

**NOMINATIONS OF THE 110TH
CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

—
JANUARY 30 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 24, 2008
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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S. HRG. 110-777

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Available via the World Wide Web: <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/congress/index.html>

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

48-281 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2009

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
110TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

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JOHN F. KERRY, Massachusetts	CHUCK HAGEL, Nebraska
RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD, Wisconsin	NORM COLEMAN, Minnesota
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ROBERT P. CASEY, Pennsylvania	JOHNNY ISAKSON, Georgia
JIM WEBB, Virginia	DAVID VITTER, Louisiana

ANTONY J. BLINKEN, *Staff Director*

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

*Note: Reassigned to Committee on Finance January 24, 2008.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
110TH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr., Delaware, *Chairman*

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BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, Maryland	JOHNNY ISAKSON, Georgia
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JIM WEBB, Virginia	JOHN BARRASSO, Wyoming*

ANTONY J. BLINKEN, *Staff Director*

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

*Note: Appointed February 12, 2008.

NOMINATIONS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 2008

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

Bernicat, Marcia Stephens Bloom, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau
Bodde, Peter W., to be Ambassador to the Republic of Malawi
Booth, Donald E., to be Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia
McMahon Hawkins, Patricia, to be Ambassador to the Togolese Republic
Milovanovic, Gillian Arlette, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Mali
Myles, Marianne Matuzic, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde
Nolan, Stephen James, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana
Thomas-Greenfield, Linda, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Liberia
Tritelbaum, Donald Gene, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:32 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Russell D. Feingold presiding.

Present: Senators Feingold and Isakson.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD, U.S. SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN

Senator FEINGOLD. This hearing will come to order. Good morning everybody.

We have an impressive array of foreign policy experience and expertise before us this morning. I would like to begin by thanking our nine nominees for being here today, but more importantly, for your many years of service and for your willingness to work in some of the most demanding positions in the U.S. Government and in some of the more difficult postings around the world.

I would also like to offer a warm welcome to your families and friends whose ongoing support will be necessary as you set off, once confirmed, to undertake your new position. And I encourage you, when you make your brief remarks, to please introduce any of your family members or friends who are with you today.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to acknowledge and welcome my colleague, Senator Johnny Isakson, who is joining us as the ranking member of this committee for the first time. Senator, I am looking forward to working with you on a range of countries and issues related to Africa, but it seems appropriate that our first committee hearing together is one in which we will engage with the men and women who have accepted the challenging responsibility of serving as the face and overseer of United States policy in 10 sub-Saharan African countries.

And I will give the Senator an opportunity to welcome the nominees and deliver some opening remarks in just a moment, but first, I hope you do not mind if I lay out what I see as the primary challenges facing the United States Government in Africa today very briefly.

As ambassadors for the United States, you will undoubtedly have to juggle conflicting priorities. Security is a top concern, but the source and nature of the threat differ widely, as does the approach needed to effectively address it. For example, the rebellions and illegal trafficking in Mali's lawless northern territory require a different response than the need for, for example, security sector reform in Liberia or the lack of maritime defense capacity in Cape Verde. You will also face different and evolving partners, with young foreign ministries and uneven military infrastructures. The challenges are many—and subject to rapid change, especially in countries that have upcoming elections.

Additionally, you will be developing and implementing policies at the same time that the new United States combatant command for Africa is establishing its role on the continent.

In addition to security concerns, you will have to address a range of other U.S. strategic interests, including the promotion of democratic principles, human rights, good governance, and sustainable development. U.S. credibility in these countries depends upon our consistent adherence to and advocacy of these fundamental values. Particularly in countries where the United States does not have a long history of engagement or much institutional knowledge, building solid relationships—not just with government officials but also with business, religious, civil society, and other community leaders—is critical to informing and implementing an effective U.S. policy.

And you will also have to ensure that financial, material, and human resources are allocated to address strategic challenges and long-term objectives in your respective countries, and not just to current needs or emergency requirements.

If you are confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you as you meet these responsibilities. I hope you look to the Senate as a resource and to this committee as a source of support and guidance during your tenure at your respective posts. I think you will find this committee to be about the most bipartisan and cooperative one—I will not say in the entire Senate, but certainly one of the most. That is the way it has always been. This has never been a source of partisan conflict, and I have been on this committee now for 16 years.

Now, I look forward to your testimony and to a brief discussion about your qualifications and expectations going into these impor-

tant positions, but first I would like to invite my colleague, the ranking member, Senator Isakson, to offer some opening remarks.

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

Senator ISAKSON. Well, thank you, Senator Feingold. I am looking forward to the opportunity of serving with you. I have admired your commitment to the African continent and United States relations there and I hope to benefit and learn from your knowledge and serve as a contributing member as ranking member of this committee.

I want to thank our nominees all for being here today. I have had the occasion to meet with all of them over the last week or so, and they all have very impressive and longstanding records of service to this country and places all over the globe, both challenging and exotic. And I am delighted that you are all here today and welcome your family members and loved ones. I think Senator Feingold and I both recognize we could not do what we do without the love and support of our families, and we know the same is true with you. And we appreciate very much the commitment that they make.

I was telling some of the nominees yesterday in a meeting that I, personally, in the 21st century, do not think there is any question that Africa is the continent of the 21st century as far as the United States of America is concerned. I have visited there twice in the last couple of years, as recently as January, in some of the regional areas where some of these nominees will be serving. And it is an opportunity for the United States to develop a lasting friendship, economic opportunities, and shared arrangements with some wonderful people in some growing and emerging countries.

I commend the President on his commitment to Africa in terms of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, and I am looking forward to working with each and every one of the nominees, when they are confirmed, in any way I can to support their effort on the continent and their effort on behalf of the United States of America.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you so much, Senator Isakson.

At this time, I would like to request that a statement by my colleague, Senator Hagel, in support of Mr. Bodde's nomination for the position of U.S. Ambassador to Malawi be submitted for the record. Without objection.

[The prepared statement of Senator Hagel appears at the end of this hearing in the "Additional Material Submitted for the Record" section.]

Senator FEINGOLD. And now I will turn to Congressman Pomeroy for his introduction of Ambassador Milovanovic. Congressman, it is good to have you here.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EARL POMEROY,
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NORTH DAKOTA**

Mr. POMEROY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is good to be here. Good to see my former colleague, Senator Isakson, once again.

I am here to speak in support of and introduce Ambassador Milovanovic, who is presently serving as our Ambassador to Macedonia. She has been designated as Ambassador-designate to the country of Mali, and I am here because I care deeply about both countries and have had a chance to observe the Ambassador in her performance as our representative in Macedonia.

I am a member of the House Democracy Assistance Commission. This is an effort within the House, bipartisan, to try and mentor parliamentarians in emerging democracies. We are partnering with 14 different countries, and in that connection, I have had the occasion to go to Macedonia twice during the period the Ambassador has served there.

This has been a period, like everything in the Balkans, of substantial political complexity, and there have been many things for the ambassador to assist us and assist the country of Macedonia in steering their way through these difficult years, among other things, basically a complete fruition of the Accra Accords as they came through a period of near civil war to a period of governing stability, helping to guide Macedonia in their position relative to Kosovo, the world's newest independent country.

She has assisted them in becoming NATO-ready. They were not accepted into NATO, as you know, at the Bucharest meeting, but they have made great strides and have our full support as they continue their quest for NATO membership.

She has expanded our Peace Corps operations in Macedonia.

As a member of the House Democracy Assistance Commission, I have had a chance to observe her as she has interacted with the various political factions, the various ethnic factions, the parliament, the president, the prime minister. We have also had a chance to visit extensively about the complex state of affairs in Macedonia, and she has a complete grasp. She was so incredibly helpful to me and the other HDAC members as we tried to scamper up the learning curve ourselves in our interaction with the parliamentarians.

She is heading into, with your approval, a very new and interesting assignment with the country of Mali. In my opinion, the country of Mali is led by one of the continent's great leaders, President Toure. He has, I believe, served almost a George Washington-like role in leading, in 1991, a military coup that deposed a very corrupt government and got the country on track to democracy. But he did not stand as the first president. That was President Konare, who served his two terms, and then allowed the peaceful transition, according to their constitution and democratic election, to the new government. President ATT, as he is known, Toure, stood for election, was elected, recently reelected. It was my privilege to represent Speaker Pelosi at his inauguration last June.

Mali is a country that, in a tough neighborhood, has run four successful democratic elections for President. They are the recipient of one of our most significant Millennium Challenge grants, a \$429 million grant, that literally could affect substantial lasting change in this country. I believe one of the ambassador's largest responsibilities will be making certain that this comes along and comes along in a successful way.

I think that we have got an outstanding diplomat to partner with an outstanding President on the ground in Mali, and I could only think very good things will happen in a little country I care very deeply about.

So I thank you and I am very happy—for what it is worth, a House guy endorsing without reservation the consideration of Ambassador Milovanovic for the Mali assignment.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Pomeroy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. EARL POMEROY,
U.S. CONGRESSMAN FROM NORTH DAKOTA

Chairman Feingold and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I am pleased to testify briefly this morning in support of your consideration of Ambassador Milovanovic, presently serving as Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia, for a new position as Ambassador to the Republic of Mali.

I have a deep interest in both Mali and Macedonia and have had the opportunity to observe the leadership of Ambassador Milovanovic as she has represented the United States in the Republic of Macedonia.

I am a currently a member of the House Democracy Assistance Commission. This commission is a bipartisan undertaking in the House of Representatives, charged with establishing mentoring relationships with members of Parliament in new and emerging democracies. Presently, we have relations with 14 countries, including the Republic of Macedonia. Through this commission, I participated in exchanges with Macedonia in November 2006 and in March of this year.

On each occasion I met with Ambassador Milovanovic and had the opportunity to witness her interactions with members of Parliament from across the spectrum of parties and ethnic groups. I also had the honor to witness her employ considerable diplomatic skills during a meeting with the present Prime Minister.

As this committee knows well, Macedonia is a vibrant newly emerging democracy that faces many complex challenges. In extensive discussions with Ambassador Milovanovic, I was impressed with her thorough grasp of the issues facing the country and the positive leadership role that she has played as the official representative of the United States Government.

I have been very interested in the Republic of Mali since a trip there in 2001 where we evaluated the emerging commitment of basic education for all children—especially in improving the access to education for girls. In subsequent years, I have closely followed Mali's successful transition to democracy. In 2007, Mali successfully concluded its fourth democratic election for President—a notable record in light of the long, corrupt, and repressive nature of the government of Moussa Traore, which was ended by military coup in 1991.

President Konare, who succeeded Moussa Traore, and his successor, President Toure, are model leaders on the continent of Africa. They each have demonstrated extraordinary skills in trying to establish the tradition of democracy in one of the poorest countries in the world. What is all the more remarkable is the fact that they are achieving this in a very tough neighborhood where neighboring countries are facing diverse governance and security challenges.

Mali's exemplary efforts have been recognized by the United States in their receipt of a Millennium Challenge grant from the administration. This grant award in the amount of \$461 million is one of the largest Millennium Challenge grants awarded to date.

The Republic of Mali deserves one of our finest diplomats. Many would view Mali as strategically insignificant to the United States. I, however, hold a different view. I believe that Mali is vitally important to the United States. It is a role model for the rest of the continent, having demonstrated how a successful transition from a system of entrenched authoritarianism can be successfully undertaken. Mali's success shows how free, open elections can produce positive changes for the people of a country, even in the face of seemingly insurmountable challenges.

The Republic of Mali deserves one of our finest diplomats, and when I learned that Ambassador Milovanovic had been selected for Mali, I was delighted. I believe that Ambassador Milovanovic's nomination to represent the interests of the United States in Mali perfectly matches a tremendously talented United States diplomat with a country that is very deserving of her service.

I hope the committee will move quickly to confirm Ambassador Milovanovic as the next United States Ambassador to Mali.
Thank you.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Congressman. Of course, your words are most welcome and I congratulate the nominee on receiving such high words of praise from our colleague. Thank you so much, Congressman, for being here.

Now we will go to the nominees, and we will begin with Ms. Bernicat, who would be the Ambassador to Senegal and Guinea-Bissau.

STATEMENT OF MARCIA STEPHENS BLOOM BERNICAT, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL AND THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

Ms. BERNICAT. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. I am honored to appear before you today. I wish to thank the President and the Secretary of State for the confidence that they have placed in me as their nominee for Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal and to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

In the interest of time, Mr. Chairman, I have a slightly longer written statement I would like to submit for the record with your permission.

Mr. Chairman, my sons, Sunil Christopher and Sumit Nicolaus, with whom I have been enormously blessed to share the adventure of service overseas, are here today. They and several friends they brought with them have studied the function of advice and consent this year and wanted to see it for themselves.

Senator FEINGOLD. Where are they?

Ms. BERNICAT. They are right here.

Senator FEINGOLD. Please stand up. Welcome. Glad to see you guys. [Applause.]

Ms. BERNICAT. It has been my great fortune to represent the American people in seven countries located in five geographic regions, including three postings and an internship on the African continent, since joining the Foreign Service in 1981.

The Senegalese people have a proud democratic tradition, including peaceful transitions of government, religious tolerance, a free press, and the rule of law, even as they struggle to overcome persistent economic and governance difficulties that challenges of development impose. If confirmed, one of my most important responsibilities will be to work with President Abdoulaye Wade and his government to ensure an environment that encourages the broadest participation in the political process by all elements of the population.

The United States also supports transparency and accountability in government spending, critical market-based economic reforms, and continued progress towards the Millennium Challenge compact.

Senegal maintains its active role internationally and is a strong partner of the United States in the war on terror. President Wade has provided vital personal leadership in promoting religious tolerance and mutual understanding. He will be the chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference for the next 3 years and

has been a leading proponent of the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Having worked with earlier peacekeeping training programs in Malawi, I look forward, if confirmed, to supporting Senegal in its role as a leading contributor to peacekeeping operations around the world, including Darfur.

As someone who has lost too many friends and colleagues in the last decade to HIV/AIDS and malaria, if confirmed, I will work to redouble our efforts to fight these diseases, as well as address other health issues in both countries.

Guinea-Bissau continues to face formidable challenges in establishing political stability and economic prosperity. Its democratic institutions and rule of law remain weak, but the country has reached the important milestone of seating a government that conforms to its constitution. I will work, if confirmed, to promote the dual goals of a democratic, transparent political system and a complementary economic program to help reduce the levels of poverty that contribute to regional instability.

If confirmed, I am eager to apply the lessons I learned in Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean to fight the growing contagion of illicit narcotics trafficking in Guinea-Bissau. I relish the prospect of developing a successful interagency strategy which would also engage international partners to combat this scourge and to provide the people of Guinea-Bissau with material and moral support in that fight.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your continuing interest in Africa and the positive role the United States can play in its development. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, your committee, and other Members of Congress to advance America's interests in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. It would be a great privilege to travel the length and breadth of both countries to proudly represent the people of the United States.

I would be happy to respond to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Bernicat follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARCIA STEPHENS BLOOM BERNICAT, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today. I wish to thank the President and the Secretary of State for the trust and confidence that they have placed in me as their nominee for Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal and to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce my sons, Sunil Christopher and Sumit Nicolaus, with whom I have been enormously blessed to share the adventure and the challenge of service overseas. It has been my fortune, as well, to have represented the American people in seven countries in five geographic regions since joining the Foreign Service in 1981. If confirmed, it would be a great privilege to serve our country in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. Both countries are friends of the United States.

The Senegalese people are well known for their proud democratic tradition, including peaceful transitions of government, religious tolerance, a free press, and an acknowledgement of the importance of the rule of law, even as they struggle to overcome persistent economic and governance difficulties posed by the challenges of development. Senegal continues to participate actively in international organizations and including the Organization of the Islamic Conference in which President Abdoulaye Wade will chair for the next 3 years. President Wade remains a dynamic African leader, as evidenced most recently by his key role in brokering an agreement between Chad and Sudan to work toward reducing tensions in their volatile region. He has also been a leading proponent of the New Partnership for Africa's

Development (NEPAD). Senegal is a strong partner in the war on terror and President Wade has provided vital personal leadership in promoting religious tolerance and mutual understanding.

Having had the privilege of working with our earlier peacekeeping training programs in sub-Saharan Africa, I look forward, if confirmed, to supporting Senegal in its role as a leading contributor to United Nations and other peacekeeping operations around the world, including in Darfur.

Senegal conducted Presidential and legislative elections in 2007, but the parliamentary elections were boycotted by the opposition and local polling has been deferred until 2009. If confirmed, one of my most important responsibilities will be to work with President Wade and his government to ensure an environment that encourages the broadest participation in the political process by all elements of the population. In addition, it will be important to promote governance, transparency, and accountability in government spending.

To achieve momentum in its development, Senegal will need to exert maximum effort to make the critical market-based reforms that underpin the solid economic foundation of any dynamic society. The United States will continue to work closely with Senegal on these reforms. After a series of false starts, Senegal is working to secure a Millennium Challenge Compact.

The United States is intensely engaged with Senegal to reduce the incidence of malaria and to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS. Thankfully, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Senegal is relatively low, but this pandemic knows no borders. As someone who has lost too many friends, colleagues, and counterparts in the last decade to these two preventable diseases, if confirmed, I will work to redouble our efforts in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau to fight HIV/AIDS and malaria, and address other health issues.

Guinea-Bissau continues to face formidable challenges to establish political stability and economic prosperity. Although its democratic institutions and rule of law remain weak, the country has reached the important milestone of seating a government that conforms to the demands of its constitution. The upcoming parliamentary elections could be a harbinger of the direction that political development will take there.

If confirmed, I am eager to apply the lessons learned from our country team efforts in Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean to fight the contagion of illicit narcotics trafficking that afflicts Guinea-Bissau at worrisome levels. I relish the prospect of developing a successful interagency strategy, which would also engage international partners, to combat this scourge and to provide the people of Guinea-Bissau with material and moral support in this effort. I will also work, if confirmed, to promote the dual goals of a democratic, transparent political system and a complementary economic program to help reduce the levels of poverty that contribute to regional instability. I am aware of how difficult these challenges will be.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your continuing interest in Africa and the positive role the United States can play in its development. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, your committee and other members of Congress to advance America's interests in Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, and throughout the region. It would be an honor to travel the length and breadth of both countries to proudly represent the people of the United States of America.

I would be happy to answer your questions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Ms. Bernicat.
And now we will go to Ms. Milovanovic.

**STATEMENT OF HON. GILLIAN ARLETTE MILOVANOVIC,
NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF MALI**

Ambassador MILOVANOVIC. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, members of the committee, I am very honored also today to appear before you to discuss my nomination by President Bush to become our country's next Ambassador to the Republic of Mali. I am deeply honored by the trust placed in me by President Bush and by Secretary Rice. If confirmed by the Senate, I will do my level best to be worthy of that confidence and to advance the goals of the United States in Mali and in the region. I know that my success will depend on a relationship of close cooperation and consultation with this committee, with its staff, and

with others in the Congress, and I look forward to establishing such a relationship.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like simply to acknowledge my family who are not able to be here today, but I would like to mention my husband, Zlat, and my two daughters, Alexandra and Anna. The Foreign Service has been more than just my career. It has really been and still is my life, but also theirs. And their patience, sacrifice, flexibility, good humor, curiosity, and unfailing support have made possible any successes that I have achieved as a professional and as a human being.

With over 16 years of democratic experience, Mali is an example for West Africa and beyond. It is led, as Congressman Pomeroy mentioned, by an extraordinary president. Mali has a strong human rights record. It has hosted the Community of Democracies Ministerial in November of last year and it is a strong partner with the United States against terrorism and extremism. It has also deployed on several international peacekeeping operations.

Unfortunately, Mali's political progress has not been matched by improved social and economic indicators. In 2007, the U.N. ranked Mali 173 out of 177 countries in its Human Development Index. Literacy rates, health indicators, and a per capita GNP that are among the lowest in the world, together with food security issues, insecurity, and the presence of al-Qaeda-aligned terrorists in the country's sparsely inhabited northern regions are all serious threats to democracy and regional stability and contributors to this poor showing on the Human Development Index.

If I am confirmed, I will continue to deepen and expand our important relationship with Mali. President Bush's recent trip to Africa and his meeting with President Toure in Washington highlighted U.S. support for key programs, among them the President's Malaria Initiative and PEPFAR to deal with HIV/AIDS. Mali's enormous \$461 million Millennium Challenge Compact entered into force in September of last year. Our Peace Corps program in Mali is one of the largest in Africa. Mali is a key member of the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Partnership. Through TSCTP, we are helping Mali to be better able to control its borders and to counter the efforts of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. The well received, ACOTA, African Contingency Operations Assistance program, along with the visit of AFRICOM's General Ward at the end of February both underscore Mali's status as a key partner in regional security.

Mr. Chairman, this is my 30th as a Foreign Service officer. If confirmed, I would bring to my assignment in Mali prior experience as a Chief of Mission, 9 years of service in Africa, and 15 years of experience working with societies in political and economic transition.

I have worked closely with the Defense Department, State National Guards, and other partners to reform and modernize defense establishments in Europe and in Africa and to strengthen their capacity to contribute to peacekeeping, regional security, and the global war on terror.

If confirmed, I particularly look forward to the opportunity to continue my long relationship of collaboration with the Peace

Corps, an agency whose mission and whose volunteers truly represent the best that America has to offer.

Mali faces significant challenges in seeking to improve the health of its citizens, advance education, and promote human rights. To help Mali achieve these goals, if confirmed, I would draw on my experience with USAID and Peace Corps education programs, and I would take a task force approach, which has been successful for me in the past, dealing with such issues as combating trafficking in persons and other abuse and to promote the rights of women and children. I believe my experience with CDC and with PEPFAR would also assist me in leading our mission effectively and advancing United States interests in Mali.

Mr. Chairman, if I am confirmed, you will find in me a responsive partner, fully committed to working with you and with this committee to advance United States interests in the Republic of Mali, and you will find in me a Chief of Mission whose highest priority will be to ensure the security of embassy personnel, their families and other Americans in Mali. It would be, indeed, a great honor to be entrusted with carrying on the work of my distinguished colleagues who have preceded me as serving as Ambassador to the Republic of Mali.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I too look forward to taking your questions. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Milovanovic follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. GILLIAN ARLETTE MILOVANOVIC, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF MALI

Mr. Chairman, honorable members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today to discuss my nomination by President Bush to become our country's Ambassador to the Republic of Mali. I am deeply honored by the trust placed in me by President Bush and by Secretary Rice. If confirmed by the Senate, I will do my very best to be worthy of that confidence, and to advance the goals of the United States in Mali and in the region. I know from experience that my success will depend on a relationship of close cooperation and consultation with this committee, its staff and others in the Congress. It is a relationship that I hope to begin with you today, building on the foundation of my previous years of service in Africa.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to acknowledge my husband, Zlat, and my daughters, Alexandra and Anna, although they are unable to be here today. The Foreign Service has been more than just my career. It has been, and is, my life and that of my entire family. My family's patience, sacrifice, flexibility, good humor, curiosity, and unfailing support have made possible any successes I have achieved as a professional and as a person. If I am confirmed, it will be my honor and privilege to represent the United States in Mali. We all look forward to returning to the continent where we have already spent 9 rewarding years as a family and where Anna was born.

