

NOMINATIONS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED ELEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 2009

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

Timothy J. Roemer to be Ambassador to India
Richard J. Schmierer to be Ambassador to the Sultanate of Oman
Gordon Gray to be Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. John F. Kerry (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Kerry, Feingold, Shaheen, Kaufman, and Lugar.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Good morning, this hearing will come to order. I'm delighted to welcome our three nominees, and momentarily I will say a word about each of them.

But if I can, I just wanted to take a moment to acknowledge the presence of a good friend, and our former colleague, Bennett Johnston, who's here joining us in a much more important role than Senator—the proud role of father-in-law of Tim Roemer.

And so, Bennett has served here, I think, four terms. I don't think any other Louisiana politician has done that in the Senate, so we're proud to welcome him back, and he—and just tell everybody, he was a terrific friend to me, we all remember him for many things—a great tennis player, sportsman, and competitor.

But he also became one of the Senate's experts on energy, wetlands, defense issues, and other issues critical to Louisiana. And I remember well the many contributions he made in those fields.

I do remember, actually, and I asked my staff to sort of get a hold of the comments he made when he left the Senate, voluntarily, which not everybody does. And he said this, he said, "Politics and public service is synonymous with the pursuit of public office. It's a high calling in our society. It's the best opportunity for helping your State, your country, and your fellow man.

"The Senate, with its faults and criticisms, remains a bulwark of our democracy, and a hallowed institution. I will stand up for it, will not bash it, and will defend it against those who do." I think it was his willingness to do that that endeared him to a lot of people when he was here.

So, we're pleased to welcome you here today, Senator.

And it's a terrific pleasure to welcome these three outstanding public servants. Those of us who have served on the committee a long time—and that obviously includes Dick and I—are particularly pleased to see the quality of folks who are picked to be Ambassadors, who come with experience—either in the private sector or public life—but with a solid base of skills behind them, whichever it may be. And in this case, we have Tim Roemer, selected to be the Ambassador to India, Gordon Gray, Ambassador to Tunisia, and Richard Schmierer, Ambassador to Oman.

Between them, these three nominees have five advanced degrees, nearly 90 years in government, and a staggering amount of institutional knowledge and on-the-ground wisdom.

I know you have members of your family here today, beyond just our former colleague, and I'd love to have each of you introduce them at the appropriate time.

Let me just say a word about each nominee. Tim Roemer has been a longtime colleague and good friend to many of us on this committee. I'd like to submit, for the record, a strong statement from Senator Kennedy, for his nomination.

He has, as we all know, served six terms in the Congress, was a key sponsor of legislation to establish the 9/11 Commission, which he later served on with distinction. Along the way he managed to earn a Doctorate, and help his wife, Sally, raise four great kids. He currently serves as the President of the Center for National Policy.

If confirmed, Ambassador Roemer will be representing our country at an exciting and potentially pivotal moment in United States-India relations. Sometimes it seems like a cliché around here: everybody dealing with India trumpets the ties between the world's oldest democracy and the world's largest democracy. It's much more than that phrase entails.

And the Obama administration has a genuine opportunity to forge a true strategic United States-India partnership. Not as a threat or counterweight against any other nation, but based on shared interests and shared values. If we get this right, it will benefit not only our nations, but also the region and the world.

There are many areas where we can make real progress. First, we have to help India break with the perilous politics of South Asia's past. India needs no lectures—virtually no nation has suffered more from terrorism than India. South Asia is also a volatile nuclear flashpoint. The Senate has passed legislation, which Senator Lugar and I sponsored, to recast our relationship with Pakistan. And this will help us to secure, not only the long-term safety of the United States and Pakistan relationship, but that of India, as well.

I was in India shortly after the Mumbai incident, and I know the volatility that was felt, then. But the degree to which there is still an excessive focus on India-Pakistan border issues is really, almost an anachronism in today's world, that we need to work to move beyond.

On climate change, America and India are two of the world's key players. And if India can find a greener path to economic development, that can lead the way for other large, populous nations like

Mexico and Indonesia. And it's vital to both our nations that we help India do so.

Senator Lugar and I and others supported a civilian nuclear deal with India, in part, because it will help India grow its economy with clean energy. I hope this will now open the door to greater cooperation on nonproliferation.

Finally, there are the personal and cultural ties that are the lifeblood of our partnership: The international visits, phone calls, the small businesses, software engineers, educational exchanges have flourished in Massachusetts and other States across our country.

I know Secretary Clinton will be carrying a message of friendship to India during her visit later this month to engage with India's newly reelected leadership. And I hope that my colleagues will ensure that Ambassador Roemer is in place for her visit. And we will keep the record open for all three nominees until noon on Wednesday.

Gordon Gray brings to his new posting as Ambassador to Tunisia decades of experience with the State Department in Baghdad, Cairo, Ottawa, Amman, Washington, and Karachi, and also as a young Peace Corps Volunteer in Oued Zem, Morocco.

Most recently he served as Senior Advisor to our Embassy in Baghdad, and before that as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs in Washington.

In Tunis, he will be managing our relationship with an important partner in counterterrorism efforts. He'll face the challenge of promoting greater freedoms in a country that has made significant gains in economic development and family law, but lagged far behind even some of its neighbors in respect for human rights.

Richard Schmierer has been representing the United States across the Middle East for nearly three decades, with extensive experience in both public diplomacy and American Middle East policy. Today he has been selected as America's Ambassador to the Sultanate of Oman. This is an important posting in one of the world's most strategically vital regions. Nearby is a bottleneck in the world's supply of oil, in the Strait of Hormuz, a failing state of great concern to many of us in Yemen, and a test case for the world's nuclear nonproliferation regime in Iran.

Historically, Oman has maintained close ties with both Iran and the United States. We also have close military-to-military ties, which our Ambassador in Muscat will support and hopefully build on.

Finally, Ambassadors Gray and Schmierer will both be well-positioned to contribute to our efforts on an issue of great importance to me and to the entire Senate and our country, and that is Arab efforts to normalize relations with Israel.

Oman and Tunisia have historically been among the leading Arab States in this effort. Until 2000, both countries hosted Israeli Interests Offices to enhance trade ties. In 2005, Israel's Foreign Minister visited Tunisia. Small steps toward normalization can carry great symbolic weight and help build momentum for peace, and we're eager to hear from each of you on the potential you see for progress there.

I know from talking to George Mitchell, how critical it will be to get the entire Arab community to respond, so that there is a sense of the bona fides of all sides in this effort.

So, all three of the nominees—as I said—have long, distinguished records representing Americans and thinking deeply about international and national security challenges our country faces. We're eager to hear them today, and frankly, very hopeful we can dispatch them quickly to serve in their important new roles. It's important for the President and the Secretary to have their team in place as fast as possible.

Senator Lugar.

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

Senator LUGAR. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I'm especially pleased to have the honor of introducing Congressman Tim Roemer, a distinguished fellow Hoosier, to the committee this morning. I've had the opportunity to work with Tim productively on numerous issues during his six terms in Congress representing Indiana's Third Congressional District.

He is no stranger, either, to the Senate, having served on the staff of Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona during the 1980s.

Since retiring from the House of Representatives in 2003, he has focused much of his attention on national security affairs as president of the Center for National Policy and as a member of the 9/11 Commission. In the House, he served on the Intelligence Committee and sponsored the bill that created the 9/11 Commission.

Since the Commission issued its report in 2004, he has appeared frequently to explain and to amplify on its conclusions. He also has served on the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy's Presidential Task Force on Combating the Ideology of Radical Extremism.

Congressmen Roemer's national security experience will be put to excellent use as Ambassador to India. In 2008, the United States and India concluded the landmark United States-India Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreement. It was one of the most important strategic diplomatic initiatives undertaken by the United States in the last decade. With this pact, our country embraced a policy based on the premise that the national security and economic future of the United States would be enhanced by a strong and enduring partnership with India.

Although the agreement has been concluded, its success will depend greatly, now, on the diplomatic work overseen by our next Ambassador to India.

Tim also brings to the job an understanding of how the economic welfare of the United States will be affected by what happens overseas, particularly in relation to rapidly developing economies such as India. The United States is India's largest trade and investment partner, with \$17.7 billion in exports in 2008. Managing and expanding this engagement will be important as we attempt to work our way out of the current global recession.

Many parts of our home State of Indiana have suffered heavy job losses. The Elkhart-Goshen metro area in the Third District, for ex-

ample, has a 17.5-percent unemployment rate, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Tim's congressional experience and familiarity with the composition and needs of local economies stressed by the global downturn will be advantageous as he seeks to generate economic opportunities in India for American businesses and their employees.

The United States and India have common democratic values and the potential for limitless economic engagement. The progress made by India in the last decade is one of the world's major success stories. With a well-educated middle class that is larger than the entire United States population, India can be an anchor of stability in Asia.

It is also extremely important to efforts to address global energy security, food security, and climate change. I share the President's confidence in Tim Roemer to lead our diplomatic efforts in India at this formative moment in history.

I would also take this opportunity to note that I have had a chance to work with two other nominees, Mr. Gordon Gray and Mr. Richard Schmierer, who have been appointed Ambassadors to Tunisia and Oman, respectively. Both have impressive credentials as career members of the Foreign Service, including recent tours at our Embassy in Iraq.

Mr. Schmierer was my escort officer on a 1983 visit that I made to Germany. Since then, he has gone on to many impressive achievements in the Foreign Service. His experiences have prepared him well to lead our mission in Muscat and work with our friends, the Omanis, with whom we have had a diplomatic relationship since the 19th century.

I had the opportunity to spend 4 days with Mr. Gray in 2005 when we were part of the same Presidential mission to Algeria, Morocco, and then to Libya. On that occasion we oversaw the release of the last 404 Moroccan prisoners of war held by the Polisario Front. This was the culmination of a great deal of creative U.S. diplomacy.

We also had the opportunity to engage Libyan leaders, including leader Muammar Qaddafi—under a tent, in the desert, as you will recall—in an early period of establishing full diplomatic relations between our countries. I benefited greatly from the expertise and diplomatic skill exhibited by Mr. Gray during this mission.

I congratulate all the nominees and their families on their appointments and look forward to our discussions today.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Lugar.

[The statement of Senator Edward Kennedy, in support of Timothy Roemer, follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS,
IN SUPPORT OF TIMOTHY J. ROEMER

I'm delighted to support Tim Roemer's nomination to serve as America's Ambassador to India.

I've known and worked with Tim Roemer for many years. He's extremely thoughtful with strong values and a deep and abiding commitment to this country and to public service, and he has a clear appreciation of India's extraordinary culture and heritage and place in history. Given Tim's love of history and his respect for the democratic tradition, it is fitting that he has been nominated to serve as America's Ambassador to the world's largest democracy.

Many of Tim's efforts during his congressional career were related to improving education. He was the chief sponsor of the Transition to Teaching bill that helped address teacher shortages by recruiting and training professionals to become teachers. Tim was also a principal sponsor of the AmeriCorps national service program, and a cosponsor of a bill to expand Head Start services to provide child care coverage for women moving from welfare to work.

As Congressman from the Third District of Indiana from 1991 to 2003, Tim was well-known for his successful leadership on legislation that helped improve America's competitiveness by balancing the federal budget, reforming elementary and secondary public education and improving the affordability of higher education.

After the attacks of September 11, he used his position on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence to support the work of a joint congressional inquiry on the nature of the attacks. He was also the key sponsor of legislation to establish the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, known as "The 9/11 Commission," and he provided outstanding service to the Nation as a member of that Commission.

Tim now serves on the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, a bipartisan commission created by Congress in 2007 as a result of the reforms provided by the 9/11 Commission to examine how the United States can best address such threats to our national security. In addition, he serves on the Washington Institute for Near East Policy's Presidential Task Force on Combating the Ideology of Radical Extremism, and the National Parks Second Century Commission.

Since leaving Congress in 2003, Tim has continued to work on developing ways to strengthen national security as President of the Center for National Policy. He is also a Distinguished Scholar at the Mercatus Center at George Mason University, working with Congress to improve public policy outcomes through teaching on the legislative branch and on policy analysis.

I'm confident that Tim Roemer will be an outstanding Ambassador for the United States in India. He has the skills, vision, and commitment to public service that will enable him to excel in this position, as he has in all other endeavors. His wife and their four children, Patrick, Matthew, Sarah, and Grace will be ambassadors in their own right as well.

I urge the committee to support his nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. If we could ask you, Congressman Roemer, if you'd go first, please, and we'll just run down the line. And as I said, please introduce anybody you'd like.

**STATEMENT OF HON. TIMOTHY J. ROEMER,
NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO INDIA**

Mr. ROEMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Lugar, Senator Kerry, thank you so much for your kind words, your time here at this important hearing, and your support. It is very, very important and meaningful, not just for the nominees here today, but for the country, that the two of you would take the time to be here for this nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. If I could just interrupt—I apologize for doing this—but I need to give you a heads' up—because of the schedule, I'm on the Finance Committee, and we're about—you know, we're trying to do the health care bill, as I think you know. So, Senator Kaufman is, at some point, a little later, going to sit in for me in this—so I can go to that meeting, but—

Mr. ROEMER. Even more for it, and thank you, Senator. I know you've got other committees and floor votes, thank you for being here.

Before I get into my opening statement, I'd like to take the time to introduce my family.

Senator Lugar, and Senator Kerry, you're familiar with many of them. I think if I do all of them—

The CHAIRMAN. All four rows of them?

Mr. ROEMER. It would be all of my time, Senator.

We have about 7 rows, here, but I will try to just introduce the immediate family. I want to start off, first of all, with my wife, Sally, who has supported my public service throughout my career, and her commitment and love is absolutely essential.

Thank you, to Sally, for all she means to me.

I want to thank my four children, here—Patrick, Matthew, Sarah, and Grace. They range in age from 8 to 16, and I want to thank them for their sense of optimism and adventure. This is not going to be easy on them, but they're beginning to get a little bit more excited about it. And they're looking forward to it.

I want to recognize my mom and dad. Great Hoosiers, Senator Lugar, born and raised in South Bend, IN, Jim and Mary Ann Roemer, and they've always encouraged me to pursue the path of public service in the likes of people like Bobby Kennedy and Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa and peace and justice issues. So, I want to thank them.

I want to also recognize my in-laws, Sally's parents, Bennett and Mary Johnston. You said some very kind words about them, Senators, thank you for that. They've blazed many trails of success here in the Halls of the Senate and in the paths of Louisiana, we're very proud of them—both of them—and love them.

I could go on and on with family members. I probably should stop there lest I start rivaling, maybe, the population of Indiana, with three or four more rows of my colleagues—

The CHAIRMAN. That's all right, this will be the first family filibuster that we've ever had in the Senate. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROEMER. And I would like to get to my statement, I'd ask unanimous consent, Senator Kerry, that my entire statement be entered into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

Mr. ROEMER. And I will try to highlight different parts of it.

"India is the mother of history, the grandmother of legend, and the great-grandmother of tradition." So said one of our celebrated and acclaimed novelists, Mark Twain.

While it's very exciting and alluring to look back on history and culture in India, what is so interesting and rewarding in the President nominating me for this position, is the future—the people-to-people relationships, the business-to-business relationships, the global possibilities of two great democracies moving forward, and defining solutions to the biggest problems in the 21st century, and the strategic partnerships that can be formed.

