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UNITED STATES SENATE**

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NOMINATIONS OF JOHN TEFFT, DONALD HEFLIN, CRAIG ALLEN, EARL MILLER, MICHELE SISON, STAFFORD HANEY, AND CHARLES ADAMS

TUESDAY, JULY 29, 2014

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

Hon. John Francis Tefft, of Virginia, to be Ambassador of the United States to the Russian Federation
Donald L. Heflin, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Cabo Verde
Craig B. Allen, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to Brunei Darussalam
Earl Robert Miller, of Michigan, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana
Michele Jeanne Sison, of Maryland, to be the Deputy Representative to the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador, and Deputy Representative in the Security Council of the United Nations; and to be Representative to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations during her tenure of service as Deputy Representative to the United Nations
Stafford Fitzgerald Haney, of New Jersey, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Costa Rica
Charles C. Adams, Jr., of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Finland

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:32 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Robert Menendez (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez, Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Corker, Flake, and McCain.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ,
U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY**

The CHAIRMAN. We have three panels today. I will chair the first panel, which will be the nomination of John Francis Tefft to be Ambassador to Russia. We will then pass the gavel to Senator Coons, who will chair our second panel of nominees: Donald Heflin, to be Ambassador to Cabo Verde; Craig Allen, to be Ambassador

to Brunei Darussalam; and Earl Robert Miller, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana.

Then Senator Coons will pass the gavel to Senator Kaine, who will chair our third panel of nominees: Michele Sisan, to be Deputy Representative to the U.N. with the rank of Ambassador, along with two associated positions; Stafford Fitzgerald Haney, to be Ambassador to Costa Rica; and Charles Adams, to be our Ambassador to Finland.

Let me welcome our first nominee, John Tefft. Ambassador Tefft has been a Career Foreign Service officer since 1972, and deserves at this critical time to be given every consideration by the committee. Let me say that the geopolitics is vastly different from what we confronted during the last hearing for a U.S. Ambassador to Russia in 2011. In my view, we cannot afford to wait to send an Ambassador to Moscow, as Senator McCain just urged us to do.

Before we begin, I just want to express my concern about Russia's violation of its obligations under the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Russia's violation is a very serious matter, and it is vital that it comply with its obligations under the treaty and eliminate any prohibited items in a verifiable manner.

The INF Treaty is a cornerstone of European security and was one of the first steps the United States and the then-Soviet Union took to end their cold war confrontation. The treaty sought to eliminate the nuclear threat to Western Europe and the European parts of the Soviet Union. The fact that Russia is now violating its obligations is another sign that under President Putin Russia is operating in a manner that threatens the security of all European states.

In view of that reality, we cannot delay in sending someone, not when President Putin enjoys soaring domestic approval ratings, but continues to double down on his reckless course in Ukraine that has resulted in terrible tragedy and loss of innocent life with the downing of the Malaysian Flight 17 by pro-Russian rebels supported and supplied by Putin, not when the Ukrainian Army is making advances in the east and Moscow is answering by putting more heavy weaponry into the irresponsible hands of rebel militias.

In fact, last week, along with the Chairs of other Senate committees responsible for national security, I signed a letter to President Obama asking for immediate sanctions against Russia's defense sector, including state-owned Rosoboronexport, to prevent Russia from providing weaponry, equipment, or assistance and training to separatists in Ukraine.

It is my view that we must also consider broader sanctions on Russia's energy and financial industries and other sectors of the Russian economy, as appropriate. We also need an ambassador in Moscow as events continue to unfold. I hope that both sides of the aisle will agree to expedite Ambassador Tefft's nomination at this critical time. He has served as U.S. Ambassador a total of three times, and each time to a country of the former Soviet Union—Ukraine, the Republic of Georgia, and Lithuania. He is also a life-long student of Russia and the former Soviet republics. We need Ambassador Tefft's knowledge and experience in Moscow to address not only the crisis in Ukraine, but also President Putin's blatant disrespect for human rights, complete control of media, sys-

tematic erosion of the rule of law, and flouting of international law and norms, all which affect our bilateral relationship.

So we welcome you, Ambassador, to the committee. I am going to call upon Senator Corker for his remarks. When Senator Corker is finished, please invite or recognize any of the members of your family who are here. I understand you have had a multidecade partner in your efforts, and we appreciate her willingness to once again allow you to serve your Nation, and we understand the sacrifices that she and other members of families, both in your case as well as the other nominees, face when they are willing to serve their country abroad.

Senator Corker.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER,
U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

Senator CORKER. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be brief. I want to second the comments, the laudable comments that have been made about your previous service, and also thank your spouse for her willingness to come out of retirement. I know you were living here. I know there are grandbabies in the region, and yet you are heading back to Russia to serve our country.

I think everybody on this committee just about has expressed strongly their concern about Russia's actions in Crimea and eastern Ukraine. I think there has been a lot of frustration, I know there has been by most, relative to the sanctions that have been put in place. I do want to say I applaud the sanctions that were put in place the day before the Malaysia flight was shot down. I think there may be something much—we have not seen the details yet, but it looks like that us and Europe have come more closely together, and hopefully we will know the details of that soon.

But you go to Russia at a time that, as was mentioned, it is very important. I think your service in the other countries nearby are very helpful, not only to all of us, but to those countries and to Russia. I might add, everyone here knows that Russia had to agree, in spite of his service in these other countries which obviously geopolitically they believe pose some threat to them, they have to agree to the fact that he is our nominee. So you are going there under challenging circumstances, as has been mentioned, as the chairman mentioned this morning, the news that all of us have known previously, that it was announced that we are actually going to bring forth these charges relative to the INF Treaty; it really makes it an additionally challenging time.

The type of issues that we are seeing in eastern Ukraine and in Crimea are the kind of, that should they get out of hand, could lead to some really terrible global issues. I think all of us have been concerned again, many of us, that the tepid response we have had may lead an emboldened Putin to continue on.

It now appears that possibly he is beginning to get some degree of pushback within the country. Hopefully that is the case. I know he has been riding a strong nationalistic popularity because of what he has been doing, but I do hope our Nation and Europe will continue to work together to put pressure on him to get him to move away from the types of actions that he has taken.

Importantly, I hope you as Ambassador will do everything you can as one Ambassador to make that happen. I know your access to Putin will be a little different than the access you had in the other countries that you served, but I am very glad you are willing to do this and look forward to your testimony.

I will say, on the confirmation, this committee has actually been really incredible as far as getting nominees out on a bipartisan basis very quickly to the floor. I do hope in this case—many of them have been held up, as we know. But I do hope in this case we will figure out a way to get you out very, very quickly and get you on your way to Russia. So thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Ambassador Tefft, your full statement will be included in the record, without objection. I may have to interrupt you if we get—we have a 10th member who is on his way here. I believe Senator Durbin is on his way. So I may have to interrupt you, though I hope we will get through your testimony before that moment comes. But I just want to excuse myself up front.

With that, the floor is yours.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN FRANCIS TEFFT, OF VIRGINIA,
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

Ambassador TEFFT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am very grateful for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Ambassador of the United States to the Russian Federation. I am grateful to you and to Senator Corker and Senator McCain for the kind remarks you have made about me and my wife. I have to say to you as someone who has been a private citizen working in the private sector for the better part of the last year, I have appreciated and admired the work of this committee and the leadership you have provided on not only the situation in Russia and Ukraine, but also more broadly on foreign affairs. So I thank you for that.

If I am confirmed, I will continue to work closely with the members of this committee and your staff, as I have done before in my various assignments. Clearly we face, as you have said, some of the most challenging times in the relations between the United States and Russia since the end of the cold war.

I would just like to say a couple of words from my prepared remarks that we have submitted to the record. I would like to say that our relations with Russia today are obviously, as you said, in serious trouble. The future is uncertain. The United States cannot ignore the fundamental challenge to the international order posed by Russia's actions in the Ukraine crisis. Russia's efforts to annex Crimea, which we will never accept, have violated the core precepts of intelligence law and have shredded the very fabric of freely adopted obligations among Europe's nations that have kept the peace for nearly 70 years.

Russia's policy of destabilizing parts of eastern Ukraine violates the sovereignty of its neighbor. They also undercut the solemn obligations Russia itself undertook to observe the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

As you said, Mr. Chairman, and as President Obama and many European leaders have emphasized, adherence to the structure of

European security is vital. The horrendous shutdown of the Malaysian airliner and the loss of almost 300 innocent lives has truly shocked the world and underlined the importance of resolving this crisis quickly and peacefully.

In this environment, I believe we must continue to talk clearly to our Russian interlocutors and to make sure Russian officials and citizens understand American policy, our interests, and our values. At the same time, managing this crisis effectively and wisely will require that our own government continues to know as precisely as we can what the Russian side is thinking, what their objectives are, and why they are taking the approaches they do even when we find them unacceptable.

If given the opportunity to serve, I will try to do just that, to engage in frank and difficult diplomacy.

Mr. Chairman, one of the great privileges of my career has been to lead the teams of committed Americans serving our country at embassies overseas. If confirmed, I will do my best to lead the highly professional and motivated team that we have at our Embassy in Moscow and at our three consulates across Russia.

Finally, I appreciate very much what you said about my wife. I would like to recognize her in front of all of you. She has been my indispensable partner in this career from the very beginning. In addition to her own professional accomplishments as a biostatistician and a nurse, she has made her own unique contributions to representing our country in every post in which we have served. I know she will do that again and bring her invaluable experience to bear in Moscow.

I would also like to thank my wonderful daughters, Christine and Kathleen. They make me proud every day. They have been supportive of my work throughout my career. Kathleen is here today along with her husband, Andy Horowitz. My daughter, Christine, is unfortunately at home, or fortunately at home, taking care of our 10-day-old second granddaughter. Her husband, Paul Stronsky, is here with us today, as is my wife's cousin, Margie Klick, and her husband, Randy, and Jose Yacub, who is my administrative assistant at the RAND Corporation.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for letting me make those remarks. I am prepared now to answer any questions you might have.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Tefft follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR JOHN F. TEFFT

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next Ambassador of the United States to the Russian Federation. I am grateful to the President and Secretary Kerry for their support and for their confidence in recalling me to government service. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely once again with the members of this committee and its staff, as we face some of the most challenging times in the relations between the United States and Russia since the end of the cold war.

I have had the privilege of serving my country for nearly 41 years as a Foreign Service officer, much of that time in Eastern and Central Europe. Three times I served as a U.S. Ambassador—most recently in Ukraine, and previously in Georgia, and Lithuania. I also served as Deputy Chief of Mission in Moscow—and for 10 months of my assignment I was Chargé d'affaires at the Embassy.

As an Ambassador my most important responsibility and highest duty has been to promote and defend the interests of the United States. Over the course of my career, I have tried to do that as best I can, to advance the objectives of our country and to represent the values and ideas for which the United States stands.

Mr. Chairman, our relations with Russia today are in serious trouble and their future is uncertain. The United States cannot ignore the fundamental challenge to the international order posed by Russia's actions in the Ukraine crisis. Russia's efforts to annex Crimea—which we will never accept—have violated core precepts of international law, and have shredded the very fabric of freely adopted obligations among Europe's nations that have kept the peace for nearly 70 years. Russia's policy of destabilizing parts of eastern Ukraine violates the sovereignty of its neighbor. It also undercuts the solemn obligations Russia itself undertook freely to observe the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine. As President Obama and many European leaders have emphasized, adherence to the structure of European security is vital. The horrendous shutdown of the Malaysian airliner and loss of almost 300 innocent lives has shocked the world and underlined once again the importance of resolving this crisis quickly and peacefully.

In this environment, we must continue to talk clearly to our Russian interlocutors and make sure Russian officials and citizens understand American policy, interests, and values. At the same time, managing this crisis effectively and wisely will require that our own government continues to know as precisely as we can what the Russian side is thinking, what their objectives are, and why they are taking the approaches that they do even when we find them unacceptable.

If given the opportunity to serve, I will try to do just that—to engage in frank and difficult diplomacy.

Historically, we have had many dimensions to our relationship with Russia, chief among them human rights and democracy, security and arms control, and economic and business affairs. We must continue to press all of these in concert. We also need to be ready to engage in cooperation on the international stage when it is clearly in our interest—for example, to eliminate Syria's chemical weapons. And we must work to preserve people-to-people ties, even during times of severe tensions.

If confirmed, I will also do my best to engage Russians from all parts of that society. I will try to explain what we stand for, and to promote respect for the dignity of every citizen, democratic values, good governance, and rule of law. I say this in the conviction that the most effective antidote to Russian propaganda mounted against the United States is simply stating the plain truth about our country and our values.

If given the opportunity to serve again, I will also use the resources at my disposal to promote and protect U.S. economic interests in the Russian market. My record on supporting American business over the course of my career is clear. I will vigorously oppose corruption, and I will do my utmost to ensure America's firms receive equal and fair treatment in trade and investment transactions in accordance with U.S. law and WTO rules.

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, America's relations with Russia have a long and complex history.

We have been allies and we have been adversaries.

We have cooperated and we have clashed.

But, one constant has been our country's enduring engagement with Russia, its people, and its government. That engagement reflects geographic, economic, and geopolitical realities. We have no alternative to managing and conducting our relations in a way that most effectively advances and protects American interests and global peace.

Just as our interests and values now require intensive diplomacy accompanied by firm sanctions to counter Russia's recent threats to European stability, it is inescapable that pursuing America's most important interests around the world will sometimes also mean working with Russia. We need to identify and counter terrorist threats, stem narcotics flows, ensure aviation and maritime safety, counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, verifiably reduce nuclear arsenals and eliminate nuclear fissile material wherever it is in the world. America cannot address these tasks alone. But Russia remains a critical international player in many of these matters, and America's hand can become stronger when our interests and Russia's align.

If confirmed, I will use all the resources at my disposal to pursue American goals through diplomatic engagement with the Russian Government, and I will promote expanded ties between the American and Russian people.

Mr. Chairman, one of the great privileges of my career has been to lead the teams of committed Americans serving our country at embassies overseas. If confirmed, I will do my best to lead our highly professional and motivated team at the Embassy in Moscow and in our three consulates across Russia. This is a team of skilled officers and staff. I know that the Americans who serve our country in Russia understand the importance of their work. It will be an honor to lead them. And, Mr. Chairman, if the Senate chooses to place its confidence in me as U.S. Ambassador

to Russia, I will ensure that we conduct our business in a manner that is fully consistent with the highest standards of ethical and moral values.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to recognize my wife, Mariella, who has been my indispensable partner in this career from the very beginning. In addition to her own professional accomplishments as a biostatistician and a nurse, she has made her own unique contributions to representing our country in every post in which we have served. I know she will once again bring her invaluable experience to bear in Moscow. I would also like to thank my wonderful daughters, Christine and Cathleen. They make me proud every day, and have been supportive of my work throughout my career.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the privilege of appearing before the committee. I am prepared to answer any questions you might have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, most nominees take a full 5 minutes, so I want to congratulate you on your brevity.

Ambassador TEFFT. This is the experience after you do this four times, sir. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Let me first welcome all of your family, and we appreciate again their willingness to share you with the Nation.

Since I am sanctioned and cannot go to Russia to visit you if you get confirmed, I hope to be able to have an open line of communication with you so that we can talk about issues as we move forward.

Ambassador TEFFT. Absolutely, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought that after the tragedy of the Malaysian Airline flight that President Putin would have a different vision of where he was at, that he would change course, that it would be an off-ramp. But he seems to have doubled down. His invasion of Crimea, what is going on there, upends the international order. I know that when I was in Europe the Europeans are shocked because they never thought that that was going to be one of their challenges. They thought security challenges were more in the context of modern day terrorism, not the actions of a state actor.

So how do you look at that reality, knowing that you are going into a set of circumstances under which, instead of what we would think would be the normal course of events, such as deescalating, moving in a different direction, what would be the response when we see Putin doubling down? How do you view that? How do you engage in that as you go to Russia?

Ambassador TEFFT. I think, as you say, the \$64,000 question is what is exactly President Putin's approach at this point. You were not the only one, Senator, who thought that this horrible tragedy provided an opportunity to disengage, to find a way to resolve this horrible conflict that is killing people every day in eastern Ukraine.

I do not know specifically what President Putin's plans are. I note, like you, that the sanctions—that Europe has increased substantially its sanctions today, going into sectoral areas, according to what I have read in the press. My understanding is that we are now going to add some additional sanctions ourselves.

I would also note, as you mentioned, that we saw this week criticism of President Putin, specifically the press interview that was given by his very old friend and adviser, former Deputy Prime Minister Kudryn, who was quite clear about his concern, not just with the Ukraine crisis and the impact this was going to have on the economy, but also the individuals in the society, the ultranationalists, who he was quite critical of.

We know from different press articles and other things that many in the business community are very concerned at the way

things are going. This is not just sanctions. I know from my work at RAND that there are businessmen who are not sanctioned or not party to this, but they have lost deals because they have lost foreign capital that they had counted on to either expand or to even continue operating.

So the pressure is clearly there. I cannot tell you—I wish I could tell you how I could see the denouement of this. But I think we need to, as I said, keep the pressure on and to continue to give President Putin an opportunity to find a way to deescalate this crisis and to bring an end to the conflict in Ukraine along the lines that President Poroshenko has outlined.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think should be our response to the administration's statement that Russia has violated their treaty obligations?