With over 16 years of democratic experience, Mali serves as an example for West Africa and beyond. Mali has a strong human rights record, hosted the Community of Democracies Ministerial in November 2007, is a strong partner against terrorism and extremism, an active participant in international organizations, and has deployed troops to several international peacekeeping operations.

Mali's political progress, however, has not been matched by improved social and economic indicators. In 2007, the U.N. gave Mali a ranking of 173 out of 177 countries in its Human Development Index, due in large part to literacy rates, health indicators, and a per capita GNP that are among the lowest in the world. These factors, along with food security concerns, insecurity, and the presence of al-Qaeda-aligned terrorists in the country's sparsely populated northern regions, constitute serious threats to democracy and regional stability.

The United States has been a key partner in helping Mali to overcome these challenges, and, if I am confirmed, I will continue to deepen and expand this important relationship. President Bush's recent trip to Africa, and his meeting with Malian President Touré in Washington, have highlighted United States Government sup-

port for important programs such as the President's Malaria Initiative and PEPFAR for HIV/AIDS. Mali's \$461 million MCC Compact entered into force in September 2007, and it is a high priority for President Touré. Our Peace Corps program in Mali is one of the largest in Africa. Mali is a key member of the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP). Through TSCTP, we are helping Mali augment its ability to control its borders and counter al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb efforts in the region, ensuring that northern Mali remains inhospitable to extremism. The United States Government has a well-received African Contingency Operations Assistance (ACOTA) program in Mali, and the visit of AFRICOM's general ward at the end of February underscored that Mali is a key partner in regional security.

Mr. Chairman, this year marks my 30th anniversary as a Foreign Service officer. If confirmed, I would bring to my assignment in Mali prior experience as a chief of mission, 9 years of service in Africa, and 15 years of experience working with societies in political and economic transition.

It has been my privilege to work closely over the years with the Defense Department, State National Guards, and other partners to reform and modernize defense establishments in Europe and Africa and to strengthen their capacity to contribute to peacekeeping, regional security, and the global war on terror.

During my career, I have been very proud to swear in new Peace Corps volunteers on a number of occasions. I am particularly delighted that, if confirmed, I will have the opportunity to continue my long collaboration with the Peace Corps, an agency whose mission and whose volunteers represent the best that America has to offer.

Mali faces significant challenges in seeking to improve the health of its citizens, advance education, and promote human rights. If confirmed, to help Mali achieve these goals I would draw on my experience with USAID and Peace Corps education programs, and I would foster a multiagency task force approach to combat trafficking in persons and other abuse, as well as to promote the rights of women and girls. When assigned to Botswana and South Africa I gained immense respect for the work of CDC and was privileged to be "present at the creation" of the PEPFAR program in South Africa. Should I be confirmed, I believe this experience too would help me to lead our mission effectively and to advance United States interests in Mali.

Mr. Chairman, if I am confirmed, you will find in me a responsive partner, fully committed to working with you and with this committee to advance United States interests in the Republic of Mali, and a chief of mission whose highest priority will be to ensure the security of embassy personnel, their families, and other Americans in Mali. It would be a great honor to be entrusted with carrying on the work of the distinguished colleagues who have served as Ambassador to the Republic of Mali. With that Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I thank you for your attention and I look forward to responding to your questions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you so much.

And now we turn to Mr. Teitelbaum, who would be the Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana.

**STATEMENT OF DONALD GENE TEITELBAUM, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA**

Mr. TEITELBAUM. Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, I have full remarks to be entered into the record.

Senator FEINGOLD. Without objection.

Mr. TEITELBAUM. I would like to deliver shorter remarks now, if I may.

I am honored to appear before you today as President Bush's nominee for Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana. I thank President Bush and Secretary Rice for their trust and confidence.

Mr. Chairman, I like to start by introducing some people who have influenced my life. It is pretty big crowd, though.

Senator FEINGOLD. That is all right.

Mr. TEITELBAUM. First, my wife, Julianna Lindsey, and her parents, Jon and Annette Lindsey.

Senator FEINGOLD. Please stand.

Mr. TEITELBAUM. My parents, Bob and Fumie Teitelbaum; my older brother, Alex, and my sister, Romie, my seven nephews—

[Laughter.]

Mr. TEITELBAUM [continuing]. Greg, Adam, Mark, David, Chad, Alex, and Robbie. And last but not least, the best friends anybody could ask for: Allen Crane, Scott Findley, John Carter, and Gary Boswick.

Senator FEINGOLD. All welcome. I am sure seven nephews is an all-time record for this committee in spite of its 200 years as a committee. [Laughter.]

Well done. You may proceed.

Mr. TEITELBAUM. Although not a blood relative, speaking for the many of us here I think who have been with the Africa Bureau for a long time, I would like to also acknowledge the presence of Ambassador Ruth Davis who is very much family for all of us who have been with the bureau.

Mr. Chairman, as a Foreign Service officer in South Africa, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda, and at the National Security Council, I have seen the opportunity that embraces the continent, but I have also seen the suffering, conflict, and despair that stifle progress in too many African nations.

The intricate nature of the continent is present in Ghana. A democracy since 1992, Ghana has held four free and fair national elections. Ghana has an apolitical military and a lively, free media. Ghana has demonstrated consistent economic growth and is poised to achieve its Millennium Development Goal of reducing poverty by 50 percent. Ghana is a strong partner in peacekeeping and was a supportive ally on the United Nations Security Council, and the Ghanaian people are benefiting from improved schools, sanitation, and health services as a result of sound macroeconomic policy and debt relief.

However, political and social upheaval marked the years following Ghana's independence. Democratic institutions are young and political power is highly centralized. Economic gains remain fragile. Broadly shared prosperity has yet to be achieved. Political patronage and connections still taint commercial and economic opportunities.

America's centuries-old relationship with Ghana has similar contrasts. The dark era of the slave trade intertwined our histories. Our economic interaction was once largely that of debtor and creditor. Past international issues, such as Ghana's relations with Libya, strained our relationship.

But now Ghanaian students studying in America and Americans tracing their heritage in Ghana characterize our people-to-people contacts. America's civil rights struggle and Ghana's national independence movement inspired each other. Our militaries cooperate through many programs. We are trading partners under AGOA and President Bush had a successful visit to Ghana in February.

If confirmed by the Senate, my priority will be to support transformation in Ghana and America's relationship with Ghana. It is time to put the donor-recipient nomenclature away and continue our journey toward true partnership. It is time to stop talking about potential and start achieving measurable goals.

If confirmed by the Senate, I will have the power of sound policy and programs to push transformation. There are opportunities for Ghana to transform and for the United States to assist. I see op-

portunity in the upcoming elections in December and in strengthening democratic institutions. I see opportunity in making wise decisions regarding offshore oil discoveries. I see opportunity in alleviating poverty, making economic growth durable, and spreading its benefits widely. I see opportunity in continuing the fight against malaria, for which the Congress has provided bipartisan support.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, Ghana and America's relationship with Ghana do not lack for opportunities to transform. If confirmed by the Senate to be the next United States Ambassador to Ghana, my duty will be to turn those opportunities into outcomes. I will depend on the people at the embassy in Ghana, and I will seek out strong commitments from my counterparts in Ghana. Importantly too, I will count on continued communication and consultation with this committee and with Congress so that our efforts yield the greatest benefit for the American and Ghanaian peoples.

Thank you for your attention. I am very pleased to be here and happy to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Teitelbaum follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DONALD GENE TRITELBAUM, NOMINEE
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Bush's nominee for Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana. I would like to thank President Bush and Secretary Rice for this opportunity and for their trust and confidence.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to start today by introducing some people that have influenced my life. First, my wife, Julianna Lindsey, and her parents, Jon and Annette, my parents, Robert and Fumie Teitelbaum, my older brother, Alex, and my sister, Romie, and their families; and, last but not least, the best friends anybody could ask for: Allen Crane, Scott Findley, John Carter, and Gary Boswick.

Mr. Chairman, I come to this point in my career with a deep respect for the countries of Africa and a firm belief that the United States of America must engage across the continent. As a Foreign Service officer, I was immersed in Africa on the ground in South Africa, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda, and from the vantage point of the National Security Council. Through these experiences I have seen the promise, opportunity, and hope that embrace the continent. But I have also seen the suffering, conflict, and despair that stifle progress in far too many African nations. I have seen stark, complicated contrasts—abundant natural resources, fledgling democracies, incredible personal courage, and historical global links standing toe-to-toe with challenges such as civil wars, HIV/AIDS, poverty, and corruption.

The intricate nature of the African continent is present in Ghana. A democracy since 1992, Ghana has held four free and fair national elections—including a peaceful transition from one party to another in 2000, Ghana has an apolitical military and a lively, free media. Ghana has emerged as a regional leader and a strong partner in peacekeeping, on conflict resolution, and as a supportive ally during its tenure on the United Nations Security Council from 2005–2007. Ghana has started to implement its \$547 million Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact. And the Ghanaian people are benefiting from improved schools, sanitation, health services, and other basic infrastructure as a result of sound macroeconomic policy and debt relief.

However, political and social upheaval marked the years following Ghana's independence in 1957. Democratic institutions are still young and political power is highly centralized. Economic gains remain fragile. Poverty has decreased markedly but broadly shared prosperity is yet to be achieved. Political patronage and connections still taint commercial and economic opportunities. Additionally, the current government lacks capacity to fight escalating drug trafficking.

America's centuries-old relationship with Ghana has similar contrasts. The dark era of the slave trade intertwined our histories. Our economic interaction was once largely that of debtor and creditor. Past international issues, such as Ghana's relations with Libya, strained our relationship.

But now, Ghanaian students studying in America and Americans proudly tracing their heritage in Ghana characterize our people to people contacts. Our coinciding fights for freedom—America's civil rights struggle and Ghana's national independence movement during the middle of last century—inspired each other. The first United States Peace Corps overseas mission was established in Ghana in 1961. Our militaries cooperate through many programs, including the Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program, Africa Command's Africa Partnership Station, and the International Military Education and Training program. Ghana is one of Africa's premier peacekeeping partners. We are trading partners under the African Growth and Opportunity Act. And President Bush had a successful visit to Ghana in February.

Ghanaians and Americans share a love of democracy, human rights, educational opportunity, free enterprise, peace, and stability. These shared values implore the United States to be active in Ghana. I believe that every corner of the globe is significant in the fight for freedom, peace, and prosperity. Successes and failures in Ghana can affect its neighbors, the region, the continent, and, indeed, the world.

If confirmed by the Senate, I will use the resources of the United States Government wisely, efficiently, and effectively to bring the utmost benefit to the peoples of Ghana and of America. My priority will be to support transformation in Ghana and of America's relationship with Ghana. It is time to put the donor-recipient nomenclature away and continue our journey towards true partnership. It is time to stop talking about potential and start achieving measurable goals.

If confirmed by the Senate, I will have the power of sound policy, programs such as those of the Millennium Challenge Corporation and USAID, and the talent and skills of embassy personnel to push transformation. There are opportunities for Ghana to transform and for the United States to assist. I see opportunity in the upcoming elections in December. I see opportunity in making wise decisions regarding offshore oil discoveries. I see opportunity in alleviating poverty, making economic growth durable, and spreading its benefits widely. I see opportunity in continuing the fight against malaria, for which the Congress has provided bipartisan support. I see opportunity in immobilizing drug trafficking. I see opportunity in strengthening democratic institutions.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, Ghana and America's relationship with Ghana do not lack for opportunities to transform. If confirmed by the Senate to be the next United States Ambassador to Ghana, my duty will be to turn those opportunities into outcomes—to move from a picture of stark contrasts to freedom, prosperity, and peace. I will depend on the people at the embassy in Accra and I will seek out strong commitments from my counterparts in Ghana. Importantly too, I will count on continued communication and consultation with this committee and Congress so that our aim stays true and our efforts yield the greatest benefit for the American and Ghanaian peoples. Thank you for your attention. I am very pleased to be here and I am happy to answer any questions you have.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you so much, Mr. Teitelbaum.

Now we will go to Ms. Linda Thomas-Greenfield to be Ambassador to the Republic of Liberia. I believe you are the one with Wisconsin ties?

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I am.

Senator FEINGOLD. And I believe you have that in common with the President of Liberia.

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. And I have that in common with you, sir.

Senator FEINGOLD. And me, of course. That is the most obvious one. [Laughter.]

But I have talked at length with the President of Liberia about how cold it was in Wisconsin.

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. And it was. I came there from Louisiana.

Senator FEINGOLD. Why do you not go ahead?

**STATEMENT OF LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD, NOMINEE TO
BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA**

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, sir. Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, I am truly, truly honored and delighted to be here today as President Bush's nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to Republic of Liberia. I would like to thank the President and Secretary Rice for the confidence and trust that they have shown by nominating me for this key position. As you know, Liberia is one of the United States closest friends on the continent of Africa.

Mr. Chairman, if you will allow me, I would like to also recognize my family. My husband, Lafayette Greenfield, is retired from the Foreign Service and is responsible for enticing me nearly 30 years ago to pursue this career. And my two children, Lindsay and Deuce, both of whom grew up in the service and, with their dad, supported me throughout my 26-year Foreign Service career.

I would also like to recognize my long-time friends, Sarah Sommers, Delores Justice, and Lisa Connor.

Senator FEINGOLD. Welcome, all of you.

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, I have spent the better part of my career working on Africa and African issues. For the past 2½ years, I have served in the Bureau of African Affairs, first as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for West Africa and then in my current position as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary.

Not long ago, Liberia was mired in civil war and spreading conflict throughout the region. Now it is well along the road to recovery. I was honored to observe the first round of Liberia's national elections in 2005 that led to the election of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. With these democratic elections, Liberians chose peace over war, a future over stagnation, and a return to the community of nations. Now the government of President Sirleaf is making major strides, reforming its institutions, attracting investment, and setting Liberia on the path to stability and economic growth.

But Liberia is not out of the woods yet. The peace is fragile. Its economy remains weak and high unmet expectations risk compromising Liberia's future.

Liberia will face many challenges over the next several years. It must grow economically, creating jobs and reviving its economy. It must develop its civil society, an independent media, to reverse the social and cultural damage done by decades of conflict. In 2011, Liberia will face another major test of its democracy as it will hold presidential and legislative elections.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I would work diligently to continue the strong engagement of the United States to keep Liberia moving in the right direction. United States engagement will remain critical to Liberia's success. Thanks to the generous support of Congress, our assistance to Liberia spans the entire range of programs and areas averaging over \$180 million per year. In a country with only 3.5 million people, that support can have an enormous impact. If confirmed, I would work with our excellent embassy team, USAID, DOD, and other agency staff to ensure that our assistance achieves maximum impact and is coordinated with the efforts of other donors and with the Government of Liberia.

If confirmed, I would also use my position to confront those who threaten Liberia's recovery. I would not hesitate to publicly attack corruption, human rights abuses, and old ways of doing business in Liberia that contributed to its breakdown and to its civil conflict. Liberia's proud and strong people deserve a government that will serve the public interest and that will protect the people, not prey on them.

Governance reforms are an important means of attracting foreign investment, and if confirmed, I would work to advance United States business interests for the benefit of the American economy, as well as the Liberian economy.

Finally, sirs, I am especially pleased to be here today to come full circle back to Liberia. In the late 1970s, I studied in Liberia as a graduate student from the University of Wisconsin. Liberia opened my eyes to the wider world. It inspired my passion for Africa. If confirmed, I hope to have the chance to contribute to Liberia's development and to advance our important bilateral relationship. I will also look forward to working with this committee to advance United States policy in Africa.

Thank you for this time.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Thomas-Greenfield follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored and delighted to be here today as President Bush's nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to the Republic of Liberia. I would like to thank the President and Secretary Rice for the confidence and trust they have shown by nominating me for this position. Liberia is one of the United States' closest friends on the continent of Africa, and I am grateful to be nominated to serve there as the United States Ambassador.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take the opportunity to introduce my husband, Lafayette Greenfield, a retired Foreign Service officer, who enticed me nearly 30 years ago to pursue this career. I also recognize my two children, Lindsay and Deuce, both of whom grew up in the service and who with their dad have supported me throughout my 26 years in the United States Foreign Service.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have spent the better part of my career working in Africa and on African issues. For the past 2½ years, I have served in the Bureau of African Affairs, first as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for West Africa and now in my current position as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary. Nearly half of my Foreign Service career focused on refugee and humanitarian issues, including as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration where I had oversight for refugee, humanitarian, and migration programs in Africa, Europe, and Latin America.

Not long ago, Liberia was mired in civil war and spreading conflict throughout the region; now it is well along the road to recovery. I was honored to be an observer for the first round of Liberia's national elections in 2005 that eventually led to the inauguration of Africa's first woman President, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. With those democratic elections, Liberians chose peace over war; a future over stagnation; and a return to the community of nations. Now we are 5 years past Liberia's civil war, and the government of President Sirleaf is making major strides, reforming its institutions, attracting investment, and setting Liberia on the right path to stability and economic growth.

But Liberia, as they say, is "not out of the woods" yet. Its peace is fragile, its economy remains weak, and high unmet expectations risk compromising Liberia's future. If confirmed as ambassador, I would work diligently to continue the strong engagement of the United States to keep Liberia moving in the right direction, and I would ensure that our attention and commitment to Liberia does not waver or diminish during this crucial post-conflict period.

Liberia will face many challenges over the next several years. It must grow economically, creating jobs and reviving the agricultural sector. It must develop its civil

society, independent media, and community organizations to reverse the social and cultural damage done by years of conflict. The government must fix its broken justice system, train and develop its civil service, and build its security services to keep the peace. In 2011, Liberia will face another major test when it holds Presidential and legislative elections. Liberia must continue on the path of democracy.

Throughout this period, United States engagement will remain critical to Liberia's success. Thanks to the generous support of the Congress, our assistance to Liberia spans the entire range of program areas and averages some \$180 million per year. Liberia has the second largest USAID program in Africa, after Sudan. In a country with only 3½ million people, that support has an enormous impact on the health and education of Liberia's people and the improvement and reform of its Government.

If confirmed as ambassador, I would work with our excellent embassy, USAID, DOD, and other agency staff to ensure that our assistance achieves maximum impact, and is coordinated with the efforts of other donors and of the Government of Liberia. I am pleased to report that Peace Corps, an important face of America, has already begun reestablishing itself in Liberia and volunteers will be arriving soon.

If confirmed, I would also use my position to confront those who threaten Liberia's recovery. I would not hesitate to publicly attack corruption, human rights abuses, and the "old ways of doing business" in Liberia that contributed so much to its breakdown and civil conflict. Liberia's proud and strong people deserve a government that will serve the public interest, not private agendas, and that will protect the people, not prey on them. President Sirleaf has made that commitment and, if confirmed, I, as the President's representative to Liberia, will stand with her.

Governance reforms are also important as a means of attracting foreign investment. I believe Liberia's growth and recovery will depend on inflows of private capital, particularly from American businesses seeking opportunities in mining, agriculture, services, and other sectors. If confirmed as ambassador, I would work to advance United States business interests for the benefit of both the American economy and the Liberian economy.

Finally, on a personal note, I am especially pleased to be here today, to come full circle back to Liberia. In the late 1970s, I spent a year and a half in Liberia as a graduate student from the University of Wisconsin, where I studied political science. Liberia opened my eyes to the wider world and inspired my passion for Africa and my decision to make the Foreign Service a career. Now, some 30 years later, if confirmed, I hope to have the chance to contribute to Liberia's development and to advance our important bilateral relationship. Thank you again, Chairman Feingold, for today's hearing. I look forward to your questions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you very much.

And now we turn to Ms. Patricia McMahon Hawkins to be Ambassador to the Togolese Republic.

**STATEMENT OF PATRICIA McMAHON HAWKINS, NOMINEE TO
BE AMBASSADOR TO THE TOGOLESE REPUBLIC**

Ms. HAWKINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson. I am honored to appear before you today as the nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Togo. I thank both President Bush and Secretary Rice for this opportunity and for their trust and confidence in my ability to serve our country in this position.

I would like to mention my husband, also a Foreign Service officer, Richard Hawkins, who is currently serving as the team leader of the provincial reconstruction team in Al Muaydi, Iraq, embedded with the 3rd Combat Brigade team of the 3rd Division of the United States Army.

If I am confirmed as the Ambassador to Togo, I will draw on 25 years of Foreign Service experience to advance United States policy objectives in Togo. Our overall vision of our relationship with Togo is focused on democracy and respect for human rights, prosperity and security, and health.

Togo is a small country on the coast of West Africa, and it has been poorly governed since the 1960s. In the 1990s, in response to

a repressive government's violation of democratic principles and human rights abuses, Togo's multinational and bilateral partners, including the United States, terminated assistance programs. In the ensuing years, the economy has stagnated and the physical infrastructure has deteriorated.

Despite a flawed and violent electoral process in 2005, the new President was able to initiate a dialog with his major opponents that culminated in the Global Political Agreement in August 2006. The centerpiece of the agreement was the organization of legislative elections which took place in October of 2007 and were declared free and fair by numerous local and international observers.

If confirmed, I will continue the work of my predecessor to encourage progress on improving election legislation and processes so that future elections, including the presidential elections in 2010, will be fair and transparent, on the development of stronger political parties, and on encouraging better collaboration among the parties. I intend to share American diplomatic values with the Togolese by focusing on principles of tolerance and equal access to media. I will seek to accelerate the improvement in civil-military relations and press for a further reduction of the military's involvement in the government and in civil society. I will look for opportunities to cooperate with Togo's military and security forces to combat drug trafficking and transnational crime, including the trafficking of persons, and to promote Togolese participation in regional efforts to strengthen maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea.

President Bush recently designated Togo eligible to receive benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act. If confirmed, I will work to promote Togo's full participation and enjoyment of these benefits for the prosperity of the Togolese people. I will assist the Government of Togo in its efforts to fight corruption and to promote the rule of law, using our limited democracy and human rights fund allocation and regional USAID programs.

