

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

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—
JANUARY 30 THROUGH DECEMBER 19, 2007
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
110TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

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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

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ANTONY J. BLINKEN, *Staff Director*

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

*Note: Appointed February 12, 2008.

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 2007

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

Cook, Frederick B., to be Ambassador to the Central African Republic
Garvelink, William John, to be Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of the Congo
Green, Mark, to be Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania
Nesbitt, Wanda. L., to be Ambassador to the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire
Nolan, Robert B., to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Lesotho
Parker, Maurice S., to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Swaziland
Perry, June Carter, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:06 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Russell D. Feingold presiding.

Present: Senators Feingold, Cardin, and Sununu.

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

Senator FEINGOLD. I'll call this hearing to order.

And I'd like to begin by thanking our seven nominees for being here today. But more importantly, for your many years of service, and for your willingness to work in some of the more demanding positions in the U.S. Government and in some of the most challenging posts in the world.

The countries to which you have been appointed cover all four of sub-Saharan Africa's distinctive regions: East, West, Southern and Central, and are unique in the challenges and opportunities they currently face.

If you are confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you in overcoming these challenges and developing the potential of these countries in an increasingly important part of 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 on these new positions.

Given the large number of nominees this morning, I will forego an opening statement to allow each of you to present your quali-

fications, and objectives for your appointed position as an Ambassador of the United States.

I'd like to express my sincere gratitude for your willingness to serve this country, and emphasize the significance of the role each of you—if confirmed—will play in U.S. foreign policy. I believe that diplomacy is a crucial element in America's struggle to combat extremism, defend human rights, and promote stability and prosperity abroad, in a way that is consistent with our values and our national—and global—security.

At this time, I'd like to just see if my friend and colleague, Senator Cardin, has anything he would like to add.

Senator CARDIN. Well, Mr. Chairman, let me just also join you in welcoming our distinguished guests today, who all have distinguished careers in public service, and are prepared to serve in an extremely important part of the world for the United States. And I look forward to their testimony, and again, I welcome them to our committee.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Senator Cardin.

At this time, I'd like to invite our first panel of nominees to present your statements, after which I look forward to engaging each of you in a brief discussion about your qualifications and expectations going into these important positions.

Thank you, again, for being here, and for all that you do for our country.

Congressman Green, it's a pleasure to welcome a fellow Wisconsinite and, I might add, a graduate of my older daughter's alma mater, University of Wisconsin Eau Claire. You are welcome to begin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MARK GREEN, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA**

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, I am honored to be here with you today.

Please let me begin by thanking you, Mr. Chairman—and the Committee—for holding this hearing, and for inviting me to appear. Of course, I am grateful to the President, and to Secretary Rice, for the trust and confidence that they've placed in me as nominee for Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to take a moment to pay tribute to the commitment that you have personally shown to American policy in East Africa. As a constituent, I'm proud of the many trips that you've made to the region, and I'm proud of the fact that you've taken the time to meet with State Department officers in the field for their on-the-ground assessments.

This region is facing momentous times, and it needs leaders back here who honestly care about its future. Mr. Chairman, I share your great interest in this part of the world. I've been active in foreign policy matters for some years, and I've had an especially strong interest in Africa. I've had the privilege of serving for three terms on the House International Relations Committee. I was a member of the subcommittees dealing with Africa and human rights in both the 108th and 109th Congress. I played a leading role in crafting the Millennium Challenge Account—that historic

commitment to invest in developing nations that are pursuing political and economic reforms. I played an important role in crafting the Global Access to HIV/AIDS Prevention, Awareness and Treatment Act, and the United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act.

I worked on legislation covering critically important policy areas like human trafficking. Several years ago, I worked with the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, and the State Department as an election observer in Kenya. Before that—along with Congressman Earl Pomeroy, I traveled to West Africa, with the Academy for Educational Development, Oxfam and Save the Children, to evaluate programs related to women's health and education in Africa.

In many ways, though, my interest in East Africa goes back much further. Twenty years ago, my wife Sue—and Sue is with me here today, she's the cheering section—Sue and I had the great honor as serving as high school teachers in Kenya through a program called World Teach Project, which was based at Harvard University. Though we spent most of our time in Kenya, we had the chance to travel in the area of Western Tanzania—rural areas, as well. We lived in a small village setting, and taught each day at a rural school, struggling to provide rudimentary educational opportunities. As teachers, we faced critical shortages, and watched our students' families struggle with malaria, and malnutrition-enhanced diseases. We, ourselves, were afflicted with malaria and typhoid during our time there.

In short, we saw first-hand in Kenya, some of the challenges that likewise face Tanzania. Just as importantly, like you, we saw the strength and the resilience of the people in that region. I know that we have to work closely with Tanzania to help it realize its enormous potential. That means working through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief—to lead efforts to fight the spread of AIDS, and to provide treatment for those who are infected. It also means working with government leaders and NGOs, to bring new development opportunities to all parts of the nation.

As one of the original authors of the Millennium Challenge Act, I look forward to the opportunity to work with the Tanzanian Government, as it hopes to conclude an MCC compact, which would be the largest compact to date. I hope that our experience in Tanzania will serve to help us back here build on the MCA, and make this historic initiative stronger and even more effective.

Mr. Chairman, I know that our dealings with the Government of Tanzania must be approached in a regional context. Tanzania is a crucial partner in our efforts to stop the spread of radicalism, extremism, and terrorism. We must work with our regional partners to provide real economic and educational opportunities for the families there. Hope and opportunity are the best antidotes to extremism.

In addition to its work against terrorism, Tanzania's also played a constructive role in resolving regional conflicts. Its efforts to serve as an honest broker in peace negotiations are making an important contribution to East African development.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, it will be an honor to serve as Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania. I promise to work re-

lently to strengthen and improve United States/Tanzanian relations, as we push toward our common goals. I'm confident that I possess the skills and the experience necessary to lead our embassy in Dar Es Salaam, and to represent and advocate for the interests of the United States in Tanzania and in that region.

Thank you, again, Mr. Chairman, and I'd be pleased to respond to any questions that you might have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Green follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MARK GREEN, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today. Please let me begin by thanking you, Mr. Chairman, and the Foreign Relations Committee, for holding this hearing and inviting me to appear. And, of course, I'm grateful to the President and to Secretary Rice for the trust and confidence they have placed in me as the nominee for Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the commitment you have personally shown to American policy regarding East Africa. As a constituent, I know you have made many trips to the region, and you have made it a priority to meet with State Department officers in the field for their on-the-ground assessments of the situation.

Mr. Chairman, I share your great interest in this part of the world. I have been active in foreign policy matters for some years, and I have had an especially strong interest in our Government's policies toward Africa. I had the privilege of serving on the House International Relations Committee in the 107th, 108th, and 109th Congresses, and was a member of the subcommittees dealing with Africa and human rights in both the 108th and 109th Congress.

I played a leading role in crafting the Millennium Challenge Act, America's historic commitment to invest in developing nations that are pursuing political and economic reforms. I played an important role in crafting the Global Access to HIV/AIDS Prevention, Awareness and Treatment Act of 2001, and the United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act. I've worked on legislation covering critically important policy areas like international terrorism and human trafficking.

Several years ago, I worked with the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, and the State Department as an election observer in Kenya. Before that, along with Congressman Earl Pomeroy, I traveled to West Africa with the Academy for Educational Development, Oxfam, and Save the Children to look at and work on programs related to women's health and education in Africa. I have also traveled with the International Relations Committee to South Africa, Namibia, and Lesotho.

In many ways, though, my interest in East Africa goes back much further. Twenty years ago, my wife, Susan, and I served as high school teachers in Kenya through World Teach Project, a development organization based at the Phillips Brooks House of Harvard University. Though we spent most of our time in Kenya, we had the chance to travel the rural areas in western Tanzania as well.

We lived in a small village setting, and taught each day at a rural school struggling to provide rudimentary educational opportunities for its people. As teachers, we faced critical material shortages, and watched our students' families struggle with malaria and malnutrition-enhanced diseases. We ourselves were afflicted with malaria and typhoid during our time there. In short, we saw firsthand in Kenya some of the challenges that likewise face Tanzania. Just as importantly, we saw the strength and resilience of the people in that region.

I know that the United States has an important role to play in working with Tanzania to help it realize its enormous potential. That means working through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) to lead efforts to fight the spread of AIDS and to provide treatment for those who are infected. It also means working with government leaders and NGOs to help bring new development opportunities to all parts of that nation.

As one of the original authors of the Millennium Challenge Act (MCA), I look forward to the opportunity to work with the Tanzanian Government as it strives to move forward from its status as a threshold nation to enter into an MCC compact. An important part of this progress will be the continuation of Tanzania's efforts to liberalize its economy along market lines. I hope that our experience in Tanzania

will serve to help us build on the MCA and make President Bush's historic initiative even stronger and more effective.

Mr. Chairman, I also know that our dealings with the Government of Tanzania must be approached in a regional context as well. Tanzania is a crucial partner in our efforts to stop the spread of radicalism and terrorism. I hope to broaden our efforts at counterterrorism in Tanzania and throughout this volatile region. That includes working with our regional partners to provide real economic and educational opportunities for families there. Hope and opportunity are the best antidotes to extremism.

In addition to its work in counterterrorism, Tanzania has also played a constructive role in resolving regional conflicts. Its efforts to serve as an honest broker in peace negotiations are making an important contribution to East African development.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, it will be an honor to serve as Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania. I promise to work relentlessly to strengthen and improve United States-United Republic of Tanzania relations as we push toward our common goals. I am confident that I possess these skills necessary to lead our Embassy in Dar es Salaam and to represent and advocate for the interests of the United States in Tanzania.

I would be pleased to respond to any questions you might have.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Congressman Green, and again, I welcome all of you, but, we're particularly proud in Wisconsin of this appointment. The Congressman and I had an excellent working relationship when I was a Member of the House, and this is a very important post.

I've long thought it was a very important post, given my travels and work in this area, and it turns out that Congressman Green—as he's indicated—has both a personal and a continuing professional interest in this region that is very genuine. So, somebody back home asked me, "What does Mark Green know about this? And why is he appointed?" And I said, "Actually, he knows quite a bit. And, frankly, is far more qualified for this post than the last two who were approved for this particular post." So, I think this is a wise nomination on the part of the administration, and I congratulate you.

Our ranking member, Senator Sununu, has joined us. And I will now move on to Mr. Maurice Parker, Ambassador to the Kingdom of Swaziland.

**STATEMENT OF MAURICE S. PARKER, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND**

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you as the President's nominee, as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Swaziland. I sincerely appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Rice have placed in me.

My wife, Connie, and son, Jeremy, who are here today, have helped me represent the interests of the United States for nearly 33 years.

My Foreign Service career has been diverse. I have protected American citizens abroad, and secured America's borders. I've combated terrorism, justly enforced our immigration law, enhanced U.S. commercial interests, advocated for human rights, and provided disaster relief.

Happily, I am no stranger to the African continent. In college, I participated in a Study Abroad program at the University of Guyana at Lagon. Years later, I served as Council General in Lagos, Nigeria, during that nation's arduous transition to civilian rule.

United States interests and activities in Swaziland currently emphasize three broad areas: Assisting the Government and people of Swaziland in their fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic, developing democratic institutions, and fostering economic growth.

The Swazi governmental structure restrains these basic goals. The nation is led by a nearly absolute monarchy, which exercises powerful influence over the bicameral parliamentary system. The current judiciary remains untested.

Recently, Swaziland has made progress in the democratization process, by signing a constitution into law in July of 2005. Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, one of my highest priorities will be encouraging responsive, inclusive, and democratic government for all of the people of Swaziland, regardless of gender or social station.

Swaziland's HIV/AIDS rate is the highest in the world. Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, another major priority will be to help stem the Swaziland's alarming HIV/AIDS pandemic through the President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief.

Vital employment and economic opportunities are key to maintaining regional and domestic economic stability. If confirmed, I will also continue to coordinate United States efforts with the Swazi Government, to address issues related to the African Growth and Opportunities Act.

Mr. Chairman, the United States seeks a democratic, stable, and healthy Swaziland. Should I be confirmed, I look forward to the privilege of leading a U.S. Government multiagency approach toward achieving humanitarian, democratic, and economic goals in Swaziland. Thank you for inviting me to appear before you today. I will be happy to address any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Parker follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MAURICE S. PARKER, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is an honor for me to appear before you as the President's nominee to serve as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Swaziland. I sincerely appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Rice have placed in me by putting forth my name for your consideration.

My wife, Connie, who is here today, has been part of my Foreign Service journey, helping me represent the interests of the United States for nearly 33 years, in six countries: Guyana, Spain (twice), Colombia (twice), Scotland, Mexico (twice), and Nigeria. During my career, I have protected American citizens abroad and secured America's borders; combated terrorism and narcotics trafficking; justly enforced our immigration law; enhanced U.S. commercial interests; advocated for human rights; and provided disaster relief. I have served in leadership positions as Principal Officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico—one of the largest Foreign Service posts in the Western Hemisphere; Consul General at Embassy Lagos; and Principal Officer at the United States Consulate General in Barcelona, where I simultaneously served as United States Representative to the nation of Andorra. Additionally, I have had the pleasure of serving at the White House as Director of Consular and International Programs on the Homeland Security Council.

My Foreign Service career has been diverse, and I am no stranger to the African continent. As an undergraduate at the University of California, Berkeley, I participated in a study abroad program at the University of Ghana at Legon. Years later, as previously stated, I served as Consul General in Lagos, Nigeria, during that nation's arduous transition to civilian rule. Our Nigerian experience inspired our son, Jeremy, to join the Peace Corps and serve 2½ years in Niger. I cite these family milestones, because I believe they are an important part of my preparation for the leadership and management challenges I hope to undertake in Swaziland.

An overarching United States policy goal in Africa is the integration of Africa into the global economy by promoting economic development, democracy, and respect for human rights. Within this context, the United States has clear and attainable for-

eign policy goals in Swaziland, United States' interests and activities in Swaziland currently emphasize assisting the Government and people of Swaziland in effectively combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic; promoting the development of democratic institutions in order to protect the human rights of its people; and fostering economic growth by instituting economic reform to generate employment and improve the local investment climate.

The Swazi Governmental structure restrains these basic goals. The nation is led by a nearly absolute monarchy, which exercises powerful influence over the bicameral parliamentary legislative system and local authority of the regional three chiefs. The current judiciary remains untested and the media is self-censoring.

This governmental structure has slowed the nation's march toward democracy. Nevertheless, Swaziland has made recent progress in the democratization process by signing a constitution into law in July 2005. The constitution took effect on February 8, 2006. Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, one of my highest priorities will be fostering a more responsive, inclusive, and democratic government for the people of Swaziland, regardless of gender or social station.

At 33.4 percent, Swaziland's HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is the highest in the world. United States-Swazi Government cooperation in fighting this pandemic has been a bright spot in our diplomatic relations. Several sectors of the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland are dedicated to fighting HIV/AIDS following the King's declaration of a national HIV/AIDS emergency in 1999. The United States has provided humanitarian assistance to Swaziland to combat the scourge of AIDS, through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, a major priority will be to help Swaziland stem the alarming tide of its HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Increased employment and economic opportunities for this developing country are vital to maintaining regional and domestic economic stability. Other than its admirable people, Swaziland has not been blessed with vast reserves of natural resources. The local unemployment rate stands at approximately 40 percent. Despite these devastating economic conditions, the GKOS has been slow to take advantage of trade opportunities and regional programs to promote business-friendly economic reforms and to utilize the technical assistance resources available from USAID's regional Trade Hub. If confirmed, I will continue to coordinate United States' efforts with the Swazi Government to address issues related to AGOA and to provide credit and business training to Swazi small and medium enterprises.

Mr. Chairman, The United States seeks a peaceful, democratic, and stable Swaziland with a healthy population. United States-Swazi relations have been strengthened in recent years through the United States Government's commitment to humanitarian assistance programs. The United States' effort is multiagency, combining the talents and resources of the Department of State, USAID, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Peace Corps, the Department of Defense, and the Department of Labor. Should I be confirmed, I look forward to the privilege of leading a cooperative team approach to the pursuit of humanitarian, democratic, and economic goals in Swaziland.

Thank you for inviting me to appear before you today. I would be happy to address any questions you may have.

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

Now we turn to Robert B. Nolan, to be the Ambassador to the Kingdom of Lesotho.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT B. NOLAN, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. I am honored to appear before you today. I am grateful for the trust placed in me by President Bush and Secretary Rice in nominating me to serve as the next United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Lesotho. If confirmed by the Senate, I look forward to working closely with the committee, and others in Congress to advance United States interests in Lesotho.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to acknowledge my wife, Nancy Wilson Nolan, as well as my daughter, Meghan, and my friend, Cheryl Hodge, who are here with me today. Their support, and that of my

other children, Ryan and Colleen, and my mother, Mary Nolan, are a source of great strength to me.

Since joining the Foreign Service 31 years ago, I have been responsible for handling a variety of management and policy issues. I came to the Foreign Service at the relatively young age of 24, in large part because of my experiences living overseas with my father, Bernard Nolan, also a Foreign Service officer, who died in Northern Yemen in 1973.

The United States has a wonderful story to tell concerning the significant levels of assistance being provided to Lesotho, a country that is cooperating with us on many regional and global issues. Our assistance will help to reverse the devastation of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, reduce poverty, and achieve sustainable economic growth. It would be an honor for me to be a part of this American story.

Mr. Chairman, Lesotho held in February its second parliamentary elections, since a troubled election in 1998 led to a Southern African Development Community intervention to restore order. International and national observers declared the February election peaceful and free. Parliament was seated, and a new government chosen.

Lesotho has obtained much success from the advantages provided by the African Growth and Opportunity Act. Industries were attracted by sound investment policies, creating 40,000 jobs currently, and making Lesotho the largest African exporter of apparel to the United States. Lesotho anticipates the completion of a compact with the Millennium Challenge Corporation in the near future. The compact is currently being considered for approval by the MCC Board. This investment of more than \$300 million for the water, health, and private enterprise sectors will continue economic growth and poverty alleviation.

Mr. Chairman, the news is not as good about public health. Lesotho faces an HIV/AIDS crisis with an infection rate of approximately 23 percent of the adult population, the world's third highest prevalence rate. The United States is transitioning from a regional platform of assistance, to a robust, in-country presence to manage \$12.5 million in fiscal year 2007 for the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS relief in Lesotho.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, if confirmed and privileged to serve as the United States Ambassador to Lesotho, I would look forward to working with you to further strengthening the bilateral relationship, and advance the mutual interests of our governments and citizens.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today, and I look forward to answering any questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Nolan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT B. NOLAN, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today. I am grateful for the trust placed in me by President Bush and Secretary Rice in nominating me to serve as the next United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Lesotho. If confirmed by the Senate, I look forward to working closely with the committee and others in Congress to advance United States interests in Lesotho.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to acknowledge my wife, Nancy Wilson Nolan, as well as my daughter, Meghan, and my close friend, Cheryl Hodge, who are here today. Their support and that of my other children, Ryan and Colleen, and my mother, Mary Nolan, are a source of great strength to me.

