

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

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

—  
FEBRUARY 7 THROUGH NOVEMBER 28, 2012  
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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S. HRG. 112-735

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

79-797 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2013

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
112TH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION

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**NOMINATIONS OF STEPHEN D. MULL AND  
DAWN M. LIBERI**

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 2012**

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

Hon. Stephen D. Mull, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Poland  
Dawn M. Liberi, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Burundi

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Richard Durbin, presiding.

Present: Senators Durbin and Lugar.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD J. DURBIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS**

Senator DURBIN. Good morning. This hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order. Today the committee considers two nominations: The Honorable Stephen Mull to be Ambassador to the Republic of Poland, and Ms. Dawn Liberi—did I pronounce that right?

Ms. LIBERI. Liberi.

Senator DURBIN. Liberi—to be Ambassador to the Republic of Burundi. Welcome to the nominees, their families, and friends.

I am pleased to stand in for Senator Kerry, who is unable to join us. I will be brief with my introductory remarks, and then turn to Senator Lugar. I am glad that he has joined us. And then we will give you two an opportunity for opening statements. Please feel free at that time to introduce any family members that are here with you.

Congratulations to both of you. I am pleased the President has nominated two experienced individuals who, if confirmed, will bring years of service to our country to bear in their respective posts.

With the tragic deaths in the last several days of four Americans serving in our consulate in Libya, including Ambassador Chris Stevens, we are all reminded of the difficult and sometimes dangerous environment in which our dedicated State Department staff serve. Over my travels to some of the most remote and isolated corners of the globe, I have always been struck by the talented, dedi-

cated U.S. personnel representing America in our embassies and consulates.

Before we take your testimony, I would like to start with the introduction of each our nominees.

Stephen Mull—I have the distinct pleasure of representing Illinois where Chicago is often noted as home to the largest Polish community outside of Poland. As Polish-Americans have been vibrant and active members of the fabric of our Nation since the 19th century, many even earlier, so, too, is the relationship between the United States and Poland.

It was no coincidence President Obama awarded a posthumous Presidential Medal of Freedom to Prof. Jan Karski this last spring. A member of the Polish underground during World War II, Professor Karski was among the first to provide eyewitness accounts of the horrors of the Holocaust. I knew Jan Karski. He was my professor at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service—yours as well. What a magnificent man. He was a great teacher and a great individual, and I am glad that he was recognized. He touched the lives of so many people in and out of the classroom. His spirit and compassion were displayed many times both in Poland and in the United States.

The strong diplomatic ties between the United States and Poland are reflected in every aspect of our efforts to maintain international security, support economic development, promote democracy, and respect for human rights. Poland's historic entry into NATO and the European Union, its support in Afghanistan, collaboration on missile defense, its economic growth in a financial crisis that continues to sweep across Europe, are among the many examples of its outstanding progress over the past few decades, and its commitment to democratization and free market.

Russia, in particular, has too often been a troubling neighbor to Baltic and Eastern European states, many times using blustering language and energy to bully its neighbors. Next door to Poland's thriving democracy is Belarus. What a contrast: a brutal dictatorship that still uses its own version of a KGB—and that is what they call it—to repress its own people and lock up those who dare to run against their President, Alexander Lukashenko.

Poland has been a good friend to the Belarusian neighbors who are still struggling for freedom. When I visited Belarus after the imprisonment of these Presidential candidates, how many of those families said that the only place they could go to speak out about what was happening was Poland. Poland allowed them that opportunity to visit and a venue for expressing themselves.

As the current Executive Secretary of the State Department and a diplomat with years of experience in Europe, Ambassador Stephen Mull, if confirmed—and he will be—is praised to confront—pardon me, poised to confront these many issues in Poland.

Former Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Ambassador Mull is currently Executive Secretary of the Department of State. He served previously as Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. He served as U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania from 2003 to 2006, Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Indonesia from 2000 to 2003. He has

over 30 years of experience at the State Department. He received his B.S. degree from the prestigious Georgetown University.

If confirmed, Ambassador Mull can offer the leadership necessary to continue cooperation between the United States and Poland.

Having traveled to the central African region on many occasions, I have seen for myself, as I am sure Senator Lugar has, the significant challenges that countries, such as Burundi, face. Civil war, lack of clean water, schools, and jobs, and the need to ensure that a true democracy is nurtured, are just a few of the issues that face Burundi.

In addition, the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo threatens to spill over and destabilize the Great Lakes Region. It is an issue I have tried to address through legislation and several visits to the Democratic Republic of Congo. I recently worked with some success with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to address the issue of conflict minerals in that part of Africa.

Dawn Liberi joins us today with many years of experience in many challenging countries. She served as senior assistant coordinator in Tripoli, Libya. Before that was the coordinator for Inter-agency Provincial Affairs and senior civilian representative for Regional Command East in Afghanistan. She has also served as the executive civil military counselor at USAID. Prior to that, was USAID mission director in Iraq, Nigeria, and Uganda. That may be where I met you the first time was Uganda.

Ms. LIBERI. Yes, Senator.

Senator DURBIN. Ms. Liberi holds a B.A. from Hampshire College and a master's in public health from the University of California at Berkeley. A seasoned diplomat with on the job experiences that help her serve as a true advocate for U.S. priorities and a comprehensive approach to assistance.

If confirmed, Ms. Liberi will face enormous challenges in Burundi. Her nomination serves as a fitting followup to the assignments she had in the past. If confirmed, Ms. Liberi will be vital in helping Burundi continue to rebuild from its years of war and instability, as well as working with the government to contribute to the need for peace in the Great Lakes Region.

I encourage all of you to respond expeditiously to any questions that may be forwarded after this committee hearing. The record is going to remain open for questions through noon on Friday.

Senator DURBIN. I want to thank you and all of your families for your service, and look forward to your testimony. In the interest of time, I will limit your testimony to 5 minutes and then open it to questions.

And before I proceed to your testimony, I would like to turn to my colleague, Senator Lugar.

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

Senator LUGAR. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I thank you for chairing this hearing and to the President and the Secretary of State for making these nominations in a timely way before we adjourn because the need to fill these posts is obvious.

