

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

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—————
MARCH 16 THROUGH DECEMBER 8, 2011
—————

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



Available via the World Wide Web: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/>

NOMINATIONS OF THE 112TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

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

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MARCH 16 THROUGH DECEMBER 8, 2011

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



Available via the World Wide Web: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/>

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

74-273 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2012

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Internet: bookstore.gpo.gov Phone: toll free (866) 512-1800; DC area (202) 512-1800
Fax: (202) 512-2104 Mail: Stop IDCC, Washington, DC 20402-0001

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
112TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

JOHN F. KERRY, Massachusetts, *Chairman*

BARBARA BOXER, California	RICHARD G. LUGAR, Indiana
ROBERT MENENDEZ, New Jersey	BOB CORKER, Tennessee
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, Maryland	JAMES E. RISCH, Idaho
ROBERT P. CASEY, JR., Pennsylvania	MARCO RUBIO, Florida
JIM WEBB, Virginia	JAMES M. INHOFE, Oklahoma
JEANNE SHAHEEN, New Hampshire	JIM DEMINT, South Carolina
CHRISTOPHER A. COONS, Delaware	JOHNNY ISAKSON, Georgia
RICHARD J. DURBIN, Illinois	JOHN BARRASSO, Wyoming
TOM UDALL, New Mexico	MIKE LEE, Utah

*FRANK G. LOWENSTEIN, *Staff Director*

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

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

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, APRIL 5, 2011

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

Scott Gration, of New Jersey, to be Ambassador to the Republic of
Kenya
Michelle Gavin, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador to
the Republic of Botswana

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:31 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Christopher A. Coons, presiding.

Present: Senators Coons, Isakson, Inhofe, and Lee.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER A. COONS, U.S. SENATOR FROM DELAWARE

Senator COONS. I am pleased to call to order the first Africa Subcommittee nomination hearing of the 112th Congress and will start by saying that I am both humbled and honored to assume the chair of this subcommittee. Africa is a continent of tremendous strategic importance to the United States and the world, and I am extremely grateful to our committee chairman, Senator Kerry, and my colleagues on the committee for entrusting me with the gavel.

I look forward to working with my friend, Senator Isakson, to accomplish our shared vision and strategic goals for the subcommittee and hope to serve as a model for bipartisan cooperation on issues pertaining to Africa in the 112th Congress and beyond.

Before I go any further, I want to just say a few words, if I could, about my predecessor in this role, Senator Russ Feingold of Wisconsin, who chaired this subcommittee for 4 years with great integrity and focus and resolve. I only hope to bring to the table the degree of substance, direction, and drive which made Senator Feingold such a well respected chairman of the subcommittee and Senator.

Today I am honored to chair the confirmation for Ms. Michelle Gavin, nominated to be Ambassador to Botswana, and Maj. Gen. Scott Gration, nominated to be the Ambassador to Kenya. While these are different countries with divergent histories, accomplishments, and challenges before them, the issues we will discuss today in the context of these nomination hearings and in the context of Botswana and Kenya, issues of governance, of democratic institu-

tions and elections, of health initiatives, human rights, and trade, counterterrorism, U.S. interests, and a broader regional strategy, are the larger themes that will serve as focal points for this subcommittee in the year ahead.

Kenya, as some of you may know, has special meaning for me. I developed a deep interest in Africa during my junior year of college when I studied at the University of Nairobi through St. Lawrence University and traveled through Kenya and Tanzania in an attempt to immerse myself in African culture. After college, I wrote about antiapartheid divestiture strategies while serving as an analyst for a research center here in Washington and subsequently returned to Africa as a volunteer for the South African Council of Churches. So my ties to Kenya and Africa are both professional and personal.

And today's nominees bring to their positions significant and meaningful experiences. Ms. Michelle Gavin knows this subcommittee extremely well, having previously served as staff director under Senator Feingold for whom she also served as foreign policy advisor. Following her tenure with Senator Feingold, Ms. Gavin was legislative director to Senator Salazar and most recently served as special assistant to the President and senior director for Africa at the NSC. Prior to joining the National Security Council, Ms. Gavin was an adjunct fellow for Africa and an international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations where she focused on democracy and governance issues. Perhaps most importantly, I am extremely proud that she and I and her husband all by coincidence are Truman Scholars.

Gen. Scott Gration has most recently served as the President's special envoy from March 2009 until, I believe, just last week—special envoy on Sudan when Ambassador Princeton Lyman was appointed to that post. I recently met with Ambassador Lyman and look forward to working with him on priorities relating to Sudan such as the humanitarian conditions in Darfur and preparations for Southern Sudan's impending independence for which both General Gration and Ms. Gavin have played an instrumental role in their immediate past capacities. Today I look forward to hearing from General Gration the lessons he learned as the envoy in Sudan that may apply or be relevant to Kenya, with a particular focus on accountability and human rights and transitions to sustainable democracies.

General Gration served in the United States Air Force from 1974 to 2006, began his career as an F-5 and F-16 instructor, including a 2-year assignment with the Kenyan Air Force. In 1995, General Gration took command of an operations group in Saudi Arabia during the Khobar Towers bombing. The following year, he was transferred to Turkey to oversee Operation Northern Watch, enforcing a no-fly zone over Iraq. Since then he has served as deputy director for operations in the Joint Staff, director of regional affairs for the Deputy Under Secretary of the Air Force for International Affairs, and commander of the Joint Task Force-West during Operation Iraqi Freedom, among many other roles.

General Gration speaks Swahili and has served as the CEO of Millennium Villages, an organization dedicated to reducing extreme poverty, as well as the Safe Water Network, an organization

helping to provide safe water to vulnerable populations in India, Bangladesh, and Ghana.

I look forward to hearing from both of you about how we can advance United States interests in Botswana and Kenya, two strong allies which play distinct, yet critical regional roles. Since the 1960s, Botswana has moved on a path of outstanding governance and economic growth. It is a model of stability in Southern Africa and a close partner of our country, including in its extraordinary battle with HIV and AIDS. I look forward to hearing from Ms. Gavin about how we can deepen bilateral ties in a manner that furthers shared diplomatic, political, and economic goals in the region.

I look forward to hearing from General Gration about the role he will play in this critical period as Kenya implements a new constitution and prepares for elections, emerging from the dark period of the 2007–08 violence in a manner that holds those responsible at the International Criminal Court. As President Obama has recently said, the United States stands with the Kenyan people as they continue to reach for a better future, and I hope that brighter future is near, especially as it relates to democracy, accountability, and national reconciliation.

I would now like to turn to the distinguished ranking member with whom I am honored to serve for his opening remarks.

Senator Isakson.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHNNY ISAKSON,
U.S. SENATOR FROM GEORGIA**

Senator ISAKSON. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations to you on your appointment to this committee. And for the benefit of all, we have already met on a couple of occasions to discuss the subcommittee and its role in the committee. And I look forward to working with Senator Coons, and he will be a great chairman, I am confident.

I am also delighted to see Michelle Gavin and Gen. Scott Gration here before the committee today. I fortunately have worked with General Gration on a number of occasions before in his role as special envoy to the Sudan, and I appreciate the guidance and help he has given to me as I have gone to that region and gone to Darfur and tried to work as a supporter of what we all want, which is: liberation, and better health care, and better food, and better accommodations for the people of Darfur, but also a peaceful settlement to the split between the North and the South. And I think it should be noted that we all realize how dangerous the potential was for another civil war in the Sudan.

I commend General Gration and his support for the comprehensive peace agreement and his ability to see to it that peaceful elections were held, and hopefully between now and, I guess it is—July—when that takes effect, we can continue to have basically a peaceful and respectful division of the Sudan. Hopefully the fledgling South will be a good democracy and a good partner with the United States.

And further, if it is peaceful, it will allow us to really focus on Darfur where we need to continue to focus on the humanitarian tragedy in that region of the West Sudan.

And I congratulate General Gration on his nomination to be Ambassador to Kenya. Kenya is an equally important country to the United States in Africa, and it has some similarities in ways to the Sudan. One, it has a refugee area in the northern part, bordering on Somalia, the Dadaab, which is going to be an important area for us to deal with and to help the Kenyans deal with. And then second, I know the ICC is in Kenya investigating post-election difficulties which that country had, and General Gration's experience, I am sure, will help in assisting that to take place.