Since joining the Foreign Service 31 years ago, I have been responsible for handling a variety of management and policy issues, including most recently, far-reaching reforms of the Foreign Service evaluation, promotion, and assignment systems. I came to the Foreign Service at the relatively young age of 24, in large part because of my experiences living overseas with my father, Bernard Nolan, also a Foreign Service officer, who died in Northern Yemen in 1973.

If confirmed by the Senate, I will be totally committed to promoting even closer bilateral ties and cooperation between the United States and the Kingdom of Lesotho. I will draw upon my experience gained from my previous African assignments in Guinea and Madagascar, as well as living in Kenya and Sierra Leone as a teenager. My years of management experience in Washington, DC, and overseas will help me to be a careful steward of the resources which United States taxpayers have provided to help the people of Lesotho.

The United States has a wonderful story to tell concerning the significant levels of assistance being provided to Lesotho, a country that is cooperating with us on many regional and global issues. Lesotho, the current chair of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), has demonstrated growing regional leadership on issues such as trade and democratization. Lesotho supports anticorruption policies, counterterrorism, and women's equality. Our assistance will help to reverse the devastation of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, reduce poverty, and achieve sustainable economic growth. It would be an honor for me to be part of this American story.

Mr. Chairman, our relationship with Lesotho is strong. If confirmed as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Lesotho, I will have the privilege of serving in an African country that, though still poor and with many challenges, has chosen to pursue democratic government and economic development, to the benefit of all citizens. Lesotho has focused its efforts on developing its economy, improving the health and security of its citizens, and maintaining and strengthening its democracy. Lesotho is a clear, constructive voice in southern Africa, and is a progressive leader within the Southern African Development Community (SADC). It is a worthy partner, providing an important foundation for successful efforts to protect United States' national interests and security in this region of southern Africa.

Mr. Chairman, Lesotho held, in February, its second parliamentary election since a troubled election in 1998 led to a SADC intervention to restore order. International and national observers declared the February election peaceful and free. Parliament was seated and a new government chosen. Disputes remain over the allocation of legislative seats, but are being addressed within the country's legal system. The governing and opposition parties have accepted mediation efforts from SADC aimed at resolving disagreements concerning the method to ensure broad opposition representation in parliament. Despite the progress in institutionalizing democracy, Lesotho still needs and welcomes help in developing its political parties, civil society, and governmental institutions. If confirmed, I would seek additional opportunities to help in these areas. Lesotho also suffers from chronic drought, and I will endeavor to maintain our leading role in providing food assistance and undertaking efforts to improve food security.

Lesotho has attained much success from the advantages provided by the African Growth and Opportunity Act. Industries were attracted by sound investment policies, creating 40,000 jobs currently, and making Lesotho the largest African exporter of apparel to the United States. And as this workforce is predominantly female, the apparel manufacturing boom is empowering women. Many major United States companies source apparel in Lesotho, based on competitive wages and a sound and ethical labor environment.

Mr. Chairman, Lesotho's democratic Government and its record of good governance and sound fiscal and monetary policies helped it qualify for participation in the Millennium Challenge Account. After several years of hard work, the Government submitted its compact proposal for review. Now, Lesotho anticipates the completion of a compact with the Millennium Challenge Corporation in the near future; currently the MCC Board is considering the compact for approval. The investment of more than \$300 million will spur the economic growth and poverty alleviation started in Lesotho by the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

If confirmed by the Senate, I will have the responsibility of working with the Government of Lesotho and the Millennium Challenge Corporation to implement and carry out the compact.

Mr. Chairman, the news is not as good about public health. Lesotho faces an HIV/AIDS crisis, with an infection rate of approximately 23 percent of the adult popu-

lation—the world's third highest prevalence rate. The Government of Lesotho's response has quickened, as has our assistance. We are transitioning from a regional platform of assistance to a robust in-country presence to manage \$12.5 million in fiscal year 2007 approved for the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief program in Lesotho. As the largest contributor worldwide to the Global Fund, we are also working with other donors to ensure efficient use of these multilateral funds to fight this disease in Lesotho. We remain committed to supporting the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and related challenges associated with widespread tuberculosis, and I would work to continue the excellent work of my predecessors.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, if confirmed and privileged to serve as the United States Ambassador to Lesotho, I would look forward to working with you to further strengthen the bilateral relationship and advance the mutual interests of our governments and citizens.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today.

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

And now we'll turn to William John Garvelink to be Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

**STATEMENT OF WILLIAM JOHN GARVELINK, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE
CONGO**

Mr. GARVELINK. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, it is an honor to appear before you today.

I would like to thank President Bush and Secretary Rice for the trust and confidence they have placed in me as the nominee for the Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Congo. I am honored by the prospects of this assignment, and the challenges and opportunities it presents.

I am not alone here today. My wife, Linda, is present. Without her love and support, I would not have been able to undertake the Foreign Service career I have pursued for the past 28 years.

Over my career in USAID, I served in Bolivia, and as the Mission Director in Eritrea. I served as the Deputy Director of USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, and in the Africa section of the State Department's Bureau for Population, Refugees, and Migration.

Currently, I am the Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator in USAID's Bureau for Democracy Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance. My work, mostly in Africa since the late 1980s, has focused on humanitarian response, and post-conflict assistance programs. I began in Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, and Mozambique in the late 1980s, I established the United States Humanitarian Assistance Program in Mogadishu in the early 1990s, and accompanied United States forces as they moved from Mogadishu into Southern Somalia. I led the first humanitarian assistance assessments in Angola, before there was a United States diplomatic presence in that country. I led disaster assistance response teams in the mid- and late-1990s into Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Eastern Congo—then Zaire. I served in Eritrea during the conflict with Ethiopia.

Today I oversee extensive emergency and post-conflict programs in East and Central Africa, including the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Democratic Republic of Congo stands at a historic point today. Last year's successful elections marked the culmination of efforts by various African nations, led by South Africa, and supported by the international community, to bring sustainable peace

for the Congo. The United States contributed to this effort through our active engagement in the peace process, our support for the United Nations mission to the Congo, our considerable humanitarian assistance, and our leadership in fostering regional dialog among former belligerents through the United States-facilitated Tripartite Plus Joint Commission.

This ravaged nation continues to suffer from violence, human rights abuses, hunger, disease, and endemic corruption, and the challenges remain staggering. Last year's elections did not miraculously unite all of the people of Congo, but they marked a crucial first step in a long process of recovery and development. For the Congolese and their international partners, the hard work begins now. We need to seize the great opportunity before us to restore the health of a nation that has suffered greatly—over 4 million deaths in the last decade.

With elections behind us, and a new government in place, the work has finally begun to rebuild. To avoid squandering Congo's rare opportunity for change, we must continue to press the government to protect the rights of its citizens to engage in open political debate, and to guarantee the free speech rights of those who speak out against their government.

We also wanted to bring an end to widespread impunity and corruption, by fostering the rule of law, and a more vigilant civil society.

I think that it takes a trusted friend to deliver, effectively, the frightened messages the Congolese occasionally need to hear. Ambassador Meece has been such a trusted friend, and I hope to earn the same kind of trust from the Congolese leadership and the Congolese people, as I work to protect United States' citizens and interests. Elections launched the nation toward political stability, though we are well aware that lasting stability will require the establishment of functional and democratic state institutions to serve the needs of the people and encourage economic growth.

If confirmed, my job will be to do everything I can to foster a culture of democracy, accountable government, human rights, and sustainable economic development. I plan to place primary emphasis on restoring the security and stability needed to rebuild the nation.

Working with our Congolese and international partners, we need to invest in establishing—in the establishment of professional military, police, and border security forces. Working with other partners, we need to replicate, in the security sector, the unprecedented donor cooperation that enabled last year's elections to take place. I will work to enable Congolese security forces to end threat of armed groups who continue to prey on local citizens, and exploit Congo's resources.

If confirmed as Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Congo, I will continue United States efforts to support the new government at this time of great optimism and opportunity. The Congo's diplomatic, democratic development and its stability are essential for its citizens, and critical to the stability of much of Africa.

I look forward to working closely with you, Mr. Chairman, and with the committee in this most important endeavor. Thank you, again, Chairman Feingold, and members of the committee for the

opportunity to appear here before you today, I would welcome any questions that you might have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Garvelink follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM JOHN GARVELINK, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Sununu, and members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today. I would like to thank President Bush and Secretary Rice for the trust and confidence they have placed in me as the nominee for Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Congo. I am honored by the prospect of this assignment and the challenges and opportunities it represents.

I am not alone here today. My wife, Linda, is present. Without her love and support, I would not have been able to undertake the Foreign Service career I have pursued for the last 28 years.

Over my career in USAID, I served in Bolivia and as the USAID Mission Director in Eritrea. Most of my career has focused on providing humanitarian assistance in conflict situations around the world. I served as the Deputy Director of USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, and I served in the Africa section of the State Department's Bureau for Population, Refugees, and Migration. Currently I am the Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator in USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance.

My work, mostly in Africa since the late 1980s, has focused on humanitarian response and post-conflict assistance programs. I began in southern Sudan, Ethiopia, and Mozambique in the late 1980s. I established the United States humanitarian program in Mogadishu in the early 1990s and accompanied United States forces as they moved from Mogadishu into southern Somalia. I led the first humanitarian assistance assessments in Angola before there was a United States diplomatic presence in that country. I led Disaster Assistance Response Teams in the mid- and late-1990s into Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and eastern Congo, then Zaire. I served in Eritrea during the conflict with Ethiopia. Today I oversee extensive emergency and post-conflict programs in East and Central Africa, including the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Democratic Republic of Congo stands at an historic turning point. Last year's successful elections marked the culmination of the efforts of various African nations, led by South Africa, and supported by the international community, to bring sustainable peace to the Congo. The United States contributed to this success through our active engagement in the peace process, our support for the United Nations Organization Mission to the Congo (MONUC), our considerable humanitarian assistance, and our leadership in fostering regional dialog among former belligerents through the United States-facilitated Tripartite Plus Joint Commission. Under the leadership of Ambassador Roger Meece, U.S. Embassy Kinshasa has played a leading role in a truly international effort to promote peace in a troubled region and foster democracy and economic growth in a nation devastated by a decade of war following a generation of mismanagement and decline.

This ravaged nation continues to suffer from violence, human rights abuses, hunger, disease, and endemic corruption—and the challenges remain staggering. Last year's elections did not miraculously unite all of the people of Congo, but they marked a crucial first step in a long process of recovery and development. For the Congolese and their international partners, the hard work begins now. We need to seize the great opportunity before us to restore the health of a nation that has suffered tragically—over 4 million deaths in the last decade. With elections behind us and a new government in place, the work has finally begun to rebuild. To avoid squandering Congo's rare opportunity for change, we must continue to press the Government to protect the right of its citizens to engage in open political debate and to guarantee the free speech rights of those who speak out against their government. We also want to bring an end to widespread impunity and corruption by fostering the rule of law and a more vigilant civil society. I think that it takes a trusted friend to deliver effectively the frank messages the Congolese occasionally need to hear. Ambassador Meece has been such a trusted friend. I hope to earn the same kind of trust from the Congolese leadership and the Congolese people as I work to protect United States citizens and interests.

Elections launched the nation toward political stability, but we are well aware that lasting stability will require the establishment of functional and democratic state institutions to serve the needs of the people and encourage economic growth. If confirmed, my job will be to do everything I can to foster a culture of democracy, accountable governance, human rights, and sustainable economic development. I

plan to place primary emphasis on restoring the security and stability needed to rebuild a nation. Working with our Congolese and international partners, we need to invest in the establishment of professional military, police, and border security forces. We have made a start with the training we are providing to military brigade staff officers, and we know that the rebuilding of professional security forces will take time. Working with other partners, we need to replicate in the security sector the unprecedented donor cooperation that enabled last year's elections to take place. I will work to help enable Congolese security forces to end the threat of armed groups who continue to prey on local civilians and exploit Congo's resources. Consistent with my own professional background, I will continue to place emphasis on assisting refugees and internally displaced persons to reestablish homes and restore livelihoods.

If confirmed as Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Congo, I will continue United States efforts to support the new government at this time of great optimism and opportunity. The Congo's democratic development and its stability are essential for its citizens and critical to the stability of much of Africa. I look forward to working closely with you, Mr. Chairman, and with the committee in this most important endeavor.

Thank you again Chairman Feingold and the members of the committee for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would welcome any questions that you might have.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Garvelink. This is a particularly important post in which I have a lot of interest, so I look forward to pursuing some of these issues with you.

I thank all of you.

I'll now begin a 10-minute round for this panel, starting with Congressman Green.

Congressman, how will you cooperate and coordinate your efforts with other United States agencies and officials operating in Tanzania?

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, my view is that one has to operate as a team. We have to recognize that, in so many parts of a country like Tanzania, the face of our nation, the face of American foreign policy may be, for example, the Peace Corps volunteer working in that village, working in that clinic, or writing up at the chalkboard. It is extraordinarily important that our efforts are coordinated and supported amongst each of the programs and agencies that are present in Tanzania.

So, I will work closely, by being in constant dialog with the leaders of each of these programs, and making sure that I am giving them the resources and the help that they need to be successful. Because if they don't succeed, then our overall mission doesn't succeed.

Senator FEINGOLD. Congressman, I visited Tanzania in the wake of the 2002 elections, and was concerned about the fraud and violence that had characterized the polls and by the subsequent opposition demonstrations, particularly in Zanzibar.

At his confirmation hearing, current Ambassador Michael Retzer assured me that he would make it a United States priority to improve and defend the enfranchisement of all Tanzanian people.

Unfortunately, the 2005 elections were, again, marred by widespread allegations of voting irregularities and intimidation of opposition groups. What steps will you take to raise respect for democratic principles and practices throughout Tanzania?

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think it's a very important question.

The good news is that with the election of President Kikwete, we have seen the third successive, peaceful transfer in Tanzania, as a

whole. But, as you pointed out, with respect to the elections, particularly in Zanzibar, there were widespread irregularities reported by the National Democratic Institute. The opposition party has refused to recognize the election results, and has said that unless there is negotiated settlement of some kind, they will boycott the elections in 2010.

President Kikwete has said that reconciliation in Zanzibar is his highest domestic priority. I happen to agree that, in many ways, unless there is some reconciliation, unless we strengthen the democratic process in Zanzibar, it will hold back the potential of Tanzania.

On top of that, with respect to the nation as a whole, while there's certainly some very positive signs in democratic development, it's still true that the country is largely governed by one party. It's also true that an enormous amount of power is concentrated in the executive branch. And so I think for a democracy to be vibrant, we need to work with the administration to ensure that there are sufficient checks and balances.

I'm aware of the project of the National Democratic Institute is undertaking right now in Tanzania. I support that, I think the early results and early reports are very interesting, and I think we should work with them, and work with the administration in Tanzania to try to implement some of the reforms and suggestions, so that democracy truly is vibrant and widespread.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you very much, Congressman.

Mr. Parker, what programs and policies does the United States support in helping Swaziland address the AIDS pandemic? And are United States efforts complementary to Swaziland's national plan? And, if not, in what areas do they differ, and why?

Mr. PARKER. That is a very good question, Mr. Chairman.

The U.S. Government has been very appreciative of the funds that have been made available through the President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief. This very important program has infused almost \$5 million—\$7 million into USAID's budget. And, it is combined with USAID, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention, the U.S. Department of Defense, and the U.S. Department of Labor. Together, they have been able to develop extremely effective prevention, awareness, and treatment programs, and also palliative care for people who are suffering from this disease. And they are also working hard, particularly with the Peace Corps, to develop programs to destigmatize the scourge of AIDS, because many people are afraid to come forward and receive testing for fear of being an outcast.

Fortunately, one of the great programs that we have—one of the great successes that the United States Government has experienced recently in Swaziland, has been the work that we have been able to do with the Swazi Government.

In 1999, the King who—as I mentioned before is an absolute ruler—declared a national health emergency in Swaziland, due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As late as January of this year, the King made a national appeal to the public on television, requesting and advising all Swazi people to be tested for the AIDS virus. This was a major step forward.

The Ministry of Health has been working very closely with our embassy, and we find that where—that this is probably the one area where the United States Government, and the Swazi Government, are working most closely together to ensure that we are able to fight this scourge of AIDS in Swaziland.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Parker.

Mr. Nolan, most of your career has been spent in administrative positions. How have you prepared for the managerial and public leadership role you'll be expected to fulfill as Ambassador to Lesotho?

Mr. NOLAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for that very important question.

The United States has a wonderful story to tell in Lesotho. Currently, we are anticipating a Millennium Challenge Account compact, with approximately \$362 million, which will result in building 96 clinics, 18 HIV/AIDS emergency testing units in hospitals, in addition to which two hospitals will be built. Also, we have \$12.5 million through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, being spent in Lesotho in fiscal year 2007, and we have a wonderful Peace Corps volunteer program of approximately 100 volunteers.

From my managerial, as Mr. Chairman, as you mentioned, I have an extensive experience background in management. I view an important part of my role—if I am confirmed in Lesotho—to be the management of considerable resources being devoted by the United States Government and our taxpayers. And my job there would be, in part, to ensure that the various agencies of the U.S. Government, we wisely and prudently spend the taxpayers money there.

I would view my management experiences to be very helpful, and I would plan on being—if confirmed—a very hands-on manager. And I would view it as a wonderful opportunity to help the people and the Government of Lesotho.

Senator FEINGOLD. As I understand it, the majority of your embassy staff will be locals. What experience do you have working closely with Africans?

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, as I mentioned in my introductory statement, my father was in the Foreign Service, and as a teenager I was fortunate enough to live in Kenya and Sierra Leone. And then my first two assignments in the Foreign Service were in Africa—in Conakry, Guinea and Antsiranana'i, Madagascar—both as the management officer. In both of those assignments, I supervised a considerable number of Foreign Service nationals in our embassies in both places. And, I take great—I believe our Foreign Service nationals are the backbone of our embassies. They serve us day in, day out, in many difficult parts of the world, and I would view the opportunity to supervise them in Lesotho—the approximately 60 Foreign Service nationals that we have there—to be a wonderful opportunity, because they are committed—as are the Americans, official Americans there—to furthering United States policy objectives.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Nolan.

Mr. Garvelink, for years Congo has been one of the most disastrous human rights crises in Africa, and perhaps, in the world. But

at last, as you have mentioned, the fighting appears to be winding down. How will you keep Congo near the top of the Humanitarian AIDS Assistance Priority List when it's no longer in the headlines?

Mr. GARVELINK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think there are a number of ways to go about that. I guess, first, from my background, it will be a little easier coming from the humanitarian community, and having extensive contact throughout the U.S. humanitarian community, and the international one, to help use those contacts to maintain the focus on what's going on. Not just in the Eastern Congo, but in Congo, in general. The conditions throughout the country are quite dire in other places, as well as just the Eastern Congo.