Ambassador TEFFT. I think this is a very serious matter, Senator. It obviously goes to the core of trust. I understand that in international relations trust is one component, but I hope that the Russians will seize the opportunity that we have offered to come to the table, to meet with our experts, to try to resolve this, to shelve this particular weapons system and to bring themselves back in compliance with the INF Treaty.

The CHAIRMAN. I would assume that if you are confirmed this is an issue that you will drive significantly on behalf of the administration, because there are those of us in the Congress who knew about this, based upon what was then classified information, and now that it has become public have been very concerned about where this is leading and where it is heading.

If you look at the multiplicity of actions that Russia has taken and now you add this dimension to it, you begin to wonder how much the international order has been upended by President Putin.

Ambassador TEFFT. I agree with you, sir. I would say that back during the Soviet days, I was on the Soviet desk twice, two 3-year tours, and one of the things I spent a lot of time on was arms control. So I have got to dust off some of my knowledge and bring it to bear. But I will do my best to press this issue when I am in Moscow if confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN. Finally, if we cannot go ahead and deter or get Russia to change course, one of my hopes is that we will look at in the sectoral sanctions that we are looking at energy. I am really concerned that we, who lead the world in a shale revolution, are going to help the Russians create a Russian shale revolution that will give them more gas and greater ability to leverage it, as they have leveraged it in Ukraine, as they are leveraging it against Europe.

The last thing that is in the national intelligence and security of the United States is to have our technology sold to the Russians so that they can have a shale revolution, so they can have more energy, so they can have more resources and more leverage against Europe and other countries. So I hope you are going to look at that closely with the State Department and members of the U.S. Department of Energy, because I think that is a sanction that has long-term consequences for the Russians in terms of both what they can do moving forward and what the consequences are economically.

Ambassador TEFFT. I will, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Corker.

Senator CORKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again, thank you for your opening comments.

The INF Treaty obviously was relative to proximate locations to Russia. Therefore the violations were violations that, if they continued, were violations that would have had an impact on Europe in general. My guess is some of them already were aware of these violations due to their intelligence. But do you see this having any impact relative to the other issues we are dealing with Russia on right now?

Ambassador TEFFT. Well, I think it goes to the—

Senator CORKER. I am talking about with the European community that we are working with.

Ambassador TEFFT. Right, I understand. My understanding, Senator, is that the allies are being briefed at NATO today or tomorrow—I am not sure exactly when—to go over this. They, like the committee, have been apprised of the problem before; they have known of it. I think our European allies should be very concerned because, as we all know, the INF missiles are the ones that most apply to the European Continent. We worked very hard back in the eighties to get that INF Treaty to preserve the security and to make the security of Europe indivisible from our own.

Senator CORKER. When you talked about off-ramps, hopefully we will continue to look at possible off-ramps for Putin. As the chairman mentioned, you would have thought the downing of the passenger aircraft would have been the perfect off-ramp. Instead, he turned into the wind and doubled down.

What types of off-ramps do you see as being possible in the future with actions being as they have been from him?

Ambassador TEFFT. Well, I watched Secretary Kerry this morning on television when he appeared with the Foreign Minister of Ukraine, my friend Pavlo Klimkin. And the Secretary was again emphasizing, sir, that he had talked apparently to Foreign Minister Lavrov this morning, reiterated the readiness of the United States and Ukraine to engage in negotiations at any stage, to meet at any time to try to do this, based on the peace plan that President Poroshenko has outlined.

I am not aware of any particular meeting coming up that would provide an opportunity like that, but the Secretary seemed to indicate that he was ready at any stage to engage in something like that. I think a lot depends on what the policies of President Putin are.

Senator CORKER. The Hague recently ruled that Russia had basically stolen \$50 billion from shareholders of Yukos. It seems like there are numbers of issues that are occurring right now. Hopefully, that will affect some of the elite. But I know we talked some about that yesterday. I assume that you will be forceful in pursuing that to its end, and that we have U.S. shareholders who also were damaged in that process.

Ambassador TEFFT. Yes, sir. In all my career in my other assignments, I have made promoting the fair treatment of American businesses and investors one of my top priorities, and I will certainly do that. I am also cognizant that there is a provision in the Rus-

sian-Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal and the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act which obliges the administration to help American investors who were victims of this, and I will certainly do that. My Embassy and I—I think the Embassy has already been engaged on this and I will certainly continue to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Corker, if you would yield for just a moment.

Just for members of the committee, what I intend to do is when Senator Corker finishes his line of questioning, recess the nomination hearing, meet off the floor quickly, reconvene the business meeting, have hopefully a successful vote, come back and continue the nomination hearing.

Senator Corker.

Senator CORKER. I have had ample time to spend with our nominee. I am thankful that he is willing to do this. We had a long, long conversation yesterday. So in order to expedite our business meeting, I will stop and thank him again for his willingness to serve our country in this way.

Ambassador TEFFT. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Corker.

Ambassador, we have a vote for the head of the Veterans Administration, so we are going to go do that. I urge members who want to come back for this hearing to come back immediately thereafter. So, we will briefly recess, subject to the call of the chair.

[Recess from 2:55 p.m. to 3:17 p.m.]

The CHAIRMAN. This hearing will come back to order. Ambassador, thank you for your forbearance.

I believe that Senator Corker was the last member, so Senator Murphy.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, thank you very much for sticking with us today. This is important, so we want to be able to get the nominees that were underlying in the business meeting through, but also make sure that we get a chance, as Senator McCain and Senator Menendez have stated, to get you through this process and through the Senate by the end of the week.

Thank you for spending a little bit of time with me earlier this week. I maybe want to allow you to elaborate on a conversation that we were having about how you interpret the events of the last 6 months with respect to whether or not it is a display of Russian strength or Russian weakness. Nothing is that simple, but there have been a lot of pundits who have suggested that this is Putin pushing around the rest of the world, getting his way in essentially resetting international norms through aggressive behavior. Then there is a whole other school of thought which suggests that this was a panicked reaction by a leader of a nation who is in retreat in a lot of ways, unable to control the allegiances of former republics, an economy which has failed to diversify in any meaningful way.

I know it is not simple to just sort of suggest which direction Russia is heading in, but tell me sort of how you interpret the motivations for these exceptional actions in Ukraine?

Ambassador TEFFT. Thank you very much, Senator. When I have been in Moscow recently in May and in April working, doing my job for the RAND Corporation, I have met with many Russians. Certainly the predominant view there was that the decision to go into Crimea was something of an impulsive decision following the breakdown of the agreement that had been brokered by the three European Union Foreign Ministers back in late March.

I know that that agreement—that while there are many in Russia who think that it was something that was broken down by some kind of plot or some kind of plan, was in fact something spontaneous. Nobody knew that President Yanukovych was leaving, was leaving.

But I think the other thing as I look back on the Ukraine crisis, I think there is a fundamental misunderstanding on the part of many in the Russian leadership. I have had this conversation, private conversations as well. They did not understand what was really at stake on the Maidan. When I left Ukraine it was very clear if you looked at the polling that President Yanukovych was not only very unpopular, but something on the order of 74 percent of the people said they thought the country was going in the wrong direction.

When I left it was still—the plans were still on the books to move ahead with becoming a member of the European—an associate member, an association agreement with the EU. When that fell apart and the demonstrations developed, it was not hard to understand why that was happening.

I think that for me personally one of the things that is so frustrating here is that this did not need to happen. A lot of the things that have occurred in Ukraine and the Russian response did not have to happen. They could have had a better relationship with Ukraine if they had tried.

But there is this strong view that President Putin has enunciated many times of a Eurasian union. It is pretty clear that not just the people of Ukraine do not want to be part of a Eurasian union. They wanted to have a good relationship with Russia. I will be honest. When I was in Moscow—or I was in Ukraine, I, speaking on behalf of the administration and the United States, said we supported the EU association agreement, but we also believe strongly that there should be a good relationship between Ukraine and Russia. And most Ukrainians I knew understood that very, very clearly.

Unfortunately, choices were made the other way. I hope that this is an aberration. I think the strong international response to this has sent a pretty clear message. I think you can read some of the commentaries in Russia and see that there are a lot of people raising the larger question of is this the right policy approach, is this the best way to build relationships with our neighbors, is this the best way, in the words of some Ukrainians—of some Russians, is this the way we should treat our cousins across the border in Ukraine?

Senator MURPHY. I want to ask one more question. You had this challenge in Ukraine. You will have it again in Russia. How do you continue to advance a dialogue that is happening with the Russians on a number of fronts, whether it be Iran or Afghanistan,

while pressing the case for more political discourse and the greater ability for dissidents to express themselves?

What has been remarkable during this period of time over the last 6 months is very quietly Putin has also been increasing a crackdown on political discourse, most recently essentially eliminating the ability of small television channels in that country to advertise, to receive revenues necessary for their existence, essentially shutting the doors on a number of different independent outlets throughout the country.

So you have gotten real good at this over the years. What do you see in Moscow as the ability of our Embassy to continue to promote freedom of expression, to continue to promote those who would try to protest this government with an increasing foot on their neck as they try to do it?

Ambassador TEFFT. Well, I will very much try to, as I said, have very candid and serious talks with the Russian leaders. The Embassy, the U.S. Government as a whole, has developed ways to get our message out and our support for those themes.

The other thing that I have done in my previous assignment and I would expect to do in Moscow is work very closely with our European allies, with the EU Ambassador, who is a very distinguished diplomat, the former Foreign Minister of Lithuania, who I know well, along with other ambassadors, to try to bring to bear, if you will, the predominance of persuasiveness, I would hope.

I have no illusions in saying this. In one of my conversations yesterday with one of the other Senators I made the point that, looking at how we actually conduct our public diplomacy, looking at not just how we are doing, but how effective we are being with social media and other things, in a society that, as you say, is very increasingly restricted in terms of the ability of embassies and other governments to get their message out, it is going to be something I will spend a lot of time on. One of the things as I prepare to go out in consultations here is to be hard-minded about the effectiveness of that and to try to come up with the best ways we can move forward.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Flake.

Senator FLAKE. No, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Ambassador, let me ask you some final questions, unless a member returns. You were our Ambassador in Georgia in 2008.

Ambassador TEFFT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you experienced Russia's provocative behavior in that post. How do you compare what Russia did in Georgia in 2008 with what you see in Ukraine in 2014?

Ambassador TEFFT. I think what we have seen in Ukraine is actually a much more organized, at least as I understand it, operation. Certainly the Russians prepared their forces before the war actually broke out. They were massed north of the border. But the operation as it came into Georgia was not militarily as well organized, I think, as certainly what we have seen in Ukraine, not just in Crimea, but I also have the sense that in Ukraine there was much more direct coordination between Moscow and these fellows

that they have on the ground out there. At least that is the impression I have in reading about it.

Then there are lots of articles in the newspaper about the various people of the Russian Special Services, as well as the GRU, the intelligence side of the military, and their direct involvement, people who were involved not just in Georgia, but in Chechnya and Crimea. I saw the other night a CBS correspondent who said: This is the same fellow I saw in Crimea back last fall and I have seen him once before in another place.

Clearly there is a coterie of people who have been designated, who are the ones who do these things.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of us look at what happened in the Ukraine and in Moldova and say to ourselves, well, this is a repeat of a game plan, maybe a little different in terms of the specificity or exactness of Russian troops versus those who are not insigniated being sent in, but in essence creating frozen conflicts, which perhaps serves his purposes just as well as an actual outright invasion.

What do you think about that?

Ambassador TEFFT. I always have the impression in Georgia that there was a fundamental miscalculation. You remember early on in the conflict they bombed some of these apartment buildings in Gori, the city right in the center of Georgia. I think the calculus was somehow we are going to get these people angry and they are going to turn against President Shakashvili, turn against their government. Actually, what happened was the exact opposite. Even people who were bitter political enemies of President Shakashvili's came out and said: He is our President, he is the President of independent Georgia, and we support him for that, even as we criticize him.

I think there was a miscalculation, and I do not know in the Russian system who was responsible for that, but I think that is there.

I think you could also—I think historians will know better when we have more information, but I think some of the things that have been done in eastern Ukraine have been done—have been a miscalculation. The impression I always had when I left a year ago was that there was a very big generational difference in east Ukraine. I found many of the students and younger generation people there very much—they are critical of their own government in Kiev, but not wanting to be a part of Russia. They wanted to be a part of an independent Ukraine. They wanted to see that Ukraine changed.

So I think there was a miscalculation on the part of Russia that somehow saw all these huge numbers of people, the *Novi Rossiya*, as President Putin called it, as being ready just to kind of embrace Russia and become a part of Russia. And I do not think that was ever in the cards.

The CHAIRMAN. One final question. Some of us read the responses about Russia becoming self-dependent, insular in terms of global economic issues, which I find incredibly hard to believe. I believe that what Putin has done here has actual, maybe not in the short term, but in the mid to longer term, real consequences for Russia economically.

Ambassador TEFFT. Absolutely.

Senator MURPHY. And woke up the Europeans to think about how they diversify and become more energy independent, as well as others. What do you think is some of the inherent problems Russia would face if it tried to become autodependent?

Ambassador TEFFT. I just do not see in this global market, in this globalized world that we live in, how withdrawing into yourself, into an insular kind of nation, is going to help you. Number one, economically you are not going to succeed. We all know that you need capital, you need foreign customers. Russia needs to develop manufactures and things that it can sell in the world, not just extractive minerals that are the fundamentals of their national economy today.

I just think that it is really a big danger. I was very intrigued, as I mentioned to you yesterday, the comments that were made by former deputy prime minister Kudryn, who was very clear in a Tass interview, not just that the Ukraine policy was wrong, but that those—he spoke out very strongly against the ultranationalists and saw them taking Russia in the wrong direction.

Clearly, this is going to be one of the key things that I and my staff are going to have to watch in Russia as the battle between the ultranationalists, if you will, and the modernizers or those who want to have Russia as part of the global economy and the global political system push ahead. It is going to be a key, I think, a key part of any analysis of Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you for your insights. Clearly, having a Russia that is part of the international order, both in terms of security, as well as economic issues, is the preferable course of events. But how we get there is still a road map to be determined.

Senator Corker, are there any other questions?

Senator CORKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. There are no other questions for you, Ambassador. We are in the midst of discussions as to how we might accelerate your nomination to be considered by the full Senate.

Excuse me a moment. [Pause.]

So, with the thanks of the committee for your testimony, you are excused.

Ambassador TEFFT. Thank you very much, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know if there will be any questions for the record. If there are, I would urge you to answer them expeditiously so that we can move your nomination.

Ambassador TEFFT. We are poised and ready. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we want to hear.

At this point Senator Coons is going to preside over our next panel of nominees, and I thank Senator Coons for his willingness to do so.

[Pause.]

Senator COONS [presiding]. Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to call to order the second panel of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, considering three ambassadorial nominees. I am pleased to chair this hearing to consider the nominees for Botswana, Cabo Verde, and Brunei. All three of our nominees

have impressive records of accomplishment and I look forward to hearing their priorities for advancing U.S. interests.

Our first nominee is for Botswana, long known as one of the most stable and democratic countries on the continent, a close ally of the United States. It has made smart investments in education and health care, dedicated a large portion of its capable military to addressing wildlife trafficking. But despite these positive trends, there are challenges in terms of having the second highest HIV-AIDS rate in the world, rising wildlife trafficking challenges, and reports of marginalization of the San people.

Earl Miller, the nominee for Botswana, is a career Foreign Service officer currently serving as consul general in Johannesburg, and is deeply familiar with regional issues as a result of his posting in southern Africa. His knowledge of the region, his previous service in Botswana, and his leadership skills will allow him to bring strong contributions to this mission.

Next we consider Cabo Verde, an island nation off the northwest coast of Africa, known for having grown to become a stable, democratic, lower middle-income country, a strong ally and partner of the United States, in part due to our strong investment ties and shared regional concerns, such as countering narcotrafficking off the coast. In addition, there is a sizable Cabo Verdean diaspora community in the northeastern United States, with which I have long been familiar.

Mr. Donald Heflin brings extensive regional leadership experience. A career Foreign Service officer, he currently serves as the director for consular affairs visa office and previously served as principal officer in Nuevo Laredo in Mexico, and gained regional expertise as the deputy and later Acting Director of the State Department's Office of West African Affairs.

Last but certainly not least, we consider Brunei, a small country in Southeast Asia. Brunei recently implemented a new penal code rooted in a strict interpretation of sharia law, which includes measures such as the death penalty for adultery, homosexual acts, and insulting the Koran, prison sentences for pregnancy out of wedlock or failing to pray on Friday. These new restrictions will, moreover, apply to all Bruneians, including the 22 percent who are not Moslem. These regulations are troubling and I am hopeful our next U.S. Ambassador will encourage the government to protect human rights, dignity, and freedom of belief for its people.

Brunei is also an increasingly important partner for achieving U.S. objectives, one of four states that launched the TPP, a cornerstone of the administration's economic engagement strategy in Asia. It also opposes territorial aggression by China in the South China Sea and therefore it is imperative our Ambassador skillfully manage bilateral relations in order to achieve regional goals.