I want to thank the President, and I want to thank the Secretary of State for their support and their nomination to this very important post.

Senator Kerry mentioned some of my experience in Congress, and the U.S. Senate, and I was President of the Center for National Policy, working on national security and defense issues, foreign policy concerns, agricultural issues with Senator Lugar, as I was a Congressman, microenterprise loans projects, science and technology issues as a member of the Science and Technology Committee in the House.

I believe all of those experiences will richly prepare me for working with the Indian Government and trying to work on some of the key priorities between the United States and the Indian people.

I'd like to say, in terms of a story that I heard when I was sent to Ambassador School, how that outlines four or five of the priorities that the President has discussed with me in a meeting about a week and a half ago at the White House.

There's a story that's attributed to former Secretary George Shultz, where he would bring in the prospective new ambassadors going to posts around the world. And he took them into his office, and he had a big globe in front of him, and he would say, "Please show me—point to your country." And the nominee would be very excited, and interested, and would almost inevitably point to India or Indonesia or Tunisia, and the Secretary would sit back in his chair, and pause, and then look at them and say, "Ahem, let me remind you, your country is the United States of America. Your job is to support the interests, the concerns, and the priorities of the United States."

Along those lines, Senator Lugar, as you mentioned, the job dislocation in Indiana, where we have 17 and 18 percent unemployment rates, the economy, the global meltdown—one of the priorities for the current, ongoing relationship between the people of Indian and the United States is to work to break the impasse on the Doha Round, and facilitate fair and free trade to create jobs in the United States. This is the key issue to break down barriers, to increase trade, trade that has increased from about \$13 billion to over \$44 billion in the last 6 years.

We're interested, Senator Lugar, as I know you are, in the legacy issues around the civilian nuclear deal, to make sure that those issues are resolved in a positive way, so U.S. businesses can get access to the nuclear reactor parks there, and create jobs here.

Another important issue, and moving forward in this strategically vital relationship, is a broader agreement on counterinsurgency and counterterrorism issues, for stability in that region. I'd like to congratulate Senator Kerry and Senator Lugar for their historic work on this Kerry-Lugar legislation, to help stabilize the issues and priorities in Pakistan, and help the Pakistani people concentrate more on the internal threat of al-Qaeda and the Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba. I think that can help, significantly, our relationship with India.

But we need to expand intelligence-sharing, and best practices, on homeland security, so that we don't see another Mumbai attack.

A third important issue is broadening and expanding the defense and military-to-military relationships that also can result in jobs in America. As India seeks to modernize its military from fighter jets to vessels in the Indian Ocean to help fight piracy and preserve trading lanes in the Indian Ocean—a strategically important area for us and for them, end-use monitoring agreement, and concluding that, task force and working arrangements in the Indian Ocean on security issues—are key.

A fourth issue, which personally I am very interested in, is broadening our cooperation on higher education, and education reform. The Indians send about 94,000 students to the United States of America for schools, they have some excellent universities in

India, they are challenged to create more. And many of our universities are interested in establishing joint ventures with India, to provide opportunities for us to create opportunities for Indians overseas, for our land-grant colleges and agricultural universities to help with a new green revolution in India. This has very exciting and rewarding potential for the United States and for Indian.

Senator Kerry, you've mentioned a key issue on climate change and clean energy. This has great significance for our two countries. In a land like India, and a historic place like America, where invention and science and entrepreneurship and education is so key, and seminal to both places, there are very many opportunities for the two countries to work together and agreeing on the Copenhagen agreement in December, but also cooperating at the global, the regional, and the bilateral levels on projects such as solar stoves, that could help reduce the black carbon, from the old stoves in the rural communities going into the atmosphere and creating more global warming.

Finally, Senator Kerry, and Senator Lugar, one of the very exciting issues that I mentioned with respect to higher education, is a green revolution. This touches on clean energy, this touches on new technologies and scrubbers for their coal plants that might be produced in America and sent over to India that touches on how we help and learn from the Indians on protecting the soil and increasing productivity in the agricultural areas, so that 30 to 40 percent of their foodstuff doesn't spoil on the way to market, but actually makes it to market and helps the Indian people feed themselves, and they're self sufficient as they have become in that round.

I would end, Senator Kerry and Senator Lugar, by saying that the success on India over the last several decades has been a bipartisan success. It's been a foreign policy where many of the successful actors, and much of the credit goes to Democrats and goes to Republicans, goes to our United States Senate, and our United States Congress for getting through our Congress the Civil Nuclear Agreement and the Indian people, and the Parliament passing that.

It goes to the people-to-people contacts, and the business-to-business contacts. I would like to carry on this tradition. And work in a bipartisan way, with both of you, who have shown great leadership on these issues, with our United States Congress, with our President who has told me, personally, on a couple of different occasions how interested he is in this issue of United States-India partnerships, how successful his meeting went with Prime Minister Singh, in London at the G20. And I look forward to working with Secretary Clinton, who is very interested in traveling to India soon.

So, thank you so much for the honor to be here, the privilege to be nominated and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with both of you and following your good example on this set of issues.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Roemer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF TIMOTHY J. ROEMER, AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO INDIA

"India is the mother of history, the grandmother of legend, and the great grandmother of tradition," said our celebrated and acclaimed author, Mark Twain. While the past is certainly alluring, it is the future—the people-to-people relationships, the global possibilities and strategic partnerships—that are exciting and rich with

potential. It is an honor and privilege to appear before you today to discuss my nomination to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of India.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I would like to express my deep gratitude to President Obama and Secretary Clinton for their support and nomination. I have had the opportunity to meet with them and discuss their views and vision for future relations with India, and if confirmed, I look forward to working with the United States Senate and the legislative branch.

In addition, I would like to recognize and thank my family, starting with my wife, Sally, for her love and commitment. I would also like to thank my four children—Patrick, Matthew, Sarah, and Grace for joining me today. I am grateful for their fresh perspectives, youthful optimism, and sense of adventure. I would also like to recognize my parents, Jim and Mary Ann Roemer, who have always encouraged me to pursue the public service path of compassionate leaders such as Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy in the United States and leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa in India. I am also proud to acknowledge Sally's parents, people who have successfully blazed the trail of great success here in these Halls, Senator Bennett Johnston and his wife, Mary. Finally, I extend my heartfelt gratitude to the friends, coworkers, and family members who are here today and have helped advance me this far.

My involvement and dedication to the public service and government has now spanned nearly four decades. Beginning in the late 1970s, I worked on my hometown Congressman John Brademas' local election and interned in his Washington office. He taught me to deliver responsive and effective constituent services and seek out committee assignments where you can work passionately on issues you deeply care about. After graduation from the University of California and the University of Notre Dame, I returned to Washington and Capitol Hill in the 1980s to work for Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona. He assigned me the portfolio of national security, international trade, the Pentagon and defense and global development issues. Senator DeConcini encouraged me to travel in order to experience how the world actually worked and to utilize all our Nation's valuable tools and assets, as he was an early advocate of "smart power." In the 1990s, I successfully ran for public office and served my local community in Indiana in the United States Congress. I was fortunate to apply the lessons learned from my previous experiences in politics and gained committee assignments on the Intelligence Committee, the Education and Labor Committee, and the Science and Technology Committee. More importantly, Mr. Chairman, each of these committees has an important and relevant application to current bilateral relations with India today.

I believe that my past experience working with the legislative branch of our Government on various issues will be invaluable as we seek to advance and strengthen our global, regional, and bilateral interests with India. On the Hill, I worked on economic topics such as trade agreements, agricultural initiatives, microenterprise projects, and promoting rural development programs. Additionally, on the security topics, I was very involved in programs impacting our counterterrorism policies, our defense issues, and our intelligence priorities.

I used my position on the Intelligence Committee to support the work of a joint congressional inquiry into the nature of the 9/11 attacks and was the key sponsor of legislation establishing the "9/11 Commission." If confirmed, I look forward to sharing with my Indian counterparts the lessons we learned from 9/11 as India addresses the aftermath of its own terrorist tragedy in Mumbai and as we work together to prevent other attacks from occurring. I am certain there are improvements we can impart to India, and there are best practices we can learn directly from them. When I recently met with President Obama, we discussed national security and how both of our countries can work together to address the common threat of radical extremism.

Since leaving Congress in 2003, I have combined my interest in bipartisan solutions with my expertise in the complex national security issues facing our country today through my work at the Center for National Policy. The Center was founded in 1981 by Senator Ed Muskie, a former Secretary of State and continued with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. The trend of former and future Secretaries of State heading the Center continued in the 1990s with Madeleine Albright taking charge. I was selected as President in 2003. Since then, I have worked to bring together decisionmakers, policy experts, opinion leaders, and the American public to critically examine and make policy recommendations addressing the challenges facing our national security, including U.S. engagement abroad, security and intelligence reform, terrorism, proliferation, and homeland security. My current work is not limited to counterterrorism issues. As member of the board of directors for the Meridian International Center, I have worked to promote our public diplomacy efforts by supporting international exchanges and cultural dialogue through "smart power"—

strengthening those “people to people” ties that are so critical in all human relationships. If confirmed, I plan to make smart public diplomacy and outreach part of our daily mission at the United States Embassy in India.

Days after the devastating 9/11 attacks on America, I remember traveling up to New York City to express solidarity with the people and meet with the victims of this brutal assault. The number of victims and attacks since 2001 has expanded worldwide—from Madrid and Mumbai to Istanbul and Islamabad. In fact, I was on my way to Pakistan in September 2008 when a truck bomber blew up the Marriott Hotel where I was due to stay later that day. Dozens of innocent workers—clerks, maids, taxi drivers, hotel guests—were murdered by terrorists. Great global powers and concerned world citizens must work together to create a safer and more peaceful world.

While our security relationship is important, our relationship with India goes beyond sharing lessons learned from terrorist attacks and capacity-building of law enforcement agencies. As is the case in all of America’s most enduring relationships, the United States-India bond is between two democratic societies and two free peoples—not just two governments. The Indian diaspora community (including over 2 million American citizens of Indian ancestry), the influx of more than 94,000 Indian students to our universities, collaboration between our NGOs and civil society and growing economic and business interests—all have been pulling India and the United States closer for decades.

If confirmed, I envision spending my time working to strengthen economic and trade cooperation, helping to expand the frontiers of human knowledge by deepening our science and technology cooperation, and thinking creatively about new education partnerships, clean energy projects and microenterprise initiatives to help women, children, and the urban poor. These programs will not only help India; they will advance U.S. interests by helping to nourish an emerging middle class in the most populous democratic country in the world.

On the regional front, we will work closely with India to promote stability, prosperity, and development in the often volatile region of South Asia. On Pakistan, we need to continue to support improvement in the overall India-Pakistan relationship, including resumption of a dialogue process that will address issues vital to each country while still ensuring that Pakistan takes concrete steps to address the threat of terrorism. The recently passed Kerry-Lugar legislation should greatly facilitate this process. In Sri Lanka, we can engage with India and other regional and international partners to discuss issues such as providing for the large number of internally displaced persons, promoting political accommodation of minorities and coordinating reconstruction assistance in ways that will support peace and reconciliation efforts. If confirmed, I will engage with the Indian Government and seek their ideas on the most effective way to achieve this.

Yet, the central question facing India in the coming years is how India defines its greatness as it takes an increasingly prominent role in global affairs. Indian software entrepreneur Nandan Nilekani, in a new book called “Imagining India,” articulates the challenge for internal change and reform: “India now stands evenly balanced between [Indians’] reluctance to change in the face of immense challenges and the possibilities we have if we do tackle these issues head on.” Nilekani is referring to the key issues such as clean energy, environmental problems, and public health care concerns.

The real test of our partnership will be how we work together on the important common global challenges of our era, including addressing the urgent danger posed by climate change, which has a long-term impact on water and food shortages that are so pressing for India.

Other global issues include strengthening the global trade and investment system, addressing transnational threats like nuclear weapons proliferation, terrorism, and pandemic disease; promoting sustainable economic development to alleviate poverty; and helping other nations become more democratic and open.

We already work together to promote clean technologies, energy efficiency, and renewable energy through the United States-India Energy Dialogue and the seven-nation Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, and the Civil Nuclear Agreement. The 2005 Open Skies agreement paved the way for the growth in travel: The doubling of American visas issued to Indians and record number of Americans visiting India. Earlier this year, a binational foundation helped award Fulbright-Nehru scholarships focused on management, public policy, governance, agriculture, and the environment. We are dramatically expanding our ties in both Education and Science and Technology, and in looking ahead, are interested in working with the new Human Resource Development Minister and Minister of Science and Technology to deepen this partnership. We also want to help India unleash a “second green revolution” that helps enhance the food security of both India

and the world. We want to work on education initiatives at the University level with joint partnerships in India.

Our relationship with India is a good news story. And while our relationship has gone through different stages, we are certainly moving ahead on an upward trajectory. This is not a zero sum game with winners and losers but a positive sum game—with India as a strong, stable global democracy increasing peace and prosperity for all.

As we embark on this critical third stage of our relationship, we should do so with a clear-eyed recognition that we will not always agree on how best to address the vital challenges of our times. Our history, geography, and economic development are different, and will inevitably lead to some divergence of perspectives. But our shared objectives and democratic values—and our intertwined fate—require us to make the effort to seek common ground. That is the commitment of President Obama and Secretary Clinton, and one that I look forward to advancing.

I recall an interesting story I recently heard and was attributed to former Secretary of State George Shultz. When Secretary Shultz met with incoming Ambassadors, he would pull out a globe of the world and ask the ambassador-designates to “point to their country.” Without fail, each prospective Ambassador would point to the country he or she was being assigned to—Jordan, South Africa, or Indonesia. Secretary Shultz paused. His response was that “their country” is the United States of America, and that’s the country whose interests they will represent.

I want you all to know that if I am confirmed, I will faithfully represent the United States and our interests. I will look forward to hearing your views and concerns and cooperating closely with the Senate and the House.

In 1949, India’s first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in a speech delivered at the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi said: “The problems of Asia today are essentially problems of supplying what may be called the primary human necessities.” He went on to mention the problems of supplying food, clothing, housing, health, education, and the like . . . Today, more than 450 million Indians live on less than \$1.25 per day.

While much progress has been made, India still faces serious development challenges. Prime Minister Singh vigorously campaigned in rural communities and pledged to bring more of the benefits of trade and progress to the poor. I hope to address some of these problems and move the United States-India relationship forward. If confirmed, I believe I have the knowledge, experience, and dedication to public service to work together to achieve these goals. Over the past decade, the achievements and successes of our United States-Indian partnership have numerous contributors—the Clinton administration, the Bush administration, Republicans, Democrats, Ambassadors, businesses, citizens, NGOs, and several Congresses. I look forward to joining with you and taking our partnership with India to new heights.

Thank you again, Chairman Kerry and members of the committee, for the opportunity to appear before you. I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you, Congressman, we appreciate it. And your full statement will be in the record.

**STATEMENT OF RICHARD J. SCHMIERER, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE SULTANATE OF OMAN**

Mr. SCHMIERER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, thank you, Senator Lugar, both for your very generous comments on my background and experience, and thank you for your support.

Unfortunately, my family members are all out of town this week, so Tim and Gordon said I could borrow their family members for today’s occasion. [Laughter.]

