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BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

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**NOMINATIONS OF PAIGE ALEXANDER, ALICE
WELLS, THOMAS KELLY III, AND CASSAN-
DRA BUTTS**

TUESDAY, MAY 13, 2014

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

Paige Eve Alexander, of Virginia, to be Assistant Administrator,
Bureau for the Middle East, United States Agency for Inter-
national Development
Alice G. Wells, of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Hashemite
Kingdom of Jordan
Thomas P. Kelly III, of California, to be Ambassador to the Repub-
lic of Djibouti
Cassandra Q. Butts, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador
to the Commonwealth of The Bahamas

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:33 p.m., in room
SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Tim Kaine pre-
siding.

Present: Senators Kaine, Risch, and Rubio.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. TIM KAINE,
U.S. SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA**

Senator KAINE. I am going to call this hearing of the Senate For-
eign Relations Committee to order. Today we have four nominees
for consideration by the committee in significant positions, doing
important work for the United States with allies to our Nation,
vital to the United States interests. I thank each of these witnesses
for their service thus far and the service I am confident they will
continue to render.

The committee always encourages our panelists to introduce fam-
ily members and I see we have got good family member representa-
tion in the audience as well, which I appreciate.

Senator Risch is in the middle of a Republican committee meet-
ing, a caucus meeting, that is running a bit late, but is likely to
be here shortly. I have his permission to go ahead and begin the
hearing. After I do introductions, I will ask each of you to give your
opening comments and then begin with questions. When Senator
Risch arrives, I will ask him to make any opening comments
should he choose. But I welcome all to the hearing.

Today we have before us Paige Eve Alexander of Virginia, to be Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for the Middle East for USAID. Welcome, Ms. Alexander.

In addition, we have Alice Wells, of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan—very happy to have you—Thomas P. Kelly, of California, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti; and Cassandra Q. Butts, of the District of Columbia, to be the Ambassador to the Commonwealth of The Bahamas.

What I will ask you to do is to make your opening statements in the order that I introduced you, and after you do I will move into questions, and again we will have Senator Risch make his comments should he choose and questions, as well as offer that opportunity to other committee members.

I will say before I ask you to make comments that one of the real joys of being on the Foreign Relations Committee is traveling around the world and seeing what fantastic small “a” ambassadors we have. The Ambassadors, capital “A,” do a wonderful job, but I am impressed, and I know you are as well, by the degree to which all Americans who serve abroad are great ambassadors for the country.

I recently returned from a visit to Israel, the West Bank, Lebanon, and Egypt, and any time I travel I try to sit down with junior Foreign Service officers, usually those who are in their first or second tour, often working in the consul office as consular officials. And talking to these young men and women, some of whom are serving far away from spouses or loved ones, some of whom are serving in security situations where, as in Lebanon, they are required to live on the compound—they get 6 hours a week for personal time off the compound, only 6 hours a week. They live in Lebanon in a compound where they are reminded every day with the memorial at the compound of members of America’s consular community who were killed in bombings in Lebanon in the 1980s and other instances.

We know, because we are still living in the shadow of the horrible experience in Libya, of the sacrifices that are made by those on consular service. I think Americans instinctively understand those sacrifices that are made by members of our military, and I think we demonstrate our appreciation for those sacrifices. But we have others who serve abroad who make us proud, who make sacrifices as well, whether they are security sacrifices or living far apart from family under difficult circumstances.

You seek to join those ranks. Many of you have been working in this field already. But we owe you and your colleagues a debt of gratitude for the work that you do to represent America, to represent our country as ambassadors abroad. So for that I thank you.

With that, I now would like to ask Ms. Alexander to begin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. PAIGE EVE ALEXANDER, OF VIRGINIA,
NOMINATED TO BE ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU
FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Ms. ALEXANDER. Thank you, Chairman Kaine. I am honored to be here today as the nominee for the Assistant Administrator for

the Middle East Bureau at USAID. It is a privilege to appear before this committee again and I appreciate and am grateful for the confidence that President Obama, Secretary Kerry, and Administrator Shah have placed in me.

I want to recognize the leadership and the dedication of Deputy Assistant Administrator Alina Romanowski, who has been serving as Acting Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for the last 12 months. I would especially like to thank my family, friends, and professional colleagues, whose support and encouragement have allowed me to pursue this quest. In particular, I would like to thank my husband, Steve Grand, and my children, Rachel, Carly, and Josh. They all know the importance of public service and I am here today with their full support, which means the world to me.

For the past 3 years, I have had the honor and the privilege of serving as the Assistant Administrator for the Europe and Eurasia Bureau at AID. I have forged working relationships throughout the interagency, and I would expect this strong collaboration, which also spans the length of Pennsylvania Avenue, to continue as an integral part of the effective approach that AID would plan to take in the Middle East Bureau and moving these countries from a relationship of assistance to one of cooperation and partnership.

Four years ago, President Obama set forth a new version of a results-driven USAID that would lead the world in development. The agency has risen to this challenge, pioneering new models of development that bring greater emphasis on innovation and results. Our current national security strategy recognizes that development not only is a moral imperative, but is a strategic and economic one.

In perhaps no other region is this more important than the Middle East and North Africa. Today's USAID's Middle East Bureau advances national and strategic interests and programs in 11 countries and territories, with an annual budget of over \$1.3 billion. The Middle East region poses many challenges, both politically and developmentally, and also presents enormous opportunities to showcase what has been done right through American assistance.

The challenges that the countries face in the region are complex: weak democratic institutions and processes, high unemployment, underperforming economies, and water scarcity. For the past 3 years, calls for transitions and change have reverberated across the region. In this time of transition, the United States must remain as an engaged partner with the governments and the citizens of the region to provide support for economic and political reforms and to promote security and stability.

AID's programs work to address the perennial barriers that include stagnant economic growth, high unemployment, and challenges in the education system, all of which affect the region's ability to compete in a global economy. To prepare the region's young people for employment USAID programs provide job training and workforce skills development for growing economic sectors. In Tunisia, USAID's work with the communications-technology sector has already generated over 2,600 jobs. USAID has supported the establishment of nine Palestinian startups and increased ICT exports by \$1.4 million.