But I will use my contacts, in confirmed, to maintain the high visibility of the situation that continues in the Eastern Congo. I think another way that we will be able to do that, and will, is to use our public diplomacy tools in the embassy to call attention to the situation, and offer solutions, and to identify opportunities for the international community to respond to the humanitarian crisis throughout the Eastern part of the Congo.

Senator FEINGOLD. Finally, given the central role that natural resources play in DROC's economy and development, the history of widespread corruption, and the risk that natural resources can pose to peace and security if they're not properly managed, how will you try to ensure that the new Congolese Government prioritizes the responsible and transparent management of natural resource reforms? For example, in ensuring the upcoming review of mining contracts—making sure that that review is meaningful?

Mr. GARVELINK. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would continue the policies that Ambassador Meece has underway right now—he's working very closely with the new government as it goes through the review of the 60 major mining contracts. The Government of Congo is a member in good standing of the Kimberly Process. Through USAID, there's a project by the United States, NGO, PACT, that's working with the mining companies in Katanga to ensure that responsible mining occurs, and that the—some of the profits that emerged from those mines is used for the social, economic benefit of their population.

There are some other initiatives underway, transparency initiatives underway by the United States in cooperation with the British Government, and the Government of the Congo has endorsed, but not signed up yet, to these sorts of activities.

So, I think the embassy has underway a number of initiatives with the government to try to ensure responsible mining, and responsible use of the country's natural resources.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you very much.

And, Senator Cardin, thanks for your patience. Your round.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again, let me thank all of our guests today for their service.

I would daresay that most of the people in the State of Maryland probably know very little about the four countries in which you all are seeking to become Ambassador to. And, I think that's probably true in the United States. As I said in my welcome, you're choosing to serve in a part of the world that, I think, is very important to the United States.

I saw that in Eastern Europe, and in Asia, the ties between ethnic communities and the United States and those parts of the world developed ties—economic ties, business ties—that help in the transformation of those countries and their economies. So, I guess my question to each of you is that, I think it's very important that we develop closer economic ties between the four countries that are represented by you and our communities. And that's going to take some leadership from the Ambassador, to get interest in the United States for—particularly smaller companies and communities to take an interest in the part of the world that you seek to represent the United States. And, I'm just wondering what strategies you have to develop more interest in the United States, in the countries that you seek to be the Ambassador?

Mr. Green, we can start with you.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Senator, thank you for the question.

First off, I agree with the premise of your question. Unfortunately, I think the level of awareness in many parts of the country of the countries represented here, clearly isn't as great as we would like it to be. I agree, it happens to be a very important part of the world for United States interests in a number of ways, and on a number of fronts.

With respect to economic ties, with respect to Tanzania, there are some positive developments. We have, in President Kikwete, a pro-Western President who has indicated publicly that he'd like to have even stronger, and warmer relations with the United States. He has publicly called for greater investment in Tanzania, and has made that pledge.

If I'm confirmed, what I will do is to continue to help that along by helping Tanzania address some of the barriers to increased American investment in that country.

For example, despite the fact that the country is committed to the rule of law, there are still problems with corruption in both the public sector and the private sector. On top of that, there certainly are some infrastructure challenges in Tanzania, particularly into the rural areas, that I think holds back American investment.

Right now, the Government of Tanzania has put forward plans for a Millennium Challenge Act Compact, which would be the largest compact, to date. Many of the projects—as far as I know—many of the projects that are in their plans would be the kinds of projects that I think would help encourage American investment in that nation, because it is aimed at roads, at energy, at infrastructure, and in water—some of the very challenges that Tanzania is now facing.

On top of that, while Tanzania has benefited from AGOA, from the African Goals and Opportunity Act, there is still capacity there for greater growth involvement. And so, if I'm fortunate enough to be confirmed, I look forward to working with leaders in Tanzania to help develop better use of that potential. So, those would be the steps that I would take.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Parker, you're going to have a challenge, not only because of lack of knowledge in the United States, but the slowness of political reform, and concern about the safety of doing business. I welcome your thoughts on this.

Mr. PARKER. Thank you, Senator, and I welcome this question.

There is a great deal of concern on the part of many American investors going into Swaziland. However, we have one example of success, and that is with Coca-Cola, the primary American investor in Swaziland, where they have been able to set up a factory that produces the syrup that is used at the bottling plants within Southern Africa.

And we can build upon the success of this one industry to, hopefully, bring other investors into Swaziland. And if I am fortunate enough to be confirmed, I will assure you that I will work to make investment in Swaziland one of my priorities, but for United States investors.

But, at the same—and you are also correct in stating that the Swazis are a very traditional and conservative people when it comes to business ventures. However, the Swazis have been very successful in taking advantage of the African Goals and Opportunity Act passed back in 2000.

In 2006, Swaziland, Swazi products—United States imported \$155 million in Swazi products into the United States, duty free, through the American Growth and Opportunity Act. According to the Department of Commerce, this is one of the real success stories of the Plan.

If I am confirmed as Ambassador, I will use all of the resources of our embassy to ensure that we are able to expand and diversify the economy of Swaziland, by having the Swazis draw on the resources provided by the USAID trade hub in Gabarone, Swaziland.

We also have another program that is AID-funded, known as the Swaziland Enterprise and Entrepreneurship Program. This is a 5-year, \$8 million program that will work on both the grassroots levels, to educate children about business, and using American business models. And also to provide assistance to small and medium entrepreneurs, to ensure that they are also able to have seed money, in some instances, and also to teach them how to expand their businesses.

If I am confirmed as Ambassador, I will use all of my resources to ensure—in this area—to ensure that we are able to find additional growth in the Swazi economy.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Parker.

Mr. Nolan, the challenge might be that Americans know South Africa, but the country that you're seeking to represent, the United States, is not as well known.

Mr. NOLAN. Senator, thank you for that very important question. The—and I agree with your premise totally. The United States, the people of the United States, know the Republic of South Africa much better than they know the Kingdom of Lesotho. And one of the things I would strive, if I am confirmed, would be explaining the story of the United States in Lesotho to a broader audience of the American people.

We have been described—the desk officer for Lesotho told me—that the people of Lesotho, the Government of Lesotho, describes the United States as their “best friend.” And, we have a wonderful story to tell there—Lesotho does not have strategic resources, they do not have oil, significant mineral resources, and very modest amount of diamonds so far have been discovered. And so, the face of the United States in Lesotho is our best face, it is the United

States and our people doing things for humanitarian reasons, and that is a wonderful story, and I would like to articulate that to the American people.

I think we have a wise investment of money through the African Growth and Opportunities Act. We have created 40,000 jobs through the export of textiles to the United States. Lesotho is the largest exporter within Africa under AGOA, and those jobs are principally for females, which is critically important in that region.

In addition to which, under the Millennium Challenge Compact, there will be approximately—as I mentioned previously, Senator—\$360 million. Part of that money—in addition to helping create health clinics and HIV, President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief facilities for the treatment of—part of that will go for creating water facilities, irrigation throughout the country to enable people to have clean water, which is obviously very important. In addition to which some—a smaller amount of the money will be spent on trying to assist the Government of Lesotho in developing the basic opportunities, such as check-clearing houses and an investment code, to help them come up to speed in terms of their private enterprise structure.

We have had a wonderful Peace Corps program there since the mid-1960s, the Peace Corps has done a wonderful opportunity, has done wonderful things there, and so, Senator, I would view it as, we have such a fabulous story to tell there, in terms of Lesotho, and what our great country is doing there, and I would welcome the opportunity, if confirmed, to explain that to the American people.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, and very briefly to Mr. Garvelink, let me tell you, I think the Congo not only represents a huge challenge, as the chairman has pointed out, because of the humanitarian crisis from disease and conflict, but the human rights violations—the failure of the government to deal with the human rights concerns. The failure of the judiciary, the use of the military—and I must tell you, I do look forward to strengthening the relationship between the Congo and the United States, but as you pointed out in your statement, human rights has got to be part of that.

Mr. GARVELINK. Thank you.

Putting human rights and the humanitarian situation, and all of that in the context of also an opportunity for an increase in U.S. business is something that's very interesting to me. And, I think there's a real opportunity here, given the elections that have just taken place in the Congo—if we can reinforce open democratic institutions, build a vibrant civil society—there will be bumps along the way, this is going to be a very tough process—but, I think by doing that, by being open about the human rights violations, and dealing with them, there may be a greater opportunity for United States investment, a greater interest beyond the extractive industries that are already in Katanga Province, if democracy is seen to be working. If opportunities are there, if the basic needs of the general population in health and education are being met, if salaries are being paid, and if the embassy—and, if confirmed, I would work very closely with the World Bank to secure additional funding for basic infrastructure, so that agriculture can get going at its basic level.

I think, if these things can be seen to be starting, than I think there begins to become a climate for more U.S. investment there.

Senator CARDIN. Well, thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Senator Cardin.

And, my congratulations to all of you, and I'm going to do what I can to expedite these nominations through the process. And I now dismiss the first panel, and ask the second panel to come forward.

Welcome, the second panel, and we will begin with June Carter Perry to be Ambassador to the Republic Sierra Leone.

Ms. Perry.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JUNE CARTER PERRY, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE**

Ms. PERRY. Thank you, Chairman Feingold, and members of the committee for the opportunity to appear before you today on "Juneteenth," which I think is a very important day in the history of American ethnic relations.

I am honored to be President Bush's nominee as Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone. I would like to thank the President and Secretary of State, for once again placing their confidence in me to serve as an Ambassador of the United States.

I would also like to thank my distinguished husband, Mr. Frederick Perry, who is here with me today. He is a retired senior Foreign Service officer and without his unwavering support, I would not have the opportunity to be where I am at present.

If confirmed, I look forward to building on the work of my distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Thomas N. Hull, III, to support Sierra Leone's heroic efforts to reconstruct society, to strengthen democracy, and to promote prosperity. Coming from the Mountain Kingdom of Lesotho, and if confirmed, going to the "Lion Mountain" of Sierra Leone, I believe I can bring proactive diplomacy to advance United States interests, as well as key development sectors, as Sierra Leone approaches an important transition period.

In my 24-year Foreign Service career, I have engaged the United Nations as Director of the Office in International Organization Affairs, the World Bank, universities such as Columbia, Boston, Harvard, and Howard, African Governments and civil society, to promote United States interests in Africa, including the advancement of human rights, working to ensure the effective use of United States HIV/AIDS assistance, quadrupling our assistance through PEPFAR in Lesotho, and fortunately through my 3 years of service, working extremely closely with our Millennium Challenge Corporation Team in Washington, as well as with the Government of Lesotho.

I also had the opportunity to participate, as indicated, in the further development of AGOA. Certainly, in Sierra Leone, we look forward to promoting AGOA even further as Sierra Leone is scheduled to chair a panel at the AGOA forum in July.

I have also had the opportunity, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, to promote advocacy for women and children, and to contribute to advancing civilian authority over foreign militaries, effective counternarcotic measures, results-based economic development policies, and humanitarian assistance in my previous roles.

not only as Ambassador, but as Deputy Chief of Mission in Madagascar, and in the Central African Republic.

These issues have remained key objectives during my service. However, my most important responsibility has been the safety and security of American citizens, including the development of counterterrorism measures. If confirmed, I would bring these experiences in dealing with African development issues to enhance the already excellent relationship the United States has with Sierra Leone. If confirmed, I would also further enhance, through public diplomacy, our relationship.

I noted that this week the reconstructed ship, the *Amistad*, will depart Connecticut on route to the port of Freetown. I would look forward, if confirmed, to using the arrival of that ship as a key public affairs opportunity, bringing, Mr. Chairman, perhaps yourself, if confirmed, as well as members of the committee.

Reaching back to my private sector experience with RKO radio broadcasting, looking forward to bringing in media sources, as well as key individuals, such as we did in Lesotho with Bill and Melinda Gates, with former Trade Representative, Ambassador Robert Zoellick, with the honorable Sheila Jackson-Lee, and working closely with our allies in the international community, who have shown such interest in Africa, such as Prince Harry and the rock star Bono.

Five years after the end of a long and brutal civil war, Sierra Leone itself, stands at an important crossroads. With the departure of U.N. peacekeepers in 2005, the country has resumed control of its own security. Earlier this month, the Special Court for Sierra Leone began the trial of Charles Taylor for his involvement in the conflict. This week the court is expected to deliver a verdict in the trial of the former military hunter, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

If Sierra Leone succeeds in holding credible, free, and fair elections this August—a process we are actively supporting through the National Democratic Institute, as well as local nongovernmental organizations—the transfer of power from President Kabbah to another democratically-elected leader would mark an important post-conflict milestone, and pave the way for future success.

Despite the positive developments, Mr. Chairman, significant challenges remain, that if not properly addressed, could again threaten the country's stability. Severe poverty and insufficient healthcare, especially for women and children, continue to push Sierra Leone to the bottom of the U.N. Human Development Index. Widespread youth unemployment, a root cause and catalyst for the civil war, continues to endanger peace. To address these serious issues, the Government of Sierra Leone must attack corruption.

If confirmed, I would increase the United States Mission's focus on improving governance and expand our engagement with Sierra Leone's own Anti-Corruption Commission. Our efforts to promote transparency in the diamond industry will also continue to be central to our engagement. In this regard, we would draw, as we have done in past positions, on U.S. Government expertise, for example, from the Treasury Department's very strong anti-money laundering and anticorruption divisions, as well as that of nongovernmental

organizations. I believe that promoting good governance and improving the government's capacity to provide basic, sustainable services would have a multiplier effect on our already existing health and agriculture assistance.

As a former ACTION Peace Corps official and as the spouse of a former Peace Corps Country Director in South America and Deputy Director in Southeast Asia, in Malaysia, I would strongly support the reintroduction of a Peace Corps program in Sierra Leone. Looking regionally, we should focus on improving Sierra Leone's peace-building efforts, within the larger context of the Mano River subregion. With Guinea's uncertain political transition and Liberia's fragile peace, Sierra Leone finds itself in a volatile neighborhood. Porous borders and weak governance have created fertile ground for a narcotics and small arms trafficking.

If confirmed, I would collaborate with our Ambassadors in Monrovia and Conakry and throughout the region, to encourage cooperation to improve the subregion's capacity to respond to instability, to programs through our various United States agencies that have a capacity to strengthen maritime controls, for example, and law enforcement border controls.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you and the committee today. I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Perry follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JUNE CARTER PERRY, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

Thank you, Chairman Feingold and members of the committee, for the opportunity to appear before you today. I am honored to be President Bush's nominee as Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone. I would like to thank the President and the Secretary of State for once again placing their confidence in me to serve as an Ambassador of the United States. If confirmed, I look forward to building on the work of my distinguished predecessor, Thomas N. Hull, III, to support Sierra Leone's heroic efforts to reconstruct society, to strengthen democracy, and to promote prosperity. Coming from the Mountain Kingdom of Lesotho and, if confirmed, going to the Lion Mountain of Sierra Leone, I believe I can bring proactive diplomacy to advance United States' interests as well as key development sectors, as Sierra Leone approaches an important transition period.

In my 24-year Foreign Service career, I have engaged the United Nations, the World Bank, universities (such as Columbia, Boston, and Howard), African Governments, and civil society to promote United States' interests in Africa, including the advancement of human rights, working to ensure the effective use of United States HIV/AIDS assistance, development of Lesotho's Millennium Challenge Account, and promoting equity for women and children. Promoting civilian authority over foreign militaries, effective counternarcotics measures, and results-based economic development policies and humanitarian assistance have been key objectives during my service. My most important responsibility has been the safety and security of American citizens. If confirmed, I would bring these experiences in dealing with African development issues to enhance the already excellent United States-Sierra Leone relations.

Five years after the end of a long and brutal civil war, Sierra Leone now stands at an important crossroads. With the departure of U.N. peacekeepers in 2005, the country has resumed control of its own security. Earlier this month, the Special Court for Sierra Leone began the trial of Charles Taylor for his involvement in the conflict. This week, the court is expected to deliver a verdict in the trial of the former military junta, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council. If Sierra Leone succeeds in holding credible, free, and fair elections this August—a process we are actively supporting—the transfer of power from President Kabbah to another democratically elected leader would mark an important post-conflict milestone and pave the way for future success.

Despite the positive developments, Mr. Chairman, significant challenges remain that, if not properly addressed, could again threaten the country's stability. Severe poverty and insufficient health care, especially for women and children, continue to push Sierra Leone to the bottom of the U.N.'s Human Development Index. Widespread youth unemployment, a root cause and catalyst for the civil war, continues to endanger peace. To address these serious issues, the Government of Sierra Leone must attack corruption. If confirmed, I would increase the United States Mission's focus on improving governance and expand our engagement with Sierra Leone's Anti-Corruption Commission. Our efforts to promote transparency in the diamonds industry will also continue to be central to our engagement. In this regard, we would draw on U.S. Government expertise from the Treasury Department, and that of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). I believe that promoting good governance and improving the government's capacity to provide basic, sustainable services would have a multiplier effect on our already existing health and agriculture assistance. As a former ACTION/Peace Corps official, I would strongly support the re-introduction of a Peace Corps program in Sierra Leone.

Looking regionally, we should focus on improving Sierra Leone's peace-building efforts within the larger context of the Mano River subregion. With Guinea's uncertain political transition, and Liberia's fragile peace, Sierra Leone finds itself in a volatile neighborhood. Porous borders and weak governance have created fertile ground for narcotics and small arms trafficking. If confirmed, I would collaborate with our ambassadors in Monrovia and Conakry to encourage regional cooperation and to improve the subregion's capacity to respond to instability.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman for the opportunity to appear before you and the committee today. I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Ambassador. All three of these countries have been very complicated and often involved in tumultuous times in the entire 15 years that I have served on this subcommittee. So, I appreciate your willingness to take on these posts. I thank you for the connection you made between Juneteenth day today, an important occasion in the history of our country and the connection it has to what we're talking about today.

Now we go to Frederick B. Cook to be Ambassador to the Central African Republic.

**STATEMENT OF FREDERICK B. COOK, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC**

Mr. COOK. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be the next Ambassador of the United States to the Central African Republic. I thank President Bush and Secretary Rice for entrusting me with this important responsibility. If confirmed, I will work with the committee and others in Congress to advance the interests of the United States in the Central African Republic.

In the interest of time, with your permission, I'd like to ask that my statement be entered for the record.

My wife, Denise, is with me here today, as she has been ever since we met many years ago in Cameroon where she was a volunteer with International Voluntary Service. My daughter, Heather, could not be here today. School may be out, but a school teacher's work does not end with the summer, and she is a school teacher in New York City. I'm pleased that my son, Trevor, is here from college in Florida, as is my nephew, Matthew Pollard of Penn, England. Matt is starting a summer as a Senatorial intern with the Budget Committee and has been selected as a participant in the Stennis Program.

At this point, I would comment on the geographic location of the Central African Republic, but I have the pleasure, Senator, that, Mr. Chairman, that we actually previously met in Dire Dawa, Ethi-

opia, when you traveled there to meet with a distinguished panel of Oromo a few months ago.