So, thank you all for standing with me.

Mr. ROEMER. You might get more votes from them than I did.

Mr. SCHMIERER. With your concurrence, I’d also like to deliver a brief statement, but ask that a somewhat longer statement be placed on the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

Mr. SCHMIERER. Which treats some of the key elements of the United States-Omani relationship.

I am very honored to have the opportunity to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to the Sultanate of Oman. I am deeply humbled by the trust and confidence that President Obama and Secretary Clinton have shown in me through this nomination. If confirmed I will work energetically to protect American citizens, promote American interests, and build on the excellent relations that exist between our two countries.

As a career Foreign Service officer for almost 30 years, I would not have been able to accomplish the things I have without the support of my Foreign Service family—my wife, Sandra; our daughter, Erika; and our two sons, David and Daniel.

We have all welcomed the opportunity to represent and serve our country abroad. I want to express my pride in them—and my gratitude to them—for the contributions and sacrifices that they have made in living the Foreign Service life.

The United States and Oman share a long and dynamic historical relationship, but never has it been closer or more important than today, encompassing areas such as security, energy, and trade. If confirmed, I will work hard to maintain and deepen this relationship.

The United States and Oman signed the Free Trade Agreement, which went into effect on January 1 of this year, an agreement which will foster even greater economic and commercial opportunities. If confirmed, I will place a high priority on ensuring that U.S. companies have the support and advice they need to benefit from these opportunities.

While serving as a Public Affairs officer at American Embassies and consulates in Germany, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, I have had the opportunity to support many visits by Members of Congress. If confirmed, I look forward to inviting Members of Congress to visit Oman and to share their expertise and experience with Omanis and others in the country.

Let me close by expressing, once again, my appreciation for this opportunity to appear before you, and share my thoughts for the important duties for which President Obama has nominated me. If confirmed, I pledge to carry out these duties to the best of my ability.

Thank you, and I welcome the opportunity to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schmierer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD J. SCHMIERER, AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO THE
SULTANATE OF OMAN

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to have this opportunity to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to the Sultanate of Oman. I am deeply humbled by the trust and confidence that President Obama and Secretary Clinton have shown in me through this nomination. If confirmed I will work energetically to protect American citizens, promote American interests, and build on the excellent relations that exist between our two countries.

As a career Foreign Service officer for almost 30 years, I would not have been able to accomplish the things I have without the support of my Foreign Service family—my wife, Sandra; our daughter Erika; and our two sons, David and Daniel. We have all welcomed the opportunity to represent and serve our country abroad, having now spent almost two decades serving in Europe and the Middle East. I know that my wife and children are proud of the honor President Obama has bestowed upon me

through this nomination; but, likewise, I want to express my pride in them—and my gratitude to them—for the contributions and sacrifices that they have made in living the Foreign Service life.

The United States and Oman share a long and dynamic relationship. This bond dates back to 1790, when the Boston brig “Rambler” entered the Port of Muscat. Oman was the first Gulf Arab State to sign a bilateral accord with the United States and, in 1840, the Omani vessel “Sultana,” carrying the first Omani envoy, dropped anchor in New York harbor. The first American consulate was established in Muscat in 1880, and the first resident American envoy took up his post in 1974. That important relationship continues to this day.

When Sultan Qaboos came to power in 1970, Oman was just emerging into the modern age; today, Oman is a modern state with first-class infrastructure and educational institutions. In fact, today more Omani women are studying for university degrees than men. English is the language of higher education. Oman has achieved a high degree of good governance and rule of law through the development of strong government institutions, and, increasingly, a robust civil society founded on non-governmental organizations. An independent human rights commission, with representatives from the public and private sectors, was established in 2008.

All Omani citizens over the age of 18 enjoy universal suffrage, and Oman has been a country at the forefront in the region in promoting women’s rights and women’s participation in political and economic arenas. Omani women run for, and have been elected to, political office. Currently there are three Omani women in the Sultan’s Cabinet, and 14 women serve in the appointed Majlis al-Doula. Women comprise 40 percent of Oman’s civil service. The State Department’s Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) has, for many years, supported political empowerment programming for Omani women and if confirmed I look forward to enhancing those efforts.

Oman’s cooperation and assistance have been critical in supporting international security efforts in the region. Operation Enduring Freedom, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and other security operations have benefited from access to Omani facilities and from other support from Oman. Oman is a steadfast ally in defending against extremism and promoting regional stability and security. If confirmed, I will work hard to maintain and deepen this strong security relationship.

Oman’s history as a trading empire is based in part on its strategic location on the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea. Oman’s ports have become some of the most active in the world, and the southern Port of Salalah now serves as a pilot port for the Department of Homeland Security’s Secure Freight Initiative (SFI). Oman plays a central role in ensuring freedom of navigation in the Strait of Hormuz, a strategic chokepoint through which much of the world’s daily oil supplies transit.

Economic and commercial ties between our two countries continue to grow, with bilateral trade increasing from \$1.7 billion in 2006 to \$2.2 billion in 2008. On January 1 of this year, we implemented the United States-Oman Free Trade agreement, an agreement that is further enhancing our economic and cultural ties. The agreement includes important labor guarantees, which ensure that Oman’s continued economic development benefits all Omanis. This agreement will foster even greater economic and commercial opportunities, and if I am confirmed I will place a high priority on ensuring that U.S. companies have the support and advice they need to benefit from these opportunities.

The important cultural connection between our two countries was demonstrated recently when Oman participated in the Kennedy Center’s Arabesque Festival. A binational group of American and Omani dancers trained for months in Muscat and in Washington under the tutelage of the renowned choreographer Debbie Allen to develop a performance that intricately narrated lessons about our two cultures. The show, “Oman O, man,” was presented to sold-out audiences and rave reviews during its run at the festival.

The Middle East Desalination Research Center—MEDRC—is headquartered in Muscat and has been chaired by Oman since its inception in 1996. The Middle East is experiencing increasing demand for fresh water along with decreasing supplies. MEDRC’s mission is to address the supply issue by promoting the development of region specific desalination and water reuse techniques and capacity. It also continues to support the evolution of peace in the region by bringing together Israeli, Palestinian, Jordanian, Qatari, and Omani officials, who along with other donors (Japan, Korea, United States, Netherlands), work together to solve this shared resource challenge. In his speech in Cairo last month, President Obama noted the importance of creating “centers of excellence” to encourage scientific progress and cooperation; MEDRC truly fits that description.

If confirmed, I further plan to invite Members of Congress and their staffs to visit Oman and to share their expertise and experience with Omanis and others in the

country. I have been pleased to support such visits for many years while serving as a Public Affairs Officer at American Embassies and Consulates in Germany, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq.

Let me close by expressing once again my appreciation for this opportunity to appear before you and share my thoughts on the important duties for which President Obama has nominated me. If confirmed, I pledge to carry out these duties to the best of my ability. Thank you. I welcome the opportunity to answer any questions you might have for me.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.
Secretary Gray.

**STATEMENT OF GORDON GRAY, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF TUNISIA**

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, Senator Lugar, thank you very much for your kind words. If my father were here today, he would have appreciated them, and if my mother were here today, she would have believed them. [Laughter.]

It's a pleasure and an honor to appear before the committee today as President Obama's nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia. And I want to thank the President and Secretary Clinton for their confidence in me.

Before I start, however, I would also like to thank my wife, Connie, and our children Alex, Angela, and Christopher for their support and understanding throughout my career, and especially during this past year when I served at our Embassy in Iraq.

I'd also like to acknowledge the presence of a representative from the Tunisian Embassy, Tarek Ben Youssef, and to him I say, "Marhaba."

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to have my statement also entered into the record, and just make a few briefer comments.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

Mr. GRAY. Thank you.

I have a particular interest in North Africa, which began with my 2 years of service as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco. More recently, I served for 3 years as the Deputy Chief of Mission at our Embassy in Egypt before returning to Washington for the assignment as Deputy Assistant Secretary that Senator Lugar mentioned. And if confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee and with Congress to advance America's interests in Tunisia and throughout North Africa.

The United States has a strong and continuous friendship with Tunisia, which extends back over 200 years. It began with a Treaty of Peace and Friendship, first signed in Tunis in 1797 that extended through the Second World War when Tunisian support was essential for the success of Allied troops against the Rommel's forces in North Africa.

I think it strengthened upon Tunisia's independence in 1956. We were the first major power to recognize Tunisia as an independent state, and American taxpayers provided millions of dollars of assistance to help Tunisia become one of the most economically and socially developed countries in the region.

Peace Corps Volunteers and Agency for International Development experts, alike, further cultivated the spirit of partnership and goodwill between the Tunisian and American peoples.

In addition to our historic ties, the people of Tunisia and the United States have many common interests. These include advancing regional peace, combating terrorism, building prosperity, and promoting democratic values. I'd like to address each in turn.

On regional peace, the United States and Tunisia share many common goals. We both want to strengthen the Arab Maghreb Union, whose Secretary General is a former Tunisian Foreign Minister. Tunisia sustains a solid commitment to United Nations peacekeeping missions in Africa and deploys doctors to assist countries throughout the continent. Tunisia, like the United States, supports the reintegration of Iraq into the Middle East and—in marked contrast to many other countries—has maintained a continuous presence in Baghdad.

Foreign Minister Abdullah represented Tunisia at the Annapolis Conference in November 2007, and—if confirmed by the Senate—I will work to encourage Tunisia to more vigorously promote its moderate perspective on resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Tunisia has been attacked by al-Qaeda, and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb constitutes a true threat to Tunisia. In early 2008, for example, two Austrian tourists were kidnapped by this terrorist group along the border region of Algeria and Tunisia.

Tunisia has demonstrated its commitment to combating terrorism, both domestically and throughout the region, through its membership in the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership. If confirmed, I will draw on my service in the State Department's counterterrorism office and on the experience developed in subsequent assignments to promote even stronger United States-Tunisian cooperation.

Regarding trade, each Ambassador has a responsibility to the American people to make the United States a more prosperous nation. Both of my two fellow nominees have addressed the importance of working to reduce trade and investment barriers for American companies; that will certainly be a priority for me, and I view the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement, signed in 2002, as a solid starting point for our economic engagement with Tunisia.

Finally, Tunisia is indeed a valued partner in the fight against terrorism and a moderate voice on regional issues, but progress in the political sphere is essential if Tunisia is to secure its future. Tunisia is ready for more progress in the areas of freedom of association, freedom of expression, and enhanced debate.

In his June 4 speech in Cairo, President Obama affirmed, "Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful, and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away."

If confirmed, I shall work with the people and the Government of Tunisia to promote these freedoms, with respect for Tunisian sovereignty, and with an understanding of the unique challenges Tunisia faces. The upcoming Presidential and Parliamentary elections in October provide an important opportunity for the United States to engage the Government of Tunisia to encourage electoral transparency.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed I intend to take every opportunity to speak directly with the Tunisian people about the United States, our foreign policy, and our ideals. I will listen to what they have

to say, and I will encourage all members of our Embassy to do the same. American values, including informed citizenship, political freedom, and socioeconomic opportunity, resonate with Tunisians and others across the region. We should continue to reach out to them to strengthen our dialogue on these important issues.

Tunisians were riveted by the U.S. elections, and President Obama's Cairo speech last month resonated strongly and positively. He has captured their imagination by signaling his desire to engage with Muslims around the world. If confirmed, I will seek to put the President's words into action in Tunisia.

Thank you again for this opportunity, Mr. Chairman. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, with the rest of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and with both Houses of Congress to continue the excellent work of Ambassador Godec and his team in advancing our interests in Tunisia.

I would like to encourage you and your colleagues to visit Tunisia, and I welcome any questions you may have.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gray follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GORDON GRAY, AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE
TO THE REPUBLIC OF TUNISIA

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the committee, it is a pleasure and an honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia. I want to thank President Obama and Secretary Clinton for their confidence in me.

Before I start, I would also like to thank my wife, Connie, and our children Alex, Angela, and Christopher for their support and understanding throughout my career, and especially during this past year when I volunteered to serve at our Embassy in Iraq.

If confirmed by the Senate, I look forward to working hard every day to fulfill the duty of each and every Ambassador to protect American citizens, advance the interests of the United States, and promote our values.

I have a particular interest in North Africa, which began with my 2 years of service as a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco. More recently, I served for 3 years as the Deputy Chief of Mission at our Embassy in Egypt before returning to Washington for a 3-year assignment as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the region. If confirmed, I will work closely with this committee and with Congress to advance America's interests in Tunisia and throughout North Africa.

The United States has a strong and continuous friendship with Tunisia, which extends back over 200 years. This friendship began with the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, first signed in Tunis in 1797. Upon President Lincoln's assassination in 1865, the Bey of Tunis was the first head of state to offer his condolences. In World War II, Tunisian support was essential for the success of Allied troops against the Third Reich's forces in North Africa.

The friendship between the United States and Tunisia strengthened upon Tunisia's independence from France in 1956. We were the first major power to recognize Tunisia as an independent state, and American taxpayers provided millions of dollars of assistance to help Tunisia become one of the most economically and socially advanced countries in the region. Peace Corps volunteers and Agency for International Development experts further cultivated the spirit of partnership and good will between the Tunisian and American peoples. To this day, we appreciate Tunisia's continuing support for the North Africa American Cemetery and Memorial in Tunis, which is the resting place for 3,000 U.S. troops who died in the line of duty in the Second World War.

In addition to our historic ties, the people of Tunisia and the United States have many common interests. These include advancing regional peace, combating terrorism, building prosperity, and promoting democratic values. I'd like to address each in turn.

- On regional peace, the United States and Tunisia share many common goals. We both want to strengthen the Arab Maghreb Union, whose Secretary General is a former Tunisian Foreign Minister. Tunisia sustains a solid commitment to

United Nations peacekeeping missions in Africa and deploys medical and scientific experts to assist countries throughout the continent. Tunisia, like the United States, supports the reintegration of Iraq into the Middle East and—in marked contrast to many other countries—has maintained a continuous presence in Baghdad. Foreign Minister Abdullah represented Tunisia at the Annapolis Conference in November 2007, and—if confirmed by the Senate—I will work to encourage Tunisia to more vigorously promote its moderate perspective on resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

- Tunisia has been attacked by al-Qaeda, and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb constitutes a true threat to Tunisia. In late 2007, for example, two Austrian tourists were kidnapped by this terrorist group along the border region of Algeria and Tunisia. Tunisia has demonstrated its commitment to combating terrorism, both domestically and throughout the region, through its membership in the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership. If confirmed, I will draw on my service in the State Department's counterterrorism office and on the experience developed in subsequent assignments to promote even stronger United States-Tunisian cooperation.
- Regarding trade, each ambassador has a responsibility to the American people to make the United States a more prosperous nation. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Government of Tunisia to continue progress to reduce trade and investment barriers. The Trade and Investment Framework Agreement, signed in 2002, is a solid starting point for our economic engagement with Tunisia, and acts to support a Tunisian economy that is open and integrated into the world economy and its institutions, through the development of laws and policies that foster private sector-driven economic growth and economic freedom, increased U.S. trade and investment, and sustainable development.
- Finally, Tunisia is indeed a valued partner in the fight against terrorism and a moderate voice on regional issues, but progress in the political sphere is essential if Tunisia is to secure its future. Tunisia is ready for more progress in the areas of freedom of association, freedom of expression, and enhanced debate. In his June 4 speech in Cairo, President Obama affirmed, "Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful, and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away." If confirmed, I shall work with the people and the Government of Tunisia to promote these freedoms, with respect for Tunisian sovereignty and with an understanding of the unique challenges Tunisia faces. The upcoming Presidential and parliamentary elections in October provide an important opportunity for the United States to engage the Government of Tunisia to encourage electoral transparency.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed I intend to take every opportunity to speak directly with the Tunisian people about the United States, our foreign policy, and our ideals. I will listen to what they have to say. And I will encourage all members of our Embassy to do the same. American values, including informed citizenship, political freedom, and socioeconomic opportunity, resonate with Tunisians and others across the region. We should continue to reach out to them to strengthen our dialogue on these important issues. In addition, we should work to build on the many educational exchanges and business contacts between Americans and Tunisians to foster greater understanding and cooperation. There is a great hunger, in particular, for English language programs and scientific and technical exchanges. If confirmed, I will work diligently to promote the friendship between our two peoples by increasing the quality, diversity, and number of cultural and educational exchanges.