And finally, hopefully General Gration will be as committed to the NGOs in Kibera as he has been to the NGOs in Darfur. Two of the most tragic scenes I have personally ever seen in my life were the slum of Kibera in Nairobi, Kenya, and the Darfur situation. And we deserve to support those NGOs with every strength that we possibly can.

For Michelle Gavin, I will simply say, if she sends her daughter to all the meetings, she will be the greatest diplomat this country ever had. She has got an infectious smile and beautiful eyes, and she is a pretty 2-year-old young lady. And I congratulate Michelle on her nomination.

Botswana is a country the United States sees as a real shining star in Africa, but like all African countries, it does have its challenges, none greater than the HIV/AIDS epidemic and explosion that has taken place there. And I look forward to working with her in the role of PEPFAR and the other things we do in that country to help bring about a moderation of the infection rate and hopefully a decline in years to come.

I congratulate both of you on your nomination and look forward to the question and answer period to follow.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Isakson.

I am now going to read a statement from Chairman John Kerry. It was his specific request to me that rather than simply introducing this into the record, that I read it at the outset of this hearing.

Senator INHOFE. Mr. Chairman, could I make a special request? I am not sure that you are going to be able to get to everyone. I have a commitment. I may have to leave a little earlier. Could I just make a comment about our two nominees?

Senator COONS. Certainly.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES INHOFE,
U.S. SENATOR FROM OKLAHOMA**

Senator INHOFE. All right. I appreciate it.

First of all, I have had the chance and the opportunity to spend a long time with each one of you guys, and as you know, the only thing I look for with someone going into a position as an ambassador is to have a real heart for Africa. And I talked about that. And I did go back and see, Scott. After our visit, I found out that the year after I came from the House to the Senate, when you were in Saudi Arabia, that is when I first met you because I was over there and we looked up our notes. And to think that we have someone with your background who is willing to do this.

And I have to say to you, Michelle, I echo the words about your cute, little 2-year-old daughter. When I showed her the picture of my 20 kids and grandkids, she picked out the one she thought was the prettiest, and I will be calling Jesse Swan to tell her that she won.

But let me just say, in case I do have to leave, that it is very rare that we get people who honestly have a heart for Africa, and when Joel Starr, back here who is with me, told me that he first met you when he was with Tom Campbell, I figured you must have been about 12 years old at that time. [Laughter.]

But it is nice that you have kept your heart for Africa. And after 116 African country visits, it is showing you my commitment to Africa. I am always really happy when I see someone who has not just a formal commitment to a job but a heart for Africa. Both of you are high on the list of that.

So I just thank you for letting me to get that off in case I have to leave before it is my turn.

Senator COONS. Certainly, Senator.

I am now going to move to reading a statement that Chairman John Kerry wanted introduced at the beginning of this nomination hearing.

[The prepared statement of Senator John F. Kerry, as read by Senator Coons follows:]

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

Today, I would like to express my strong support for the nominations of Scott Gration and Michelle Gavin.

General Gration has spearheaded the Obama administration's Sudan policy since 2009. On January 9, 2011, we saw the fruits of those efforts when the people of Southern Sudan went to the polls to vote for independence. I had the tremendous privilege to be there that day, with General Gration, and to bear witness to that historic moment—to the triumph of the forces of peace over those of war.

Much remains to be done in Sudan to secure long-term peace between North and South and to strengthen the ties between what will be two separate but interconnected nations. The status of Abyei must be resolved, and the people of Darfur still wait for their peace agreement. It is therefore absolutely critical that we remain fully engaged in Sudan, and particularly in Darfur. For that reason, I am glad that the President has named Ambassador Princeton Lyman to succeed General Gration as Special Envoy.

But we must recognize the tremendous achievements that have been made to date. Just a few months ago, many were predicting that the referendum would not even take place. But it did, and both the nominees before the committee this afternoon played a key role in helping to make success possible—General Gration through his direct negotiations with the Sudanese and Ms. Gavin through her work at the White House.

This experience will serve them well in their new posts. I have met and traveled with both General Gration and Ms. Gavin, and we have worked closely in our shared quest to help the peoples of Sudan find a lasting peace. They are both dedicated public servants with deep experience in the region, and I strongly support their nominations.

Senator COONS. That having been said, I would like to now turn to the nominees for their opening remarks. And if I might, I would like to specifically invite you to also introduce your families who we have already had the pleasure of meeting but who should be recognized, I think, for the sacrifices they have made to support your commitment to public service. If I might first, General Gration.

**STATEMENT OF SCOTT GRATION, OF NEW JERSEY, TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

Mr. GRATION. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the committee.

It is an honor to appear before you this afternoon to seek your approval to be America's next Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya. I am truly grateful to President Obama, to Secretary Clinton for the confidence that they have placed in me for the nomination to represent our country in Kenya. If confirmed, I will work with you and other Members of Congress to advance American interests in Kenya, to promote a common understanding between our two countries.

I appreciate the opportunity to introduce my wife Judy, the mother of our four children and my full partner in over 35 years of public service. If confirmed, Judy will bring a wealth of knowledge to this assignment. She was born in Nairobi. She spent her childhood in Kenya as the daughter of missionary teachers. And in fact, both of her parents are buried there in Kenya.

Like Judy, I was also raised in Africa, in Congo and Kenya. I learned to speak Swahili as a toddler and developed a lifelong interest in the region. In 1974, I returned to Kenya to do humanitarian work. In the early 1980s, I spent time as an F-5 instructor pilot in Kenya for 2 years. And during the last 20 years, I have returned to Kenya numerous times, on military duty, as CEO of Millennium Villages, and with an NGO working to increase access to safe drinking water.

For more than five decades, Kenya has been one of our most reliable partners in Africa. If confirmed, I look forward to leading our diplomatic efforts in this next important period of Kenya's history.

Since the terrible period of post-election violence in 2007, Kenyans have embarked on an ambitious program of reform. Implementing the new constitution, cooperating fully with the ICC, and advancing accountability are critical elements that must be in place to ensure a peaceful, transparent, and credible Presidential election next year.

As the reform process moves forward, I am committed to working privately and publicly to protect human rights, to fight corruption, and to promote democratic values, development, accountability, and national reconciliation.

The 1998 attack on our Nairobi Embassy, an attack that killed 218 people, is a solemn reminder of the constant terrorist threat. Furthermore, the conflict in Somalia continues to increase Kenya's security and humanitarian challenges. If confirmed, I will support Kenya's efforts to secure its borders, to protect its citizens, and to care for those who seek refuge.

You can count on me to protect Americans living and traveling in Kenya. If confirmed, I will reach out to the estimated 20,000 Americans in Kenya. We will work together to find ways to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between our two countries.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, if approved, I will be grateful and exceedingly proud to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya.

And I will be pleased to respond to any questions you may have for me. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gration follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SCOTT GRATON

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you this afternoon as you consider my nomination to be our country's next Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya. I am truly grateful to President Obama and to Secretary Clinton for the confidence they have placed in me and for the nomination to represent our Nation in Kenya. If confirmed, I will work with you and the Congress to advance American interests in Kenya and to promote a common understanding between our two countries.

I would like to introduce my wife, Judy—mother of our four children and my full partner in over 35 years of public service. If I am confirmed, Judy will bring a wealth of knowledge to this assignment. She was born in Nairobi and spent her childhood in Kenya, where both of her parents are buried.

Like Judy, I was also raised in Africa, in Congo and Kenya, where I learned Swahili and developed a lifelong interest in this region. In 1974, I returned to Kenya to do humanitarian work. In the early 1980s, I served as an F-5 instructor pilot with the Kenyan Air Force for 2 years. During the last 20 years, I've returned to Kenya numerous times—on military duty, as CEO of Millennium Villages, and with an NGO working to increase access to safe drinking water.

For more than five decades, Kenya has been one of our most reliable partners in Africa. If confirmed, I look forward to leading our diplomatic efforts in this important period of Kenya's history.

