan, as well as the Action Plan for the Renewable Energy Strategy and demonstration projects to encourage more energy efficiency. Likewise, we have assisted in the

development and passage of a new comprehensive energy sector law and are supporting the development of the key required secondary legislation to encourage investment in renewable sources such as wind and solar. If confirmed, I will continue to support programs that lead to energy diversity and help reduce Macedonia's import dependency.

*Question.* What sectors of the Macedonian economy are in most need of foreign investment? How would you seek to increase U.S. investment in Macedonia?

Answer. Macedonia lags behind other countries in the region in attracting foreign direct investment, yet there are real opportunities. For instance, two U.S. companies have invested in production facilities near Skopje for the production of auto parts and electronics. The companies investing in these facilities are using them to expand into markets in Europe and elsewhere. In addition to small manufacturers, investment opportunities exist in agriculture and technology.

Lack of progress on NATO and EU integration and the inability of the judiciary to provide reliable, impartial, and timely settlement of disputes are obstacles to attracting more investment. If confirmed, I would continue to support our mission's efforts to address these obstacles through our assistance, public engagement, and in meetings with the Government, so that we can help Macedonia realize its full potential as an economic partner.

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RESPONSES OF WILLIAM MOSER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY  
SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

*Question.* Several seizures of uranium have occurred in Moldova over the past year. Could you please provide a list of U.S. programs in Moldova for the past two fiscal years that advance U.S. nonproliferation objectives?

Answer. Members of the interagency Nuclear Trafficking Response Group (NTRG), which is chaired by the Department of State, have been working closely with the Government of Moldova in recent months to break up nuclear trafficking networks. The NTRG coordinated the USG response to the recent law enforcement operations in Moldova, including the seizure of uranium-238 in August 2010 and the June 2011 seizure of highly enriched uranium (HEU). The NTRG continues to facilitate followup actions with Moldova and other countries as we work together to investigate the smuggling networks involved.

U.S. programs in Moldova focused on nonproliferation include:

- The State Department's Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) Program, which restarted in Moldova in November 2010, has coordinated with other federal agencies to organize seminars and tabletop exercises to enhance Moldovan capabilities in detecting and interdicting smuggling of weapons of mass destruction.
- The Department of State's Nuclear Smuggling Outreach Initiative (NSOI) initiated a dialogue with Moldova in 2010 on combating the smuggling of illicit nuclear material. On July 19, the U.S. Ambassador to Moldova signed the "Joint Action Plan between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on Combating Smuggling of Nuclear and Radioactive Materials." This Joint Action Plan expresses the intention of the two governments to take steps to enhance the capabilities of the Republic of Moldova to prevent, detect, and respond effectively to any attempts to smuggle materials that could be used to make an improvised nuclear device.
- The Department of State's Preventing Nuclear Smuggling Program (PNSP) plans to fund projects that are part of the NSOI Joint Action Plan, starting in the autumn of 2011. PNSP plans to help Moldova build specialized Counter Nuclear Smuggling Teams, host a workshop to review Moldova's laws on nuclear smuggling, and help Moldova further strengthen its national response plan to ensure effective coordination in responding to incidents of trafficking in nuclear or radioactive materials.
- On July 19, the U.S. Ambassador to Moldova signed the "Memorandum of Understanding Between the Department of Energy of the United States of America and the Customs Service under the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Moldova Concerning Cooperation to Prevent Illicit Trafficking in Nuclear and Other Radioactive Material." The memorandum of understanding will allow the Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) to provide radiation detection systems at strategic locations at Moldova's borders, to thwart nuclear smuggling and prevent illicit movement of nuclear and radioactive materials.

- The Department of Defense's Cooperative Threat Reduction's Proliferation Prevention Program (CTR PPP) is discussing with Moldovan officials possible projects to enhance WMD detection and interdiction capabilities on the borders with Ukraine and around the region of Transnistria. Moldovan officials have welcomed possible assistance, CTR officials anticipate further discussions in the coming months.
- On nonnuclear proliferation risks, the United States has cooperated with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in the destruction of Soviet-era rockets and cluster munitions left in the territory of Moldova under control of the central authorities.

*Question.* Please describe how the programs mentioned above are coordinated with U.S. programs in Ukraine. Do you believe that these programs could be better coordinated? If so, please describe.

*Answer.* The Department of State's Nuclear Smuggling Outreach Initiative Joint Action Plan on nuclear smuggling to be signed with Moldova is modeled after a similar plan established with Ukraine in 2006. The Joint Action Plan specifically calls for Moldova to bolster its cooperation on countersmuggling efforts with international partners, including Ukraine.