Tunisians were riveted by the U.S. elections, and President Obama's Cairo speech last month resonated strongly and positively. Simply put, he has captured their imagination by signaling his desire to engage with Muslims around the world. If confirmed, I will seek to put the President's words into action in Tunisia.

Thank you again for this opportunity, Mr. Chairman. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, with the rest of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and with both Houses of Congress to continue the excellent work of Ambassador Godec and his team in advancing our interests in Tunisia. I encourage you and your colleagues to visit Tunisia, and I welcome your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Secretary Gray, we appreciate the comments.

I want to try to probe a few questions, if I can, before I have to leave, and I want to take advantage—first of all, I need to ask a couple of pro forma questions.

Do any of you, as nominees, to represent the United States in these respective countries, have any issue that would present a conflict of interest in your capacity to perform these responsibilities?

Congressman.

Mr. ROEMER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schmierer.

Mr. SCHMIERER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gray.

Mr. GRAY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And is there any issue from which any of you have had to, at this time, recuse yourself, or would have to recuse yourself in the future?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schmierer.

Mr. SCHMIERER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gray.

Mr. GRAY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Roemer.

Mr. ROEMER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And have you had to divest in anything in order to be able to take on this responsibility?

Mr. Roemer.

Mr. ROEMER. In my ethics letter, Senator, I will have to sell some individual stocks, and investments in mutual funds, and I've served on a private sector board of a major U.S. corporation that will require me to sell stock in that firm.

Mr. SCHMIERER. Sir, I have not had to divest in any assets.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gray.

Mr. GRAY. I will have to divest about \$3,200 worth of stock in Microsoft and Cisco, and if confirmed, I have affirmed that I am prepared to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Well, we appreciate that, we appreciate your willingness to do that. It's one of the things that a lot of Americans aren't aware, that people who serve—not just in the Foreign Service, but any of these positions—often are called on to make considerable financial sacrifice, and/or other kinds of sacrifice, and we respect that and we are grateful for the fact that you are willing to do that.

I want to take advantage of Mr. Schmierer and Mr. Gray's presence, here, both of you have been working on Iraq issues, and I think we'd be remiss if we didn't ask you, sort of—and just kind of hear your judgment on it, of where you see us at this point in time in terms of the troop withdrawals and the current track we're on in Iraq?

Mr. Gray.

Mr. GRAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I went to Iraq at the end of June of last year, and I returned on May 31. What struck me about my time there was the—my sense that the situation was improving. To be honest with you, I did not go with that assumption.

I would point to a few concrete examples during the time I was there. One was the successful negotiation between the United States and the Government of Iraq on the security agreement and the strategic framework agreement.

There was a great deal—as you know, and I know you’ve visited—a great deal of back and forth, it was a very arduous negotiation, but it was conducted in a positive spirit and led to a result that, I think, is good for both countries.

The second positive development that I would point to is the successful conduct of the provincial elections on January 31. The elections were held in 14 of Iraq’s 18 provinces. The turnout was not spectacular, but it was above 50 percent, but there was a peaceful transition from the old Provincial Councils and the old Governors to the new ones. I think that’s an encouraging sign for the future of Iraq, particularly as it prepares for the parliamentary elections that are scheduled to take place early next year.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SCHMIERER. I would just briefly add that I would concur with Gordon’s assessment of the progress in Iraq. I’ve been dealing with Iraq, now, for 5 years, most recently as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State handling Iraq. And as I’ve watched the country in its ups and downs, I would say that currently I believe Iraq is on a very successful path, in terms of its security and stability.

It does still face some political challenges, as Gordon mentioned, the successful provincial elections, next will be, of course, national elections expected in January, and those will be very important in terms of the political future of the country.

They appear to be on track, and all elements of Iraqi society are vested in the political process, so they’re all working from within the process, which is very encouraging.

And then, I think, Iraq will really have to begin to face some of the fundamental economic issues that will ultimately be critical to its long-term success.

But my assessment—as Gordon has indicated—is that it is on a positive trajectory, and I think our engagement will continue to be able to be walked back as the Iraqis continue to take on more and more of the responsibility.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of a challenge is it that they have yet to resolve the basic, sort of, political pieces—the oil wealth distribution, the federalism issue, and some of the Sunni/Shia reconciliation issues?

Mr. SCHMIERER. I might just mention that there are a number of processes underway which would address these issues, for example, the United Nations is taking the lead in getting the parties together to discuss the disputed internal boundaries issues, and that’s an important element.

The Council of Representatives Speaker is looking to take on the issue of the hydrocarbons legislation. So, there are a number of efforts underway.

I think we can anticipate that in the coming period, it will be a preelection period, we will probably see dialogue, but perhaps not significant breakthroughs. But we would hope and expect to see those when a new government comes in, following the elections.

But, as I said, I think the commitment to resolving these issues through dialogue is there by all of the parties, and I think that’s going to be key for the successful resolution of these issues.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you, and we appreciate your, sort of, updating for the committee, and that's helpful.

Secretary Schmierer, what obstacles, if any, do you foresee for the renegotiation of the defense agreements with Oman, using the access to Oman military facilities?

Mr. SCHMIERER. Well, the Base Access Agreement, which has been in place since 1980, does come up for renewal next year. My assessment, as I understand it, at this point, is that the Omanis are strongly supportive of an extension of a renewal.

There may be—I anticipate there would be some adjustments made, based on some of the new requirements. But Oman has been very supportive of security efforts in the region, and particularly, of our security efforts.

So, I don't anticipate any significant obstacles, there just simply may be a few issues that will have to be worked out.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you assess Oman's relationship with Iran, and in what way might—whatever that is—be affected by what has happened in Iran in these recent weeks?

Mr. SCHMIERER. Well, Oman does enjoy a cordial relationship with Iran, probably a closer relationship than the other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

At the same time, of course, as you know, it has a very strong relationship with the United States. Given its neighborhood and given its close proximity to Iran, its interest in having a cordial relationship with Iran, of course, is understood.

The events in Iran, of course, continue to unfold. I think Oman is well-positioned to try to help everyone understand what is going on in Iran, and I think would be prepared to use its goodwill—both on behalf of its neighbors, and potentially others—to help a dialogue, to help an understanding of those developments.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Oman's position, and/or possible response with respect to Iran's nuclear program—and were Iran to develop one—would they be among those in the region who feel compelled to respond themselves?

Mr. SCHMIERER. Well, Oman itself is committed to nonproliferation, and so I believe Oman, in its own right, would not seek to respond directly. But I know Oman is concerned, as are its neighbors, at the prospects of a nuclear Iran.

The CHAIRMAN. So, Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait, are all also committed to nonproliferation, but they've made it pretty clear that if Iran developed a weapon, they would probably feel compelled to do so, similarly.

Mr. SCHMIERER. Well, there's no indication, to my knowledge, that Oman has taken such a position, but clearly they share the same concerns, and so I'm sure they would seek ways to address that, should it occur.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Roemer, one of the most—when I recently visited India, and met with Prime Minister Singh and others, one of the issues I consistently raised with them was global climate change, and I'll be taking a delegation to Copenhagen in December for those negotiations.

I just came back from a week in China where we had a series of meetings regarding that issue, and China has indicated a significant willingness to be positive and constructive with respect to

Copenhagen, and they're already taking very significant steps to begin to reduce emissions, to change various patterns from energy use, fuel switching, automobile standards, wind-power targets, other things.

India has not yet set that kind of goal. I wonder if you could share with us, your sense of how you might advance that, and where you see India, at this point, with respect to that?

India is now the fourth-largest emitter in the world.

Mr. ROEMER. Well, as you said, Senator, their willingness, their interest in this, their dedication to the Copenhagen agreement is absolutely essential, to show leadership on a global issue, for their country, for their development, that their development does not have to sacrifice the environment to proceed; to feed their people, to grow their economy.

There's an interesting book written by the founder of InfoSys, in India, a software entrepreneur by the name of Nandan Nilekani. And he writes that the true challenge for the Indian people—this is not an American saying this—that the Indians need to do more on climate change and protecting the environment and making tough choices on clean energy—this is an Indian saying that they are at a crucial breaking point on global issues, and showing global leadership. And he is encouraging the government to take this issue on—both at the global rounds, at Copenhagen, and the regional areas, and on bilateral issues.

I think, Senator, that there is much that the United States and the Indians can do together on science, technology, cooperation, climate change, clean energy issues. As I mentioned in my opening statement, the stove issue and black carbon is a very important one.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I couldn't agree with you more, let me just say as I close up my time, here, I think you've got—one of the major roles that you can play is helping to show a lot of folks in India—many of them already understand this, I mean, they have a Nobel Prize winner from last year in Dr. Pachari, who—and others—who are well-versed in all of this.

But I think it's really important for us to work—as we have with China—to indicate how they can grow. We're not trying to slow down their economies, they can grow, but grow without, frankly, making the mistakes that we made over 150 years.

And the technologies are moving so rapidly, I think there's just enormous economic opportunity in that. So, I think that's going to be one of your biggest tasks. And I encourage you to really tackle that, and I'm prepared to come over and try to be helpful—with others here—who can sort of help to leverage that.

Also, on the India/Pakistan piece—which is critical—I would just ask you, very quickly, there's some indication, some tentative signs of, sort of, a renewal of effort to recreate that relationship that was actually moving prior to Mumbai. And I wonder how you assess the prospects for the renewal of the composite dialogue between India and Pakistan.

Mr. ROEMER. Well, I think your legislation, Senator—you and Senator Lugar's legislation—helps in many respects.

As you mentioned, there were some back channels that were established between the Indian and the Pakistani Government over the past several years, when Musharraf was in power.

I think it's an important role for the United States to recognize that while Pakistan and India are two sovereign and independent nations, that there is much that we can do to encourage these two countries to continue to talk, to exchange, and put up hotlines in case something happens in a Mumbai-type of attack in the future. For us to try to encourage military-to-military understanding and exchanges—both within our country and possibly between their two countries.

I think there's a lot of work, here, Senator, for me to do and for the administration and the Congress to do, if confirmed, and that would certainly be one of the priorities.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we look forward to all of you being confirmed, and we're going to try to get you out of here, out of the committee, and through the Senate as fast as possible. And there's no question you all will be confirmed, we'll try to get it done as expeditiously as possible.

And I look forward to your service. Thank you very, very much for being here today.

Thank you.

Senator Lugar.

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

Congressman Roemer, let me ask about Kashmir, for a moment. This has been a source of militarism and opportunism. Many feel that much of the Pakistani military is focused on the border of Kashmir, and we've tried to persuade some to focus elsewhere in the country.

But, what is the United States role relative to Kashmir? In the past, we have not seen our role as one of direct negotiations, or of guiding our two friends toward conclusion, but as you analyze the Kashmir problem, what comment would you have on constructive developments we could encourage?

Mr. ROEMER. Well, Senator, I think it is an issue—it's a delicate and sensitive issue. It's one that we would diplomatically encourage that the Pakistanis and the Indians, first of all, improve their relationship, their ties, their trade, their exchanges, to foster peace and more prosperity in that area between their two countries.

Second, Senator, I think it's important to try to make sure that where we can, in front of the scenes, behind the scenes, through diplomatic channels, encourage them to talk about this issue, and hopefully resolve it between their two countries.

I think it has been an extremely sensitive hot spot for the world and for the region, whenever we've almost experienced thermo-nuclear war on several occasions.

So, again, just as the Pakistan-India negotiations—relationship is an important one to the President, the Secretary—this is also a delicate and important one.

Senator LUGAR. In your statement, you've also mentioned Sri Lanka—can you give some indication of how the United States and India might work together to address both humanitarian considerations there, as well as general stability?

Mr. ROEMER. Well, on this, Senator I'd like to say, with respect to the Indians and Afghanistan, that they have provided a very helpful role to the United States, and to Afghanistan, and to the region. They've invested over a billion people on economic development, that's a key interest for us in resolving, and helping out in Afghanistan, with kinetic, and nonkinetic power.

With respect to Sri Lanka, the Indian Government has sent high level—I think their Foreign Minister, and their National Security Advisor—had been down there, if not once, twice. They've committed \$20 million in aid, they've pledged another \$100 million in aid.

We're very concerned—the United States Government is concerned about the internally displaced people, and encouraging resettlement, and reconciliation and a peace process to go forward, and I think that's something that would be important for the next Ambassador to continue to work with the Indian Government on, to see that the Sri Lankan situation moves in a peaceful process, with reconciliation as a high goal.

Senator LUGAR. The World Bank recently indicated, there are 828 million Indians living on less than \$2 a day—a huge number of persons living in very dire poverty. What ways, during your ambassadorship, do you suspect the United States can work with the Indian Government, with businesses, humanitarian organizations, to alleviate at least a portion of that situation?

Mr. ROEMER. Well, Senator, if confirmed, I look forward to working with you on this. This would be a key priority for me as the next Ambassador. The President is extremely interested in this, as the Secretary of State is. As you know, Prime Minister Singh campaigned vigorously in the rural communities where about 70 percent of the Indian population resides, tried to promise the benefits of cost parity and global trade, to more and more of the people that live on less than \$2—or \$1.25 per day.

Senator, I've seen figures that say 456 million Indians live on less than \$1.25 a day. I think this is an opportunity, again, for our government, our businesses, our NGOs, microenterprise loans for the poor, to all work together to scale up some successful projects—not necessarily by the taxpayer, or also by the State Department, but through the private sector, to address this issue of poverty.

It's in our interest, as a great country, as a democracy, to grow the middle class in Indian—spiritually and economically, to see a middle class emerge there that can buy our products, exchange trade with the United States, it's in the Indians' interest to do this, and so, in terms of clean energy projects, poverty, agriculture projects—Perdue University, Indiana University, University of Notre Dame helping on some of these issues. Great institutions of higher learning, but also with experience on agricultural issues.

I think that there are lots of points of leverage and scaling up that we could work on, Senator, and I really—as you and I worked together in the House and the Senate, I would welcome this opportunity to learn from you and see where the administration and the State Department can work with Congress on this.

Senator LUGAR. Well, thank you, and I look forward to working together.

Mr. ROEMER. Thank you, sir.