As in so many countries in the world today, HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other risks to health and well-being menace Togo's stability and prosperity. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure that our assistance in combating disease is utilized to maximum effectiveness. The Peace Corps will continue to play an important role in combating HIV/AIDS with approximately one-quarter of the volunteers working full-time in the field of community health and all 100 volunteers engaged in some way. We will continue to collaborate with other donor countries and international organizations to increase the capacity of Togolese officials to combat HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, and we will use strong media outreach to promote health education and awareness.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, Togo, as small and as poor as it is, holds promise for the future despite the many challenges that remain. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the leaders and people of Togo and this committee to sustain the current forward momentum toward political and economic reform so that the Togolese people might enjoy fully the fruits of freedom.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity, and I would be pleased to respond to any questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hawkins follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PATRICIA MCMAHON HAWKINS, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE TOGOLESE REPUBLIC

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Togo. I thank both President Bush and Secretary Rice for this opportunity and for their trust and confidence in my ability to serve our country in this position.

If confirmed, I will draw on 25 years of Foreign Service experience, 12 of which have been spent either in Africa or focusing on African issues, to advance United States policy objectives in Togo. Our overall vision for the direction of our relationship with Togo is focused on democracy and respect for human rights, prosperity and security, and health. In pursuing our goals, we face a dual challenge. We must maximize our impact in the three priority areas with the program resources at our disposal, while ensuring that Washington is poised to increase United States Government engagement if and when Togo completes the emergence from its long political and human rights crisis.

Togo, a small country on the coast of West Africa, has been poorly governed since the 1960s. In the 1990s, in response to a repressive government's violation of democratic principles and human rights abuses, Togo's multinational and bilateral partners, including the United States, terminated assistance programs. In the ensuing years, the economy has stagnated and the physical infrastructure has deteriorated.

Despite a flawed and violent electoral process in 2005, the new president, Faure Gnassingbe, son of long-time autocratic ruler Gnassingbe Eyadema, was able to initiate a dialog with his major opponents that culminated in the Global Political Agreement in August 2006. The centerpiece of the agreement was the organization of legislative elections, which took place in October, 2007, and were declared free and fair by numerous local and international observers.

If confirmed, I will continue the work of my predecessor to encourage further progress on improving election legislation and processes so that future elections, including presidential elections in 2010, will be fair and transparent; on the development of stronger political parties; and on encouraging better collaboration among the parties. I intend to share American democratic values with the Togolese by focusing on principles of tolerance and equal access to media. I will seek to accelerate the improvement in civil-military relations, and press for a further reduction of the military's involvement in the government and civil society. I will look for opportunities to cooperate with Togo's military and security forces to combat drug trafficking and transnational crime, including the trafficking of persons, and to promote Togolese participation in regional efforts to strengthen maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea.

President Bush recently designated Togo eligible to receive benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). I will work to promote Togo's full participation and enjoyment of those benefits for the prosperity of the Togolese people. The mission will encourage the Government of Togo to privatize its hotel, communications, banking, cotton, and mineral parastatal organizations. Over the long term, I will assist the Government of Togo in its efforts to fight corruption and to promote the rule of law, using our limited Democracy and Human Rights Fund allocation and regional USAID programs.

As in so many countries in the world today, HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other risks to health and well-being menace Togo's stability and prosperity. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure that our assistance in combating disease is utilized to maximum effectiveness. The Peace Corps will continue to play an important role in combating HIV/AIDS, with approximately one quarter of the volunteers working full time in the field of community health and all 114 volunteers engaged in some way. The mission will cooperate closely with the Peace Corps to leverage the effects of the volunteers' grass roots health work. We will continue to collaborate with other donor countries and international organizations to increase the capacity of Togolese officials to combat HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, and we will use strong media outreach to promote health education and awareness.

Mr. Chairman, Togo, as small and as poor as it is, holds promise for the future, despite the challenges of democratic and economic reform that remain. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the leaders and people of Togo to sustain the current forward momentum toward political and economic reform, so that the Togolese people might enjoy fully the fruits of freedom.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be pleased to respond to any questions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you and thanks to the whole first panel.

We will now begin questions for the first panel, 7-minute rounds. I will start with questions for Ms. Bernicat.

Can you please talk a little bit about the key challenges in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau? How will your engagement with each of these countries differ, including allocation of time and resources between the two countries?

Ms. BERNICAT. Thank you for that question, Senator. I told a member of your staff earlier that dividing my time between two countries will be considerably less of a challenge than dividing it between the seven countries I had when I was in Barbados. But you are right to point out there are very different challenges.

If I could talk about what I think is by far the most dangerous and troubling of trends. We have seen the increase of illicit drug trafficking in Africa absolutely explode from 2003 until now, and witnessing the trafficking that goes through Guinea-Bissau, it is not difficult to understand when you look at the geography of the country, the coastline dotted with violence and an unguarded coastline, its proximity to Europe, the poverty that exists there. Guinea-Bissau is one of the poorest countries in the world, the corruption that comes with that kind of poverty, the history of instability, which has eroded the rule of law and a whole series of institutions there, and last but not least, the very strength of the Euro, which is pulling a lot of the cocaine trafficking east and north to the European markets.

Observers estimate that approximately 10 times the GNP of Guinea-Bissau in drugs traffic through that country every month. That is over \$340 million in product. The most recent seizure was 2.4 tons of pure cocaine by the French navy from a Liberian ship off the coast of Guinea-Bissau, to give you an idea of how diversified that trade is.

If confirmed, I would like to use the lessons learned in the eastern Caribbean where ironically our successes in fighting the trafficking that was moving up the eastern coast of the Caribbean, when it was pushed off of the west coast by the success of our Plan Colombia, has now found its way across the Atlantic and is moving through Guinea-Bissau and other points in West Africa. But to use a combination of a full country team effort—every office of the country team has something to contribute in this regard, as well as our international partners, both in terms of intel sharing and asset presence in the region to push the traffickers out of what is currently an easy realm in which to operate.

Senator FEINGOLD. In terms of time, I am going to move to another question for you. I had the opportunity to visit Senegal a few years ago and meet with President Wade when he was, I think, relatively newly elected. And, of course, you mentioned Senegal's proud democratic tradition, but there have been some worrying signs of backsliding in recent years. President Wade has always demonstrated a rather unilateral leadership style that seems increasingly repressive of the opposition while seeking to consolidate his own and his party's power.

What is your assessment of the current state of Senegal's democracy, and how will you strive to ensure that fundamental democratic principles and processes are respected in the 2009 local elections and beyond?

Ms. BERNICAT. Thank you for that question, Mr. Chairman.

I believe that the state of Senegalese democracy is very strong. The history of Senegal and the fact that it is one of the few African states that has never had anything but a peaceful transition of power—it does have a constitution which favors a very strong executive to begin with, and President Wade is, indeed, a very strong president. The fact that the opposition boycotted the legislative elections last year increased—in fact, gave him a virtual majority in that house.

That said, we are vigilant of what we see as efforts to increase even more the power of the executive and note in particular arrests of journalists last fall, response to shutting down a television station covering violent food riots more recently, but also note that there is a very strong civil society in Senegal which pushes back. And the President has shown that he respects that and understands those limits.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you. Time is short, so I appreciate your answers.

I want to turn to Ms. Milovanovic regarding Mali. I have had two wonderful visits to Mali. I met with both President Konare and President Toure who Congressman Pomeroy mentioned and am very impressed with that country's potential. But the challenges are, of course, enormous as you have indicated.

What do you see as the top threats to national and regional security emanating from Mali, and what role can the United States play to help and contain and combat these threats?

Ambassador MILOVANOVIC. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the question.

Fundamentally I think that Mali's own success is the greatest way of combating—keeping it on that success is the greatest way of combatting any threats that exist. I think that there is great clarity about the fact that there are difficulties in the north, which is sparsely populated, and where there is a combination of unrest amongst elements of the Tuareg and there is also the problem of this al-Qaeda in the Maghreb.

But fundamentally, the tools to be used I believe in keeping Mali as a positive force are exactly the tools that have been used so far, keeping the democracy strong, continuing with the decentralization process, providing Mali's government with the necessary instruments and the resources to be able to demonstrate to its public and to its citizens that the government is doing the things or is trying to do the things that the citizens need, whether it is health, whether it is education, whether it is improvements in the economy more generally. And that is the way to get most fundamentally at some of the challenges.

Of course, the existence of this uncontrolled or relatively uncontrolled area in the north is in and of itself a threat, and it cannot only be resolved, of course, by the issues of continuing democratization and improvements in economy and improvements in delivery of services. There is also the Algiers Accords which very much need to be implemented and the use of all of the resources that we can bring to bear through TSCTP which include both the appeals to the public regarding where their interest lies and continuing their

moderation and not being seduced by the siren songs of the wrong guys and any military support that is appropriate.

Senator FEINGOLD. Senator Isakson, I am going to just finish with this Ambassador, then turn to you, and we will do a second round so I can get to everybody.

Ambassador, what impact has the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative, TSCTI, had in Mali and the region?

Ambassador MILOVANOVIC. Thank you.

I believe that it has had a positive effect. It is a good opportunity for both the Defense Department, USAID, and the State Department to be working together, coordinating their efforts because these challenges that are faced are of a variety of natures, and just as a country team needs to work together with every agency contributing to finding solutions, TSCTP is a manifestation of that interagency process. I think the combination of the training and the support and the strengthening of law enforcement, the military so that there is a slightly better ability to control the border is excellent, but together with that, to have all of the efforts, whether they are through military funds or through USAID or State funds to get to the public to do humanitarian and small developmental activities that show the public that their interest is in a good democratic government in their country.

Senator FEINGOLD. And what experience do you have in coordinating with U.S. and foreign intelligence and defense agencies?

Ambassador MILOVANOVIC. I have in the past been a political military officer in Brussels, and of course, as three-time DCM and also now as Ambassador, an enormous part of what I am responsible for is exactly this. And I have taken very much a task force approach every place that I have gone, having law enforcement working groups and intelligence working groups at my embassies, which are opportunities not only to exchange general information, but to actually work together within the limits that there may be on certain agencies, to facilitate each other's work, and to get results irrespective of who is the agency that is getting the results because ultimately the results are for the United States and for the goal, not for a particular agency.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you.

Senator, I apologize. We are just getting through an awful lot of nominees today. So it is slow going.

Senator Isakson.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. Teitelbaum, in your remarks you referred to offshore gas and oil opportunities in the Gulf of Guinea. I have recently returned from Equatorial Guinea where they had one of the largest natural gas finds in the world, which has transformed the economy of that country.

Are you aware of any exploration by the United States or by the United States in cooperation with the Ghana Government in the Gulf of Guinea at this time?

Mr. TEITELBAUM. Thank you for that question, Senator Isakson.

In fact, one of the companies that is a primary player in the oil consortium in Ghana is an American company called Cosmos. And I think that this find is a very important issue for the Government of Ghana and it presents a real challenge to ensure that the re-

sources they have discovered, which do appear right now to be there in commercially exploitable quantities are used to broadly benefit the people of Ghana. If confirmed, I think that ensuring that this is the case would be one of my top priorities, and I think it is very helpful that one of the companies involved is, in fact, an American company.

Senator ISAKSON. For the four of you that are on the coast there, the one observation I would make is that in my recent visit there, I observed very aggressive Chinese investment in Africa.

It was a United States company that partnered with Equatorial Guinea to find the natural gas that they are now liquefying and shipping to the United States. But as those opportunities are found, I think it is very important for our Ambassadors to be a conduit for American investment and American companies to be partners with these countries as they develop this magnificent resource. I mean, Equatorial Guinea went from being the poorest country in the world to the fastest growing economy in the world in 20 years, and the same type of thing could happen again with energy discoveries like that.

Ms. Hawkins also made a reference to the Gulf of Guinea with regard to security. My understanding is there is still a fair amount of piracy and not very much security on the coastline. Are you aware of any cooperation between the coastal countries to improve the security?

Ms. HAWKINS. Yes, Senator Isakson. Thank you for the question.

Yes, there has been cooperation with American naval forces and with the Togolese, to which I can speak in particular, but I believe certainly with the countries my colleagues are nominated for. Togo is still emerging from a rather dark period, and its armed forces and military security forces leave—are somewhat to be desired in their ability to cope with piracy, with drug trafficking, with the trafficking in persons. But we have worked with them through the IMET program and through other regional development programs to improve their ability to cope with these problems. Obviously, it is something that will have to be worked on considerably in the future.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, it is a big issue, and also with the presence of al-Qaeda or the opportunity for organizations like al-Qaeda to take advantage of ignorance and poverty and with little security on the coastline, to me it is a very important issue all along the African coast.

Ms. Thomas-Greenfield, you made a very passionate statement. I tried to write it down real quickly.

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I hope you have a copy of the statement.

Senator ISAKSON. I do have a copy, but I was listening rather than reading. So I wrote down you were going to aggressively—you were willing to unabashedly and aggressively and publicly attack corruption. Did I get that right?

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. You did, sir.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, I want to commend you on that. Again, with the ignorance and poverty issue and the conversation about drugs that has taken place in some of the other testimony, the Am-

bassadors can bring a world of help in that part of the world to try and minimize and eliminate the corruption.

And I go back to my trip to Equatorial Guinea. When they made the find of natural gas, of course, the \$64,000 question was whose pocket is all this money going into. And remarkably, I think because Ambassador Johnson, who is now on the ground there in Guinea and his unabashed outspokenness against corruption, they have just finished building a state-of-the-art hospital that is as good as any hospital I have ever seen and a lot of other infrastructure for the citizens of the area. I am sure there is some spending money going into some pockets somewhere, but I was delighted to see that amount. So I hope as these finds take place, as the resources are developed, you will all be outspoken on that.

I would be happy to hear any comment from you regarding corruption.

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you for that question, sir.

Corruption is really a cancer and it can destroy any country's progress. Liberia, the country that I hope to get confirmed for, is a country that cannot afford corruption. It is a country that is coming out of 14 years of civil war in which its infrastructure was totally devastated, people's lives were destroyed, and a whole generation of young people went without education.

The United States taxpayers are putting a lot of money into Liberia. We are the largest donor. I see it as my responsibility, if confirmed as Ambassador, to ensure that our taxpayers' dollars go to where we hope and plan for those dollars to go, but also, I think it is very important for the funding and support that we are giving to the Liberian people, that that money goes to the Liberian people and not into the pockets of those people who would steal from the coffers of the government.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, there is an economic term called the "Dutch disease," and that is when a country has a singular source of wealth and it never develops itself internally. That is what has happened in the Middle Eastern countries, and the same opportunity for that to happen exists on the coast of Africa. So everything we can do to get that money invested in improving the lives of the people I think will help us avoid another part of the world with the type of problems we have in the Middle East.

One last real quick question. Ms. Bernicat, with regard to the drug issue, which you underlined in your speech and which you addressed again, did I understand you to say that our success in Colombia—that some of the expansion of the drugs there, on the West African coast, are actually some of the same people that were in Colombia? Was that correct?

Ms. BERNICAT. That is correct, sir. As we put pressure on traffickers who moved drugs up the west coast of the United States, they shifted to trafficking through the eastern Caribbean. And as we put pressure successfully with the interagency and our foreign partners on those trafficking routes, the traffickers simply shifted to West Africa.

Senator ISAKSON. This will be my last question. Is it at the point where it would be a target for a program similar to what we did with the country of Colombia?

Ms. BERNICAT. I do not believe so, sir, but again, the Europeans have been taking a lead, given the fact that they are for the moment the recipients of the vast majority of this product. Our goal, I believe, and if confirmed, I would pursue, would be to apply the lessons that we have learned from Plan Colombia and from our work in the Caribbean to help thwart the trafficking that is now going through the west coast to help the Europeans.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator FEINGOLD. Senator, we will start the second round.

Mr. Teitelbaum, what are your greatest concerns regarding the upcoming presidential and legislative elections? And if confirmed as Ambassador, what steps will you take to help Ghana's government, democratic institutions, political parties, and civil society prepare for the December 2008 polls?

Mr. TEITELBAUM. Thank you for that question, Mr. Chairman.

If confirmed, the upcoming elections due in December would be not only one of my top priorities, but it would certainly be the most immediate priority.

I think, first and foremost, on the very bright side, since 1992 Ghana has already had four elections which were widely viewed as free and fair and were generally peaceful. And I think the primary expectation and the hope of all players is that this next election will be more of the same. In fact, in one of their previous elections, the Ghanaians also had a transfer of power between parties. So they have some very good precedents, and they are beginning to establish a democratic history.

That said, it is still a very young democracy. Institutions still need to grow and to strengthen and to build.

These elections are expected to be very, very close. I think that since the United States, of course, has no interest in any individual candidate, of course, our interest is in ensuring that the elections are free and fair, that the playing field is level, that the elections themselves reflect the will of the Ghanaian people, and that, most importantly, they be well run and transparent so that whatever the results of those elections, they have credibility and engender trust in the people of Ghana. And I think that the United States Government has a very substantial role to play in ensuring that part of the elections, both on the governmental side and also there are roles for nongovernmental organizations.

The Carter Center had a preelection role to play and was in Ghana in February. The United States Government is funding with approximately \$600,000, I believe, or \$625,000 medium-term and election day observers from among Ghanaian organizations. And the United States has a program of approximately \$300,000 to encourage greater participation in the elections by persons with disabilities.

So I think we have a very strong role to play and, if confirmed, I would seek to strengthen these roles and also ensure that the embassy itself sends out observers on the day to ensure that this is a free, fair, and transparent election.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you.

Ghana is rich in natural resources and also seems to actually have a chance at being the first African country to avoid the so-called "resource curse," which Senator Isakson, of course, was get-

ting at a little bit, of corruption leading to poverty. The government exported \$1.3 billion in gold in 2006. An oil discovery just last December has put reserves at over 3 billion barrels.

Do you think Ghana should become a compliant country under the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative? And outside of EITI, what steps would you take to assist Ghana in moving toward greater transparent management of its natural resources?

Mr. TEITELBAUM. Thank you.

I think that Ghana has had quite a good success in recent years in growing its economy, but they remain very dependent on a few resources, gold, cocoa, and perhaps in the not too distant future they will begin to diversify that with oil.

Ghana is a member of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. I think they have made it very clear that it is their intent to ensure that these resources are used wisely to benefit their people. And I believe that the United States has an important role to play in encouraging and supporting the Ghanaian Government in this role.

One area that I would mention as providing this is the Millennium Challenge Corporation's compact with the Ghanaians. Of course, part of qualifying for the compact is ensuring a certain transparency and accountability in government operations, and the Millennium Challenge Corporation's compact is aimed at building Ghanaian infrastructure and supporting their agricultural industry, which would help further diversify their economy and help them get away from the one or two crops and the one or two areas that they are focused on now.

Senator FEINGOLD. I understand you mentioned that they were a member of EITI, but the goal here is compliant as well.

Mr. TEITELBAUM. They are not fully compliant yet.

Senator FEINGOLD. That is important, I think.

Mr. TEITELBAUM. Yes, sir.

Senator FEINGOLD. Ms. Thomas-Greenfield, as you know, Liberia represents one of the relatively few truly enthusiastic supporters of the new United States combatant command, AFRICOM, on the continent. What role do you think AFRICOM can play in Liberia and the region?

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you for that question.

I have worked very closely with DOD over the past year and a half in the formation and creation of AFRICOM. I think AFRICOM can play an extremely important role, particularly in Liberia, in terms of helping with security sector reform, with training, with helping build the confidence of Liberians in their future. We are hoping that at some point, once AFRICOM is fully operational, that they will work closely with the newly formed Liberian army to mentor them, to train them, and to help them become a professional army that contributes to the country and one that does not take away from the people of the country.

Senator FEINGOLD. Well, Liberia is becoming increasingly stable, as you have talked about, in the wake of its bloody civil war. Its neighbors, particularly Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire, are decidedly less so.

What skills and experiences do you have that could assist you to deal with humanitarian needs and conflict-related situations should the circumstances in Guinea or Cote d'Ivoire worsen?

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you again for that question, sir.

In addition to considering myself an Africanist, I consider myself, with over 12 years of experience working on humanitarian and refugee issues, to be a humanitarian, as well. I formerly worked in the Bureau for Population Refugees and Migration. I was the Deputy Assistant Secretary there working on humanitarian issues around Africa, but particularly working on the issues related to Liberian refugees, the situation in Cote d'Ivoire, the situation in Guinea.

I think I have the experience and the background to work with our ambassadors in the surrounding countries, if I am confirmed, to come up with a strategy to deal with the issues in the neighborhood. I would particularly like to work with ambassadors in the Mano River region to come up with a regional solution for Liberia because Liberia's stability really depends on the situation in Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone remaining stable.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you.

Ms. Hawkins, I see that you have extensive experience working in public diplomacy for the United States both at home and abroad. How will that assist you in managing the United States mission in Togo and the role you see of United States diplomacy as an element of foreign policy more generally?

Ms. HAWKINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Yes, I am a public diplomacy officer and have been for the 25 years I have been in the Foreign Service. I firmly believe that public diplomacy probably is the strongest arrow in our quiver, if you will. It is the best way to reach people. We have the tools. We have the talent that is needed to form people-to-people relationships which will survive beyond any minor policy disputes. It is a tool that we have to use if we are going to persuade people that we have their best interests at heart.

As far as working in Togo goes, it may be the only tool that I will have because we are at a point in our relationship with Togo that is just starting to develop, and I intend to focus very strongly on public outreach, on media outreach. I would like to start a speakers bureau at the embassy to get all of my younger officers and family members out. I would like to see everyone in the embassy travel extensively so that they can reach populations that we might not have reached before.

We are going to have to provide assistance to education, assistance to women and child health, assistance across the board, and perhaps the best way of doing that is by education and media outreach.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Ms. Hawkins.

Senator Isakson.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Milovanovic, Mali is the largest, geographically, of these five countries. It is also one of the poorest and the most sparsely populated. I worry, again as I mentioned earlier, about al-Qaeda, and I know this is a heavily Islamic country to boot, I believe, if my information is correct.

How much in the counterterrorism effort with United States is the Mali Government cooperative in that, or are we developing good relationships with regard to that?

Ambassador MILOVANOVIC. Thank you, Senator Isakson, for the question.

I am pleased to say that one of the real positives, not that it is the only one by a long shot, but one of the real positives is the excellence of the relationship with the Government of Mali, with the President, with the leadership there. So we are really working in what my colleague earlier spoke of, a partnership and a genuine partnership. And this is extremely important as you have indicated because, obviously, if there is only one part of the group pulling to get the results, you do not succeed as well as if everyone is pulling in the same direction.

In Mali, there is clearly a commitment on the part of the government and the President himself, be it on democracy, be it on sustainable development, be it on improvements to health and education for the benefit of the citizens, but also a commitment to do all of these things and more because they are also, in addition to being good for his own country and his own citizens, clearly important with respect to the struggle to ensure that this relatively ungoverned—not ungoverned but sparsely populated with unclear borders north—is not a danger and not a threat but increasingly and sustainably feels absolutely part of this immense country of Mali.