I am especially pleased to see Stephen Mull here. I remember our visits in Poland and your kindness during one of my travels

there. And I have appreciated especially your ambassadorship in Lithuania. It was a very important time as Lithuania came into NATO's responsibilities, and a good number of other situations that are very important to our security.

And, Ms. Liberi, I am so pleased that you have been nominated, as reassuring as you know Uganda will next door. As in the case of the chairman, my privilege at the behest of the Department of Defense to visit Kenya, Uganda, and Burundi a year ago in November. At that time, really taking a look at laboratories that had dangerous pathogens, but had no guards, and some diplomacy was required so there would not be a question of sovereignty, but a joint situation.

Burundi did not have the pathogens. It had arms of all sorts, even in the neighborhood of Lawrence, as well as farm fields left over from previous wars, and huge problems in terms of health and education and problems of youth.

As our notes committee has posted with our staff, Burundi points out has not often been a major focus of United States foreign policy. But it needs to be, and your presence there is likely to highlight that in a very timely way.

So we are grateful to both of you for your willingness to assume these new obligations of service. We look forward to asking questions of you so that we can have our thoughts illuminated by your experience.

I thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for having the hearing.

Senator DURBIN. Thank you, Senator Lugar.

Ambassador Mull, please begin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. STEPHEN D. MULL, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE  
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND**

Ambassador MULL. Thank you very much, Senator Durbin, Mr. Chairman, and Senator Lugar. It is actually a real honor to be here with the both of you, having met not only you, Senator Lugar, but I believe I was the control officer for your first visit to Poland as a Senator in 1997, Senator Durbin. So it is a nice turnabout to be here with the both of you today.

I would also like to introduce my family, who has joined me today: the love of my life and best friend, Cheri Stephan, and the light of our life, our son, Ryan, who we agreed to let play hooky so he could be with us today.

Mr. Chairman and Senator Lugar, it is a great honor to appear before you as President Obama's nominee to be the next Ambassador to the Republic of Poland. I am deeply grateful to Secretary Clinton and to the President for their confidence and trust. And I pledge to you, if confirmed, to work very closely with the Congress in advancing America's interests with this most valuable and important ally.

Beginning with Kazimierz Pulaski's and Tadeusz Kociuszko's really decisive support for the American Revolution almost 240 years ago, through daily sacrifices in support of our common objectives in Afghanistan today, the people of Poland have repeatedly proven themselves to be among America's best and most reliable friends.



Americans draw great inspiration from the Poles' stubborn resistance to oppression, whether confronting Nazi occupiers in the streets and forests, or exposing the horrors of the Holocaust, as Jan Karski did, but also when they were fighting for justice in the shipyards of Gdansk in the 1980s.

The American people are proud to have supported their Polish friends over the years, beginning with President Wilson's steadfast support for Poland's independence at the end of World War I, through our assistance to Poland's new democracy in the 1990s.

Our friendship with Poland is based on the very strong ties of family, a love of freedom, and a shared vision based on common values. Our friendship with Poland has very strong roots in the past, but it also has bright promise for the future. Poland has pledged to remain with us in Afghanistan through the end of combat operations through 2014, and to continue assisting Afghanistan after its troops depart.

The United States and Poland will strengthen our promising economic relationship through working together to promote solid growth through expanded two-way investment, enhanced trade, and supporting energy independence, even as we closely cooperate in responding to the European financial crisis. Our two countries will continue to work to expand the frontiers of freedom through a close and hardworking partnership in support of democratic values and human rights around the world. And the United States and Poland share an important common agenda in modernizing NATO to meet the security challenges of the 21st century.

If I am confirmed, it will be an extraordinary privilege to lead our team of over 140 Americans and more than 350 locally employed staff representing a large interagency presence at our Embassy in Warsaw and consulate general in Krakow.

I will work hard, if confirmed, to protect American citizens, to deepen and broaden our cooperation with Poland on so many of our common issues, and to open new opportunities for American investment in Poland's growing economy, helping to bring jobs back home for Americans.

Returning to Poland will have a special personal significance for me. I fondly remember working there as a junior officer in the mid-1980s when I had the honor of carrying messages of support between Lech Walesa and President Reagan, and meeting many of the activists who would later lead Poland to freedom. I returned to serve there in the exciting days of Poland's new democracy in the 1990s, where I had the honor of helping to prepare the way for Poland's membership in NATO. Returning to Poland a third time as Ambassador would open a rewarding new chapter in my work to strengthen this vital and important relationship for the United States.

Thank you very much for the honor of appearing before you today, and I look forward to answering your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Mull follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF STEPHEN D. MULL

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, it is a great honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Ambassador of the United States to Poland. I am deeply grateful to Secretary Clinton and the President for their confidence and trust, and I pledge to you that if confirmed, I will work closely

with the Congress in advancing America's interests with this most valuable and important ally.

From Kazimierz Pulaski's and Tadeusz Kosciuszko's decisive support for the American Revolution almost 240 years ago through their daily sacrifices in support of our common objectives in Afghanistan today, the people of Poland have repeatedly proven themselves to be among America's best and most reliable friends. Americans have drawn inspiration from the Poles' stubborn resistance to oppression, whether challenging Nazi occupiers in the streets and forests and exposing the horrors of the Holocaust, or fighting for justice in the shipyards of Gdansk. The American people have been proud to assist our Polish friends through the years, from President Wilson's steadfast support for Polish independence at the close of World War I through our support for Poland's new democracy in the 1990s. Ours is a friendship based on the ties of family, a love of freedom, and a shared vision based on common values.

While America's friendship with Poland has strong roots in the past, it also has bright promise for the future. Poland has pledged to remain with us in Afghanistan through the end of combat operations in 2014, and to continue supporting Afghanistan after its troops depart. The United States and Poland will strengthen our promising economic relationship by promoting solid economic growth through expanded, two-way investment, enhanced trade, and support for energy independence, and through close consultation in responding to the European financial crisis. Our two countries will continue to work together to expand the frontiers of freedom, with a close and hardworking partnership in support of democratic values and human rights around the world. And the United States and Poland have an important common agenda in modernizing NATO to meet the security challenges of the 21st century.