Senator LUGAR. Let me ask, Mr. Gray, about the election in Tunisia to be held in October. It's anticipated that the President is expected to win, but what comments could you make on improvement in media access—campaign activities, for example, of others outside of the President and his party. And how can the political environment be improved with our assistance or our diplomacy.

Mr. GRAY. Thank you for the question, Senator Lugar.

As you've noted, the upcoming elections in October in Tunisia, provide us with the opportunity to encourage the Tunisian Government to increase their efforts in some of the areas in which—in his opening remarks, Senator Kerry rightly pointed out, they are lagging, and these include freedom of expression and access to the media. I am not aware of any significant improvements in that area, but of course would welcome them, and if confirmed, would work to see those enhanced.

I think it is important that the American Embassy, from the Ambassador on down, in Tunisia, reinforce the President's words and his commitment to human rights and beyond. These human rights don't just stop on Election Day, of course, they continue past and include freedom of association, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly.

Thank you.

Senator LUGAR. Well, thank you very much. And I know, from your own experience, that you will be skillful in working where there are opportunities, there.

Mr. Schmierer, the United States has worked actively, and the State Department's Annual Terrorism Report states that Oman, has proactively implemented counterterrorism strategies and cooperated with neighboring countries to prevent terrorists from moving freely throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Can you talk for a moment of some of the ways in which Oman has moved in that direction, what kind of cooperation they've had from us and what we can anticipate as a trend in that direction?

Mr. SCHMIERER. Well, thank you for the question, Senator Lugar.

There have been a number of areas where we have programs where we cooperate with Oman in terms of regional security efforts. These include, as was mentioned earlier, our Base Access Agreement, which allows us to have personnel come through, and those personnel typically provide training and other support for Omanis.

We've been very engaged in terms of naval training and support. You may be aware that some of the piracy incidents now have become closer to Oman and so we've started an effort there to coordinate with them on training, in terms of counterterrorism activities. The southern port of Salalah is a secure container initiative pilot port in terms of making sure that goods being transshipped through there are properly inspected.

So, there are a number of specific programs that we have, and the Omanis have been extremely open and extremely cooperative in working with us and in seeking whatever advice and support we can give them in this area. And that's something that, should I be confirmed, I would want to promote very vigorously.

Senator LUGAR. Well, my next question was concerning the piracy proximity and Oman's response that you—you anticipated that and responded. This is clearly a work in process.

Mr. SCHMIERER. Well, the first incident to occur in Omani waters took place just a few weeks ago, and I think that has been a, sort of a wakeup call for everyone because this now brings it out of what has been the traditional areas. Oman has limited naval assets, but what assets it has it is using strongly to patrol its own waters, and cooperating with our Navy and with our private shipping companies to ensure that they can use Omani facilities to support our antipiracy efforts. So, it's been a very cooperative relationship.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAUFMAN [presiding]. Senator Feingold.

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

And I want to congratulate all the nominees, thank you for your willingness to serve our country. Once you're confirmed, I look forward to working with each of you in your new role as Ambassador.

Let me start with Mr. Roemer. We had a very good meeting, as we have on many other subjects over the years, and I am very pleased to see the President nominate you.

Let me ask you a couple questions. The United States has a clear interest in improving counterterrorism cooperation between India and Pakistan. Pakistan could certainly do more, but as the nominee for U.S. Ambassador to India, what do you think are some steps that New Delhi could take to improve this relationship?

Mr. ROEMER. Thank you for the question, Senator Feingold. And I, too, enjoyed the meeting that we had the other day and, if confirmed, look forward to working with you on the three or four questions that we specifically discussed.

Senator, maybe this is one of the primary reasons why the President has selected me for this position, given my background on national security, my work on the Intelligence Committee, and my work on the 9/11 Commission.

I think there is much that we can learn from the Indians. They have a great deal of experience with counterinsurgency and counterterrorism. I think there's much that we can impart to them. We can help them with lessons learned from 9/11, from our attacks on New York City and the Pentagon, help them on issues of how to reorganize government.

I mentioned this book by Nandan Nilekani, about imagining government—about imagining India in the future. He encourages India to improve their government and their government services, so that they are training for their police force and their local response to the next Mumbai attacks, if that happens, is better coordinated, there's better communication between those forces.

I think we can help them with soft targets and how to protect soft targets. I think intel-to-intel cooperation can be improved. I mentioned earlier in my remarks, military-to-military cooperation. There can be efforts on counterterrorism on the piracy issues. The Indians have a very strong naval presence and look to modernize their Navy.

With the piracy issues taking place right off the coast there in the Indian Ocean, there's more that we can do with working groups and task forces, with our military and their military on this issue. There's more we can do to share information about our common threats in that area, which are al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and Lashkar-e-Taiba, and try to prevent the next attack from taking place or deflect that next attack.

So, there are lots of issues, I think, that we can work with. Our FBI has met with their top-level law enforcement people. I think better coordination and even more cross-training would be helpful, Senator. And if confirmed, I look forward to looking for even more creative ways to encourage this national security cooperation.

Senator FEINGOLD. Congressman, you've obviously given this already a great deal of thought, and it's a very impressive list of things you're already thinking about.

Let me completely switch to a different matter. As you know from our earlier meeting, I'm deeply concerned about a trade matter with respect to India, and that's because I'm from the land of the Harley Davidsons, and we want to be able to sell those in India. Wisconsin, of course, is the home of Harley, but there's a 60-percent tariff that India currently levies on certain imported motorcycles, including the premier motorcycle, Harley Davidson.

Harley has built motorcycles in Milwaukee for over a century, and they see India as a promising export market, but the enormous tariff makes it basically impossible for them to enter the market. Harley is not, of course, looking for special treatment, they want a level playing field. What steps will you take to prioritize this, and just, as I indicated to you, I've already raised this directly when in India last year with a couple of the officials there. There is some reason to believe that this is something that could move. So, I'm wondering if you could comment on that?

Mr. ROEMER. Well, Senator, this would be a priority for both this administration, and if I'm confirmed, for me as an ambassador.

I hail from Senator Lugar's State, in Indiana, where we have high unemployment, where we have manufacturing jobs that have bled out of our communities, where—I believe that the role of an ambassador in promoting U.S. business, fair and free access to new markets, to existing markets, is a key priority for the Ambassador to take on. And so, I think working with the Indians to remove some of their barriers to trade, their tariffs on trade, that would be a priority.

As I mentioned to Senator Lugar earlier, I think the possibility, the potential of bilateral trade agreement is out there, including the DOHA round of trade to, again, balance fair and free trade in our countries so that we have access to new markets and we can have jobs here that export products overseas.

So, Senator, I look forward to hopefully being confirmed and maybe possibly riding a motorcycle by Harley Davidson in New Delhi.

Senator FEINGOLD. That will be well-received, both in New Delhi and in Milwaukee.

Thank you.

I also had a question to you on civil nuclear deal, but I do want to have a chance to ask one question of Mr. Gray before my time runs out.

Mr. Gray, I'm very pleased to see you appointed to this position. I've had a chance to visit Tunisia a couple of times, meet with the President that Senator Lugar referred to on a number of occasions, and I am pleased to hear your statement about keeping on these issues related to governance and human rights and other issues that I've had a chance to raise in the past.

But what I do want to raise with you is the dramatic increase in AQIM activity in the region over the last year, including near the Tunisian border. And according to State, AQIM support cells have been discovered and/or dismantled in Tunisia. In fact, according to the "2008 Country Reports on Terrorism," the Government of Tunisia continues, and I'm quoting here, "To place a high priority in combating extremism. In addition to using security and law enforcement measures, the Tunisian Government pursued a variety of economic and social programs aimed at addressing the underlying challenges that can contribute to the spread of extremism."

So, if you're confirmed, how would you support this critical national security work without undermining—the other piece that we just referred to, the greater respect for the rule of law and human rights in Tunisia?

Mr. GRAY. Thank you for the question, Senator. I don't believe there's an inherent contradiction between the promotion of the more transparent political system and greater political participation and our interest in fighting terrorism. And I think, in fact, they go hand to hand. I think when there's greater political and social participation and sense of enfranchisement that that makes for a stronger country.

In my opening statement, I quoted President Obama to that effect, from his Cairo speech. I think there are other ways that we can continue to work with our good counterterrorism relationship with the Government of Tunisia. Exchange of information is critical in tracking down and combating terrorists. The Department of State has training opportunities, such as the Bureau of Diplomatic Security's Antiterrorism Assistance Training Program, which the Tunisians have not taken full advantage of.

And I also think that by strengthening existing institutions within the region, such as the Arab Maghreb Union, that would provide another mechanism for greater efficiency in fighting terrorists.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAUFMAN. I want to thank you all for volunteering for government service in this very special way that you have, and I want to compliment your families, especially, Congressman Roemer, your in-laws. I'd not met your wife, but she comes from good stock.

What I'd like to ask, Congressman, start with you, is what areas do you think there are new areas of cooperation with India that we can explore while you're Ambassador?

Mr. ROEMER. Well, if confirmed Senator, and thank you for your nice comments about my father-in-law, he's all right most of the time.

Senator KAUFMAN. And mother-in-law.

Mr. ROEMER. She's all right all the time. [Laughter.]

There are a host of new areas that the President and the Secretary of State have laid out, that Congress has talked about, that Senator Lugar and Senator Kerry expressed, as areas that an ambassador could work with you and the executive branch to achieve some new goals.

Some of those would include broader cooperation on national security issues and counterterrorism issues, broader cooperation on education initiatives, both at the higher education level and even at the elementary and secondary level.

India has many, many fine institutions and higher institutions of learning. They also have many people that don't have access to higher learning. And the United States, if we're able to break through some laws that have prevented the joint ventures between our universities and their universities from taking place on Indian soil, there is a great deal that we can achieve on the education initiative.

I mentioned climate change and clean energy in my opening remarks, that there are global, regional, and bilateral issues that we can work on that are brand new. And Senator Kerry was also mentioning his interest in jobs, as Senator Lugar was. How do we promote fair and free trade policies to create more jobs in the United States and increase our trade relationship with India?

Finally, as is the case sometimes, and some of our strongest and best bilateral relationships, the people-to-people, the business-to-business, the school-to-school, we need to continue to encourage and grow that exchange.

We have over 2 million Indian-Americans living in the United States; we have 94,000 Indian students in the United States. We need to send more of our students abroad to get this rich cultural experience, to see the growth and the diversity in India. And I think that's an area, where it might not be brand new, but right now a lot of the exchange is coming our way; we need to make sure that it can go the other way as well, Senator.

Senator KAUFMAN. Well, how do you think things are going to go with the recent economic reversals India spent, in terms of affecting future plans between the United States and India?

Mr. ROEMER. Which ones, in particular, sir?

Senator KAUFMAN. It's just the fact that the market's had a tough time over there, the economy is bad. I mean, it's hard for them and making sacrifices when they're in such bad financial shape.

Mr. ROEMER. Well, the market in last couple days, as you note—correctly note, has taken a dip. Up to the last week, the market, I think, in India was up about 49 percent. The market reacted very favorably to the recent elections in April and May, and that has been one of the success stories for the last couple of years, that the Indian economy has been growing at 7, 8, 9 percent rates.

I think, where the United States and the Indian Government can work together on trade relationships, increase the trade, increase the business opportunities, that can help our economies rely more on one another.

After all, Senator, here is one of the great democracies in the world. We trade with Vietnam, we trade with China. This is a tremendous opportunity for our people and for our businesses and for our economy to grow.

So, I think they're going to probably experience, over the next, you know, several years, some ups and downs in their market and in their growth rates, just as we have. I think two of the issues that the Obama administration and the Congress is spending so much of its time on right now—the global meltdown, the financial challenges in the world, and how to restructure that, and the terrorist attacks on Mumbai—are two areas where our country and the Government of India have rich possibilities to work together in strategic partnerships going forward.

Senator KAUFMAN. And how about—you mentioned the recent elections—how do you think that will impact on United States-India relations going forward?

Mr. ROEMER. Well, if I'm confirmed, Senator, I think reaching out to all parties in India is extremely important. You mentioned the recent elections and the success of the Congress Party. This is a party that had been reaching out and establishing better and better connections to the U.S. Government. The Bush administration, and the Congress, I think, did an excellent job with the Civil Nuclear Agreement. That has built upon—a new foundation of trust between our two countries, where you can build new pillars in education and clean energy issues and climate issues and a green revolution.

So, I think the foundation is there to improve this relationship and grow this relationship, and that's one of the most exciting parts about being nominated as the next Ambassador. And if confirmed, I look forward to working with you in a host of these areas.

Senator KAUFMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Schmierer, how do you see relations—cooperation between Oman and Iran, in terms of how you would deal with that as Ambassador?

Mr. SCHMIERER. Well, they do have a close relationship in terms of a cordial understanding and they do coordinate and consult. They also, of course, have a very strong relationship with the United States.

And so, I think Oman being a close neighbor of Iran, and obviously interested in, and to some extent concerned about developments in Iran, wishes to maintain that kind of relationship. I think at the same time, shares the same kinds of concerns that we and others have about potential Iranian behavior, and particularly the potential for Iran becoming a nuclear State.

And so, I think they are balancing the, sort of interest in having a good relationship with Iran with maintaining the kind of relationship with us and with our allies that would ensure that we can all work together to try to address the challenges that Iran faces.

Senator KAUFMAN. Great.

Mr. Gray, can you tell me a little about your objective with AFRICOM and the Tunisian military and how you see that working?

Mr. GRAY. We've had a longstanding military relationship with the government—with the military, I should say, of Tunisia. It's

very positive—on a very positive note, the military does not play a political role in Tunisia.

Tunisian military equipment is of United States origin, so it's a longstanding assistance program there. As AFRICOM stands up, it is reaching out to the militaries throughout the African Continent, including Tunisia. And Tunisia has been receptive to continuing cooperation with the United States military and with AFRICOM as the designated combatant command.

Senator KAUFMAN. And now I want to say that the hearing is over. The record will be kept open until noon tomorrow, as the chairman said, and we have the ranking member here. We'll do everything we can to move you through as quickly as possible. And again, I want to thank you and especially your families for your contribution.

Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 11:25 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF TIMOTHY J. ROEMER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

Question. As you know, Secretary Clinton will be visiting India very shortly. In her speech last month to the U.S.-India Business Council, Secretary Clinton spoke of “a dramatic expansion in our common agenda, and a greater role for India in solving global challenges”—a vision that many of us wholeheartedly support.

- What does Secretary Clinton hope to accomplish on her trip to India, and what short-term steps will the administration take to translate this vision into reality?

Answer. Secretary Clinton looks forward to visiting India this month and hopes to agree on a wide-ranging series of joint projects and dialogues with the Indian Government. The exact nature of these projects are still under discussion with the Indian Government, but we hope to release a detailed joint statement during her trip that will outline concrete measures and means of taking the United States-India relationship to the next level.

Question. Many experts incorrectly expected a tight parliamentary race in the April–May elections in which neither the ruling Congress Party nor the BJP would win by a significant margin. Many predicted the elections would result in a fragmented, unstable coalition government where regional parties with local concerns would hold disproportionate sway. This is not what happened.