The legal review and national response plan workshops that the Department of State's Preventing Nuclear Smuggling Program plans to host in Moldova are modeled after similar workshops it hosted in Ukraine. The Preventing Nuclear Smuggling Program is planning a visit to Moldova, Ukraine, and Slovakia this fall to help develop Counter Nuclear Smuggling Teams in all three countries. One of the goals of these teams is to foster cooperation among law enforcement counterparts in the region.

The Department of Energy's work in Moldova to provide radiation detection systems on the border and to upgrade physical security at Moldovan facilities parallels such work in Ukraine. Assistance for border security in both countries will be mutually reinforcing, as both countries share a border known to be a popular route among smugglers.

Those responsible for the State Department's Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) programs in Chisinau and Kyiv communicate regularly regarding their work, and the programs share the same regional EXBS Advisor, who is posted at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv. The two EXBS programs plan closer cooperation in coming years to assist in training Moldovan and Ukrainian border guards and other law-enforcement authorities via joint exercises in both countries.

*Question.* Is the U.S. Government aware of the origins of the seized uranium? If so, please describe.

*Answer.* Detailed analysis of the uranium seized by Moldovan police on June 28, 2011, has not been completed. Since this case is still open, all of the information on this matter is highly sensitive as Moldova continues its investigation in cooperation with the United States.

*Question.* A bill to repeal Jackson-Vanik for Moldova has been pending for the last several years. Please describe administration efforts to push for passage of this bill (S. 334 and its House companion) in 2011, including meetings held with House and Senate committee staff and House and Senate leadership staff on this issue.

*Answer.* Since 1997, the United States Government has found Moldova to be in compliance with Jackson-Vanik emigration requirements, and the Obama administration has extended to Moldova conditional normal trade relations status. The Obama administration supports terminating the application of Jackson-Vanik and extending Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) to Moldova, because the country has satisfied all the freedom of emigration requirements of Jackson-Vanik, and because U.S. exporters to Moldova will not enjoy WTO benefits and protections until the application of Jackson-Vanik is lifted. During his March visit to Chisinau, Vice President Biden delivered a message of support for granting PNTR to Moldova, both publicly and privately. Administration officials have also discussed the termination of the application of Jackson-Vanik with House and Senate staff.

The administration's top trade priorities with Congress include trade agreements with Korea, Colombia, and Panama, Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA), and renewal of trade preference programs (e.g., Generalized System of Preferences and the Andean Trade Preference Act). We look forward to working with Congress on lifting Jackson-Vanik's application to Moldova as our trade agenda advances.

*Question.* What tangible steps will you take as Ambassador to increase U.S. investment in Moldova?

Answer. If I am confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to Moldova, I will enhance our trade and investment promotion efforts and build upon them. The key to making Moldova more attractive to U.S. investors and exporters is improving Moldova's overall business and investment climate, and the USG has been actively working on this priority with the Moldovan Government. For example, the U.S. Agency for International Development has two programs dedicated to this effort:

- The Business Regulatory and Tax Administration Reform Project works with the Moldovan Government to reduce the administrative burdens on the private sector, streamline tax administration, reduce opportunities for corruption, improve access to government information, and strengthen public-private sector dialogue.
- The Moldova Rapid Governance Support Program, provides rapidly implemented, short-term expert assistance to Moldovan Government ministries and offices to support implementation of key reforms in the areas of judicial administration, agricultural subsidies, customs, fiscal decentralization, internal government communications, and implementation of an e-government strategy.

As a result of these efforts, over 17,000 businesses now save an average of 4 hours/month using the rapid tax declaration system developed under the Business Regulatory and Tax Administration Reform Project. Moldova's State Licensing Chamber recently launched its one-stop shop, which allows businesses to combine what used to require four or more separate applications, presented by hand to different agencies, into a single filing. Meanwhile, changes in construction laws have shaved 70 days and over \$1,000 in fees from the process of acquiring permits.

If confirmed, I will continue to focus on improving Moldova's investment climate, because foreign direct investment and two-way trade can play an important role in boosting exports and employment and reducing poverty.

RESPONSES OF JOHN HEFFERN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY  
SENATOR BARBARA BOXER

*Question.* As you know, countless experts have documented the horrific atrocities of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 to 1923, when more than 1.5 million Armenians were marched to their deaths in the deserts of the Middle East, murdered in concentration camps, drowned at sea, and forced to endure unimaginable acts of brutality at the hands of the Ottoman Empire—now modern-day Turkey.