If I am confirmed, it will be an extraordinary privilege to lead our team of over 140 Americans and more than 350 locally employed staff representing a large inter-agency presence in our Embassy in Warsaw and Consulate General in Krakow. I will work hard, if confirmed, to protect American citizens, promote even closer cooperation with Poland on our common interests, and open new opportunities for American trade and investment in Poland's growing economy, helping to deliver jobs back home for Americans. Returning to Poland will have a special personal significance for me. I fondly recall working there as a junior officer in the mid-1980s, when I had the honor of carrying messages of support between President Reagan and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and meeting many of the activists who would later lead Poland to freedom. I served there again in the mid 1990s in the exciting days of Poland's new democracy, when I helped prepare the way for Poland's membership in NATO. Returning as Ambassador, if I am confirmed, will open a rewarding new chapter for me in working to strengthen this important and valuable friendship.

Senator DURBIN. Thank you, Ambassador.

Ms. Liberi.

**STATEMENT OF DAWN M. LIBERI, OF FLORIDA, TO BE  
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF BURUNDI**

Ms. LIBERI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Durbin, and Senator Lugar. Senator Durbin, you may recall that I had the honor to host you in Uganda, and we visited a women's financial micro-enterprise program. And I was very impressed because you actually agreed to hold the meeting in a chicken coop, which is where the women wanted to have the meeting. So thank you. [Laughter.]

I am very honored to be here today, and I am honored that President Obama has nominated me to be the next Ambassador to the Republic of Burundi. And if confirmed, I will do everything in my power to live up to the trust that President Obama and Secretary Clinton have placed in me.

I have spent the majority of my Foreign Service career in sub-Saharan Africa, as well, as has been noted, in postings most recently in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya. Serving in Africa over a span of 20 years provides me with an understanding of the challenges that Burundi faces, also as well as the opportunities that they present. If confirmed, I will work closely with the government

and people of Burundi to strengthen our bilateral relationship and support its burgeoning democracy.

A friend of the United States, Burundi is also one of the world's poorest countries, and 70 percent of the population live below the poverty line. A young, unskilled labor force, high population density, and refugees returning from Tanzania, pose daunting challenges for Burundians' fledgling democracy and struggling economy. Despite these challenges, it is important to note the steps that Burundi has taken toward achieving peace, stability, and democratic transition.

The Arusha Peace Accords, signed in 2000 and codified in Burundi's 2005 Constitution, created a framework for power-sharing and de-ethnicizing political competition. Burundi has held two rounds of successful democratic elections in 2005 and 2010, when President Nkurunziza was reelected for a second term.

However, Burundi's institutions of democracy are young and evolving. There remain very serious challenges to protection of human rights, trafficking in persons, political violence, and extrajudicial killings. Endemic corruption, coupled with a lack of judicial independence and transparency, create a culture of impunity that has lasted for decades. These are challenges that must be actively engaged. If confirmed, I am committed to speaking out against these serious problems, working to advance the protection of human rights, pushing for accountability and real progress on establishing independent justice mechanisms, and working in partnership with the Burundian Government and civil society to strengthen and protect the gains that have been made with democratic institutions. And this will be a critical step toward successful elections in 2015.

A committed contributor to the African Union mission in Somalia since its inception in 2008, Burundi is a critical partner of the United States in our collective efforts to fight the al-Qaeda linked terrorist group al-Shabab. Currently, six battalions of Burundian troops support the AMISOM operations with a strength of over 5,500 soldiers, making it the second-largest troop contributor to this mission.

Ranking 185 out of 187 countries on the human development index, transforming Burundi's economy to produce sustainable job-creating growth is the cornerstone toward maintaining long-term peace and stability. Reliant on subsistence agriculture, Burundi faces high unemployment, food shortages, growing youth population, and historic land disputes. HIV/AIDS and high rates of maternal and child mortality also undermine the economy.

To address these issues, the Burundian Government has adopted a poverty reduction strategy plan, and is now implementing phase two in accordance with this economic vision, Burundi 2025, which was launched last year. This vision focuses on economic diversification with private sector development, strengthening rule of law, good governance, and promoting gender equality and access to services. A key factor in this will be Burundi availing itself to a larger regional market and improved trade and investment regime by participating in east Africa community's trade regime integration. The United States continues to support a development assist-

ance program in Burundi with an emphasis on health and HIV/AIDS.

America's relationship with Burundi has been historically constructive based on trust and shared values.

If confirmed, I will build on that solid foundation and work tirelessly to successfully represent American values and to pursue American interests in Burundi.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I thank you again for this opportunity to appear before you. And I would be happy to take questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Liberi follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAWN M. LIBERI

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I am honored that President Obama has nominated me to serve as Ambassador to the Republic of Burundi. If confirmed, I will do everything in my power to live up to the trust the President and Secretary Clinton have placed in me.

I have spent the majority of my Foreign Service career in sub-Saharan Africa, serving in five postings—including as USAID mission director in Nigeria and Uganda, and deputy director in Ghana. Most recently I have served in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya—countries at the forefront of U.S. foreign policy. Serving in Africa over a span of 20 years provides me with an understanding of the challenges that Burundi faces and the opportunities they present. If confirmed, I will work closely with the government and people of Burundi to strengthen our bilateral relationship and support its burgeoning democracy.

A friend of the United States, Burundi is also one of the world's poorest countries with 70 percent of the population living below the poverty line. A young, unskilled labor force, high population density, and reintegrating returning refugees from Tanzania poses daunting challenges for Burundi's fledgling democracy and struggling economy.

Despite these challenges, it is important to note the steps Burundi has taken toward achieving peace, stability, and democratic transition. The Arusha Peace Accords, signed in 2000 and codified in Burundi's 2005 Constitution, created a framework for power-sharing and de-ethnicizing political competition.

Burundi has held two rounds of successful democratic elections; in 2005 and 2010, when President Nkurunziza was reelected for a second term.