Senator ISAKSON. Ms. Thomas-Greenfield, you mentioned you worked with DOD in the development of AFRICOM. Did any of the others of you have interface with DOD on that?

As an observation, having just come back from Djibouti in January—and AFRICOM is not clearly understood by a lot of people. However, I want to commend you because when I visited Admiral Hart and the other officers there, I was so impressed with the technical assistance, such as well drilling, bridge building, all the things that the military was doing in cooperation with countries in Africa to improve the plight. A lot of people have looked at AFRICOM as a “military operation,” but it has got a tremendous humanitarian aspect to it.

I took some input from somewhere. So I will give you the credit if you were the one working with DOD for doing that. They really have a clear mission, and I think as AFRICOM fully develops and ultimately locates on the continent, it is going to be good for the United States and our relationship with a lot of those countries.

Any comment on that you would like to make?

Ms. THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes, sir, and thank you very much for that question.

We worked diligently to ensure that AFRICOM had a mission that was understood and that was supportive of the State Department and the other civilian agencies who are working in Africa. There has been a lot of questions raised about AFRICOM militarizing United States foreign policy and United States diplomacy, and we have worked with the command and with others in DOD to make sure that in our communications strategy we developed the language that was understood by Africans and by others that AFRICOM was not there to take over diplomacy but would be

working with our embassies under the direction and authority of our ambassadors to carry out the foreign policy goals that have been established by the State Department.

Senator ISAKSON. It almost reminded me of the PRT's in Iraq where you have the State Department and the military working hand in hand with the people to reconstruct and develop. So congratulations on the work that you did.

My only other comment, Mr. Chairman, is for Mr. Teitelbaum. Being a Georgian in the home of Coca-Cola, I know Coca-Cola is a tremendous investor in Ghana, and I hope you will encourage everyone to drink Coca-Cola. [Laughter.]

Senator FEINGOLD. Nicely done, Senator.

I thank the panel very much and wish you well, and we ask the next panel to come forward, please.

All right. Let us get the committee to order here and begin with the testimony of the second panel. I am going to have to ask the panelists to keep it brief so that everybody has a chance to talk and so that we can have some questions.

Mr. Bodde, do you want to begin please for us, Ambassador to the Republic of Malawi?

**STATEMENT OF PETER W. BODDE, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF MALAWI**

Mr. BODDE. Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, it is an honor and privilege to appear before you today as the President's nominee to serve as the next United States Ambassador to Malawi. I am grateful for the trust placed in me by the President and Secretary Rice. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and my colleagues in the United States Government to further the interests of the United States in Malawi and in the region.

I also want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the special efforts the committee has made to schedule these nomination hearings.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce my wife, Tanya, who is also a member of the Foreign Service; our daughter, Sara, who is a third grade teacher in Montgomery County; and our son, Christopher, who flew in from London. And I am especially proud and happy that my father, Ambassador William Bodde, is here today. About 30 years ago today, I sat where he is sitting today during his first confirmation hearing, when he appeared before the late Senator Paul Tsongas, prior to becoming Ambassador to Fiji.

Senator FEINGOLD. Where are you folks out there? Can we see you? Welcome all. Great.

Mr. BODDE. Thank you.

Among the lessons I have learned during my career is that the success of every United States mission abroad depends on a strong interagency effort and a cohesive country team. It also requires clear goals, strict accountability, adequate funding, and trained personnel. These same critical concepts apply to our bilateral engagement projects and the delivery of significant levels of U.S. assistance at a critical juncture in Malawi's development. You have my full assurance that should I be confirmed, I will provide the necessary leadership to ensure that these concepts are an essential element of all mission programs. While the generosity of the Amer-

ican people is great, all of us involved in the stewardship of this generosity must be accountable for measuring success and failure.

In my current position in Islamabad, as well in my previous position as consul general in Frankfurt, I have had the opportunity to regularly brief dozens of your colleagues, both in the House and Senate. Such regular interaction, whether at post or in Washington, is critical to our continued success. Frank exchanges of accurate information that build trust are essential for the Congress to make difficult resource and policy choices.

Malawi is one of the poorest countries in the world. It faces the daunting challenges of chronic malaria, widespread HIV/AIDS, poor infrastructure, and a lack of mineral wealth. Yet, the Malawian Government has made a meaningful commitment to raising living standards and improving the lives of its people. The United States is an important and growing partner in this process. We are working with Malawi to promote political and economic development, decrease the country's dependence on humanitarian assistance, and increase its ability to make positive contributions to regional security and the broader global community.

If confirmed, I will make protecting and deepening Malawi's democratic systems one of my highest priorities. Malawi's political parties are currently locked in a bitter struggle that has placed serious strains on the country's political institutions. All eyes are now shifting to national elections scheduled for mid-2009 that will be a critical test for Malawi's democratic processes. If confirmed, my recent experience in Pakistan, as well as my previous experience in Nepal and Bulgaria, in helping young or challenged democracies conduct fair and credible elections will serve me well.

I also want to note how much I look forward to serving again at a post with a large and well-established Peace Corps program. I have seen firsthand the significant impact a single Peace Corps volunteer can make. I want to assure you that should I be confirmed, I will provide considerable support to this inspiring American outreach program.

In closing, I want to note that anyone who represents the United States has a unique responsibility. More often than not, we are the only nation that has the will, the values, and the resources to solve problems, help others, and be a positive force for change in our challenged world. Being nominated to serve as an ambassador representing our Nation is in itself an incredible honor. With your consent, I look forward to assuming this responsibility while serving as the next United States Ambassador to Malawi.

Thank you for this opportunity to address you. I look forward to answering your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bodde follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PETER W. BODDE,
NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF MALAWI

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is an honor and a privilege to appear before you today as the President's nominee to serve as the next United States Ambassador to Malawi. I am grateful for the trust placed in me by the President and Secretary Rice. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and my colleagues in the United States Government to further the interests of the United States in Malawi and in the region. I also want to take this opportunity to

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Among the lessons I have learned during my career is that the success of every United States mission abroad depends on a strong interagency effort and a cohesive country team. It also requires clear goals, strict accountability, adequate funding, and trained personnel. These same critical concepts apply to our bilateral engagement and the delivery of significant levels of United States assistance at a critical juncture in Malawi's development. You have my full assurances that, should I be confirmed, I will provide the necessary leadership to ensure that these concepts are an essential element of all mission programs. While the generosity of the American people is great, all of us involved in the stewardship of this generosity must be accountable for measuring success and failure.

In my current position in Islamabad, as well as in my previous position as consul general in Frankfurt, I have had the opportunity to regularly brief dozens of your colleagues both in the House and Senate. Such regular interaction, whether at post or in Washington, is critical to our continued success. Frank exchanges of accurate information that build trust are essential for the Congress to make difficult resource and policy choices. Should I be confirmed, I will make every effort to interact on a regular basis with the members of the committee and other members of the Congress and congressional staff.

Malawi is one of the poorest countries in the world; it faces the daunting challenges of chronic malaria, wide-spread HIV/AIDS, poor infrastructure, and a lack of mineral wealth. Yet, the Malawian Government has made a meaningful commitment to raising living standards and improving the lives of its people, and the United States is an important and growing partner in this process. The primary objective of the United States mission in Malawi, of course, is to promote and protect the interests of the United States and United States citizens who are either in Malawi or doing business with Malawi. In addition to that fundamental responsibility, we are working with Malawi to promote political and economic development, decrease the country's dependence on humanitarian assistance and increase its ability to make positive contributions to regional security and the broader global community.

If confirmed, I will make protecting and deepening Malawi's democratic systems one of my highest priorities. Malawi's political parties are currently locked in a bitter struggle that has placed serious strains on the country's political institutions. All eyes are now shifting to national elections scheduled for mid-2009 that will be a critical test for Malawi's democratic institutions. If confirmed, my recent experience in Pakistan, as well as my previous experience in Nepal and Bulgaria, in helping young or challenged democracies conduct fair and credible elections will serve me well. Success, however, will require United States and international donor support to reinforce Malawi's developing democratic system.

On the economic front, Malawi's near-term prospects look bright, largely because of good rains and the positive impact of the government's fertilizer and seed subsidy programs. From a longer-term perspective, however, Malawi remains highly dependent on rain-fed agriculture in an area prone to periodic droughts. In order to achieve sustainable improvements in living standards, Malawi must increase investment in irrigation and agricultural diversification, raise productivity and education standards, and reduce high transport and public utility costs. The Millennium Challenge Corporation's selection of Malawi as a compact eligible country in late 2007 has created significant new opportunities, not only for funding strategic public investments but also for new public-private partnerships to promote sustainable growth.

Disease, including HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and chronic malnutrition poses a tremendous obstacle to Malawi's continued growth. The Malawian Government has been a willing partner in addressing the challenges of improving access to health care, but government and public sector capacity remain weak. The United States, through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the Global Fund, has played a critical role in increasing access to treatment and increasing public awareness about the disease. If confirmed, I will be proud to shepherd the continued growth of these critical programs.

As Malawi continues to develop domestically, it is increasingly able to play a constructive role in advancing important issues throughout the region. One example of such a contribution is Malawi's planned deployment of a peacekeeping battalion to Darfur. The United States is working with the United Nations to support Malawi's efforts and prepare Malawian troops for deployment in 2009. If confirmed, I will work diligently to keep these plans on track.

I also want to note how much I look forward to serving again at a post with a large and well-established Peace Corps program. I have seen firsthand the significant impact a single Peace Corps volunteer can make. I want to assure you that, should I be confirmed, I will provide considerable support to this inspiring American outreach program.

In closing, I want to note that anyone who represents the United States has a unique responsibility. More often than not, we are the only Nation that has the will, the values, and the resources to solve problems, help others, and to be a positive force for change in our challenged world. Being nominated to serve as an ambassador representing our Nation is in itself an incredible honor. With the consent of the Senate, I look forward to assuming this responsibility while serving as the next United States Ambassador to Malawi. Thank you for this opportunity to address you. I look forward to answering your questions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Bodde. Thank you so much. And now we turn to Donald E. Booth, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia.

**STATEMENT OF HON. DONALD E. BOOTH, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA**

Ambassador BOOTH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson. I am deeply honored to appear before you today, and I greatly appreciate the trust and confidence that the President and Secretary of State have placed in me to be their nominee as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia.

I am also grateful for the unwavering support of my wife, Anita, who is a retired Foreign Service officer, who is currently in Liberia where I have had the honor of serving as Ambassador for the past 3 years. I would also like to introduce my daughter, Alison, and my son, Peter, who are in the back. My youngest son, David, is currently attending Lawrence University in Wisconsin, so he is not able to be here today.

I have spent the better part of my 32 years in the Foreign Service trying to resolve conflicts and promoting development and understanding of the United States in many different parts of Africa. During my 2 years as the Deputy Director of the State Department's Office of Southern African Affairs, I worked to keep Zambia from being drawn into the then ever-widening conflict in the neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo. I was also the coordinator of our efforts to engage the member states of the Southern African Development Community on security cooperation, regional water resource management, and in arresting Zimbabwe's slide toward arbitrary rule, among others.

Zambia has been fortunate to escape the wars and civil conflicts in Southern Africa since its independence in 1964. However, despite its vast mineral wealth, Zambia remains a poor country where 87 percent of the population lives on less than \$2 a day. The reasons for this low quality of life for most people in Zambia are similar to those I have been working to address during my time as Ambassador to Liberia—corruption, gender-based violence, unequal access to opportunity, and lack of quality education and health care.

If confirmed, I would do my best to ensure that the assistance funds appropriated and authorized by Congress are effectively utilized to help the Government of Zambia address the underlying causes of poverty there. Poverty that can lead to despair and create opportunities for those who would seek to harm the American people. My experiences in Africa have left me convinced that we can only make a difference by working in partnership with those Africans who have the desire to tackle their problems themselves.

Zambia also suffers from the curse of HIV/AIDS and malaria, and that is why Zambia was one of the first countries to benefit from the President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief, as well as from the President's Malaria Initiative. Over 75 percent of United States assistance to Zambia is directed to addressing HIV/AIDS and malaria. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to ensure that our emergency interventions receive the Zambian support needed to make them sustainable and thus truly capable of controlling the scourge of those diseases that have so restrained development in that part of the world and can still threaten the region's stability.

Mr. Chairman, I believe our relationship with Zambia should not be defined by what we do to help Zambia, but rather by how much we can accomplish together to expand the horizons of freedom, peace, and economic opportunity. Zambia has been in the forefront of true multiparty democratic governance in southern Africa, and I believe we need to encourage Zambia to work through the Southern African Development Community, SADC, to advance democracy and accountable government in southern Africa and beyond. I am pleased to note that as the chair of SADC, Zambia recently convoked an extraordinary summit to address the deteriorating situation in neighboring Zimbabwe.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for inviting me to appear before you today, and I would be happy to answer your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Booth follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. DONALD E. BOOTH, NOMINEE
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this committee, I am deeply honored to appear before you today. I greatly appreciate the trust and confidence the President and Secretary of State have placed in me as their nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia. I am also grateful for the support throughout my Foreign Service career of my wife, Anita, who is in Liberia where I have had the honor to serve as ambassador for the past 3 years, as well as of my daughter, Alison, and sons, Peter and David. Alison and Peter are here with me today. David is currently attending Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin.

I have spent the better part of my 32 years in the Foreign Service trying to resolve conflicts and promoting development and understanding of the United States in many parts of Africa. During my 2 years as Deputy Director of the State Department's Office of Southern African Affairs, I worked to keep Zambia from being drawn into the then-widening conflict in neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo. I was also the coordinator of our efforts to engage the member states of the Southern African Development Community as a group on security cooperation, regional water resource management and in arresting Zimbabwe's slide toward arbitrary rule. As Ambassador to Liberia, I have seen the impact regional peer pressure can have in ending conflict and restoring democratically elected government.

Despite the wars and civil conflicts in southern Africa, Zambia has been fortunate to escape conflict since its independence in 1964. However, despite its vast mineral wealth, Zambia remains a poor country where 87 percent of the population lives on less than \$2 per day. The reasons for this low quality of life for most people in Zam-

bia are not dissimilar to those I have been working to address during my time as Ambassador to Liberia—corruption, unequal access to opportunity and lack of quality education and health care. If confirmed, I would do my best to ensure that the assistance funds appropriated and authorized by the Congress are effectively utilized to help the Government of Zambia address the underlying causes of poverty in Zambia, poverty that can lead to despair and create opportunities for those who would seek to harm the American people, their friends and allies. I would also work with the Government of Zambia to meet the criteria for compact status under the Millennium Challenge Account. My numerous experiences in Africa have left me convinced that we cannot impose solutions to Africa's problems. We can only make a difference by working in partnership with Africans who have the desire and will to tackle their problems themselves.

Zambia also suffers from the twin afflictions of HIV/AIDS and malaria. That is why Zambia was one of the first countries to benefit from the President's Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), as well as from the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI). Over 75 percent of United States assistance to Zambia is directed at addressing HIV/AIDS and malaria. If confirmed, I will make it a priority not only to help Zambia combat those diseases, but also explore ways we can ensure our "emergency" interventions receive the Zambian support needed to make them sustainable and thus truly capable of controlling these two diseases that have so restrained development and could still threaten the region's stability. Another impediment to Zambia's development is the unequal status of women and the prevalence of gender-based violence. If confirmed, I would ensure these problems are addressed through the Women's Justice and Empowerment Initiative, as well as through programs that combat trafficking in persons.

Mr. Chairman, I believe our relationship with Zambia should not be defined by what we do to help Zambia, but rather by how much we can accomplish together to expand the horizons of freedom, peace, and economic opportunity. Zambia has been in the forefront of true multiparty democratic governance in southern Africa and I believe we need to encourage Zambia to work through the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to advance democracy and accountable government in southern Africa and beyond. I am pleased to note that as chair of SADC, Zambia recently convoked an extraordinary summit to address the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe. The United States Ambassador to Zambia is also accredited to the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). While COMESA is a broad group of nations in various states of development, if confirmed, I will try to help COMESA identify ways it can advance meaningful regional economic cooperation that will better integrate its member states into the global economy.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for inviting me to appear before you today. I would be happy to answer your questions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Booth.

Now we go to Mr. Stephen James Nolan, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana.

**STATEMENT OF STEPHEN JAMES NOLAN, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA**

Mr. NOLAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman and Senator Isakson, I am honored to appear before you today as President Bush's nominee to serve as the next United States Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana and Special Representative to the Southern African Development Community. I am grateful for the trust placed in me by the President and Secretary Rice. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee to further the interests of the United States in Botswana and the region.

With me today is my wife, Judy. She has been a real source of support and wise counsel since we were married 30 years ago in Senegal, our first Foreign Service post.

Since then, two-thirds of my career has been spent with the African Bureau, during which I have been responsible for handling a variety of management and policy issues. During the last 4 years, I have been the Executive Director of the African Bureau where Ambassador Ruth Davis, who has been a wonderful boss and great

leader, has really been behind me in every sense of the word, right until this moment. [Laughter.]

Should I be confirmed, this experience will greatly inform my work in Botswana.

My affinity for Africa is not accidental. My father was a Foreign Service officer until his death in Yemen in 1973. It was his example, with encouragement from my mother, that inspired my career choice, but it was our family's years in Kenya and Sierra Leone that sparked a lifelong interest in Africa. I am sure my father is looking down on these proceedings with a smile on his face.

The highest priorities for any ambassador are to protect American lives and to ensure a safe environment for all personnel in the mission. My sensitivity to this is based on experience. I was in the embassy in Nairobi when it was bombed by al-Qaeda in August 1998. For me the events and aftermath of that day underscored the importance of leadership and preparedness. If confirmed, I will not lose sight of this critical responsibility.

Botswana is a leader in the region, with a long record of political stability and sound institutions. Yet, for all its storied success, Botswana still faces critical challenges that will affect the sustainability of its remarkable development. Although democracy and good governance are firmly established, civil society organizations are not yet fully mature. Working with the government, civil society, and the media, I will strive to foster robust and dynamic democratic institutions.

Diamonds account for a third of Botswana's GDP, and the government has used this resource wisely to spur development. But 30 percent of Botswana's citizens still live in poverty and the gap between rich and poor is growing. With diamonds expected to run out in the not distant future, there is an urgent need for greater economic diversification with less reliance on the public sector. To this end, the United States is helping Botswana become more competitive in the global marketplace and to take full advantage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act. If confirmed, I will work to foster economic growth and seek to expand United States commercial engagement with Botswana.

The devastating coepidemics of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis touch everyone in Botswana. Through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the U.S. has provided over \$300 million to support prevention and treatment efforts and to help the Government of Botswana achieve its goal of an AIDS-free generation by 2016. If confirmed, I will be proud to champion the continued development of this vital program.

Additional important objectives would be supporting Botswana's role as a regional partner on peace and security issues through the International Military Education and Training Program, maximizing the impact of the International Law Enforcement Academy in Gaborone, and working to help protect Botswana's environment and unique natural heritage.

If confirmed, I would build on Ambassador Canavan's efforts to identify areas for closer collaboration with the Southern African Development Community. We already enjoy useful cooperation on trade expansion and environmental protection, and more recently SADC has shown leadership in coordinating a regional response to

the electoral crisis in Zimbabwe. It is important that we continue to engage with SADC, encouraging its expanding role as an advocate for constructive economic policies and deepening democratic institutions.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Isakson, should I be confirmed, I promise to work hard to maintain and expand our excellent relationship with Botswana for the betterment of both the American and Botswana people.

Thank you for this opportunity to address you. I look forward to answering your questions.[The prepared statement of Mr. Nolan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF STEPHEN JAMES NOLAN, NOMINEE
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Bush's nominee to serve as the next United States Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana. I am grateful for the trust placed in me by the President and Secretary Rice. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee to further the interests of the United States in Botswana and in the region as the Secretary of State's Representative to the Southern African Development Community.

With me today is my wife, Judy, who has been a source of strength, support, and wise counsel since we were married 30 years ago in Dakar, Senegal, our first Foreign Service post. While I have also served in Europe and the Near East, two thirds of my career has been at our posts in Africa or in the Bureau of African Affairs in Washington. On the continent, I have had the pleasure to serve as Consul General in Cape Town, two tours in Nairobi, and tours in Harare and Dakar. This affinity for Africa is not accidental. My father, Bernard Nolan, was a Foreign Service officer until his death in Yemen in 1973. His example, with encouragement from my mother, inspired my career choice, but it was my family's years in Kenya and Sierra Leone that sparked my life-long interest in Africa. I am sure he is looking down on these proceedings with a smile on his face.

During my career with the Foreign Service, I have been responsible for handling a variety of management and policy issues, most recently, as Executive Director of the Bureau of African Affairs. The rapid growth of health, development, and security assistance programs at many embassies in recent years has stretched human and financial resources, but I am proud of how our bureau's dedicated American and locally engaged personnel have risen to the challenge. This is an issue I plan to remain focused on as we need to ensure that we have adequate staffing to match the increase in program funds for proper management and accountability. Africa stands at a critical juncture, and Botswana is destined to play a key leadership role in the realization of Africa's future, particularly in southern Africa. If confirmed, I will work with dedication to promote stronger United States-Africa relations and to deepen our excellent bilateral relationship with Botswana.

The highest priority for any ambassador serving overseas is to protect American lives—whether private citizens or those working in the mission. My extreme sensitivity about this is based on my experience; when al-Qaeda bombed our embassy in Nairobi in 1998, I was serving there as the administrative counselor. This catastrophe and its aftermath underscored the importance of leadership and experience. Should I be confirmed, I will use both in carrying out this critical responsibility.

Botswana's stability and legitimacy derive from the strength of its leadership and institutions, adherence to democratic norms, and prudent management of revenues from its diamond industry. Yet Botswana, for all its storied success, still faces many critical challenges that will affect the sustainability of its remarkable development. Although democracy and good governance are firmly established in Botswana, the ruling party has won every national election since independence in 1966 and civil society organizations are not yet fully mature. The success of diamonds and the related broad-based and deeply rooted growth of the public sector have limited the emergence of a robust and entrepreneurial private sector. Diamond dependency (diamonds account for 33 percent of GDP) highlights the need to diversify the economy. The gap between rich and the poor is wide and growing. An estimated 30 percent to 40 percent of Botswana live in poverty, largely in sparsely populated rural areas. Furthermore, coepidemics of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis have devastated families

and affect every member of Botswana society. If I am confirmed, helping Botswana address these challenges will be central to my tenure.

Our strong relationship with Botswana provides many opportunities for positive engagement. Today, I would like to focus on several areas where the United States can contribute to the continuing success of Botswana and an even brighter future. First, with the inauguration of a new President in Botswana and a general election approaching in 2009, the United States has a unique opportunity to help Botswana move forward with improved democratic practices and respect for human rights. Working with the government, civil society, and the media, I will endeavor to foster more robust and dynamic democratic institutions to ensure more Botswana feel like they have a stake in their own polity and economic future.