That is why it is so hard to understand how Turkey continues its state-sponsored denial of this terrible crime.

- How is the administration working to urge Turkey to finally acknowledge the Armenian Genocide? What efforts have been undertaken to date?

Answer. The President has said that a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts is in all our interest. In his April 23, 2011, statement, he noted that history teaches us that our nations are stronger and our cause is more just when we appropriately recognize painful pasts and work to rebuild bridges of understanding toward a better tomorrow. With this in mind, he strongly supports efforts by the Turkish and Armenian peoples to work through their painful history in a way that is honest, open, and constructive. The U.S. Government supports the efforts of individuals in Armenia and Turkey to foster a dialogue that acknowledges their history, sponsoring programs that foster contacts between the Armenian and Turkish peoples.

Over the last decade, the United States has provided approximately \$3.5 million to support activities aimed at strengthening relations between the people of Armenia and Turkey. These include initiatives to increase people-to-people connections such as research projects, conferences, documentary production, and exchange and partnership programs with the goal of increasing cross-border dialogue and cooperation. These programs are focused on bringing together Armenian and Turkish NGOs, think-tank researchers, academics and business leaders at the grassroots level by creating opportunities for them to work together on common projects that will benefit both countries. If I am confirmed, I will continue to promote not only government-to-government discussions, but also people-to-people cultural and economic contacts and partnerships, and other cross-border and regional initiatives.

*Question.* Recently, the Government of Azerbaijan threatened to shoot down civilian airplanes if Nagorno Karabakh goes ahead with plans to reopen its civilian airport that has been closed since 1991.

According to news reports, the head of Azerbaijan's Civil Aviation Administration said that "the law on aviation envisages the physical destruction of airplanes landing in" Nagorno Karabakh.

- How has the United States Government responded to these threats? Is there an effort underway with the Government of Azerbaijan to encourage it to back down? How will the United States respond once the airport is open?

Answer. U.S. officials have made clear repeatedly that the threat or use of force, including against civilian aircraft that pose no threat themselves, is unacceptable, and runs counter to commitments made by the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia to seek a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

The United States Government has urged both sides to work together to resolve all issues of commercial aviation safety prior to the planned opening of the proposed airport. On April 1, the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry declared that "Azerbaijan will not use force against civil facilities." Also, the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan have both confirmed to the Minsk Group cochairs in early April that they will not use force against civil aircraft.

*Question.* Can you please provide your views on the following statements made by President Obama? Do you disagree with them? If so, why?

"Nearly 2 million Armenians were deported during the Armenian Genocide, which was carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, and approximately 1.5 million of those deported were killed."—*Senator Obama, Question for the Record to Ambassador Yovanovitch, June 19, 2008.*

"The occurrence of the Armenian genocide is a widely documented fact supported by an overwhelming collection of historical evidence."—*Senator Obama, Statement Commemorating the Armenian Genocide, April 28, 2008.*

"The Armenian Genocide is not an allegation, a personal opinion, or a point of view, but rather a widely documented fact supported by an overwhelming body of historical evidence."—*Senator Obama on the importance of U.S. Armenia Relations, January 19, 2008.*

Answer. In his April 23 Armenian Remembrance Day statement, the President solemnly remembered as historical fact that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths from 1915–1923. The President's views on this subject are well known; they have not changed.

Like all executive branch officials, I have a responsibility to represent the policy of the President on this and all other issues. If I am confirmed as the personal representative of the President to Armenia, I will continue to do so.

*Question.* Does the United States Government support the inclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic in the Minsk Group process? If not, please provide a detailed explanation.

Answer. The United States supports the current format of negotiations for the Minsk Group process, which has been agreed to by both the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides. At this stage in the negotiation, the USG believes it is best to continue on this basis. Any final settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) conflict must be acceptable to the Karabakhi communities. The Minsk Group cochairs travel regularly to NK to meet with the de facto NK authorities.

*Question.* In 2010, trade between the United States and Armenia totaled approximately \$189 billion (both imports and exports). What steps are being taken by the administration to increase trade between our two countries?

Answer. The U.S. and Armenian governments have a robust dialogue focused on trade and investment issues between our two countries as part of the U.S.-Armenia Joint Economic Task Force (USATF)—which has been meeting regularly since 1999. We are committed to using this forum to enhance bilateral trade opportunities and improve the business climate in Armenia. As part of that effort we are using the USATF to encourage business-to-business contacts, identify sectors for reform, and to advocate for U.S. companies who want to expand their business with Armenia. The next USATF meeting is scheduled for September of this year.