Senator FEINGOLD. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOK. A distinguished Somalian Oromo elders, so forgive a small geographic lesson. But bordered by Cameroon, Chad, Sudan, and both Congos, the aptly named Central African Republic is at the very center of the continent and faces almost every one of the challenges that can befall any African State—rebels, bandits, civil unrest, refugees flowing in and out, displaced persons, AIDS, other illness, illiteracy, and a plethora of issues involving women, children, and minorities. The Central African Republic has them all.

These issues arise from a variety of causes, ranging from internal political discord, which goes back long before independence, to significant spillover from conflict in neighboring states, including the tragic situation in Darfur.

There is, however, reason for guarded optimism. The President and Head of State were elected in elections that met minimal international standards. We thus have a small window of opportunity for the United States to engage more deeply in Central African Republic and work to the mutual interest of our two countries.

The engagement of the United States in the Central African Republic has been and must be multidimensional, ranging from humanitarian relief for the protection of refugees and displaced persons, to efforts to build and strengthen civil and governmental and nongovernmental institutions that promote and protect human rights and eventually lead to serious economic growth. Absent economic growth, there is no prospect for the situation in the Central African Republic to get better any time soon. There is a long way to go.

If confirmed, I will be the first United States Ambassador in Bangui since the end of the year 2002.

As a second generation Foreign Service officer, I've devoted my entire life to the service of my country. I fully understand the meaning of the word service, in Foreign Service. If confirmed, I will endeavor to rebuild our Mission in the Central African Republic, so that it can better protect the interest of our Nation, as well as the citizens that we have who are resident in that country. I have a long background in management and a certain expertise in the design and support of small posts. I can assure you that we will be proper husbands of the Government's resources and the taxpayer's money. We will produce a very effective, if very small, embassy.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today and welcome any questions that you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Cook follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF FREDERICK B. COOK, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be the next Ambassador of the United States to the Central African Republic. I thank President Bush and Secretary Rice for entrusting me with this important responsibility. If confirmed, I will work with the committee and others in Congress to advance the interests of the United States in the Central African Republic.

Joining me here today are my wife, Denise, and my son, Trevor, a student at college in Florida. My daughter, a teacher in New York City, could not be with us

today. My wife and I met in Cameroon and my entire family has been an essential part of my Foreign Service career; without their love and support, I could not be here in front of you today.

One could say that I've spent my whole life preparing for this moment. I was born into a Foreign Service family and spent many of my formative years overseas. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1972, I have had the fortune of serving at several posts in Africa and in Latin America, including Botswana, Liberia, Bolivia, and Cuba. My first assignment was in Cameroon, where among other duties, I forwarded cargo to Bangui. My most recent assignments include tours as the Foreign Policy Advisor to the Combined Joint Task Force—Horn of Africa in Djibouti, as Director of the Florida Regional Center in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and as Deputy Chief of Mission in Caracas, Venezuela. I fully understand the "service" aspect of the Foreign Service and welcome challenging assignments.

Mr. Chairman, the priorities of the United States in the Central African Republic (CAR) include rebuilding the U.S. Government presence, protecting civilians, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and humanitarian workers, and limiting the spread of the Darfur conflict. The essential focus of this process must be fostering security and stability and support for democracy and economic development.

To meet these goals, we are in the process of rebuilding our official presence in the Central African Republic. Operations were scaled back after the violent coup of 1996–1997 and security concerns led to the closure of the embassy in late 2002. The embassy reopened in early 2005 with one American officer and has continued to slowly reestablish staffing. If confirmed, I will become the embassy's fourth American officer.

The Central African Republic (CAR), like many of its neighbors, has a long history of instability and civil war due to a combination of domestic and regional factors. The country has been unable to establish a record of good governance, rule of law, or democracy, thus leaving it vulnerable to both internal instability and external interference. Positive gains were made, however, in 2005, when President Bozize won a presidential election that was determined to be free and fair by international observers.

Recent events in the CAR have highlighted the country's fragile state. Just one week ago, Elsa Serfass, a young Doctors Without Borders aid worker, was killed when her clearly-marked vehicle came under fire near the town of Ngaoundaye in the northwestern part of the country. Ms. Serfass was in the area to assess health conditions after receiving reports that a May 30 rebel attack and retaliatory government attacks had destroyed the health infrastructure. Doctors Without Borders, one of the few international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) operating in CAR, was forced to suspend operations in the region following Ms. Serfass' killing. Other NGOs and the United Nations (U.N.) have followed suit.

The Army for the Restoration of the Republic and Democracy (ARPD), the group responsible for the attack on Ms. Serfass' vehicle, was one of the rebel groups that signed a peace agreement with the government earlier this year. While organized rebel attacks have declined, the ARPD and other rebels continue to operate throughout the northwestern part of the country. The government, in turn, continues to have difficulty controlling the actions of the military and presidential guard when they respond to rebel attacks, resulting in collective punishment and impunity. These conditions have led to increased fear and resentment among the general population, and temporarily derailed the national dialog scheduled for the coming year. The United States remains deeply concerned by these developments.

The U.S. response to the situation needs to be, and has been, multidimensional. In partnership with U.N. agencies and NGOs on the ground, we provide substantial humanitarian support to 212,000 IDPs, 50,000 CAR refugees in southern Chad, and 28,000 CAR refugees in Cameroon, and now the recently arrived 2,600 refugees from Darfur. Our interventions include emergency food assistance, water and sanitation projects, and seeds and tools to enable Central Africans to feed themselves.

In international fora, the United States has supported the mandates of the U.N. Peace-Building Office in the Central African Republic (BONUCA) and of the Multinational Force of the Central African Monetary and Economic Community (also known as FOMUC) in order to promote stability in CAR. Both BONUCA and FOMUC, while constrained by their small sizes and budgets, have contributed considerably to the pursuit of peace in CAR. We also support CAR's upcoming national dialog, in hopes that the CAR government, the political opposition, and the armed opposition will be better able to reach peace and move toward security in the countryside and in Bangui.

U.S. efforts to support democracy and human rights in the CAR have focused on strengthening the media and the parliament, both of which are largely inexperienced and remain susceptible to pressure from the executive branch. We have also

worked to provide voter education. If confirmed, I intend to continue our efforts to support democracy and human rights.

While rebel movements in the northeastern part of CAR have been limited since the signing of a peace agreement in April, the recent influx of refugees from Darfur highlights the risk that the crisis in Darfur holds for the region and the need for robust peacekeeping forces. The U.N. and several NGOs are working under difficult conditions to reach and feed these refugees before the rains cut off roads and transport links for the summer. If confirmed, I will work with others in the government and international community to support these refugees and others who have fled the systemic violence in Darfur. I have read with interest the transcript of the subcommittee's March 20 hearing on the regional aspects of the Darfur crisis, particularly focusing on Chad and CAR.

If confirmed, I will continue the work of the embassy and of my colleagues in Washington to support the deployment of an international peacekeeping operation in Chad and northeastern CAR that will focus on both protecting civilians and deterring cross-border attacks. The CAR government is supportive of such a force.

I fully understand, and accept, my responsibilities for the safety and security of our staff and of the American community in CAR. The American community has grown substantially as more United States-based aid and development organizations implant themselves in the countryside. These organizations provide welcome relief and development opportunities for the population, and I look forward to working with and supporting these organizations as they continue to improve the lives and health of Central Africans throughout the country.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I thank you for the opportunity to appear before you, and I welcome any questions you may have.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Cook, and that was just a superb meeting in Dire Dawa with the leaders there. I learned a great deal from it and look forward to working with you.

Now turn to Wanda Nesbitt, the Honorable Wanda Nesbitt to be Ambassador to the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire.

**STATEMENT OF HON. WANDA L. NESBITT, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF COTE D'IVOIRE**

Ms. NESBITT. Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today.

Let me first express my gratitude to President Bush and Secretary Rice for the trust and confidence they have placed in me as their nominee for Ambassador to the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire. I am honored to be nominated to serve in this important West African country at such a critical time.

Mr. Chairman, I believe my 26 years of diplomatic service qualifies me for this calling. I have served in a variety of postings abroad, including assignments in Madagascar, Rwanda, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo, France, and Haiti. As the United States Ambassador to Madagascar, I devoted special attention to promoting democracy and good governance, to environmental preservation and protection, and to increased respect for market-driven growth.

I arrived in Madagascar just after a bitterly contested presidential election in which both candidates claimed victory. I worked with our partners in the international community, namely, the European Union, the World Bank, the IMF, and UNDP to help resolve the political crisis.

If confirmed, I would work to ensure that the United States promotes our interest in seeing a stable, peaceful, and democratic Cote d'Ivoire.

Conflict has plagued Cote d'Ivoire for years, but a peace agreement signed this past March gives reason for hope. It is a home-grown initiative, it was drafted and signed by the two key actors,

and thus far respectable progress has been made. The transitional government has been named, and the Zone of Confidence, which divides the country in two, is gradually being dismantled.

We recognize, however, that the agreement's success hinges on full implementation, and the political will of key Agorian actors to maintain their commitment to implement it.

Currently, United States Government assistance to Cote d'Ivoire is restricted by section 508 sanctions. Holding free and fair elections would not only bring Cote d'Ivoire back into the international realm of democracy, it would also remove the strict barrier to United States aid and cooperation.

Despite years of crisis, Cote d'Ivoire still has one of the largest economies in Africa. It has retained its free market economy, and financial and capital markets, and it continues to attract domestic, regional, and international capital, including American investments.

If confirmed, I would work to improve the investment climate for American companies, while promoting an economic program that helps to reduce poverty, and reduces the poverty that fuels instability in the region.

As a consular officer in the Foreign Service, I can never forget that the number one priority for our Missions overseas is to see to the protection of American citizens and their interests abroad. If confirmed, I would do everything I can to ensure the safety and well-being of every American citizen in Cote d'Ivoire, and would lead the efforts of our embassy to enhance homeland security and maintain the security of our borders.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee for your abiding interest in America's relations with Africa, and thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak with you today. I'm happy to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Nesbitt follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. WANDA L. NESBITT, NOMINEE TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF COTE D'IVOIRE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today. Let me first express my gratitude to President Bush and to Secretary Rice for the trust and confidence they have placed in me as their nominee for Ambassador to the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire. I am pleased to be nominated to serve in this important West African country at such a critical time.

Mr. Chairman, I believe my 26 years of diplomatic service qualifies me for this calling. I am currently the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Consular Affairs. Earlier in my career, I completed assignments in Madagascar, Rwanda, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo, France, and Haiti. As the United States Ambassador to Madagascar, I devoted special attention to promoting democracy and good governance; to environmental preservation and protection, to increased respect for market-driven growth for private sector involvement in the development of public policies to reduce poverty, and to girls' education. I arrived in Madagascar just after a bitterly contested presidential election in which both major candidates claimed victory. I worked with our partners in the international community, namely the European Union, the World Bank, the IMF, and UNDP to help resolve the political crisis. Thus, I have seen firsthand how critical credible, free, and fair elections are to the welfare of a nation. If confirmed, I would work to ensure that the United States promoted our interest in seeing a stable, peaceful, and democratic Cote d'Ivoire.

Conflict has plagued Cote d'Ivoire for years, but a peace agreement signed in March gives reason for hope. I am cautiously optimistic that the Ouagadougou Political Agreement, although the 13th peace agreement since the crisis broke out in 2001, may be the best chance for lasting peace thus far. After all, it is a homegrown

initiative; it was drafted and signed by the two key actors, President Laurent Gbagbo, and New Forces leader, Guillaume Soro; and the international community did not force these actors to the negotiating table. Thus far, respectable progress has been made: A new transitional government has been named with Soro as the prime minister, and the Zone of Confidence, which divides the country in two, gradually is being dismantled. The agreement's success hinges on its full implementation and the political will of key Ivorian actors to maintain their commitments to implement it.

If a presidential election is to take place by next year, as Soro and the agreement's mediator, Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaore, maintains that it will, then the Ivorians must move quickly to implement the disarmament and demobilization of militias; commence disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants; integrate the armed forces; and reestablish civilian administration throughout the country. These measures will allow the government to move forward on the registration of voters and the organization of free, fair, transparent, and inclusive elections with the assistance of the international community. Currently, United States Government assistance to Cote d'Ivoire is restricted by section 508 sanctions. Holding free and fair elections would not only bring Cote d'Ivoire back into the international realm of democracies, it would also remove a strict barrier to United States aid and cooperation.

Despite years of crisis, Cote d'Ivoire is still one of the largest economies in Africa. It has retained its free-market economy, and the financial and capital markets remain open and continue to attract domestic, regional, and international capital, including American investments. If confirmed, I would work to improve the investment climate for American companies, while promoting an economic program that helps reduce the poverty that fuels instability in the region. I would also call for greater transparency in the natural resource sector in Cote d'Ivoire.

If confirmed, I would also maintain the dedication of my predecessor, Ambassador Aubrey Hooks, in administering the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. Cote d'Ivoire is one of 15 priority countries selected for intensive United States' support. This \$84 million program has produced significant results in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Cote d'Ivoire, such as providing antiretroviral treatment for more than 25,700 people, palliative care services to more than 44,000 people, and care and support for more than 24,000 orphans and other vulnerable children.

As a consular specialist in the Foreign Service, I will never forget that the number one priority for our missions overseas is to see to the protection of American citizens and their interests. If confirmed, I would do everything I can to ensure the safety and well-being of every American citizen in Cote d'Ivoire, and I would lead the efforts of our embassy to enhance homeland security and maintain the sanctity of our borders.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for your abiding interest in America's relations with Africa, and thank you for giving me the opportunity today to speak with you. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and other Members of Congress to advance America's interests in Cote d'Ivoire.

I am happy to answer any questions you may have today. Thank you.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Ms. Nesbitt, very much.

And now we'll begin a series of questions, and we'll start with Ambassador Perry.

As you know, Sierra Leone's stability is intertwined with that of the neighboring Mano River Union countries, where armed cross-border factions continue to be a destabilizing factor in the sub-region. How will you facilitate regional communication and cooperation on security issues?

Ms. PERRY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for this question, because it is indeed at the heart of the stability of the sub-region.

My colleagues and I—if I am confirmed, as they have already done—plan to communicate directly on a regular basis, concerning the border issues which I believe are extremely important. As we know, historically there has been a great deal of movement between those borders. Just recently, over 100,000 Liberians, for example, were repatriated from Sierra Leone. We believe that there are about 20,000 Liberians who remain in Sierra Leone, and with

the situation as indicated in Guinea, it is uncertain as to how the border situation will develop there.

Specifically, I will draw on our international law enforcement academy in Gabarone, in Botswana to seek training for individuals—not only from Sierra Leone—but to work closely with my colleagues to see how we might draw on that resource, that very rich resource, that the United States Government has established in Botswana to include the subregion, the Mano River subregion.

As I indicated, our communications would be, probably through video conferencing at some time, but we have also considered the idea, already, of having regular discussions amongst ourselves, as well as amongst the key players—including civil society—within those three countries.

Senator FEINGOLD. I think I had a chance to visit the facility in Gabarone that you just described, and was impressed with what was being attempted there, and I am impressed by your making the connection and the possibility of using that for help.

In your current post as Ambassador to Lesotho, Ms. Perry, you persuaded the monarchy of that kingdom to “invest in its people.” How will you seek to imbed this social consciousness in Sierra Leone?

Ms. PERRY. Thank you, again, Mr. Chairman.

I have a deep belief that personal diplomacy and proactive diplomacy—as I indicated in my statement—is absolutely essential. Engaging not only the leadership, perhaps the last generation of the older leaders of Sierra Leone will be essential to developing a new mindset in that group, but looking forward to a younger generation, and I might indicate that the opposition parties, as well as the leading party, the SLPP, the Sierra Leone People’s Party—have all three indicated that they have a strong youth contingent within each of those parties. It is expected that during the general elections in August that a significant number of younger leaders will be elected to parliament, as well as a significant number of women. I think it will be absolutely crucial to the success of Sierra Leone, and I do believe the people of Sierra Leone desire peace and stability at this time, to engage those young leaders.

I would further seek to increase our public diplomacy and engagement to demonstrate that America cares in Sierra Leone, by increasing international visitors, by attracting Fulbright Scholars and by having exchange programs to take on this task, which will not be accomplished in a short period of time.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Ambassador.

Mr. Cook, as you know, the United States Embassy in Bangui has been closed twice in the past decade as a result of concerns over the pace of political and economic liberalization and human rights abuses in the Central African Republic.

As the first U.S. Ambassador to that country in 5 years, what do you hope to accomplish with your presence?

Mr. COOK. Mr. Chairman, that’s a very perceptive question.

I think the United States occupies a unique position in the world today. By sending an Ambassador to the Central African Republic, hopefully our intervention can act as a catalyst. The United States is already working through international partners, multinational organizations, NGOs, nongovernmental organizations and the rest,

to try to affect change in the Central Africa Republic, which has been described as the, sort of, "forgotten crisis."

I would hope that my presence there, as an expression of the personal interest of the President and of the people of the United States, might serve to underscore and to encourage other nations to step up and become more committed in their engagement there. That engagement has suffered a reverse with the killing of a young volunteer from Medecins Sans Frontieres just last week, and the disturbing report of the execution of her murderer. It's unlikely that any kind of full due process could have been followed.

When I was a child, and first went to the Department of State for 1,001 injections, I stood in front of the plaque in the lobby which listed our fallen colleagues. It was sobering, even at age 5. It's more sobering now that we've filled up at least three more plaques. I have no desire to add my name to that plaque, but I am very much aware that very little history, or very little foreign policy takes place within the walls of the Chancery.

In Haiti, I traveled, literally, the length of the country to meet with opponents and supporters of President Aristide. I'm very proud that in the time that I was in Venezuela, I arranged a meeting between pro and anti-Chavez governors, rather mayors, and in fact, had to meet and have breakfast with some Congressional staffers. One of them said to me, a very strong Chavista, that this is the only place in Venezuela that I would ever meet with these people without a gun in my hand.

I am no stranger to personal diplomacy. I will try to reach out and engage with every element of society, where I can, to try to first understand, deeply, the problems of that country in a way that you can only understand on the ground, and then to mobilize the resources of our Government to affect change and protect our interests.

I acknowledge my family. I apologize I've been remiss. I should also acknowledge there are any number of colleagues, past, present, and future from the Department, from the Bureau of African Affairs and other parts, who are with me here today. I didn't know they were coming. I'm gratified that they did. They can expect a call.

Senator FEINGOLD. What's your analysis of the root causes driving the home-grown insurgency in the CAR.

Mr. COOK. The CAR first enters into history about the 7th century as a fertile harvesting ground for slaves. That's not a part of any part of human history that we want to be proud of.

Before independence, during the Colonial Period, it was distinguished by the excesses of various commercial companies on the model of what was happening in the Belgian Congo.

Since independence, I doubt that there have been any 5 years in which the country has had a stable, democratic government. It's a daunting challenge.

Internally, there is a real traditional of good governance, respect for human rights, as we would understand it.