USAID's projects in democracy, rights and governance in the Middle East aim to support transitions by promoting resilient

democratic societies and strengthening weak institutions and processes, whether it is through direct support for elections assistance in places like Libya and Iraq or USAID's assistance with Yemeni women in asserting their rights throughout the political process to program, help, and empower the average citizen to hold their government accountable.

The crisis in Syria has become a regional challenge of daunting proportions. AID has responded to the needs of the most vulnerable populations both within Syria and to address refugee needs in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, and Iraq—I am sorry, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt. Supporting neighboring countries as they cope with both the short- and the long-term effects of the Syria crisis must continue to be a top priority.

In practice, development is a continuum. It extends from humanitarian relief through recovery and reconstruction to investments in building institutions and delivering economic health and education services for the citizens of the country. Aid can begin at any point in that continuum and it can make short-term interventions or long-term investments depending on the needs. Yet, while it is on a continuum, it is not necessarily a linear process. Development can have challenges and threats to backsliding and these still persist.

We must nurture critically minded citizens, involve youth, and find opportunities that include the use of new technologies, and hold governments accountable. In this region, AID's development objectives are clear. The agency's mandate is to promote open and transparent governments that are accountable to their citizens, foster private sector development, and strengthen civil society organizations.

I am keenly aware of how technical assistance providers and grassroots organizations are important partners in implementing U.S. development and diplomacy objectives. Sound approaches to development must permit rethinking, reforming, and recalibrating our work in response to changing environments.

Thank you again for giving me this opportunity to appear before you today. I welcome any questions you might have.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Alexander follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PAIGE EVE ALEXANDER

Chairman Kaine, Ranking Member Risch, and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to be here today as President Obama's nominee for Assistant Administrator of the Middle East Bureau at the United States Agency for International Development. It is a privilege to appear before this committee again and I am grateful for the confidence that President Obama, Administrator Shah, and Secretary Kerry have placed in me.

I also want to recognize Deputy Assistant Administrator Alina Romanowski, who has been serving as Acting Assistant Administrator of USAID's Middle East Bureau for over a year. Her vast knowledge and dedication, acquired across a more than 30-year career in the United States Government reflect the best qualities of the Career Senior Executive Service.

I would especially like to thank my family, friends, and professional colleagues whose support and encouragement have allowed me to pursue this opportunity. In particular, I would like to recognize my husband and best friend, Steve Grand, and our children, Rachel, Carly, and Josh. They all know the importance of public service and I am here today with their full support, which means the world to me.

The experience I have gained over a more than 25-year career in international development, including nearly 11 years within USAID, as well in posts at private

foundations, academic institutions, and nonprofit organizations, has prepared me well for the new responsibilities I will take on, if confirmed.

For the past 3 years, I have had the honor and privilege of serving as USAID's Assistant Administrator for Europe and Eurasia. In this role, I have come to appreciate and respect the importance of interagency cooperation and collaboration. I have forged effective working relationships throughout, and would expect this strong interagency collaboration, which will also span the length of Pennsylvania Avenue, to continue to be an integral part of how I would effectively approach USAID's work to move countries from assistance to cooperation and partnership.

Indeed, my current position has given me an even greater appreciation for the critical interplay between Congress and the executive branch. I have benefited greatly from the advice and counsel I have received from members of this committee and others in the House and Senate. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing to seek your guidance and counsel on the critical challenges facing us in the Middle East.

Four years ago, President Obama set forth a new vision of a results-driven USAID that would lead the world in development. The Agency has since risen to this challenge, pioneering a new model of development that brings a greater emphasis on partnerships, innovation, and results. We are guided in these efforts by a new mission statement: we partner to end extreme poverty and promote resilient democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly with the dedicated men and women of USAID to continue to fulfill this goal.

Although these goals are not new, they reflect a unique moment in development today when exciting opportunities are emerging to change what is possible. In a time of fiscal restraint, we are applying the new model to seize this moment and reach more people, save more lives, and leverage more private investment than ever before—delivering results for the American people and those in greatest need around the world.

President Obama's national security strategy recognizes development not only as a moral imperative, but as a strategic and economic one. In perhaps no other region is that more relevant than the Middle East and North Africa.

The challenges that the countries of the region face are complex—weak democratic institutions and processes, high unemployment, underperforming economies, and water scarcity. For the past 3 years, calls for transition and change have reverberated across the region. In this time of transition, the United States must remain an engaged partner with the governments and people of the region to provide support for economic and political reforms and to promote security and stability in the region.

USAID's Middle East Bureau advances U.S. national and strategic interests with programs in 11 countries and territories with an annual budget of over \$1.3 billion. If confirmed, I will provide strong oversight of USAID's programs in the Middle East, which respond to the needs and aspirations of the people in the region by facilitating more inclusive economic growth, supporting democratic processes, strengthening civil society, and addressing other key challenges, such as the impact of the Syria crisis.

Throughout the Middle East and North Africa, tepid or stagnant economic growth and high unemployment among young people remain major challenges. Twenty-four percent of young people are unemployed—the highest rate of youth unemployment in the world. Education systems fail to prepare young people for the workforce, reducing the region's ability to compete in a global economy. USAID programs work to address these barriers.

The Agency's programs target private sector growth through economic empowerment programs that provide small and medium enterprises training in business skills, startup seed capital, and regional networking opportunities. For Egypt and Tunisia, USAID is managing grants to Enterprise Funds that will provide investment in the Egyptian and Tunisian economies and will seek to leverage the involvement of other financial institutions and global investors. In Libya, USAID has expanded the business potential of women microentrepreneurs and women-owned small- and medium-scale enterprises.

USAID is also working with regional governments and local partners to create business-enabling environments that reduce barriers to starting a business and support them once they are operational. For instance, in several places, USAID is investing in "one-stop shops." In Egypt these "shops" have reduced the time it takes to register a business from over a week to about an hour, and in Iraq the registration period has gone from 6 months to less than 2 months.

To prepare the region's young people for employment, USAID programs provide job training and workforce skills development for growing economic sectors. In Tunisia, USAID is encouraging job creation in the high-impact information communica-

tions technology (ICT) sector. USAID's work with this sector has already generated over 2,600 new jobs. In the West Bank, USAID has supported the establishment of nine Palestinian startups and increased ICT exports by \$1.4 million. In Iraq, USAID has assisted 5,300 Iraqi jobseekers to find positions in over 550 Iraqi businesses, by providing training modules that bridge skills gaps and supporting an online jobs portal in partnership with Microsoft.