Economic development and expansion of trade will also be key priorities. Botswana has already made great gains in just over four decades, financed largely and prudently by Botswana's "diamonds for development" program and guided by sound fiscal and monetary policies. Despite these gains, uneven development, skewed income distribution, and highly visible and palpable poverty are clear signs that more must be done. The realization has increasingly set in that "diamonds are actually not forever," and there is an urgent need for greater diversification in Botswana's economy. The United States is currently helping Botswana to become more competitive in the global marketplace and to make maximum use of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Our Government is also working with Botswana to help develop its energy resources, agricultural exports, and public-private sector policy dialog. If confirmed, I will make fostering increased and diversified economic growth a priority, while seeking to expand United States commercial engagement with Botswana.

I will continue our close collaboration with the Botswana Government in the fight against the coepidemics of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. As with many of its neighbors, Botswana has been devastated by HIV/AIDS. The national HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is estimated to be 24.1 percent, with a much higher rate in certain age categories. Botswana also has one of the world's worst tuberculosis (TB) epidemics and about 80 percent of TB patients also have HIV. Through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the United States has provided roughly \$300 million in funding to support prevention and treatment efforts and to help the Government of Botswana achieve its goal of an AIDS-free generation by 2016. If confirmed, I would be proud to shepherd the continued development of this critical program.

Supporting Botswana's role as a regional partner on peace and security issues through the International Military Education and Training Program, maximizing the impact of the International Law Enforcement Academy in Gaborone, and working to help protect Botswana's environment and unique natural heritage would also be important objectives, should I be confirmed.

Finally, as the Secretary of State's Representative to the Southern African Development Community, known as SADC, if confirmed, I would continue Ambassador Canavan's efforts to identify areas for closer collaboration with this important regional organization, where we have already enjoyed useful cooperation in the areas of regional trade expansion and management of Southern African ecosystems. More recently, SADC has shown leadership in coordinating a regional response to the electoral crisis in Zimbabwe. It is important that we continue to engage fully with SADC, supporting its expanding voice as an advocate for constructive economic policies and deepening democratic institutions throughout southern Africa.

Mr. Chairman, committee members, should I be confirmed, I will work hard to maintain and expand our excellent relationship with Botswana for the betterment of both the American and Botswana people. Thank you for this opportunity to address you. I look forward to answering your questions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Nolan.

And finally, Ms. Marianne Matuzic Myles, to be the Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde.

**STATEMENT OF MARIANNE MATUZIC MYLES, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE**

Ms. MYLES. Thank you. Mr. Chairman and Senator Isakson, it is truly a great honor for me to be before you here today as President Bush's nominee to serve as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde. Like my fellow nominees before me, I am

grateful to the President and to Secretary Rice for the confidence and trust that they have shown by nominating me for this position.

It is a tremendous pleasure for me to take a moment to introduce the many family members, friends, and colleagues who are with me here today. I am joined by my husband Stan, a retired Foreign Service officer, and my partner for almost 20 years now; our daughter Lee-Ellen, who is a seventh-grader at Roberto Clemente Middle School's Magnet Center; my sister, Nancy Edwards; her daughter Kate; good friend and neighbor, Jim Gierula; Lee-Ellen's classmate from Roberto Clemente, Frieda Lindroth. And from my current office, I would like to introduce Deputy Assistant Secretary Linda Tagliatela and colleagues, Bruce Cole, Margaret Dean, Bill Pope, Dick Christianson, Rachel Friedland, and Tijen Aybar.

Senator FEINGOLD. I will ask the whole audience to rise. [Laughter.]

Welcome all. Thank you very much for coming. Go ahead.

Ms. MYLES. Mr. Chairman, I joined the Foreign Service at the young age of 22 because of a very strong commitment to public service. I look forward to the opportunity, if confirmed, to utilize the skills I have acquired during my 30-plus year Foreign Service career to advance our interests in Cape Verde. My multiple assignments in Brazil, which is a country that shares many common interests with Cape Verde, fluent Portuguese, the work I oversaw on remittances, and the disaster relief I provided while Consul General in Naples, my work to protect American citizens in Bogota, as well as my interagency training at the National War College, and background as an economist have given me a wide range of useful tools. If confirmed, I will put those tools to best use.

Mr. Chairman, the Republic of Cape Verde is an African success story. It is one of Africa's oldest and strongest democracies with an unbroken tradition of civilian rule since independence in 1975. It is politically stable. Corruption is low. Transparency is high. And perhaps most important, Cape Verde's human rights record is excellent.

In the brief time I have this morning, I would like to mention a few important aspects of the United States-Cape Verde bilateral relationship. That relationship is strong, in part because it is a longstanding one, beginning with the opening in 1818 of our first consulate in sub-Saharan Africa. Extraordinarily close family ties also strengthen the relationship as a large number of Cape Verdeans are resident in New England, particularly in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The first factor of our strong relationship is that we share a common commitment to democracy. The United States has supported Cape Verde's continuing efforts to strengthen its democracy, and the commitment by Cape Verdeans and their political parties to democratic dispute resolution is extraordinary. Closely contested elections in 2001 and 2006 were resolved according to the constitution without political violence or heated rhetoric.

The second factor is a shared commitment to security. Cape Verde's location strategically positions it in major north-south sea routes. The Government of Cape Verde has provided strong support on security cooperation. Cape Verde's hosting of NATO's first live military exercise in Africa in June of 2006 was an historic event.

As you mentioned in your opening remarks, Mr. Chairman, there is much more to do with regard to maritime security. Cape Verde's solid support of United States ship visits and counternarcotics activities are indications of their policy to be an active, constructive partner, as well as a regional role model.

A third factor is economics. Cape Verde's AGOA eligibility, its new WTO membership, and its recent partnership status with the European Union offer Cape Verde the chance to become a transatlantic bridge for tourism, trade, and investment. Its economy is also benefiting from its selection in 2005 as one of the first Millennium Challenge Account countries.

Mr. Chairman, the United States remains a strategic partner with Cape Verde focused on three main goals: accelerating economic expansion, consolidating a stable democracy, and strengthening the rule of law. If confirmed, I will be eager to pursue these efforts, as well as develop other strategic partnerships. But as a first priority, I would carry out the chief of mission's responsibility to ensure the safety and welfare of all Americans and U.S. Government employees. I understand and embrace the obligation to ensure the fair treatment and high morale of mission staff and family members.

If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you and your colleagues and to welcoming you to Cape Verde.

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

[The prepared statement of Ms. Myles follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARIANNE MATUZIC MYLES, NOMINEE
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Bush's nominee to serve as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde. I am grateful to the President and Secretary Rice for the confidence and trust they have shown by nominating me for this position.

It is my pleasure to take a moment to introduce the family members, friends, and colleagues who are with me here today. I am joined by my husband, Stan, a retired Foreign Service officer, our daughter, Lee-Ellen, a seventh grader at Roberto Clemente Middle School, my sister, Nancy Edwards, and her daughter, Kate, good friend and neighbor, Jim Gierula, and Lee-Ellen's classmate, Frieda Lindroth. From my current office, I would like to introduce Deputy Assistant Secretary Linda Tagliatela, and colleagues Bruce Cole, Margaret Dean, Bill Pope, and Tijen Aybar.

I joined the Foreign Service at the young age of 22 because of a strong commitment to public service. I look forward to the opportunity, if confirmed, to utilize the skills I have acquired during my 30-plus year Foreign Service career to advance our interests in Cape Verde. My multiple assignments in Brazil, a country that shares many common interests with Cape Verde, my fluent Portuguese, the work I oversaw on remittances and the disaster relief I provided while Consul General in Naples, my work to protect American citizens in Bogota, as well as my interagency training at the National War College and background as an economist, have given me a wide range of useful tools. If confirmed, I will put them to best use.

Mr. Chairman, the Republic of Cape Verde is an African success story. It is one of Africa's oldest and strongest democracies with an unbroken tradition of civilian rule since independence in 1975. It is politically stable. Corruption is low and transparency is high. Perhaps most important, Cape Verde's human rights record is excellent.

In the brief time I have this morning, I'd like to mention a few important aspects of the United States-Cape Verde bilateral relationship. That relationship is strong, in part because it is a long-standing one, beginning with the opening in 1818 of our first consulate in sub-Saharan Africa. Extraordinarily close family ties also strengthen the relationship, as a large number of Cape Verdeans are resident in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The first factor in our strong relationship is that we share a common commitment to democracy. The United States has supported Cape Verde's continuing efforts to strengthen its democracy. The commitment by Cape Verdeans and their political parties to democratic dispute resolution is extraordinary. Closely contested elections in 2001 and 2006 were resolved according to the constitution, without political violence and heated rhetoric.

The second factor is a shared commitment to security. Cape Verde's location 300 miles from the west coast of Africa strategically positions it in major north-south sea routes. The Government of Cape Verde has provided strong support on security cooperation. Cape Verde's hosting of NATO's first live military exercise in Africa in June 2006 was an historic event. And Cape Verde's solid support of United States ship visits and counternarcotics activities are further indications of their policy to be an active, constructive participant in a strategic partnership, as well as a regional role model.

A third factor is economics. Cape Verde's AGOA eligibility, its new WTO membership, and its recent partnership status with the European Union offer Cape Verde the chance to become a trans-Atlantic bridge for tourism, trade, and investment. Its economy is also benefiting from its selection in 2005 as one of the first Millennium Challenge Account countries. Cape Verde's recent graduation to lower middle income status means that it has to make further progress to meet higher policy performance standards; but Cape Verde has already made many improvements and has achieved very high levels of performance—even when compared to its new peers in this higher income group—in the areas of accountability, civil liberties, control of corruption, government effectiveness, and rule of law.

Mr. Chairman, the United States remains a strategic partner with Cape Verde, focused on 3 main goals—accelerating economic expansion, consolidating a stable democracy, and strengthening the rule of law. If confirmed, I will be eager to pursue these efforts, as well as develop other strategic partnerships. But as a first priority, I would carry out the chief of mission's responsibility to ensure the safety and welfare of all Americans and U.S. Government employees. I understand and embrace the obligation to ensure the fair treatment and high morale of mission staff and family members.

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

Senator FEINGOLD. That was the first place I ever set foot in Africa, but it was for refueling. [Laughter.]

So I hope to have a better visit.

Ms. MYLES. Maybe you can stay longer next time.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thanks to the whole panel, and I will start with a round of questions.

Mr. Bodde, Malawi has one of the higher HIV prevalence rates in the world, but has not been a focus country for PEPFAR or a leading recipient of United States assistance. If confirmed as ambassador, how would you see your role and efforts to combat HIV/AIDS? What could or should the United States and other international partners do in this effort?

Mr. BODDE. Thank you, Senator, for the question.

While it has not been a focus-country recipient of PEPFAR, it has been a tremendous recipient of U.S. Government funding in our battle against AIDS. The role I see as chief of mission is to coordinate the entire U.S. Government approach to this, to be an advocate for this, to make sure that all the available sources of funding are adequately used and appropriately used. I think there are tremendous opportunities here. When you see the proportion of aid that is spent on health, it is almost over half. Close to 60 percent of all assistance going to Malawi is already spent on health. And I think there is tremendous room for expansion there.

But I think we also have to look beyond the health issue itself and look at the economy and what can be done there because what has happened in the impact of AIDS on the economy in Malawi is desperate. It has caused desperate problems, and I think it is af-

fecting Malawi's potential for economic growth. So I would also be looking to expand our programs in those areas.

Senator FEINGOLD. Prison conditions and restrictions on freedom of expression remain serious concerns in Malawi. How will you address these issues?

Mr. BODDE. Senator, I think there is only one way to deal with those issues and that is head on. I have lived in countries and worked in countries where this is sadly an issue. One has to confront the government. One has to be consistent in this. We also have to look a little broader, and one has to provide training. One has to encourage things like the training of investigative journalists. We have to encourage NGO's. One of my concerns, with the election coming up so quickly next May in Malawi, is how quickly can we get programs like this started and on the ground.

Another concern I have, quite frankly, is at this point in time, there is only about half a million dollars set aside for these programs. I have worked very closely with NDI, IRI, IFIS, NGO's like this over the years. They do tremendous work, and they are also very helpful specifically in how to address the lack of freedom of speech and expression.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Booth, how do you intend balance a desire for diplomatic relations with the Zambian Government with continued pressure for what is obviously central governance reforms?

Ambassador BOOTH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think the situation in Zambia is one where we have had now two elections where you have had democratic change. President Kaunda who was the first President, the liberation hero, of the country did, under pressure, agree to step down back in 1991, and there was a change of government to the MMD, President Chiluba. He stayed in office 2 terms. His attempt to continue in office for a third term was beaten back, and it appears that President Mwanawasa now will, indeed, step down at the end of his second term in 2011.

So I think we have a good engagement with Zambia on the democracy front. I think what we want to do is try to engage Zambia more in a regional context where there are some players that have not embraced that commitment to democracy.

Senator FEINGOLD. According to a recent investigation by Human Rights Watch, domestic violence and a lack of access to health care, legal services, and basic economic rights, make Zambian women extremely vulnerable to HIV infection and general mistreatment. How is the United States supporting the removal of barriers to women's access to health care and legal services, and the protection of women against violence?

Ambassador BOOTH. Thank you very much for that question.

One of the programs we are about to initiate in Zambia is the Women's Justice and Empowerment Initiative, and it has a budget over 3 years of about \$11 million. It is just being launched now. There are three components to it. One is to try to improve how the police deal with gender-based violence crimes. Second is to work the Zambians in drafting legislation that would provide better protections to women, and the third is in providing assistance through USAID and CARE to the victims of gender-based violence.

Access to education for girls is a problem not only in Zambia. It is a problem that has to be dealt with in terms of trying to make sure that there are adequate facilities at schools, separate lavatory facilities, for example. And also there is a problem of parents who feel that educating their girls is not as high a priority as educating their sons and, therefore, unless there is some incentive, they will tend to take them out of school first. This is a problem we have seen in Liberia as well. So things like school feeding programs have been helpful. We do not have one of those in Zambia now, but certainly when I go out there, this is something that I will be looking at, how to make sure that there is not only access to the schools, but that, indeed, girls in particular stay in school.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Nolan, can you discuss Botswana's role with regard to human rights and political crisis in the neighboring country of Zimbabwe? And to this end, how is the United States embassy working with the Government in Botswana? What impact, if any, has the Zimbabwe situation actually had on Botswana?

Mr. NOLAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think it is remarkable that President Khama—in office for just a matter of days— was one of the first SADC leaders to invite Morgan Tsvangirai to come and speak with him about the crisis in Zimbabwe. I think this is an indication of President's Khama's intention to take a more proactive approach. He was supportive of the SADC initiative to call the heads of state to Lusaka to discuss this issue. It is promising that SADC is beginning to engage on these issues of human rights and to look at ways to solve problems in their own region.

Botswana is a front-line state, so to speak, by virtue of its long border with Zimbabwe. While only 150 or so Zimbabweans are formally registered as refugees in Botswana, there are 250,000 Zimbabweans who have moved across the border and are living in Botswana. They are putting strains on the delivery of services in Botswana. Zimbabwe has become a millstone for the entire region, and SADC is a potential vehicle for addressing the issue. Botswana is a country that will play an important role in helping to achieve, I think, a more productive resolution to the crisis and hopefully soon.

Senator FEINGOLD. And as to human rights within Botswana itself, some human rights groups remain concerned about periodic reports of secret executions taking place in Botswana. What is the U.S. Government doing to investigate these reports?

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I would have to take that question. I have no specific knowledge of that. I am not aware of those reports, but I will certainly look into that and give you a response.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you for that.

And just one question for Ms. Myles, and then I will turn to Senator Isakson.

Although nearly 70 percent of the population in Cape Verde lives in rural areas, I understand that up to 90 percent of Cape Verde's food must be imported. How has the current food crisis affected Cape Verde, and how are the current government foreign donors, including the United States, responding?

Ms. MYLES. Thank you for that question, Mr. Chairman.

It is true that the vast majority of Cape Verde's food is imported. In fact, some sources put that estimate up to 98 percent of food.

At the moment, they are doing well with regard to feeding the population. I think that there is some worrisome aspect to the future in the sense that Cape Verde's climate is not conducive to agriculture. It is very arid, and although there are advances being made to diversify crops, including under the Millennium Challenge Account, there is a project underway of drip irrigation to produce crops that have not been produced in Cape Verde before. It is true that they are vulnerable to climatic changes and to drought in particular. I think you know that in the 1940s-1950s, the drought that took place at that time drove many people out of Cape Verde to the United States and other places.

So it is a situation that bears watching. It is a situation that could become critical. At the moment, it appears that they are able to produce sufficient food for their population.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you.

Senator ISAKSON.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Booth, you made a reference to gender-based violence in your statement. In my trips to Ethiopia, Egypt, some of the other countries in North Africa, where NGO's were taking United States foreign aid and investing it in basic education for Africans, post 9/11 we started making sure that women were not being discriminated against. There were some countries that were predominantly Muslim where they would not let women go to school. So gender-based discrimination in terms of both violence and education seems to be prevalent at least in some countries in Africa.

Have you worked with the NGO's in this area to ensure that as U.S. aid is being invested, it is invested while ensuring that there is no discrimination against women?

Ambassador BOOTH. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

In Liberia, this question of sexual exploitation and abuse has been a prime topic, both for the U.N. peacekeeping mission there and also for the NGO's that are providing assistance initially to internally displaced persons and returning refugees. And this is something that just simply requires constant attention to make sure that the staffs that are coming in are continually trained in how not to utilize their position of power, when you have very poor and vulnerable people that you are assisting, not to use your position of power to take advantage of women in particular.

In Zambia, the Muslim population is only about 5 percent, and so the attendance of girls in school is very high. There is about a 96 percent attendance rate at the elementary level, and that cuts across both sexes. However, we do find that the girls tend to drop out of school earlier, and so the illiteracy rate for girls is higher than for boys by about 10 percent.

But certainly the drive of all of our education programs, including the ones that I have had the pleasure to work with in Liberia, have focused very much on trying to encourage girls to stay in school, and I have certainly used my public speaking events in Liberia to push that and I encourage people to stay in school.

Senator ISAKSON. On that same topic, Ms. Myles, what is the general human rights situation in Cape Verde now?

Ms. MYLES. Thank you for that question, Senator. I am happy to be able to talk briefly about that question because it is also part of Cape Verde's success story.

Cape Verde stands out as a model for promoting human rights in Africa and particularly in western Africa. And the Government of Cape Verde is committed to the promotion of human rights. The annual human rights reports consistently show that the Government of Cape Verde respects the human rights of its people and that it is indeed a model.

That being said, Senator, there is always room for improvement in any situation. One of the areas that is not as positive as it could be is lengthy pretrial detentions, and there is some evidence of police abuses during detentions. And those are areas that, if confirmed, I would work hard to help improve.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you very much. I was reading a brief bio on you. Is this your first duty station as an Ambassador? I know you have had a myriad of responsibilities, including recruitment in the Department, but is this your first duty station as an ambassador?

Ms. MYLES. Yes, sir.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, congratulations to you.

Ms. MYLES. Thank you.

Senator ISAKSON. Mr. Nolan, I know CDC has had a tremendous presence in Botswana, and Botswana is one of the 15 targeted countries and one of the largest recipients of PEPFAR money. Are the results on reducing AIDS infection turning the corner? Are we making good progress in Botswana?

Mr. NOLAN. Senator Isakson, thank you for that question.

I think that there is no greater challenge to the future of Botswana than HIV/AIDS. There is a good story to tell here. It is one of the countries that is making a difference in the fight against HIV/AIDS. One of the most serious infection rates in the world, but it has stabilized in large part because of the government's aggressive action. They have a very coherent, organized national plan.

We are closely partnered with the Government of Botswana. Our support of their programs is critical to their success. We have contributed over \$300 million in the last 5 years, but more heartening than that is that the Botswanans themselves contribute \$150 million a year for HIV/AIDS programs. These programs are beginning to have an impact and the penetration of the message is near universal. People who need access to antiretroviral drugs have them free of charge. There has been a remarkable drop in mother-to-child transmission from a rate of about 40 percent down to 4 percent. I think that is a signal of where this is going to go. It is a long struggle ahead, but the Government of Botswana's own goal of an AIDS-free generation by 2016 is not only a worthy goal but it is an achievable one.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. Bodde, I appreciate your comments about the Peace Corps. My predecessor, one Senate session removed, was Paul Coverdell who was the director of the Peace Corps and did a lot of expansion of the Peace Corps in Africa.

In terms of the Republic of Malawi, how many Peace Corps operatives do we have there?

Mr. BODDE. Sir, I understand we have 120 volunteers right now. It is one of our larger programs. It is a long-established program with great success.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, I appreciate your supporting them. I know President Kennedy started that program, and they have been the great ambassadors for our country for now almost a half a century.

Ms. Davis, would you stand up? After all the bragging everybody has been doing about you, I thought we ought to recognize you. [Applause.]

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator FEINGOLD. I want to thank all the nominees on both panels for their participation, their statements, and their answers to questions. And I especially want to thank Senator Isakson for his very extensive involvement here today.

This concludes the hearing.

[Whereupon, at 11:15 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHUCK HAGEL,
U.S. SENATOR FROM NEBRASKA

Mr. Chairman, thank you for convening today's nomination hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. One of the nominees, Peter Bodde, is the President's choice to be the Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Malawi. Peter has had a long, distinguished career in the Foreign Service, and I am proud to support his nomination to this position.

As Ambassador of the Republic of Malawi, Peter will be America's diplomatic face to an important African partner. Today, the Republic of Malawi, much like the whole of Africa, faces a number of daunting challenges and exciting opportunities. Heavily dependent on strong agricultural exports, Malawi must confront dangerous vulnerabilities from the rising cost of fuel and the ongoing threat of drought. Population growth, the global food crisis, and continued instability and violence will continue to be a difficult burden for the entire region to bear.

Despite these challenges, Malawi is in an encouraging position to prosper and grow. The country's transition to a multiparty democratic institution has been an impressive testament to its leaders and its people. The Republic of Malawi maintains strong diplomatic ties with western nations as well as all African countries and has played an important role in past humanitarian assistance for refugees from Mozambique, Rwanda, and Congo.

As the President's representative, the United States Ambassador is responsible for the development of an increasingly strong United States-Malawi relationship. Since 2005, Malawi has worked with the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation to reduce corruption and increase transparent, responsible, and effective government. Its success in this area led Malawi to be named as an eligible MCC Compact country in December 2007. In addition, the United States maintains a U.S. Agency for International Development mission and a strong contingent of Peace Corps volunteers there. As ambassador, Mr. Bodde will need to work closely with international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Food Program, as well as international NGO's and other countries in the region to leverage the world's assets in support of economic progress and regional stability.