- What factors does the administration believe influenced the outcome of the elections? Prime Minister Singh has in the past been a staunch proponent of strengthening United States-India ties. Do you agree with those that view the election results as providing continuity for bilateral relations?

Answer. We have enormous respect for India's democratic process, and look forward to working with all parties in India to move the United States-India relationship forward. Just like in this country, there is a broad political consensus within India, particularly among the Congress and BJP, in favor of a stronger United States-India relationship. The Congress Party victory was impressive and we look forward to continuing our close relationship with Prime Minister Singh and his government.

Question. The U.S. Senate recently passed legislation to recast the United States relationship with the people and Government of Pakistan. Our belief is that this measure will help secure the long-term security of not only the United States and Pakistan—but of India as well.

- If confirmed, how will you respond to those within India that have expressed concerns about U.S. aid to Pakistan?

Answer. Indian officials have said that they share our interest in a stable and secure Pakistan and Afghanistan. Like the United States, India has an enormous stake in the long-term security of Afghanistan and Pakistan. We can respond to crit-

ics in India by focusing on our common goals and interests in Pakistan and explaining how our aid helps achieve those goals.

Question. In your written testimony, you said you were “look[ing] forward to sharing with my Indian counterparts the lessons we learned from 9/11 as India addresses the aftermath of its own terrorist tragedy in Mumbai and as we work together to prevent other attacks from occurring.”

- What are the lessons from 9/11, as you understand them, which may be relevant to India’s response to the terrorist attacks in Mumbai?

Answer. September 11 was an event that changed the entire mindset of the United States toward terrorism and made us realize that we had to make major changes to our intelligence and law enforcement infrastructure to effectively combat the threat of another terrorist attack in the United States. The Mumbai attacks in November 2008 have had a similar impact on Indian society, and we can share the lessons we’ve learned in reorganizing U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies to help India in their own domestic counterterrorism efforts.

Question. Many in the Senate, myself included, supported a civilian nuclear deal with India in part because we hoped and expected it would spur greater cooperation on nonproliferation.

- What steps will you take to encourage India’s adherence to the guidelines of major nonproliferation regimes and its further cooperation with the administration’s nonproliferation agenda?

Answer. The Indian Government has fully upheld its nonproliferation commitments under the Initiative—including adherence to and harmonization with the Missile Technology Control Regime and Nuclear Suppliers Group. As Indian Special Envoy Shyam Saran noted at the Brookings Institution in March, the Civil Nuclear Initiative has enabled India to look, “proactively and not defensively at a new global agenda for nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament.” The Indian Government has taken a number of recent steps reflecting this outlook; including issuing a strong statement condemning the recent North Korean nuclear test and continuing to oppose Iran’s obtaining nuclear weapons. Particularly after President Obama’s April 5, 2009, Prague speech, Indian officials have welcomed the administration’s positions on nonproliferation issues and signaled a willingness to partner with the United States in reducing WMD threats. We look forward to holding Strategic Stability talks soon, which will address nonproliferation regime issues and chart a way forward for enhanced cooperation on nonproliferation and disarmament issues.

Question. What steps can we expect Prime Minister Singh’s government to take to promote peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka? If confirmed, how can we partner with India to support political reform in Sri Lanka and address pressing humanitarian needs?

Answer. As we have done with our fellow cochair countries, we can engage with India and other regional partners to discuss issues such as coordinating reconstruction assistance in ways that will support peace and reconciliation.

Soon after the end of the conflict, India’s National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary visited Sri Lanka to convey their concerns about the humanitarian crisis. Both governments agreed that with the end of military operations, the Sri Lankan Government needed to focus its attention on relief, rehabilitation, returns and reconciliation, including a permanent political solution in Sri Lanka.

The Indian Government has already provided \$20 million dollars in relief aid to Sri Lanka. Following the National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary’s visit in May, they said they would send special envoys to Sri Lanka and provide an additional \$105 million in aid to help in Sri Lanka’s rehabilitation efforts. Most recently in late June, following a meeting between Indian and Sri Lankan Government officials, the Indian Government facilitated the delivery of 900 tons of food and medicine from Tamils living abroad for internally displaced Tamils in Sri Lanka via the Indian Red Cross.

Question. Will you participate in the ongoing review over U.S. policy to Burma, and, if so, what input will you provide with regard to India’s role in improving conditions in that country?

Answer. India is a sovereign nation and one of the leading democracies in the world. While it has its own unique relationship with its neighbors, it also understands the need to support democratic values and clearly understands the negative impact of unstable neighbors.

As Secretary Clinton announced in February, we believe it is time to reexamine how we can best influence Burma and encourage reform. If confirmed, I will engage with the Indians and seek their ideas on the most effective way to do so.

Question. Nicholas Burns, the outgoing Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, recently said that the United States should support India as a Permanent Member of the United Nations Security Council. Secretary Clinton's June 17, 2009, speech to the U.S.-India Business Council perhaps hinted at the possibility, noting that as "other nations play an expanded role in resolving international security challenges, we should be prepared to adapt the architecture of international institutions to reflect their new responsibilities." I understand that the administration is more generally reviewing Security Council reform.

- What is the administration's view regarding whether India should be invited as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council?

Answer. We believe that the long-term legitimacy and viability of the Security Council depend on it reflecting the world of the 21st century. We are committed to finding a way forward to enhance the Council's ability to carry out its mandate in responding to threats to international peace and security in ways that will not diminish its effectiveness or its efficiency.

We are open to hearing all proposals and views, but the administration has not completed its policy review on U.N. Security Council expansion so we do not yet have a position on specific proposals. No decision has been made about which countries we would support for a permanent seat on the UNSC.

Question. Later this year will mark the 25-year anniversary of an accident at the Union Carbide chemical plant in Bhopal, India, that killed many thousands and now could well be harming a new generation of Bhopal residents due to contaminated groundwater. Some observers view the ongoing Bhopal litigation as a test case for future foreign investment in India, while to the victims, a timely resolution is a long overdue matter of fairness, compensation, and security.

- What is the administration's position on the ongoing cases in India and the United States? Are there nonlegal remedies and policies under review to address this longstanding issue?

Answer. The administration has encouraged all parties involved to find a resolution to this longstanding issue. We hope they can find a way to remediate the accident site as soon as possible, in the interest of the health and welfare of the residents of Bhopal.

Question. India has spent 6 years on the Tier 2 Watch List of the "Trafficking in Persons Report" of the Department of State. Recognizing that the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 created conditions for mandatory downgrade in tier rankings for countries that have been on the Tier 2 Watch List for 2 years, how do you intend to incorporate more effective antitrafficking policy into your mission strategy?

Answer. Secretary Clinton views the fight against human trafficking as a critical piece of our foreign policy agenda. India has laws in place, including laws that prohibit forced or bonded labor, including by children. We are encouraged by state-level efforts that resulted in the rescue of women and girls from commercial sexual exploitation and demonstrated India's commitment to fighting sex trafficking. However, it could do more to address trafficking in the form of bonded labor.

Trafficking demands a comprehensive approach based on the 4 Ps: protecting victims, prosecuting criminals, preventing trafficking, and building partnerships. My team and I will work closely with Washington and Indian officials to advance these goals through direct diplomacy and public awareness raising. We hope that India will focus increased attention on (1) empowerment of a national-level law enforcement authority to conduct antitrafficking investigations and prosecutions; (2) law enforcement efforts against the significant bonded labor problem; and (3) law enforcement activity against government complicity in trafficking. This approach to addressing India's trafficking in persons problem is already incorporated into our mission strategy and will be used as a basis for our ongoing discussions with the Government of India. I look forward to continuing to work with the Government of India in its efforts to combat trafficking in persons.

RESPONSES OF RICHARD J. SCHMIERER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

Question. During her rollout of the 2009 TIP Report, Secretary Clinton emphasized the need to build effective partnerships in the fight against human trafficking. With respect to Oman's progress from Tier 3 to Tier 2 on the "2009 Trafficking in Persons Report" of the Department of State, what steps will you take to promote a positive and collaborative approach to human trafficking in Oman? At what level of priority will you place antitrafficking programs and diplomacy within your overall mission performance plan?

Answer. Secretary Clinton views the fight against human trafficking as a critical piece of our foreign policy agenda. Trafficking demands a comprehensive approach based on the 4 Ps: protecting victims, prosecuting criminals, preventing slavery, and building partnerships. Oman made progress during the past year to combat trafficking in persons, and was upgraded to Tier 2 in the 2009 TIP Report as a result. The government enacted antitrafficking legislation and prosecuted its first case under this new law in early 2009. I look forward to continuing to work with the Omani Government in its efforts to combat trafficking in persons. Key components of these efforts where I can play an important role are promoting Oman's public efforts to make society aware of the problem and engaging the citizenry in combating it as well as direct diplomacy with the Government of Oman.

Question. You are one of the Department's highest ranking public diplomacy officers, and represent only a handful of public diplomacy officers to be offered an ambassadorship. How do you plan to incorporate your expertise in public diplomacy into your work as Chief of Mission? How does a public diplomacy background help you in this job?

Answer. Should I be confirmed, I believe that my public diplomacy background will be a valuable asset in discharging my duties as Ambassador to Oman. Through my public diplomacy experience I have had the opportunity to develop and implement a variety of programs and activities which are important aspects of the current U.S. engagement in Oman, from youth outreach, to civil society promotion, to media engagement and educational exchange. In my Foreign Service work I have also had the opportunity to lead large, diverse staffs in conducting the range of public diplomacy programs undertaken by U.S. missions abroad. I would welcome the opportunity to apply the expertise and experience I have gained through my public diplomacy work during my Foreign Service career to leading the excellent staff at our Mission in Oman and to contributing to the development and delivery of the range of important programs which lie at the heart of our diplomatic engagement in Oman.

Question. Normalization of Relations Between Arab States and Israel: Arab steps toward normalization with Israel are an important signal of good faith to stabilize the Middle East and encourage Israel to take its own steps toward peace. What specific steps do you believe Oman can take toward normalization? And what steps do you believe the United States can and should take to encourage movement in that direction?

Answer. Oman participated in the Annapolis summit in November 2007 and the Omani Minister Responsible for Foreign Affairs has met with Israeli officials, including with then-FM Tzipi Livni in April 2008 to discuss potential areas for progress on MEPP. While Oman does not have full diplomatic relations with Israel, Omani officials meet regularly with Israelis and Oman hosts the Middle East Desalination Research Center (MEDRC), which includes Israel and the Palestinian Authority. MEDRC, and centers like it, are important building blocks that promote exchanges and dialogue and provide one of the many steps necessary in the path toward the Arab world normalizing its relationship with Israel. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Omani Government to find additional steps that they can take in this direction.

Question. Stability in the Strait of Hormuz: 20 percent of oil traded globally—and 40 percent of all seaborne traded oil—flows through the Strait of Hormuz. America has no military-to-military contacts with Iran, and a history of military cooperation with Oman. What is Oman's military-to-military relationship with Iran? Is there a role Oman can play in helping to promote stability in the Strait of Hormuz?

Answer. At the closest point, Oman is only 19 miles away from Iran, and this proximity explains the historical geographic, commercial, and cultural ties between the two countries. The two countries share responsibility for ensuring freedom of navigation in the Strait of Hormuz, and they do cooperate in this regard. Oman also cooperates with the U.S. military, in particular, the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet based

in Bahrain to ensure safety and freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf. The United States-Oman military relationship continues to strengthen based on our mutual interest to sustain regional stability and security.

RESPONSES OF GORDON GRAY TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

Question. Human Rights and Political Liberties: Despite progress on women's rights, Tunisia continues to have a poor human rights record and a very restricted political space. Will you commit to intensively engaging President Ben Ali and his government on improving Tunisia's human rights and political liberties?

Answer. If confirmed, I am firmly committed to work in partnership with President Ben Ali and the Government of Tunisia to improve human rights and political liberties—including the fundamental freedoms of expression and association.

Question. Normalization of Relations Between Arab States and Israel: Arab steps toward normalization with Israel are an important signal of good faith to stabilize the Middle East and encourage Israel to take its own steps toward peace. What specific steps do you believe Tunis can take toward normalization? And what steps do you believe the United States can and should take to encourage movement in that direction?

Answer. Tunisia has long been a voice for moderation in the Maghreb region. As you noted in your opening remarks at the nomination hearing, Tunisia hosted an Israeli Interests Office until 2000 and in 2005 Israel's Foreign Minister visited Tunisia. Subsequently, Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdullah participated in the Annapolis Peace Conference in November 2007 and Senator Mitchell held productive talks with the Tunisian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister in April 2009.

As President Obama explained in his June 4 Cairo speech, however, "Arab States must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative is a beginning, not an end." If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress in identifying practical steps Tunisia can take in line with its moderate stance on this key issue.

Question. Tunisia debuted on the 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report of the Department of State on Tier 2 Watch List, the report's second-worst category. How do you intend to incorporate antitrafficking policy into your mission strategy? In your view, what are the most significant issues or challenges of the human trafficking problem in Tunisia? How can these challenges be overcome?

Answer. Tunisia was placed on Tier 2 Watch List because it did not show evidence of progress in proactively identifying or protecting victims of trafficking or raising public awareness of human trafficking over the past year. Human trafficking is not perceived to be a problem in Tunisia; it is possible that victims of trafficking remain undetected because of a lack of effort to identify them among vulnerable groups. The U.S. Government is encouraging Tunisia to utilize existing criminal statutes on forced labor and forced prostitution to investigate and prosecute trafficking offenses and convict and punish trafficking offenders; undertake a baseline assessment to better understand the scope and magnitude of the human trafficking problem; draft and enact legislation that prohibits and adequately punishes all forms of human trafficking; and institute a formal victim identification mechanism to identify and refer trafficking victims to protection services.

Question. During her rollout of the 2009 TIP Report, Secretary Clinton emphasized the need to build effective partnerships in the fight against human trafficking. The role of diplomacy, early and often, is vital in building such bridges. How will you use diplomacy to create partnerships with the GOT and civil society groups in the common fight against trafficking?

Answer. The Obama administration views the fight against human trafficking as a critical piece of our foreign policy agenda. Trafficking demands a comprehensive approach based on the 4 Ps: protecting victims, prosecuting criminals, preventing slavery, and building partnerships. If confirmed, I pledge to work vigorously with U.S. and Tunisian officials to advance these goals through direct diplomacy and public awareness raising.

RESPONSES OF TIMOTHY J. ROEMER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

Question. The Senate recently passed the Kerry-Lugar Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act with unanimous consent, a bill which authorizes \$1.5 billion in annual U.S. assistance for the next 5 years. This assistance is intended to broaden

and strengthen our relationship with Pakistan at a critical time for both our countries, through an emphasis on economic assistance. While India is not a recipient of major U.S. assistance it is a significant ally in the region and U.S. support to Pakistan will often be viewed as contrary to India's interests.

- How can U.S. economic assistance to Pakistan help foster improved relations between Pakistan and India?

Answer. Strengthening Pakistan's economy is critical for the creation of a stable and prosperous Pakistan. Indian officials have said they share our goal of a stable and democratic Pakistan, free from violent extremism. U.S. economic assistance to Pakistan will help us reach this shared goal and improve relations between India and Pakistan.

- The priority of concluding an Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement was elevated during the recent visit of President Zardari to the United States. How would such an agreement enable trade between India and central Asia and how would it benefit Pakistan?