USAID's education programs link directly to USAID's economic growth work, as keeping young people in school is key to regional economic growth and stability. The Agency is partnering with ministries of education and schools to implement early grade reading programs that will increase literacy rates, encourage retention, and expand girls' access to education. In Morocco, our early grade reading program aims to increase the recruitment of female teachers, improve the retention rate, and provide opportunities outside of school to promote reading by engaging with and supporting community-based groups. In Egypt, USAID has supported advancements in early grade reading and secondary science, technology, and math skills. Our support is helping improve the reading fluency and comprehension of approximately 4.5 million Egyptian elementary students by introducing new teaching approaches and training teachers.

USAID projects in democracy, rights and governance in the Middle East aim to support democratic transitions by promoting resilient democratic societies and strengthening weak institutions and processes. USAID projects in Libya and Iraq provide elections assistance to their respective elections commissions, helping with elections operations, voter registration, campaign finance, electoral dispute resolution, and the drafting of regulations and procedures. In February 2014, the Government of Iraq committed funds to support the USAID-sponsored Legal Clinic Network which has provided assistance on over 14,000 legal cases on behalf of vulnerable individuals such as female-headed households, internally displaced persons, and ethnic and religious minorities and educated over 26,000 Iraqis on their legal rights. USAID has supported Yemeni women in asserting their rights throughout the political process, and thanks in part to USAID's efforts, a 30-percent female participation quota was established for the National Dialogue Conference. USAID is also providing support for international elections observers and domestic monitoring for Tunisia's historic Presidential and parliamentary elections, which should take place at the end of this year.

The Middle East is also facing substantial natural resource challenges, encompassing 12 of the world's 15 most water-scarce countries. Further compounding the problem, the region has the world's second-highest population growth rate and excessive water mismanagement, increasing competition for a scarce resource in a region. In Jordan, the influx of Syrians into local communities has increased the pressure on limited and already strained water availability. A USAID project has set up a revolving credit fund so families can access loans to install cisterns for harvesting rainwater. Repayment rates are high and half of the borrowers are women. This effort has helped tens of thousands of people secure access to water. In Yemen, USAID has established 16 water catchment sites throughout the country, which collect approximately 2 million liters of water per year.

The crisis in Syria has become a regional challenge of daunting proportions, with 6.5 million people displaced inside Syria, 9.3 million in need of humanitarian assistance, and over 2.6 million refugees spilling over into neighboring countries. USAID is providing more than \$669 million to help over 4.2 million people inside Syria and more than \$232 million to help Syrian refugees in neighboring countries. USAID has responded to the needs of the most vulnerable in all 14 Syrian governorates and Syrian refugees in five neighboring countries—Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt. In addition to humanitarian aid, our response to the conflict in Syria is comprehensive—combining humanitarian, transitional, and development interventions to address the needs of conflict-affected Syrians and host communities both within Syria, and regionally. Supporting neighboring countries as they cope with both the short- and long-term effects of the Syria crisis must continue to be a top priority.

Of the 600,000 refugees in Jordan, nearly 480,000 Syrian refugees live within Jordanian host communities, rather than in camps, and these host communities face tremendous challenges. USAID has provided critical assistance to these communities to alleviate increased demand for services, including hospital renovations and water infrastructure repair. A USAID community engagement project is in place to help alleviate tensions in host communities by promoting dialogue and reducing community stressors including trash removal, and limited small-scale infrastructure projects to reduce traffic and create jobs. In Lebanon, where Syrians now make up more than 25 percent of the total population, USAID assistance focuses on water and education as well as a value-chain development program to advance small-scale agriculture. Since January 2013, USAID has rehabilitated thousands of Lebanese-

owned residential units for refugees, increased access to water or other municipal services for over 125,000 people and reached nearly 100,000 children and at-risk youth through supplemental education activities.

As is well understood in the literature and in practice, development is a continuum. It extends from humanitarian relief through recovery and reconstruction, to investments in building sustainable institutions delivering economic, health, and education services for the citizens of that country. Aid can begin at any point on that continuum and can make short-term interventions or invest in the long term, depending on the needs. While development is on a continuum, it is not necessarily a linear process. Major development challenges and the threat of backsliding still persist. We must nurture critically minded citizens, engage youth, and find opportunities that include the use of new technologies to hold governments accountable. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to focus and concentrate USAID assistance in areas where it can achieve maximum results that align with our strategic objectives.

In this region, USAID's development objectives are clear. The Agency's mandate is to promote open and transparent governments that are accountable to their citizens, foster private sector development, and strengthen civil society organizations capable of investing in the current and future lives of the people they represent, during this critical period of change. The United States continued engagement with the people of the region is critical for lasting growth, prosperity, and peace.

I am keenly aware of how technical assistance providers and grassroots organizations are important partners in implementing U.S. development and diplomacy objectives. Sound approaches to development must permit rethinking, reforming, and recalibrating our work in response to changing environments. If confirmed, I will continue to focus on finding scalable solutions that can affect development globally.

The Middle East region poses many challenges, both politically and developmentally, and also presents enormous opportunities to showcase what has been done right through American assistance.

Thank you again for giving me the opportunity to appear before you today. I welcome any questions you might have.

Senator KAINE. Great. Thank you.
Ms. Wells.

STATEMENT OF ALICE G. WELLS, OF WASHINGTON, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

Ms. WELLS. Chairman Kaine, it is a great honor to appear before you today and I am grateful and humbled to be the President's nominee to represent the United States in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. I would like to thank Secretary Kerry for the confidence he has shown me.

I would not be here without the support of my husband and until recently a fellow Foreign Service officer, Kurt Amend, and our daughters Helen, Isabel, and Phoebe. Our service in Tajikistan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, and Russia was a family affair. It was an adventure and a privilege, but not without its share of sacrifices, and I am grateful to my husband and our girls for being enthusiastic participants in this journey.

My brother, Tom Wells, my sister-in-law, Paula, and their children, Nicholas and Elizabeth, are also here today. Tom's military service in Operation Desert Storm is one chapter in my family's long engagement with the Middle East.