Since joining the Foreign Service in 1981, Peter has served his country with the professionalism that defines the best of our country's proud diplomatic history. He brings an impressive record of public service in foreign posts throughout the world—most recently as Charge d'Affaires and deputy chief of mission at the United States Embassy in Pakistan. He has done much to help manage a complex and difficult United States-Pakistan relationship over the last several years. Mr. Bodde has also served in India, Nepal, Guyana, Germany, Bulgaria, and Denmark, as well as Washington, DC.

Mr. Bodde has dedicated nearly three decades to the Foreign Service, and he is well qualified to take on this important new responsibility. I enthusiastically support his nomination.

I want to acknowledge and thank Peter's family—his wife, Tanya, and his two children, Christopher and Sara—for their own service to our country. Each of us knows how fundamental the support of family is to such a demanding occupation such as this.

The committee looks forward to hearing the testimony of Charges d'Affaires Bodde, as well as that of the other nominees here today. I believe that each of these nominees are qualified and deserve positive consideration by the committee. I wish all the nominees here today continued success and want to thank them all for their important service at this critical time in our country's history.

Thank you.

RESPONSES OF MARCIA STEPHENS BLOOM BERNICAT TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in these countries? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. Senegal's traditionally vibrant democracy has been characterized by some worrying developments in recent years. The executive has gained a disproportionate amount of power over parliament and the judicial branch, while the police appear to have clamped down on press and media actors. Four journalists were arrested in less than 2 months in the fall of 2007, and most recently the government forced one private television station to stop broadcasting a live feed of protesters and security forces clashing after the government ordered the break up of a demonstration against the rising cost of living.

The health of Senegal's democracy writ large is the most significant human rights issue facing the country and will remain my central priority, if confirmed as Ambassador. As chief of mission, I will ensure that the United States Government continues to pay close attention to freedom of expression, the powers of parliament and the judiciary, and the rights of civil society organizations and Senegalese individuals. I will maintain a frank dialog with government, business leaders, political party, and civil society counterparts in order to press the importance of human rights and democracy to Senegal's international standing.

Guinea-Bissau's human rights situation is adversely affected by the country's struggles with poverty, political instability, and most recently drug trafficking. Prison conditions are poor, impunity and corruption are problems, and violence and discrimination against women continue—as does the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM). If confirmed, I will support the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, the rule of law, and service delivery.

Security sector reform will also be a top priority. The size and expenses associated with Guinea-Bissau's military pose a threat to the country's stability and resources. If confirmed, I will work with Guinea-Bissau, the U.N., and other donor nations on security sector reform. In addition, I will press the Government to improve the overall conditions in Guinea-Bissau.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau, which have very different histories and records on these issues, in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. In spite of their different histories and records on these issues, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau both, though to a different degree, lack in resources, training, and institutional capacity for addressing human rights concerns. These shortcomings constitute the primary obstacles to effectively addressing human rights concerns. The United States and other donor countries have programs in both countries to assist in overcoming these impediments.

In Senegal, a number of nongovernmental organizations, both national and international, monitor human rights issues. Our embassy works with many of these groups, and, if confirmed, I will continue this cooperation. I will also work closely with contacts within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government at large to underscore United States concern over the deterioration of press freedom and checks and balances within the different branches of the Senegalese Government.

In Guinea-Bissau, achieving political stability and national reconciliation after years of conflict are prerequisites for improving the human rights situation. I will work closely with contacts across the Government of Guinea-Bissau to assist institutions in developing their ability to resolve internal conflict and in improving oper-

ational capacity. I also believe that education plays a key role in improving human rights conditions, and, if confirmed, will work on effective public diplomacy strategies for both Senegal and Guinea-Bissau to inform and generate debate about human rights conditions.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. Promoting democracy and human rights in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau is a top priority for the country team in Dakar. Until recently, Senegal has been viewed as a model for democracy and human rights within the region. Its unique brand of moderate Islam and longstanding traditions of democracy have created a solid architecture for tolerance and freedom. The embassy works to support this model. Our assistance to Senegal—including USAID programs, the Ambassador's Self-Help Program, Democracy and Human Rights funds, Public Affairs programs, and DOD humanitarian assistance, all reinforce our human rights goals.

While the human rights situation in Guinea-Bissau brings its unique set of capacity and resource challenges, Embassy Dakar is working with that country on improving conditions. If confirmed, I will ensure that human rights issues continue to be at the forefront of Embassy Dakar's programs and daily work. Also, I am a strong believer in the awards system, and, if confirmed, will recommend outstanding employees at Embassy Dakar for awards, including those who handle human rights issues concerning Senegal and Guinea-Bissau.

Question. What are the most significant actions you have taken in your career to promote human rights and democracy? Why were they important? What was the impact of your actions?

Answer. I am proud to acknowledge that throughout the course of my career, and in my life, I have endeavored to encourage democratic principles and promote improved human rights. In addition to reporting on human rights conditions and supporting a multiplicity of programs in all of my postings, there are several efforts of which I am particularly proud:

- In Mali, as manager of the Ambassador's Self Help Program, I made a priority those projects that improved the health, education, and the economic situation of women and children, recognizing that they are too often the majority of victims of abuse and denied even rights guaranteed to them by their own governments.
- In India, I supported the ambassador's initiative to provide Indian officials responsible for human rights with copies of the Christopher Commission Report as a framework for how to provide accountability in the wake of human rights abuse cases. The tactic completely disarmed these officials, who expected to be lectured on their failure to protect human rights, opening an unprecedented and candid dialog on this key issue.
- I helped develop strong and productive relations between a professional army—Malawi's strongest institution—and a fast growing civil society in that country 6 years after it made the transition from a 30-year dictatorship to a multiparty democracy.
- For the last year and a half as the office director in the South Asia Bureau responsible for guiding our day to day relations with India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, I have worked relentlessly, especially with Human Rights Watch and the European Union, to get the Sri Lankan Government to improve its human rights practices, particularly to stop abusing its citizens and to release child soldiers. When the government remained largely nonresponsive to United States and international concerns, I worked in concert with Congress and my Department of Defense counterparts to restrict all military assistance to Sri Lanka except for limited funds to support the maritime interdiction of arms and other supplies to the Tamil Tigers. This has underlined the United States message to the Sri Lankans that, as a democracy, they have a responsibility to maintain the highest human rights standards, including in battle.

Question. Narcotraficking is becoming an issue of increasing concern in West Africa. If confirmed as ambassador, how would you seek to address it? How do you see this issue intersecting with or affecting efforts to further develop democracy and reduce corruption?

Answer. Narcotics Trafficking is a growing issue that threatens to derail West African countries' efforts to develop democratic institutions and establish the rule-of-

law. If left unchecked, the infusion of trafficking rings into West African societies will undermine countries' security and exacerbate corruption at all levels.

- Guinea-Bissau's geography is especially conducive to illicit trafficking, though media reports and intelligence indicate that traffickers have also gained a foothold in Guinea, Ghana, and other countries throughout the region. Colombian cartels are using Guinea-Bissau's ungoverned coastline and numerous small airfields as transshipment points for smuggling cocaine into Europe. Press and other sources have consistently highlighted military and other high-level government involvement in the drug trade.

If confirmed, I will first increase United States official presence in Guinea-Bissau by encouraging frequent travel, especially by United States Embassy staff and by those members of the interagency whose primary goal is to fight transnational crime. We will closely monitor and assess this issue and, together with the United States interagency and our European counterparts, develop an aggressive plan to deny traffickers access to the region modeled on the programs we executed when I served in Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean. I will also place narcotics trafficking high on the agenda as I engage with Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, and regional organizations and partners. If confirmed, I will also ensure that the embassy's public diplomacy efforts support this plan, promote awareness of the trafficking problem, and encourage support in the fight against it.

RESPONSES OF LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Liberia? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in Liberia? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. The most pressing human rights issues in Liberia are lengthy pretrial detentions, a weak judiciary, official corruption and impunity, gender-based violence, racial and ethnic discrimination, and incidents of child labor. There are also some reports of discrimination based on religious belief or practice. In confronting these problems, I would, if confirmed, help Liberia overcome the legacy of 14 years of civil war, rebuild its civil society organizations and government institutions, and achieve social and political reconciliation.

If confirmed as Ambassador to Liberia, I would make the promotion of human rights a central part of my work, particularly vis-a-vis the reform of Liberia's justice system. Today, Liberian police are relatively ineffective, vigilantism and mob justice are common, pretrial detention can stretch into years, and a culture of impunity pervades Liberian society. If confirmed, I would seek to strengthen existing U.S. programs that are establishing legal aid clinics; combating gender-based violence with victim abuse centers; training alternative dispute mediators; conducting public legal education; renovating courtroom facilities; conducting prosecutor and public defender training; and implementing criminal case management and case tracking systems. The key task is to help Liberia build the capacity of its police, prosecutors, defense attorneys, judges, court administrators, and others in the judicial system so that public confidence improves, the rights of detainees and prisoners are respected, and impunity is replaced by the rule of law.

As Liberia's leading partner in the reconstruction effort, the United States is also well-positioned to confront official corruption. As I said to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, if confirmed as ambassador I would not hesitate to publicly attack corruption, human rights abuses, and the "old ways of doing business" in Liberia that contributed so much to its breakdown and civil conflict.

If confirmed, I would also seek to build bridges between Liberia's racial, ethnic, and religious groups to promote reconciliation and prevent discrimination. Through public diplomacy campaigns and by supporting Liberian efforts such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I would lend my support to Liberia's reconciliation process. I would also continue our embassy's tradition of hosting interfaith events, supporting faith-based civil society organizations, and meeting regularly with prominent members of various religious communities.

Labor conditions in Liberia demand close attention, particularly with respect to child labor. Ongoing U.S. Government programs have made strong headway in preventing child labor and returning children to school; if confirmed, I would support these programs. I would also support the Liberian Government's efforts to dramatically expand public education for all children. Liberia's recovery will likely span generations rather than years, and we must invest in Liberia's future by investing in education.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Liberia in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. The most daunting obstacle to addressing human rights issues in Liberia is the sheer magnitude of Liberia's destruction during the civil war. Liberia's institutions were literally destroyed in the fighting and during years of mismanagement, misrule, and corruption under former President Charles Taylor. Even now, nearly 5 years after the signing of the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Liberia's economy, government, civil society, and social institutions are struggling to rebuild.

At the same time, Liberia enjoys an opportunity to break with the past and build institutions that will uphold human rights and promote democratic values. For example, in 2005, the United States took the lead in completely demobilizing the 14,000-strong Armed Forces of Liberia, replacing it with a new, well-trained 2,000 member force that has been vetted and trained in human rights to protect Liberia's people rather than prey on them. The United Nations has taken the lead in reforming Liberia's police force, and the United States is now engaged in building a police emergency response unit that will receive extensive human rights vetting and training. In addition, U.S. programs will emphasize the importance of oversight of the police force to ensure accountability. In the same way, Liberia's efforts to rebuild its government ministries, in partnership with the United States and other donors, represents a break with the past and a focus on best practices.

If confirmed as ambassador, I would help Liberia seize this opportunity to build a new Liberia that will be an example of hope for other conflict-affected societies.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. I firmly believe in the value of leading by example, and if confirmed, I would demonstrate through my own actions the value of promoting human rights. I would not only expect embassy officers in every section to promote human rights in their day-to-day work, but I would also show them how to do it through my own actions. I would make it clear that outstanding Foreign Service officers whose responsibilities include human rights and democracy will be recommended for promotions and performance awards.

Liberia, with more historical ties to America than any other African country, is fertile ground for human rights promotion through direct personal engagement. As security and road conditions improve, I would encourage embassy officers to travel throughout Liberia and make connections with Liberians on the social, political, economic, and human rights issues that confront their communities. I would encourage officers to engage in public speaking with youth groups, religious leaders, NGO representatives, and civil society to promote tolerance and respect for human rights. I would also seek to do the same myself.

Question. What are the most significant actions you have taken in your career to promote human rights and democracy? Why were they important? What was the impact of your actions?

Answer. I have devoted the vast majority of my career as a Foreign Service officer to working on refugee and humanitarian issues and the promotion of human rights and democracy. From 1993–1996, I served as the refugee coordinator in Nairobi, Kenya, covering the Great Lakes and the Horn. I had the misfortune of being in Kigali for 5 days during the genocide. This experience has had a major impact on how I approach my work since the genocide was the result of the failure of efforts to promote human rights and democracy. Immediately following that period, I devoted the weeks following the genocide to assisting Rwandans fleeing the genocide, including the embassy's locally engaged staff to escape and benefit from resettlement to the United States or elsewhere.

As the refugee counselor in Pakistan, I worked to assist Iranian Christians and Bahais resettle in the United States and assisted Afghan women and other victims of the vicious Taliban rule in Afghanistan from 1993–1999.

As the Deputy Assistant Secretary in the State Department's Africa Bureau, I was part of the effort in 2006 to bring Charles Taylor to justice for crimes against humanity and human rights violations. This sent an important message to the Liberian people who were victims of his actions that he would be held accountable.

I strongly believe that the most important impact of efforts I made during my career saved lives and gave hope to people who had no hope. If confirmed, I hope to

bring that experience to bear in my efforts to promote human rights and democracy in Liberia.

Question. What are the foremost challenges facing Liberia as it seeks to move beyond a post-conflict state to a more stable democracy?

Answer. The key challenges facing Liberia today are lack of infrastructure, high levels of unemployment, lack of judicial capacity, and pervasive corruption. The United States development and diplomatic strategy in Liberia is designed to confront these problems.

Recent studies show that some 40 percent of post-conflict countries revert to civil war within 10 years. A key factor reducing the risk of conflict is rapid, broad-based economic growth, which in turn depends on (1) adequate security, (2) governance and rule of law (including anticorruption measures and contract enforcement), (3) investments in infrastructure and key economic sectors, and (4) investments in people to improve the quality of the work force.

U.S. programs are making major investments in all these areas. We are improving Liberian security forces so they can take over as U.N. peacekeepers draw down and eventually depart. We are engaging the justice sector to provide effective police and justice services and to adjudicate commercial and land disputes. We are working with the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) to help the Liberian Government fight corruption and maximize its resources for economic development. We are investing heavily in infrastructure, focusing on roads and electricity, and we are improving key sectors such as agriculture, forestry, and mining. Finally, we are improving education and health care services so that Liberians are healthy, educated, and ready to work.

Question. In 2005, I posed the following question to the then-nominee for ambassador to Liberia: There is a history of deep-rooted corruption in Liberia, and there are serious allegations of corruption among members of the transitional government. How does the international community, including the United States, plan to address the problem of corruption? What plans do the United States and other countries have to ensure that corrupt government officials are held accountable for their actions? Liberia has made progress in many ways in the last 3 years. How would you assess its progress in fighting corruption? What areas need to be prioritized in the coming years?

Answer. The fight against corruption has taken major steps forward under the donor-funded Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP). GEMAP was initiated partly because of the allegations of corruption under the National Transitional Government of Liberia, and to address the need for outside expertise in the financial management of Liberian Government structures. Progress under GEMAP has been strong and should, along with progress in fighting corruption through the judicial system, result in significant improvements in anticorruption efforts. In addition, GEMAP has helped the Liberian Government raise and retain more revenues, which in turn helps improve corruption-fighting capacity.

GEMAP has brought the Liberian Government and key donors together to place financial controllers and other experts in key positions in Liberian ministries and state-owned enterprises. These experts have cosignature authority, which gives them effective oversight of financial transactions. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, these experts have a mandate to pass on their knowledge and expertise to their Liberian counterparts so that anticorruption efforts will outlast the GEMAP program.

Another area of improvement is the Liberian Government's efforts to indict and prosecute former officials for corruption under the transitional government. Several prosecutions are moving forward, and the United States and other donors are helping the Liberian judicial system build its capacity to handle these and other cases.

Through GEMAP and prosecutions, the Liberian Government has shown its willingness to roll back the culture of impunity that dominated Liberia for decades. President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf has, on several occasions, made a public stand against corruption. The Liberian legislature is currently investigating claims of corruption in its ranks, and the outcome of that investigation will be an important indicator of anticorruption efforts.

In the coming years, the reform process will include several key priority areas. GEMAP will continue for at least another year (it will expire upon Liberia's reaching the "completion point" under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries debt relief program), while justice sector efforts will continue well beyond then. Civil service reform efforts, already underway with United States and other donor support, will be an important way to attract honest and capable Liberians into government serv-

ice. Economic reforms will help broaden the base of economic opportunity for Liberians, and will provide a path to wealth and influence outside the realm of government rent-seeking.

RESPONSES OF HON. DONALD E. BOOTH TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Zambia? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in Zambia? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. Trafficking in persons and gender-based violence remain serious problems in Zambia. Excessive use of force and unlawful killings by security personnel, overcrowded prisons, lengthy pretrial detentions, child labor, and government corruption are other areas in which Zambia could improve.

If confirmed, I will work with the Zambian Government and civil society to help address these human rights issues and support democratic institutions in Zambia. I would utilize our Women's Justice and Empowerment Initiative (WJEI) to counter gender-based violence (GBV) by helping the government strengthen its GBV laws, improve their enforcement, and provide care and support to victims of GBV. To counter trafficking in persons, I would, if confirmed, work to strengthen laws against trafficking and to see that they are better enforced. Additionally, I would continue our efforts to improve the Zambian police by sending police officers to the International Law Enforcement Academy in Gaborone, Botswana for training. I would also speak out on these and other human rights concerns in speeches and interviews so that there would be no doubt about United States interest in, and support for, human rights in Zambia.

Government corruption perpetuates impunity for human rights offenders and undermines confidence in democratic institutions. If confirmed, I would utilize resources from the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) to tackle the corruption that most affects the average Zambian and attempt to restore confidence in democratic governance. I would also utilize Treasury Department advisers to help the Zambian Government establish tighter fiscal systems so it can better control and account for government revenues, as well as work with other international partners in supporting the government's efforts to hold past and present officials of government accountable for corrupt practices. This will build on the success of the government's efforts, to date, to convince office holders that they will be held accountable for acts of corruption.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous response? What challenges will you face in Zambia in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. A relatively weak judiciary presents obstacles to combating gender-based violence, trafficking in persons, police abuse and systemic corruption. Persons who perpetrate these abuses must be successfully prosecuted and punished in order to convince others not to engage in those behaviors. These human rights issues are exacerbated by widespread poverty, unemployment, lack of quality education, and the widespread incidence of HIV/AIDS and malaria, as those issues have priority claim on the Zambian Government's attention.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make it the responsibility of all United States and locally hired staff of Embassy Lusaka to respect and promote respect for human rights. Whether it is the consular officer who hears of human rights abuses, the economic officer who reports on mining and other economic activity, or the public affairs officer who identifies human rights activists to participate in exchange programs, all members of Embassy Lusaka would have a role to play in promoting respect for human rights.

If confirmed, I will provide leadership on human rights issues by highlighting them in my speeches and interviews and by ensuring officers are encouraged to incorporate human rights activities into their work. I would recommend that those officers of Embassy Lusaka whose responsibilities specifically include human rights be recognized and rewarded for outstanding contributions toward advancing our human rights objectives in Zambia.

Question. In response to a question before your confirmation as Ambassador to Liberia, you described how you have worked to advance human rights quite personally and eloquently. How has your post in Liberia, which is seeking to solidify itself as a democracy after years of terrible conflict and mismanagement, influenced your perspective on this issue?

Answer. My experience in Liberia has reinforced my belief that American diplomats can play decisive roles in promoting democracy and improving respect for human rights.

Following the 2005 presidential elections in Liberia, I played a leading role in convincing the loser of the runoff election to accept the results. The losing candidate had secured a plurality in the first round election, in which 22 candidates ran for the presidency, and he assumed he would win the runoff election held a month later. When he lost, he claimed ballots had been added by the opposition. However, he lacked evidence of widespread fraud and his allegations to that effect were not credible given the widespread monitoring of polling stations by multiple international observer groups as well as of representatives of both parties. Thousands of his youthful supporters took to the streets to support his claim of victory. I went to see him and spent 2 hours, one on one, explaining why his claims of vote rigging and of his victory were not credible and how his persistence in those claims could send the country back into renewed civil conflict. He decided he would present his case to the courts and ask his supporters to cease demonstrations. After several more conversations, he agreed to withdraw his legal challenge so the inauguration of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as President could proceed without lingering legal questions about the election results that could have facilitated a return to violence in Liberia.

As Ambassador to Liberia, I supported the utilization of United States assistance to renovate some of Liberia's decrepit prison facilities so that women and minors could be separated from adult male prisoners. I also instituted a justice sector support program that trained Liberia's first public defenders. The new public defenders secured the release of numerous indigent prisoners who had been held in prison for months pending trial for minor or first offenses.

If confirmed as Ambassador to Zambia, I will continue to use the influence inherent in that position to strengthen democracy and respect for human rights. I would ensure that U.S. assistance is used to address issues such as gender-based violence, trafficking in persons, and corruption.

Question. Women and girls are economically, biologically, and socially more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, and young women in southern Africa are far more likely than their male counterparts to be HIV positive. Violence against women is also all too common in much of the region. If confirmed as ambassador, how would you seek to address these issues?

Answer. Women suffer disproportionately from HIV/AIDS, partly because of their lower social and economic status. If confirmed, I would work to elevate the status of women in Zambian society by promoting girls' education through scholarships and other interventions that encourage parents to keep their daughters in school. I would speak out frequently against gender-based violence and enforce a zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment within the embassy. I would ensure PEPFAR activities in Zambia seek to reduce the risky sexual behavior that results in large numbers of women becoming HIV-infected. Most importantly, I would ensure effective implementation of the Women's Justice and Empowerment Initiative (WJEI). The goals of WJEI are to strengthen laws against gender-based violence and expand enforcement of such laws. Gender-based violence will not decline until those who perpetrate it are consistently punished. Another goal of WJEI is to provide effective support to victims of gender-based violence. To achieve this, I would look at emulating programs that have proven successful in other countries of southern Africa.

RESPONSES OF HON. GILLIAN ARLETTE MILOVANOVIC TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Mali? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in Mali? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. Mali generally respects the human rights of its citizens, although there are problems. Prison conditions remain poor, the judicial system's large case backlog results in long periods of pretrial detention, and discrimination against women persists, with social and cultural factors continuing to limit economic and educational opportunities for most women. Trafficking in persons continues to be a problem, although increased government attention has contributed to more successful efforts to

arrest traffickers and protect trafficking victims. Slavery is illegal in Mali but hereditary servitude relationships between and within certain ethnicities continue to impact groups such as the Bellah, or black Tamacheks, in rural areas.