Answer. A transit trade agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan would facilitate movement of goods to and from Afghanistan and help it connect to markets and suppliers beyond its immediate neighbors. Pakistan would also have improved transit rights to access Central Asia. Transit to and from India by road is a subject of these bilateral talks which could also be affected by the improvements in relations between Pakistan and India. Better economic links between these three countries could lead to better political ties. South and Central Asia is one of the world's least integrated regions at this point, and there is significant room for improvement that would stimulate economic growth, if political tensions and transit trade issues can be sorted out. A more integrated South and Central Asia is in the U.S. interest as it would promote regional peace and security.

Question. Some suggest the United States should not attempt to mediate directly on the corrosive Kashmir issue. This is despite the fact that Kashmir remains the prime justification for military and militant opportunism. The Mumbai attacks highlight the control nongovernmental actors have on a critical geopolitical relationship.

- How and when can the United States best provide support to a resolution of the Kashmir issue?

Answer. We have consistently supported bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan that seeks to resolve their outstanding differences. That dialogue made some important progress before the Mumbai attacks including improving trade and communication and advancing people-to-people ties between these two important countries. The June 2009 meeting between Indian Prime Minister Singh and Pakistani President Zardari in Russia was encouraging in that it marked the resumption of high-level engagement in the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks. We hope that dialogue can be resumed and the two countries will continue to make progress. Reducing tensions between India and Pakistan is both in their interests and ours.

The United States does not seek a mediator role in Kashmir, but we encourage high-level dialogue between Pakistani and Indian officials and a settlement between that takes into account the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

Question. How, specifically, can the United States and India work together to address the humanitarian needs and post-conflict transition in Sri Lanka?

Answer. As we do with our fellow cochair countries, we engage with India to address humanitarian concerns and discuss issues such as coordinating reconstruction assistance in ways that will support peace and reconciliation. The Government of India has an active dialogue with the Sri Lankan Government and has already pledged significant humanitarian and reconstruction assistance for Sri Lanka.

Soon after the end of the conflict, India's National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary visited Sri Lanka to convey their concerns about the humanitarian crisis. Both governments agreed that with the end of military operations, the Sri Lankan Government needed to focus its attention on relief, rehabilitation, return of internally displaced persons, and reconciliation, including a permanent political solution to minority grievances.

The Indian Government has already provided \$20 million in relief aid to Sri Lanka. Following the National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary's visit in May, the Indian Government announced that it would send special envoys to Sri Lanka and provide an additional \$105 million in aid to help in Sri Lanka's rehabilitation efforts.

Most recently in late June, following a meeting between Indian and Sri Lankan Government officials, the Indian Government facilitated the delivery of 900 tons of

food and medicine from Tamils living abroad for internally displaced Tamils in Sri Lanka via the Indian Red Cross.

Question. According to the World Bank's 2008 World Development Indicators supplement, 828 million Indians live on less than \$2 a day—the median poverty line for developing countries. What more should be done to combat poverty in India? Specifically, what more should be done by the Indian Government, the U.S. Government, the development banks, aid agencies and the private sector?

Answer. Continuing economic reforms to open the Indian economy further to investment and focusing assistance on rural development, education, health, and rural and urban infrastructure will lay the groundwork for long-term growth, create jobs to pull Indian citizens out of poverty, and provide opportunities to its citizens.

The United States Government provides \$100 million in development assistance—particularly for health and agricultural productivity. Beyond assistance, increased United States-Indian cooperation, both public and private, can spur innovation—in agricultural productivity, greener technologies, disease prevention—that will help bring sustainable development and prosperity to more Indians.

Question. As of 2006, polio remains endemic in only four countries: Nigeria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India. What role should the U.S. Government have in strengthening their vaccination India's programs?

Answer. The United States already supports the Global Polio Eradication Initiative and India's National Polio Surveillance Project, which provide high-quality surveillance, technical advice, and leadership for immunization campaigns. Combined, these efforts help the Government of India better target limited resources toward eradication. The United States and the entire global health community have invested \$4.5 billion in the Global Polio Eradication Initiative and complete elimination of the disease is a real possibility. India is committed to polio eradication and Prime Minister Singh reaffirmed his commitment to the Director of the World Health Organization in 2007. If I am confirmed, working with India to improve their technical capacity and maintain their strong commitment to eradicate polio will remain a high priority.

Question. What steps, if any, must still be undertaken on the Indian side in order to implement United States-Indian nuclear cooperation pursuant to the U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation Agreement?

Answer. Pursuant to U.S. law (Pub. Law 110-369), before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission can issue licenses for U.S. nuclear exports to India, the President must certify that India's safeguards agreement has entered into force and that India's declaration of its nuclear facilities "is not materially inconsistent with the facilities and schedule" described in its 2006 Separation Plan. On May 11, 2009, the Indian Government entered into force its "umbrella" safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and signed its Additional Protocol. India still must file a declaration of safeguarded facilities that is consistent with its 2006 Separation Plan. We expect the Indian Government to complete this step soon.

Question. If confirmed as our ambassador to New Delhi, do you commit not only to continuing the work of the previous administration on United States-Indian civilian nuclear trade but also to ensuring Indian compliance with its nonproliferation commitments and the requirements of U.S. law?

Answer. The administration strongly supports the Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative and is working at all levels to help make civil nuclear trade with India a reality. The Indian Government has fully upheld its nonproliferation commitments under the Initiative and also has taken steps to assume an expanded international leadership role on nonproliferation issues. Particularly after President Obama's April 5, 2009, Prague speech, Indian officials have welcomed the administration's positions on nonproliferation issues and signaled a willingness to partner with the United States in reducing weapons of mass destruction threats.

Question. Has the Government of India confirmed the selection of any U.S. firms for contracts with its civilian nuclear sector since congressional approval of the civilian nuclear cooperation agreement?

Answer. With parliamentary elections concluded, we are hopeful the Indian Government is now in a position to publicly announce nuclear reactor park sites designated for U.S. firms. In the months since the U.S.-India Agreement has entered into force we have seen expanded private sector ties between the U.S. and Indian civil nuclear sectors, however no licenses have yet been issued pursuant to the agreement. As noted in a previous question, the Indian Government still must file

a declaration of safeguarded facilities with the IAEA before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission can issue licenses for U.S. nuclear exports to India.

Question. The bipartisan Commission for the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, on which you served as a Commissioner, noted in its final report that, “The recently concluded U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement may significantly affect Asian security, and the next President will have to manage the actions that states may take in response to the agreement. The President should begin by conducting a comprehensive, all-source assessment of the agreement’s impact on nuclear weapons programs in the region.”

- In your view, how does the nuclear deal “significantly affect Asian security?”

Answer. We do not believe that enhanced cooperation with India in the civil nuclear sector or greater use of nuclear reactors to produce energy for the Indian people has or will contribute to significantly affect Asian security nor accelerate a regional arms race. We have kept the Pakistani Government informed about our discussions with India at every appropriate stage. Moreover, both India and Pakistan have publicly and privately indicated their unilateral commitments to pursue only what they term credible minimum deterrents. Any potential for an Indo-Pakistani arms competition will be determined by bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

As Indian Special Envoy Shyam Saran noted at a Brookings Institution event in March, the Civil Nuclear Initiative has enabled India to look, “proactively and not defensively at a new global agenda for nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament.” The Indian Government has taken a number of recent steps reflecting this outlook; including issuing a strong statement condemning the recent North Korean nuclear test and continuing to oppose Iran’s obtaining nuclear weapons.

- How, in your view, is the present administration managing the actions that other states have taken in response to the agreement?

Answer. The United States supported an exception for India to the Nuclear Suppliers Group guidelines based on India’s unique circumstances. The factors that made the Initiative appropriate in India’s case are not similarly manifest in other cases. The United States continues to view India as a special case by virtue of its real and growing energy needs, its solid nuclear nonproliferation export record, and its enhanced nonproliferation commitments that have resulted in a net gain for the global nonproliferation regime.

- Has the Obama administration responded to the Commission’s recommendation and carried out “a comprehensive, all-source assessment of the agreement’s impact on nuclear weapons programs in the region.”

Answer. Policy assessments regarding the Obama administration’s approach for this and other issues are still underway. Once reviews are completed, we will keep relevant congressional committees fully informed of policies and efforts on this issue.

- If the Obama administration has not responded to the Commission’s recommendation and carried out “a comprehensive, all-source assessment of the agreement’s impact on nuclear weapons programs in the region,” do you believe that it should still undertake such a review?

Answer. Policy assessments regarding the Obama administration’s approach for this and other issues are still underway. Once reviews are completed, we will keep relevant congressional committees fully informed of policies and efforts on this issue.

- If confirmed as ambassador, do you intend to recommend “a comprehensive, all-source assessment of the agreement’s impact on nuclear weapons programs in the region” be undertaken?

Answer. Policy assessments regarding the Obama administration’s approach for this and other issues are still underway. Once reviews are completed, we will keep relevant congressional committees fully informed of policies and efforts on this issue.

Question. The Commission also stated that “Pakistan believes that it is surrounded by security threats—and U.S. cooperation with India in defense and strategic technology sharing has exacerbated this perception.”

- How, in your view, should the United States strike the right balance between supporting India’s legitimate defense needs and the imperatives of regional stability? Are there certain weapons or other technologies the United States should

sell neither to India nor Pakistan, or work to discourage other nations from selling to either country?

Answer. The Department of State carefully weighs regional stability and security concerns before approving foreign military sales of defense articles and before granting export licenses for defense articles. India and Pakistan both have legitimate defense needs, and it is in the U.S. interest to build our defense and security relationships with both countries, including sales. The U.S. Government does not approve defense sales that would alter the regional balance of power.

Question. Recently, the Government of India insisted on special arrangements for U.S. defense technology it acquires from the United States, rejecting standard terms and conditions applied in such sales on end use monitoring (EUM). It stated that it believed such restrictions were infringements on India's sovereignty. After recent elections in India, the committee was assured that the administration would be successful in assuaging Indian concerns and that future sales would be compliant with U.S. law through conclusion of an agreement with India on EUM.

- What is the status of efforts to conclude an agreement with India on end-use monitoring?

Answer. We are working on End Use Monitoring Language with India, and are close to resolving our outstanding differences in a way that meets the requirements of U.S. law and respects Indian sensitivities.

- Will the administration share text of any final agreement with India on end-use monitoring with the committee?

Answer. Yes, the administration will share the final end-use monitoring agreement with India with the committee.

RESPONSES OF RICHARD J. SCHMIERER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

Question. What is your assessment about the possibility of a resurgence of Al Qaeda Arabian Peninsula or A.Q.A.P. as havens in Iraq and Afghanistan are squeezed? What is the estimate of AQAP's strength in numbers, and what is the trend? Is U.S. assistance preparing Omani security forces for these challenges, whether in Oman, or more possibly across the border in Yemen, and if so, how?

Answer. Oman does not have a significant AQAP presence, though the resurgence of al-Qaeda in Yemen and other parts of the Middle East is very concerning and we are active throughout the region in working with our partners to combat terrorism and violent extremist messaging. Oman proactively implements counterterrorism strategies and cooperates with neighboring countries to prevent terrorists from entering or moving freely throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

Oman's long coastline and relatively porous borders do remain vulnerable to illegal transit by migrant workers, smugglers, human trafficking victims, terrorists, and individuals involved in the traffic and sale of illegal drugs. The Omani Government actively seeks training and equipment through the U.S. and British military to support its efforts to control its land and maritime borders. U.S. military assistance has been used to bolster coastal patrol operations and make Oman's remote inland borders with Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE less porous and easier to monitor.

Question. Of the Gulf States, Oman is perceived as politically closest to and the least critical of Iran, and Sultan Qaboos was slated to visit Tehran last week, but postponed the visit. How do you assess the relationship between Oman and Iran? Are Omanis concerned by Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons? How will you approach U.S. interests with respect to Iran in Muscat?

Answer. At the closest point, Oman is only 19 miles away from Iran, and this proximity explains the historical geographic, commercial, and cultural ties between the two countries. They also share responsibility for ensuring freedom of navigation in the Strait of Hormuz, and thus they do communicate and cooperate in some areas. That being said, Oman conducts an independent foreign policy. I believe that the Government of Oman and the Omani people are concerned by the heavy-handed and antidemocratic tactics the Iranian Government has used to quash dissent.

We are working with our allies and friends, including our gulf partners, to address the potential nuclear threat posed by Iran. Oman, like all Iran's neighbors, has raised concerns about the destabilizing effects a nuclear-armed Iran would have on the region, particularly given Oman's long-time support for a nuclear-free Middle East.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure that Oman remains supportive of international sanctions, and continues to adhere to its commitments to international peace and security.

Question. A May 16 New York Times article noted that “Oman has for years helped Iranian smugglers circumvent international trade sanctions.” What steps can the United States take to secure greater cooperation of smaller states like Oman in a sanctions effort against the Iranian regime?

Answer. I read with great interest this article on Oman. The report notes that the items being smuggled to Iran included: “food, clothing, electronics, pharmaceuticals, air-conditioners, even motorcycles.” If confirmed, I intend to ensure that the government continues to enforce all of its international obligations.

Question. Have the recent pirate attacks within Oman’s territorial waters resulted in any counterpiracy activity by the Omanis? Is there a potential role for Oman in facing the broader, regional, piracy challenge? What role, if any, might Oman play in handling individuals that have been captured in the act of piracy, as we look for regional allies willing to bring them to justice ashore?

Answer. Piracy is an international scourge that threatens legitimate commerce and freedom of navigation throughout the region. The first act of piracy in Omani territorial waters did occur in June. While, like many countries, Oman does not have an appropriate legal regime to prosecute and incarcerate potential pirates from third countries, the Omani Navy and Royal Police/ Coast Guard are working to improve their capacity to deter and prevent pirate attacks, in part through USG security assistance. Oman is a member of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia and the International Maritime Organization and works with us in seeking international consensus on our efforts to combat this problem.

The port of Salalah in Oman serves as a major transshipment hub, and has become a safe harbor for ships transiting the Gulf of Aden and Bab el Mandeb.

RESPONSES OF GORDON GRAY TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

Question. In October, Tunisia will hold elections and the President, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, is expected to win. His last victory 5 years ago garnered 95 percent of the vote.

- How would you describe the political environment and the opportunity for media access and campaign activities for all candidates or parties?

Answer. Following his reelection in 2004, President Ben Ali promised Tunisian citizens that he would open the country to a “diversity of opinion” and encouraged the national press to be bold in expressing dissent. President Ben Ali and Government of Tunisia officials have also pointed out that opposition parties were only legalized under his leadership and their representation in Parliament now amounts to 20 percent and will rise to 25 percent after the October elections.

Further reforms are needed, however. Indeed, Tunisia’s own National Elections Observatory came out with a series of proposed elections-related reforms following the 2004 elections. One key recommendation was for improved media access for opposition figures. In the runup to elections, some reforms and policy changes have allowed some opposition parties increased access to public space, as well as increased media coverage. Many Tunisians have expressed the hope that such reforms will continue and allow for a more level playing field in October 2009. If I am confirmed, I will encourage the Government of Tunisia to allow free and open debate, during the campaign and beyond.