In addition, neither matron or politics is very fond of vacuums. Sitting at the border of Chad, the Sudan and the Congos, the country faces pressure from neighbors who, may at times, prefer that the country be weak, and unstable, so that they can—it can either

serve as a refuge for their rebels or forces, or both. It would be very nice to build enough stability in the Central African Republic to help them, because it depends on the people themselves. It would be nice to help them build enough stability so that their armed forces might be a threat to rebels, and not just to their own citizens.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you. I wanted to ask you just a follow up—has the Bozize Government made any good faith efforts to address the grievances that led to this?

Mr. COOK. Mr. Chairman, I believe there is evidence that they have. Those efforts are small. It's very early to determine how good the faith is. In a country where the civil bureaucracy and the military have not been paid, or are months behind in their pay, it's very, very hard to hold them to the standard, to international standards. But that is exactly what we must do. We face the challenge of, on the one hand, denouncing violations of human rights and abuses, the impunity on both sides. And at the same time, trying to mobilize the resources, the programs that can actually lead the government to a state where they can meet those standards.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Cook.

Ms. Nesbitt, you saw the political reconciliation coalition building between perpetrators and victims in Rwanda's genocide in the late 1990s. What did you learn from that experience that will help you facilitate dialog and good faith commitments by both sides in the wake of a 5-year civil war.

Ms. NESBITT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, that's a very important question.

One of the most important lessons, I think, that I learned through my time in Rwanda was the important role that the United States and other Western countries could play in terms of promoting the concepts of tolerance and recognition of the rights of minorities, as well as majorities. I am hopeful that, if confirmed, I would be able to carry some of those lessons with me to Cote d'Ivoire, where the lack of trust among the parties, and the lack of recognition of the rights of all involved, continues to be one of the major underlying sources of the conflict there.

Senator FEINGOLD. How likely is it that the current string of agreements between President Gbagbo, and the former rebel commander Guillaume Soro, will be affected?

Ms. NESBITT. That's a difficult question to answer. I am very cognizant of the fact that this is one in a long string of agreements that has taken place, been signed in Cote d'Ivoire in the last 5 years. But the fact that it is an initiative on the part of the President, and that it has been signed on to by the major protagonist, Mr. Soro, who is now the Prime Minister, gives us cautious optimism that they have a level of commitment that has not been there in the past. And so, we are hopeful and—as I mentioned a little earlier in my statement—there are some signs, already, that progress is being made, that they are beginning to integrate the commands of their—of the militia and the national forces, that there is movement to return civil servants to the Northern part of the country, so there are a number of steps in the right direction, and we hope that that will continue.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Ms. Nesbitt.

A recent report by the nongovernmental organization, Global Witness documents a pattern of mismanagement of revenues, opaque accounts, corruption, and political favoritism in the cocoa sector of Cote d'Ivoire. It presents detailed evidence showing the diversion of more than \$58 million from levies to the government's war effort, which raises serious security, economic, and governance concerns. How will you broach this pervasive problem with the Government of Cote d'Ivoire, and what specific benchmarks of progress will you be looking for?

Ms. NESBITT. Mr. Chairman, this is a very, very serious issue, and it is one that we are concerned about. As you mention, both sides in this conflict have used revenues from the cocoa industry to support their activities, and this is an issue of great concern to us.

If confirmed, what I would like to do is to work with our partners in the international community, to put pressure on Cote d'Ivoire to show greater transparency, in terms of letting outsiders see the uses that they put their revenue to. We've called for greater transparency in the natural resources sector, in cocoa, as well as other natural resources, and we would like very much to convince our partners in the international community to tie assistance from the World Bank and elsewhere to greater transparency in those sectors. And, I'm hopeful that I will be able to work on that, if confirmed.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Ms. Nesbitt.

I thank all of you and congratulate you. And, as I said to the first panel, I will do what I can to expedite your nominations, so you can get to these important posts. Thanks so much, and that concludes the hearing.

[Whereupon, at 11:20 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSE OF MARK GREEN TO QUESTION SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Question. Mr. Green, do you believe that you serve under the direction of the President and the Secretary?

Answer, Yes.

RESPONSES OF MARK GREEN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. Tanzania held multiparty elections in 2005, but the country continues to experience political dominance by a single party. Additionally, tensions between the mainland and the Zanzibar archipelago remain. If confirmed, what steps can you take to strengthen civil society and promote political pluralism?

Answer. With the election of President Kikwete in 2005, Tanzania marked its third peaceful democratic transition since it opened the door to multiparty democracy in 1992. These elections gave President Kikwete a landslide victory with more than 80 percent of the vote and saw the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party make significant gains in Parliament.

While a number of opposition parties exist in Tanzania, the ruling party is dominant, and governing power is largely concentrated in the executive branch. Obviously, such political dominance increases the vulnerability of continued democratic reform. One of our key strategic priorities in Tanzania has been to work with all appropriate, willing entities—the legislature, judiciary, press, and civil society organizations—to strengthen democratic checks and balances. If confirmed, I will con-

tinue to build upon and expand my predecessor's advocacy for political plurality on both the mainland and on Zanzibar.

The steps I intend to take include the following: First, in my contacts with President Kikwete, I will tirelessly pursue the subject of developing democratic checks and balances, and urge him to show demonstrable progress on this front.

Furthermore, I will support the work of organizations such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI). NDI's current cooperative project with President Kikwete, in which NDI is drawing up recommendations for the modernization of the executive branch, shows great promise in helping to build a solid foundation for greater accountability in government administration.

On a related front, I will support the anticorruption programs launched under the Millennium Challenge Corporation's Threshold Program that foster greater transparency in public expenditures. It is important to make sure that the progress made in launching such initiatives as the Financial Intelligence Unit does not lose steam as new plans are developed under the MCC Compact Program.

In addition, I will continue the initiatives being undertaken by our Mission in Tanzania to train journalists in investigative reporting and to support NGOs that are pushing for greater freedom of the press.

Finally, I will strongly support the civic education programs and courses funded by USAID that enhance public awareness of democratic principles and rights. As Tanzania begins to look toward the 2010 elections, this greater awareness can help increase both political participation and the legitimacy of the election results.

The political situation in Zanzibar clearly warrants special attention. NDI's election mission reported serious irregularities in the 2005 election for Zanzibar's President and House of Representatives. A grave political impasse has emerged from these elections between the ruling party and the chief opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF). The CUF has refused to recognize the election of the Karume government, and is calling for a rerun of the elections and a government of national unity. The younger members of CUF, in particular, are frustrated by the lack of progress by the government in addressing what they feel are "three stolen elections." We need to be concerned about the potential for them to turn toward more radical solutions.

President Kikwete has proclaimed that political reconciliation in Zanzibar is his top domestic agenda item, but the progress has been uneven. Kikwete promised to address the "political tensions" in Zanzibar in his December 2005 inauguration speech, but it was not until January 2007 that reconciliation negotiations actually began. The President's popularity has been a double-edged sword for him. The Tanzanian people have high, if not unrealistic, expectations for what he and his administration will be able to accomplish. President Kikwete's first year in office was challenging, marked by a food shortage caused by drought and a power crisis which coincided with the rise of oil prices around the world, and it is not clear if he will be able to broker a solution in this case.

I believe that successful talks on Zanzibar are crucial in setting the foundation for free and fair elections in 2010 in Tanzania. The opposition party in Zanzibar lacks any trust in the ruling party and has pledged not to participate in the 2010 election unless an agreement is reached through the negotiations. This would obviously be a significant setback in the progress that the country as a whole has made on the democratic path.

I strongly support our Mission's plans to expand our public presence in Zanzibar, and believe that presence must include clear, unambiguous support for pluralism, fair elections, and peaceful political forums. Among other things, I support the Citizen Dialog Program, and would hope to expand it and programs like it, both on the mainland and in Zanzibar.

Question. Hundreds of thousands of refugees from Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and elsewhere are presently living in Tanzania, many in camps. In recent months, the Tanzanian Government has expelled persons of Rwandan and Burundian origin and there were reports of physical abuse and theft by officials and militia members. If confirmed, what steps will you take to see that the Tanzanian Government abides by international laws prohibiting the ill-treatment and, pending the determination of their claims, the forced return of refugees?

Answer. Traditionally, Tanzania has hosted the largest refugee population in Africa. As of June 1 of this year, 273,678 refugees are being assisted in refugee camps in mainly the northwestern part of the country. Another 200,000-300,000 refugees are estimated to have settled spontaneously (without United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] assistance). The large majority of these refugees originate from Burundi and the DRC.

Even though the assisted refugee population remains large, for the first time in more than a decade, it has dropped below the 300,000 mark. This reduction is first and foremost a result of the implementation of repatriation operations to Burundi and the DRC in recent years. Local integration of refugees in Tanzania and resettlement to third countries are also durable solutions pursued in the Tanzania operation to solve the situation of the refugees still hosted in the country.

As Tanzania takes steps to reduce the number of refugees and to prevent the migration into the country of additional refugees, we need to work closely with the UNT-ICR to monitor the treatment and living conditions of the populations involved. While Tanzania certainly has the right to stop illegal migrants from coming into the country, we must push to see that such operations do not adversely affect legitimate political refugees.

The future of most of the refugees in northwestern Tanzania depends on the continued progress in the peace process in Burundi and the DRC, and the access to basic social services in the return areas. President Kikwete has been active in promoting an enduring, peaceful settlement for Burundi, and brokered an oral agreement on June 17, 2007, between the Burundi President and former rebel group leader who both agreed to resolve their differences. Kikwete's goal has been to facilitate peace in order to create the conditions necessary for the return of Burundian refugees. We are assisting these efforts both privately and publicly. In fiscal year 2006, the United States Government provided \$18.6 million to support Burundi refugee repatriation and \$16.3 million to support Congolese refugee repatriation. (Note: Our fiscal year 2006 assistance for refugees in Tanzania was nearly \$10 million.)

Our Mission in Tanzania has paid close attention to reports of abuse by authorities with regard to the refugees in western Tanzania and has followed up these reports by seeking clarification from the appropriate Tanzanian officials. If confirmed, I plan to pay very close attention to these reports and the overall refugee situation. I plan to visit the refugee camps myself—eyes on the ground are still the best way for us to not only determine the conditions that refugees are living in, but also to demonstrate the importance of the refugee issue to our government. Firsthand observations will also strengthen our credibility as I bring the subject up in our contacts with President Kikwete.

We should also promote the cause of refugee issues in the context of Tanzania's growing international stature. President Kikwete has shown an interest in being a stronger voice in regional matters and conflict resolution. How refugees are treated in Tanzania will certainly affect the government's credibility as a legitimate partner as well as its international standing.

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

Answer. Although the Government of Tanzania is clearly committed to the rule of law and the protection of human rights, there are continuing human rights problems in the country. Recent events probably make the status and condition of refugees the most pressing. My approach to addressing this subject is outlined above.

One of our most pervasive human rights concerns is the criminal justice system and rule of law. Police and prison guards sometimes use excessive force against inmates or suspects, at times resulting in death, and police impunity is a problem; prison conditions can be harsh and life threatening; police routinely conduct searches without warrants, and at times fail to bring detained individuals before a judge in the specified period of time; and the judiciary suffers from corruption, particularly in the lower courts. We need to work with civil society and NGOs that are engaged in civic education, and support efforts to, for example, train investigative journalists.

In a similar vein, fighting the inhuman trade of Trafficking in Persons (TIP) has been an important cause on the world stage, and must be an important part of our foreign policy. Tanzania is a "Tier 2" country, meaning it does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, but is making significant efforts to do so. The government made progress over the preceding year in improving its law enforcement response to human trafficking, in particular through additional training of security personnel. To continue that progress, Tanzania should investigate and prosecute traffickers more vigorously, implement its plans to harmonize all elements of its legal code pertaining to trafficking in persons, and build on existing joint government-NGO efforts in education and awareness to result in a nationwide campaign.

Toward this aim, the Governments of Tanzania and the United States signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in May 2006 in order for the Department

of Justice to work in Tanzania for the next 2 years to assist the development of antitrafficking legislation, and to train police and prosecutors in antitrafficking procedures and techniques. If confirmed, I will work to see that this MOU is properly carried out, and that Tanzania moves firmly toward meeting international standards.

Last, but certainly not of lesser importance, is the longstanding, unequal status of women. Though Tanzanian law provides for equality for women, inheritance and marriage laws do not consistently provide full equality. Discrimination against women is most acute in rural areas where women's careers are limited to subsistence farming and raising children, and they have almost no opportunity for wage employment. Thus, in practice, women's rights often are not respected.

Civil society activists have reported widespread discrimination against women in property matters related to inheritance and divorce. This is especially the case in Zanzibar and parts of the mainland where judges bow to concessions demanded by customary and Islamic law. Women whose unions were not legalized under Hindu, Muslim, or Christian traditions, or under civil marriage laws were particularly vulnerable when they separated from their partners or their partners died.

Though the ratio of boys to girls in primary and secondary school is nearly equal in Tanzania, there continues to be a significant gender gap for girls completing their schooling, particularly at the secondary level. Girls are often left in the position of caring for siblings, being forced into marriage, or becoming pregnant, leading to a greater attrition by females from secondary school. Ensuring that girls are able to more fully pursue educational opportunities is both a public health matter (an educated mother is more likely to have a healthy family) and a matter of economic opportunity. President Kikwete and his wife, Salma, have both emphasized the importance of education, and Mrs. Kikwete has been a strong supporter of girls' education. Basic education for girls is a cause I have pursued as a Member of Congress and, if confirmed, would look to strongly advocate as ambassador.

It would be misleading and inaccurate to talk about human rights in Tanzania without noting that the Government of Tanzania (GOT) is making significant progress in a number of areas, including TIP and anticorruption. For example, the Tanzanian High Court recently outlawed the practice of "takrima," or the use of hospitality gifts and favors to constituents during election campaigns, and the GOT established the Financial Intelligence Unit using MCC Threshold Program funds. Both actions have been important steps toward fighting corruption.

Nonetheless, improving human rights conditions is an ongoing process, and if confirmed, I will continue to raise these human rights concerns with Tanzanian officials. In short, I will use all the tools I have available to me as Chief of Mission to press for continued reform and support solutions that make sense.

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 Tanzania in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. Probably the broadest challenge we face in this regard is the lack of capacity in Tanzania to implement many of the reforms, legislative initiatives, and other measures the government itself recognizes it needs to do to improve its overall human rights situation. But cultural practices too, are very hard to overcome, particularly with respect to women. Such attitudes change slowly, though Tanzania is notable for the number of talented women the country can showcase in significant positions of power—for example, the appointment of former Foreign Minister Dr. Asha Rose Mtengeti-Migiro as U.N. Deputy Secretary General.

These are challenges that are best addressed when our countries can work together as partners, with mutual respect. My background as a teacher in rural Kenya two decades ago certainly sensitized me to the need to be patient, listen, and to understand the underlying assumptions that were the motivating factors behind the villagers' actions. Likewise, finding solutions to difficult, sometimes entrenched, human rights issues requires not only adequate resources, but also excellent lines of communication between those who would be part of the solutions. If confirmed, I am looking forward to working with the Tanzanian Government and President Kikwete to find these solutions and implement them through the authority I will have as the United States Ambassador to Tanzania.

Question. 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 most important thing that an ambassador can do to ensure that the promotion of human rights is an integral part of the embassy's activities is to lead by example. In other words, if confirmed, I will use my office to carefully highlight human rights conditions and concerns. That would range from activities such as taking a firsthand look at refugee camps to publicly promoting the cause of women's education. I believe that an ambassador needs to be constantly on the move . . . highlighting issues and demonstrating through deeds American priorities and values.

Furthermore, as Chief of Mission, I would ensure that human rights issues are on the central agenda of my senior staff, and reach out to other officers for their ideas and observations. If confirmed, I plan to meet regularly with my staff and look for ways to foster their ingenuity and interests. Listening to their ideas, giving them the authority to pursue those that are in line with our Mission's strategic plan (which must include human rights priorities), and highlighting successful projects will make our embassy a stronger voice for human rights. While I know that Foreign Service officers do not undertake their work in order to receive individual recognition, I also know that such recognition can serve to reinforce their work in the eyes of others and perhaps help shape the careers of those involved.

I also hope to support the work of Peace Corps volunteers and NGOs out in the field. Again, highlighting the difference that Americans make in the living conditions of everyday Tanzanians is a way of encouraging others—Americans and non-Americans—to take up the cause of human rights.

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 taken a number of steps in my career and throughout my life that have served to promote the cause of human rights and democracy, which is a passion that led me to public service in the first place.

As a law student at the University of Wisconsin, I wrote an award-winning commentary that examined the potential for South Africa's legal system to improve human rights in that country. ("What Role Can South African Judges Play in Mitigating Apartheid?" 1987 Wis.L.Rev. 327 (1987)).

As I have mentioned elsewhere, 20 years ago, my wife, Susan, and I served as high school teachers in Kenya through WorldTeach Project, a development organization based at the Phillips Brooks House of Harvard University. While we spent most of our time in Kenya, we also traveled in the rural areas of western Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda. We lived in a small village setting, and taught each day at a rural school struggling to provide rudimentary educational opportunities. As teachers, we faced critical material shortages, and watched our students' families struggle with malaria and malnutrition-enhanced diseases. We ourselves were afflicted with malaria and typhoid. In addition to our teaching, we established a library at the school with donations from Americans living in Kenya and from our own hometown.

I believe that our work not only brightened the educational prospects of our students, but also reinforced the value of education in our village. When we returned to Wisconsin, we delivered a number of speeches about education and poverty in East Africa based on our own personal experience and observations.

Our experiences in Kenya certainly shaped my political career. I had the privilege of serving on the House International Relations Committee (HIRC) in the 107th, 108th, and 109th Congresses, and was a member of the subcommittees dealing with Africa and human rights in both the 108th and 109th Congresses.

I played a leading role in crafting the Millennium Challenge Act, America's historic commitment to invest in developing nations that are pursuing political and economic reforms. I played an important role in crafting the Global Access to HIV/AIDS Prevention, Awareness and Treatment Act of 2001, and the United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act. I have worked on legislation covering critically important policy areas such as international terrorism and human trafficking, and was a member of the House Human Rights Caucus. I hope and believe that each of these initiatives will help lift the daily lives of millions and millions of people—particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.

Several years ago, I worked with the National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute and State Department as an election observer in Kenya. I watched voting and ballot counting procedures in the Kakamega District of that country, and helped the foregoing groups report on the progress of democratization in Kenya. In at least a small way, I believe our work reinforced the cause of democracy in East Africa.

Prior to my election monitoring efforts, I traveled to West Africa along with Congressman Earl Pomeroy with the Academy for Educational Development, Oxfam, and Save the Children to look at and work on programs related to women's health and education in Africa. Congressman Pomeroy and I then worked to dramatically increase funding levels in the Federal budget for U.S. support to such programs.

I also traveled to South Africa, Lesotho, and Namibia as a member of a HIRC codel that, in part, examined the HIV/AIDS challenges in that region. We met with public health officials, and pushed leaders to adopt more open and more aggressive policies toward the pandemic.