If confirmed, I will support the continuation of our Shared Governance Program. This program supports Mali's decentralization and local governance efforts by providing training to local (commune) officials, including mayors, communal councils, civil society organizations, media outlets and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) in budget planning, financial management, establishing communal development plans and transparency in managing local resources. Community radio stations play a critical role in the program by broadcasting local debates on development priorities, budget preparation, tax collection and other local government issues. The program also assists women to participate to a greater extent in local government, and provides technical assistance to help women's organizations undertake revenue-generating projects. Finally, the program helps Malians advocate for greater independence in the management of local tax revenues and decision making. With this program, I hope to help the Malian Government and society strengthen their understanding of democracy and their democratic institutions.

If confirmed, I will also make a priority the improvement of the social and health issues that prevent women from full participation in the economic life of the country. Specifically, I hope to maintain programs that encourage girls and young women to attend (and stay in) school, including a scholarship program supported by my predecessor through the President's Africa Education Initiative, that offers educational support to 7,570 girls in 117 schools, principally in northern Mali. As for trafficking in persons, if confirmed, I will encourage the Malian Government to consolidate and fully implement the bilateral agreements it has signed with neighboring states to prevent the trafficking of women and children, and I will further encourage it to establish a law that outlaws all forms of trafficking. I will work with the Malian Government and local NGOs to improve their capacity to protect and reintegrate victims of trafficking and, to the extent possible, training of officials from the Malian judicial branch, to improve prosecution and enforcement efforts.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Mali in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. The Malian Government is committed to improving its already respectable human rights record. There are, however, several obstacles that prevent Mali from addressing specific human rights concerns. Ingrained societal attitudes toward the treatment of women and minority groups, for instance, have made it difficult for Malian political leaders to pass legislation that would provide improved rights for women and children, eliminate the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM), or increase protections for marginalized groups. While there is evidence that many of these societal attitudes are shifting, changing deeply rooted viewpoints poses a long-term challenge. I heartily support the educational efforts I outlined in response to your first question, as well as our public outreach because I believe that education and good communication are fundamental tools in changing societal attitudes.

Mali's level of development poses another serious challenge to the advancement of human rights and democracy. In 2007, Mali ranked 173 out of 177 countries on the U.N.'s Human Development Index. This ranking was due, in large part, to Mali's poor health and education indicators which are among the lowest in the world. Individuals and NGOs working to improve Mali's human rights' practices often cite education levels, even amongst officials within the Malian judiciary and security forces, as one of the main obstacles to progress. Mali is the beneficiary of several Presidential Initiatives in both health and education, and I will help ensure that programs such as the President's Malaria Initiative and the African Education Initiative are effectively implemented.

Severe resource constraints constitute a third major obstacle. While the Malian Government is clearly committed to improving human rights, Mali remains one of the poorest countries in the world. As a result, many good-faith and sincere attempts by Malian officials to improve human rights and democratic practices lack basic funding. To address Mali's resource constraints, I will work with the Malian Government and NGOs to encourage economic growth, particularly in the areas of agriculture and commodities. This is in line with the Malian Government's recent initiative to invest in its agriculture with the goal of becoming a net exporter of grains. Our goals for Mali are increased incomes and poverty reduction. Our strategy is transforming agriculture and value-added commodities, expanding and strengthening markets, and facilitating access to finance. Our program works to develop and reinforce the private sector by targeting opportunities in the production, processing, and trade of selected commodities in key geographic areas. We are en-

couraging Malian Government policy changes, for example, in regional and international trade that can in turn improve the country's incomes. Our program includes the introduction, dissemination, and replication of improved technologies such as seed varieties, fish stock, and management practices in all aspects of agriculture—fisheries/aquaculture, millet/sorghum, and livestock. If confirmed, I will make sure that the mission carefully implements these economic programs which expand economic prospects beyond subsistence level productivity. Economic growth will help supply Mali with the resources it needs for stability and further democratization.

Finally, Mali is a huge country, with a long and porous border, much of it across the trackless expanse of the Sahara Desert. Tuareg unrest in the north is detrimental to progress because it requires the government's attention and resources that could be used instead on human rights efforts. The unrest destabilizes a region that is readily used for arms and drug trafficking. If confirmed, I will coordinate my efforts with those of the other United States Ambassadors to neighboring Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership countries to help stabilize Mali and the region.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. It has been my practice throughout my professional career with the Department of State to place a priority on the promotion of human rights in my country of assignment, and, if confirmed, I will ensure that human rights and democratization remain priorities for Embassy Bamako. I believe that all members of the mission—political and economic officers, consular officers, our public affairs staff, our USAID mission, and Millennium Challenge Account staff—have a responsibility to promote greater respect for human rights in Mali and the consolidation of the country's democratic institutions. If I am confirmed, I will make clear to all who work these critically important issues at Embassy Bamako that they enjoy the full support of the chief of mission, and I will recognize their achievements through the evaluation process, the mission awards program, and through active involvement in their search for an onward assignment.

Question. In response to a question before your confirmation as Ambassador to Macedonia, you described how you have worked to advance human rights in previous posts, particularly in South Africa. How has your posting to Macedonia, your first as chief of mission, influenced your perspective on this issue?

Answer. My posting to Macedonia has served to further strengthen my belief in the importance of human rights, particularly with regard to guarantees and respect for minority rights, and the need to support the development of multiethnic societies. These cornerstones of democracy are critical in South Africa, in Macedonia, and in Mali. In Macedonia, a prime goal has been to work with the Government of Macedonia, municipalities, political parties, and other societal actors to ensure continued implementation of the provisions of the 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement. State Department, USAID, Department of Justice, Department of Defense, Treasury and other United States Government agencies each contributed to helping Macedonia reinforce its multiethnic democracy. We have worked to achieve more equitable representation of nonmajority populations in the public service, and the defense establishment. We have successfully assisted Macedonia's efforts to decentralize power and responsibility to the municipal level in order to bring government closer to the people, thereby providing more efficient services while allowing greater opportunity for citizens of all ethnicities to have an impact on municipal life and policies.

Also in Macedonia, I worked to promote human rights of the Roma. Along with the Government of Macedonia, the United States Government assisted a number of Roma to file for and receive citizenship, has provided scholarships that allow talented secondary and university students, many of them young women, to attend school and obtain degrees. With strong United States support, the Macedonian parliament passed legislation 2 years ago on the equitable preparation of electoral lists that resulted in a significant increase in the number of female members of parliament, making Macedonia a leader in this regard. A Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Tier Two country in danger of falling to Tier Two Watch List when I arrived, Macedonia is on the brink of Tier One status today. Indeed, women's rights, as well as the fight against trafficking in persons, domestic violence, and child abuse have been central to my work throughout my career. My time in Macedonia did not

change my perspective on human rights issues, because I have always felt their importance. But it provided an opportunity to focus on human rights issues and to participate, firsthand, in their development in a new and emerging democracy.

RESPONSES OF PATRICIA McMAHON HAWKINS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Togo? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in the country? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. Among the most pressing human rights issues in Togo is the uneven respect for basic human rights, including freedom of press, association, and speech. Unfortunately, Togo has experienced a long history of human rights abuses. Such abuses included abridgement of citizens' rights to change their government; severe restrictions on freedom of speech, movement, assembly, association, collective bargaining, and the press; unlawful beating and killing of civilians; unlawful imprisonment of journalists, political opponents, and critics of the government; torture; arbitrary arrest and detention; unfair and delayed trials; and harsh prison conditions.

President Faure Gnassingbe's declarations of his intention to institute political, electoral, and economic reform offer some hope that he will lead Togo on the path to democracy. The peaceful, free, and fair parliamentary elections in November 2007 sent a positive signal about President Gnassingbe's commitment but continued vigilance is required. If confirmed, I will press the Government of Togo to implement further political, economic, and electoral reforms.

Trafficking in persons, in particular of children, is another important human rights concern. Although the laws of Togo provide for free primary education, in practice there are financial and cultural constraints that prevent this from becoming a universal reality. The Code of the Child, passed in July 2007, contains harsh penalties for trafficking in children and strengthened the child trafficking provisions of Togo's 2005 Child Trafficking Law. The code should help address this problem, although the government must strengthen efforts to enforce, and raise public awareness about, this legislation. If confirmed, I would urge Government of Togo officials to actively prosecute human traffickers and to cooperate with neighboring governments to control its borders to prevent the trafficking of children through its territory.

Many of Togo's human rights challenges stem from a general disregard for the rule of law, and a lack of trust in the judiciary, security forces, and military. Bringing about lasting change will be difficult and will require the willingness and commitment of all parties—NGOs, civil society in dialog with the Government of Togo and the political opposition—as well as resources and time. If confirmed, I will make continued use of public diplomacy resources to encourage dialog, including digital video conferences, International Visitors Leadership, Humphrey Fellowships, Fulbright Scholar programs, and the use of experts and speakers from the United States to convene seminars in the areas of rule of law, access to media and freedom of the press, and strengthening the role of the judiciary.

If confirmed, I also intend to make effective use of Democracy and Human Rights fund monies in support of activities that address the main problems noted above. By taking these steps, I would hope to improve the political climate and thereby help influence Togo's evolution toward democracy.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Togo in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. If confirmed, the biggest obstacles I will face are those created by the interests and attitudes of persons still in positions of power and influence who have long benefited from practices that disregard human rights and democratic norms. Thirty-eight years of rule by one person inculcated behaviors and practices intended to reinforce the position of one small group of people. It will take time to overcome that legacy.

Specific obstacles include a culture of distrust of the government; an unsophisticated and inexperienced opposition that has unrealistic expectations; and the country's below par human rights performance. These obstacles can only be overcome by broadening the ethnic makeup of the military, allowing a more vibrant free press, and engaging with the opposition while being careful not to threaten long-time ruling party loyalists with a zero-sum outcome. Ethnic unevenness, particularly in the armed forces, and long-held biases are also problems. The judiciary, the security forces, and the military are badly in need of reform.

The challenges will include convincing political actors to keep their focus on a better future and not on past wrongs; convincing the opposition and the government, each deeply distrustful of the other, to engage in a genuine dialog; convincing the military that its real role is defending the country from external threat rather than maintaining the status quo related to one group's political control. The task of combating human trafficking, especially in children, will be complicated by the economic cost of providing real educational opportunities for all the children at risk, and by the force of the tradition or habit of putting children to work at an early age.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. The promotion of democratic systems and practices is a primary goal of the United States and therefore of Embassy Lome. If confirmed as chief of mission, I will continue my predecessor's efforts on this goal and provide highly visible leadership on this issue. The mission will actively look for opportunities to use our Democracy and Human Rights funds and our Ambassador's Self-help Funds for projects that advance the cause of human rights in Togo. All sections of the embassy, consular, political, economic, public diplomacy, and management have roles to play in this important endeavor. I will use the embassy awards program to recognize the valuable contributions in the field of human rights for all members of the embassy team.

Question. What are the most significant actions you have taken in your career to promote human rights and democracy? Why were they important? What was the impact of your actions?

Answer. In all my Foreign Service posts the promotion of democracy and human rights has been one of my primary objectives. As a public diplomacy officer, I have been able to use all of the program tools—the International Visitors Leadership Program, the Fulbright Scholar and Humphrey Fellows programs, U.S. Speakers, libraries (now called Information Resource Centers), Educational and Cultural exchanges of all sorts—to advance these essential U.S. values.

In 1984, in Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo, I guided the National Bar Association in its efforts to print copies of the Electoral Code in Lingala, the most commonly used language, thus making previously inaccessible information available to an enormous number of voters. The financial grant covered the translation, printing, and distribution costs.

In Burkina Faso, as the public affairs officer, I was able to use the programming resources available to support several women's groups as they worked to improve access to health care and political rights and in their fight against domestic violence.

In Colombia, I worked with a local Civitas group to promote civic education in primary and secondary schools, organizing workshops and training programs that brought United States speakers to schools in Colombia. I also funded the translation into Spanish and the publication of educational materials provided by the Center for Civic Education in Los Angeles. These materials were the first of their kind to be used in Colombian schools and are still in use in many Latin American countries. In fact, when I arrived in the Dominican Republic, 5 years later, I found the same materials in use in the local civic education programs. I subsequently facilitated an intra-post purchase of hundreds of copies of the books and shipped them to my counterpart in Havana for distribution there. I received an award from the Government of Colombia in recognition of my efforts to further civic education and voter participation in that country.

In Côte D'Ivoire I continued my focus on human rights, again working with women's groups in their fight against domestic violence, trafficking in children, and uneven access to legal recourse. I helped to equip and fund the first-ever Legal Aid clinic, staffed by female lawyers and legislators, who worked to help women regain custody of their children or an equitable settlement in a divorce. I instituted a program to bring books on democracy, human rights, rule of law, an independent judiciary, and free markets, in French, to all 17 regional information centers throughout the country—many of which had no material of this kind available. I followed up with speaker programs on the same subjects at as many of the centers as possible, using local talent from the mission if we could not find an American expert willing to travel to such far-flung and sometimes dangerous locations. Following the first coup d'etat, during a time of great political and social unrest, I concentrated on programs concerning the media, and the training and protection of journalists.

In the Dominican Republic, greatly concerned with the increasing number of dangerous and illicit voyages across the Mona Passage to Puerto Rico, I created the first-ever public service campaign to expose the dangers and to focus public and governmental attention on the problem. Long an issue of concern to United States authorities and the United States Coast Guard and a bone of contention with the Dominican Government, these trips were blatant examples of trafficking in persons and exploitation of both men and women into indentured servitude and prostitution. Furthermore, the boats that transported people were increasingly used to smuggle narcotics. I worked with the narcotics affairs section of the embassy to produce a campaign that covered all fronts—TV and radio spots, large billboards, press articles, interviews with survivors of shipwrecks, pictures of heroic Coast Guardsmen rescuing Dominicans at sea—the full story of what was actually happening to get across the message that this was a Dominican human rights issue, not a United States immigration control problem. The campaign was an enormous success. Not only did the number of illegal trips diminish, but we succeeded in sensitizing the Dominican public and Government to the harm it was doing to the fabric of their society. The Dominican Navy started cooperating with our Coast Guard in interdiction and prevention, the GODR prosecuted, for the first time, the organizers of such trips for trafficking in people, and the Dominican media continued the campaign without our funding—as a public service. The campaign itself won several international awards for creativity and impact, and the President of the Dominican Republic publicly thanked the United States mission for its help to the Dominican nation.

RESPONSES OF MARIANNE MATUZIC MYLES TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Cape Verde? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in Cape Verde? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. The Government of Cape Verde is committed to the promotion of human rights and, as a whole, has a remarkably good human rights record. However, there are occasional reports of police abuse of detainees, prison conditions are poor, the judicial system is overburdened, and lengthy pretrial detentions and excessive trial delays are common. Domestic and other violence and discrimination against women are serious problems, as are mistreatment of children and child labor practices.

If confirmed, I would stress accelerated progress on human rights as a major point in our dialog with Cape Verde. I would urge Cape Verdean officials to use their country's continued eligibility for trade benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act as a vehicle to further improve Cape Verde's human rights record. I would also encourage nongovernmental organizations to work to increase Cape Verdeans' capacity in safeguarding human rights. Furthermore, I would use the reports on human rights and trafficking in persons to sensitize officials to human rights abuses in Cape Verde, and to stimulate improvement in the respect for those rights.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Cape Verde in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. The latest annual Country Report on Human Rights Practices notes that the government generally respects the human rights of its citizens. There are appropriate constitutional and legal prohibitions against domestic violence, sex discrimination, and child labor. The government, civil society, and the media actively encourage reporting of abuses in these areas. However, longstanding social values and cultural traditions inhibit victims from doing so. Also, while there are mechanisms to deal with spousal abuse, for instance, these mechanisms neither ensure punishment of those responsible nor prevent future violence. Effecting change is, therefore, a considerable challenge.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. It is the responsibility of all United States and locally employed officers and staff at Embassy Praia to promote human rights. This pertains to the consular officer who hears of human rights abuses while conducting visa interviews and prison visits, to the public affairs officer who identifies human rights activists who should participate in our international programs, to the economic officer who learns of child labor violations.

As chief of mission, if confirmed, I will provide leadership on this issue and will recommend commendations for the outstanding contributions of staff members at my mission who are responsible for advancing our human rights objectives in Cape Verde.

Question. What are the most significant actions you have taken in your career to promote human rights and democracy? Why were they important? What was the impact of your actions?

Answer. During my 30-plus year Foreign Service career, I have worked to protect human rights and advance democracy in many places and in multiple ways. In Bogota, Colombia, I made regular visits to Americans in prison, ensuring that they understood their rights, received adequate nourishment and medical attention, and were not physically abused. While there, I made it a point to meet other prisoners and learn about their treatment. I believe those expressions of interest alone served as a deterrent to potential abuse. In southern Brazil, I ensured the consular officers under my supervision established a regular schedule of such visits, and I met frequently with a wide range of law enforcement, media, and judicial and legislative branch officials to encourage improvement in Brazil's human rights record. I also oversaw our International Visitor Program selection process in which we carefully chose participants for rule of law, civil society, and democracy and journalism programs.

In Italy, I worked closely with law enforcement and military officials to address human rights and rule of law issues associated with the activities of the Camorra and Mafia. In Uruguay, I established strong relationships with the military to uncover, to the maximum extent possible, information about human rights abuses during the past period of military dictatorship—especially in the area of disappeared persons. Those cooperative efforts helped strengthen democracy and human rights in Uruguay by bringing under scrutiny the tragedy of past abuses and creating the opportunity for victims' families to have the benefit of closure on the past.

These activities and others were important for a number of reasons, not least among them the goal of ensuring that foreign publics knew that the United States stood squarely on the side of freedom, democracy, and respect for human rights. Similarly, foreign governments and officials knew that our close monitoring of these issues ensured that lapses or the abused would not go unnoticed and would affect our bilateral relations.

RESPONSES OF DONALD GENE TEITELBAUM TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Ghana? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in Ghana? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. The Government of Ghana generally respects human rights. Continuing problems in Ghana include vigilante justice, the use of excessive force by police, harsh prison conditions, police corruption, impunity, violence against women and children, human trafficking, and child labor. Recently, the Government of Ghana has made significant steps to improve protection of human rights, including passing legislation on domestic violence and criminalizing the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM).

If I am confirmed, I will continue the broad programmatic outreach the embassy conducts under the Democracy and Human Rights Fund, and program funds from INL—Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs—to address existing human rights problems. As a result of past INL work with Ghana Police, human rights training has been incorporated in basic skills police training courses offered to new police recruits in Ghana's police academy. My public diplomacy section will also bring human rights issues to the forefront with speakers, NGO functions, journalist training sessions, and other activities. We will thus inform the public, work to address abuses, and engage closely with the local NGO community and the government.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Ghana in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. The main obstacle that I foresee in addressing the human rights challenges in Ghana is lack of resources. The Ghanaian Government has the political will to effect change, and it has expertise in many areas. However, its capacity to engage on a broad front of human right issues is limited by budget shortfalls and staff capacity. Ministry officials with responsibility for assisting trafficking victims lack proper reception facilities, and have only limited funds for reintegration programs. The Justice Ministry lacks sufficient trained prosecutors for trafficking cases. Prison authorities have long acknowledged the harsh conditions in their prisons, conditions the result of dilapidated prison infrastructure and limited financial resources. The police have limited training facilities and training budgets to instruct officers in proper procedures. While Ghana's democracy is vibrant and respect for the rule of law is widespread, Ghana's institutions are still rather new and relatively fragile. Other obstacles to addressing human rights are corruption and some traditional practices which, in a modern context, would constitute abuse. If confirmed, I would work to engage Ghanaian society at all levels, throughout the country. I would remind Ghanaians of their challenges, but I would also remind them of our shared values of human rights and democracy, and consistently offer America's partnership and assistance.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. If confirmed as Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana, I would seek to ensure that the activities of the United States Embassy consistently reflect the objectives of United States foreign policy and the core values of America. Support for human rights has been a cornerstone of our policy and values from the assertion of the unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in our Declaration of Independence to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's enunciation of the "Four Freedoms" in 1941 to our current National Security Strategy which states that "People everywhere want to be able to speak freely; choose who will govern them; worship as they please; educate their children—male and female; own property; and enjoy the benefits of their labor. These values of freedom are right and true for every person, in every society—and the duty of protecting these values against their enemies is the common calling of freedom-loving people across the globe and across the ages."

If confirmed, I would seek to ensure that my own actions and statements make clear the importance of human rights promotion inside and outside the embassy. When embassy employees see the ambassador raising human rights issues frequently and assertively, they know that it is a mission priority. Actions usually speak louder than words. If confirmed, I would want to be sure that the embassy's internal policies and actions set a positive example. In particular, I would want the embassy's treatment of its American and Ghanaian employees to reflect the value that Americans attach to diversity, equal opportunity, and the respect and dignity due to all people.

If confirmed, I would encourage and recognize superior performance in human rights activities. Department-wide and embassy awards programs provide a tool for that purpose. I believe that being open about the Department's recognition, via promotion and assignments, of my own efforts on human rights will help encourage members of my staff to work for similar recognition.

Question. What are the most significant actions you have taken in your career to promote human rights and democracy? Why were they important? What was the impact of your actions?

Answer. During my 23 years in the Foreign Service, many of my most professionally significant and personally rewarding moments have been linked to the promotion of human rights and democracy.

In Somalia, from 1992 to 1994, I worked with the United States Liaison Office and was attached on several occasions to the United States Marine Corps and the United States Army as a political advisor. In that capacity, I helped create a secure environment for the distribution of food and humanitarian supplies. I also worked to encourage Somali efforts toward reestablishment of government. The distribution of food and humanitarian supplies directly saved thousands of lives from starvation. Sadly, the cost of the failure of Somali leaders to take advantage of the opportuni-

ties provided by international intervention from 1992 to 1994 is starkly evident even today.

Working on Sudan issues from Nairobi from 1997 to 2000 and at the National Security Council from 2003 to 2005, much of my focus was on human rights and democratization. I believe that my work on North-South issues contributed to reaching the North-South Comprehensive Peace Agreement. I worked with USAID and Southern Sudanese officials to reopen the Rumbek Senior Secondary School, at the time the only secondary school in South Sudan. I do not know what the future will hold for South Sudan. In the long term, however, creating educational opportunities for Southern Sudanese children will allow them to participate in their own governance, whatever shape it may take.