Finally, my thanks to President Eisenhower, whose 1958 Middle East Task Force brought my father, then Army Captain Wes Wells, and later my mother, Heidi Wells, to Lebanon.

To my parents, I owe much more than the accident of my birth in Beirut, but the extraordinary example of their public service, their curiosity, and their service to their country abroad.

As President Obama has stated, the United States has very few friends, partners, and allies around the world that have been as steadfast and reliable as His Majesty King Abdullah, as well as the people of Jordan. If confirmed I will work to ensure that our assistance, our policies, and our diplomatic platform further Jordan's ability to withstand the Syrian crisis, to counter terrorism, and to promote regional security, to serve as an example for political and economic modernization, and to advance peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Chairman, the historic partnership between the United States and Jordan has never been more important as we jointly work to achieve peace in the Middle East and to promote a democratic transition in Syria. With Jordan coping with more than 600,000 Syrian refugees, the loss of export routes through Syria, a steep decline in tourism, and an energy bill that rose to 21 percent of its GDP, the United States has a strategic interest in ensuring that the Hashemite Kingdom can meet its international humanitarian obligations without jeopardizing its own economic and political stability.

At the same time, our multifaceted partnership demonstrates to the people of Jordan and the region the benefits of choosing the path of moderation, of political and economic modernization, of peace with one's neighbors.

With strong bipartisan support from Congress, the United States is providing Jordan with a broad package of aid to bolster services strained by the refugee influx. United States support to Jordan topped \$1 billion in both 2012 and 2013 and our bilateral assistance alone will exceed \$1 billion in fiscal year 2014. This has been supplemented by more than \$268 million in humanitarian aid to international organizations assisting Syrian refugees in Jordan, as well as a total of \$2.25 billion in loan guarantees to help Jordan access international capital.

If confirmed, I will advocate continued flexibility in responding to the evolving crisis. The United States has a deep stake in Jordan's successful modernization and in supporting King Abdullah's embrace of political and economic reform as a strategic choice. To date, working with the International Monetary Fund, Jordan is successfully balancing competing demands, including the imperative of structural reforms that replace blanket subsidies with a targeted social safety net to alleviate popular discontent over fuel and electricity price hikes.

We also support King Abdullah's efforts to respond for greater transparency and dignity, including the establishment of a National Integrity Commission and an Independent Electoral Commission. As friends of Jordan, we should encourage the full implementation of these home-grown initiatives.

With the finalization of a second memorandum of understanding on bilateral assistance, substantial and predictable U.S. support can help Jordan transform the Syrian crisis into an opportunity. I am committed to reinforcing the collaborative and consultative approach to assisting Jordan as it charts this difficult path.

Finally, if confirmed I will dedicate myself to building and sustaining a diplomatic team that can advance these ambitious objectives while working to ensure the safety and security of U.S. officials and the American community.

Thank you very much.
 [The prepared statement of Ms. Wells follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALICE G. WELLS

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, members of the committee. It is a great honor, as well as the dream of every Foreign Service officer, to appear before you, and today I am grateful and humbled to be the President's nominee to represent the United States in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. I would like to particularly thank Secretary Kerry for the confidence he has shown me.

I would not be here without the support of my husband and, until recently, fellow Foreign Service officer, Kurt Amend, and our daughters, Helen, Isabel, and Phoebe. Our service in Tajikistan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, and Russia was a family affair, a great adventure, and a privilege, but not without its share of sacrifices. I am grateful to my husband and our girls for being enthusiastic participants in this Foreign Service journey. My brother, Tom Wells, my sister-in-law, Paula, and their children, Nicholas and Elizabeth, are also here today. Tom's military service to his country, including in Operation Desert Storm, is one chapter in my family's long engagement with the Middle East. Finally, my thanks to President Eisenhower, whose 1958 Middle East Task Force brought my father, then-Army Captain Wes Wells, and later my mother, Heidi Wells, to Lebanon. To my parents, I owe much more than my accident of birth in Beirut, but the extraordinary example of their public service, curiosity, and service to their country abroad.

As President Obama has stated, the United States has "very few friends, partners, and allies around the world that have been as steadfast and reliable as His Majesty King Abdullah, as well as the people of Jordan." Mr. Chairman, the historic partnership between the United States and our invaluable ally Jordan has never been more important, as we jointly work to achieve peace in the Middle East and to promote a democratic transition in Syria. The United States and Jordan share concerns about destabilization in the region and increasing extremist activity. We have a strong history of mutual resolve and cooperation against terrorist threats, including in Afghanistan and Iraq, where King Abdullah directed that Jordan be part of the answer to restoring stability and countering the message of violent extremists.

At the same time, our multifaceted partnership with the Hashemite Kingdom aims to demonstrate to the people of Jordan and the region the benefits of their choosing the path of moderation, of political and economic reform, of peace with one's neighbors. As a testament to our support for Jordan, the Jordanian people, what Jordan stands for, and what it has achieved, in the 15 years since King Abdullah ascended the throne, the United States has provided over \$10 billion in assistance.

If confirmed as the next U.S. Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, I will work to ensure that our assistance, our policies, and our diplomatic platform to advance U.S. interests and further Jordan's ability to withstand the Syrian crisis, counter terrorism, serve as an example of political and economic reform, and advance peace in the Middle East, while building bridges between U.S. and Jordanian societies.

First, with Jordan hosting 600,000 Syrian refugees, the United States has a strategic interest in ensuring that the Hashemite Kingdom can meet its international humanitarian obligations without jeopardizing its own economic and political stability. While international attention has focused on the Zaatri refugee camp, which several committee members and staff have viewed firsthand, nearly 85 percent of Syrian refugees reside in Jordanian host communities. Local governments, social services, and civic organizations are severely strained, with cities and villages facing overcrowded schools, shortages of hospital beds and medicines, and an inability to stretch municipal services to accommodate the increased population. At the same time, Jordan grapples with the loss of export routes through Syria, a steep decline in tourism, negative investor sentiment resulting from the war, and an energy bill that rose to 21 percent of its GDP when Egypt could no longer deliver on its natural gas contracts.