For this post, the President has nominated Mr. Craig Allen, who has spent three decades living and working in Asia. A career member of the Foreign Commercial Service, class of minister counselor, Mr. Allen most recently served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for China at the Department of Commerce. He also served as senior commercial officer at the U.S. consulate in Johannesburg, senior commercial officer in Beijing, and deputy senior commercial officer in Tokyo.

I would now like to invite my colleague Senator Flake to make any opening statement he would like before I invite our nominees to make their opening statements. Senator Flake.

Senator FLAKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thanks for being here. I have met with two of you in the last little bit in my office. I look forward to your testimony and thank you for your service.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Flake.

I would like to welcome our nominees and encourage you to take the time to introduce your families and friends, who we all know are an essential part of your service in government. We are grateful for their sacrifices as well as yours and for their ongoing support.

Mr. Heflin.

STATEMENT OF DONALD L. HEFLIN, OF VIRGINIA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF CABO VERDE

Mr. HEFLIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Coons, members of the committee, it is my honor to appear here today as the President's nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Cabo Verde. I am grateful to President Obama and Secretary Kerry for this tremendous vote of confidence and for this opportunity to come before you.

I wish to acknowledge my daughter, Sara, who is here with us today. Sara is currently a junior at Austin Peay State University in Tennessee and lived in six countries growing up. Her first posting as a Foreign Service kid started when she was 8 weeks old.

I regret my parents did not live long enough to be here today. They both devoted their entire adult lifetimes to public service, highlighted by my father's 4 years as a pilot during World War II.

The 10 islands that make up the Republic of Cabo Verde are just off the West Coast of Africa. Cabo Verde enjoys a vibrant, multiparty political system and an unbroken history of civilian rule since its independence in 1975. It is a success story of progress, prosperity, political stability, and democracy. Cabo Verde and the United States have enjoyed warm relations since we first opened our consulate there nearly 200 years ago.

There are more than 450,000 Americans of Cabo Verdean origin. Many of these families immigrated to New England during the days of the great 19th century whaling fleets, which they worked on. They participate fully in the life of our great country and many of them wish to invest in the prosperous future of Cabo Verde.

The United States and Cabo Verde are partners on a number of important matters. Among them maritime security and transnational crime are key. The government of Cabo Verde strongly supports counternarcotics maneuvers and is a gracious host to U.S. ship visits. Cabo Verde is a model in the region for strategic partnership. If confirmed, it is my goal to maintain and enhance this multilateral and interagency cooperation.

U.S. engagement and support of Cabo Verde's economic and commercial development is bearing fruit. Cabo Verde's first Millennium Challenge Account compact was successfully completed in 2010, producing significant gains in all three of its projects: first, im-

provements in transportation networks, facilitating integration of internal markets; second, improvements in water management and soil conservation, which promoted increases in farm profits and incomes; and third, support to Cabo Verdean microfinance institutions. It is my hope if confirmed to engage Cabo Verde in consolidating these gains.

Cabo Verde's continued strong government performance resulted in its selection as the first country in the world to qualify for a second Millennium Challenge Corporation compact, which began in 2012 and is focused on carrying out wide-reaching reforms in the water and sanitation and land management sectors. These two compacts support Cabo Verde's overall national development goal of transforming its economy from aid dependency to sustainable private sector-led growth.

Mr. Chairman, prior assignments in Africa and in African affairs have equipped me with the cultural and regional knowledge and language skills to relate to the Cabo Verdean Government and people. Similarly, if confirmed I will draw upon my 27-year career in the Foreign Service, including my experience as principal officer in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, to effectively lead the U.S. mission in Praia, Cabo Verde. I look forward to entering entry-level officers who staff many of the Embassy's positions.

If confirmed, my number one priority will be to promote the safety and welfare of American citizens in Cabo Verde.

I would be pleased to answer any of your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Heflin follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DONALD L. HEFLIN

Chairman Coons and members of the committee, it's my honor to appear here today as the President's nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Cabo Verde. I am grateful to President Obama and Secretary Kerry for this tremendous vote of confidence and for this opportunity to come before you.

I wish to acknowledge my daughter, Sara, who is here with us today. Sara is currently a Junior at Austin Peay State University, and lived in six countries growing up. Her first posting as a Foreign Service kid started when she was 8 weeks old.

I regret that my parents did not live long enough to be here today. They both devoted their entire working lives to public service, highlighted by my father's four years as a pilot in World War II.

The 10 islands that make up the Republic of Cabo Verde are just off the west coast of Africa. Cabo Verde enjoys a vibrant, multiparty political system and an unbroken history of civilian rule since independence in 1975. It is a success story of progress, prosperity, political stability, and democracy.

Cabo Verde and the United States have enjoyed warm relations since we opened our first consulate there nearly 200 years ago. There are more than 450,000 Americans of Cabo Verdean origin. Many of these families have lived in New England since originally immigrating to work on the 19th century whaling ships. They participate fully in the life of our great country, and many of them wish to invest in the prosperous future of Cabo Verde.

The United States and Cabo Verde are partners on a number of important matters. Among them, maritime security and transnational crime are key. The Government of Cabo Verde strongly supports counternarcotics maneuvers and is a gracious host to U.S. ship visits. Cabo Verde is a model in the region for strategic partnership. If confirmed, it is my goal to maintain and enhance this multilateral and inter-agency collaboration.

U.S. engagement in support of Cabo Verde's economic and commercial development is bearing fruit. Cabo Verde's first Millennium Challenge Account Compact was successfully completed in 2010, producing significant gains in all three of its projects, namely: (1) improvements in transportation networks facilitating integration of internal markets; (2) improvements in water management and soil conservation, which promoted increases in farms profits and incomes; and, (3) support to

Cabo Verdean microfinance institutions. It is my hope, if confirmed, to engage Cabo Verde in consolidating these gains.

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Mr. Chairman, prior assignments in Africa and in African Affairs have equipped me with the cultural and regional knowledge and language skills to relate to the Cabo Verdean Government and people. Similarly, if confirmed, I will draw upon my 27-year career in the Foreign Service, including my experience as Principal Officer in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, to effectively lead the U.S. Mission in Praia, Cabo Verde. I look forward to mentoring entry-level officers who staff many of the Embassy's positions. If confirmed, my number one priority will be to promote the safety and welfare of American citizens in Cabo Verde.

I would be pleased to answer any of your questions.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Mr. Heflin.

Mr. Miller.

STATEMENT OF EARL ROBERT MILLER, OF MICHIGAN, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Flake, and members of the committee, it is a great honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana. I appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Kerry have placed in me by putting my name forward for your consideration.

I am also deeply grateful for the support of my wife, Ana, and sons, Andrew and Alexander. They are back in Johannesburg, sir. Our first overseas assignment in the Foreign Service was in Botswana, a country we love dearly.

During my 27 years in the Foreign Service, I have had the privilege of serving in senior leadership positions at a variety of challenging posts. Over the past 3 years, as the U.S. consul general in Johannesburg, South Africa, I managed the rapid growth of one of our busiest regional support and training centers. Our multiagency consulate general in Johannesburg is now larger than many U.S. embassies in Africa, an expansion reflecting in particular our growing economic partnership with southern Africa.

Mr. Chairman, Botswana is one of Africa's great success stories. It is one of the continent's longest standing multiparty democracies and one of the United States' most reliable partners in Africa.

Our current engagement in Botswana across a range of issues underscores the country's potential as a regional and in some instances global partner for the United States. Our joint efforts to combat HIV-AIDS has made a worldwide contribution to the global evidence base on HIV treatment and prevention. If confirmed, I would draw on my law enforcement experience to be a strong advocate for the International Law Enforcement Academy in Botswana, a partnership between our two nations that trains police officials from 34 African countries. Botswana also hosts the International Broadcasting Bureau's Voice of America relay station, serving most of the African Continent.

Botswana has worked with us to promote democracy, good governance, and human rights. It has taken principled stands on these

issues at the United Nations, the African Union, and the Southern African Development Community. Botswana has a strong military-to-military relationship with the United States. The Botswana Defense Forces' current leadership is U.S. trained and is one of the continent's strongest supporters of AFRICOM.

Botswana has many key assets U.S. investors look for: stability, a reputation for transparency, respect for rule of law, and generally favorable investment conditions.

The Southern African Development Community is headquartered in Gaborone. If confirmed, I will serve as the United States representative to SADC, recognizing regional integration is essential to the long-term stability and prosperity of southern Africa.

Botswana is a regional leader and strong partner on conservation and environmental issues, such as managing regional water supplies and combating wildlife trafficking, a serious and growing problem across the continent.

Botswana does confront serious challenges. Botswana's HIV prevalence of 25 percent among young adults is the second-highest in the world. The decline in diamond reserves constitutes Botswana's greatest strategic challenge since its independence. As diamond resources dwindle, the country must find an alternate source of revenue or it could upend the country's development trajectory.

Botswana suffers from income inequality, poverty, high unemployment, aging infrastructure, and a need for a more skilled labor market. Women are disproportionately affected by HIV and gender-based violence is a serious problem.

The United States is keenly interested in Botswana maintaining a strong, stable, and reliable partner. Botswana is an example of what is possible in Africa and why it matters. If confirmed, I would work to enhance Botswana's potential and support the country as it addresses its economic, environmental, and health challenges to the benefits of both our nations.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you again for the opportunity to appear before you today. I will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Miller follows:]

TESTIMONY OF EARL ROBERT MILLER

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a great honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana. I appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Kerry have placed in me by putting my name forward for your consideration. I am also deeply grateful for the support of my wife, Ana, and sons, Andrew and Alexander. Our first overseas assignment in the Foreign Service was in Botswana, a country we loved dearly.

During my 27 years in the Foreign Service, as both a diplomat and federal law enforcement officer, I have had the privilege of serving in senior leadership positions at a variety of challenging posts. The success of our diplomacy depends on our people. If confirmed, I will make it my highest priority to ensure the safety, security, and well-being of our mission employees and all Americans in Botswana. Over the past 3 years, as the U.S. consul general in Johannesburg, South Africa, I managed the rapid growth of one of our busiest regional support and training centers. Our multiagency consulate general in Johannesburg is now larger than many U.S. Embassies in Africa, an expansion reflecting, in particular, our growing economic partnership with Southern Africa.

Mr. Chairman, there is nowhere I would rather serve than Botswana. It is one of Africa's great success stories. It is one of the continent's longest-standing

multiparty democracies. Botswana has also been one of the United States most reliable partners in Africa.

Our current engagement with Botswana, across a range of issues, underscores the country's potential as a regional, and in some instances, global, partner for the United States. Our health partnership, particularly our joint efforts to combat HIV/AIDS, has made a worldwide contribution to the global evidence base on HIV treatment and prevention. The Botswana Combination Prevention Project that our two countries launched in late 2013 is an important component of the President's commitment through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) to achieve an AIDS-free generation. If confirmed, I would draw on my significant law enforcement experience to be a strong advocate for the International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) in Botswana, a partnership between our two nations that trains police officials from 34 African countries, and has made a significant contribution to our continentwide efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, improve governance, protect human rights, combat wildlife trafficking, and advance peace and security. Botswana also hosts the International Broadcasting Bureau's Voice of America relay station, serving most of the African Continent.

Botswana has worked with us to promote democracy, good governance, and human rights throughout the continent. It has regularly taken principled stands on these issues at the United Nations, the African Union, and the Southern African Development Community. Botswana also has a strong military-to-military relationship with the United States. If confirmed, as both a former Marine Corps officer and senior diplomat who has worked closely with U.S. and host government armed forces around the world, I would prioritize further strengthening these ties. The Botswana Defense Force's (BDF's) current leadership is U.S.-trained and does not shy away from partnering with the United States. The BDF is one of the continent's strongest supporters of AFRICOM. Last year, Botswana approved the basing of an Air Force C-12 in Gaborone, and in the first 9 months, the C-12 team supported missions within the region.

There are significant economic ties between the United States and Botswana. The United States imports between 200 and 300 million dollars of goods and services from Botswana every year and is the top purchaser of polished diamonds, which form over 70 percent of Botswana's exports. Botswana has many key assets that U.S. investors look for: stability, a reputation for transparency, respect for rule of law, and generally favorable investment conditions.

The Southern African Development Community, or SADC, is headquartered in Gaborone, Botswana. Botswana is influential in this group of 15 southern African nations. If confirmed, I will serve as the United States representative to SADC. Regional integration and cooperation are essential to the long-term stability and prosperity of all of Southern African nations. I would look forward to exploring appropriate opportunities to work with SADC to promote these objectives.

Finally, Botswana is a regional leader and strong partner on conservation and environmental issues. On challenges such as managing regional water supplies, sustainable growth and combating wildlife trafficking—a serious and growing problem across the continent—Botswana is in many respects an impressive model. The Government of Botswana has taken on a leadership role within southern Africa on wildlife trafficking. In late 2013, we partnered with the Botswana Government in organizing the Gaborone Wildlife Enforcement Network conference, which resulted in 10 southern African nations recommending formation of the Wildlife Enforcement Network of Southern Africa (WENSA), a regional antiwildlife trafficking entity. We are working with Botswana's Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism on a followup conference, which we hope will take place later this year, aimed at drafting and finalizing the WENSA's foundational documents.

Despite Botswana's impressive development history, the country confronts serious challenges. Botswana's HIV prevalence rate of 25.4 percent among 15–49 year olds is the second-highest in the world. Our investment of more than \$700 million through PEPFAR over the past 10 years has aided the Government of Botswana in its response to HIV/AIDS. Botswana's epidemic has reached a tipping point—for every one new person on treatment, there is less than one person newly infected. But many challenges remain.

The decline in diamond reserves constitutes Botswana's greatest strategic challenge since independence. Diamond revenues, though well-managed in Botswana, constitute the largest source of government revenue and are used to improve the lives of its people. As diamond resources dwindle, the country must find an alternate source of revenue or face a severe economic downturn. If Botswana fails to meet this challenge, it could upend the country's development trajectory and severely constrain Botswana's capacity to cope with health challenges associated with one of the world's highest HIV prevalence rates. This could put the sustainability

of our \$700 million PEPFAR investment at risk, make it difficult for Botswana to sustainably manage its globally significant natural resources, particularly the Okavango Delta and its wildlife, and undercut Botswana's influence in the region.

Botswana's current diamond-wealth translates into a \$6,200 GDP per capita, relatively high for a developing country. Despite this high GDP rate, Botswana suffers from income inequality, poverty, high unemployment, aging infrastructure, and a need for a more skilled labor market. The top 20 percent of income earners in Botswana account for 70 percent of the country's household consumption, while over one-fifth of Botswana's population lives on less than \$1.25 per day. In Botswana's remote rural communities, poverty is particularly acute; in the least populated district, nearly one in two people are impoverished with no realistic prospects for living standard improvement on the horizon. Women are disproportionately affected by HIV, and gender-based violence is a serious problem.

Botswana is a strong and vocal partner of the United States today because of strong relationships forged 20 years ago in universities, military academies, and through programs such as the Peace Corps. If I am confirmed, I will build on these types of relationships with the rising generation of Botswana. Youth make up the largest segment of Botswana's population: over half of the population is under age 25. The United States is viewed positively by Botswana's youth, which opens important opportunities for us to influence the next generation of Botswana's leaders.

The United States is keenly interested in Botswana remaining a strong, stable, and reliable American partner. Botswana has consistently been successful, a source of hope for others, and an example of what is possible in Africa, and why it matters. If confirmed, my goal would be to work to enhance Botswana's potential and support the country as it seeks to address its economic, environmental, and health challenges. These goals require robust diplomatic, development, and defense engagement on our part.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you again for the opportunity to appear before you today. I will be happy to answer any questions.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Allen.

**STATEMENT OF CRAIG B. ALLEN, OF VIRGINIA, NOMINATED
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO BRUNEI DARUSSALAM**

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Flake, members of the committee, thank you very much. It is a great honor to appear before you today.

Before beginning my testimony, it is my privilege to introduce to you my family: my wife, Micheline Tusenius, our two children, Christopher and Caroline. It also gives me great pleasure to introduce my very proud 90-year-old mom, Betty Allen, my brother, Scott Allen, and my three nieces, Lisa, Jessica, and Sarah.

As a veteran Foreign Service officer with six previous assignments, I want to thank my family for their extraordinary flexibility, patience, and many sacrifices. In particular, I would like to thank my wife, Micheline, who has forsaken her own career for our family, giving me the opportunity to serve the American people overseas.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed it would be an honor to serve my country as the United States Ambassador to Brunei. The United States and Brunei have enjoyed strong and prosperous relations since 1850, when our two countries signed a treaty of peace, friendship, commerce, and navigation. Still in effect today, this treaty has underpinned our close cooperation for 160 years.

The United States and Brunei have a long history of working together to promote peace, stability, and development. If confirmed, I hope to continue that tradition and strengthen our relationship for the 21st century.

Today the United States relationship the Brunei rests on two central pillars. The first is growing economic partnership and the second is expanding regional cooperation. Our economic partnership is manifest through rapidly expanding trade. In 2013 American companies exported \$559 million worth of goods and services to Brunei and we regularly enjoy large bilateral trade surpluses. Recently Brunei purchased \$600 million worth of U.S. military and civilian aircraft.

Our bilateral economic cooperation is further demonstrated by rapidly increasing investment flows, including \$116 million worth of American investment in Brunei in 2012.