Over the past several years, our countries have concluded agreements that advance greater cooperation. In November 2008, the U.S. Government and the Government of Armenia concluded a comprehensive Open Skies agreement to expand and liberalize bilateral civil aviation relations between the two countries. In 2009, Armenia and the United States signed an agreement that will facilitate science and technology cooperation in numerous areas of mutual interest including information technology, intellectual property, earth sciences, and others. This year we signed an MOU to jointly analyze Armenia's potential conventional and unconventional energy resources.

In order to increase bilateral trade and investment, we intend to organize a trade mission in the coming year that will bring Armenian business people on a sector-



specific trip to the United States. They will have the chance to attend trade shows and connect with U.S. businesses interested in export, as well as having the opportunity to develop markets for Armenian exports. While this idea is still in the development phase—we are considering how we might fund it—if I am confirmed this would be one of my first orders of business upon arriving in Yerevan.

Our diplomatic engagement and assistance programs continue to address the underlying impediments to doing business in Armenia. The USG is actively working with the Armenian authorities to create a more favorable trade and investment environment, including through reform of its tax administration and customs procedures, improving its legal system, and addressing corruption that stifles investment in Armenia. USAID's Mobilizing Action Against Corruption (MAAC) project is now providing input to the Armenian Government's efforts to develop a revised anticorruption strategy. Armenian Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) specialists attend U.S. Patent Office training to improve Armenian patent and copyright law, improving IPR protection in Armenia and making the country more attractive to U.S. businesses.

Other U.S. Government programs work directly with Armenian entrepreneurs and companies: USAID's Competitive Armenian Private Sector (CAPS) and Enterprise Development and Market Competitiveness (EDMC) projects aim to enhance business and management skills, increase access to financial services for Armenian businesses, and encourage enterprise collaboration and joint ventures. Our Business Advisory Services program provides technical and consulting services to Armenian companies, helping them to improve their operations and enter new markets. U.S. Government assistance moneys have supported the Civilian Research and Development Fund in Armenia since the 1990s. This project identifies and funds technological innovations that have promising commercial applications, and pairs Armenian scientists and businesspeople to develop these innovations.

Should I be confirmed, I intend to work to provide U.S. businesses with information about opportunities in Armenia, and to provide Armenian businesses insight about how American businesses operate. Promotion of trade and business cooperation between the United States and Armenia will require greater awareness of Armenia and the Caucasus as a whole by U.S. businesses. Some sectors, such as information technology, already have significant U.S. investment. But others, financial services and insurance for example, hold largely untapped potential.

Finally, I believe that the key to unlocking Armenia's economic potential—and opening up more opportunities for U.S.-Armenian business cooperation—lies in the resolution of regional conflicts. If confirmed, I will support the USG's continued efforts to open the land border with Turkey and to achieve a peaceful solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Armenia's economic integration into the wider region remains an important U.S. policy objective.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you commit to comprehensive engagement with the Armenian Community in California and throughout the United States on a regular basis? For example, will you commit to holding public community forums with Armenian Americans throughout the United States?

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I would look forward to visiting and meeting with members of the Armenian American community in California, throughout the United States, and in Armenia, as my predecessors have done. It would be a valuable opportunity to understand their concerns, update them on the status of the U.S.-Armenia relationship, and to discuss a host of relevant issues.

*Question.* In a July 29, 2008 letter to then-chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Joseph Biden, Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs Matthew Reynolds wrote of "the mass killings and deportations of Armenians committed by Ottoman soldiers and other Ottoman officials in 1915" and noted that "the administration recognizes that the mass killings, ethnic cleansing, and forced deportations of over 1½ million Armenians were conducted by the Ottoman Empire. We indeed hold Ottoman officials responsible for those crimes." Does the administration ascribe to this policy statement?

- Do you agree that U.S. diplomats serving in the Ottoman Empire during the Armenian Genocide documented a systematic, government-sponsored campaign "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part" the Armenian population?

*Answer.* In his April 23 Armenian Remembrance Day statement, the President solemnly remembered as historical fact that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths from 1915–1923. The President's views on this issue are well known; those views have not changed. The administration mourns this terrible chapter of history and recognizes that it remains a source of great pain for the peo-

ple of Armenia, and for all those who believe in the dignity and value of every human life.

I have read the statements of Ambassadors Morgenthau and Elkus, the statements of other U.S. officials in Turkey at the time, as well as a number of books on this subject. I am acquainted with the history of the tragic massacres and deportations that occurred at the end of the Ottoman Empire, and with U.S. policy in that regard. The individual stories are heartrending; the magnitude of these terrible acts—over 1.5 million killed or forcibly deported—defies comprehension.