In response to these needs, the U.S. Government is providing Jordan with a broad package of aid designed to bolster services strained by the refugee influx and help safeguard Jordan's economic and political reform. Jordan was the fifth-largest recipient of bilateral assistance in FY 2013. With strong, bipartisan support from Congress, U.S. support to Jordan has totaled over \$1 billion in both fiscal years 2012 and 2013. Our bilateral assistance alone will exceed \$1 billion in fiscal year 2014 thanks to the generosity of Congress. This assistance has helped to reduce the financial strain on the sectors directly affected by refugees. In addition, over the

past few years we have provided more than \$268 million in humanitarian aid to international organizations and NGOs assisting Syrian refugees and host communities in Jordan, as well as a total of \$2.25 billion in loan guarantees to help Jordan access international capital. If confirmed, I will advocate continued flexibility in responding to the evolving crisis, adjusting our own assistance priorities and diplomatic staffing as necessary. I also will continue to work closely with international donors and multilateral institutions to ensure a unified and coherent response that addresses Jordan's needs, while encouraging sensible reform to promote long-term economic sustainability and political stability.

Second, as violent extremists expand their operations in Syria and the Anbar province of Iraq, our cooperative efforts with Jordan on regional security and counterterrorism take on increased importance. Jordan offers practical partnership, as well as an alternative vision of a modern, Muslim country. The U.S. is utilizing a full array of programs, including the transfer of Excess Defense Articles, to strengthen Jordan's capabilities. This includes completing the Jordan Border Security Program, which uses advanced surveillance technologies to safeguard Jordan's border with Syria and Iraq, while working to stop the flow of foreign fighters and the financial networks that support them. In turn, Jordan's highly skilled security forces are playing a leadership role in training counterparts throughout the Middle East region and in peacekeeping missions around the globe. If confirmed, I also will look for additional opportunities to amplify King Abdullah's "Amman Message" of religious tolerance, as seen in Jordan's hosting of Pope Francis later this month, recognizing that interfaith dialogue and understanding are integral to repudiating the terrorist message and building tolerant, pluralistic societies across the region.

Third, the U.S. has a deep stake in Jordan's successful modernization and supporting King Abdullah's public embrace of political and economic reform as a "strategic choice." In Jordan, 70 percent of the population is under the age of 30 and almost 40 percent under the age of 14. We support the King's vision of promoting well-educated youth who can be an economic force multiplier. King Abdullah is in California today for meetings with U.S. investors and innovators to build greater economic ties and develop more jobs for the Jordanian people. To date, working with the International Monetary Fund, Jordan is successfully balancing competing demands, including the imperative of structural reforms that replace blanket subsidies with a targeted social safety net to alleviate popular discontent over fuel and electricity price hikes.

We also support the reforms advanced by King Abdullah to promote greater transparency and dignity, including the establishment of a National Integrity Commission, a Constitutional Court, limits on the State Security Court, and parliamentary elections that were judged credible by international observers. As friends of Jordan, we need to encourage the full implementation of these home-grown initiatives to reinforce the relationship between economic and political reform. King Abdullah has noted publicly that "for business to invest and expand with confidence, they need a predictable, level playing-field, transparency and accountability, the rule of law and a strong, stable foundation of inclusive political life," and we should encourage him to turn this vision into action.

I am committed to reinforcing the collaborative and consultative approach the U.S. has taken to help Jordan, whether in reforming its political system and reforming subsidies, diversifying its energy sector, renovating water infrastructure, extending education and enhancing the role of women, promoting international competitiveness and improving government service. The 2009-2014 MOU that provides \$360 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) and \$300 million in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) annually has been integral to providing the predictability in assistance that Jordan needs to make strategic decisions and undertake difficult reforms. The President's announcement in February of our intention to renew our MOU reflects the strength of our strategic partnership and our ongoing commitment to help Jordan successfully navigate the challenges posed by the regional unrest and build a stronger economy. For instance, if Jordan continues to adhere to its bold program of subsidy reform and diversification of its energy resources, by 2017 it has the potential to emerge from this crisis period with billions of dollars in budget savings.

Fourth, the United States relies on Jordan's continued support, as a partner and a stakeholder, to achieve a comprehensive final status peace agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians. Secretary Kerry appropriately called Jordan "an essential partner for peace." As one of only two Arab States to sign a peace treaty with Israel, the host to 2 million Palestinian refugees, and the traditional guardian of the Islamic holy shrines in Jerusalem, Jordan has a critical interest in any final status negotiations, as well as a role to play in any future security and border arrangement along the Jordan River. If confirmed, I will support continued engagement with Jor-

dan on this important issue and seek to identify ways to enhance trade, environmental and other ties between Jordan and Israel, and Jordan and the West Bank, recognizing the historic role that initiatives like the Qualified Industrial Zones have played in forging linkages.

Finally, if confirmed, I will dedicate myself to building and sustaining a diplomatic team that can advance these ambitious objectives, while working to ensure the safety and security of U.S. officials and the American community. The U.S. Embassy in Amman has grown substantially over the last 5 years, reflecting Jordan's regional importance and the Embassy's role in providing support for our mission in Iraq and our interests in Syria. Last year, Embassy Amman hosted over 15,000 official visitors, both U.S. and other nationalities, including—I'm glad to note—a total of 193 Members of Congress and staff. With the Embassy staffed to its physical capacity, choices will need to be made in prioritizing programs, as we anticipate the construction of a New Office Annex; similarly, we must remain nimble in responding to the evolving Syrian crisis. The safety and security of U.S. citizens and Embassy employees will always be the foremost priority, and I take the responsibility of managing risk seriously, recognizing the tension between security and engagement.

Mr. Chairman, in the course of my quarter century of service as a Foreign Service officer, the world has changed dramatically. I entered the State Department with pretensions of being an expert on the Soviet Union, only to help open our first Embassy in the independent and sovereign state of Tajikistan 3 years later. As a junior officer in Saudi Arabia, I waited 3 days for local media to report on Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, but now wrestle with the immediacy of the 24-hour news cycle and the imperative of social media. As Office Director for North Africa, I confronted the seeming permanence of Qadhafi, Ben Ali, and Mubarak's leadership, only later to see the frustration and despair of a street vendor in Tunisia ignite a wave of unprecedented political change in the Middle East. However, what has not changed is the importance of U.S. leadership, the power of our example, and the resources we bring to bear. If confirmed, it would be an honor to help the U.S. chart a course in Jordan at this critical time that promotes our shared values and our shared interests in a more peaceful and prosperous region.