Since the terrible period of post-election violence in 2007, Kenyans have embarked on an ambitious program of reform. Implementing the new constitution, cooperating fully with the ICC, and advancing accountability are critical elements that must be in place to ensure a peaceful, transparent, and credible Presidential election next year.

As the reform process moves forward, I am committed, if confirmed, to working both privately and publicly to protect human rights, to fight corruption, and to promote democratic values, development, accountability, and national reconciliation.

The 1998 attack on our Nairobi Embassy that killed 218 is a solemn reminder of the constant terrorist threat. The conflict in Somalia continues to increase Kenya's security and humanitarian challenges. If confirmed, I will support the Government of Kenya's effort to secure its borders, to protect its citizens, and to care for those seeking refuge.

If confirmed, you can count on me to protect Americans living and traveling in Kenya. I will work with the estimated 20,000 Americans in Kenya; to seek ways to strengthen economic and cultural ties between Kenya and the United States.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, if confirmed, I will be grateful and proud to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya. I would be pleased to answer to any questions you might have.

Senator COONS. Thank you, General.

Ms. Gavin.

STATEMENT OF MICHELLE GAVIN, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

Ms. GAVIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, Senator Inhofe. It is a great honor and privilege to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana, and I deeply appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Clinton have placed in me by putting my name forward for your consideration.

I am also deeply, deeply grateful for the support of my husband, David Bonfili; my daughter Clara; and my parents, Michael and Jeanette Gavin.

My own professional background has left me keenly aware of the importance of working with this committee and the Congress, if

confirmed, in order to advance U.S. interests in Botswana, including maintaining a strong tradition of democratic governance, encouraging economic diversification, and combating the HIV/AIDS epidemic. For many years, as you mentioned, I served on the staff of Senator Russ Feingold who focused intensely on African issues during his tenure on this committee, and most recently I was a special assistant to President Obama and senior director for African affairs at the NSC, a position that gave me new insight on the importance of our partnerships on the continent and a rich understanding of the critical role that interagency cooperation plays, both in Washington and in the field, as we work to achieve our foreign policy objectives.

At independence in 1966, Botswana was, by many measures, one of the poorest countries on earth. Now it is a middle-income country and an exemplar for the continent, having consistently maintained a democratic government, responsibly managed its natural resources, and invested in its people and infrastructure. Botswana is an excellent partner and our bilateral relationship is strong, grounded in a shared commitment to democracy, good governance, and human rights.

The United States and Botswana also share an interest in ensuring the sustainability of Botswana's success by deepening economic diversification, promoting regional economic growth and development. Botswana aims to strengthen the nondiamond sectors of its economy, creating jobs and opportunities for the next generation, and supporting this endeavor through partnerships with the United States, including increased bilateral trade, will be one of my priorities, if confirmed.

In addition, if I am confirmed, I will serve as the United States representative to the Southern African Development Community, or SADC. Regional integration and cooperation are essential to the long-term stability and prosperity of all of southern Africa's countries. So I look forward to exploring appropriate opportunities to work with SADC to promote these objectives.

Despite a remarkable commitment on the part of the Government of Botswana to save its citizens from HIV/AIDS, and despite strong support from the United States and nongovernmental entities, Botswana still has the second highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in the world. Much has been done to combat the epidemic, particularly with regard to treatment. And currently, depending on the measure you use, either 83 or closer to 95 percent of Botswana who need antiretroviral treatment receive it free of charge from the government—of Botswana, not our Government. This success could not have been achieved without the \$480 million in support provided by the United States through PEPFAR since 2004. And if confirmed, I will do my utmost to ensure that taxpayer resources are used effectively in combating HIV/AIDS in Botswana, working to build on existing successes and focusing critical attention on prevention where more gains must be made.

In Accra in 2009, President Obama said, "I do not see the countries and peoples of Africa as a world apart; I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world, as partners with America on behalf of a future we want for all of our children. That partner-

ship must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect.”

Botswana is a small country but plays an important role both regionally and globally. It has been a strong, clear voice in support of human rights around the world. In fact, it was one of the first countries in the world to sever relations with Libya when it became clear that the regime in Tripoli was prepared to massacre its own citizens in order to cling to power.

In partnership with the United States, Botswana hosts an International Law Enforcement Academy that helps law enforcement professionals from around the continent sharpen their skills and improve their capacity to combat transnational crime.

Botswana is an international leader in conservation and has important insight to offer in global discussions regarding environmental issues.

If confirmed, I look forward to encouraging leadership by Botswana on a range of issues where our interests align.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you so much for the opportunity to appear before you today, and I would be happy to answer any of your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Gavin follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHELLE GAVIN

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a great honor and privilege to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana. I appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Clinton have placed in me by putting my name forward for your consideration. I am also deeply grateful for the support of my husband, David Bonfili, my daughter Clara, and my parents, Michael and Jeanette Gavin.

My own professional background has left me keenly aware of the importance of working with this committee and the Congress. If confirmed, I pledge to work with you to advance U.S. interests in Botswana, including maintaining its strong tradition of democratic governance, encouraging economic diversification, and combating the HIV/AIDS epidemic. For many years I served on the staff of Senator Russ Feingold, who focused intensely on African issues during his tenure on this committee. Most recently, I was a Special Assistant to President Obama and Senior Director for African Affairs on the National Security Staff, a position that gave me new insight into the importance of our partnerships on the continent and a rich understanding of the critical role that interagency cooperation plays both in Washington and in the field as we work to achieve our foreign policy objectives.

Upon independence in 1966, Botswana was, by many measures, one of the poorest countries on earth. Today it is a middle-income country and an exemplar for the continent, having consistently maintained a democratic government, responsibly managed its natural resources, and invested in its people and infrastructure. Botswana is an excellent partner and our bilateral relationship is strong, grounded in a shared commitment to democracy, good governance, and human rights.

The United States and Botswana also share an interest in ensuring the sustainability of Botswana's success by deepening economic diversification and promoting regional economic growth and development. Botswana aims to strengthen the non-diamond sectors of its economy, creating jobs and opportunities for the next generation of Botswana, and supporting this endeavor through partnership with the United States, including increased bilateral trade, will be one of my priorities. In addition, if confirmed, I will serve as the United States representative to the Southern African Development Community or SADC. Regional integration and cooperation are essential to the long-term stability and prosperity of all of southern Africa's countries, and I look forward to exploring appropriate opportunities to work with SADC to promote these objectives.

Despite a remarkable commitment on the part of the Government of Botswana to save its citizens from HIV/AIDS, and despite strong support from the United States and nongovernmental entities, Botswana still has the second highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in the world. Much has been done to combat the epidemic, particularly with regard to treatment. Currently 83 percent of Botswana who need

antiretroviral treatment receive it free of charge from the Government of Botswana. This success could not have been achieved without the \$480 million in support provided by the United States through PEPFAR since 2004. If confirmed, I will do my utmost to ensure that taxpayer resources are used effectively in combating HIV/AIDS in Botswana, working to build on existing successes and focusing critical attention on prevention, where more gains must be made.

In Accra in 2009, President Obama said, "I do not see the countries and peoples of Africa as a world apart; I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world, as partners with America on behalf of the future we want for all of our children. That partnership must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect." Botswana is a small country, but plays an important role both regionally and globally. Botswana has been a strong, clear voice in support of human rights around the world; in fact it was among the first countries to sever relations with Libya when it became clear that the regime in Tripoli was prepared to massacre its own citizens in order to cling to power. In partnership with the United States, Botswana hosts an International Law Enforcement Academy that helps law enforcement professionals from around the continent sharpen their skills and improve their capacity to combat transnational crime. Botswana is an international leader in conservation and has important insight to offer in global discussions regarding environmental issues. If confirmed, I look forward to encouraging leadership by the Botswana on a range of issues where our interests align.

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

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ms. Gavin. Thank you, General Gratton.

We are now going to begin 7-minute rounds with members of the committee asking questions.

General Gratton, thank you for your service to our Nation, both in the Air Force and as special envoy.

The U.S. Embassy in Nairobi is the largest in sub-Saharan Africa with roughly 1,400 employees, and as the Sudan envoy, you managed roughly 30, obviously in your military experience, much larger contingents.