Since 2000, much of my time has been dedicated to the issue of HIV/AIDS. In Uganda from 2000 to 2003, I worked with USAID and CDC on HIV/AIDS programming which provided models of success that have been emulated globally. During that period, the United States Embassy in Kampala became what I understand to be the first in the world to establish a formal policy of providing ARV treatment for locally employed staff. Beyond the direct benefit for our staff, we used this program as a model for local employers. We showed them our cost-benefit analysis, demonstrating to them that providing ARVs was a sound financial decision as well as a morally correct decision. At the National Security Council I worked on the early phases of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). With bipartisan support from Congress, this program is well on its way to achieving its goals of supporting treatment for 2 million HIV-infected people, prevention of 7 million new HIV infections, and care for 10 million people infected and affected by HIV/AIDS, including orphans and vulnerable children. In South Africa I have worked on the implementation of the world's largest PEPFAR program. We are currently on track to meet our target of achieving 25 percent of global goals.

Question. Ghana has a relatively strong record on human rights. Do you think it can serve as a model for other countries in the region that have struggled on this front?

Answer. Ghana does have a strong record on human rights and I believe that it does serve as a model for other countries in the region. However, we must always remain vigilant to ensure that this and any future Ghanaian administration continues to respect and protect human rights of its citizens. If confirmed, I would advocate continued respect for human rights in Ghana and urge the Ghanaian Government to encourage and to assist countries in the region which face human rights challenges to emulate their many successes.

RESPONSES OF PETER W. BODDE TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Malawi? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in the country? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. While the Government of Malawi generally respects human rights, serious violations still occur in some areas. As indicated in the 2007 Country Report on Human Rights, unlawful killing by security forces, police use of excessive force including torture, occasional mob violence, and harsh and life-threatening prison conditions are problems in Malawi. Arbitrary arrest and detention, including politically motivated arrests have occurred in the past and threaten to undermine the legitimacy of the political system. Government restrictions on freedoms of speech, press, and assembly, and societal violence against women, child abuse, trafficking in persons, restricted worker rights, and forced child labor were also problems.

Over the past 8 months, an ongoing dispute between the ruling party and the opposition has become an increasing concern, as well. This dispute centers around the right of members of parliament to switch political parties during their terms. As a result of this dispute, there have been long periods during which Parliament has not met and Parliament has not been able to conduct any routine business. This matter has been put to the courts and there are ongoing negotiations between the ruling party and the opposition to resolve this dispute, which remains a significant obstacle to the smooth functioning of the democratic system in Malawi. If I am confirmed, and this matter remains unresolved, I will strongly encourage all parties to resolve the dispute as quickly as possible.

Furthermore, I will also work with the Government of Malawi and civil society to help address the broad range of human rights issues and support democracy in Malawi:

- Through diplomatic outreach, ensure embassy officers, as well as myself, continue to raise human rights issues with appropriate Malawian Government officials and nongovernmental organizations.
- Through public diplomacy programs, promote discussion among American and Malawian academics, civil society representatives, and opinion leaders on issues such as corruption, good governance, and women's rights.
- With Human Rights and Democracy Fund grants, partner with nongovernmental organizations and civil society to raise awareness and support human rights and democracy activities.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Malawi in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. The inability of the Parliament to address any routine business is one of the biggest obstacles to addressing human rights in Malawi at this time. In light of the ongoing dispute between the ruling party and the opposition and upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections in 2009, it is critical that the international community make every effort to support Malawi's democratic institutions and processes. If confirmed, I will continue Ambassador Eastham's efforts to encourage a resolution of the dispute over the right of members of parliament to switch political parties during their terms. I will also continue Embassy Lilongwe's efforts, through diplomatic and public interventions and financial assistance, to support preparations for the upcoming elections and key players in the electoral process including the media, nongovernmental organizations and international and domestic observers who will help ensure the legitimacy of the electoral result.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. The promotion of democracy and human rights has been, and will continue to be, a priority of the United States Embassy in Malawi, if I am confirmed as ambassador. I attach great importance to human rights issues, and if confirmed, I will ensure that all mission staff, no matter their agency affiliation, continue to collaborate with Malawian leaders and civil society organizations to promote democracy and human rights to the greatest extent possible. I will also ensure that employees working on human rights issues under my direction are professionally acknowledged, nominated for awards, and otherwise appropriately rewarded for superior performance.

Question. What are the most significant actions you have taken in your career to promote human rights and democracy? Why were they important? What was the impact of your actions?

Answer. I believe it is the personal responsibility of all U.S. diplomats to work to promote human rights, on both a systemic and individual level. While it can be difficult to know the direct impact of our efforts, even simple inquiries when made on behalf of the U.S. Government, can lead to improved treatment of detained individuals, stronger democratic processes, and increased independence for the media. I have made promoting democracy and respect for human rights cornerstones of my career and will continue to advance these objectives in Malawi if I am confirmed. Supporting free and fair elections is an important element of the democratic process. I have extensive experience as an elections observer from my time in Bulgaria in 1988 to my work on elections in Nepal in 1994–1995. Recently, I led the embassy's efforts during the 2008 elections in Pakistan. Our presence and active engagement in all these elections helped ensure a more dynamic process and greatly increased the likelihood of transparent and credible results.

I also have worked to promote the rights of refugees. While serving in Nepal, I became aware that the then newly-elected Nepalese Government, in an effort to enhance its relationship with China, had changed its longstanding policy of allowing Tibetan refugees to transit Nepal while en route to eventual settlement in India. Thanks in part to my interventions, the government reversed its policy and returned to its longstanding practice of allowing Tibetans to transit Nepal. While in

Nepal, I also worked with refugees and victims of torture from Bhutan, helping ensure they received appropriate medical care and protection.

As Deputy Chief of Mission in Pakistan, I have worked on the full range of human rights issues. For example, during a declared state of emergency, I personally advocated on behalf of political detainees so that they could have access to critical medicines and meet with family members and others during their confinement. I also advocated for their timely release. In addition, I have been a consistent and vocal advocate for press freedom, intervening on behalf of individual journalists and interceding with the Government of Pakistan regarding the issue of press freedom more broadly.

Question. Malawi has one of the higher HIV prevalence rates in the world but has not been a focus country for PEPFAR or leading recipient of United States assistance. If confirmed as ambassador, how would you see your role in efforts to combat HIV/AIDS?

Answer. While not a "focus country," Malawi has received significant United States Government support through PEPFAR and through the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. From fiscal year 2004 to 2008, PEPFAR will have provided more than \$89 million to support comprehensive HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and care programs in Malawi. These funds are used to leverage Global Fund activities. Since 2002, the Global Fund committed a maximum of \$407 million for HIV/AIDS programs in Malawi. The United States Government is the largest contributor to the Global Fund, having provided approximately 30 percent of all resources to date, so that the United States share of Global Fund grants to Malawi is approximately \$122 million.

While the United States has made a significant contribution to combating HIV/AIDS in Malawi, much remains to be done, particularly with regard to slowing the spread of new HIV infections and improving the distribution of drugs for treatment across the country. If confirmed, I will dedicate myself to maximizing the impact of U.S. Government and other programs and work hard to fight this terrible disease.

RESPONSES OF STEPHEN JAMES NOLAN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. What, in your view, are the most pressing human rights issues in Botswana? What are the steps you expect to take, if confirmed, to promote human rights and democracy in Botswana? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. While the Government of Botswana generally respects human rights, there are still areas of concern, including lengthy delays in the judicial process; overcrowded prison conditions; some restrictions on press freedom; violence against women; societal discrimination against homosexuals, persons with HIV/AIDS, and the ethnic minority San; and government restrictions on the right to strike. Some international and local nongovernmental organizations have also raised concerns about how the death penalty is administered in Botswana. The government has publicly recognized and sought improvements in several of these areas.

If confirmed, I will work with the Government of Botswana and civil society to help address major human rights issues and support democracy in Botswana. I will raise human rights issues with government officials and use all means of diplomatic outreach to ensure that these issues remain at the forefront of our diplomatic dialog. I will also use the media and public diplomacy programs to promote discussion among American and Botswana academics, civil society representatives, and opinion leaders on human rights issues including respect for marginalized communities, such as the San, if confirmed. Finally, I will encourage the mission to use Human Rights and Democracy Fund grants to support nongovernmental organizations and civil society in Botswana so as to raise awareness of and support for human rights and promote more active democratic debate.

Through these efforts, I hope to accomplish two goals. The first is the continued solidification and advancement of Botswana's democratic systems and processes as they relate to human rights. The second will be the promotion and encouragement of Botswana as a regional and continental leader in this critical area.

Question. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous responses? What challenges will you face in Botswana in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. As Botswana transitions to middle-income status, it becomes increasingly incumbent on domestic organizations to advocate for respect for human rights and robust democratic debate. Helping local organizations and the government understand how to engage on such issues without relying on high levels of donor support will be one of my key objectives, if I am confirmed. Following the precedent set by Ambassador Canavan and our current team in Gaborone, I will seek to use modest grants, public diplomacy, and diplomatic outreach to increase the capacity of local organizations so that they are less reliant on international support and able to advocate effectively through the media and the domestic political systems on issues which they deem important to Botswana's continued development as a democratic country that fully recognizes the rights of all its citizens.

Question. If confirmed in your new position, what steps will you take to ensure that promotion of human rights objectives will be an integral part of the U.S. Embassy's activities? If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that Foreign Service officers who engage in human rights activities are encouraged and professionally rewarded for superior service?

Answer. The promotion of democracy and human rights remains a high priority U.S. goal to which I attach great importance. If confirmed, I will ensure that all mission staff—State Department, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Department of Defense (DOD), Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and other U.S. agencies active at post—continue to collaborate with Botswana leaders and civil society organizations to promote democracy and human rights to the greatest extent possible. I will also ensure that employees working on human rights issues under my direction are professionally acknowledged, nominated for awards, and otherwise appropriately rewarded for superior performance.

Question. What are the most significant actions you have taken in your career to promote human rights and democracy? Why were they important? What was the impact of your actions?

Answer. I have always strongly believed that human rights begin at home, and that our embassies should be seen as leaders and role models in terms of employment benefits and labor practices for locally engaged staff (LES). As Executive Director of the Bureau of African Affairs, I have made the fair and equitable treatment of LES at our 50 posts a top priority. Despite tight operational budgets, we have approved salary increases each year, improved health coverage, and enhanced retirement plans for LES employees. Another priority area has been to support training programs that empower our LES personnel, helping them reach their full potential and enhance their operational effectiveness. I have also helped ensure that the Bureau of African Affairs has strong programs in place at our posts to prevent all forms of discrimination.

During my assignment as Consul General in Cape Town, South Africa, I oversaw an active and effective public affairs program focused on advancing the United States Government's public diplomacy goals across the spectrum of human rights issues. We sponsored events on awareness and prevention of violence against women, child abuse, HIV/AIDS stigma, and international crime, with an emphasis on trafficking in people. In the battle for public opinion, we used innovative as well as tried-and-true means to explain United States policies to South African audiences. We sent members of the historically disadvantaged black community to the United States on International Visitor grants, arranged for speakers, and linked local audiences with top U.S. experts via digital video conferencing (DVC) and satellite TV programs, helping to shape opinion by exposing people to points of view they would not have heard otherwise. We also aligned our Self-Help Program funds to support these objectives, with particular focus on projects supporting economic empowerment of women and the historically disadvantaged black community.

In terms of promoting democracy, our program to reach out to Cape Town's Muslim community was recognized as one of the most active and successful of its kind in Africa. The program included a multipart DVC series on "Islam in America," featuring prominent American Muslims and exposing South African Muslim journalists and opinion leaders to facets of United States life that were little known to them. The participants came away impressed with the breadth of Muslim life in the United States, and one participant noted that immigrant American Muslims seemed to have found "far greater" freedom of religion than in their countries of origin. We also provided training for key support staff of the South African parliament, exposing them to the American system of government and our legislative process.

Question. What accounts for Botswana's reputation as one of Africa's most democratic and stable countries? Are there any potential threats to this stability or to civil rights and liberties in the country? Can Botswana's democracy serve as a model

for countries in the region that have struggled to create or maintain democratic traditions or is it a product of circumstances that are not likely to be replicated elsewhere?

Answer. Botswana's tradition of consensus building, starting at the village level, has been an important element of the country's stability and success. Participatory pluralism permeates Botswana's politics, and the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has ably ruled since independence in 1966. It is notable, however, that many local observers say that the longer one party continues to govern the greater the risk of governmental ossification, so often seen in other countries with long-term single party rule. As Botswana prepares for general elections in October 2009, continued support for the media and civil society will be vital to help ensure more Botswana feel like they have a genuine stake in their own polity and economic future, so as to enhance democratic systems and security, both domestically and regionally.

The uncertain situation in Zimbabwe poses a challenge to stability throughout southern Africa, and particularly to neighboring states such as Botswana. The Government of Botswana, through the Southern African Development Community (SADC), has encouraged actively a resolution of the Zimbabwean crisis in a manner that fully reflects the will of the Zimbabwean people. If I am confirmed, I will consider it my responsibility, both as Ambassador to Botswana and as Secretary Rice's Representative to SADC, to advocate aggressively for a full resolution of this crisis. The Mugabe regime and its security forces must stop the violence and intimidation against the Movement for Democratic Change and its supporters and recognize that the people of Zimbabwe voted for change and their will must be respected.

Finally, on the question of Botswana's role as a model for other countries in Africa, yes, I do believe Botswana can serve as a model and that other nations have lessons to learn from Botswana's impressive success. One of the most critical lessons one can draw from Botswana is the tremendous positive impact of having low levels of corruption. Botswana has been able to make maximum use of its diamond wealth in large part because corruption has not sabotaged its mining industry or warped its government. Thanks to the government's vigilant stand against corruption, Botswana has successfully provided critical health and education services to its populace and is in a strong position to attract foreign investment to help diversify and sustain the country's economic growth. Respect for human rights and dynamic political debate are also keys to Botswana's political stability and strength. While all democracies are a work in progress, Botswana has accomplished much and is rightly recognized as a model by many of its neighbors.

RESPONSE OF STEPHEN JAMES NOLAN TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD

Question. Some human rights groups remain concerned about periodic reports of secret executions taking place in Botswana. What is the United States doing to investigate these reports?

Answer. The Government of Botswana generally respects human rights and the legal system allows for a full trial and appeals process. Defendants in capital cases who cannot afford legal representation are provided legal counsel by the state. Some international and local nongovernmental organizations, however, have raised concerns about how the death penalty is administered in Botswana.

In a June 2007 report entitled "The Death Penalty in Botswana: Hasty and Secretive Hangings," the International Federation for Human Rights and DITSHWANELO-The Botswana Center for Human Rights (BCHR) questioned several elements of capital punishment administration including the quality of public counsel provided to defendants in death penalty cases and the lack of notice to families, attorneys, and advocacy groups when some sentences were carried out. The United States noted the concerns of BCHR in the 2003 Country Report on Human Rights Practices saying, "During the year, the Botswana Center for Human Rights (BCHR) protested the executions of four convicted murderers, whose families and attorneys had not received prior notice of the executions, and criticized the secrecy surrounding executions."

I take the concerns raised in the June 2007 BCHR report very seriously. Our embassy in Gaborone reports that while elements of the administration of capital punishment in Botswana could be improved, there is no clear evidence of a denial of due process or judicial review in the cases which have been brought to our attention. Should I be confirmed, I will continue United States efforts to work with the Government of Botswana, local and international nongovernmental organizations, and the media to promote respect for human rights and civil liberties in Botswana and throughout the region.

RESPONSE OF MARCIA STEPHENS BERNICAT TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD

Question. Senegal has been widely praised by Western and African civil society organizations alike for making strides toward good governance, rule of law, and adherence to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other human rights instruments. This trend makes the recent spate of arrests of and violence against gay men in Senegal all the more surprising and worrisome. If confirmed as United States Ambassador to Senegal, would you address these sorts of issues as human rights concerns? Do you believe the United States should play a role—perhaps by using HIV and Democracy and Governance funding—in decreasing the stigma against Senegal's lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community and promoting a broader understanding of human rights? How?

Answer. The arrest of two gay men as a result of the publishing of photos of their marriage in a local magazine and the ensuing street demonstrations against homosexuals underscore widespread concerns about the state of human rights in Senegal. If confirmed, I would address these incidents as human rights issues in concert with local human rights NGOs such as Raddho (African Rally for Human Rights), the local chapter of Amnesty International, the National Human Rights Organization (ONDH), and the International Federation for Human Rights (FDIH).

I believe our role should consist of the continued use of embassy-sponsored programs and other educational tools to underline the universality of human rights, as defined in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and other key international covenants. In addition, there should be a U.S. role in decreasing this stigma through support for the activities of indigenous institutions and groups. All of the previously mentioned local NGOs played a role in the release of the two men who were arrested, and all of these groups have the potential to have an impact on Senegal's tolerance for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals.

Senegal's traditionally tolerant society is changing as its traditional mores confront western ones and is at a crossroads in accepting homosexuality in its society. Islamic traditionalists see homosexuality as contrary to the precepts of their religion. However, Senegal is a moderate country with a constitution that guarantees individual freedom. There are extremists who would like to see homosexuality treated as a criminal offense subject to severe sentencing and are trying to encourage Islamic leaders to lead the charge. Senegal's influential Sufi brotherhoods have so far elected not to press for criminalization of homosexuality. The manner in which the United States approaches the subject, and in which we engage and cooperate with local religious institutions, will require sustained effort as well as sensitivity to evolving local culture.

RESPONSE OF DONALD GENE TEITELBAUM TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD

Question. The State Department's most recent human rights reports note that in Ghana, "the law criminalizes homosexuality, and lesbians and gays faced widespread discrimination, as well as police harassment and extortion attempts." Such governmental abuse and discrimination have been described in reports by the U.S. Government and numerous United States and international human rights organizations for years, and yet the legal and societal issues remain unaddressed. Would you, if confirmed as United States Ambassador, be willing to meet with Ghanaian Government officials as well as some of the leaders of the LGBT human rights community in Ghana to discuss these serious findings?

Answer. If confirmed as United States Ambassador, I would meet with Ghanaian Government officials as well as some of the leaders of the LGBT human rights community in Ghana to discuss the findings in reports by the United States Government and by numerous United States and international human rights organizations. I believe it is important for U.S. Embassies to seek and maintain a broad range of contacts. I also believe that the words and actions of U.S. Embassies must reflect the core values of America, particularly the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

RESPONSES OF MARCIA STEPHENS BLOOM BERNICAT TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. Yes, I have read 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations as well as 07 State 78240, dated June, 6, 2007—Peace Corps-State Department Relations.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. Yes, I understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in 04 STATE 258893 and 07 STATE 78240—Peace Corps-State Department Relations.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that “the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy” and that “the Peace Corps’s role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies”?

Answer. I fully understand and accept that “the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy” and that “the Peace Corps’s role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies.” Peace Corps’ presence in a host country must be initiated by the host government, and Peace Corps programs are contingent upon support for and articulated need of both the host government and local communities in which volunteers serve. A close working relationship between Peace Corps and the host government is essential to Peace Corps’ ability to function, and this necessity renders its relationship with the mission fundamentally different from those of other U.S. Government agencies.

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise your chief of mission “authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies”?

Answer. Per Secretary Rice’s requests in 3.B of the cable, I pledge to exercise my chief of mission “authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies.” Autonomy and flexibility are essential to the Peace Corps’ ability to work effectively at the grassroots level, and the U.S. mission under my leadership, if confirmed, will not interfere with the day-to-day operations of the Peace Corps.

RESPONSES OF PETER W. BODDE TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. I have read 04 STATE 258893, as well as STATE 78240 dated June 6, 2007, which both concern relations between Peace Corps and the U.S. Department of State.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. Yes, I understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in 04 STATE 258893 and 07 STATE 78240.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that “the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy” and that “the Peace Corps’s role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies”?

Answer. Yes, I fully understand that Peace Corps activities must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy. I very much value the important role Peace Corps’ volunteers play in helping people around the world better understand and appreciate the United States.

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise your chief of mission “authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies”?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to exercise my chief of mission authorities to provide Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies.

RESPONSES OF GULLIAN ARLETTE MILOVANOVIC TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. Yes, I have read 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations as well as 07 State 78240, dated June, 6, 2007—Peace Corps-State Department Relations.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. I fully understand and agree to abide by the principles in this cable that guide the Department's dealings with the Peace Corps.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies"?

Answer. I fully understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies."

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise your chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies"?

Answer. Yes. I pledge to do so.

RESPONSES OF HON. DONALD E. BOOTH TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. I have read 04 STATE 258893, as well as 07 STATE 78240 dated June 6, 2007, which both concern relations between Peace Corps and the U.S. Department of State.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. Yes, I understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in 04 STATE 258893 and 07 STATE 78240.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies"?

Answer. I understand and accept that the Peace Corps can only achieve the purposes for which it was founded if it remains substantially independent from the day-to-day conduct of our foreign policy.

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise your chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies"?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to exercise my chief of mission authorities to provide Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies.

RESPONSES OF DONALD GENE FEITELBAUM TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. I have read 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations as well as 07 State 78240, dated June 6, 2007—Peace Corps-State Department Relations.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. I understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies"?

Answer. I understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies."

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise your chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies"?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise my chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies."

RESPONSES OF MARIANNE MATUZIC MYLES TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. Yes, I have read that cable on Peace Corps-State relations as well as the later one, 07 STATE 78240, dated June 6, 2007.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. Yes, I understand and agree to abide by the principles in this cable, which guide the Department's dealings with the Peace Corps.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies"?

Answer. Yes, I understand and accept this.

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise our chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies"?

Answer. Yes, I pledge to do so.

RESPONSES OF PATRICIA McMAHON HAWKINS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. I have read 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations as well as 07 State 78240, dated June 6, 2007—Peace Corps-State Department Relations.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. I understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies"?

Answer. I understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies."

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise your chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies"?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise my chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies."

RESPONSES OF STEPHEN JAMES NOLAN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Have you read the cable ref: 04 STATE 258893—Peace Corps-State Department Relations?

Answer. I have read 04 STATE 258893, as well as STATE 78240 dated June 6, 2007, which both concern relations between Peace Corps and the U.S. Department of State.

Question. Do you understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in this cable?

Answer. Yes, I understand and agree to abide by the principles set forth in 04 STATE 258893 and 07 STATE 78240.

Question. Specifically, do you understand and accept that "the Peace Corps must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy" and that "the Peace Corps's role and its need for separation from the day-to-day activities of the mission are not comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies"?

Answer. Yes, I fully understand that Peace Corps activities must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy. I also understand that the mission of Peace Corps is not comparable to those of other government agencies.

Question. Do you pledge, as Secretary Rice requests in 3.B of the cable, to exercise your chief of mission "authorities so as to provide the Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies"?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to exercise my chief of mission authorities to provide Peace Corps with as much autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day operations as possible, so long as this does not conflict with U.S. objectives and policies.