- Has the United States seen a willingness by the government to improve the political environment as well as reform areas of governance? If so, describe the opportunities for U.S. diplomacy to engender further improvements. If not, please describe what obstacles or further explanation there is for the lack of progress in this area.

Answer. Although the GOT has affirmed its commitment to freedom of expression and dissent at the highest levels, there continue to be substantial controls on the media, including the Internet. On World Press Freedom Day of this year, Tunisian President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali affirmed the Tunisian Government’s view of “freedom of speech as a fundamental human right.” If I am confirmed, I will work vigorously to promote the fundamental right of freedom of expression.

U.S. diplomacy can encourage further progress by continuing to urge the Government of Tunisia to enact structural changes to expand the freedom of the press and

the rights of Tunisian citizens through programs to enhance the rule of law, judicial independence, and good governance in Tunisia. We can also play a constructive role by working in partnership with Tunisian civil society to educate activists, particularly women's groups and youth, on the importance of civic participation.

Question. There is considerable access to education, even higher education, for the young men and women of Tunisia, however, there are few jobs to employ them upon graduation and there is also increasing political frustration that few can help to determine the growth and direction of their country.

- How should the United States encourage the government to provide opportunities for their well-educated young graduates?

Answer. Full liberalization of the Tunisian economy will not only increase U.S. trade and investment, but will stimulate the development of a robust private sector and promote continued economic growth and stability—which will in turn provide much-needed jobs and professional growth opportunities for young, well-educated Tunisians. If confirmed, I will use the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement as a platform to encourage the Government of Tunisia to continue to diversify its economy.

- How should the United States engage to build an economic environment that will result in mutual gains for our two countries?

Answer. U.S. Government programs in Tunisia are seeking to increase private sector competitiveness by developing entrepreneurial skills among recent university graduates and by promoting regulatory reforms that support small- and medium-sized businesses. For example, a new project under the Commercial Law Development Program at the Department of Commerce will work with the newly created Tunisian Agency for Research and Innovation to increase the effectiveness of research and development, promote entrepreneurship and economic liberalization, and improve economic oversight and transparency. If confirmed, I will commit to working with the Government of Tunisia to promote educational exchanges that will be of great benefit to both American and Tunisians alike.

Question. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb has been a regional threat and Tunisia has taken strong action to limit the influence of extremists.

- How effective is the cooperation among member-states of the Maghreb Union in fighting extremist and terrorist activities?

Answer. The United States and Tunisia want to strengthen the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), which consists of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, and Mauritania and whose Secretary General is a former Tunisian Foreign Minister. To date, the State Department has hosted one recent session with AMU member states where security issues were discussed. The situation in Mauritania has prevented more rigorous U.S. Government engagement with the AMU; however, when Mauritania returns to constitutional rule, the AMU could be an appropriate venue through which to engage the Maghreb region as a whole, particularly on critical issues such as counterterrorism.

- What areas of bilateral cooperation could be improved?

Answer. Tunisia is a solid partner in international efforts to thwart al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. Tunisia's commitment to combat terrorist activity, both domestically and throughout the region, is evidenced through its membership in the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP). The recent kidnapping and movement of hostages throughout North Africa and the Sahel starkly underscore the importance of strong border security. Membership in TSCTP has made Tunisia eligible for additional funding for civil and military training, exchanges, and resources that can support Tunisia's ability to counteract terrorist threats. If confirmed, I will urge the Government of Tunisia to take advantage of these opportunities and others. In particular, I would encourage the Government of Tunisia to take advantage of Diplomatic Security's Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program. I will also continue to emphasize the importance of timely threat information sharing, particularly as it involves threats against USG interests.

Question. There is a U.S.-accredited school in Tunis—the American Cooperative School of Tunisia.

- What is the state of play of negotiations with the Government of Tunisia over the status of the school, and in particular the Tunisian tax authority's assessment of back taxes?

Answer. The viability of the American Cooperative School of Tunis (ACST) is currently threatened from an unexpected tax assessment and effort by the Government

of Tunisia to change the terms of its lease agreement. At the request of the Government of Tunisia, in early May the State Department dispatched a delegation of experts from the Bureau of Legal Affairs, the Office of Overseas Schools, the Office of Foreign Missions, and the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs to Tunis. The delegation, which also included officials from the American Embassy in Tunis, held negotiations with the Tunisian Ministry of Finance on the Tunisian tax authority's assessment of back taxes and on the overall legal status of the school in Tunisia. The Department and the Government of Tunisia have reached a tentative agreement to resolve the tax issue; however, there is still work to be done. If confirmed, I will place a very high priority on resolving pending issues and ensuring the viability of the school.

- What can you tell this committee about steps the administration is taking to make sure that the GOT understands the importance that the USG attaches to this school?

Answer. The status and future of the American Cooperative School of Tunisia (ACST) is a high priority for the administration and an important symbol of goodwill in our overall bilateral relationship with Tunisia. The school has served the American and international community in Tunisia for 50 years and, given the fact that it is the only English-language school in Tunis, its ability to remain open is likely to have a major impact on the official USG presence in Tunisia. In addition to dispatching a delegation to Tunisia for face-to-face negotiations with the Tunisian Ministry of Finance, we have raised the issue of the school at the highest levels of the Tunisian Government both in Washington and Tunis. We have noted to the Government of Tunisia that if not resolved, this issue could negatively affect relations between our two countries.

- What will you do to ensure the school can continue to operate?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I will continue the work begun under Ambassador Godec to ensure that resolution of this issue remains at the top of our bilateral agenda with Tunisia. I look forward to working with the Government of Tunisia and with our leadership in Washington to resolve the school's status and associated issues in order to secure the future of the school for future generations of students.

Question. Near the capital, Tunis, lies the North Africa American Cemetery and Memorial that was established following World War II, one of 24 American cemeteries abroad and one of the few outside of Europe.

- How are tourists made aware of this monument and what prospects are there for sustaining this important memorial?

Answer. The North Africa American Cemetery and Memorial receives thousands of American, Tunisian, and third country visitors every year. It is a symbol of the strong, longstanding bond of friendship between Tunisia and the United States. If confirmed, I am committed to working with the Government of Tunisia to continue to ensure the safety and preservation of the Cemetery, Memorial, and grounds.

U.S. Government Web sites as well as commercial travel Web sites and commercial travel Web sites advertise the Memorial; the Tunisian tourism office also promotes it as a key cultural heritage landmark. If confirmed, I will work hard to promote and preserve this important memorial to our fallen heroes.

RESPONSES OF TIMOTHY J. ROEMER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD

CIVIL NUCLEAR DEAL

Question. I opposed the India-U.S. civil nuclear deal because it raised serious non-proliferation concerns even though I recognize the significance of this deal in strengthening our bilateral relationship with India.

- How do you think this deal impacts our relationship with Pakistan and, if confirmed, what role will you play in persuading New Delhi to uphold its commitment to Nuclear Supplier Group's export control guidelines?

Answer. The Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative with India has not impacted our cooperation or relationship with Pakistan. While Pakistani officials have expressed concerns about the Initiative, we have been clear that the Initiative involves only civil nuclear cooperation, that it does not address Indian nuclear military capabilities, that India's growing energy demand is exceptional, and that India has developed a solid nuclear nonproliferation export record over the years. These discussions have been set in the framework of our consistent position that our relationships

with India and Pakistan are different, because each involves different needs and opportunities. We explain that we seek good relations with all partners in the region to strengthen peace, security, and prosperity.

Regarding India and the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) Guidelines, India committed under the July 18, 2005, joint statement, which launched the Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative, to harmonize its export controls with and unilaterally adhere to the NSG Guidelines. India stated its adherence to the NSG and its annexes in a letter dated September 8, 2008, to Dr. Mohammed ElBaradei, then-Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency. In a September 5, 2008, statement, then-External Affairs Minister Shri Pranab Mukherjee stated, "India has taken the necessary steps to secure nuclear materials and technology through comprehensive export control legislation and through harmonization and committing to adhere to Missile Technology Control Regime and Nuclear Suppliers Group guidelines." Taking into account these statements, the United States assessed in October 2008 that India has adhered to the guidelines of the NSG, and has done so in a manner consistent with the procedures and/or practices of that regime. We fully expect India's continued adherence to the NSG Guidelines and we will continue our robust bilateral dialogue on export controls and other issues.

- If you are confirmed, what role will you play in helping to persuade New Delhi to implement the remaining steps necessary for U.S. companies to engage in nuclear commerce with India?

Answer. The administration strongly supports the Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative and is working at all levels to help make civil nuclear trade with India a reality. Pursuant to U.S. law (Pub.Law. 110-369), before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission can issue licenses for U.S. nuclear exports to India, the President must certify that India's safeguards agreement has entered into force and that India's declaration of its nuclear facilities "is not materially inconsistent with the facilities and schedule" described in its 2006 Separation Plan. On May 11, 2009, the Indian Government entered into force its "umbrella" safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and signed its Additional Protocol. India still must file a declaration of safeguarded facilities that is consistent with its 2006 Separation Plan. We expect the Indian Government to complete this step soon.

RESPONSES TIMOTHY J. ROEMER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR ROBERT P. CASEY, JR.

Question. The Indian Government shares legitimate concerns over Pakistan, particularly with regard to its concentration of forces along the Indian border and its perception of an "Indian threat" as Pakistan's primary national security challenge. India also alleges that Pakistan did not fully share information during the investigation of the Mumbai terrorist attack. Yet, Pakistan's recent mobilization of forces against the Taliban, in addition to several public statements by senior Pakistani officials recognizing the gravity of the threat posed by the Taliban, suggests Islamabad's assessment of the prioritization of the Indian threat may be changing.

- Does the Indian Government acknowledge any change in Pakistan's threat assessment? Are there steps India could take to further reduce tensions with Pakistan?

Answer. The Indian Government has voiced support for Pakistan's internal military operations against the Taliban. The June 2009 meeting between Indian Prime Minister Singh and Pakistani President Zardari in Russia was also encouraging in that it marked the resumption of high-level engagement in the aftermath of the November 2008 Mumbai attacks. India has made clear, however, that it needs to see Pakistani progress in shutting down extremist groups like Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and follow through on prosecutions related to the Mumbai attacks.

- How do you assess cooperation between India and Pakistan in the aftermath of Mumbai, and what can the United States do to promote greater security, counterterrorism, and intelligence cooperation between the two neighbors?

Answer. There are some signs that dialogue between India and Pakistan is slowly getting back on track, including the recent meeting between Prime Minister Singh and President Zardari in Russia last month. The United States played a key role in the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks in facilitating communication and investigation between the two countries. As Pakistan takes further steps to combat violent extremism within its borders and bring those involved in the Mumbai attacks to justice, we encourage India and Pakistan to resume their dialogue process, including more security, intelligence, and counterterrorism cooperation.

Question. India has been one of the most important international donors to Afghanistan's reconstruction and has been instrumental in rebuilding Afghan society, infrastructure, and industry. Afghanistan can also serve as an important energy and trade gateway between India and Central Asia, a goal that the U.S. Government had in mind when it merged South Asia and Central Asia into one bureau in the State Department. Yet, India's goals in Afghanistan are likely strategic as well—New Delhi seeks to counter what it perceives to be hostile Pakistani interests in Afghanistan.

- How would you describe India's goals in Afghanistan? Besides wanting to stabilize a volatile region, does India have legitimate economic and strategic interests in Afghanistan?

Answer. India shares our goals of a stable, secure, and democratic Afghanistan, free from violent extremism and economically integrated with its neighbors. India has played an important role in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan, based on the understanding that democracy and development are the key instruments to ensure that Afghanistan becomes a source of regional stability and does not slide back into extremism. This has been manifested both through high-level political engagement and exchanges with Afghanistan and through India's extensive assistance program. India has pledged \$1.2 billion toward Afghanistan's reconstruction.

- Can you elaborate on the ways the United States and India are cooperating in Afghanistan?

Answer. India shares our goals of a stable, secure, and democratic Afghanistan free from violent extremism. India has undertaken projects virtually in all parts of Afghanistan, in a wide range of sectors, including hydroelectricity, power transmission lines, road construction, agriculture and industry, telecommunications, information and broadcasting, education and health, which have been identified by the Afghan Government as priority areas for reconstruction and development. All the projects are undertaken in partnership with the Afghan Government and with focus on local ownership of assets. India has also been engaged extensively in the Joint Coordination & Monitoring Board processes and structures comprising of Afghan Government and donor community for effective monitoring of sectoral development benchmarks of the Afghanistan Compact of February 2006. We are thankful to India for its efforts, and this work should continue.

Question. One of India's most significant military assets is the Jaguar fighter jet. This aircraft has been plagued for many years by underperformance and safety issues related to its current engine. One major U.S. aerospace manufacturer, Honeywell, has entered a bid to reengine the Jaguar F125IN platform and has received U.S. Government advocacy status from the U.S. Commerce Department. If this engine were selected by the Indian Air Force, the move would significantly advance United States/India defense cooperation and help support over 80 U.S. subcontractors in 15 States and the associated jobs.

- Should you be confirmed, how would you work to advance the prospects for selection by the Indian Government of the Honeywell bid for the reengine of the Indian Jaguar fighter jet aircraft?

Answer. The U.S. Embassy in New Delhi and the Department of State have been actively involved in this program from the beginning, advocating that the Government of India hold a competition for this upgrade that includes Honeywell. We will continue to support Honeywell in their bid for this program. Defense sales such as this create American jobs and help build the United States-India defense relationship.

Question. In December 2006, President Bush signed into law Public Law 109-401, which enables United States-Indian nuclear cooperation by providing waivers of several provisions of the Atomic Energy Act; it also established several requirements for nuclear cooperation to proceed. President Bush signed Public Law 110-369, which approved the agreement, into law on October 8, 2008; the agreement entered into force last December. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated on June 17, 2009, that the Obama administration is "fully committed to implementing" the agreement, but several steps remain before U.S. companies can start nuclear trade with India.

- What is the status of the India-IAEA nuclear safeguards agreement, a critical requirement imposed by the United States Congress prior to final approval of the Article 123 nuclear cooperation agreement?

Answer. On May 11, 2009, the Indian Government entered into force its "umbrella" safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and signed its Additional Protocol.

- Has India provided the IAEA with a formal list of nuclear facilities to which IAEA safeguards will be applied?

Answer. India still must file a declaration of safeguarded facilities with the IAEA in order to complete the steps necessary to permit Nuclear Regulatory Commission licensing. We expect India will soon file a declaration under paragraph 13 of its umbrella Safeguards Agreement that is consistent with its 2006 Separation Plan.

- What is the status of Indian accession into the Convention on Supplementary Compensation for Nuclear Damage? What does continuing delay in Indian accession to this important convention mean for the ability of U.S. companies to compete for civilian nuclear contracts in India?

Answer. With parliamentary elections behind it, we are hopeful the Indian Government is now in a position to publicly announce nuclear reactor park sites designated for U.S. firms and to move forward on adopting liability protections, including by adhering to the Convention on Supplementary Compensation for Nuclear Damage (CSC). Indian ratification, in and of itself, will not bring the CSC into force; for this to occur at least five countries with a combined capacity of at least 400,000 MegaWatts thermal generation capacity must sign and ratify. We are continuing to work with India—and encouraging other international partners—to ratify the Convention and bring it into force.