RESPONSES OF JOHN HEFFERN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY  
SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

**Question.** In your opening statement you state that "President Obama has recognized and deplored the horrific events that took place in the waning days of the Ottoman empire" and note that he has "publicly called the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians at the time one of the worst atrocities of the 20th century." I welcome that statement, but note that it refrains from laying blame for these events.

- Do you or does the administration agree that the mass killings, ethnic cleansing, and forced deportations of over 1.5 million Armenians were conducted by the Ottoman Empire?
- Does the administration recognize the Turkish Republic as the successor state to the Ottoman Empire? Who then was responsible for the murder of over 1.5 million Armenians from 1915–1923?

**Answer.** In his Armenian Remembrance Day statement on April 23, the President solemnly remembered the horrific events of 1915, when 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths in the final days of the Ottoman Empire. With his statement, the President honors the victims of these events and expresses American solidarity with the Armenian people; his views on this subject have not changed.

This was an atrocity that we and the world must never forget, so that it is never repeated. We mourn this terrible chapter of history and recognize that it remains a source of great pain for all those who believe in the dignity and value of every human life.

The President has said that the achievement of a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts of what occurred in 1915 is in all our interests.

**Question.** Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, of which the United States has both signed and ratified, states:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such:

- "(a) Killing members of the group;
- "(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- "(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- "(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- "(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Therefore, would not the facts that you acknowledge in your opening statement, during the period of 1915–1923, meet the definition under Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide?

**Answer.** In his April 23 Armenian Remembrance Day statement, the President solemnly remembered as historical fact that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths from 1915–1923. The administration mourns this terrible chapter of history and recognizes that it remains a source of great pain for all those who believe in the dignity and value of every human life.

The President has said that the achievement of a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts of what occurred in 1915 is in all our interests. He strongly supports the efforts of Turkey and Armenia to normalize their bilateral relations. The President believes that together, Armenia and Turkey can forge a relationship that is peaceful, productive, and prosperous.

I have a responsibility to represent the policy of the President. The President's views on this issue are well known; those views have not changed. If I am confirmed as the personal representative of the President to Armenia, I will carry out this responsibility.

*Question.* Please describe the facts or circumstances, including historical instances, that constitute the act of genocide as described in Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

*Answer.* The United States became a State Party to the Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1989. When ratifying the Convention, the United States set forth an understanding with respect to the definition of genocide provided in Article II. Article II provides:

"In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- "(a) Killing members of the group;
- "(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- "(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- "(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births in the group;
- "(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

The U.S. ratification instrument set forth several reservations and understandings to the Convention, including:

Reservations:

"(1) That with reference to article IX of the Convention, before any dispute to which the United States is a party may be submitted to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice under this article, the specific consent of the United States is required in each case.

"(2) That nothing in the Convention requires or authorizes legislation or other action by the United States of America prohibited by the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the United States."

Understandings:

"(1) That the term 'intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group as such' appearing in article II means the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in substantial part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such by the acts specified in article II.

"(2) That the term 'mental harm' in article II (b) means permanent impairment of mental faculties through drugs, torture or similar techniques.

"(3) That the pledge to grant extradition in accordance with a state's laws and treaties in force found in article VII extends only to acts which are criminal under the laws of both the requesting and the requested state and nothing in article VI affects the right of any state to bring to trial before its own tribunals any of its nationals for acts committed outside a state.

"(4) That acts in the course of armed conflicts committed without the specific intent required by article II are not sufficient to constitute genocide as defined by this Convention.

"(5) That with regard to the reference to an international penal tribunal in article VI of the Convention, the United States declares that it reserves the right to effect its participation in any such tribunal only by a treaty entered into specifically for that purpose with the advice and consent of the Senate."

In his April 23 statement, the President solemnly remembered as historical fact that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths from 1915-1923. The President has said that the achievement of a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts of what occurred in 1915 is in all our interests.

*Question.* The U.S. State Department chronicled the effort to exterminate Armenians in the early 1900s—The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, U.S. Ambassador to Turkey from 1913-16 wrote in July 16, 1915, telegram to the Secretary of State, "Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion."

The U.S. Consul in Aleppo, Jesse Jackson, reported to Ambassador Morgenthau on June 5, 1915, "It is without doubt a carefully planned scheme to thoroughly extinguish the Armenian race."