I would be interested in your overall plan for running an effective and operating an efficient Embassy, what your priorities are for that Embassy, and in particular, given there are 86 who are Department of Defense direct hires, comment, if you would, on how as a retired general from the Air Force who served both in a military and diplomatic capacity what you view is the relationship on unity of effort between our civilian and military representatives in Nairobi.

Mr. GRATTON. Thank you very much. It will be a big challenge because there are people from many different organizations who represent many different agencies. But I believe my job is to orchestrate and to provide a vision where all of these people who represent America do just that: represent America. And I want to create within the Embassy, within the country a team, a strong team that is an all-of-Government team, where it is not just the military or it is not just USAID or it is not just CDC and other people working independently, but we are working together to further the interests of our great Nation in Kenya and in the region. So there are many things that I want to do in terms of establishing the priorities.

First of all, I think in building the team, we have to make sure that it is an inclusive team, a team where everybody can contribute, where everybody is resourced, and where they have a sense

of what the mission is. So I will be creating that very early in my time there.

I have worked on a speech that I plan to give in Swahili within the first couple days to all the local employees, so that they are part of the team because without them, we really cannot do the mission we have in Kenya and in the region.

So the concept is to start bringing that team together.

And then I want to put no question in anybody's mind who works for who. I think, as you point out, when you have military people and you have other people—that is why I spent a lot of time understanding the NSDD-38, Chief of Mission authorities, and what is my responsibility and what I am accountable for, and how I can continue on to control and manage those processes.

As for the military people, I understand that they work for the COCOM, but again, it is the communication, the personal relationship that I have with the commanders of the military. I plan to work very hard to strengthen those.

But the concept that I am trying to get to right now is making sure that everybody understands the mission, understands our objectives in the country and works as a team to make that all happen. I believe I can do that based on the experience I have had in the military and based on my experience that I have had in the State Department.

Senator COONS. Thank you, General.

You have, as we mentioned, served as President Obama's special envoy to Sudan since March 2009, and in that capacity, you have received both criticism and praise for your handling of an array of challenges, ranging from the expulsion of humanitarian groups working in Darfur in 2009 to the southern Sudan referendum in January which Chairman Kerry's statement lauded you for playing a critical role in moving forward. Some have said that you compromised on humanitarian issues while others have lauded your ability to be an effective negotiator with the Government of Sudan. Some have criticized you in your tenure as special envoy for being too close with Khartoum in negotiating with them, and others believe that that was critical to achieving progress on the referendum.

Do you believe the advocacy groups and other critics have accurately characterized your approach toward Darfur, and what are the lessons you might have learned from your experience as envoy and how would they inform your approach if confirmed as Ambassador to Kenya?

Mr. GRATION. When I took this job, the President was very clear. He said my primary mission was to save lives, and that was when we were facing 1.5 million people at risk in Darfur after the NGOs were thrown out. And to do that, it became increasingly clear to me, as I thought about how I would conduct this mandate that I had, that I had to be able to talk with the Government of Khartoum. As we thought about ending the conflict that displaced so many people in Darfur, the conflict with the proxy forces between the Government of Khartoum and Chad, it became increasingly clear that I had to talk to N'Djamena and I had to talk to Khartoum. When we thought about implementing the comprehensive peace agreement and the 12 outstanding issues that had to be ne-

gotiated, it was clear that I had to have a relationship with Juba and Khartoum. And in every situation, it was obvious that I had to have a relationship.

And so it became a question of how do you build that relationship. And I believe that in all relationships, it has to be transparent. There has to be trust, and there has to be respect if you want to have influence. I also believe that you have to have both a blended application of both incentives and pressures, and that is what we tried to achieve in Sudan, using all the tools to achieve our national interests and desired results and behavior changes that were required by using a blend of both sticks and carrots, as some people say. I would say pressures and incentives.

And that is what I think I will take also to Kenya, an ability to look at a situation, to build the relationships that are based on trust and respect, to create an atmosphere of transparency where we can talk clearly, where we can express opinions in a way that are accepted by both sides, and that we can use the appropriate mix of pressures and incentives to achieve America's interests in that land.

Senator COONS. Thank you, General.

We are now going to move to the first round of questions from Senator Isakson. I understand there is a vote underway on the floor. And so my suggestion—hopefully this meets the needs of the other members of the committee as well—is that we allow Senator Isakson to go through his first 7-minute round, and then we will recess so that all the members of the subcommittee can go and vote, return, and resume the hearing.

Senator INHOFE. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to speak anyway. I am aware of the bipartisan support for both of these nominees and the challenges that they face. And I will yield to Senator Isakson. Thank you, Senator.

Senator COONS. Senator Isakson.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Gratton, I appreciate your answer to the question asked by Chairman Coons. Having been to Khartoum myself and then to Darfur, but dealing with the Khartoum Government, the comments that you were criticized for are understandable comments when put in the context of what you were dealing with at the time. And I commend you on your effort there and what you did and the fact that the results have proven to be a peaceful transition, at least as far as it has gone with the election. And I hope you will give continuing advice to Princeton Lyman, so that continues through July and we can actually get to a point where we resolve the remaining issues.

Now, to Kenya, are our Somalia efforts still housed in the Kenyan Embassy?

Mr. GRATTON. Yes, sir; they are. There will be, though, some changes that are happening right now.

There will be an ambassador-rank individual that will be part of the Somalia unit, and that individual will report directly to Assistant Secretary of State Carson and will be responsible for all policy decisions having to do with the Somalia portfolio.

The Kenya Embassy will still have the operators, the people that interface on a day-to-day basis, and they will all be housed and be the responsibility of the chief of mission.

And if confirmed, I will stay very closely involved with this new ambassador and with all the units to make sure that there is continuity and make sure that everything is taking place in accordance with procedures and policy that have been given to me.

Senator ISAKSON. But the special mission will report directly to Johnnie Carson?

Mr. GRATION. The Somalia unit that is responsible for policy and about nine people will report directly to him.

And it makes sense that they are located in Kenya because many of the TFG members, many of the people that work directly in Somalia are there in Nairobi right now. So it certainly makes sense that that organization is there and is sponsored by the American Embassy under the Chief of Mission authority.

Senator ISAKSON. How deep is your knowledge of the refugee camp at Dadaab?

Mr. GRATION. I have never been there, but I want to get more knowledgeable, but I have a basic understanding.

Senator ISAKSON. My understanding is it continues to grow and has the potential to be a real problem.

Mr. GRATION. Yes, sir. There are somewhere between 315,000 to 350,000 people there, and that number continues to grow. It needs more land. I understand the Kenyans' reluctance to do that because they don't want it to get too big, but the reality is that we have to do a better job not only to help these people with nourishment, sanitation, and health care, but to give them the hope that they need to make the adjustment to a normal life and also to life after Dadaab.

So that means we have to have a policy in Somalia that will restore the country and give it some stability so people can return because just to house people in Kenya is not the right answer and to house them better. The answer is to bring peace, stability, and the conditions where they can come back and return to their normal livelihood.

So I believe that the two-track policy the United States has right now is the right approach, but it is going to take a tremendous amount of effort because for 20 years there has been unrest. There has been so little governance, and we have got to treat Somalia with a higher sense of priority in my view to be able to create the environment so that there can be governance and there can be the stability that they so need to be able to restore the refugee problem that is spilling out into Kenya.

Senator ISAKSON. I appreciate that answer.

Ms. Gavin, I am sorry your 2-year-old left. She was stunning and as pretty as her mother. It is good to have you, and I congratulate you on your nomination.

Botswana is a country that the United States sees as a shining star. One of the things that I am most interested in as I have been to Africa is: the tremendous Chinese investment that is being made on that continent and the challenge between the Chinese extracting natural resources with their own workers, and the United States investing money and trying to create a climate of United States

business investment. What will you do as Ambassador to try and foster that type of investment in Botswana?