However, Burundi's institutions of democracy are young, and evolving. There remain very serious challenges relating to the protection of human rights, trafficking in persons, political violence, and extrajudicial killings. Endemic corruption, coupled with a lack of judicial independence and transparency create a culture of impunity that has lasted for decades. These are challenges that must be actively engaged. If confirmed, I am committed to speaking out against these serious problems, working to advance the protection of human rights, pushing for accountability and real progress on establishing independent justice mechanisms, and working in partnership with the Burundian Government and civil society organizations to strengthen and protect the gains made with democratic institutions—a critical step toward achieving successful elections in 2015.

A committed contributor to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) since its inception in 2008, Burundi is a critical partner of the United States in our collective efforts to fight the al-Qaeda-linked terrorist group al-Shabaab. Currently six battalions of Burundian troops support AMISOM operations with a total strength of 5,542 soldiers, making it the second-largest troop contributor to this important mission.

Ranking No. 185 of 187 countries on the Human Development Index, transforming Burundi's economy to produce sustainable job-creating growth is a cornerstone toward maintaining long-term peace and stability. Reliant on subsistence agriculture, Burundi faces high unemployment, food shortages, a growing youth population and historic land disputes. HIV/AIDS and high rates of maternal and child mortality further undermine the economy.

To address these issues, the Burundian Government adopted a Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP) in 2006, and is now implementing Phase II in accordance with its economic plan Vision Burundi 2025 launched by the government in 2011. This vision focuses on economic diversification with private sector development, strength-

ening rule of law, good governance and promoting gender equality, and improving access and quality of social services. A key factor in achieving these goals will be Burundi availing itself to a larger regional market and improved trade and investment regime by fully participating in the East African Community's efforts to advance regional integration. The United States supports continued development assistance to Burundi, with an emphasis on health and HIV/AIDS.

America's relationship with Burundi has been historically constructive, based on trust and shared values. If confirmed, I will build on that solid foundation, and work tirelessly to successfully represent American values and to pursue American interests in Burundi.

Senator DURBIN. Thanks, Ms. Liberi. There will be a few questions for each.

Ambassador Mull, if I asked the Polish community in Chicago their No. 1 concern, it is the visa waiver program. So could you please tell me what the position of the administration is and how you would explain it to Polish-Americans who wonder why they are not getting preferred treatment when it comes to this issue?

Ambassador MULL. Thank you for the question, Senator. The President very much supports the views of the Polish community of Chicago and that as well as many Poles who live in Poland. President Obama has committed in diplomatic channels to our Polish friends, as well as publicly, his support for bringing Poland into the visa waiver program.

Because of various technicalities associated with previous legislation governing participation in the program, it is quite possible that there will be required some legislative fixes to allow Poland to take its place. And so I know several of your colleagues are sponsoring legislation on that. And I know the administration and as well as I, if I am confirmed, look forward to working very closely with you to enact the necessary legislation, and also to work within the administration side to make whatever administrative changes we need to make it possible. It is a very important goal for our relationship with Poland, and I look forward to working hard on it.

Senator DURBIN. I am joining as a cosponsor on that legislation. My colleague, Senator Kirk, who is away recovering from a stroke, is one of the leaders on that legislation, and I think he is right. I want to support his efforts in moving toward visa waivers.

Tell me about Belarus because it is such a stark contrast. Leaving Lithuania or Poland, going into Belarus, you almost feel like you are driving onto a movie set. There is very little economic development, very little signs of economic activity other than agriculture until you arrive in Minsk, and then there is a flurry of activity in construction. And yet the man known as the last dictator in Europe, Lukashenko, still rules over that country.

So could you comment on our relationship and the Polish relationship with Belarus?

Ambassador MULL. You are right. Belarus has been a very difficult challenge I think, not only for us as a foreign policy question, but really all of our European friends. And it has been so disappointing after the tides of freedom washed over Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the Soviet era that there is one island of Soviet style repression that remains there.

I remember when I served in Lithuania, actually traveling over to Minsk just to see what it was like, and it was very strange, as you say. It is just a 2-hour drive from Vilnius to Minsk. But you

could not—it is like going into an alternate universe of repression, with no freedom of speech, and a very tight, repressive atmosphere.

Mr. Lukashenko, President Lukashenko, has done a very good job at building a repressive structure to keep himself in power. It is very clear he has no compunction about jailing his political opponents. The ability of foreign embassies is very much constrained to be in touch with the people there.

But that has not stopped us and countries like Poland in trying to keep alive and nurture the very same trends that freed Poland and other parts of the Soviet bloc. Poland has a very vibrant relationship with civil society and trade unions in Belarus. They host many people to come over to Warsaw, just as Lithuania does, to give them a home base to operate and to network, and to strengthen their organization.

Ultimately, I think democracy is going to come to Belarus just as it came to most other corners of the former Soviet empire. We are just going to keep working really hard at it to bring it about.

Senator DURBIN. I always found it interesting in the former Soviet republics that what drives the relationship with Moscow is usually energy. And in Belarus now, the proposal of building a new nuclear plant, I am afraid, along the design of Chernobyl, close to the border of Lithuania I am sure has raised some concerns in Poland as well. Have we taken a position in terms of that nuclear plant or nuclear expansion in the area?

Ambassador MULL. In terms of Belarus, Senator, I am afraid I am not very familiar with the proposal in Belarus. But I certainly look forward to learning about it. I know on the Poland side of the border, there is growing interest in nuclear power as a source of energy for Poland as it tries to diversify its supplies.

And, in fact, the government says that in the near future, they plan to offer a tender worth up to \$11 billion, of which \$6 billion can be accessible to American exports. And they are hoping to build a couple of reactors in Poland by 2030. I have said that if I am confirmed, one of my very highest priorities is to open the way for American exports in that sector.

Senator DURBIN. Thank you. Ms. Liberi, I remember when you hosted us at your residence in Kampala. And then I also remember the trip to the nearby village on microcredit issues. And I still remember the chicken coop because it turned out that there were two, if you will remember. They cleared out one chicken coop and scrubbed it clean, and moved all the chickens into the other coop. And so they were not happy with my arrival or my visit. [Laughter.]

