

**Statement of Victoria Nuland**  
**Nominee to be Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs**  
**Senate Foreign Relations Committee**  
**July 11, 2013**

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Johnson and all the Members of this Committee. I am honored to come before you to be considered for the position of Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, and I am grateful for the confidence that President Obama and Secretary Kerry have shown in me. If confirmed, I pledge to work with all of you to protect and advance U.S. interests by promoting security, prosperity, democracy and human rights in Europe and Eurasia, and working with our Allies and partners there to advance our shared global interests.

I am also delighted to share the panel today with my colleagues and friends, Doug Lute and Dan Baer. I can think of no better partners to provide vital U.S. leadership at our two major TransAtlantic multilateral institutions.

As a lifetime Europeanist, I have witnessed first-hand some of the most challenging and profound moments of change in Europe and Eurasia's recent history – from my days as a young political officer in Moscow when I stood on Red Square on New Year's eve 1991 as the Soviet flag came down and the Russian flag went up, through the bloody and agonizing Bosnia and Kosovo wars, to the birth of the EURO, and the enlargement of NATO and the EU to include much of Central Europe. I have also learned through decades of shared effort that when Americans and Europeans join forces in defense of our common security and values, we are stronger and more effective than when we work alone – from Afghanistan to Iran to Mali to Burma; from countering terrorism to promoting non-proliferation, good governance, human rights, development, health and cleaner planet. America needs a strong, confident Europe. And our European Allies depend on America's unwavering commitment to their security, and our continued support for Europe's prosperity, cohesion and growth.

As we look at the agenda that lies ahead of us, our first task with our European Allies is to revitalize the foundations of our global leadership and our democratic, free market way of life. We need growth and jobs on both sides of the Atlantic. The TransAtlantic Trade and Investment Partnership that we began negotiating this week with the EU could support hundreds of thousands of additional jobs and strengthen our international competitiveness. But T-TIP is about more than our economic underpinnings. T-TIP is also a political and

strategic investment in our shared future and our effectiveness as global leaders in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. When we break down trade barriers between us, we also strengthen our ability to raise international standards in favor of free and open societies.

We must also focus on the unfinished work within Europe. Today, we have a real chance to capitalize on changing attitudes and circumstances to address the forty year-old division of Cyprus. Kosovo and Serbia have made important commitments toward long-term reconciliation, thanks to the good offices of EU High Representative Ashton. We need to support the full implementation of these agreements, and with them, the integration of both countries into European structures. Croatia's acceptance into the European Union last week sets a powerful example for other Balkan states. And we cannot break faith with other members of our European and Eurasian family who have been trapped for too long in frozen conflicts and territorial disputes.

We must also do more to defend the universal values that bind us. While all states in the EUR region hold elections and most have democratic constitutions, the quality of democracy and the rule of law in Europe and Eurasia is gravely uneven, and in some key places, the trends are moving in the wrong direction. Too many citizens do not feel safe criticizing their governments, running for office or advancing a vibrant civil society. In too many places, press freedom is stifled, courts are rigged and governments put their thumbs on the scales of justice. If, as a TransAtlantic community, we aspire to support and mentor other nations who want to live in justice, peace and freedom, we must be equally vigilant about completing that process in our own space. Our democratic values are just as vital a pillar of our strength and global leadership as our militaries and our economies.

We must also continue to work together beyond our shores to advance security, stability, justice and freedom. As the President has said so many times, Europe is our global partner of first resort. Our investment together in a safe, developing, democratic Afghanistan is just one example. Even as we wind down the ISAF combat mission in 2014, we will keep our promise to support the ANSF and Afghanistan's political and economic development. More than a decade of deploying together in that tough terrain has also made our NATO Alliance more capable, more expeditionary and better able to partner with countries across the globe. As we look to future demands on our great Alliance – and they will come -- we must build on that experience, not allow it to atrophy. In these difficult budget times, that will require working even harder to get more defense bang for our buck, Euro, pound, krone and zloty with increased pooling, sharing and partnering to

ensure NATO remains the world's premier defense Alliance and a capable coordinator of global security missions, when required.

America's work with European partners and the EU across Africa, in Asia, on climate and on so many other global challenges must also continue. Today, the most urgent focus of common effort should be in Europe's own backyard and an area of vital interest to us all: the broader Middle East and North Africa. From Libya, to Tunisia, to Egypt, to Lebanon, to Iran, to Syria, to our work in support of Middle East peace, the United States and Europe are strongest when we share the risk, the responsibility and in many cases, the financial burden of promoting positive change. When we join forces with Canada, our Gulf partners and others, the effect is even stronger.

When we can, we must also work effectively with Russia to solve global problems. With respect to Iran, DPRK policy, Afghanistan, counter-terrorism and nuclear arms control and nonproliferation, we have seen important progress in the past four years, and the President is looking for opportunities to take our cooperation to the next level. However, we must also continue to be frank when we disagree with Russian policy, whether it's with regard to weapons sales to the Assad regime in Syria or the treatment of NGOs, civil society and political activists or journalists inside Russia. And we must encourage the next generation of Russians and Americans to reject zero sum thinking, and instead invest in the ties of business, culture and people that will create opportunities for both of us.

Finally, we must be attentive to the fast changing energy landscape of Europe and Eurasia, and the opportunities and challenges that brings. Europeans have taken important steps to diversify their energy market with new routes, new regulations, new power plants and LNG terminals, and investments in new energy sources. We welcome these developments, which are also creating opportunities for U.S. firms. If confirmed, I will work to ensure our companies continue to play a leading role in this dynamic market.

As the President said in Berlin last month, our relationship with "Europe remains the cornerstone of our own freedom and security." "Europe is our partner in everything we do... and our relationship is rooted in the enduring bonds ..(of)... our common values." In every decade since World War II those bonds have been tested, challenged and in some quarters, doubted. In every decade, we have rolled up our sleeves with our European Allies and partners and beat the odds. These times of tight money, unfinished business at home and competing priorities abroad are as important as any we have faced. If confirmed, I pledge to work with you all

of you to seize the opportunities before us to revitalize and deepen our ties with Europe, and to ensure we continue to have the will, the trust and the capability to advance our shared security and prosperity and to meet our many global challenges together. Thank you.