The U.S. Consul in Harput, Leslie Davis, reported to Ambassador Morgenthau on July 24, 1915, "It has been no secret that the plan was to destroy the Armenian race as a race, but the methods used have been more cold-blooded and barbarous, if not more effective, than I had at first supposed."

Ambassador Morgenthau was succeeded by the Honorable Abram I. Elkus, who served as Ambassador from 1916-17. On October 17, 1916, Elkus telegraphed the Secretary of State about the extreme measures sanctioned by the Turks, stating "In

order to avoid opprobrium of the civilized world, which the continuation of massacres [of the Armenians] would arouse, Turkish officials have now adopted and are executing the unchecked policy of extermination through starvation, exhaustion, and brutality of treatment hardly surpassed even in Turkish history.”

- Are you aware of these cables and the well-documented history of the events that took place during this time? Do you believe that the atrocities that took place and the deaths of 1.5 million Armenians fit the Genocide Convention’s definition of acts that constitute genocide?

Answer. I have read these cables, the statements of Ambassadors Morgenthau and Elkus, the statements of other U.S. officials in the Ottoman Empire at the time, as well as a number of books on this subject. I am acquainted with the history of the tragic massacres and forced exile that occurred at the end of the Ottoman Empire, and with U.S. policy in that regard. The individual stories are heartrending; the magnitude of these terrible acts—over 1.5 million killed or forcibly deported—defies comprehension.

In his April 23 Remembrance Day statement, President Obama has solemnly remembered the horrific events of 1915–1923. His views on the issue are well known; they have not changed. I have a responsibility to represent the policy of the President. If I am confirmed as the personal representative of the President to Armenia, I will carry out this responsibility.

**Question.** The history of the Armenian genocide is well documented by our own diplomats. Is today’s State Department and are our diplomats constrained from acknowledging the historical record that was developed by their predecessors?

Answer. No, Senator; neither the State Department nor its diplomats are constrained from acknowledging that these diplomatic accounts from that period exist, or that they make the references you have detailed. As I noted previously, I have read these historical accounts and other sources. Like all executive branch officials, I have a duty to represent the policy of the President on this and all other issues. If I am confirmed as the personal representative of the President to Armenia, I will do so.

The President’s position on this issue is stated in his April 23 Armenian Remembrance Day statement, wherein he has solemnly remembered the events of 1915, and noted that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths.

**Question.** Do you dispute any of the documented records I’ve described [in questions 2–4] above?

Answer. I am familiar with, and do not dispute, the authenticity of the records you have described from that era.

**Question.** Are you aware that in 1981, President Ronald Reagan issued a proclamation acknowledging the “genocide of the Armenians”?

Answer. I am aware of and have read President Reagan’s 1981 proclamation.

**Question.** In addition to Ronald Reagan’s proclamation, I would also direct your attention to the U.S. Government’s filing before the International Court of Justice in 1951, wherein the United States stated that: “the Turkish massacres of Armenians, the extermination of millions of Jews and Poles by the Nazis are outstanding examples of the crime of genocide.”

- Are you familiar with this filing and the references therein? Do you dispute its accuracy?

Answer. I am familiar with the U.S. Government’s filing before the ICJ in 1951. The U.S. Government acknowledges and mourns the mass killings and forced deportations that devastated over 1.5 million Armenians at the end of the Ottoman Empire. The administration also understands that many Americans and many Armenians believe that these horrible acts should be called “genocide.” President Obama’s views on this subject are well known; they have not changed.

In his April 23 statement on Armenian Remembrance Day, the President solemnly remembered the events of 1915–1923, and stated that a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts is in all our interests. He strongly supports the efforts of Turkey and Armenia to normalize their bilateral relations. The President believes that together, Armenia and Turkey can forge a relationship that is peaceful, productive, and prosperous.

**Question.** The United States has never denied the fact of the Armenian Genocide—wouldn’t you agree? And former Senators Barack Obama, Joseph Biden, and Hillary Clinton each acknowledged the fact of the Armenian Genocide during their tenure as Senators—wouldn’t you agree?

Answer. The administration has never denied the horrific events of 1915. These were atrocities that we and the world must never forget, so that they are never repeated.

In his April 23 Armenian Remembrance Day statement, the President solemnly remembered as historical fact that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths from 1915–1923. The President's views on this subject are well known; they have not changed. The views of Vice President Biden and Secretary Clinton during their tenures in the Senate are also well known.

*Question.* You are aware, are you not, that the International Association of Genocide Scholars, the preeminent body that specializes in genocide and holocaust studies has repeatedly and unequivocally affirmed the fact of the Armenian Genocide? Do you disagree with the International Association of Genocide Scholars?