Senator Kaine. Thank you so much, Ms. Wells.

Mr. Kelly.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS P. KELLY III, OF CALIFORNIA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF DJIBOUTI

Mr. Kelly. Chairman Kaine, Senator Rubio, it is a great honor and privilege to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti. I am grateful for the confidence the President and Secretary of State have shown in nominating me to this position and for the support of Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Linda Thomas Greenfield. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and the Congress to advance U.S. interests in Djibouti.

Mr. Chairman, I am from a very big family. I do not think we can fit all of them in this room. But I do have a good representation here. I would like to introduce them. I am joined by my wife, Elsa Amaya-Kelly, my daughter, Chantal, my brother, Joe Kelly, my mother-in-law, Elsa Reyes de Amaya, my brother-in-law, Juan Carlos Amaya, my uncle, John Kelly, Aunt Mary Kelly, Uncle Chris Burns, Aunt Suzy Burns, Cousin Patrick Kelly, Cousin Michael Kelly, and Mike's wife, Karen. Again, that is just the tip of the iceberg. [Laughter.]

Mr. Kelly. Mr. Chairman, during my 28-year Foreign Service career I have worked on a variety of issues that are relevant to my proposed post. I served for the first part of my career as an economics officer working on development issues around the world. I

also have experience managing large diplomatic missions, most recently in Lithuania, Argentina, and Brazil.

Over the last three years, I have had the privilege to lead the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, where we worked to reinforce the global partnership between the State and Defense Departments for our Nation's benefit.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, we share important interests and goals with Djibouti. The May 5 meeting between President Obama and Djiboutian President Guelleh reflected our desire to broaden our bilateral partnership, to work closely together to advance our shared vision for a secure, stable, and prosperous Horn of Africa.

Djibouti hosts the only U.S. military forward operating site in sub-Saharan Africa. This is Camp Lemonnier, the headquarters of the Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa, where more than 4,000 U.S. military and contracted personnel are stationed. If confirmed, I will continue to expand coordination and cooperation between Embassy personnel and Camp Lemonnier and its tenant U.S. military commands.

On the economic front, Mr. Chairman, making Djibouti an attractive place for investment is essential for its economic development. Djibouti remains very poor and less than 5 percent of its land is arable. The small USAID mission in Djibouti currently focuses on health and education, but we are expanding and deepening our focus areas following the President's May 5 meetings.

Additionally, Mr. Chairman, to help grow Djibouti's economy the United States has recently pledged to increase technical and financial assistance to the Djiboutian people and to further invest in Djibouti's development. If confirmed I will see that these programs remain a priority.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed I am also committed to working with Djibouti to strengthen democratic governance.

If confirmed, I will underscore the importance of democracy and governance reforms, including greater space for media, opposition, and civil society groups.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, if confirmed my highest priority will be the protection of Americans and U.S. interests, including mission personnel living and traveling in Djibouti.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed by the Senate I look forward to working closely with you and other members of the committee and would hope to welcome you during my tenure.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you again for the honor to appear before the committee today. I will be happy to take your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kelly follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THOMAS P. KELLY

Chairman Kaine, Ranking Member Risch, members of the committee, it is a great honor and privilege to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti. I am grateful for the confidence the President and Secretary of State have shown by nominating me to this position, and for the support of Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Linda Thomas-Greenfield. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and the Congress to advance U.S. interests in Djibouti.

First, Mr. Chairman, let me acknowledge several family members here today. I am joined by my wife, Elsa Amaya-Kelly; my daughter, Chantal Kelly; my brother, Joe Kelly; my mother-in-law, Elsa Reyes de Amaya; my brother-in-law, Juan Carlos

Amaya; my uncle, John Kelly; Aunt Mary Kelly; Uncle Chris Burns; Aunt Suzie Burns; Cousin Patrick Kelly; Cousin Michael Kelly; and Mike's wife, Karen Kelly.

Mr. Chairman, please allow me to tell you about myself. During my 28-year career, I have worked on a variety of issues that are relevant to my proposed post. I served for the first two-thirds of my career as an Economics Officer, working on development, trade, and finance issues around the world. I have extensive experience managing large diplomatic missions, serving as Deputy Chief of Mission in Vilnius, Lithuania, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, and as Principal Officer in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Over the last 3 years, I have had the privilege to lead the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs as Acting Assistant Secretary and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary. The Political-Military Bureau works every day to reinforce the global partnership between the State and Defense Departments for the benefit of our Nation.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I look forward to leading Embassy Djibouti in advancing the interests of the United States. The U.S.-Djibouti relationship is strong, and our two countries share a firm commitment to peace and security, countering terrorism and piracy in the region, and economic development.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, we share important interests and goals with Djibouti. The May 5 meeting between President Obama and Djiboutian President Guelleh [GEHL-ay] reflected our desire to broaden our bilateral partnership to work closely together to advance our shared vision for a secure, stable, and prosperous Horn of Africa. Djibouti has a strategic position at the Bab-el-Mandab Strait, which joins the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. Approximately 60 percent of Djibouti's population is ethnic Somali, and the Government of Djibouti has undertaken considerable efforts to restore peace in neighboring Somalia, a nation whose instability threatens the stability of the region. Djibouti is a troop-contributing country to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), and the al-Shabaab terrorist group has launched fatal attacks against Djiboutian forces in Somalia. If confirmed, Mr. Chairman, I will continue to build our bilateral relationship and contribute to efforts with Djibouti and other partners to promote a stable and peaceful Somalia.

Djibouti hosts the only U.S. military forward operating site in sub-Saharan Africa. This is Camp Lemonnier, the headquarters for the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), where more than 4,000 U.S. military and contracted personnel are stationed. If confirmed, I will continue to expand coordination and cooperation between Embassy personnel and Camp Lemonnier and its tenant U.S. military commands, including the CJTF-HOA contingent. If confirmed, I will also ensure that CJTF-HOA programming in Djibouti fits within the framework of U.S. Government priorities to advance our key interests.