Ms. GAVIN. Thank you so much, Senator. I think that, if confirmed, that will actually be one of my highest priorities. The Government of Botswana is a willing partner in wanting to diversify its economy, and there are a lot of positives to that particular investment climate. But it is also a very small market, 2 million people. So one thing that I think is going to be essential is going to be to work closely with Ambassador Gips in South Africa and others in the region to take a regional approach to economic development. It is a much more attractive investment, I think, for U.S. businesses. There is much more opportunity for the United States that would be extremely beneficial to Botswana as well if we address this regionally.

You are absolutely right. China has been increasing its involvement in Botswana and in the rest of southern Africa largely in extractive industries, but also getting involved on some health issues, getting involved with the University of Botswana to increase sort of their Asian studies capacity. So I will also look for opportunities to work with the Chinese where we do have some shared objectives so that I am not reacting in a way that suggests this is always a zero-sum game.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, I commend both of you on your nomination and look forward to working with you.

And I will end where I began in my opening statement. I hope both of you will do everything you can to support the NGO efforts, in particular, what is happening in Kibera: CARE, USAID, Save the Children, Catholic Relief. You saw what they did, obviously, in Darfur. Those organizations are doing an awful lot to bring some degree of quality of life to very impoverished people, and I know in terms of Botswana, I assume there is PEPFAR money in Botswana and CDC, which is based out of Atlanta, and the other volunteers that are there—the support for those volunteers and those NGOs is critical to the future of that continent and the betterment of those people.

Again, I congratulate both of you on your nomination.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator.

We are going to recess for a period of 15 minutes so that members of the subcommittee can vote, and then we will resume. The subcommittee stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Senator COONS. We are going to resume the nomination hearing of the Africa Subcommittee. Thank you for being patient with our recess while members of the committee cast their votes.

The ranking minority member may or may not rejoin us, but he urged me to proceed and complimented you both on your statements and answers so far.

General Gratton, if I might. The International Criminal Court has recently summoned—I believe it is six individuals from Kenya accused of crimes against humanity during the post-election violence of 2007. And I believe they are appearing in The Hague just a few days from now.

If confirmed as Ambassador, what would be your approach to handling these ICC cases in Kenya?

I noted that the Kenyan Government has called for an Article 16 delay, arguing instead for local tribunals to address these questions of violence, and the AU has endorsed Kenya's request. What is your view of the issue of deferment?

Do you believe the ICC process threatens peace and stability in Kenya as some have claimed? And given your prior experience with the ICC in Sudan, how will you handle this in the context of Kenya?

Mr. GRATION. Thank you. Certainly I believe that the underlying issues have to be resolved, and I will talk about that in a minute.

But just to answer your questions directly, in terms of an Article 16 deferment, I do not support that and neither does our country and do not believe that if there was a deferment, that it would change the peace and security situation either in Kenya or regionally. And the fact is it may in some way exacerbate the situation.

There are other processes that the Kenya Government is pursuing. One is asking whether article 17 and article 19 would be appropriate, and that would be where they would appeal to the ICC to have the process moved back into Kenya, but the ICC would have to approve that process. If indeed they do that and ICC approves the process, that may be one other avenue that the government has, but in terms of article 16, we do not support that.

But I think the most important element is that we cannot have a situation where a culture of impunity, where corruption is not curbed, where human rights are at risk, where people are looked at as tribesmen and not as citizens of the country. Those issues have to be resolved.

And that is why as a government we support the reform actions that have been put in place. On the 4th of August, Kenya put together a new constitution, but that constitution has to be implemented. The fact is there are almost 25 different legislative pieces that have to be passed to fully implement it. In addition to that, there are committees, courts, commissions, things that have to be set up, and then people have to be able to understand and buy into this process. And the government has to show that they are committed to making sure that these reform measures become part of practice and become part of the process and there is a democratic process where people can demonstrate their will through elections and that they can do this freely and in a transparent way and a peaceful way. This is what we will be aiming for.

And I think the ICC is part of this, showing accountability for those, and if they are not guilty, that will come out. But if folks are proven to have been involved in issues, in crimes, then they would have to be held accountable for that.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Ms. Gavin, in the Botswana context, Botswana has often been recognized as one of the most stable democracies in all of Africa, one of the most transparent, and President Khama has spoken out about some of the challenges in Zimbabwe, was one of the first, in fact, to come out and recognize President Ouattara as the winner of the elections in Côte d'Ivoire.

Could you just comment on to what do you attribute the stability, the predictability, the regularity of elections in Botswana? What actions might we take to strengthen the multiparty nature of electoral democracy in Botswana, and then what are we going to do, should you be confirmed as Ambassador, to strengthen their hand in being a regional supporter of initiatives that we have taken both in questioning the legitimacy of elections in Zimbabwe and in strengthening the region as it has to do with civil institutions?

Ms. GAVIN. Thank you so much. It is an interesting thing to think about, why has Botswana been able to achieve so much success, and I think it can certainly be attributed to good leadership, some decisions early on particularly when the country's diamond wealth was discovered regarding natural resource management that are highly relevant for the rest of the region where there are so many mineral-rich economies that have not been managed as well.

There is also a culture in Botswana of open debate and dialogue that has existed for a very long time that I think helps to inform the democratic culture that has developed there.

I also think it is important to avoid treating Botswana as the exception to the rule and sort of letting everybody else off the hook as if Botswana had some special set of ingredients that other countries do not have, which I think gets to another part of your question about how to help to amplify their voice in the region and sometimes globally where we, in fact, have shared interests and shared objectives, and that, if confirmed, is certainly something I would hope to work on by encouraging the Botswanan Government to participate in some global dialogues and discussion, encouraging the head of state to come to the U.N. General Assembly, for example, and make sure that their voice is heard.

I think that as far as strengthening the multiparty aspect of Botswana's democracy, there are some very encouraging signs that the opposition is alive and well. In the last election, the opposition—well, the ruling party received something like 53.3 percent of the vote. So it is not as if no one is out there voting for opposition parties. They recently, in fact, came to some agreement to unify and try and rally around the same candidates the next time they take a go at this.

The press is extremely free in Botswana, and sometimes highly critical of the government.

So I think what I could do, if confirmed as Ambassador, is to continue a dialogue with representatives of all political parties in Botswana and continue engaging the Botswanans and particularly young Botswanans on issues of just civic participation, civic activism, make sure that as long as everybody is participating in the dialogue and the dialogue stays rich, I think that multiparty democracy is likely to remain quite strong.

Senator COONS. General Gratton, to follow up on that, if I might. As we go toward the 2012 elections in Kenya, what are the things that we can and should be doing to continue to push along the path of reform to strengthen democratic institutions in Kenya to ensure we do not have a repeat of the 2007 elections and their irregularities? And what do you think should be our major concerns in terms of potential flashpoints as we move toward those elections?

Mr. GRATION. Certainly we need to encourage all segments of the population to become involved in this. In other words, we have to have programs that not only help the government itself with the implementation programs—and we do need to help those—but we need to help people like Patrick Lumumba and folks that are working with corruption. We need to engage again and continuously with the civil society to make sure that the people understand the process and they understand that democratic reform will give them a voice that is clear and that represents exactly what they are saying and that it does that without fear.

We need to engage the youth because much of the actual violence was done by the youth even though they may have been controlled by other aspects of the government or individuals. But the youth have to become part of the solution. They have understand that it is not about bullets. It is about ballots. It is not about machetes, but it is about getting out there and making a difference with words and votes and concepts.

So it is going to take an education process, and that is something we can do through our USAID grants, through things that we become involved in, things we put our fingerprints on.

But the bottom line is just to, again, push on accountability, push on these wherever we are through all aspects of our Embassy so that in my view that should be the highest priority of getting from now until whether it is next August or next December when the election is held, that we have done everything possible so that we can ensure that it is peaceful. And if for some reason it is not, we will look back and say we have done everything we could have done.

And that is why in my view, if confirmed, I want to get out there as soon as possible to start building the relationships with the government so I can have influence, that I can understand the situation, and that I can do everything I can to prepare not only our Embassy to get involved but to bring the rest of the multilateral organizations, our international partners, and other people around so that we are all going the same way same day on this very, very important issue. It is a high priority and I believe that we can make a difference.