Finally, as you noted, Mr. Chair, Brunei was a founding member in the launch of TPP negotiations, and indeed they are a key part of our effort to finalize a high standard agreement for the 21st century.

The second pillar of our relationship with Brunei concerns regional issues. Brunei successfully chaired ASEAN last year. They have long been an important member of the region, and recently the United States and Brunei have cooperated on a number of matters of great importance to Southeast Asia. For example, we have launched the joint English language enrichment program for ASEAN, a \$25 million, 5-year initiative funded by the Bruneian Government. Also, Brunei and Indonesia joined us in founding the U.S.-Asia Comprehensive Energy Partnership, and to support this goal the Export-Import Bank of the United States and the energy department of Brunei's Prime Minister's office are collaborating on a \$1 billion Ex-Im program to further finance U.S. exports to the region.

In addition, we have an active and growing defense cooperation relationship, highlighted by Brunei's active participation in annual exercises with the U.S. Pacific Fleet. Brunei has hosted a large humanitarian assistance exercise which brought together servicemembers from the United States and the region.

Certainly there are challenges, Mr. Chairman. As you noted, Brunei's sharia law has caused serious concerns. The first phase of this law went into effect on May 1. We are concerned that the code criminalizes several aspects of freedom of religion, including apostasy, and we are concerned over some of the punishments that have been announced for future implementation. We are also concerned, as you noted, Mr. Chairman, that it criminalizes consensual same-sex conduct between adults.

Freedom of expression and freedom of religion, which includes the right to change one's religion, are fundamental human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While we understand that no physical punishments have been implemented under the current phase of the law, Brunei should ensure that its law prohibits torture or other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment.

While Bruneian officials have offered assurances that the standards that will be applied under the sharia system will be so exacting that it will be almost impossible for there to be a conviction that would result in sentences such as stoning or amputation, the threat of such extreme punishment still raises concern.

To these ends, we regularly communicate with Brunei regarding fundamental human rights and encourage the Government of Brunei to uphold its international commitments. We are watching closely to see how the law is being implemented.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Flake, members of the committee, thank you for inviting me to testify before you today and giving my nomination your kind consideration. I am pleased to answer any questions you may have. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Allen follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CRAIG B. ALLEN

Chairman Coons and members of the committee, it is a great honor to appear before you today.

Before beginning my testimony, it is my privilege to introduce you to my family: my wife, Micheline Tusenius, and our two children, Christopher and Caroline.

Please also allow me to introduce you to my very proud 90-year-old mother, Betty Allen; my brother, Scott Allen; and, my sister, Sara Bowden.

As a veteran Foreign Service officer with six previous overseas assignments, I want to thank my family for their extraordinary flexibility, patience, and many sacrifices.

I am especially grateful to my wife, Micheline, who has forsaken her own career for our family—giving me the opportunity to serve the American people overseas.

This month marks my 29th year in government. During this period, I have worked at the Department of Commerce on issues associated with Asia for 25 years. In the course of my work, I have visited Brunei twice and been intimately involved in our trade relationship with Brunei, ASEAN, APEC, and the region.

Indeed, it is fair to say that I have been preparing for this moment for 29 years, and thus I am grateful to you for considering this nomination.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, it would be an honor to serve my country as the United States Ambassador to Brunei.

The United States and Brunei have enjoyed strong and prosperous relations since 1850, when our two countries signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation. Still in effect today, the treaty has underpinned our close cooperation for the last 164 years. More recently, the United States was one of the first countries to recognize Brunei's independence from the United Kingdom in 1984. In the 30 years since then, the United States and Brunei have worked together to promote and foster peace, stability, and development, and if confirmed, I hope to continue that tradition and strengthen our relationship for the 21st century.

Today, the United States relationship with Brunei rests on two central pillars. The first is our long-standing, robust, and growing economic partnership. This economic cooperation is manifest through the continuously expanding trade between our two countries, to the great benefit of both. In 2013, United States companies exported \$559 million of goods and services to Brunei, and we regularly enjoy annual trade surpluses. Our positive cooperation is further demonstrated by the continuous and increasing investments U.S. companies are making in Brunei, including \$116 million worth in 2012. Recent Bruneian purchases of U.S. military and civilian aircraft totaling \$600 million further attests to the strength of the economic relationship. Finally, Brunei was a founding party in the launch of the Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations and is a key part of current efforts to finalize a high-standard TPP agreement that will promote jobs and growth in the United States, Brunei, and across the Asia-Pacific region.

The second pillar of the relationship is our engagement with Brunei on regional issues. Brunei was the chair of ASEAN last year and has long been an active and positively engaged member of the region. Recently, the United States and Brunei have cooperated to address a host of matters important to Southeast Asia. Together we launched the English Language Enrichment Project for ASEAN, a \$25 million, 5-year initiative—funded by the Bruneian Government—that seeks to strengthen ASEAN's global engagement through improved English language capacity and advanced educational and teaching opportunities in the region. In 2012, Brunei and Indonesia joined us in founding the U.S.-Asia Pacific Comprehensive Energy Partnership, which supports efforts to bring cleaner, more reliable sources of energy to the Asia-Pacific region by focusing on four priorities: renewables and cleaner energy; power markets and interconnectivity; the emerging role of natural gas; and sustainable development including rural electrification and energy efficiency. In support of those goals, a recently signed Memorandum of Understanding between the Export-

Import Bank of the United States and the Energy Department of Brunei's Prime Minister's Office calls for information sharing and up to US\$1 billion in Ex-Im Bank loans to finance U.S. exports in support of selected projects in the region. In these ways we are moving forward with Brunei to address regional issues vital to the maintenance of stability and growth.

In addition to these programs, the United States and Brunei cooperate on a host of other issues. We have an active and growing defense cooperation relationship, highlighted by Bruneian participation in annual exercises with U.S. Pacific Fleet, including the Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training exercise and, in 2014, for the first time, RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific Exercise). In addition, in 2013 Brunei hosted a large Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief exercise which brought together servicemembers from the United States and the region. The importance of this kind of training was clearly demonstrated just a few months later by the tragedy of Typhoon Haiyan, for which both the United States and Brunei offered assistance. Strides have also been made elsewhere: in 2013 Brunei was removed from the Special 301 Watch List in recognition of its efforts to protect intellectual property. Lastly, cultural, educational, and people-to-people ties continue to grow and define our bilateral relations in new and positive ways. Of particular note, the U.S.-Brunei English Language Enrichment Program for ASEAN is a novel way to improve English language skills throughout the region. Together, these programs highlight a multifaceted relationship that is both deep and broad, and one that is central to both promoting U.S. interests and the region and fostering the peace and stability that continue to bring economic growth.

Certainly, there are challenges in the relationship. The United States has serious concerns regarding certain provisions of Brunei's Sharia penal code, the first phase of which went into effect on May 1. We are concerned that the code criminalizes several aspects of freedom of religion, including apostasy, and we are concerned over some of the punishments that have been announced for future implementation. We are also concerned that it criminalizes same-sex conduct between adults. Freedom of expression and freedom of religion, which includes the right to change one's religious beliefs, are human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While we understand that no physical punishments have been implemented under the current phase of the law, Brunei should ensure that its law prohibits torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. While Bruneian officials have offered assurances that the standards that will be applied under the Sharia system will be so exacting that it will be almost impossible for there to be a conviction that would result in sentences such as stoning or amputation, the threat of such punishment still raises concerns. To these ends, we regularly communicate with Brunei regarding fundamental human rights and encourage the Government of Brunei to uphold its international commitments. We are watching closely to see how the law is being implemented. Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I will focus on working with Brunei authorities on these important issues, using every tool available to me to encourage Brunei to move expeditiously toward full compliance with international human rights standards.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for inviting me to testify before you today and for giving my nomination your serious consideration. I am pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Allen.

Then we will start 5-minute rounds. If I could first, Mr. Heflin, just two questions on maritime security and the diaspora. I am particularly interested in how we engage the diaspora in the United States in economic investment, in deployment and in political relations back to their country of origin. As you referenced there is a sizable Cabo Verdean community in New England. What could we do to more successfully engage the African diaspora in the United States, which is a critical competitive advantage lacked by China, Brazil, Russia, India, others? What more could we do?

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, as you know, the diaspora from Africa and other countries often leads the way in our relationships, including our economic relationships, with African countries. The Cabo Verdean community in New England has already shown interest in investing in the open economy of Cabo Verde.

Right now the sky is the limit. For instance, looking at trade figures recently between the United States and Cabo Verde, they are fairly low. Typical exports from Cabo Verde to the United States in a given year are about a million, two million dollars, and from the United States back to Cabo Verde \$8, \$9, \$10 million. Those could go up dramatically. If confirmed, I intend to work on fostering trade ties.

There is also a very interesting proposal on the table from one of the New England colleges to open a campus in Praia to begin to prepare Cabo Verdean students to come up and study at the university level in the United States. That is something my successor may well push over the top—my predecessor may well push over the top during our time there, and if not if confirmed I intend to.

Senator COONS. I would be interested in followup from you once confirmed, presuming confirmation, about exactly how we can do a better job at engaging diaspora communities.

Second, on maritime security. You referenced narcotrafficking as a major concern for me and for many off the Coast of West Africa, in addition to illegal fishing. Could you just explain the extent of the cooperation between the United States and Cabo Verde in combating both narcotrafficking and illegal fishing in the Western Coast of Africa?

Mr. HEFLIN. Happy to, Mr. Chairman. We have had engagement on a lot of different levels with a lot of different agencies between the United States and Cabo Verde.

AFRICOM's naval assets regularly conduct exercises and ship visits down there and over the years we have given the Cabo Verdeans three ships, including a 51-footer, that they put to good use. Their problem obviously is in the sea lanes between them and West Africa and traffic coming over from South America and heading up toward Europe.

We also helped them start a command center, called COSMAR, in which they have formed an interagency group to start to get control of their own water, which, as you know, in African countries the problem sometimes is narcotraffickers, but sometimes over-fishing or other economic losses from their waters. So with a small and very able coast guard-type navy, this command center that we have worked with them on, our Coast Guard works with them closely, and the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement also has programs with the Cabo Verdeans. They have been a very good partner.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Mr. Miller, you referenced Botswana has one of the most stable, capable militaries. We have a close police training relationship in Botswana. They are also a strong supporter of AFRICOM. What else do you think Botswana could do to play more of a role in supporting regional security efforts and what more could we be doing to combat wildlife trafficking? Botswana has historically done very well, but issues with some of its neighbors are preventing predictable long-term success and we have, I think, a real challenge, not just in Botswana, but in the entire region in wildlife trafficking.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you for the question, Senator. I have seen firsthand in South Africa over the last 3 years the devastation caused by the increasingly sophisticated and lethal wildlife traf-

ficking syndicates. The Botswana Defense Force is the first line of defense in Botswana to combat wildlife trafficking. It is a highly regarded, well respected defense force.

We have a number of programs in place to assist the BDF and the Government of Botswana with antipoaching operations, including classes on antitrafficking investigations, money-laundering investigative courses to strike at the roots of the syndicates that are behind many of the trafficking outfits in the region.

We are strong supporters of Botswana's establishing a wildlife enforcement network for southern Africa in Botswana. The only way we will solve this problem is through a regional and ultimately a global approach.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Senator Flake.

Senator FLAKE. Thank you, and thank you to your families as well for the sacrifices that they have made and continue to make. I know it is quite a commitment. I spent 1 year overseas—we had a child just a year and a half old—in Namibia, and I look at that and think of the difficulty that is, to have one child away from cousins and parents, grandparents and everything else, and you have done it many, many times. Your service is appreciated, all the families in particular.

Mr. Heflin, with regard to Cabo Verde, the Millennium Challenge, again we are in the second iteration. What did we learn in the first? What lessons are we taking forward and how can we make sure that we expand on the benefits?

Mr. HEFLIN. Millennium Challenge Corporation has not quite finished its after-action report on the first compact. The second compact, it was decided to spend the first 2 years getting the legal and regulatory framework in place, and it is coming along nicely. Once that is done and only once that is done will we move on to construction and other spending.

Senator FLAKE. Mr. Allen, the trade surplus, that is a pretty good surplus we have got. How much of it traditionally is military equipment or planes? Is that typical year to year or is that just a bump lately?

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you, Ranking Member Flake. The trade surplus and the trade numbers are quite volatile. Last year we delivered several aircraft and that skewed the numbers. We have a number of other aircraft, large aircraft deals in the pipeline, and thus I would consider it a rising trend in U.S. exports to Brunei in the foreseeable future—aircraft, oil equipment, consumer goods, food, and a good number of other commodities as well.

Senator FLAKE. The only economy is certainly shrinking from where it was. How much longer? They are looking to revive it for as long as they can. They are certainly looking to diversify and that will be a lot of your role, and certainly I think why they have so much interest in the TPP. We appreciate their leadership and help there. I hope it is something that the Congress can give the President the tools to actually give effect to.

But in the area of diversification, what are they doing?

Mr. ALLEN. Sir, I share your sentiments entirely with regard to TPP. The IMF just this week or last week released a report sug-

gesting that Brunei's GDP would be trending upward toward 6 percent this year and next. So their economy is doing quite well.

In terms of diversification, they are trying to move downstream in the petroleum business, develop tourism and other service exports, and develop other segments of their economy that employ more Bruneian citizens, and integrate themselves better in ASEAN and in the region.

Senator FLAKE. Thank you.

Mr. Miller, I have not spent much time in Botswana. I spent a year in South Africa, a year in Namibia, and 6 months in Zimbabwe, so I have kind of surrounded it. But actually when I got back to college I wrote my master's thesis trying to explain Mugabe's hold on the electorate in Zimbabwe during the eighties. Now I think we have determined what that hold is. It is brute force and chicanery lately.

But now I think all of us are trying to explain the hold he has on the rest of Africa. It has been very disappointing to see particularly the other SADC countries countenance what has gone on in Zimbabwe. Botswana I will note was the one country to be somewhat critical initially, but then kind of fell in line with the other southern African countries.

What can you do in your role to make sure that there is the appropriate pressure and the appropriate stand taken by SADC countries at least standing up to what should not be countenanced in Zimbabwe? Long question, sorry.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you for that question, Senator. President Khama has taken some lonely and courageous and principled stands within SADC as a proponent of human rights and democracy across Africa, including Zimbabwe. He supported the global political agreement and sent a robust election observer delegation to Zimbabwe for the recent elections and was critical within SADC for the elections failing to abide by SADC's own standards.

Botswana and Zimbabwe enjoy full diplomatic relations, but Botswana is not shy about criticizing what it sees as violations of human rights in Zimbabwe.

I will take every opportunity to engage at the highest levels with the Government of Botswana and within SADC on issues of human rights. I would look forward to working with Ambassador Bruce Wharton and his fine team in Harare on regional human rights and good governance issues.

Senator FLAKE. Well, thank you. In most cases here—I mean, SADC has some great governing principles, as does the AU, and I think all we need to do is make sure these countries stand up for their own standards. Certainly Botswana has been more willing to do so than other countries in the region. Please pass on our thanks for that, and hopefully we can foster that kind of attitude to stand up for not Western standards or U.S. standards, but the standards, the election standards and otherwise, human rights standards, that SADC has itself propounded and other countries in the region.

But again, thank you all for your service. I have no doubt that you will serve the country well in this capacity.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Flake.

I have just a few more questions, if I might, for Mr. Allen, who I did not get to in my first round. If you would, just speak further about how you are going to address the issue of sharia law and some challenges that may create for us in terms of further progress on TPP or our relationship with Brunei?

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you, Chairman. Firstly, I share your sentiments exactly on sharia, Brunei's sharia penal code. I think that the first thing that we need to do is monitor implementation, watch very closely. Thus far they are in the very early stages of this and we therefore need to monitor closely. We need to increase our dialogue on the importance of human rights and our expectations of human rights in Brunei.

We need to remind the Government of Brunei when and if it becomes necessary, when it becomes necessary, of their international human rights obligations. We need to speak out in favor of our principles, and I will not be shy in upholding our principles with the government and the people of Brunei.

With regard to TPP, it is useful to note that Brunei was a founding member, part of the P4. It is also important to note that trade is an important—trade and investment, economic exchange, is an important way to broaden support for the universal values that we hold dear. We have not used trade agreements in the past to address religious concerns.

Vis a vis the specific strategy for TPP, I would have to refer you to USTR, which is of course leading those important negotiations. But I look forward to being a partner with them to ensure the passage of TPP and also ensuring that our views on human rights are known and hopefully respected in Brunei.

Thank you.

Senator COONS. Well, given your long career service in Commerce, I would also be interested in how you view intellectual property rights, whether you view them as central to our making progress on TPP with Brunei and how essential you think advocating for a regime in trade that respects and protects American intellectual property rights, how central you think that is.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you, Senator. I believe it is absolutely essential. Intellectual property rights are core to our economy and, more particularly, to our future economic growth.

With regard to Brunei, there still are some intellectual property right problems, but they were lifted off of USTR's special watch list recently, thus indicating some progress made. That said, I understand that there still are problems and I look forward to working with the government of Brunei to further clean up and improve the protection for intellectual property rights.

Within the context of TPP, those negotiations are ongoing and clearly very important to our future economic prosperity and growth.