Answer. I am aware of the conclusions of the International Association of Genocide Scholars.

Like all executive branch officials, I have a duty to represent the policy of the President on this and all other issues. The President's position on this issue is stated in his April 23 Armenian Remembrance Day statement, wherein he has solemnly remembered the events of 1915, and noted that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths. If I am confirmed as the personal representative of the President to Armenia, I will carry out this duty.

- Do you then agree that genocide took place against the Armenian people?

Answer. Yes, Senator; I am familiar with the work of the International Association of Genocide Scholars and, as I noted previously, with the historical reporting by State Department officials at the time. Like all executive branch officials, I have a duty to represent the policy of the President on this and all other issues. The President's position on this issue is stated in his April 23rd Armenian Remembrance Day statement, wherein he has solemnly remembered the events of 1915, and noted that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths. If I am confirmed as the personal representative of the President to Armenia, I will carry out this duty.

*Question.* Were you instructed not to use the term genocide when referring to the Armenian Genocide of 1915?

Answer. No; I received no such instructions.

I have a responsibility to represent the policy of the President. The President's position on this issue is stated in his April 23 Armenian Remembrance Day statement, wherein he solemnly remembered the events of 1915, and noted that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths. If I am confirmed as the personal representative of the President to Armenia, I will carry out this responsibility.

*Question.* How can we expect Turkey to come to terms with its past when we, as Americans, are unwilling to speak honestly about the Armenian Genocide?

Answer. The President has said that a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts is in all our interest. In his April 23, 2011, statement, he noted that history teaches us that our nations are stronger and our cause is more just when we appropriately recognize painful pasts and work to rebuild bridges of understanding toward a better tomorrow. With this in mind, he strongly supports efforts by the Turkish and Armenian peoples to work through their painful history in a way that is honest, open, and constructive. The U.S. Government supports the efforts of individuals in Armenia and Turkey to foster a dialogue that acknowledges their history, sponsoring programs that foster contacts between the Armenian and Turkish peoples.

*Question.* Does the United States have military or economic interests in Turkey that influence its decision on whether to use the word "genocide," when discussing the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians from 1915–1923?

Answer. Turkey is a longstanding NATO ally of the United States, an important partner in promoting peace and stability in the broader Middle East, and one with which we share democratic values. We seek to maintain strong United States-Turkey relations, just as we seek to maintain strong United States-Armenia relations. We believe our partnership will deepen with Turkey as it reconciles with its past and with Armenia. We continue to encourage Turkey to engage productively with Armenia on the normalization protocols, and clear the way to open its shared border, reinstitute transportation, communication, and utility links between the two countries, and establish diplomatic relations.

*Question.* In the June 23, 2011, readout of President Obama's calls with the Armenian and Azerbaijani Presidents, the President told both leaders that "now is the time to resolve the Nagorno Karabakh conflict" and to "offer the people of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh a better future for themselves and for their children." Does the administration support the reinstatement of the elected representatives of the people of Nagorno Karabakh to the Minsk Group process? Both the Armenian and Nagorno Karabakh Republic Governments have called for Karabakh's reinstatement into the process, considering the Karabakh Government was a signatory to the cease-fire agreement and was a party to the Minsk Group negotiations until 1998.

*Answer.* The United States supports the current format of negotiations for the Minsk Group process, which has been agreed to by both the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides. At this stage in the negotiation, the U.S. Government believes it is best to continue on this basis. Any final settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) conflict must be acceptable to the Karabakhi communities. The Minsk Group co-chairs travel regularly to NK to meet with the de facto NK authorities.

*Question.* Azerbaijani officials, including President Aliyev, have indicated they are looking to return to war with Armenia. President Aliyev has repeatedly stated that "only the first stage of war is over," and the Defense Minister stated in February 2011 that Azerbaijan is "seriously preparing" for war. In the meantime, the State Department is considering granting an export license for Azerbaijan to buy its first ever satellite. In a recent Eurasianet article, U.S. Air Force officials state that even if the satellite is only for communications purposes, it will give Azerbaijan a military advantage. In light of Azerbaijan's repeated threats to renew its aggression in the region, which Turkey, a NATO member could join, is the administration concerned about the signal the sale of such technology would send to Azerbaijan? Wouldn't it make more sense to wait on this sale until we are certain that the Azeris are committed to real action on the Basic Principles for peace?