But the people could not have been more gracious. That was the meeting, Senator Lugar, when I asked one woman how microcredit had changed her life, and she said her knees had gone soft. And I said what does that mean. She said, I no longer have to crawl on my knees to beg my husband for money for the kids.

Ms. LIBERI. Yes.

Senator DURBIN. And I have remembered that response ever since. So you have been at ground level with these economic development and social justice issues.

Burundi is in a tough neighborhood, the Great Lakes Region, which has a lot of instability and a lot of forces at work. I certainly see those in DRC, but Burundi has been touched by this as well.

So the obvious question is, as we fight for stability in this region, how do we address the issue you raised and we have read about about the repressive tactics of the Burundi Government when it comes to journalism and freedom of speech and press?

Ms. LIBERI. Senator, thank you very much for that question. Obviously, this administration, yourself, everyone in this room places a great emphasis on human rights. And if confirmed, this will be among my highest priorities to work with the Burundian Government to, again, impress upon them the importance that we place on human rights, free media, and obviously religious tolerance as well.

I think that there are ways in which the Burundian Government is in the process right now of engaging with political parties to ensure that they are actually part of the political process and the opposition parties. And I think that this is one way that they can help to move that process along.

Second, again, addressing these issues relating to civil society organizations, ensuring that they have a voice in this process so that they can express their interest in human rights. And also as you have stated, making sure that the media is free and it is allowed to express itself.

Senator DURBIN. One of the enduring memories of that trip, and it was many years ago, to Kenya and Uganda was the contrast in one important respect. Uganda was a government that was facing the AIDS crisis directly, showing real leadership when many parts of Africa were in complete denial. And it was also a government where women played a critical role in leadership. Kenya not so, neither at the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet level. That has changed in Kenya. I recently met with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court with Senator Coons and Isakson just this week.

So what is the experience in Burundi in terms of the role and involvement of women in government leadership?

Ms. LIBERI. Thank you, Senator. That is a very important question. And the Burundian Government has made a commitment to enabling women to have leadership positions. This is codified in the 2005 constitution. Thirty percent of the seats, both in the national assembly as well as in the Cabinet, are for women. And, in fact, women are now ministers of health, agriculture, and trade, so I think that is very significant.

There are two areas I think that are very important. There is a women's entrepreneurship association, and there are over 200 members. These are key, influential women that run their own businesses, that employ people. They are seen as leaders in the community. And also there is a Burundi business incubator project that is now ongoing. And 40 percent of the beneficiaries of that program for entrepreneurship are women. So I think that the Burundian Government has made a commitment to this. And obviously, if confirmed, this is an area that I would continue to engage in.

Senator DURBIN. Great.

Senator Lugar.

Senator LUGAR. Ms. Liberi, I just want to hear your views on this set of situations. When I visited Burundi, I was informed that the average life span of a citizen of that country was 50 years of age. That is sort of a shocking figure all by itself, quite apart from tables that were given of per capita income of people around the world. I think there were 175 countries on the chart, and Burundi was 173 or something in that neighborhood. Really staggering in terms of the economic predicament and health predicament reflected by those statistics.

But there were two factors that were helpful. We had State Department and Defense Department officials along, and, as I mentioned in my opening comments, saw these fields filled with arms that are sitting there. Now at that time, and I ask you for your research, there were some State Department funds to help clean this up. We were trying to energize that to occur, even cooperation in our own government between State and Defense.

And I hope that some movement has occurred in that respect because Burundi was sort of left as the crossroads of many battles of contending parties, and yet in a dangerous predicament.

The encouraging thing I saw was a university situation in which some persons from the Methodist churches in the United States that contributed a great deal of money. I visited with the students. They even had a radio broadcast in which we could broadcast to the citizens, whoever was listening at that hour of the day in Burundi. But this was encouraging. And my visit with the President and members of his Cabinet, the assembled, he was very pleased we were going to the university. He saw a great hope really in these young leaders and the idealism that they represented in addition the reflection of all these statistics that I have mentioned about health and education.

I am just curious. Where do we stand with regard to foreign assistance either through the State Department, the Defense Department, or anybody else? And how effective could that be? As Ambassador, how would you be able to at least direct those efforts of our departments back here to do some things which some people have been thinking about and have committed to for some time?

Ms. LIBERI. Senator, thank you very much for that question. Obviously economic development is key for Burundi. And in regard to your first question, regional integration is going to be key to help increase both the per capita income as well as life expectancy. The east Africa community has about 133,000 million people and an economy of about \$79 billion. So again, if confirmed I would work with the Burundian Government to ensure its integration into the east African community.

In terms of the United States, we have been supporting a development assistance program there, as well as through the Department of Defense promoting training for the troops that I mentioned that are going to AMISOM. In terms of development, there has been economic assistance, and this has been focused on agribusiness and some of the microenterprise programs I mentioned.

In the future, there is going to be a big emphasis, as I stated previously, on the issues that you just raised in terms of health, helping to address maternal and child mortality, and specifically helping to deal with the HIV/AIDS issue, prevention of transmission



from mothers to children. So all of these things are going to be very key.

And if confirmed, I as Ambassador would obviously seek to work very closely with my Burundian counterparts to enhance these programs to the extent that we can, and to ensure that they are benefiting as much as possible from the programs that we have.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you. Mr. Mull, I would say that one of the things that I have heard about Poland recently that has been most encouraging is that they have discovered more shale gas. And I am curious as to what your research and findings are about how extensive this is, and what difference this will make in the energy pattern in Poland, giving it a great deal more independence from whoever, as well as perhaps even some gas to sell as far as its own economy. What do you see in this development?

Ambassador MULL. Senator Lugar, you are right. There is a great deal of excitement in Poland about the prospects for what could be underground in terms of shale gas availability. And the U.S. Government has actually been a very close partner with Poland in working with not only the government, but, more importantly, with the private sector, in exploring how substantial these deposits might be.