Thank you.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Mr. Allen.

Senator Flake, any further questions?

Senator FLAKE. No, Mr. Chairman.

Senator COONS. Well, with that I would like to thank all three of our nominees today. I would like to also thank, if I might, Mr. Heflin's daughter, Sara, Mr. Miller's wife, Ana, and sons, Andrew

and Alexander, and of course Micheline Tusenius and Christopher and Caroline. Thank you all for your support. I know there are many others here as well. We are grateful that you stuck with us and we are grateful for your willingness to serve.

Then we will keep the record of this panel open until noon tomorrow, Wednesday July 30, and I will recess for a third panel.

[Recess from 4:08 p.m. to 4:10 p.m.]

Senator Kaine [presiding]. This third panel of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is now called to order. When I asked folks to assemble, I betrayed my trial lawyer roots by indicating that the "witnesses" should take their places. These are not witnesses; they are nominees, and we are very, very glad to have all three of them here.

What we will do is, I will do a brief introduction of each of the three. Then I will ask them to make opening statements in the order that I introduced you, and following that I will have questions for each of you. Normally we would have other committee members here, but normally we do not do three panels. So you may only have to face my withering cross-examination this afternoon.

But again, welcome to all. These are all quite important positions.

So, to begin with introductions: Michele Sison has served as U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Maldives since 2012. She previously served as assistant chief of mission in Baghdad, Iraq, U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, and U.S. Ambassador to the UAE. She holds the rank of Career Minister in the U.S. Foreign Service. Her early assignments include: service as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for south Asian affairs and positions in Pakistan, India, Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Benin, Togo, and Haiti, in the 32 years since 1982 when she joined the Foreign Service.

Sison also served as the State Department's director of career development in assignments in 2010 and 2011. She received her bachelor degree in political science from Wellesley and also studied at the London School of Economics. She is the mother of two grown daughters.

Ambassador Sison, welcome.

Our next two nominees are ambassadors in different ways. While they have not served in the Foreign Service, they have both served a huge percentage of their professional career as Americans abroad. The millions of Americans we have who live abroad, who proudly represent the United States as they do their business and raise their families abroad are ambassadors in a different way.

S. Fitzgerald Haney is a Principal and Head of Business Development in Client Service for Pzena Investment Management. He also has served as a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council since 2013. Quickly, his business background: from 2006 to 2007 he served with International Discount Telecommunication; 2002 to 2006 he was director of strategic planning at Depository Trust and Clearing Corporation; from 1999 to 2001 he was a senior associate at Israel Seed Partners in Jerusalem, Israel; previously vice president of marketing and strategic planning at Citicorp-Citibank in Mexico City and Monterrey. Prior to that, he had various positions with PepsiCo, including significant stints in

Sao Paolo, Brazil, and also in Mexico City and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

He began his career after his bachelor's and master's degree from Georgetown, serving as a Procter and Gamble assistant brand manager in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Welcome, Mr. Haney. It is good to have you here.

Finally, Charles Adams is the Managing Partner of the Geneva office of the international law firm Akin Gump Strauss Hauer and Feld. He has worked in Geneva for over 20 years, serving as managing partner for two law firms, and his practice focuses heavily on international arbitrations in Europe and around the world.

He is a graduate of Dartmouth College and the University of Virginia School of Law, was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Kenya from 1968-70, and grew up living the patriotic and peripatetic life of a child of a long-time member of the American Foreign Service.

So, Mr. Adams, welcome to you as well.

I would like to ask you each now to make opening statements. Your written statements will be submitted for the record, but if you could speak for about 5 minutes that would be great, and then I will ask each of you questions. I will begin with Ambassador Sison.

STATEMENT OF HON. MICHELE JEANNE SISON, OF MARYLAND, NOMINATED TO BE THE DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR, AND DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS; AND TO BE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED STATES DURING HER TENURE OF SERVICE AS DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Ambassador SISON. Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. I am grateful to the President, Secretary Kerry, Ambassador Power for their faith and confidence in my ability to represent the American people at the United Nations.

I know my daughters, Allie and Jessica, are watching this hearing out in Arizona on their laptops and I would like to give them a heartfelt shout-out in recognition of the many years they spent accompanying me around the globe as Foreign Service kids. My two girls truly are my pride and joy.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed I look forward to advancing America's interests at the United Nations at a time of unprecedented challenges. President Obama has stressed that the global nature of the threats facing the world today cannot be adequately addressed by one nation alone. For that reason, America depends upon and must continue to demonstrate leadership within an effective, responsive, and responsible international system.

I have been privileged to serve our country three times as U.S. Ambassador, as you mentioned, in the United Arab Emirates, Lebanon, and Sri Lanka, and Maldives. Throughout my career I have worked with our international partners on issues as varied as non-proliferation, counterterrorism, climate change, and post-conflict transition. Representing our Nation in challenging posts around the world from Haiti to Cote d'Ivoire and Pakistan to Iraq, I have

seen the United Nations—I have seen that the United Nations, for all its shortcomings, has the ability to complement and amplify U.S. efforts to achieve a number of our foreign policy goals, including to prevent and end armed conflicts, ensure accountability, and build the conditions for a lasting peace.

On the ground, I have worked alongside U.N. colleagues to deliver life-saving humanitarian assistance to communities racked by conflict and natural disaster. And I have coordinated closely with U.N. personnel on efforts to aid refugees and internally displaced persons.

As U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, I witnessed how U.N. peacekeepers contribute to allaying tensions along the blue line between Israel and Lebanon. I have vigorously promoted U.S. interests by urging our partners overseas to adhere to U.N. Security Council resolutions designed to deter the proliferation efforts of Iran and North Korea, al-Qaeda-linked terrorism, and other grave threats to peace.

Of course, there can be no sustainable peace without justice and the rule of law. I have worked closely with the U.N. throughout my career to promote accountability and respect for human rights, as well as to address the issue of sexual or gender-based violence in conflict. While I believe no country can lead as effectively as the United States, it is not our Nation's job to solve every crisis around the world. The U.N. is an important forum for sharing that burden internationally.

If confirmed, I will seek to expand the number of capable and willing partners working with us at the U.N. on each of the issues I have mentioned and will seek to unite them in a common cause in tackling our many common challenges.

Finally, although I recognize the U.N.'s potential to advance critical U.S. priorities, I am also well aware of the U.N. system's limitations and the challenges it faces to ensure that its important work is performed efficiently and effectively. Some of these challenges are internal to the U.N. system and some reflect the competing priorities of its member states.

If confirmed, I will actively pursue our shared priority of ensuring that American taxpayer resources are used effectively to advance U.S. goals and objectives. I pledge to work to ensure U.N. fiscal discipline, transparency, ethics, oversight, and reform. I will also continue this administration's firm commitment to fight any unfair bias against Israel at the U.N.

Mr. Chairman, I have worked closely with this committee throughout my career and I greatly respect the active role of the committee in shaping American foreign policy. If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to continue to work with you to advance U.S. national interests at the United Nations. I am honored to appear before you today and I appreciate your consideration of my nomination.

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

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Sison follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR MICHELE JEANNE SISON

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. I am grateful to the President, Secretary Kerry, and Ambassador Power for their faith and confidence in my ability to represent the American people at the United Nations.

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I have been privileged to serve our country three times as U.S. Ambassador: in the United Arab Emirates, Lebanon, and Sri Lanka and Maldives. Throughout my career, I've worked with our international partners on issues as varied as non-proliferation, counterterrorism, climate change, and post-conflict transition. Representing our Nation in challenging posts around the world—from Haiti to Cote d'Ivoire, and Pakistan to Iraq—I have seen that the United Nations, for all its shortcomings, has the ability to complement and amplify U.S. efforts to achieve a number of our foreign policy goals, including to prevent and end armed conflicts, ensure accountability, and build the conditions for a lasting peace.

On the ground, I've worked alongside U.N. colleagues to deliver life-saving humanitarian assistance to communities wracked by conflict and natural disaster, and I've coordinated closely with U.N. personnel on efforts to aid refugees and internally displaced persons. As U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, I witnessed how U.N. peacekeepers contribute to allaying tensions along the "Blue Line" between Israel and Lebanon.

I have vigorously promoted U.S. interests by urging our partners overseas to adhere to U.N. Security Council Resolutions designed to deter the proliferation efforts of Iran and North Korea, Al-Qaeda-linked terrorism, and other grave threats to peace. Of course, there can be no sustainable peace without justice and the rule of law. I've worked closely with the U.N. throughout my career to promote accountability and respect for human rights, as well as to address the issue of sexual or gender-based violence in conflict. And, while I believe no country can lead as effectively as the United States, it is not our Nation's job to solve every crisis around the world; the U.N. is an important forum for sharing that burden internationally. If confirmed, I will seek to expand the number of capable and willing partners working with us at the U.N. on each of the issues I've mentioned, and will seek to unite them in common cause in tackling our many common challenges.

Finally, although I recognize the U.N.'s potential to advance critical U.S. priorities, I am also well aware of the U.N. system's limitations and the challenges it faces to ensure that its important work is performed efficiently and effectively. Some of these challenges are internal to the U.N. system, and some reflect the competing priorities of its member states. If confirmed, I will actively pursue our shared priority of ensuring that American taxpayer resources are used effectively to advance U.S. goals and objectives. I pledge to work to ensure U.N. fiscal discipline, transparency, ethics, oversight, and reform. I will also continue this administration's firm commitment to fight any unfair bias against Israel at the U.N.

Mr. Chairman, I've worked closely with this committee throughout my career, and I greatly respect the active role of the committee in shaping American foreign policy. If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to continue to work with you to advance U.S. national interests at the United Nations.

I am honored to appear before you today and I appreciate your consideration of my nomination. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have for me. Thank you.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Ambassador Sison.
Mr. Haney.

STATEMENT OF STAFFORD FITZGERALD HANEY, OF NEW JERSEY, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA

Mr. HANEY. Chairman Kaine, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next United States Ambassador to Costa Rica. I am profoundly humbled by this opportunity to serve and thank the President and the Secretary of State for the confidence they have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your colleagues to protect U.S. citizens in Costa Rica, deepen the bonds that unite our countries, and advance U.S. interests in Central America.

With the chairman's permission, I would like to acknowledge my family who are here with me today, starting with my wife, Rabbi Andrea Haney, and my children Asher, Nava, Eden, and Shaia. If I am confirmed, my wife and our four children will be joining me in San Jose, and it is only through their love and support that I am here today.

I would also like to acknowledge my brother-in-law, Adam Dobrick, and my sister-in-law, Alison Dobrick, and various friends supporting us today.

Finally, I would also like to mention my mother, father, and brother, who are here with us in our hearts. My mother, Sandra Haney, was and still is my hero. Working days and studying at night, she showed us by her example that the United States is truly a land of opportunity. She was also a link in a long line of family that has in various ways served our Nation proudly. From a fifth great-granduncle who fought in the Revolutionary War, to my brother who served both overseas and at home, to my great-uncle who recently received an honorary doctorate in public service, we have a long and proud tradition of serving our Nation. It is in my mother's honor and in her memory that I hope if I am confirmed to dedicate my service.

Costa Rica is an important ally in a region of critical strategic importance to the United States. It is the most stable democracy in Central America. Its strong commitment to investing in education and health has helped it achieve literacy, life expectancy, infant mortality, and income levels that are considered among the best in the region.

It is no surprise that these positive attributes have attracted significant numbers of U.S. citizens and today approximately 100,000 call Costa Rica home and more than 1 million visit annually. If confirmed, their safety and well-being will be my top priority.

Despite its successes, Costa Rica, like its neighbors, confronts many challenges, including security challenges, as international drug trafficking organizations and organized crime increasingly penetrate Central America. The United States and Costa Rica enjoy an excellent partnership in security cooperation. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Government of Costa Rica to ensure that organized crime does not undermine the country's economy and democratic institutions.

Another of my highest priorities if confirmed will be promoting greater Central American integration. The region will not prosper without better regional cooperation on trade, infrastructure development, energy integration, and investment.

Given its stability and relative prosperity, Costa Rica is not a source of the unaccompanied young people who have been streaming north to escape poverty, violence, and hopelessness, and in fact is itself a destination. Costa Rica can play a constructive role in working to create conditions in Central America that are conducive to reducing poverty and violence. President Solis has emphasized he is committed to working to promote regional integration and prosperity, and if I am confirmed I will support him in those efforts.

I have many years experience living and working in the international businesses in Latin America and understand the region and its challenges. As was made clear during the recent investment promotion visit to the United States, Costa Rica is serious about improving its business climate and attracting foreign investment. If confirmed, my private sector experience would be an asset in helping Costa Rica advance in those areas. It would also serve me in working to advocate for stronger intellectual property protection, promote entrepreneurship and private-public partnerships, and ensure that U.S. companies and investors encounter a fair and level playing field for doing business in Costa Rica.

If confirmed, I will also work closely with Costa Rica to advance the many other policy objectives and priorities the United States and Costa Rica share. Costa Rica shares our commitment to protecting democratic freedoms and human rights and has made it clear it will resist any attempts to weaken the inter-American human rights system. Costa Rica will also continue to be a strong partner with the United States on initiatives to mitigate and adapt to climate change and promote renewable energy use and sustainable development.

I believe Costa Rica has the opportunity to become a regional hub of innovation, good governance, and increased competitiveness. As our dedicated team at Embassy San Jose states, a safe, prosperous, and green Costa Rica benefits the citizens of both our nations.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you again for your consideration of my nomination and I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Haney follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY STAFFORD FITZGERALD HANEY

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next United States Ambassador to Costa Rica.

I am profoundly humbled by this opportunity to serve and thank the President and the Secretary of State for the confidence they have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your colleagues in Congress to advance U.S. interests in Costa Rica and deepen the bonds that unite our countries.

With the Chairman's permission, I would like to acknowledge friends and family who are with me today; starting with my wife, Rabbi Andrea Haney, and my children, Asher, Nava, Eden, and Shaia. If I am confirmed, my wife and our four children will be joining me in San Jose, and it is only through their love and support that I am here today. I would also like to acknowledge my mother-in-law, Betsy Dobrick, my brother and sister-in-law, Adam and Allison Dobrick, and various close friends who are here today and whose support means so much to me and my family.

Finally, I would also like to mention my mother, father, and brother, may they rest in peace, who are here with us in our hearts. My mother, Sandra Haney, was, and still is, my hero. As a young widow with two young children, she left home and family to provide my brother and me with the best education and opportunities she could. Working during the day and going to school at night, she showed us, by her

example, that the United States is truly the land of opportunity for those who work hard on a level playing field. She did not have it easy as a single African-American woman raising two children alone in the 1970s, but she never gave up and she knew her sacrifices would allow her children to have a better life. It was her firmly held belief, one that she passed on, that America's core values should serve as an example throughout the world. She also was a link in a long line of family that has, in various ways, served our Nation proudly. From a 5th great-granduncle who fought in the Revolutionary War, to my brother who served both overseas and at home, to my great-uncle who recently received an honorary doctorate in public service and was recognized by the Tennessee state legislature, to my mother's marches and sit-ins to protest what she saw as injustices not compatible with the America we aspire to be—we have a long and proud tradition of serving our Nation. It is in my mother's honor and in her memory that I hope, if I am confirmed, to dedicate my service.

Costa Rica is an important ally in a region of critical strategic importance to the United States. It is the most stable democracy in Central America, and its long-held traditions of protecting human rights and freedom of expression are a model for the region. Its strong commitment to investing in education and health has helped Costa Rica achieve literacy, life expectancy, infant mortality, and income levels that are significantly better than and serve as a good example for the rest of Central America. It is no surprise that these positive attributes have attracted significant numbers of U.S. citizens to the country. Today, approximately 100,000 U.S. citizens call Costa Rica home, and more than 1 million visit annually. If confirmed, their safety and well-being will be my top priority.

Despite its successes, Costa Rica, like its neighbors, confronts many challenges, including security challenges, as international drug trafficking organizations and organized crime increasingly penetrate Central America. The United States and Costa Rica enjoy an excellent partnership in security cooperation. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Government of Costa Rica to ensure that organized crime does not undermine the country's economy and democratic institutions.

If confirmed, another of my highest priorities will be promoting greater Central American integration. The region will not prosper without better regional cooperation on trade, infrastructure development, energy integration, and investment. Greater integration has long been an aspiration in Central America, but effective mechanisms for achieving that goal have remained elusive. The United States can play a constructive role in helping Central America create jobs and economic opportunities for its 43 million people by helping the region improve infrastructure, integrate markets, reduce nontariff barriers, and benefit more from its free trade agreement.

Given its stability and relative prosperity, Costa Rica is not a source of the unaccompanied young people who have been streaming north to escape poverty, violence, and hopelessness, and, in fact, may be a destination itself. Costa Rica can play a constructive regional leadership role in working to create conditions in Central America that are conducive to reducing poverty and violence and creating jobs and opportunity. President Solis has emphasized he is committed to working to promote regional integration and prosperity, and, if confirmed, I will support him in those efforts. I will also work to create strong linkages between the American Chambers of Commerce in Central America, so that the private sector is fully incorporated into the process of seeking solutions to the region's development challenges.