In summary, throughout my life and my career, I have worked to support the causes of education, democratization, and human rights in Africa. Whether the venue be that small village around Makhokho Secondary School in Kenya or on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have been committed to being a strong voice for improving the lives of everyday Africans. Whether it be in support of legislation fighting human trafficking, or pushing for our foreign policy to include strong support for gender equality in African education, I hope that my work has made at least a little bit of a difference.

I view the incredible honor of being nominated as United States Ambassador to Tanzania as a unique opportunity to serve our Government in an area of the world I care deeply about. It also represents yet another step in my lifelong commitment to Africa and a way to continue the work I love.

RESPONSES OF MARK GREEN AND ROBERT B. 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. State 258893 was sent to all diplomatic and consular posts on December 4, 2004. State 78240 was sent June 7, 2007 and carries substantially the same message, I have read both.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed as Chief of Mission in Tanzania, I understand these policy principles from Secretary Rice and fully intend to carry them out. The Peace Corps has a unique role and must remain substantially separate from the day-to-day conduct and concerns of our foreign policy.

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' 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.

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. As I have indicated above, should I be confirmed, it is my intention to follow, fully and completely, Secretary Rice's directions regarding the Peace Corps.

I respect and honor the mission and activities of the Peace Corps as it conducts its work in developing countries all over the world. There are few other U.S. programs—if any—that could duplicate the unique character of this organization as it seeks to improve the lives of those less fortunate than we. Peace Corps volunteers are the face of America in remote corners of the world, and they reflect the best attributes of the American spirit: Roll up your sleeves to tackle the daily challenges facing the world's poor with optimism and hope. Should I be confirmed, that will be one of the core messages I will want my team in Dar es Salaam to reflect.

RESPONSES OF JUNE CARTER PERRY TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. Although the trial of Charles Taylor for his role in the armed conflict in Sierra Leone began on June 4, the process of truth and reconciliation in the country has largely stalled. What role do you see for the United States in ensuring that

the process of truth and reconciliation in Sierra Leone move forward? If confirmed, what will you do to promote the inclusion of justice in this process? What do you see as the long-term impact of the efforts of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) in general and Taylor's trial in particular? United States support for the SCSL has been substantial. How do you see the courts as strengthening rule of law and democratization in Sierra Leone beyond the prosecutions of the individuals on trial?

Answer. The United States has an important role to play in supporting Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation process. However, as we support the consolidation of peace in Sierra Leone, we must ensure that the reconciliation process remains homegrown and that there is sufficient political will to implement the necessary reforms. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has identified corruption and the breakdown of the rule of law among the primary drivers of the civil conflict. The establishment of the Human Rights and Constitutional Reform Commissions create key opportunities for the U.S. Mission to support the TRC recommendations. If confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to Sierra Leone, I would engage the Government of Sierra Leone to ensure that these commissions are empowered to complete their goals. In our direct engagement with these commissions, I would seek to identify areas in which greater attention is needed.

In addition to establishing these commissions, Sierra Leone has recently adopted key pieces of legislation such as the gender bills and the child rights bills, which set the framework to address some of the worst abuses that occurred during the civil conflict. If confirmed, I would direct the United States Embassy to continue to work with the relevant authorities in Sierra Leone to ensure the full implementation of these important pieces of legislation, and the law enforcement training needed to support their implementation.

The long-term impact of the Special Court for Sierra Leone reaches well beyond Sierra Leone, to the region and to the world as a whole. The Court is a clear expression that the international community will not tolerate the impunity of gross abuse of human rights, and that the reach of international humanitarian law extends as far as sitting heads of state, as evidenced by the court's precedent-setting 2003 indictment of then-President of Liberia, Charles Taylor. Additionally, the court's recent verdict in the case against the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council established new international humanitarian case law, such as the first-ever rulings on the crimes of recruitment of child soldiers into an armed conflict and forced marriage in an armed conflict. These important legal precedents will protect two of the most vulnerable classes of victims of the armed conflict that devastated Sierra Leone, thereby extending the court's legacy throughout the region and the world for future generations.

The court's excellent outreach efforts are a commendable example of its contribution to strengthening rule of law and democratization in Sierra Leone, having helped the people of the Mano River subregion take part in the justice process. Additionally, over 50 percent of Special Court personnel are Sierra Leonean, including police officers and prison guards, as well as lawyers, judges, court administrators, and courtroom personnel. The training these personnel have received while employed at the court, and the experience they have gained there, will have an enduring impact on judicial and law enforcement practices in Sierra Leone, as these dedicated professionals return to their jobs in the country's national courts and law enforcement agencies. Looking forward, both the Special Court and the Government of Sierra Leone should enhance their efforts to use the court's presence to enhance the rule of law and the administration of justice in Sierra Leone. If confirmed as ambassador, I would encourage the court to incorporate into its legacy a greater emphasis on improving the delivery of justice in Sierra Leone.

Question. Military rebellions and coups have historically been a source of instability in Sierra Leone and remain a potential threat to the elected government. If confirmed, what steps would you take to help strengthen civil society and the rule of law in the country?

Answer. Sierra Leone already has a strong and vibrant civil society with which the United States Mission enjoys a strong and healthy cooperation. If confirmed, I would continue the U.S. Mission's efforts to support and to work with civil society. The key challenge to stability in Sierra Leone is corruption. As ambassador I would ensure that all U.S. Government programs emphasize transparency, accountability and inclusiveness. I would continue the Mission's strategy to promote democracy and human rights awareness to increase citizens' expectations of transparent, responsive government, as well as to build the government's capacity to deliver services at all levels. I would continue to direct U.S. assistance to local and international NGOs to facilitate programs on improving human rights and democracy, promoting

reforms in the areas of decentralization, civic education, child labor, and combating human trafficking.

Question. Diamonds played a devastating role in fueling the brutal civil war in Sierra Leone. Although Sierra Leone is now a member of the Kimberley Process, controls on the artisanal diamond mining sector remain weak and smuggling of diamonds remains a serious problem due to lack of capacity and governance problems. If confirmed, what would you do to help promote better controls over the diamond sector to prevent diamonds from fueling conflict and to ensure that diamonds benefit the people of Sierra Leone? How would you support government and civil society in these efforts?

Answer. A recent Kimberley Process review visit concluded that Sierra Leone met the minimum requirements, though internal controls should be strengthened. If confirmed, I would target the Mission's development assistance to promote transparent management of the diamond industry, and transparent governance writ large. Diamond sector reform would remain the primary component of our natural resources and biodiversity program, aiming to create legitimate "fair trade" diamonds and the establishment of in-country cutting and polishing operations. Our collaboration with civil society through USAID and the Peace Diamond Alliance has charted new territory in Sierra Leone by bringing together civil society, the private sector, and local communities to monitor alluvial diamond mining, and to ensure that public revenues generated are used for public good.

Unfortunately, diamond smuggling remains a challenge in Sierra Leone. The 3 percent export tax, which some have contended may motivate smuggling to neighboring countries, is used to fund the Diamond Area Community Development Fund, which aims to enhance social and economic development in mining communities. To address the smuggling concerns, USAID and the UNDP are supporting regional efforts to harmonize export and fiscal taxes in the mining sector to eliminate the incentive for smuggling; I would continue to support these efforts, if confirmed.

Question. What would you do to promote transparent management of natural resources in Sierra Leone so that the revenues from these resources are used to promote economic development and alleviate poverty in Sierra Leone?

Answer. Sierra Leone is a resource rich country, which, due to poor governance, has not succeeded in transforming its natural wealth into prosperity for its people. Sierra Leone's weak economy is heavily dependent on agriculture and mining, and is moving steadily toward food security and diversification of rising mineral exports from diamonds to gold, rutile, and bauxite. Fishing is another key resource, but is heavily impacted by illegal poaching.

Despite expressing its intent to join the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI), Sierra Leone has yet to complete the independent validation necessary to implement EITI's transparency rules fully. If confirmed, I would work with the Government of Sierra Leone, civil society, and our international donor partners to ensure that Sierra Leone's vast resources are harnessed for the good of the Sierra Leoneans in an open and transparent manner. Looking regionally, we would continue to work on tri-border forestry and wildlife management activities which emphasize good governance, transparency, and accountability.

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

Answer. Abuses by the security forces, domestic and gender-based violence, and child labor are the most pressing human rights issues in Sierra Leone. The recent passage of the child's rights and gender equity bills has created a framework to address some of these problems. If confirmed, I would work with the Government of Sierra Leone and the country's active civil society to ensure full and proper implementation of these important laws. For the last several years, my predecessor, Ambassador Hull, has effectively used the State Department's annual human rights report as a tool to engage Sierra Leone's Parliament on human rights issues. Following his most recent presentation of the report, the recently established Human Rights Commission publicly committed to publishing its own National Human Rights reports. Members of Parliament have asked that the Mission increase its engagement with Parliament on human rights beyond presenting the final report. If confirmed, I would build on my predecessor's work and establish an ongoing dialog with the new Sierra Leone Parliament to ensure that human rights are given the proper attention.

Abuse by Sierra Leone's security forces demonstrates the need for enhanced and continued engagement on human rights and the rule of law. As ambassador, I would

publicly call for serious, good faith investigations into abuses by security forces. Through our foreign assistance we should provide training that enhances police capacity to combat crime and promote the protection of human rights. In this regard, I would investigate training opportunities with the International Law Enforcement Academy.

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 Sierra Leone in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. Corruption is the primary obstacle to reform and the promotion of human rights in Sierra Leone. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission also identified corruption as one of the key drivers of Sierra Leone's decade-long civil conflict. Though the Government of Sierra Leone has established an Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) to address official malfeasance, more must be done. To date, the ACC has yet to convict officials for their involvement in incidents of high-level corruption. To complete the healing process and consolidate peace, Sierra Leone must address impunity. If confirmed, I would continue to incorporate a focus on good governance, transparency, and anticorruption into all the Mission's engagement and assistance to Sierra Leone.

Question. 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 would establish a working group on human rights within the embassy to address our human rights promotion activities. In addition, I would direct Democracy and Human Rights Funds to support local and international human rights-focused nongovernmental organizations in Sierra Leone. In public fora, I would speak on the importance of human rights and encourage any appropriate legislation through the Mission's engagement with the government leadership.

I would seek to recognize officers who actively promote human rights through Superior and Meritorious Honor Award nominations, and acknowledgement in the regular employee evaluations. Their work would be recognized not only within the Mission, but through larger events involving host government, civil society, and private entities.

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. As Ambassador to Lesotho, I worked closely with the U.N. Development Program Representative, a female member of parliament, as well as the Ministers of Gender, Local Government, Foreign Affairs, and Culture to encourage the passage of a Women's Equity law. I also met with both the alliance of local NGOs and U.S. NGOs to advocate for the rights of all citizens, especially women and orphaned children. Through organizations such as "Save the Children Lesotho," we were able to provide Ambassador's Girl's Scholarship funds for tuition and mentors. I also spoke on human rights before diverse organizations such as the Homemaker's Association and the Lesotho College of Education. To develop officers, I had the Deputy Chief of Mission in 2006 address human rights before a religious organization and had the Public Affairs/Political Officer publish articles or letters in the major English-language daily emphasizing human rights. At the ambassador's residence, I hosted Martin Luther King Day programs featuring panels of the Minister of Justice, Lesotho alumni of United States exchanges, and professors from the University of Lesotho. These programs resulted in opening frank dialog, which were especially important during the pre-electoral period, and encouraged organizations to take advantage of U.S.-sponsored grants. The Mission had not received Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Funds for some years. We were able to receive an initial \$10,000 and later \$30,000 to address human rights.

As Deputy Chief of Mission in Madagascar, I chaired the Human Rights working group and awarded grants to the Ministry of Justice to attain an integrated computer system that advised citizens of their rights. As a second tour officer in Zimbabwe, I supervised the Special Self-Help program, which assisted market women in establishing cooperatives to empower them financially. As a desk officer in the Department, I worked closely with USAID and NGOs such as Africare to establish bursaries for a total of \$20 million for nonwhite South African students during the apartheid era. I consider that effort to be a major achievement as it offered

an opportunity to young South Africans. As an office director in the International Organizations bureau, I was responsible for managing an office that included the Economic and Social Commission, the Commission on Human Rights, and the Commission on the Status of Women. In this position, I believe my team and I made a major contribution in preparing the United States position against Libya's bid to chair the Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Our statement prepared for our ambassador was covered internationally and clearly laid out the fundamental beliefs that a country with major human rights violations and terrorist links should not chair the commission.

RESPONSES OF WANDA L. NESBITT TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. LTNAIDS describes Cote d'Ivoire as suffering from "a relatively stable but serious epidemic," which shows some signs of decline in urban areas. Cote d'Ivoire is a PEPFAR focus country. If confirmed, how would you lead the United States country team in confronting the HIV/AIDS challenge in Cote d'Ivoire? As ambassador, what steps would you take to promote prevention efforts and to strengthen effectiveness of the Lesotho Government's response to the epidemic?

Answer. If confirmed, I would maintain the dedication of my predecessor, Ambassador Aubrey Hooks, in administering the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. The Cote d'Ivoire program—funded at \$84 million for fiscal year 2007, with a proposed budget of more than \$100 million in fiscal year 2008—has produced significant results in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Cote d'Ivoire, including providing palliative care services for more than 44,000 people, care and support for more than 24,000 orphans and other vulnerable children, and direct and indirect support for antiretroviral treatment for more than 36,300 people. I would continue the Ambassador's support for the PEPFAR interagency team by providing overall leadership and guidance at the policy level. To strengthen prevention efforts, I would build on the goodwill and solid relationships established by Ambassador Hooks to heighten the program's visibility and reach. I would pursue a systems-building approach and encourage the forging of new private- and public-sector relationships to build a sustainable response to the epidemic. In particular, I would focus on strengthening systems of accountability and partnership with decentralized local government and civil society. I am aware that I would be inheriting a dynamic and effective program that is achieving significant results under difficult circumstances, and I intend to be a supporter and advocate for the Cote d'Ivoire program.

Question. Cote d'Ivoire is the leading producer of cocoa; revenues from the cocoa trade have helped fuel armed conflict and corruption in the country. If confirmed, what steps would you take to promote greater transparency and accountability in the cocoa industry?

Answer. I strongly agree with proposals made by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, which call on the Government of Cote d'Ivoire to enhance transparency in the mobilization and use of revenue from the oil, coffee, and cocoa sectors and to tie the agreement to do so with accessing World Bank funds for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants. I would work diligently to ensure that such measures would be durable, effective, and open to scrutiny by both the international community and the Ivorian public. I would also maintain regular contact with private sector entities who have a keen interest in this issue, such as the Chocolate Manufacturers Associations, to ensure that we deliver a consistent message to the Ivorian Government.

Question. The U.N. and Kimberley Process reported last year that conflict diamonds from Cote d'Ivoire were being smuggled out and making their way into the legitimate diamond markets around the world. How will you work to help ensure that the Kimberley Process is effectively implemented in Cote d'Ivoire and that controls over diamond mining areas are enforced and revenues from diamond trade are managed in a transparent and accountable manner?

Answer. The U.S. Government strongly backs the Kimberley Process, and if confirmed, I would uphold its principles. It is important to note that with the recent peace accord between factions in Cote d'Ivoire, there are no areas of diamond production that meet the U.N. definition of conflict diamonds. Therefore, I believe the key to preventing the production of conflict diamonds is to offer the United States Government's full support to the implementation of the Ouagadougou Political Agreement and to work with the Government of Cote d'Ivoire to ensure that free and fair elections, which would solidify that peace, take place in 2008. The Govern-

ment of Cote d'Ivoire is a member in good standing of the Kimberley Process and has cooperated fully with the U.N. and the Kimberley Process to eliminate the trade in conflict diamonds. Thus, I would encourage the government to continue to take constructive steps to mitigate disputes over control of diamonds and to prevent diamond revenues from being used for arms purchases.

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

Answer. The 2007 United States Department of State's Human Rights Report gives the Government of Cote d'Ivoire poor marks for its human rights record. Among the most pressing concerns are: a delay in holding presidential elections, arbitrary and unlawful killings, arbitrary arrests and torture, exploitative child labor, and trafficking in persons. Human rights violations have typically been less documented in the north, but the New Forces militia group has been rightly criticized for killings and disappearances of civilians and ad hoc justice.

If confirmed, I would work with the government, the Ivorian Independent Electoral Commission, and our NGO partners to make sure that free, fair, and transparent elections take place in 2008. This would include advocating for a thorough identification and registration process, which would ensure voter lists are as comprehensive and accurate as possible. Obviously, the objective would be to have a government that has broad support and, therefore, greater incentive to respect democratic practices and human rights principles. In addition, I would also focus on the effort to demobilize, disarm, and reintegrate former combatants so that this process was more than a symbolic gesture. The reunification of the country and the return of civil administration in the north should dramatically improve human rights throughout Cote d'Ivoire.

Regarding the worst forms of child labor in the cocoa sector, I would continue the United States Government's consultative dialog with NGOs, the United States cocoa industry, and the Government of Cote d'Ivoire. I would encourage the government to take steps to ensure children are given a genuine opportunity to attend school rather than work in potentially dangerous conditions on cocoa farms. Moreover, I would work with the government to meet the benchmarks laid out in the Harkin-Engel Protocol. The government has made significant efforts to combat trafficking in persons, but it falls short of meeting the minimal standards to eliminate the practice. I plan to work with our international and civil society partners to strengthen and train the Ivorian institutions charged with preventing trafficking in persons, protecting its victims, and prosecuting the perpetrators.

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 Cote d'Ivoire in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. Voter identification and registration as well as demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration are inherently controversial issues in Cote d'Ivoire. The former gets at the heart of the conflict: who is entitled to Ivorian citizenship, and who is not. I believe that one of the biggest obstacles will be overcoming the angst and fear that a number of different interest groups have about a potential change in the balance of power if 4 million currently undocumented people are eventually added to the voting rolls. The Government of Cote d'Ivoire needs to move on both of these issues quickly and decisively.

Five years of conflict have deteriorated infrastructure and institutions. A culture of impunity has cemented mistrust and will be difficult to reverse. Building rule of law, fostering reconciliation, and increasing transparency are long-term goals, which I plan to emphasize. Other challenges I believe I would face if confirmed include: holding the Ivorian Government to the commitments it has made; promoting greater political dialog with limited United States Government resources; mobilizing Ivorian resources to address trafficking and child labor; and seeking better coordination of donor contributions.

Question. 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. First, if confirmed, I would be honest, open, and forthright with Ivorian leaders about my expectations related to human rights. I would make it clear that the removal of section 508 sanctions is dependent on Cote d'Ivoire conducting free,

fair, and transparent elections. Cote d'Ivoire cannot fully integrate into the international community of democracies without holding elections, and I would emphasize this point regularly. Furthermore, I would take advantage of all opportunities to intensively engage NGOs dedicated to promoting human rights, and I would use public outreach opportunities to engage Ivorian audiences on the subject.