For some years now, we have had some exchange programs with Polish industry and government under the Unconventional Gas Technical Exchange Program, in which we bring Polish and American experts together to look at best practices in the development of shale gas in an environmentally friendly as well as economically productive way.

As part of our discussions with the Polish Government, we earlier this year commissioned the U.S. Geologic Service to do a study on what deposits they believe are available in Poland. Their findings indicated much less there than what many Poles were hoping for. And around the same time that they announced their findings, Exxon-Mobil, which had a presence there in Poland, decided that it was not going to be economically viable to remain there.

However, there are many other companies that have remained there. Marathon Oil is there. Chevron is there. A couple of other smaller companies are there. They believe that the U.S. Geologic Service did not explore all of the places that could have been explored, and they are still quite optimistic that this will be a viable enterprise for them.

So I am going to continue, if I am confirmed as Ambassador, working very hard to support that very close technical cooperation and providing support to the Polish Government as they try to develop this as a source of new energy, because I completely agree with you. Not only is it in Poland's national interests. It is in all of our interests to really promote a much greater diversity of energy sources.

Senator LUGAR. This is a quick followup question. What is the situation for Polish agriculture? Is it a country that can feed itself? To what extent does it rely upon imports from other countries? Does it export? In other words, in a world in which the food supplies, I believe, are going to be more and more constricted, how do the Poles stand?

Ambassador MULL. Many economists and agricultural analysts believe, despite all of the good things that have happened in Poland since the end of communism over the last 23 years, that the agricultural sector has lagged behind. I remember actually visiting Poland as a tourist when I worked in Lithuania and found that in many of the smaller villages, they still use not the newest kind of technology, and things may not be organized in the best possible way.

The Polish Government currently is negotiating for its next tranche of structural funds from the European Union, and I know the Tusk government is very eager to apply some of that support from Brussels to modernize and develop the Polish agricultural sector.

That said, despite the technological progress that they still require there, I think most people agree there is enormous potential for Poland as an agricultural exporter. There is a long, proud tradition of farming life and cultural life in Poland. And I do not have the exact statistics in terms of what percentage of their exports comprise agricultural products, but I would be happy to find that out and look into it when I get to post.

Senator LUGAR. This may be an argument beyond which an ambassador should be proceed, but I would be hopeful, in a way that you could insinuate into the discussion, genetically modified processes clearly that lead to magnificent new yields.

Frequently we are busy focusing on African countries. There is the Gates Foundation or USAID, hoping somehow that people might be able to feed themselves, forgetting that there are European countries, and Poland is our good friend, who are not getting the kind of yields, the kind of production from the same land that they could.

So I ask you to sort of assume the Department of Agriculture role and a humanitarian feed the world role in addition to your normal duties. Thank you very much, sir.

Ambassador MULL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator DURBIN. Thanks, Senator Lugar. And I want to thank the two witnesses for coming today and answering the questions. As I mentioned, there will be an open opportunity until Friday—tomorrow—for more questions to be submitted, which I hope you can respond to on a timely basis. And I hope the Senate can respond to your nominations on a timely basis as well.

Thank you, I guess it bears repeating, for your service to our country, both of you, service overseas. We have been tragically reminded of the risk that is associated with that—with the terrible events in Libya just a few days ago. So thank you again for giving so much of your life to the service of this country.

At this point, this meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:08 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

## ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF DAWN LIBERI TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY  
SENATORS JOHN F. KERRY AND RICHARD G. LUGAR

The committee expects all Embassy personnel to pay special attention to matters of ethics and professional conduct while serving abroad, and expects Chiefs of Mission and others serving in leadership roles at post to set the highest example for Embassy staff in this regard. In your response to question E.1 of the committee questionnaire, you indicated that you received a letter of admonishment in 2006 concerning incidents that took place during your time as Mission Director in Iraq.

*Question (a).* Please describe the incidents that led to the letter of admonishment and why these incidents occurred.

*Answer.* I understand that, if confirmed as Ambassador, I must lead by example and that my personal conduct must be beyond reproach. In this regard, I appreciate this opportunity to respond to questions posed by the committee regarding incidents during my tenure as Mission Director in Iraq which led to the issuance of a 2007 letter of admonishment.

The letter of admonishment addressed specific incidents in the following areas:

- (1) Travel issues relating to a February 2006 trip from Baghdad to Washington, DC;
- (2) Compliance with procedures for procuring art for the benefit of the USAID's Mission in Iraq and dispensation of an unsolicited gift of artwork; and,
- (3) Receipt of hospitality (housing and meals) from an outside source and use of my official position for the benefit of another in discussing a non-USAID related matter during a July 2006 boating trip.

*1. February 2006 Travel*

I was scheduled to travel from Baghdad, Iraq, to Washington, DC, for USAID-related business in February 2006. My departure from Iraq was scheduled for Friday, February 17, 2006, but was delayed for 3 days by a severe sandstorm. I was forced to wait out the entirety of the storm at Baghdad International Airport, as flights were on standby to leave immediately if the weather cleared.

Upon arrival for my layover in Amman, Jordan, on Sunday, February 19, I had no options for a rest day since I was due in Washington on Monday and therefore needed to depart immediately. As the Amman-Washington trip was longer than 14 hours, I requested approval from the mission in Baghdad to fly business class. I received an e-mail from the USAID/Iraq Executive Officer approving my request prior to my departure and was later informed by the Executive office in Baghdad that the necessary paperwork justifying business-class travel had been prepared. At that point, I believed my travel to have been approved by the correct authorities and documented properly. During my trip, which was comprised primarily of official meetings, I took 2 days of personal leave before subsequently accompanying the Acting USAID Administrator back to Iraq. I then spent several days hosting the Acting Administrator during his visit, traveling to a number of sites in Iraq.

I was not aware of any concerns relating to my travel until I was informed by the USAID Inspector General (IG) several months later that an investigation had been initiated into the trip. Specifically, the IG questioned: (1) the authority of the approval given for business-class travel, and, (2) that the 2 days of personal leave had not been properly documented in my travel voucher and that I had been erroneously given per diem during those 2 days. I immediately took two steps to rectify the situation upon learning of both concerns.