I have many years' experience living and working in international business in Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and Brazil. I understand the region and the challenges it faces. As President Solis made clear during his recent investment-promotion visit to the United States, Costa Rica is serious about improving its business climate, and attracting foreign investment. If confirmed, my private sector experience would be an asset in working with Costa Rica to advance in those areas. It would also serve me to advocate for stronger intellectual property protection, promote entrepreneurship and private-public partnerships, and ensure that U.S. companies and investors encounter a fair and level playing field for doing business in Costa Rica.

If confirmed, I will also work closely with Costa Rica to advance the many other policy objectives and priorities the United States and Costa Rica share. Costa Rica shares our commitment to protecting democratic freedoms and human rights, and has made clear it will vigilantly resist any attempts to weaken the Inter-American Human Rights System. Costa Rica will also continue to be a strong partner with the United States on initiatives to mitigate and adapt to climate change and promote renewable energy use and sustainable development. I believe Costa Rica has the opportunity to become a regional hub of innovation and the potential to assume a leadership role in advancing good governance and prosperity throughout Central America.

As our dedicated team at Embassy San Jose states: A safe, prosperous, and green Costa Rica benefits the citizens of both our nations.

Mr. Chairman, committee members, I thank you again for your consideration of my nomination to serve as Ambassador to Costa Rica, and I welcome your questions.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Haney.
Mr. Adams.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES C. ADAMS, JR., OF MARYLAND, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND

Mr. ADAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a privilege to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Finland, and it is a tremendous honor to have been asked to serve in this post. Like my colleagues, I thank President Obama and Senator Kerry for the confidence that they have shown in me and if confirmed very much look forward to working with you and your colleagues in Congress to further U.S. interests in Finland.

I regret only that my wife, Vera, and my 12-year-old daughter, Maya, who if I am confirmed will accompany me to Helsinki, could not be here with me today. I hope that they are watching on the Internet back at home in Geneva, although it is way past Maya's bedtime by now.

I hope also watching is my son, Matthew, who is 31, who lives and works in Los Angeles, of whom I am very proud and who has been a great support to me throughout the process leading up to my appearance here before you today.

I do have here a group of dear friends and law partners whose support I very much appreciate also.

If I may, I would like to say just a few words about why my appearance here today before you is of such personal significance to me. As you mentioned, Mr. Chairman, my late father Charles C. Adams dedicated the entirety of his professional career to representing the United States as a Foreign Service officer, devotedly supported throughout by my late mother, Florence Schneider Adams.

They and what came over time to be a family of six kids spent many years in posts all over the world, principally in Europe and Africa, between assignments back home here in the United States. I thus had the opportunity to witness at firsthand, through the eyes of the Foreign Service brat that I was, the tremendous skill and savvy and dedication and courage that my parents and all other professionals of the Foreign Service brought to their service to their country and the burdens and the sacrifices that they were prepared to endure.

After service in the Peace Corps in Kenya in 1968 to 1970 and after law school at Mr. Jefferson's university in Charlottesville, I chose to enter the private sector, and I have practiced international law and international arbitration at high levels for now over 40 years. But I always have had very close to my heart the idea that as a salute to the memory of my mom and dad and to the magnificent men and women of the Foreign Service with whom they served, that I might some day be afforded the opportunity and the

extraordinary privilege to serve my country as an ambassador of the United States.

And should I be honored by the confirmation of this nomination, that long-held aspiration will have been fulfilled.

I am very excited that the President has asked me to represent the United States in Finland. Finland is a very close U.S. partner. During the cold war Finland served as a key interlocutor between East and West, hosting numerous international summits, including those leading to the Helsinki Final Act, the founding document of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will celebrate its 40th anniversary next year.

Finland has been a member of the European Union since 1995, has developed an innovation-led economy, engages closely with the United States and the NATO Partnership for Peace program, including in Afghanistan, and leads in promoting human rights around the globe. Finland's participation in multilateral fora is a core component of its foreign policy. Finland is an important partner of the United States in international organizations like the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. And if confirmed, I will work to sustain and advance the strong U.S.-Finland bilateral relationship.

I will work to do so by championing U.S. national interests across three areas: our shared security, shared prosperity, and shared values. First, on our shared security, ever since 1950 Finland has been a dedicated participant in U.S. peacekeeping missions around the world and, although not a member of NATO, Finland is a participant, as I said, in the Partnership for Peace and maintains very high levels of cooperation with us.

Finland has also played a critical role in addressing the crisis in Syria through its participation in the mission to transport and destroy Syrian chemical weapons and has provided \$21.9 million in humanitarian assistance to the Syrian people.

Second, the United States and Finland share the vision of a strong, robust, trans-Atlantic economy that delivers for all of our citizens, and if confirmed one of my top priorities will be to increase economic cooperation between Finland and the United States through expedited, expanded bilateral trade through the TTIP, Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership.

Finland has played a very active role in advancing our shared security, economic and social values, and if confirmed I look forward to representing my country and advancing a still deeper connection between the United States and Finland. I am very grateful for the opportunity to address you and am at your disposal to answer any questions you may have. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Adams follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHARLES C. ADAMS, JR

Mr. Chairman and honorable members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Finland. It is a tremendous honor to be asked to serve in this post, and I would like to thank President Obama and Secretary Kerry for their confidence in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your colleagues in Congress to further U.S. interests in Finland.

With your kind permission, I would like to say a few words about my personal background and why this makes the privilege to serve as an Ambassador so meaningful, if confirmed by the Senate.

My late father, Charles C. Adams, dedicated the entirety of his professional career to representing the United States as a Foreign Service officer, supported throughout by my late mother, Florence Schneider Adams. They, and what came over time to be a family of six children, spent many years in posts all over the world, principally in Europe and Africa, between assignments back home here in the United States. I had the opportunity to witness at first hand, through the eyes of the "foreign service brat" that I was, the enormous skill, savvy, dedication, and courage that my parents, and all other professionals of the Foreign Service, brought to their service to their country, and the burdens and sacrifices they were prepared to endure.

After service in the Peace Corps in East Africa in 1968-70, I chose to enter the private sector, and have practiced international law and policy at high levels for now over 40 years. But I have always had close to my heart the idea that, as a salute to the memory of my mom and dad, and to the magnificent men and women of the Foreign Service with whom they served, I might someday be afforded the extraordinary privilege of serving my country as a United States Ambassador.

I am very excited that the President asked me to represent the United States in Finland. Finland is a close U.S. partner. During the cold war, Finland served as a key interlocutor between East and West, hosting numerous international summits, including those leading to the Helsinki Final Act, which will celebrate its 40th anniversary next year. Finland has been a member of the European Union since 1995, has developed an innovation-led economy, engages closely with us as a NATO partner, including in Afghanistan, and leads in promoting human rights around the globe.

Finland's participation in multilateral fora is a core component of its foreign policy. Finland is an important partner of the United States in international organizations like the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

If confirmed, I will work to sustain and advance the strong U.S.-Finland bilateral relationship. I will work to do so by championing U.S. national interests across three areas: our shared security, shared prosperity, and shared values.

First, on our shared security: ever since the 1950s, Finland has been a dedicated participant in U.N. peacekeeping missions around the world. Although not a member of NATO, Finland is a participant in NATO's Partnership for Peace program and maintains a high level of cooperation and interoperability with the Alliance.

Finland has contributed troops to the ISAF mission in Afghanistan and has pledged \$8 million per year from 2015 to 2017 in support for the Afghan National Security Forces. Finland has taken the lead on implementation of UNSCR 1325, the Resolution for Women, Peace and Security, which seeks to protect women's rights and participation in Afghan society.

Finland also played a critical role in addressing the crisis in Syria through its participation in the mission to transport and destroy Syrian chemical weapons and has provided \$21.9 million in humanitarian assistance to the Syrian people.

Second, the United States and Finland share the vision of a strong, robust transatlantic economy that delivers for all our citizens. That is why, if confirmed, one of my top priorities will be increasing economic cooperation between Finland and the United States, through expanded bilateral trade and investment. Finland strongly supports a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which, if successfully negotiated, could further increase bilateral economic ties and strengthen the overall U.S.-EU economic relationship. I will also work closely with the Finns on the increasingly important Arctic region. Finland is eager to work with us on our upcoming chairmanship of the Arctic Council, and will take over the chairmanship after us in 2017.

Finally, on our shared values, the U.S.-Finnish relationship continues to thrive because of the strong people-to-people ties between our two nations. These relationships are the lifeblood of the U.S.-Finnish partnership. If confirmed, I will travel throughout the country meeting with students, media, local officials and civil society listening to their priorities and concerns and speaking to the enduring value of our cooperation.

Finland has played an active role in advancing our shared security, economic, and social values. If confirmed, I look forward to representing my country in advancing a still deeper connection between the United States and Finland.

I am grateful for the opportunity to have addressed you today, and am at your disposal to answer any questions you may have. Thank you.

Senator Kaine. Thank you very much, Mr. Adams. Wonderful testimony, both written and oral presentations from each of you.

I will start, Ambassador Sison, with you. I share your opening comments about the U.N., were my views exactly. The U.N. is frequently vexing and frustrating and yet it is a proud U.S. accomplishment. Even as the League of Nations was unwinding in the 1930s, long before the Second World War started, President Roosevelt in his first term knew there would need to be a successor and began to plan for the creation of the U.N. as early as 1933 or 1934. The war delayed it, but obviously it was—the U.S.'s participation, leadership, financial support, has been critical to the organization, and I think we can be proud of many of the accomplishments of the U.N. over the course of its history.

Still, there are challenges at the U.N. One of the ones that has sort of been most vexing to me has been the relative impotence of the Security Council in dealing with the civil war in Syria. The United States is the largest provider of humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees in the world, but much of that aid has been to Syrian refugees outside of Syria. The Bashar al-Assad government has not been cooperating significantly with humanitarian aid delivery, except in various fits and starts when the PR would suggest that he should. But often in the U.N. Security Council, except for one or two occasions, Russia, usually with the agreement of China, has blocked resolutions to take a more vigorous posture.

If you would, offer your thoughts on the Syrian refugee crisis, which I think is one of the greatest humanitarian crises of the last 50 years, and what the U.N. can do more, especially in light of the recent resolution that Russia signed onto, even to allow cross-border humanitarian aid without the agreement of the Bashar al-Assad government?

Ambassador SISON. Thank you, Senator. Indeed, after 3 years of fighting there are more than 10.8 million people in need of assistance and 6.4 million internally displaced, due of course to the actions of the Assad regime and its actions against the Syrian people.

U.S. leadership has been critical at the United Nations in addressing these pressing humanitarian assistance needs. As you noted, the second humanitarian assistance U.N. Security Council resolution was just passed this month, July 14. UNSCR 2165, as you noted, authorized the U.N.'s use of four border crossings from Turkey, Jordan, and Iraq to deliver the humanitarian assistance. And just last Thursday we saw the first convoy of nine trucks cross into Syria with nine truck loads of badly needed foodstuffs and medicines.

Of course, there is also pressure on the countries outside of Syria, Syria's neighbors: Lebanon, I understand you recently traveled out there; Jordan, Turkey, of course. That has impacted those neighboring countries as well, and I will get back to that in a moment.

U.S. leadership at the U.N. has been critical in focusing an overall strategy to continue to push as much humanitarian assistance into Syria through, as possible, through all available channels. There is a dual strategy that we are promoting with the U.N., funding organizations with a presence in Damascus, yes, including the U.N., but also funding organizations, NGOs and U.N. agencies, to conduct this cross-border humanitarian assistance deliveries into the areas where the most vulnerable populations are located.

Of course, this is very challenging for the U.N. agencies on the ground. Severe security challenges. The Assad regime's minimal steps to facilitate cross-line and cross-border access. Those aid agencies out there are having a challenging time to get this assistance to the millions of people in need.

Now, I mentioned the focus also on the neighboring countries, because of course there have been outflows of Syrian refugees into Lebanon, into Turkey, into Jordan. So U.S. leadership is also working to keep those borders open to those seeking to flee; advocacy for increased donor support to assist these vulnerable populations, and to provide not just humanitarian assistance, but development aid, in those neighboring countries.

The U.N. is now integrating what they call the resilience pillar, having a regional response plan that addresses the economic and development needs of these receiving countries. So again, U.S. leadership has been critical in addressing the needs on the ground, and of course in getting those two humanitarian assistance resolutions through the Security Council, as well as the chemical weapons U.N. Security Council resolution.

Senator KAINE. I am so glad that you mentioned your service in Lebanon and connected it to it. When I was in Lebanon in February, talking to a nation with a population of about 4 million that is dealing with a million refugees that have arrived in the space of 3 years made me wonder, how would the United States deal with people fleeing violence from other countries in those numbers. We have seen a little bit of how we would respond recently as people fleeing violence in Central America have come to our southern border.

But the challenges that—I believe the challenges that this humanitarian crisis will continue to present will be a major part of your daily headache and responsibility there.

It has to my way of thinking disclosed some continuing challenges with the Security Council and they may not be easy to fix. But what are your thoughts about proposals that are on the table to potentially consider either enlarging the membership of the Security Council or changing the way that the membership is chosen?

Ambassador SISON. Thank you, Senator. In terms of U.N. Security Council reform, of course the United States believes that the Security Council and the U.N. in general need to reflect the world that we live in, 21st century. The administration is open in principle to a modest expansion of the permanent and nonpermanent memberships, although I would underscore that any consideration of expansion of the permanent membership would of course need to take into consideration the ability to contribute commensurately to the U.N. Charter's requirements of maintaining peace and security around the world. We would remain opposed, however, to any alteration or expansion of the veto.

Senator KAINE. What is the current status of the U.S. contributions to the U.N. peacekeeping operations, since you mentioned that very important mission? There has been some controversy about the status of U.S. contributions to that particular mission in general. We have been such a sizable funder of U.N. operations. Talk a little about that and whether you see the need for any addi-

tional U.S. peacekeeping operations in response to security challenges that are out there now?

Ambassador SISON. The United States, indeed, is the major contributor to peacekeeping operations with our assessment at 28.4 percent now, Senator. Of course, U.N. peacekeeping operations in many of the hot spots around the world promote U.S. national security interests by helping preserve or stabilize, restore international peace and security, including in places of direct U.S. national interest. Here I am thinking of Mali, for example, where we saw al-Qaeda-linked terrorists threaten not only Mali, but the region.

Moreover, U.N. peacekeeping operations help us maintain global stability, avoid the need for more costly intervention. Yes, we do contribute over a quarter of U.N. peacekeeping operations' costs. Other member states, however, share that burden with the remaining 70-plus percent, as well as contributing their troops and police.

So we can think of this as a global bargain, if you will, with over 100,000 peacekeepers deployed, coming from 122 countries around the world into these hot spots around the world, over 16 multi-dimensional U.N. peacekeeping operations.

Senator KAINE. How about financial reform? I spent a day at the U.N. when Ambassador Rice was the U.N. Ambassador. I would recommend it to all my colleagues on Foreign Relations to go spend a day at the U.N., visiting various missions, visiting the Secretary General. I went to a Security Council meeting.

I asked Ambassador Rice when I walked into my meeting with the Secretary General: Is there something that you want me to say that will be helpful to you? Very high on her very short list was to continue to press the case for management and budgetary reforms at the U.N. You alluded to that in your testimony as a priority. Would you talk a little bit more about that?

Ambassador SISON. Thank you, Senator. If confirmed, one of my top priorities of course would be to be very focused on making sure that U.S. taxpayer dollars going into the regular budget assessment or peacekeeping budget assessment, that those U.S. taxpayer dollars are being used wisely and well, and that our U.S. leadership at the U.N. is focused on making it more transparent, more effective, more efficient.

I can see as I prepared for this hearing, sir, that this has been a very successful focus for our U.S.-U.N. team up there in New York. U.S. leadership at the U.N., for example, in the 68th session achieved a 1-year freeze in professional staff salaries and a 2-year freeze in benefits. This is pathbreaking, groundbreaking, up at the U.N.

U.S. leadership continues with a focus on curbing growth in the compensation costs up there at the U.N. In April of this year the United States cochaired the Geneva Group, which is a group that looks at these management and budgetary issues, and we advocated additional measures to reduce staff compensation growth across the U.N. common system. We have also focused on the ballooning U.N. air travel expenditures. We have focused on our U.S. Government U.N. transparency and accountability initiative, which is a comprehensive review of each U.N. entity's audit and whistleblower protections. We are working closely with the U.N.'s Office

of Internal Oversight Services, which is the entity that focuses on waste, fraud, and abuse. Of course, the United States has been right up there in front, strongly supporting efforts to further strengthen OIOS's audit and investigation functions.

Senator Kaine. Could you talk a little bit—I am very happy you mentioned one of the areas that we often find vexing, which is some reflexive anti-Israel policies in the U.N. I remember when I was in Israel in April 2009 as Governor of Virginia. There was a U.N.—I believe it was UNESCO—meeting in Geneva that one of the invited keynote speakers was Ahmedinejad, Mahmoud Ahmedinejad of Iran, and to have a Holocaust denier speaking to an international organization of that kind—and the sad coincidence of timing, it was during Yom Hashoah in Israel, and it just seemed so odd.