But we cannot waste another day. There is so much that remains to be done. We saw it in Sudan in both the election and in the referendum. We can, through right training, through right programs, and right focus, produce an election that does represent the will of the people. That is what we will continue to do, and if I am confirmed, I will put my effort toward this because in my view it is one of the highest priorities I have.

Senator COONS. One concern I have around sort of legitimacy, given the recent protests throughout north Africa and the Middle East, is transparency and corruption. A recent BBC report projected that maybe as much as a third of the Kenyan national government spending is lost or wasted through corruption. It has not ranked high on transparency indices.

How pervasive do you think a problem or challenge corruption is for Kenya? Is it potentially a source of some tension or difficulty in the same way that it has been in other countries that have recently seen popular uprisings? What sort of a barrier is it to United

States-Kenya trade, and what can we do to help those elements within Kenyan society and leadership that really want to tackle and fight corruption within Kenya?

Mr. GRATION. Exactly right. From what I understand, Kenya is rated 154 out of 178 in terms of the corruption index. This in my view has to stop, and it is not going to be able to stop maybe even under my tenure. But I think that, if confirmed, this is something that we need to put a big dent in because while the government officials and other people who are in a position to take, while they gain, what it is doing is it is just destroying the opportunities for creating wealth at the local level. Kenya is suffering with—well, they already have about half their population under 18, but if you take a look at folks under 30, only about 30 percent really have jobs that are producing incomes upon which they can support a family and their desired livelihood.

So when you have corruption, it just hurts, and it also takes the motivation out of people. If they see somebody else getting rich by not working hard, it undermines the work ethic. So in my view for the good of future generations, this has got to be a priority.

And while I do not know yet all the tools we can use, I think that there are a lot of tools that we can. And the first is the whole concept of reform and making sure that as is laid out in the new constitution, that ministers and Cabinet officials, I should say, have to get appointed and approved, that there is a new system of representation, a new house, the eight provinces are going into 47 counties, and they will have representation. And you will not have the cronyism, hopefully, as in there right now.

So it is going to start at the government, but it has got to go right down to the individual people because, having lived there—and I am sure you experienced too—even down at the local level, there are elements of corruption and a way of doing business. And somehow that has got to change. And I believe we have to use all elements to help it change, whether it is the church with Judeo-Christian values or whether it is part of the Muslim community through their outreach, whether it is through schools and teaching ethics from grade school on up.

I do not know what the right solution is, but I got to tell you this is so pervasive and such a big problem and it is keeping Kenya from having access to the Millennium Challenge Account. It is keeping the people down, and I believe that we need to work together.

Maybe this is something that we can form a task force among the international community to try to figure out how do we all together help make a difference because I do not think this is something America can solve. I think it is going to have to be done by the government itself, by the people themselves, by the Kenyans themselves, but it is going to take the full support of all the international community to help make this happen because it is going to involve that kind of dramatic change for it to be able to make a difference and be able to stick.

Senator COONS. Ms. Gavin, Botswana has often been cited on those same rankings as among the most transparent in the world. And you previously cited the longstanding cultural traditions of openness and debate. I do not have much insight into how Bot-

swana, an extraction economy that experienced a sudden rise in wealth, has managed to avoid the same challenges that many other governments of all kinds have fallen into of exactly the sort of widespread corruption, large- and small-scale, that has characterized many other developing nations and some developed nations.

Any advice or insight for us on how in a multilateral way, either through the international community or through values and ethics changes, we might make progress in nations throughout the region and the world? What lessons might we learn from Botswana?

Ms. GAVIN. Well, I hope to, if confirmed, certainly learn more about why the things that work so well in Botswana work that way. But I do think there is real value simply in their example of a resource-rich country where the rule of law prevails, and in fact, government officials, controversial cases—sometimes the courts rule against the government. So you have a truly independent judiciary and a police force that protects the citizens rather than preying on them.

I do think that the International Law Enforcement Academy that Botswana hosts and that the United States Government supports is an interesting example of trying to highlight Botswana's reputation for good governance, rule-governed procedures, and respect for the rule of law to help build capacity internationally. Some 29 African countries participate in training there, largely focused on different aspects of transnational crime. But simply having the seat of this academy in a country with such a low level of corruption, I think is a good example of trying to maximize the value of the Botswanan story and make it relevant to the rest of the region.

Senator COONS. Ms. Gavin, one of the biggest challenges, as you mentioned in your opening statement, facing Botswana is a very high rate of AIDS and HIV infection. There has been significant progress made to some large extent because of United States investment, but it is now moving to being one more directly led by the Botswana Government but where I understand there might be some great progress being made through a partnership between Merck and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the nation of Botswana.

What can you suggest about lessons for us and challenges ahead to have an adult population that is, I think, at about 25 percent infection? It must be an enormous challenge for Botswana. How do you see the path ahead in terms of the American role, the multilateral role, and the role for the private sector and the philanthropic sector in tackling this greatest challenge for Botswana?

Ms. GAVIN. I think you are right. There is no single thing that the United States Government does in Botswana that is more important than continuing this fight against HIV and AIDS, and I think that we probably can extract some valuable lessons for other countries hard hit by the epidemic, particularly in the success they have had in rolling out treatment and also almost eliminating mother-to-child transmission.

But on prevention, there is still a tremendous amount of work to be done, and it will take interagency collaboration. PEPFAR, as you know, Senator, works best when the CDC and AID are working in a collaborative and complementary way and not engaged in a constant tussle for resources.

In Botswana, we also have some interesting other elements. DOD participates helping to work on HIV/AIDS issues with the Botswana defense forces.

And our Peace Corps Volunteers in Botswana work exclusively on health issues. Botswana had graduated out of Peace Corps and then invited the Peace Corps back when the pandemic hit and they realized the magnitude of the challenge.

So I think that there are very positive lessons that we can extract on the treatment side, much more to do on the prevention side, and I think critical to all this is going to be that interagency collaboration, making sure all those interagency elements are working together in conjunction then with the nongovernmental elements, Merck, Gates, and others, and critically, the most important partner, the Government of Botswana, in trying to address the prevention challenge.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

General, Kenya is a major focus for both the Global Health Initiative and the Feed the Future initiative, and both of these are signature initiatives for the administration and critical to our role in the region. But Congress is facing understandable significant pressure to reduce Federal spending, reduce the Federal deficit, and there is the very real possibility being discussed literally now of significant reductions in spending in the current fiscal year or possibly going forward in these areas.

I would be interested in hearing what role you think there might be for urging either the Government of Kenya or other multilateral partners to contribute more of the funding, what kinds of changes you think there might be in terms of our role in Kenya, our progress in Kenya if funding is dramatically reduced, and what you see as the contribution that you could make as Ambassador in advancing both the Global Health Initiative and Feed the Future initiative on the ground in Kenya and then regionally.

Mr. GRATION. In terms of Feed the Future, I think it is a very important program, but I think that we have to think about what we are trying to accomplish. And in my view, Kenya is too dependent on rain-fed agriculture, and there are a lot of ways you can get around that.

First of all, I think what Feed the Future is doing in terms of understanding the lay of the land and the threats that people face are very important.

But second, I think what they are doing in terms of subsistence farming is important. With better seed, better fertilizer, natural fertilizers, planting legumes, and in addition to nitrogen enrichment and planting of other crops in rotation is important. And so those kinds of things are very important. Even in terms of planting, techniques are important.

But the piece that I believe would really help Kenya is if we think more about value chain analysis, what are the right crops, and then marketing and banking. If you build banks to where you can take the grain and bank it for a year, if it does not rain the next year, you can eat it, and if it rains, then you sell it. With fumigation and other techniques, you can store grain for a year very, very easily.

The second part of banking—it sort of evens out the market. Instead of having a glut of food when the harvests come around and then a dearth 4 months later, banking allows you to put food on the market in a way that it is stabilized.

So there is a whole lot of things that I think can be included in the Feed the Future initiative so we can actually get more bang for the buck and ensure people when it does not rain.

In terms of the Global Health Initiative, I think you are exactly right. We need to think about programs so that they can be absorbed by the government. The problem is that when you infuse a lot of capacity, clinics, more people on antiretroviral medicines, that kind of thing and then stop the funding and the government is not in a position to absorb it, it really creates a lot of problems. So I think two things need to happen.