First, I immediately reimbursed the U.S. Government for full amount of the 2 days of per diem and adjusted the timesheets my secretary had prepared on my behalf during this period to reflect hours of annual leave taken. In hindsight, I should have ensured my secretary in Baghdad received information about my personal leave, instead of assuming she had the information based on my schedule.

Second, since concerns over the legitimacy of my business-class travel revolved around the policy interpretation of who had approval authority in this case—the statutory requirements for allowing business-class travel had been met based on the duration of the Amman-Washington flight—I chose to immediately reimburse the U.S. Government for the difference between the economy and business-class ticket.

*2. Artwork for USAID/Iraq Mission*

In approximately May or June 2005, USAID/Iraq Mission management had discussed purchasing Iraqi artwork for the representational office in the Embassy Palace building and the newly constructed building on the USAID compound. Given the

security situation, it was difficult to meet with artists in Baghdad. While on a USAID business trip to Amman, I was introduced to Iraqi artists through an Iraqi-owned gallery and subsequently purchased several pieces. I planned to keep one piece for personal use, while the remaining pieces would hang in the mission. I indicated to the USAID/Iraq Executive office to deduct the value of the piece I kept from the reimbursement amount. Unfortunately, due to confusion during the reimbursement process, my understanding is that the reimbursement message was transmitted verbally from the Executive office to the Controller's office and not made clear to the voucher examiner—who approved a payment for the full amount indicated on the receipt—I was reimbursed the full amount for all pieces. Upon learning of the mistake, I immediately reimbursed the mission for the piece I had kept. USAID IG's concerns were whether correct procedures were followed in: (1) procuring and (2) reimbursement for the art.

In my meeting with USAID IG, it was pointed out that the standard practice for procuring mission artwork involves a representative committee being formed to select the pieces with direct payment by the mission to the vendors. Having been Mission Director in two other posts where that was the practice, I acknowledged that I understood that was the case and, had we been able to do so in Iraq, we would have followed this practice. However, as noted above, the security and travel situation mitigated against this practice. I acknowledge I did not follow the normal procedure for procuring Iraqi artwork for the mission and utilized my own funds to make the purchase, since the Iraqi vendor in Jordan required immediate payment. In doing so, I recognize the mission was under no obligation to reimburse me for the artwork.

Separately, two pieces of unsolicited artwork of uncertain but insignificant value were delivered to the mission by an acquaintance working under a USAID contract in Iraq, who had previously worked in USAID/Nigeria when I was Mission Director there. I informed the Executive office the art was received in an unsolicited manner and would need to be disposed of appropriately. Given the urgency of other issues, the art work sat on the floor in the mission for several months. Prior to my departure, in order to ensure their final disposition I turned the two pieces of art over to the Regional Legal Advisor. In my meeting with the IG, it was pointed out that I should have turned the art pieces over to the Controller's office or Regional Legal Advisor from the outset, rather than going through the Executive office, and I acknowledge that would have been the correct administrative course of action. At that point the matter was considered closed.

### *3. July 2006 Gifts of Hospitality from Outside Source and Discussion of non-USAID Matter*

In July 2006, I was scheduled to meet the Canadian Ambassador to Jordan and Iraq and his wife, both of whom are close friends, in Paris for the weekend of July 6-9 to celebrate mutual birthdays. In the interim, the Ambassador and his wife were invited to spend the same weekend with another friend and his wife on their houseboat in Turkey. I was invited to join. Prior to accepting this invitation, I evaluated whether I was precluded by any USAID regulation from doing so. I had not been invited in my capacity as USAID Mission Director for Iraq. The host owned a shipbuilding company, so I checked whether he had any current business with USAID, or was bidding on or had any potential business with USAID. He did not in either regard. Consequently I agreed to join my friends and the weekend in entirety was spent socializing. Subsequently, USAID HR raised the issue of whether I needed to report my time on the houseboat—housing and meals—as a gift of hospitality from the host. Upon consulting a USAID ethics official, I did report the hospitality on my SF-278 Financial Disclosure Form and valued it at the USAID per diem rate for that region, as advised by USAID's ethics official. At that point the issue was considered resolved by USAID HR.

The only business related topic discussed during the trip was regarding U.N.-contracted work performed by the host's shipbuilding company in Basra, Iraq—to be paid from the U.N. Trust Fund—which Canada was chairing at the time. Payment from the Trust Fund was delayed and the host raised the issue with the Canadian Ambassador, who contacted his staff to ascertain the status. Simultaneously, the host made a call to the Deputy U.N. Director in Iraq, who was a friend and colleague of mine, and I was passed the phone to say hello. During my brief phone conversation with the Deputy U.N. Director, which was primarily social in nature, the contract paperwork was raised. I made it clear to the host that this contract issue was between his company and the United Nations. It did not involve USAID, or the U.S. Government. I had also made clear that I would not intervene in any way whatsoever regarding his receipt of payment from the U.N. USAID HR raised the issue of whether or not my participation in the telephone call regarding the sta-

tus of this paperwork might create an appearance of impropriety. However, upon my interview with the IG, my admonishment letter concluded that “[my] participation in the telephone call noted above apparently constituted nothing more than a gesture of good will.”

*Question (b).* Please describe the steps you have taken to ensure that such incidents will not be repeated.

Answer. I have taken to heart the issues raised above to ensure there are no similar occurrences, and accept responsibility for my actions. The 2007 letter of admonishment indicated the one factor common to each situation was a failure on my part to exercise the proper degree of care in ensuring I fulfilled my duties at the first opportune moment. I acknowledge and accept this criticism and since receiving the letter have made a priority of addressing such issues in a timely manner. As a representative of the U.S. Government charged with executing programs paid for by U.S. taxpayers, I take my ethical and administrative responsibilities very seriously. I have learned from the incidents outlined above, and have redoubled my efforts not to repeat them.