There are many instances like that, where in the U.N., as an American audience looking on, we see that reflexive anti-Israel attitude. What can you do to deal with that? Let us bring it to a point that we are all very concerned about now. Talk a little bit about the role that the U.N. can play in trying to find a path to a cease-fire in Gaza, where in the calm of a cease-fire the issues and grievances can be put on the table so that we can continue the quest to find that path to what the U.N. called for in 1947, which is a peaceful Israel and Palestine living side by side?

Ambassador Sison. Yes, thank you, Senator. Indeed there is all too often an unfair, biased targeting of Israel in many U.N. fora, and if confirmed I would certainly work and do my utmost to fight against this type of unfair and biased targeting of our friend and ally, Israel.

There have been a number of positive agenda actions, if you will, including Israel in a number of key consultative groups recently. For example, the Western European and Others grouping out in Geneva, the so-called JUSCANZ human rights consultative group up in New York. These consultative groupings are really where a lot of the work behind the scenes at the U.N. is accomplished, and by bringing Israel into these consultative groupings I believe we can definitely move forward in addressing some of our mutual concerns.

On the second aspect of your question, Senator, of course we saw yesterday, just after midnight Monday, the U.N. Security Council calling for immediate and unconditional humanitarian cease-fire. Of course, we have seen Secretary Kerry and Secretary General Ban Ki-moon out in the region over the last several days, last week. Of course, the immediate goal for all of us is stopping the violence, to look for a cessation of hostilities, to look for a cease-fire along the contours of the November 2012 Israel-Hamas cease-fire.

So the U.N. of course is out there with U.S. support, providing assistance to the civilian population through the U.N. Relief Works Agency. But the bottom line—and this is the political good offices, of course, of the U.N., the United States, and many others—is to work for a cease-fire, an end to the violence. Of course we condemn Hamas's attacks against Israel, support Israel's right to defend itself, but at the same time—at the same time, are very concerned

about the civilian deaths, Palestinian civilians, Israeli civilians, Israeli IDF soldiers.

So the bottom line is all of us working together to stop the violence, to promote a ceasefire agreement.

Senator KAINÉ. Well, you are coming to the position at a challenging time. There are so many other issues I could ask you about, but in September we have both the visits of the heads of state to the United Nations as well as the U.S. turn to be in the lead position in the Security Council, and much work to do. But I appreciate your service and congratulate you on your nomination.

Let me move to questions for Mr. Haney. We have really been grappling with this issue of the unaccompanied minors coming to the border. We are trying to learn a little bit from Costa Rica because, while the countries in the northern triangle are the three countries, are the primary countries where these youngsters are coming from, including seeking asylum in Costa Rica and other nations, they are generally, the countries where these countries are coming from struggle with high levels of corruption in law enforcement and the judiciary.

But Costa Rica is known for a largely uncorrupt police force. Along with effective law enforcement, Costa Rica enjoys low levels of impunity compared to northern triangle neighbors, where roughly 9 of 10 cases are never even prosecuted.

You alluded to this a bit in your testimony, but what are some of the factors that explain this difference and how can Costa Rica potentially serve as a model for the other nations in the region?

Mr. HANEY. Senator, thank you. Mr. Chairman, thank you for your question. As you said, I think Costa Rica has the opportunity to serve as a model for the rest of the region as a home-grown success story, if you may, of what the emphasis on human rights and democratic institutions that have been long established within the Costa Rica history.

Costa Rica has, because of its investment it has made in education and in health, it has achieved a level of prosperity, and without violence, that its neighbors lack, unfortunately, today. I think with the help of President Solís, who is very focused on regional integration and very focused on how Costa Rica is not an island, it is part of the isthmus, and will face the same challenges sooner or later as its neighbors do if it does not help come to some kind of agreement on how we can best face these challenges.

So I think Costa Rica just by its following the current path that it is on can set a good example. I think you mentioned the judiciary and the police. We have done a lot of work with both in Costa Rica. We have a very strong partnership as far as security cooperation, as far as capacity-building and training. I think that with our ongoing support Costa Rica will maintain that and can actually serve as a center for training for the rest of the region as well.

I think it is very important that we always do remember that you cannot be more willing than your partner and you cannot get your partner to be more able than they are. I think in Costa Rica we have a very unique opportunity for a very willing and capable partner at the same time.

Senator KAINÉ. I share your assessment. One danger that I would see that we might have in Costa Rica is—I lived in Hon-

duras 30 years or so ago and I kind of pay attention, special attention to Honduras, which is now, sadly, the murder capital of the world. It was not that way when I lived there. It was not that way 15 years ago. But it seemed to be that there was some significant success in U.S. efforts to fight drug trade in Mexico and Colombia, but drug trade is mobile, almost like capital is, and as there were more effective law enforcement efforts in the countries where there were serious problems some of the traffickers and transit routes rerouted. And to the extent that we take some significant steps with respect to the northern triangle countries, there could be pressure for them to reroute to Costa Rica as well.

So that is something that will require ongoing significant security work between the nations. It is good to know that the partnership is strong and that the civil institutions begin with a strength.

Let me switch to a strength of yours, which is on the international economic side, given your background. Costa Rica has been the most stable, not just from a security standpoint, but economically, of the countries in Central America. But recently there have been some concerns. American firms have done some downsizing and at least cited as a reason for the downsizing—there may be other reasons—that they were concerned about some of the potential fiscal policies of the incoming President Solis. So we saw some American firms, like Intel and Citibank, reduce some of their presence—I am sorry, Bank of America, not Citibank—reduce some of their presence, citing that.

What do you think of the current sort of economic climate, fiscal climate, in Costa Rica, and what can you do with the experience you bring to the table to promote U.S. foreign direct investment there and find opportunities for American businesses as well?

Mr. HANEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think the best example—the best indication we have had of the current administration, President Solis's, commitment to making Costa Rica as attractive as possible for U.S. and other foreign investment is the fact that his first trip outside of the region as President was an investment promotion trip here to the United States, where he went to Silicon Valley, to New York, and then eventually D.C.

I think that he very well made the case that Costa Rica realizes that it has some challenges around some bureaucracy, around infrastructure, that it needs to work on, both physical as well as investment, but overall that the country was very willing and looking for that FDI, that foreign direct investment, and to work with U.S. corporations in country.

So while Intel did, for example, shut one of its fab plants down in Costa Rica or is in the process of doing so, at the same time it announced that it is opening up a mega-lab, an R and D center, within the country. So I think that also points to one of my key priorities, which is Costa Rica can serve as a hub of innovation. It has the human capital because it has invested in education over the last few generations.

So I think my private sector background of working both with entrepreneurs as well as with the broad overall international business, I would hope to help Costa Rica address some of the issues that might be limiting additional investment from U.S. firms within the country.

Senator Kaine. What is your sense of how Costa Rica has taken advantage of CAFTA? Have they tried to leverage the free trade agreement in Central America and the Dominican Republic effectively or do you think there is still some significantly greater upside that could be realized in looking at trade?

Mr. Haney. Thank you, Senator. I think as far as Costa Rica goes, by almost any measure of success it has been the most successful country within CAFTA. It was the last one, as you know, to actually implement after a national referendum. But it today accounts for about 40 percent of all CAFTA trade, just Costa Rica alone.

So I think—but I still think there are opportunities within Costa Rica's ability to leverage CAFTA to its benefit, both within country—I think it can go deeper into the Costa Rica economy. So we are looking at additional inclusion around development. So not just the first tier, not just the export sector, but we are really thinking of how do you drive the benefits of CAFTA into the small and medium enterprises, which will be really the engine for ongoing continued economic development within Costa Rica.

I think on the second point, that Costa Rica, and I think all the CAFTA countries themselves, have not taken as much advantage of the intraregional trade as they can. So while they have been very focused on exporting to the United States and taking advantage of the CAFTA-DR that way, the trade within the seven countries themselves has not blossomed as one would hope. I think that is one of the tools we have to help address some of these core issues that are driving some of what we have seen of late within Central America.

Senator Kaine. And President Solis's regional integration goal would suggest that would be something that he would also share, a priority he would share.

Mr. Haney. Correct. He has stated many times that he believes that only with regional integration will Costa Rica and the region itself be able to be competitive in the 21st century. When you think about Costa Rica, which has done fairly well for itself—it is an upper-middle-income country—but it is under 5 million people. President Solis recognizes that a market of 5 million versus a market of 43 million, which is all the Central American countries together, is a vast difference on investment and scalability.

Senator Kaine. Mr. Haney, thank you very much for your answers.

Let me move to Mr. Adams now. Talk about the very delicate issue of the Russia-Finland relationship? Even to today, as the EU in the last couple days have been grappling with sanctions of Russia following activities in the Ukraine and the downing of the Air Malaysia flight, Finland's economy is very connected to the Russian economy, tourism, and other ways. They have been a little bit reluctant, but seem to be a solid partner in the announcements we are seeing come out of the EU today.

But talk a little bit about that relationship and the current status of it especially in light of the activities involving Russia and its neighbor in Ukraine?

Mr. Adams. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Recent events in the Crimea and in the Ukraine have put something of a spotlight on pre-

cisely the subject that you have mentioned, the long historical relationship of Finland and Russia. As you know, Finland at one time, from 1809 to 1917, was part of Russia as an autonomous grand duchy of the tsar. And from December 6, 1917, forward, the date of Finland's independence, its relationship with Russia has been a complex and delicate one.

Naturally, with 1,300 kilometers of border, this is the second-longest border of Russia with its neighbors to the west after the Ukraine. The economic ties have been very strong. Russia is Finland's single largest export market. It is its second-largest supplier after Sweden in the most recent statistics, for fiscal 2013.

It is true that Finland's economy to a substantial degree is interlinked with that of Russia. On the other hand, Finland has been a staunch supporter of the EU and has stated its intention of implementing and enforcing to the fullest degree the EU sanctions recently announced against Russia, this notwithstanding the fact that of all the members of the EU it is Finland which in proportional terms could be said to have the most to lose. But notwithstanding, Finland is very much behind the full set of sanctions recently announced.

What also I think is important to take note of is the fact that Finland is in a unique position, because of its proximity and historical connection to Russia, to state the position of the EU and to state the position of the United States as Finland's partner within the Partnership for Peace in NATO on the issues which have brought this crisis to a head.

Just last week, President Niinisto in a telephone conversation with President Putin emphasized the necessity of Russia's doing that which would be required to resolve the crisis and to get past the matter of sanctions in the interest of Russia and in the interests of Finland as well, in order that the matter of the sanctions could be addressed in the context of a resolution of the crisis which is at hand.

Finland has played a constructive role, will continue to play a constructive role, and if confirmed I will continue to encourage Finland in taking a strong stand in alliance with its partners within the EU and in also implementation of the policy which has been that of the United States.

Senator Kaine. You indicated in your opening testimony that Finland had often played a role of an interlocutor between the United States and the old Soviet Union. That role of interlocutor could be as important in the 21st century as it was in the 20th. As you point out, for cultural reasons they have a unique ability to do that. I would encourage you in that regard.

Are there any issues with respect to the negotiation of the TTIP that either will cause controversy in Finland or where Finland and the United States are currently likely to not see eye to eye?

Mr. Adams. Actually, Mr. Chairman, Finland is a particularly strong proponent of TTIP and has taken positions within the councils of the EU which are much more aligned with those of the United States with respect to the issues currently under discussion than some of the countries of the EU to the south, particularly when it comes to issues pertaining to agriculture and to geographic indicators.

Finland has been looking forward to a successful conclusion of the round of negotiations on TTIP because Finland, as does the United States, views this accord or the potentiality of this accord as a strong impetus to increase trade, to increase shared prosperity, to increase job creation, both within the EU and in the United States.

Senator KAINÉ. One of the areas where the United States and Finland would seem to have a lot in common and the ability to learn from one another is the great innovation culture that Finland has been known for. I doubt it is—I suspect it is a causal relationship, not even—more than even a correlation, that they are also known for educational success. My wife is Secretary of Education in Virginia and recently met with the Minister of Education from Finland on a trip to the United States.

Talk a little about that sort of innovation and education success culture in Finland and how you might as Ambassador share best practices back and forth between the United States and Finland?

Mr. ADAMS. I would be happy to do that, Mr. Chairman. You correctly say that innovation has been a hallmark of modern day Finland and the source of its quite remarkable success. For a country of 5.3 million people, Finland punches far above its weight in matters of innovation, in matters of technological development.

The United States has recognized this. The United States has looked for ways to enhance its cooperation with Finland in areas of innovation. In point of fact, the United States Embassy in Helsinki in February of last year inaugurated its own innovation center as a part of the Embassy complex in the presence of President Niinistö and Members of his Cabinet, the purpose of the innovation center being to function as a focal point and as a forum for interchange between the United States and Finland in precisely this area.

Another way in which I think these shared exchanges can be enhanced is through the International Visitor Leadership Program, of which Finland has been a very active participant. In fact, President Niinistö himself is an alumnus of an International Visitor Leadership Program visit to the United States, as are several of the Members of his Cabinet. And many of these exchanges have focused on the area of education, where, as you say, Finland and the United States each will greatly benefit from a continuation of these exchanges in looking to further the excellence of the respective systems of education.

Senator KAINÉ. One last question for you, Mr. Adams, and you alluded a little bit to this in your testimony. But just talk about the current status of U.S.-Finish defense cooperation, which I know would have a sensitivity because of Finland's geography and proximity to Russia. But it seems like the partnership has been a good one and I would like you to elaborate a little bit on that.

Mr. ADAMS. It has been an excellent one, Mr. Chairman. As I mentioned, Finland is not a member of NATO. It is a member and full participant in NATO's Partnership for Peace program. Currently Finland has 95 troops in Afghanistan. There are 21 in Kosovo in the context of the NATO peacekeeping program in that country. Finland has also been a participant over the years in various U.N. peacekeeping missions.

The United States and Finland have emphasized the point of the interoperability of Finland's military and of its equipment with that of NATO, and Finland has proven to be a very strong customer of the United States in military procurements. So that, notwithstanding the sensitive aspects of the issue of the defense relationship and the military relationship and security relationship between Finland and the United States, given the geographical proximity of Finland's neighbor to the east, this is an area which, if confirmed as Ambassador, I would look forward to continuing to consolidate and enhance.

Senator KAINE. Great. Thank you, Mr. Adams.

Well, a few concluding remarks that I have. The testimony and questions have been thorough and impressive. One of the wonderful things about being on the Foreign Relations Committee is the opportunity to travel, especially to the Near East, South, and Central Asia, where my subcommittee chairmanship is, but also to Latin America because of personal interest. When I do travel, I have an opportunity to interact with a lot of wonderful Foreign Service professionals.

This post will be a great honor to you because it is an honor to represent the country, it is an honor to be nominated by the President. But it is also an honor to lead wonderful people, and you will each have the opportunity to do that in your capacities.

I try to make it a habit when I travel to have a roundtable meeting with young Foreign Service officers who are in their first or second tour, often working in the consular desk, and talk to them about what they are doing. I am just so impressed.

Sometimes the experiences are a little grave. I was with a number of young Foreign Service officers who showed me around the memorial in the Embassy compound in Beirut. I think Americans in our collective memory, we remember well the bombing of the Marine barracks, but the U.S. Embassy was bombed and many were killed. And the U.S. Embassy annex was bombed and many were killed. And others who served in ambassadorial posts lost their lives as well. The commitment that people have who serve in very dangerous parts of the world is something that is really notable.

Sometimes it is more lighthearted. I was in Egypt and met with young Foreign Service officers, and a woman on her first tour, who was I think a Virginia resident, was talking about needing to leave our meeting for her Friday Skype date. When I asked what that was, her husband is in the Foreign Service too and he is serving thousands of miles away and they dress up and get a glass of wine in front of each other and they talk by Skype across the miles.

The service provided by our men and women who serve in the State Department is superb. I think the American public now, thank God, we reflexively and sincerely offer thanks to men and women in the military who serve all over the country. But we have an awful lot of public servants who might be in the Foreign Service or the DEA or the Department of Commerce or billets of the Peace Corps all over the world, and that service is impressive, too. I have a feeling that one of the honors that will be the most powerful in your experience, should you be confirmed—and I am confident you will be—will be the opportunity to lead some many wonderful pub-

lic servants. That is something that would be a very exciting aspect of the job, I am sure.

So thank you for the testimony today and your willingness to serve. Congratulations on your nomination. I will announce that we will keep the record of this hearing open until noon tomorrow in case there are any members of the committee who have questions who were not able to attend today that they would like to submit for the record. I would urge all of you to respond promptly to written questions should they be submitted.

But with that, the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:08 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF AMBASSADOR JOHN FRANCIS TEFFT TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR BOB CORKER

Question. Given the current state of relations between Russia and the West, under what circumstances and caveats should the U.S. consider reengaging with Russia in security cooperation activities?

Answer. In response to attempted annexation of Crimea and ongoing efforts to destabilize eastern Ukraine, the U.S. Government has taken a number of actions, including suspending bilateral discussions with Russia on trade and investment; suspending other bilateral meetings on a case-by-case basis; and putting on hold U.S.-Russia military-to-military engagement, including exercises, bilateral meetings, port visits, and planning conferences.

However, where it is in the U.S. national interest to engage, for example, on the New START Treaty or on Iran's nuclear proliferation, we will continue to engage. Although the current situation has significantly undermined mutual trust, no one should forget that even in the darkest days of the cold war, the United States and Russia found it in our mutual interest to work together on reducing the nuclear threat. But we have and will continue to limit cooperation in other areas as long as Russia is unwilling to be a good neighbor and reliable partner in the region.