*Answer.* The proposed sale has been notified to Congress. DOD and State have analyzed the proposed sale and are prepared to license the export of the satellite, associated ground support equipment and simulators to Azerbaijan, having taken into account political, military, economic, human rights, and arms control considerations.

The Department of State understands that Ex-Im Bank performed a thorough examination of all aspects of the transaction. This examination, which included a review of the satellite supply contract as well as the operating characteristics of the satellite, determined that, based on the information provided, the representations made by the Government of Azerbaijan and in accordance with Ex-Im Bank's policies and procedures, the satellite was designed and is intended for commercial operations. In addition, the Government of Azerbaijan signed a covenant stating that they would only lease the use of the satellite to civilian, nonmilitary entities, both within and outside of Azerbaijan.

The administration has determined that the operating characteristics of the satellite are designed and produced for commercial communications only. With these understandings, and the additional covenant given to Ex-Im bank during financing negotiations, the U.S. Government does not object to the sale.

*Question.* Previous Ambassadors to Armenia have held public community forums with Armenian Americans around the country throughout their tenure. Will you commit to regularly hold such forums throughout your term, which will be on the record and open to the community in large in cities, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Boston, Chicago, and Washington, DC, where there are large Armenian American communities?

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I would look forward to visiting and meeting with members of the Armenian American community both in the United States and in Armenia, as my predecessors have done before. It would be a valuable opportunity to understand their concerns, update them on the status of the United States-Armenia relationship, and to discuss a host of relevant issues.

RESPONSES OF THOMAS COUNTRYMAN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

*Question.* Article IV of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1968 ("NPT") affirms "the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production, and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of this Treaty." However,

given the NPT's overriding provisions to promote nonproliferation—that is, Articles I, II, and III—the operative meaning of this provision remains a subject of deep debate.

- (a) With regard to the research, production and use of sensitive nuclear fuel-making technologies, what do you understand to be the limits in a state's exercise of this right? Does a state have a right to any nuclear technological activity short of inserting fissile material into a nuclear explosive device?

Answer. Article IV affirms this “inalienable right,” but with that right come important Treaty-prescribed responsibilities to demonstrate to the international community that nuclear activities are exclusively for peaceful purposes. To that end, the NPT provides that non-nuclear-weapon States (NNWS) Parties to the NPT must conduct any nuclear activities in compliance with Articles II and III. Article II prohibits manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons, or other nuclear explosive devices, and seeking or receiving assistance in their manufacture, a clear treaty limit on the use of nuclear technology. Article III requires that NNWS Parties accept IAEA safeguards on all source or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities within their territories or under their jurisdiction or control. Bilateral IAEA safeguards agreements underpin NNWS Article II obligations, with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

The 2010 NPT Review Conference agreed by consensus to a number of actions that will strengthen the IAEA's ability to verify compliance with safeguards agreements, and thereby deter noncompliance, and the United States and other Parties are working vigorously to carry these actions out. These actions include the following: all cases of noncompliance should be resolved; all NPT Parties should have safeguards agreements required by Article III; all Parties should ensure that the IAEA has all political, technical, and financial support to enable it to apply safeguards as required by that article; and all states should bring into force the IAEA's Additional Protocol.

- (b) To what extent should the exercise of this right be conditioned by a state's full compliance with its Article III-required safeguards obligations with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)? Please relate your answer to the case of Iran, which is in noncompliance with its international obligations to the IAEA and U.N. Security Council.

Answer. Non-nuclear-weapon states that are Party to the NPT have a clear legal obligation to accept IAEA safeguards, as required by Article III. That they may suffer consequences for not doing so is demonstrated by the fact that Iran's non-compliance with its international nuclear obligations has led the UN Security Council to prohibit Iran from such nuclear fuel-cycle-related activities as enrichment and reprocessing and to prohibit the international community from assisting or cooperating with Iran on such activities.

*Question.* Under the U.S.-U.A.E. “123” civil nuclear cooperation agreement, the United Arab Emirates obliged itself not to develop or possess in its territory uranium enrichment, spent fuel reprocessing, or other nuclear fuel-making technologies.

- Should the United States make the U.S.-U.A.E. “123” civil nuclear cooperation agreement's prohibition against nuclear fuel-making technologies the standard for all future U.S. civil nuclear cooperation agreements in the Middle East? If so, then what would you do to promote that standard throughout the region?

Answer. As we proceed to contemplate nuclear cooperation with other potential partners, the United States will continue to seek to limit the spread of enrichment and reprocessing technologies through whatever mechanisms are most appropriate and have the greatest chance of success, including consideration of UAE-type commitments.