On the economic front, Mr. Chairman, Djibouti's Government has privatized the country's excellent deep-water port and airport, reducing corruption and increasing revenue flows. Making Djibouti an attractive place for investment is essential for its economic development. Djibouti remains very poor, ranked 165th out of 187 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index. Less than 5 percent of its land is arable. The small USAID mission in Djibouti currently focuses on health and education but we are expanding and deepening our focus areas following the President's May 5 meetings. Mr. Chairman, to help grow Djibouti's economy, the United States has recently pledged to increase technical and financial assistance to the Djiboutian people and to further invest in Djibouti's development. Additionally, the United States responds to food insecurity through support for the Famine Early Warning Network office in Djibouti, as well as through U.S.-funded Food for Peace programs. If confirmed, I will see that these programs remain a priority.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I am also committed to working with Djibouti to strengthen democratic governance. Disputes over the 2013 legislative elections fueled months of protests, and the government arrested hundreds of opposition supporters. If confirmed, I will underscore the importance of democracy and governance reforms, including greater space for media, opposition, and civil society groups.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, my highest priority will be the protection of Americans and U.S. interests, including mission personnel, living and traveling in Djibouti.

Mr. Chairman, I believe my prior experience in the Foreign Service has prepared me to serve as Ambassador to Djibouti. If confirmed by the Senate, I look forward to working closely with you and other members of the committee, and would hope to welcome you during my tenure.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you again for the honor to appear before the committee today. I would be happy to take any questions you may have.

Senator KAINE. Thanks very much, Mr. Kelly.

Ms. Butts.

STATEMENT OF CASSANDRA Q. BUTTS, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

Ms. BUTTS. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Ambassador to the Commonwealth of The Bahamas. I am profoundly grateful for the honor that the President has bestowed upon me and for the confidence shown in me by Secretary Kerry as I look to take up this assignment if confirmed.

Please allow me to introduce my family members who are here today. I am joined by my mother, Mae Karim; my aunt, Barbara Jordan; and my brother-in-law, Frank Abbott. My family's been a wellspring of support for me. I am here today because of their love and support and because of their dedication and because of their belief in me.

I believe my experience as a lawyer and a policy adviser and my service to my country in the executive and legislative branches have well prepared me for the duties of Ambassador to the Commonwealth of The Bahamas. Having worked on some of the major legal and policy issues of our time, including my most recent experience in international development at the Millennium Challenge Corporation, I have always sought solutions consistent with the values of our great Nation. I understand that leading with our values is the basis for finding lasting policy solutions and building strong partnerships at home and abroad.

If the Senate were to confirm me, I would bring these experiences, grounded in my strong belief in equality, justice, and compassion, to the post of Ambassador to the Commonwealth of Bahamas. Through close political, economic, and cultural ties, the United States and The Bahamas have forged a strong bilateral relationship that has served both countries well. Bahamians regularly travel to the United States to visit friends and family and to conduct business, and approximately 6 million U.S. citizens travel to The Bahamas annually.

The proximity of The Bahamas to the United States inextricably links our countries' national security. Together we are confronting shared challenges, such as illicit trafficking, including in narcotics, arms, and people.

If confirmed, my first and foremost priority will be to ensure the safety and security of U.S. citizens living in or visiting The Bahamas, as well as the Turks and Caicos Islands, which are included under Embassy Nassau's consular oversight.

If confirmed, I will work closely with local authorities and U.S. law enforcement officials under chief of mission authority to lower crime rates and other illegal activities. Other priorities will include promoting greater economic ties and growth, including exploring ways to support the development and enforcement of stable, transparent regulations.

We also want to encourage countries like The Bahamas to adopt cleaner technologies and build strong and resilient energy markets. These steps are important not only to provide a more secure and

sustainable clean energy future, but also to further economic growth and limit the effects of greenhouse gas emissions. I will also seek to further gender equality and expand opportunities for disenfranchised youth.

Expanding educational exchanges is one way, is one of the best ways to deepen the already existing cultural and historical ties between the United States and The Bahamas. At present approximately 1,600 students from The Bahamas study in the United States, and more than 750 students from the United States study in The Bahamas. If confirmed, I will seek to increase levels of educational exchange between our two countries, including through enhancing existing partnerships and building new ones.

While geography and history have forged strong bonds between our countries, The Bahamas also maintains close relationships with many other countries. We do not see foreign economic and commercial links to The Bahamas as a threat to the U.S. interests. We believe that beneficial and sustainable international trade and investment must be carried out in adherence to international standards of transparency and good governance, while respecting local environmental standards and regulations.

We should continue to focus our interests on the greater good of regional stability. The United States has not had an ambassador in Nassau for nearly 2½ years, but we have a strong U.S. Embassy staff in The Bahamas continuing the important work of the mission. If confirmed, I will work to further their good work and strengthen our already close and productive bilateral relationship.

In closing, I am confident that I have the experience, the imagination, and the energy to lead our bilateral relationship with the people and the Government of The Bahamas. While at the Millennium Challenge Corporation, I have seen firsthand the important work carried out by our ambassadors and their teams as they engage and advocate for U.S. goals and objectives. If confirmed, I pledge to uphold the tradition and high standard of public service that ambassadors are expected to uphold.

I look forward to the opportunity to continue to serve my country.

Again, thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee and I look forward to answering your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Butts follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY CASSANDRA Q. BUTTS

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Ambassador to the Commonwealth of The Bahamas. I am profoundly grateful for the honor that the President has bestowed upon me and for the confidence shown in me by Secretary Kerry as I look to take up this assignment, if confirmed.

Please allow me to introduce the members of my family who are here today: my mother, Mae A. Karim; my aunt, Barbara Jordan; my brother-in-law, Frank Abbott, and my nephews, Alston and Ethan Abbott. Unfortunately, my sister, Deidra Abbott, could not join us today because of a work-related commitment. My family has been a wellspring of support. I am here today because of their love and support and because of their dedication and belief in me.

I believe my experience as a lawyer and policy advisor and my service to my country in the executive and legislative branches have well prepared me for the duties of Ambassador to the Commonwealth of The Bahamas. Having worked on some of the major legal and policy issues of our time, including my most recent experience in international development at the Millennium Challenge Corporation, I have

always sought solutions consistent with the values of our great Nation. I understand that leading with our values is the basis for finding lasting policy solutions and building strong partnerships at home and abroad. If the Senate were to confirm me, I would bring these experiences, grounded in my strong belief in equality, justice, and compassion, to the post of Ambassador to the Commonwealth of The Bahamas.