One is we need to be partnering with the government when we put these in so that there is a transition program built into the Global Health Initiative program or the Feed the Future program such that if there is going to be public sector adoption of this, then it is built right in in the beginning, and the governments know that they have to produce more nurses, they have to get a way to bring more medicines in so they can bring it in, which means that our programs may have to be smaller in the beginning or else we have to take the risk that we are going to have to fund these for a longer period of time. But the reality is build a program so the government can accept it, build a program that helps them accept it. So maybe the right answer is in the Global Health Initiative is not so much putting in more clinics but building more nurse training programs or more other ways that you can build the capacity for them to take this over in a way that allows you not to skip a beat when you do the transition.

So I will be looking at both of these programs. I think they are both good programs, but I understand that they should be stopgap programs. They should not be programs that are still there 25 years from now. And if we are not building programs to work ourselves out of that program, then I think there is a mistake.

If you know anything about me, I am a big believer in affordability, sustainability, self-sustaining ability, and then scalability. If the program is really good, it should be able to take off on its own. So what I look for in the Feed the Future programs is while we put in pilot programs, we ought to be doing this in a way that they are self-sustaining or government-sustainable and then that they take off by themselves so that you are not always building a program, but they will end up growing by themselves.

So these are the things that I think—those principles—we can look at in both the Global Health Initiative and Feed the Future to make sure that these programs do last without a constant infusion of U.S. dollars. But then again, bringing the international community in and mulilats into the program is also very important.

Senator COONS. Thank you, General.

Ms. Gavin, one of the criticisms of the Botswana Government that some indigenous people's advocates have had is that there has been a resettlement policy for the San people mostly in the Central Kalahari Reserve, and the challenge has been raised that it is

viewed as having been done largely to advance diamond extraction and at the expense of a traditional culture.

If confirmed as Ambassador, what would you do to be involved in this issue and what do you see as the opportunities for some progress in dealing with the loss of this traditional culture in the Kalahari?

Ms. GAVIN. This has been a longstanding, very difficult issue in Botswana, and I think that they have tried to address it both through direct dialogue between the government and different representatives of the San people, and sometimes the issue has been taken to court. It is a positive indicator that the government is not always on the winning side of the court decisions and it shows there is merit in seeking redress in the courts certainly. But it is not an issue that has been resolved, and I think it will remain very difficult.

I think what the U.S. Government can do is try to determine if there are ways we can help facilitate better communication between the community still residing in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve which is actually quite small, but there are different elements of the community and different voices in the government itself. If there are things that we can do to help facilitate those lines of communication, it is certainly I think well worth exploring every avenue to see what is the world of the possible there.

Senator COONS. General, I would be interested in your thoughts on Kenya's role in fighting terrorism. Obviously, there is a significant challenge with piracy off the coast of Somalia and now extending out into the Indian Ocean quite a way and affecting not just the horn but the whole region. Also, Nairobi was the scene of one of the most horrific attacks on an American installation in the bombing of our Embassy.

Your view on what as Ambassador you can and should be doing to be part of our fight against terrorism both within the nation of Kenya and in the region.

Mr. GRATION. I think Kenya can be a very good ally and a partner in this effort. Kenyans understand terrorism. As you pointed out, a facility in their country was bombed. But if you take a look at the number of people killed, they bore the brunt of that attack many, many times over what Americans lost: 218 people and most of them Kenyan.

They are also keenly aware of what happened on the 10th of July in Kampala when the al-Shabab bomb went off. Perpetrators of that crime, some of them potentially Kenyans. And so they are aware of that.

And they are also aware that every time that one of these attacks happens, they lose income from tourism. Their economy is disrupted.

So I think they are willing and ready to be partners.

We have put a lot of effort into training police units and also military units, and in doing that, we are making sure that we are vetting properly to make sure that the people that we train will not be perpetrators of crimes of human rights violations and that kind of thing.

Kenya has also proven themselves to be a strong partner in supporting out-of-country operations. They are involved in southern

Sudan, and they have been involved in other contingencies around the world. So I think Kenya is a great foundation.

Now, what do we need to do? I think we need to continue programs but maybe a little bit more specific. So we will take a good look at what are the ways that the Kenyans can be used more effectively.

One area I think that we can do better is in intel. The Kenyans have their ear to the ground. They know a lot of things that are happening, as do governments throughout that region. And if we are going to operate, whether it be in Somalia or whether it be against piracy or whether it be in other transnational things that are happening in and around Kenya, they are probably going to know about it before we know about it. And to develop a relationship with them so that they will share intelligence, number one, but to develop a relationship with them and that we can train them in the areas where they are deficient so they can become more effective in helping us in the global effort, I think that would be important.

So I will take a look and make sure that the training that we are doing meets the need not only for Kenyans, but for the rest of the international community and then look for areas that we can help with areas where they are deficient to improve their capacity to help. Kenyans can be and are already strong partners in the war on terrorism.

Senator COONS. Ms. Gavin, what role do you see for the United States in promoting bilateral trade with Botswana and what opportunities, if any, are there for them to take advantage of United States technology transfer, partners with us for things like alternative energy, for water generation, for pharmaceuticals and otherwise? And what role do you see for yourself as Ambassador in promoting bilateral trade with Botswana?

Ms. GAVIN. Thank you. If confirmed, I think that will be an absolutely essential part of my role as Ambassador. Particularly because Botswana is a middle-income country, it does not qualify for things like Millennium Challenge Initiative. Playing a role in bringing investors together with Botswanan businesses, in some cases the Botswanan Government, and critically taking a regional approach since it is such a small market I think is an absolutely essential part of trying to facilitate the economic diversification that is such a high priority for Botswana. So I think you have hit on a number of sectors that appear to have some real potential.

Southern Africa has tremendous energy needs. South Africa, which provides the lion's share of energy to the region, is strapped. It is clear that there is going to be a growing demand. And so there are some interesting small-scale projects in Botswana now around solar that probably bear a closer look. And I think that it is going to be essential to let people know what kind of investment climate Botswana has to offer and also to let people know what kind of regional infrastructure is there and see if we cannot be creative and get more done without using a lot of foreign assistance dollars to help what has been a very strong partner, sharing a lot of our interests and values, sustain that strength into the future.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

General—and this will be my last question—how do you see your role, if confirmed as Ambassador, in advancing United States-Kenyan bilateral trade ties? We export and import roughly the same amounts. Have there been opportunities for Kenya to take advantage of the African Growth and Opportunities Act and are there other things we could be doing to promote their adoption of U.S.-distributed energy generation, for example, or water technologies or new developments in seed or grains or other things that you have spoken about before? How, as Ambassador, would you advance both the development of Kenya and American export opportunities?

Mr. GRATION. I think there is a great opportunity to create jobs in America by increasing trade in Kenya. We already have a great process going where we actually have quite a bit of trade. There is a surplus and the surplus has been for the last 5 years. Last year it was \$34 million.

The issues that you point out are ones that I think we have to grapple with. Right now, AGOA is pretty much a textile kind of thing. In fact, I believe it is somewhere around 72 percent of the products that are exported from Kenya to the United States under AGOA would be in the textile. But there are so many other things that Kenya could add to this, and to help them diversify and increase their base so they do not take precut and just assemble them and ship them off to America, but they actually do things that would create jobs for Kenya. And then in return, I think there are so many things that can be done in Kenya on the IT side, on the energy production side.

The Kenyans are bright. They are highly educated. The literacy rate is extremely high.

I think that there is a way that we can import in a way that creates jobs, wealth creation opportunities in Kenya but would also create jobs back here. And I look forward to being part of that, working with our international community, Americans that are there. There are almost 20,000 Americans that are involved in private volunteer activities, NGO activities, but also in commercial business opportunities. Right now we are going to have to take a look at where our competitive advantages are and where we can strengthen them.

The other thing I would say is that I want to make sure that we level the playing field. There are some competitions to American firms, whether they come from China or other kind of places, where we can probably do more to give our products a better shot of taking hold in the country.

So those are the kind of things I will work with and I hope to work with the American community to come up with their ideas to know how I can help them better.