The administration believes that we can make progress in areas where there is a shared understanding between Moscow and Washington on what might threaten us all. In a globalized world we must never cease to address such security challenges, even in the context of profound disagreements with the Kremlin over other matters, such as Ukraine.

Question. Now that the administration is discussing the INF Treaty violation at the highest levels with the Russian Government, what is the U.S. strategy to achieve compliance from Russia with the INF Treaty? What actions are the Obama administration prepared to take beyond simply asking the Russians to halt development and testing of systems that violate the central tenets of the treaty?

Answer. The administration will work to resolve the compliance issues outlined in the report through bilateral and multilateral means.

Our next steps will be to intensify our diplomatic efforts with Russia to seek its return to compliance and we will also be consulting with allies.

We have notified Russia of our determination and are prepared to discuss this in a senior-level bilateral dialogue immediately, with the aim of assuring the United States that Russia will come back into compliance with its treaty obligations.

The United States will, of course, consult with allies on this matter to take into account the impact of this Russian violation on our collective security if Russia does not return to compliance.

Question. What assurances do we have, given the identified violation of the INF Treaty, that Russia intends to continue compliance with other current obligations under treaties related to arms control? Should we trust those assurances?

Answer. Current tensions with Russia highlight the importance of predictability and confidence-building provided by arms control treaties. This is especially the case with the continued successful implementation of the New START Treaty and the security and predictability provided by verifiable mutual limits on strategic weapons. The New START Treaty enhances our national security and strategic stability with Russia and both the United States and Russia are implementing the treaty's

inspection regime. We assess that Russia is implementing and complying with the New START Treaty, and that the treaty remains in our national security interest. We take questions about compliance with arms control treaties very seriously and are continuing to monitor Russian compliance with all arms control treaties.

Question. Under the current circumstances, is the administration still pursuing negotiations on further nuclear reductions?

Answer. As President Obama said in Prague in 2009 and reiterated last year in Berlin, the United States and Russia possess 85 percent of the world's nuclear forces and both countries should continue the process of reducing their nuclear arsenals. The United States and Russia are continuing to implement the New START Treaty. Although the United States remains open to further nuclear reductions with Russia, Russia has made clear it is not prepared to pursue nuclear reductions beyond New START, and this is not a current focus of discussion between our countries.

Question. What are the tripwires that would cause the United States to determine that New START and the INF Treaty are no longer in the national interest?

Answer. The United States believes that the INF Treaty serves the mutual security interests of the parties—not only the United States and Russia, but also the 11 other successor states of the former Soviet Union, which are also States Parties to the treaty and bound by its obligations. Moreover, this treaty contributes to the security of our allies and to regional security in Europe and in the Far East. We will continue to monitor Russian activities, to keep Congress informed of our diplomatic efforts, and to consult with Congress on our next steps.

The New START Treaty enhances our national security and strategic stability with Russia and both the United States and Russia are implementing the treaty's inspection regime. We assess that Russia is implementing and complying with the New START Treaty, and that the treaty remains in our national security interest.

It is the policy of the administration to take compliance issues very seriously and to seek to resolve them. Consequences of noncompliance with treaty obligations should be appropriate to the specific circumstances and considered on a case-by-case basis.

Question. Will you commit to maintaining the position that U.S. missile defenses and use doctrine are not open for negotiation with the Russian Government under any circumstances?

Answer. As the President has stated on numerous occasions, the United States will not agree to any commitments on missile defense that would limit our ability to defend the United States, our troops, and our allies and partners.

Question. What engagement is still under way with Russia, and what future plans does the administration have, to establish a follow-on agreement akin to the treaty of Conventional Forces in Europe?

Answer. No engagement with Russia is underway regarding a follow-on agreement to the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE). Over the last year the U.S. Government has been consulting with NATO allies regarding ideas to update the conventional arms control regime in Europe. Any future decision to engage on these issues with Russia would be an alliance decision and would depend on the circumstances at the time. The United States, along with 28 other States Parties, continues to implement the CFE Treaty and to call on Russia to fulfill its obligations under the treaty.

Question. What efforts will you pursue, in tandem with other officials within the U.S. Government, to gain full compliance by the Russians with the Open Skies Treaty?

Answer. The Department of State, together with other U.S. Government agencies, will continue to raise Russian compliance and implementation issues regarding the Open Skies Treaty bilaterally via diplomatic channels, as well as in the Open Skies Consultative Commission in Vienna.

RESPONSES OF AMBASSADOR JOHN FRANCIS TEFFT TO QUESTIONS
SUBMITTED BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. On June 26, Secretary of State Kerry said that Russia should disarm separatists in eastern Ukraine in "the next hours" or face sectoral sanctions. Since then, Russia has actually increased its support to pro-Russian separatists.

- ◆ What is your assessment regarding the ongoing impact of American actions taken thus far on President Putin's calculus?

Answer. We have been very clear with the Russians that a failure to change their behavior would come with costs. The United States, together with our EU and G7 partners, has imposed real costs that are already having strong negative impact on the Russian economy, and will continue to do so if Russia does not follow through on its commitments. We have sought to have the greatest impact on those whose actions have threatened the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, as well as key companies in the strategic sectors of banking, energy, and defense technology. In addition to the sectoral sanctions announced by the President on July 16 and July 29, the United States remains prepared to take further measures if Russia does not take steps toward de-escalation.

President Putin himself has said that Western sanctions imposed on Russia have had real impact on domestic businesses, including limiting access to funding for many Russian companies. Russian economic officials have also conceded that Western sanctions are having a significant impact on the Russian economy. Aside from the uncertainty that sanctions have introduced to the Russian market, these impacts include economic growth projections revised downward to near-zero percent, currency intervention by the Russian Central Bank, capital flight, ruble depreciation, declines in the Russian stock market, increasing inflation, and downgrades to Russian debt.

Question. Under President Putin's leadership, the Russian opposition has come under increasing pressure. Freedom of the press and freedom of expression continue to be severely limited. If confirmed, do you pledge to be vocal in your support for Russian civil society and an independent press and to meet frequently with members of the Russian opposition?

Answer. The administration's commitment to democracy, human rights and civil society in Russia will remain firm. If confirmed, I will ensure the human rights work that has defined America to generations of Russians continues, confident that this is not just the right thing to do, but is also the best investment in future good relations between our two countries.

Question. Given the administration's decision to finally state publicly that Russia is not in compliance with the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, does the administration support the United States unilaterally continuing to abide by a treaty that the other party is not complying with?

- ◆ Will a copy of President Obama's letter to President Putin on this issue be shared with Congress?
- ◆ How many times and at what level have U.S. concerns about Russian non-compliance with the INF Treaty been raised with the Russians since May 2013?

Answer. The United States believes that the INF Treaty serves the mutual security interests of the parties—not only the United States and Russia, but also the 11 other successor states of the former Soviet Union, which are also States Parties to the treaty and bound by its obligations. Moreover, this treaty contributes to the security of our allies and to regional security in Europe and in the Far East. For that reason, we will make every effort to get Russia to return to compliance with its obligations and to ensure the continued viability of the treaty.

The President sent a letter to President Putin on this matter and this issue has been raised with Russia by senior administration officials numerous times over the course of the past year. It is a long-standing practice across administrations not to share diplomatic exchanges. We will continue to keep Congress informed on these issues and will work to address Members' concerns through appropriate channels.

Question. You have served in several U.S. embassies in eastern Europe. How do you assess Vladimir Putin's regional ambitions? Based on your time in Georgia and Ukraine, how do you think he will continue to respond to the westward-oriented path of those countries and Moldova?

Answer. President Putin presides over a Russia with serious systemic problems, and has been quite consistent about his worldview, as laid out in his 2007 address at the Munich Security Conference. Nonetheless, the United States does not see this as a zero-sum game. For example, while the United States strongly supports Ukraine and other Eastern Partnership countries' bids for greater economic and commercial ties with their European partners, we do not believe this must be at Russia's expense. Expanded trade ties will help increase prosperity for all parties, including Russia. Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine showed great determination in finalizing their association deals with the EU in June and the United States will not accept any attempt to limit the sovereign choices of these countries, but they have great potential to increase trade with Russia and Central Asia as well.

Question. For the 2nd straight year, Russia was listed as a Tier 3 trafficking country in the Trafficking In Persons Report. Last year when they were originally downgraded to Tier 3, Russia accused the United States of using "unacceptable" methodology and did not make an effort to improve their efforts.

- ◆ How do you plan to constructively engage on the issue of human trafficking?
- ◆ What benchmarks must Russia meet to be removed from Tier 3?

Answer. Russia was downgraded to Tier 3 in 2013 in accordance with requirements of a 2008 amendment to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), which added a provision that limited the number of years a country can remain on the Tier 2 Watch List. Russia remained on Tier 3 in the 2014 Trafficking in Persons Report. In 2013 and 2014, Russia lacked a national action plan to combat trafficking, a single coordinating authority for antitrafficking efforts, and funding in the federal and local budgets for trafficking prevention and victim protection. These deficiencies illustrated Russia's low political will to address human trafficking and led to Russia's Tier 3 ranking. The United States and Russia have had regular dialogue over the years on the issue of human trafficking. If confirmed, I will continue to engage with our Russian counterparts to encourage them to move forward with their draft national action plan. For specific benchmarks, I would point you to the Trafficking in Persons Report 2014.

RESPONSES OF AMBASSADOR MICHELE JEANNE SISON TO QUESTIONS
SUBMITTED BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. In March, the United Nations Security Council's North Korea Sanctions Committee sanctioned the operator/manager of the *Cong Chon Gang*, a North Korean vessel interdicted by Panama smuggling 240 tons of weapons from Cuba to North Korea. According to the committee's report, the *Chong Chon Gang* interdiction constituted the largest amount of arms and related materiel interdicted to, or from, North Korea since the adoption of the Security Council Resolution 1718 in 2006. The report also notes the collusion of North Korean and Cuban officials and expresses concern over North Korea-Cuba military cooperation.

- ◆ (a) What specific actions does the administration plan to take to ensure Cuba is sanctioned for this egregious violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions?

Answer. Willful violations of U.N. Security Council resolutions are very serious matters. Since Panama's interdiction of the *Chong Chon Gang* in July 2013, the United States has been working to ensure that all those responsible for the violation are accountable for their wrongdoing.

We have worked to maximize the diplomatic cost Cuba has suffered for its role in the *Chong Chon Gang* incident. Cuba's diplomatic efforts have failed to convince most countries that Cuba did not break any rules.

To underscore Cuba's role in this violation, the United States has repeatedly condemned Cuba's role in this violation in meetings of the U.N. Security Council and the Security Council's DPRK Sanctions Committee.

To emphasize further this point, we pushed for the committee to adopt an Implementation Assistance Notice on this incident to make clear to the world the facts of the case and to convey the clear and unanimous conclusion of the U.N. Sanctions Committee, which we share, that this transaction violated sanctions.

Through this Notice, the international community has also refuted Cuba's erroneous and misleading claim that this arms shipment was allowed under U.N. Security Council resolutions.

In more concrete terms, Cuba has suffered a disrupted commercial transaction, with various costs due to the seizure of approximately 240 tons of arms and related materiel (these items were not returned).

Going forward, we intend to ensure that the Security Council, the DPRK Sanctions Committee and the U.N.'s Panel of Experts (POE) continue to subject Cuba to extra scrutiny in light of this incident. We will continue to advocate for sharp committee responses and clear rebukes to Cuba for its role in this violation.

- ◆ (b) If confirmed, would you support publicly revealing the names of North Korean and Cuban officials, as well as entities, involved in these violations and included in the report's confidential annex? Please explain.

Answer. The United States generally supports the public release of U.N. sanctions Panel of Expert reports to their respective committees, but such reports are confidential. The committee can agree, by consensus, to publish these reports or otherwise release certain information included in them.

Last winter, the United States proposed that the committee release information contained in the POE's confidential incident report. Certain members of the committee, however, objected to our proposal.

While we are bound by confidentiality rules, we continue to pursue ways to secure the release of more information that could help member states implement the U.N. sanctions, as well as to examine additional steps under domestic authorities or bilaterally with other member states to achieve that same objective.

- ♦ (c) If confirmed, would you recommend designating under U.S. law all officials and entities involved in these violations?

Answer. Imposing sanctions on sanctions violators can be an important tool to improve enforcement of these measures.

On July 28, 2014, the U.N. Security Council DPRK Sanctions Committee designated Ocean Maritime Management Company, Limited (OMM), the operator/manager of the vessel *Chong Chon Gang*, for a targeted asset freeze. On July 30, 2014, the Treasury Department imposed sanctions on Chongchongang Shipping Company and Ocean Maritime Management Company, the two North Korean companies that attempted to import a concealed shipment of arms and related materiel from Cuba to the DPRK aboard the DPRK-flagged cargo vessel *Chong Chon Gang* in July 2013. The Treasury Department also identified as blocked property 18 vessels in which these companies have an interest, including the *Chong Chon Gang*. These designations and identifications were made pursuant to Executive Order (E.O.) 13551, which blocks the property of persons who, among other things, have attempted to import arms or related materiel into the DPRK.

Although the Treasury Department cannot comment on other pending or possible investigations, it has maintained a comprehensive sanctions program against Cuba since 1963, under which all Cuban entities and individuals are blocked, pursuant to 31 C.F.R. part 515.

Should we uncover information sufficient to pursue sanctions against any additional individuals or entities involved in the *Chong Chon Gang* incident, I would certainly support and encourage such action wherever appropriate.

RESPONSES OF AMBASSADOR JOHN FRANCIS TEFFT TO QUESTIONS
SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. We have known for months about Russia's violation of the INF Treaty, but it took almost a [year to] officially acknowledge the violation and brief NATO. Why did it take so long to inform our friends of this violation? Now that the administration has acknowledged the violation, what do you believe is your role in improving Russia's compliance with INF and other international arms treaties? Will you provide a copy of the letter President Obama sent to President Putin?

Answer. When specific questions arise about a country's treaty implementation, decisions can only be made about whether those issues constitute noncompliance after a careful, fact-based process, which includes diplomatic work and thorough interagency consideration.

We believe that the treaty benefits the security of the United States, our allies, Russia, and the other 11 States Parties to the treaty. For that reason, we will make every effort to get Russia to return to compliance with its obligations and to ensure the continued viability of the treaty.

We can confirm that the President did send Putin a letter on this issue; however, it is a long-standing practice across administrations not to share diplomatic exchanges. We will continue to keep Congress informed on these issues and will work to address Members' concerns through appropriate channels.

Question. Yesterday an international tribunal determined that Russia expropriated Yukos Oil Company and owes over \$50 billion to the majority shareholders in Yukos. I understand this is the third international tribunal to determine that Russia expropriated Yukos and must pay compensation. Yet American investors lost over \$12 billion and have received no compensation. Americans do not benefit from today's decision, unless the State Department informs Russia that it expects compensation for its citizens as well.

Answer. The decision announced this week in an arbitration brought against Russia by the majority Yukos shareholders does not directly impact U.S. investors, who do not benefit from an applicable treaty through which to bring their claims directly against Russia. The United States is not a party to the Energy Charter Treaty, under which this arbitral award was rendered.

However, the Department will study the decision carefully and determine how it, and the underlying evidence presented in that case, might be helpful in the Department's consideration of the complex legal and factual issues presented by the U.S. investor claims. If confirmed I will continue to follow up on this case.

Question. Congress has directed the State Department and USTR to report on their advocacy for U.S. investors in Yukos Oil Company, but little has been done. As Ambassador, what steps would you take to press Russia to fulfill its obligation to compensate these American investors?

Answer. Promoting the fair treatment of U.S. investors in Russia is a top priority, which was also the intent of Congress in including a Yukos provision in the Russia and Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal and Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012.

The Department of State has been closely following the Yukos matter, and has raised it with the Russian Government on numerous occasions, including demarches to the Ministry of Economic Development, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Russian Ambassador in Washington. The Department will look for opportunities to continue to advocate for U.S. investors in Yukos, as appropriate, under the current political circumstances.

Question. Do you believe harassment of U.S. Embassy personnel is a serious issue at U.S. diplomatic facilities in Russia? What steps will you take to reduce the level of harassment? Will you commit to reviewing the role of Foreign Service nationals at U.S. diplomatic facilities in Russia, especially among the security personnel?

Answer. The protection and security of the personnel working at our diplomatic facilities is of the highest priority.

Where harassment may exist, I will do everything in my power to advocate on behalf of all of our personnel stationed in Russia, and to raise the issue with the Russian Government wherever prudent. We will pursue cooperation with local and national law enforcement bodies when possible, and I will work closely with the mission's security experts on our security and safety practices.

The Department also takes the question of Foreign Service nationals seriously and would be available to discuss in a classified setting.

Question. Do you believe it is vital that U.S. diplomatic facilities in Russia contain spaces to conduct classified discussions and briefings? Will you to push upgrade and improve these capabilities at U.S. consulates in Russia?

Answer. We are committed to ensuring that the U.S. mission to Russia is able to fully carry out its duties, including classified meetings and discussions.

The Department will continue to review the status of our diplomatic facilities in Russia to determine if any upgrades are necessary.