Within the Mission, I would ensure that we have a good strategy for promoting human rights and that every member of the country team addresses this issue in their interaction with Ivorian officials. I would hold regular sessions to evaluate our progress and to make sure that we stay on track. The State Department has an excellent system for recognizing and rewarding its Foreign Service officers. I would reward an officer who made superior contributions in the field of human rights by recommending him/her for an embassy meritorious or superior honor award, and I would nominate an officer who made a truly exceptional contribution for one of the Secretary of State's Department-wide award competitions.

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. As the United States Ambassador to Madagascar, I worked with our partners in the international community to resolve a 6-month dispute over the results of a Presidential election that resulted in the departure from office of the individual who had ruled Madagascar for 26 years. The leadership role we played in that crisis gave Madagascar its best opportunity in a generation to put in place a government that is more responsive to its people. Since the transition took place in 2002, the country has made good progress in terms of improving basic infrastructure, and increasing educational and economic opportunity. Much remains to be done but the trend is generally positive.

In Tanzania, our Mission was one of only a handful that held regular discussions with government officials in Zanzibar. Those discussions focused almost exclusively on the need for Zanzibari leaders to demonstrate greater respect for democracy and human rights. We had excellent relationships with the major opposition parties as well, and our open dealings with them sent a clear message to the general public that we were talking to—and listening to—both sides. Using our public diplomacy Visiting Speaker program, we were able to assist dialog among parties in Zanzibar. We invited a well-known Muslim-American academic to speak to a group of Zanzibaris that spanned the political spectrum. He talked about conflict resolution in an inspiring way. A number of attendees at the event told us it was the first time they had been in the same room and spoken to each other in several years. We succeeded in getting people to talk to each other even if they were not able to immediately resolve their differences.

In my assignments in Rwanda, Tanzania, and Madagascar I have been a strong supporter and proponent of women's rights and girls' education. In Madagascar, where a very large percentage of girls still do not go to school, we had a vigorous program—the Ambassador's Girls Scholarship Program—that gave hundreds of girls the chance to get all the way through high school. It was a program initiated by my predecessor and I was delighted to continue it. Thanks to our efforts, hundreds of girls, who would not otherwise have had the chance, can read and write because of this program; I am certain that they will retain a positive impression of the United States and make good contributions to their society for years to come.

RESPONSES OF MAURICE S. PARKER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. Tragically, the Kingdom of Swaziland has the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in the world: An estimated one-third of its adult population is HIV positive. If confirmed how would you lead the U.S. country team in confronting this challenge? As ambassador, what steps would you take to promote prevention efforts and to strengthen the effectiveness of the Swazi Government's response to the epidemic?

Answer. If confirmed, I would make combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic my top foreign policy priority, after the protection of U.S. citizens and their interests. The horrible HIV/AIDS scourge devastates families, hampers economic growth, overwhelms health-care systems, and creates thousands of orphans. Stemming the tide of this disease in Swaziland will be a long-term effort.

I would lead the country team by working closely with the Mission's new office for the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) that includes representatives of the Center for Disease Control (CDC), the U.S. Agency for Inter-

national Development (USAID), and the State Department's Office of the Global AIDS Coordinator (OGAC). PEPFAR's increased funding for fiscal year 2008 will assist the country team in meeting its goals.

I would urge greater coordination of the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland's efforts against HIV/AIDS in my discussions with King Mswati III, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Health, and by working with officials at Swaziland's National Emergency Response Council on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA). I would stress the need for expanded prevention efforts, increased government capacity for addressing HIV/AIDS, including improved drug procurement and drug supply management, better palliative care, and greater access to treatment. I would emphasize the importance of a strong message from the King to help de-stigmatize those with HIV/AIDS, as well as leadership from the King and senior governmental officials in altering AIDS-vulnerable behavior.

Question. As high as Swaziland's national HIV prevalence rates are, they are even higher among young women. If confirmed as ambassador, what steps would you take to help the people of Swaziland address the vulnerabilities of women and girls to this epidemic and to increase the empowerment of women in this small, conservative kingdom?

Answer. If confirmed, I would address the special vulnerabilities of women and girls to HIV/AIDS in my public statements, discussions with governmental officials, and contact with the Mission's 20 implementing partners on HIV/AIDS programs. I would urge the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland to take rapid action in bringing to Parliament a draft bill currently under governmental review that addresses the issue of domestic violence and the protection of children. I would also underscore to government officials the importance of taking forceful steps to prevent trafficking in persons. In my leadership role for the Mission's PEPFAR Country Operational Plan, I would ensure that gender is an integral part of the Mission's PEPFAR programming.

In February 2006, a new constitution came into effect that provides new rights for women. I understand that the U.S. Agency for International Development is preparing to fund a program developed by a local civil society organization that will reach out to women throughout the country to explain to them their rights under the constitution. I would strongly support that effort as ambassador.

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

Answer. I believe that governmental restrictions on democratic freedoms and serious abuses by security forces are the most pressing human rights issues in Swaziland. Although the new constitution provides for many democratic rights, the people are unable to change their government through democratic elections. Governmental practice places restrictions on freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association, among others. The police and security forces are known to act with impunity, use torture and excessive force, and to make arbitrary arrests. If confirmed, I would press the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland to amend existing legislation to bring it into conformity with the constitution and their international human rights obligations. For example, the new constitution provides women with fundamental rights and freedoms and these need to be codified in their legislation. I would publicly extol the benefits of a multiparty system and political openness. I would speak out against police abuses and press the government to bring the security forces under discipline. I would like to see the incidence rate of police abuse of detainees reduced.

While change comes slowly in a place like Swaziland, if confirmed, I would hope to effect change, ever mindful of my position.

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 Swaziland in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. The greatest potential obstacle to addressing human rights issues in Swaziland is the historically entrenched attitudes and practices. For example, the subordinate position long held by women makes it hard for them to assert their rights, even though the new constitution specifically provides greater rights for women.

I would like to see political parties recognized officially in Swaziland, yet there is a general sense among a large segment of the public that political parties are harmful to society. When the previous king banned political parties in 1973, he

claimed they were divisive and the cause of social discord. Given the tremendous respect accorded the previous king, this view of political parties continues to prevail in some quarters.

Civil society typically plays a crucial role in advancing human rights in a country. While there are numerous civil society organizations in Swaziland, they lack the cohesion necessary to facilitate their working toward a common end.

If confirmed, I would deal with these obstacles in a constructive manner in seeking to advance human rights in Swaziland.

Question. 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 United States plays a crucial role in advancing human rights throughout the world. If confirmed, the advancement of human rights in Swaziland would be one of the key objectives of my tenure. I would lead the Mission's work on human rights by speaking out and engaging the country's leadership and civil society community on the issues. I would encourage my staff to do the same by ensuring that addressing human rights is included in the work requirement statements of appropriate Foreign Service officers (FSO) and stressing the importance of that work in employee-supervisor counseling sessions. I would note the accomplishments in the field of human rights in annual FSO Personnel Evaluations and would look for opportunities to nominate human rights officers for Department of State and Mission awards.

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. Promoting democratic principals and values and advocating for nations to institutionalize respect for human rights has been an important function throughout my career.

HUMAN RIGHTS

As Principal Officer/Consul General in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, I promoted Human Rights by:

- Advocating for the release from prison of an American citizen and her U.S. permanent resident husband, who were serving life sentences for confessing to having committed a murder as a result of their being subjected to torture. I personally met with the American prisoner; two consecutive governors and attorneys general of the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, to advocate on the prisoner's behalf; ensured that the Consular Officers on my staff were always available to assist the prisoner, her family members and attorneys, to conduct frequent visits (despite a 300-mile distance between Ciudad Juarez and Chihuahua City, where the prisoner was imprisoned), and appear at all judicial hearings. I also worked with Mexican NGOs and the local media, and kept U.S. congressional officials informed of the status of this case. Through an effective combination of our Consulate General's active efforts against this blatant miscarriage of justice and a superb legal team, the couple was eventually released.
- As Principal Officer/Consul General in Ciudad Juarez, I strongly advocated for the investigation of the murders and disappearance, over a period of 10 years, of approximately 300 women in that border city. My efforts included meeting personally with two consecutive governors and state attorneys general to urge them to conduct intense police investigations (murder in Mexico is a state, rather than federal crime) into the murders. I also met with Mexican federal officials, the mayor of Ciudad Juarez, and municipal chiefs of police; hosted the fact-finding visits of two United States Congressional delegations (Representatives Hilda Solis twice and Janice Schakowsky) to Ciudad Juarez; and worked closely with Mexican and American NGOs to urge all Mexican authorities to investigate the murders. As a result of my efforts, I helped debunk many myths regarding the murders and provided the State Department, Congress, and the general public with a clearer idea of the problems facing the Mexican Government, including explanations of why the murders/disappearances were not solved. My ongoing discussions of the problem with the mayor of El Paso and the special agent in charge of the FBI for El Paso, Texas, led to a local agreement to have the El Paso homicide squad provide basic law-enforcement training to members of the Chihuahua state and Ciudad Juarez municipal police. The training included guidance on how to secure a crime scene, handle evi-

dence, and conduct a murder investigation. The agreement also established a 911 emergency telephone number in Ciudad Juarez for Mexican citizens to provide confidential information about possible crimes directly to Spanish-speaking members of the El Paso Police Department. This training has resulted in more effective investigative techniques for Mexican law enforcement. Unfortunately, due to the mishandling of most evidence associated with the murders of the women, the fact that the vast majority of cases under review were cold, and the general apathy demonstrated by the Chihuahua state officials responsible for the investigations, the crimes remain unsolved.

- In addition to my specific work on behalf of the disappeared and murdered women of Ciudad Juarez, I also worked closely with Ester Chavez Cano and her NGO, "Casa Amiga," a crisis center for battered women in Ciudad Juarez. Besides offering legal and practical assistance to abused women, this NGO has also advocated in a broader sense for human rights and full citizenship status, with accompanying protection and benefits under law, for women at all levels of Mexican society. To support Casa Amiga's invaluable efforts for the women of Ciudad Juarez, I obtained regular funding, a vehicle, and computer equipment from Embassy Mexico City's Narcotics Affairs Section, part of the Bureau of Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) at the Department of State.
- During my assignments to Barcelona, Spain; Lagos, Nigeria; and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, I was a contributor to each embassy's annual Human Rights Reports. As United States Representative to the Principality of Andorra, I was responsible for drafting the Human Rights Reports for that newly-independent and democratic microstate.

DEMOCRACY

I have used the tool of public diplomacy to advance democratic principals during the visits of three United States Supreme Court Justices to my posts. In 1985, I assisted Chief Justice Warren Burger during his official visit to Edinburgh, Scotland, to meet with senior officials of the Scottish judiciary. In 1995 and 1996, I hosted separate visits of Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court, Stephen Breyer and Ruth Bader Ginsberg, to Barcelona. During each visit, I used their presence overseas to meet with local officials, members of the judiciary, key legal officials, the media, nongovernmental organizations (NGO), and the public to discuss the U.S. Constitution, uniqueness of the American democratic system, and rule of law. Also, as Principal Officer in Barcelona, in cooperation with the post Public Affairs Officer, I helped to sponsor a highly publicized lecture by former U.S. Senator and Presidential Candidate, Gary Hart, on the U.S. Presidential electoral process. All of these events helped to educate some of America's closest allies about our unique democratic system and legal practices.

RESPONSES OF ROBERT B. NOLAN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. Lesotho has one of the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in the world—just under one quarter of the adult population is HIV positive. If confirmed, how would you lead the U.S. country team in confronting this challenge? As ambassador, what steps would you take to promote prevention efforts and to strengthen the effectiveness of the Lesotho Government's response to the epidemic?

Answer. With an HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of over 22 percent, Lesotho has been in a head-on collision with the HIV virus for well over a decade. Fortunately, the Government of Lesotho recognizes this challenge to the nation's very existence, and has been in the forefront of the campaign to fight the war against HIV/AIDS, including the involvement of Their Majesties the King and Queen, the Prime Minister and First Lady, and other key leaders in the country's groundbreaking "Know Your Status" campaign. Now, in my view, this campaign is an important step for Lesotho as it highlights knowing your status to keep those who are negative negative, promotes protecting those who are HIV positive from infecting others, and offers a gateway to care and treatment for those in need. That being said, Lesotho needs to scale up its prevention campaign and move it to the next level—including the inclusion of prevention messages in all current donor HIV/AIDS programs in Lesotho. The battle to control HIV/AIDS in Lesotho cannot be won until the rate of new infections drops significantly. The key in this regard is ensuring that the general population has access to the entire package of HIV prevention interventions, including: quality counseling and testing; the prevention of mother to child transmission; ARV treatment as appropriately indicated and thus lowering the risk of HIV transmission among those who are HIV positive; addressing cultural factors that drive HIV trans-

mission such as multiple, concurrent sexual partners; regular access to condoms for targeted, at-risk populations; and recognition of and assistance with the need to formulate a national policy and implementation program on male circumcision. It is clear that there is no magic bullet for prevention, but I am confident that the PEPFAR program under my leadership in Lesotho can play a primary role in helping to assure that all of these strategies are part of the national response.

If confirmed, I will work energetically with His Majesty the King and other members of the Royal Family, Government of Lesotho officials, civil society leaders, and all stakeholders to encourage them to engage personally in reaching out to the people of Lesotho and in ensuring that the entire arsenal of prevention interventions is universally accessible to the people of Lesotho. I will specifically highlight the behavioral changes needed to prevent the spread of the virus as well as my belief that local ownership of behavioral change messages is essential if Lesotho is to win this battle.

Concerning the broader question of improving the effectiveness of Lesotho's response to the pandemic, I think there is a need for greater coordination both among the approximately one-dozen Government of Lesotho entities engaged in fighting HIV/AIDS and among the donors, NGOs, and civil society who are working to support the government's work. This coordination will become more necessary once implementation of the soon-to-be-signed MCA Compact begins. The Compact provides approximately \$122 million for the health sector to bolster human and physical infrastructure. If confirmed, I will work with the government and others to ensure that the considerable efforts to fight AIDS in Lesotho, including the work done under the MCA Compact and PEPFAR, are complementary and mutually supportive. The challenge to fight HIV/AIDS in Lesotho, particularly within the context of a vast shortage of qualified human resources, is so great that no efforts or resources can be wasted.

The United States Mission Country Team is the key to ensuring that United States Government resources are used to maximum advantage in helping the Basotho win the war against HIV/AIDS. In coming months the Country Team will expand greatly with the addition of resident representatives of CDC, USAID, and MCC. If confirmed, I personally will lead the Country Team in the battle against HIV/AIDS.

Question. The rights of women in Lesotho continue to be limited as well as violated. Despite the advocacy efforts of national NGOs, domestic violence and rape remain common, a fact which compounds the AIDS epidemic. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these issues?

Answer. The Government of Lesotho has made important progress in safeguarding the rights of women. To advance its eligibility for an MCA Compact, Lesotho enacted ground-breaking legislation that accords Basotho women broad protection under the law, especially concerning their ability to conduct business, acquire loans, and possess land. If confirmed, I will direct my efforts to urge that this marriage equality law is fully implemented, as I know there will be considerable resistance from some quarters to according all women their full rights. I would also continue our impressive efforts to provide secondary education to girls from the most vulnerable sectors of society, especially orphans. I would continue Embassy Maseru's outreach on trafficking in persons issues so that Basotho women do not fall victim to this modern form of slavery. I would also make concerted efforts to support the work of some of Lesotho's leaders on women's rights, including the First Lady, the Speaker of the National Assembly, several women leaders in the government's cabinet, and many dynamic civil society leaders. Finally, I will encourage the PEPFAR and MCC staff to actively continue making linkages between lack of gender equity in basic social relations in Lesotho and the continuing spread of the HIV virus.

Question. Lesotho is considered to be one of the foremost beneficiaries of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), but its AGOA exports are made up almost exclusively of apparel. If confirmed, what steps would you take to promote greater economic diversity and enhance potential investment opportunities for United States businesses in Lesotho outside of the textile sector?

Answer. The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) has been a success story for Lesotho, with 40,000 people employed in the textile industry. The Government of Lesotho is indeed cognizant of the vulnerability inherent in having its manufacturing sector wholly devoted to textile production.

To promote economic diversification in Lesotho, I will work with USAID's Trade Hub (located in Gaborone, Botswana) to maintain critical job-supporting exports in the apparel sector and to increase exportable products from Lesotho, such as ceram-

ics and processed food products. The Trade Hub plays a key role in making market linkages for exporters from Lesotho, both to regional markets and to the United States.

I will also work with the Trade Hub in conjunction with other donors, such as the British-funded "ComMark Trust" based in Maseru, on creating a business environment that is conducive to fostering additional investment to promote economic diversification in Lesotho and to create new jobs for the Basotho people.

The \$362.5 million Millennium Challenge Compact, soon to be signed with Lesotho, will help the country address a key constraint to increased industrial development. Specifically, the Compact will provide funding for a highland dam project intended to resolve water shortages in populated areas.

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

Answer. Lesotho is a constitutional monarchy and a vigorous, if young, democracy. As reported in the State Department's 2006 Human Rights Report, human rights are generally respected by the government. One of the most serious human rights concerns in Lesotho is discrimination toward women, including the prevalence of violence. The Government of Lesotho has made important progress in safeguarding the rights of women. To advance its eligibility for an MCA Compact, Lesotho enacted ground-breaking legislation that accords Basotho women broad protection under the law, especially concerning their ability to conduct business, acquire loans, and possess land. If confirmed, I will urge that this marriage equality law be fully implemented, as I know there will be considerable resistance from some quarters against according all women their full rights. I would continue our impressive efforts to provide secondary education to girls from the most vulnerable sectors of society, especially orphans, as well as our funding of community self-help projects, many of which empower local women's groups and organizations. I would also support the work of Lesotho's leaders on women's rights issues, including the First Lady, the Speaker of the National Assembly, cabinet members, and civil society leaders. Recent embassy activities publicizing the scourge of trafficking in persons and celebrating the history of the U.S. civil rights movement are examples we can build upon.

I will use my position to ensure that the nation's military and police respect and support the Basotho people's civil and human rights. In this regard, robust democratization efforts, such as the confidence and capacity-building activities which Embassy Maseru and the National Democratic Institute conducted during Lesotho's February 2007 national assembly election, are key to the nation's continued strong human rights record.

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 Lesotho in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. The greatest obstacle in overcoming lack of respect for women's rights in Lesotho is the difficulty of changing traditional attitudes in Basotho society. Fortunately, those attitudes are changing under the leadership of His Majesty the King, the Speaker of the Assembly, the First Lady, and other government and civil society women leaders. If confirmed, I will work with Lesotho's leaders and with civil society groups to help ensure women are informed of their rights and are able to take advantage of them. I would like to point out the tremendous positive impact that United States policies on women's issues has had in the Mountain Kingdom, such as the advocacy by the United States Embassy and the Millennium Challenge Corporation of Lesotho's "Legal Capacity of Married Persons" Act. Under my leadership, we will steadfastly continue to seek equality for Basotho women so that they can fully contribute to the nation's development.

Additionally, under my leadership, the United States Embassy in Maseru will continue to aid the professionalization of Lesotho's military and law enforcement entities so that they can serve as defenders of the Basotho people's rights.