Senator COONS. Thank you, General. Thank you, Ms. Gavin. Thank you to your families. Thank you for your service. Thank you to Clara for her great patience and persistence. She is asleep I know. I am grateful for your parents before us and your testimony.

The record of this hearing will remain open until the close of business tomorrow, Wednesday, April 6, in the event there are other members of the subcommittee who were not able to join us today but who wish to submit additional questions for the record.

Again, thank you very much.

And with that, this hearing is adjourned.
 [Whereupon, at 4:08 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF SCOTT GRATION TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
 SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

Question. Previous reports by the Office of the Inspector General described a number of problems within the Africa Bureau, including poorly led posts and particularly notable failures in public diplomacy. In your testimony to the committee, you discussed ways you will approach some of the management challenges that result from the size and scope of the Embassy in Nairobi. How has your previous experience shaped your views regarding effective public diplomacy and if confirmed as Ambassador, how would you seek to approach related issues?

Answer. Effective public diplomacy is a core element of diplomacy, and an exceedingly challenging one. As Special Envoy to Sudan, I saw firsthand how important it was to understand the many audiences with whom I was sharing my messages. I endeavored to reach out beyond government officials in all parts of Sudan to understand the perspectives of people from all segments of society and to engage in a substantive dialogue on their views about their country and about U.S. policy. In complex situations such as Sudan, effective public diplomacy builds confidence and trust that the policy and actions of the United States are based on an understanding and appreciation of the people and history of the host country. Such confidence and trust lays the foundation for effectively sharing our values and experiences in a way that furthers achievement of mutual interests. If confirmed, I expect to encounter that same diversity of background and perspectives in Kenya and plan to mobilize all sections of the embassy to support public diplomacy efforts.

Question. Kenya is one of the original focus countries of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), and HIV/AIDS funding makes up the largest portion of U.S. assistance to Kenya. In your testimony to the committee, you discussed the importance of partnering with the Government of Kenya on these issues. What aspects of such cooperation have been most successful and where do you see room for improvements?

Answer. The Kenya PEPFAR program, together with other USG health investments there, is one of the U.S. Government's largest health portfolios. The PEPFAR program in Kenya has been very successful since its inception in 2004 and, in many ways, serves as a model in terms of success in delivering services, efficient program implementation, and country ownership. In 2009, the Government of Kenya (GOK) and the U.S. Government signed the Partnership Framework. This 5-year joint strategic agenda was based on the GOK's National AIDS Strategic Plan, and is organized around its four core pillars: health sector HIV service delivery, mainstreaming of the HIV and AIDS response, community-based HIV programs, and governance and strategic information. In addition, the U.S. team in Kenya has worked together with the GOK to reform the Country Coordinating Mechanism (CCM) of the Global Fund. The CCM in Kenya is now performing coordination and oversight of all donor funding in the health sector for improvements in bilateral cooperation—not just Global Fund. The committee is assuming accountability for overall health sector performance. This is a new model for Africa and promises to be a best practice.

Our joint efforts have delivered strong results. For example, in FY 2010, 410,300 individuals were receiving antiretroviral treatment thanks to PEPFAR support. In addition, 1,384,400 HIV-positive individuals received care and support (including TB/HIV) and 673,000 orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) received support services. On the other hand, HIV incidence has remained stable from 2001 to 2009, showing that Kenya continues to face challenges in preventing new HIV infections. The Kenya PEPFAR program has also been a leader among PEPFAR-supported countries in streamlining service delivery and supporting development of Kenyan Government disease surveillance and monitoring capacity. As a Global Health Initiative (GHI) Plus country, the U.S. team in Kenya, together with the GOK, has developed a strategy that exemplifies a whole-of-government approach thereby increasing impact through strategic coordination and integration.

Moving forward, if confirmed, I will work to strengthen national systems, including the health care workforce, and to build capacity and political will in Kenya for

sustainable, long-term Kenyan-led responses. If confirmed, I expect to be personally engaged in the effort to promote these objectives.

Question. In your work on Sudan, you sought to ensure that life-saving assistance reached people in Darfur, to support the international peace process, and to help North and South navigate their way to a lasting and sustainable peace. While there have been setbacks, the January 9 referendum was a great achievement for the people of Sudan and a testament to U.S. engagement. If confirmed, how will your experience in Sudan guide your work in helping Kenya to address its challenges, including implementation of the constitution, and free, fair, and safe elections in 2012?

Answer. There are some general principles that guided my work in Sudan which I believe will also help me effectively work with Kenya as it moves through this challenging and exciting time in its history. First, I believe that the United States needs to be actively engaged throughout the country, talking to all parties and helping to create an environment where they can forge home-grown solutions and lasting reconciliation. Second, these efforts in country need to be supported by sustained, high-level U.S. government attention and commitment to achieving those objectives. Third, we must work closely not only with Kenyans but with the international community, including multilateral organizations, regional states and other countries providing financial support to ensure a coordinated, coherent, and effective approach.

RESPONSES OF MICHELLE GAVIN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

Question. Previous reports by the Office of the Inspector General described a number of problems within the Africa Bureau, including understaffed, sometimes poorly led posts and particularly notable failures in public diplomacy. If confirmed as Ambassador, how would you seek to address these issues? How has your previous experience prepared you for such a post and shaped your views regarding managing an embassy?

Answer. I have consulted extensively with the Africa Bureau and with the U.S. Embassy in Gaborone to understand the management challenges that I would face at Embassy Gaborone if confirmed as Ambassador. I have reviewed the 2009 Inspector General Report of the Africa Bureau that identified concerns over leadership and the need to engage proactively in broader public diplomacy. I have had discussions here in Washington about how to address these issues. If confirmed, I will ensure solid leadership and recognize that the success of Embassy Gaborone will be founded on a valued and productive mission team that incorporates a whole-of-government approach, which I will be honored to lead. I will ensure we have strong communication among our mission team and the Africa Bureau to deliver consistent messages and develop a vibrant public outreach strategy to share our U.S. policy goals. Embassy Gaborone is already working closely with government, the media, nongovernmental organizations and private citizens in Botswana to ensure that our close bilateral partnership continues and remains strong. I would continue ongoing Embassy efforts to reach out to key sectors of Botswana youth to expose them to U.S. culture, peers, and mentors; build close relationships with Botswana's media outlets and provide opportunities to the media for professional development and exposure to U.S. counterparts; ensure that rising stars in Botswana participate in academic and cultural exchanges to the United States; and I will strive to use social media tools to reach a broad segment of Botswana, especially youth, with information about U.S. policies and programs.

In my position as Special Advisor to the President for African Affairs, I gained considerable experience facilitating cooperation and coordination between different U.S. Government agencies at the national level. If confirmed, I look forward to translating these skills into managing interagency relationships at the country level. In my position as legislative director for then-Senator Salazar, I had the privilege of mentoring a staff that was enthusiastic and dedicated but almost entirely new to Capitol Hill. I look forward to taking on the role as guide and mentor to the hardworking and dedicated staff at the Embassy in Gaborone, particularly the entry-level officers.

Question. As you noted in your testimony to the committee, if confirmed you will serve as the United States representative to the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Given that regional integration and cooperation are essential to long-term stability, what are the benefits and challenges to Botswana stemming from its membership in SADC and the Southern African Customs Union (SACU)? How do you envision your role vis-a-vis SADC?

Answer. Botswana has the privilege of hosting the SADC Secretariat in Gaborone. Botswana also benefits from its proximity to the regional economic hub of South Africa and from shared customs revenues from SACU. Nevertheless, Botswana has often been a lone voice in SADC on the peace and security front, particularly regarding Zimbabwe, and SADC itself has had difficulty emerging as an organization that is greater than the sum of its parts. With regards to SACU, Botswana may see reduced customs revenue as a result of a South African proposal to change the current revenue-sharing formula.

If confirmed, I would work with Chiefs of Mission in other SADC countries on ways to help broaden the U.S.-SADC relationship so that Zimbabwe is only one of many issues we have to discuss. I hope to engage where appropriate to encourage greater regional integration that would promote U.S. trade as well as further economic diversification in Botswana. I also hope to encourage Botswana to continue their advocacy in the region on transparency and good governance in the mining sector and beyond.