I have taken several steps to ensure that such incidents will not be repeated, and to avoid any appearance of impropriety. I have taken extra care to personally ensure proper documentation of all administrative procedures. I now perform personal validation of my time sheets and all travel vouchers, as well as seeking written verification of all relevant regulations. Additionally, I seek to consistently stay abreast of best practices for adhering to relevant administrative and ethical procedures and requirements, and consistently reflect on how any potential action could be interpreted from an ethical standpoint. As a leader, I fully recognize the importance of modeling all aspects of my position from crisis management to routine paperwork. I also recognize that circumstances of assignment do not exonerate inattention to administrative detail or adherence to USG regulatory process. Throughout my career I have faithfully executed my duties and responsibilities, and that is my priority for any future public service position.

*Question (c).* Please explain whether you believe matters of ethics and professional conduct are important, and how these incidents bear upon your ability to manage Embassy personnel successfully with regard to matters of ethics and professional conduct.

Answer. I firmly believe that matters of ethics and professional conduct are vital and I recognize they directly bear upon my ability to manage personnel successfully. I have a deep and abiding commitment to outstanding leadership and recognize that in my position I am always a representative of the United States—a charge I take seriously. I believe that ethics and professional conduct are the pillars of public service, and I have a renewed appreciation of the importance of modeling impeccable qualities of leadership, particularly serving as a Chief of Mission in an Embassy.

I believe that a Chief of Mission must be unimpeachable in his or her actions from an ethical and professional standpoint and must lead by example. Ensuring that all staff understand the importance of professional and ethical behavior, and that their actions must be above reproach, as they represent the U.S. Government, will be my highest priority. As a steward of the public trust, I will ensure that my own behavior demonstrates the highest moral and ethical levels, and that my staff understands that is the standard upon which they will be expected to execute their duties. In addition, I believe that my experiences will enable me to mentor staff at all levels to ensure they understand the importance of their own behavior as Foreign Service professionals and representatives of the United States Government.

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RESPONSE OF STEPHEN D. MULL TO QUESTION SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

*Question.* The State Department’s 2012 Trafficking in Persons Report lists Poland as a Tier 1 country for trafficking. The TIP report noted that Poles are brought to the United Kingdom by organized crime groups and coerced to commit other crimes.

- What steps is the Polish Government taking to prosecute organized crime groups which engage in human trafficking?
- If confirmed, how will you encourage Polish and British cooperation on these cases?

Answer. Polish authorities, including the Central Bureau of Investigation, the Polish Border Guards, and the Polish prosecutors’ office, conducted several investigations and prosecutions against human trafficking offenders in 2011. The Polish Government also accelerated antitrafficking training for judges, police, and border

guards in Poland to strengthen antitrafficking law enforcement activities, including against organized groups.

The British and the Polish authorities have a longstanding relationship in cooperating on trafficking in persons investigations. We anticipate this cooperation will be strengthened through activities planned in the new European Union (EU) strategy against trafficking, which contemplates more robust cross-border collaboration against trafficking within the EU through joint investigation teams and by collaboration with Europol and Eurojust. If confirmed, I will engage the Polish Government to encourage continued proactive initiatives both within the EU context and bilaterally to combat modern day slavery. I will also work with the interagency team at Embassy Warsaw and with the Department to explore what further we might do bilaterally with Poland to complement and enhance Poland's own antitrafficking efforts.

RESPONSE OF DAWN M. LIBERI TO QUESTION SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

*Question.* Burundi was identified as a Tier 2 Watch List country in the State Department's 2012 Trafficking Report for its lack of compliance with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. In 2011, the government did not collect aggregate data on its antitrafficking law enforcement efforts.

- If confirmed, what would be your strategy to encourage the Burundi Government to collect data on law enforcement's efforts to combat trafficking?

*Answer.* Trafficking in persons in Burundi remains a challenging issue which Burundian officials have acknowledged. The Government of Burundi has made some important efforts to address trafficking, including ratifying the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children ("Palermo Protocol"), supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2012 and conducting a nationwide awareness-raising campaign. The signing of the Palermo Protocol demonstrated a renewed interest in combating trafficking in persons.

The current lack of mechanisms in place, however, to collect aggregate data is a significant issue that should be addressed. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Government of Burundi to strongly encourage implementation of a National Action Plan to combat trafficking in persons. A major component of that plan would include a formalized collection of data.

The Children and Ethics Brigade leads antitrafficking efforts within the Burundian Police Force. To effectively combat trafficking and collect accurate data, the government should ensure that all police officers within its police force are trained to identify trafficking victims and potential trafficking cases within the course of their routine enforcement activities.

If confirmed, I will also support continuing the government's awareness campaigns that are already underway—another important component of collecting data. The Commander of the Children and Ethics Brigade in charge of the TIP awareness training program, for example, has visited each region in the country since the beginning of the year to further awareness of trafficking among local police and civil society. I will urge the government to continue such awareness campaigns to include working closely with civil society, NGOs, and community leaders to raise public awareness, which will also support the effective collection of data.

*Question.* According to the 2012 TIP report, in 2010 Burundi police discovered government officials soliciting people in prostitution, including children during raids on hotels functioning as brothels. Two years later, the government has yet to prosecute or convict any official for their complicity in trafficking.

- If confirmed, how do you plan to address the issue of government complicity in trafficking?

*Answer.* The United States remains deeply concerned that law enforcement in Burundi has identified clear cases of trafficking, including the trafficking of children—which have to date, not led to prosecutions.

If confirmed, I will strongly encourage the Government of Burundi to comply with its 2009 Criminal Code amendments to investigate, prosecute, convict, and punish trafficking offenders, including officials suspected of complicity. I would emphasize that these actions are obligatory as a signatory of the United Nations Palermo Protocol.

Within the larger context of human rights, I would also urge the Burundian Government to take concrete steps to address human rights violations and the lack of accountability within the judiciary. Members of the police force and intelligence

services are known to have committed gross human rights violations such as extrajudicial killings and torture, as well as complicity in the trafficking and exploitation of children.

If confirmed, I would strongly and persistently urge the Government of Burundi to protect the civil liberties of its citizens, particularly children victimized by trafficking, and to fight impunity by bringing all criminal perpetrators justice.