Question. 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, it would be my intention to make the promotion of human rights and strengthening of democracy in Lesotho key elements in our mission strategic plan. Moreover, I will stress to all personnel and agencies under my authority

my belief that the institutionalization of basic human rights in Basotho society is a prerequisite for success in all other endeavors, including economic development and efforts to combat HIV/AIDS. I will ask all members of the Mission, regardless of their role, to contribute to advancing human rights in Lesotho. If confirmed as Ambassador to Lesotho, I intend to encourage and reward—through the Department's award system and individual performance evaluations—insightful, reporting on human rights and democracy, as well as on other issues. I will impress upon my team that we are in Lesotho to act as transformational players in fields such as human rights and democratization. I will also continue, adapt, and expand upon our recent cooperation with the National Democratic Institute to build local capacity and confidence among political stakeholders.

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. From 2001 until 2006, I served as the Office Director in the Bureau of Human Resources for the Office of Performance Evaluation (HR/PE). In this position, I was responsible for the management of the Foreign Service's performance evaluation and promotion systems.

In HR/PE, I played a leadership role in the creation of the Career Development Program (CDP) for Foreign Service generalists. The CDP contains a road map of the assignments a generalist must take in order to be eligible for consideration for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service (SFS). In CDP, I helped to make the case that operational effectiveness needed to include a breadth of experience over several regions and functions. The CDP thus encourages Foreign Service officers to serve a tour of duty in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) as a mid-level officer in order to demonstrate their operational effectiveness. By creating this incentive for an assignment in DRL, we emphasized the importance of working to support human rights. In addition, we believe that CDP will result in more mid-level employees working on human rights issues to demonstrate their breadth of experience in order to become more competitive for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service.

While serving in HR/PE, I was also responsible for managing the Procedural Precepts process. The Procedural Precepts establish the scope, organization, and responsibilities of the Foreign Service Selection Boards and describe the criteria to be used by the boards in reaching their promotion determinations. In this HR/PE leadership role, I helped to emphasize the importance of human rights in the Procedural Precepts. For example, our 2006 Procedural Precepts specifically mentioned human rights as being of importance to U.S. interests as a global issue. The Procedural Precepts further added the comment that selection boards should acknowledge expertise and accomplishments of employees in areas such as human rights and give these employees full consideration for promotion. The Foreign Service promotion process thus helps to encourage employees to work on human rights issues.

Since 2006, I have served as the Office Director in the Bureau of Human Resources for the Office of Career Development and Assignments (HR/CDA). In this position, I am responsible for the management of the Foreign Service's assignments system. In HR/CDA, I have led management's efforts to reform the Foreign Service assignments process. Specifically, we have made changes to the bidding process to improve the staffing of our most difficult hardship posts overseas. These difficult hardship posts are very often dealing with critical human rights issues on a bilateral or multilateral basis. By helping to make certain that positions at these posts are filled rather than being left vacant, we are ensuring that U.S. Missions overseas have the necessary American staffing to focus on human rights issues.

RESPONSES OF FREDERICK B. COOK TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. The International Criminal Court announced on May 22, 2007, that it would open an investigation into crimes committed in the Central African Republic by parties to the conflict in the region from 2002–2003. What is your opinion of this decision? If confirmed, how will you support the peace process in CAR?

Answer. In December 2004, the Central African Republic (CAR) asked the International Criminal Court to investigate crimes within the jurisdiction of the court committed anywhere in CAR territory since July 1, 2002, the date of entry into force of the Rome Statute, which established the court. The CAR Government referred this case to the court because the CAR justice system lacks the capacity to carry out the complex legal proceedings necessary to try this case adequately. The United

States is not a party to the Rome Statute, but we respect the rights of other states to become parties and to seek the involvement of the ICC in addressing serious crimes in their countries as the CAR has done in this instance. The United States shares a common interest in promoting justice and accountability for mass atrocities and we remain a leading world voice in furthering international criminal justice.

If confirmed, I will support the peace process in CAR by engaging with both the government and the opposition and emphasizing the need for a peaceful and democratic resolution to their differences. I would support the efforts of the United Nations Peacebuilding Office in CAR (BONUCA) to establish a comprehensive dialog and to mediate between political leaders to foster reconciliation. I would encourage the government and its mediators to develop peace agreements with the various armed rebel groups in a transparent and inclusive manner. Finally, I would urge the government to address some of the underlying issues contributing to the conflict, such as the lack of rule of law and uneven economic development.

Question. The United States Agency for International Development does not have a development assistance program in the Central African Republic. Under what conditions would you favor initiating an assistance program?

Answer. While the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) does not have a mission in the Central African Republic (CAR), there is a considerable amount of USAID engagement in the country. The majority of USAID support for CAR in fiscal year 2007, approximately \$16 million, consists of humanitarian assistance, including emergency food aid, emergency relief supplies, well rehabilitation, nutrition assessments, and seeds and tools distribution.

The remaining fiscal year 2007 USAID assistance, approximately \$1 million dollars, is targeted toward more traditional development programs. Projects include a program to develop property rights and increase transparency in alluvial diamond mining in CAR in accordance with the Kimberley Process as well as programs under the Central African Regional Program for the Environment (CARPE) to chart and record CAR's forest resources and to promote conservation. The property rights project is managed from USAID headquarters in Washington and CARPE is administered out of the USAID mission in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Presently, the United States Embassy in CAR is not staffed sufficiently to directly manage large-scale USAID development assistance, which is why the embassy has relied on regional missions and Washington to manage projects. If confirmed, I would welcome a mission should USAID headquarters determine that adequate operational funding was available to establish such a mission in CAR.

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

Answer. With rebel groups and bandits operating throughout the country, and spill over from conflicts in neighboring states, the greatest challenge to the promotion of human rights in the Central African Republic (CAR) is the deteriorating security situation. Hundreds of thousands of people have been driven from their homes by both rebel attacks and counter attacks by government forces. The general condition of lawlessness and impunity, including extrajudicial killings by government agents and rebel groups, has also subjected civilians to increasing acts of banditry and violence. Homes and property have been destroyed or stolen by both sides and children have been kidnapped for ransom, resulting in displacement of almost 8 percent of the population. Displacement means greater exposure to disease and dangerously reduced agricultural production, which has led to a humanitarian crisis.

Not only does insecurity have humanitarian consequences, but it undermines long-term economic development as well. Bandit attacks on commercial routes in the west and northwestern parts of the country have stifled trade and business, hindering the ability of the Central African people to lift themselves out of a life of poverty.

Now that a democratically elected government heads CAR after years of conflict, we have a small window of opportunity to advance the cause of human rights in that country. If confirmed, I will attempt to engage all elements of society and encourage them to cooperate to bring peace and stability to the country.

To the government, I will deliver the message that the promotion of human rights is necessary, not merely to ensure assistance from the international community, but to lay the foundation of a strong and stable republic that enjoys the support of its own people. Government military forces must no longer act with impunity. To foster respect for human rights and civil-military relations, I will urge the government to

train its forces in these fields in addition to operational training that will make them more effective in securing CAR territory.

To the rebels, I will deliver the message that their grievances can only be resolved through peaceful political engagement. Attempts to gain power or leverage by force will be condemned by the international community.

To civil society, I will express U.S. support for their efforts to promote judicial and legislative independence and to advance transparency at all levels of government. These institutions must pass the laws and establish the procedures necessary to resolve internal conflict and end impunity.

If the CAR Government and society can make the necessary changes to enhance security, there will be a tangible increase in human rights and respect for democracy which will lead to a betterment of the lives of the Central African people.

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 the Central African Republic in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. As the Central African Republic (CAR) has not had a history of democratically elected governments that respect human rights, the greatest challenge to promoting human rights in CAR is the lack of a shared vision of responsible democratic government amongst the various factions, be it government, rebel groups and bandits, or even perhaps civil society.

Thus, the first major challenge is to convince all of the factions that peaceful and democratic change is really possible. To do that, if confirmed, I will endeavor to meet with all elements of society throughout the country and will encourage my staff to do the same. We will, however, be constrained by our small size and the prevailing security conditions.

With a population of only about four million people, the problems of the Central African Republic are often overshadowed by those of neighboring countries such as Sudan or the Democratic Republic of Congo. It will be a major challenge to secure adequate resources to support the programs and projects we have identified. This will require intensive engagement and coordination with our international partners and the nongovernmental community to both encourage continued engagement as well as to prevent waste or duplication of effort.

Question. 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 see support for human rights as the cornerstone of our engagement in the Central African Republic. The United States Embassy in Bangui is extremely small, with a staff of only three United States citizen employees, (if confirmed, I will be its fourth) but, with energy and imagination, we can reach out to all elements of Central African society. If confirmed, I will make sure that the promotion of human rights remains a priority goal in the Mission Strategic Plan, the document in which we outline our major policy goals for each embassy. Similarly, as the rating or reviewing officer for every U.S. citizen employee at post, I will be able to assure that the promotion of human rights is highlighted in both the work requirements and the performance review of every member of the staff.

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. One of the most powerful elements of diplomacy is personal engagement. I served as Deputy Chief of Mission in Venezuela during the period when President Chavez was removed from office and the aftermath. One of our major policy goals was to work for national reconciliation. I undertook a long-term campaign to encourage dialog between the various pro- and anti-Chavez mayors of the various districts of Caracas. This involved office calls, repeated invitations to my home, and late night visits to offices full of people with guns. As one mayor commented to a Congressional staff delegation over breakfast on my patio. "This is the only place in Venezuela where I would ever agree to be in the same room with these people." I wish I could tell you that my efforts achieved national reconciliation in Venezuela. I cannot. I do believe, however, that my personal intervention prevented violence on at least one occasion and I can assure you that both sides acknowledged, if only privately, the efforts of the United States to promote reconciliation.

While serving as interim Deputy Chief of Mission in Haiti, I undertook a similar effort to reach out to and meet with an important Aristide partisan who was in hid-

ing, thus attempting to model the kind of reconciliation that the Haitians themselves must eventually undertake. Haiti is another country where grinding poverty feeds political instability. When I learned that labor disputes threatened to close a factory on the other side of the island, near the Dominican border, I traveled overland to the plant and met with union members, the AFL-CIO representative, and the Dominican plant owner to reduce tensions and prevent the closure of the plant. This saved hundreds of Haitian jobs.

RESPONSES OF WILLIAM GARVELINK TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Question. One of the many tragedies of the Democratic Republic of Congo's long civil war has been the widespread use of child soldiers. Reportedly, this practice continues, not only among rebel groups but also in the Congolese Army, including children who were serving as rebel combatants who have been integrated into the national army. The chief of staff of the armed forces has issued an order to his commanders to stop recruiting and using child soldiers, but the practice continues. What steps can you take to strengthen efforts to professionalize the military and eliminate this reliance on children and to assist in the rehabilitation and reintegration of former child combatants?

Answer. As you noted, the Congolese armed forces banned the recruitment of child soldiers in 2006. Approximately 29,000 out of a total of 33,000 child soldiers have been demobilized in the Congo, largely through programs funded through the World Bank-led Multi-Donor Regional Project (MDRP). That said, it is unacceptable that an estimated 4,000 children still serve as soldiers in the Democratic Republic of Congo, largely in militia groups but also in Congolese armed forces units that have not yet been integrated. Our approach to this serious problem is to support the demobilization of all remaining child soldiers, as the first demobilization priority, as we work to assist in the formation of fully professional Congolese armed forces. We are planning programs to support the reintegration of former combatants, including demobilized child soldiers, both through the U.N. Development Program (UNDP) and directly through USAID in areas not covered by the MDRP or UNDP Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programs. We are working to raise the level of professionalism in the Congolese armed forces by training brigade staff officers. We are also planning to refurbish the Congolese military staff college and funding a Defense International Institute for Legal Studies assessment of the Congolese military justice system aimed at designing a proposal for United States assistance in reforming the military justice sector.

Question. Gender-based violence has been another horrific legacy of conflict in the Congo, as well as the disintegration of many social norms. If confirmed, what steps can you take to help strengthen the rights and security of women and girls, to strengthen the rule of law, and to aid the Congolese in their efforts to assist survivors of gender-based violence?

Answer. Gender-based violence (GBV) is indeed a horrific problem in the DRC. The physical consequences of GBV are devastating, and the social and psychological consequences can be just as catastrophic. Fistula is also a serious problem for victims of sexual crimes in the DRC, and many lack access to appropriate treatment. In addition, an estimated 2 million Congolese are infected with HIV/AIDS, and there have been reports that as many as 60 percent of combatants are infected. In too many cases, victims of sexual violence will not even report the crime because of the social stigma associated with victims.

If confirmed, I will work to provide counseling and treatment for victims, and to remove the social stigma associated with GBV victims. Currently, with USAID funding, including Victims of Torture and Trafficking in Persons funds, international organizations work with local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), health structures, and community based organizations (CBOs) to increase their capacity to provide a package of support to survivors including medical, psychosocial, and socio-reintegration services, as well as to promote judicial support and referral when appropriate. Since 2002, USAID has assisted over 40,000 survivors of sexual violence in the eastern DRC.

The battle against GBV must also concentrate on preventative action. If confirmed, I will cultivate civil society partnerships that can augment our effectiveness in the struggle against GBV. I will also work closely with the Government of the DRC to strengthen the legal mechanisms for bringing the perpetrators of GBV to justice. The war-time perception that rape goes unpunished is prevalent, and the only way to change this perception is to reject impunity. Men must understand that

they can and will be punished for GBV, otherwise this crime will continue. If confirmed, I will also work to end impunity for the perpetrators of crimes of sexual violence.

Question. Given the central role that natural resources play in the DRC's economy and development; the history of widespread corruption; and the risk natural resources can pose to peace and security if not properly managed; if confirmed, how will you try to ensure the new Congolese Government prioritizes the responsible and transparent management of natural resource reforms?

Answer. The natural resources of the DRC, if managed properly, have the potential to play a crucial role in improvements of the DRC's economy and the livelihood of the Congolese people. Unfortunately, as your question indicates, the DRC's wealth of natural resources has historically brought much corruption and exploitation. The elections of last year established a foundation of legitimacy from which we have an opportunity to reverse this trend, and if confirmed I will push the government on this issue through every possible medium.

Recent actions in the DRC provide reason for optimism. Parliament recently undertook a review of 60 mining contracts in the DRC. It is my hope that this review reflects the will of the entire Government of the DRC (GDRC) to promote a legal and fair procedure for negotiating mining contracts. If confirmed, I will work with Parliament to develop a transparent and date-limited contract review process.

President Kabila's recent actions, such as his visit to South Africa to promote foreign investment in the DRC, show that he is attempting to rebuild the economy through capitalist means. It will be my job, if confirmed, to work with him to ensure that increased foreign investment in the mining sector benefits the Congolese people. I will also work with those companies in the private sector that invest in DRC extractive industries, such as the United States-based Freeport, to ensure fairness in contracts and emphasize oversight. If confirmed, I will also work with the GDRC to enhance border control in order to reduce illegal resource smuggling.

If confirmed, I hope to work with and increase cooperation among the GDRC, private companies, and the Congolese people. I will work to strengthen democratic institutions that facilitate communication and transparency. I would note that we are already working to foster this change through USAID's partnership through the NGO PACT and several major mining companies in the Extractive Industries Alliance. We also support DRC's membership in the Kimberley Process and encourage the completion of DRC's candidacy in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI).

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

Answer. The DRC's human rights record remains poor. Unlawful killings, arbitrary arrests and detention by security forces, disappearances, rape, and harassment of press and human rights defenders continue. At the core of many of these abuses is a corrupt and dysfunctional justice system. The Congo suffers from the gamut of human rights problems, exacerbated by widespread poverty, mismanagement of resources, and a lack of transparency. These issues are interrelated. Following last year's historic elections, the time has come to tackle the problem of impunity and to support the development of democratic institutions to nurture human rights to replace the predatory state institutions that have weakened the Congolese society. My role, if confirmed, will include working with government leaders and parliament to ensure that appropriate internal checks and balances are established and respected, enhancing communication among government agencies, supporting the development of a free and credible media sector, calling for proper resource management that allows profits to reach the Congolese people, and pushing for enhanced governmental transparency.

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 the DRC in advancing human rights and democracy in general?

Answer. As I see it, there are three key obstacles to addressing these human rights issues: the culture of impunity, a lack of political will to effect change, and corruption. While impunity and the lack of political will are serious issues in their own right, I believe they are also linked to the underlying problem of corruption. Corruption in the DRC is a far-reaching problem, extending throughout both the government and the private sector. Should I be confirmed, corruption will pose a serious challenge to my efforts to work with the government of the DRC to develop

transparent and sustainable management strategies. If I am confirmed, I will make every effort to address these serious challenges. By establishing a functioning justice system and the fight against impunity, I believe the DRC can create a climate that fosters a genuine desire among the leadership to protect human rights.

Question. 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 plan to make the promotion of human rights a major aspect of my engagement with the Congolese host government, diplomatic colleagues, and staff at United States Embassy-Kinshasa. My goal would be to lead by example to show Foreign Service officers my commitment to the promotion of human rights, and to make it clear to them that I believe professional advancement depends in large measure on one's commitment to advance human rights internationally. I will recommend rewards for those officers who are outstanding performers in this area.

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. Before joining USAID, I worked in the late 1970s as a human rights specialist for the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on International Organizations chaired by Representative Donald M. Fraser. My interest in human rights, particularly as it relates to internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees, continues throughout my career. In 2003, I led the USAID effort to draft a USAID policy paper on assisting IDPs. The paper linked human rights and protection issues with approaches to assisting IDPs and is the current guidance for USAID missions around the world. The paper was approved by USAID and endorsed by the inter-agency. I presented the USAID strategy to the international community in Geneva in 2004. It was the first donor policy paper that linked assistance to IDPs with human rights and protection issues and was applauded for that. It is the example being used by several other nations in designing their own approach to IDPs, protection, and human rights.

Within the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA) where I serve as the Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator, I created in 2003 a Protection Unit which develops strategies to ensure that the rights of the IDPs and others assisted by USAID are properly protected. The Protection Unit implemented projects in Iraq on human rights and reprisal prevention. In 2004–2005, the unit oversaw the collection of evidence on human rights abuses in Chad and Darfur that supported a declaration of genocide. The unit currently oversees Violence Against Women projects in Darfur and Northern Uganda. Through the unit, I provided funding to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to hire 10 additional protection officers for rapid deployment on human rights issues around the world.

It is essential to integrate human rights and protection concerns with our humanitarian response and development activities if our assistance is to meet effectively the needs of the world's IDPs. The linkage had not been made in USAID programming decisions prior to the adoption of the IDP Policy Paper and the creation of the Protection Unit. With the policy paper, IDP assistance has become a USAID priority. The Protection Unit within DCHA implements activities and provides guidance to the rest of USAID on methodologies and techniques for integrating protection and human rights concerns into USAID's IDP and refugee programs. The Protection Unit is the institutional platform to ensure USAID's commitment to IDPs, human rights, and protection.