Through close political, economic, and cultural ties, the United States and The Bahamas have forged a strong bilateral relationship that has served both countries well. Bahamians regularly travel to the United States to visit friends and family and to conduct business. And approximately 6 million U.S. citizens travel to The Bahamas annually. The proximity of The Bahamas to the United States inextricably links our countries' national security. Together, we are confronting shared challenges such as illicit trafficking, including in narcotics, arms, and people.

If confirmed, my first and foremost priority will be to ensure the safety and security of U.S. citizens living in or visiting The Bahamas, as well as the Turks and Caicos Islands, which are included under Embassy Nassau's consular oversight. If confirmed, I will work closely with local authorities and the U.S. law enforcement officials under Chief of Mission authority to lower crime rates and other illegal activities. Other priorities would include promoting greater economic ties and growth, including exploring ways to support the development and enforcement of stable and transparent regulations as well as improving the business environment through transparent procurement and investment procedures. We also want to encourage countries like The Bahamas to adopt cleaner technologies and build strong and resilient energy markets. These steps are important not only to provide a more secure and sustainable clean energy future, but also to further economic growth and limit the effects of greenhouse gas emissions. I will also seek to further gender equality and expand opportunities for disenfranchised youth.

Expanding educational exchanges is one of the best ways to deepen the already existing cultural and historical ties between the United States and The Bahamas. At present, approximately 1,600 students from The Bahamas study in the United States, and more than 750 students from the United States study in The Bahamas. If confirmed, I will seek to increase levels of educational exchange between our two countries, including through enhancing existing partnerships and the building of new ones.

While geography and history have forged strong bonds between our countries, The Bahamas also maintains close relations with many other nations. Historically, foreign investment in the Bahamian banking sector has been mainly by Europeans and Canadians. The key tourism and hospitality sectors have seen increases in American, European, and, more recently, Asian investment as the world economy continues to rebound. We do not see foreign economic and commercial links to The Bahamas as a threat to U.S. interests. We believe that beneficial and sustainable international trade and investment must be carried out in adherence to international standards of transparency and good governance, while respecting local environmental and labor regulations. We should continue to focus our interests on the greater good of regional stability.

The United States has not had an ambassador in Nassau for nearly 2½ years, but we have had a strong U.S. Embassy staff in the Bahamas continuing the important work of the mission. If confirmed, I will work to further their good work and strengthen our already close and productive bilateral relationship.

In closing, I am confident that I have the experience, imagination, and energy to lead our bilateral relationship with the people and the Government of The Bahamas. While at the Millennium Challenge Corporation, I have seen firsthand the important work carried out by our ambassadors and their teams as they engage and advocate for U.S. goals and objectives. If confirmed, I pledge to uphold the tradition and high standard of public service that ambassadors are expected to uphold. I look forward to the opportunity to continue to serve my country.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I welcome your questions.

Senator Kaine. Thank you all for your opening statements.

Senator Risch has declined to do an opening statement. He is just going to make his questions particularly hard. [Laughter.]

Senator Kaine. We will have 6-minute rounds of questions.

Senator Risch. The first one is for you, Mr. Chairman. [Laughter.]

Senator Kaine. We will have 6-minute rounds of questions. If we do not get to you in round one, do not worry; I am planning on

coming back and making sure, because I have a number of questions for all of you.

But I will just begin with Ms. Alexander. USAID, in my travels as a member of this subcommittee I have really been impressed with the work of USAID in Jordan, with the work that USAID is doing in—I was recently in the West Bank and interacted with some of the Palestinian businesses that have been working together with USAID, and also was aware of USAID's good work being done in Egypt, but was not able to personally visit that work.

So this is very important work that is going on. USAID—in Egypt we were not able to visit because of security concerns. I just wonder if you would sort of offer some thoughts there. We are wrestling with complex issues here with regard to Egypt, levels of support, et cetera. Egypt has a significant counterterrorism threat that is a very real one that we need to provide help with. At the same time, there has been a tendency of concern to many of us to label opponents terrorists when they are really just opponents in the sense that you would expect there to be different points of view.

What can USAID do in the sort of democracy-building area that would be appropriate in Egypt, to just use that as an example for other nations in the region?

Ms. ALEXANDER. Sure. Thank you, Senator Kaine. I think USAID's programs have always been broadly designed to address the needs of the citizens and the governments as they support their own citizens' needs. In Egypt in particular, it is a difficult situation. In many of these countries it is very fluid throughout the Middle East, and we are looking to reorient our programs in places where we can not work with the governments directly on infrastructure or building capacity. We have started looking more closely at economic growth, the opportunities of the private sector.

In a lot of these situations we have had the opportunity to look at sectors such as—you mentioned the technology sector, but agriculture and tourism, as a real area for job employment and job growth. The linkage between economic growth and democracy and governance can not be lost. It is very difficult—and I have seen this through the transitions in Eastern Europe. It is very difficult to have democracy and governance take hold and make these transitions work if you have an economy that is tanking.

So in every way possible, AID looks to orient its program to make sure we are addressing the needs of the people and being sure to bring these countries through the transition in a way that the economic growth and the democracy rights and governance are synergistic.

Senator KAINE. A bright spot, I think it could be a bright spot, and one for us to pay some close attention to is Tunisia in the aftermath of constitutional reforms. If you could talk a little bit about USAID activity currently in Tunisia and what are some things that we can do to hopefully encourage a continued—the success of these recent constitutional reforms, the creation of a government that respects religious minorities, respects the rights of women, but within the Muslim cultural context of that country?

Ms. ALEXANDER. Sure. Tunisia is a bright spot for us. The inter-agency has actually quite a good division of labor between what the State Department programs are working on and what AID is work-

ing on. As we move forward in Tunisia, we have the Enterprise Fund and activities that we will plan to be doing through them, again to invest in the economy, and also to be looking at the democracy and governance work, both with gender equality programs and the dialogues that need to happen within Tunisia to make sure that this transition holds.

We really—a lot of our work right now at AID is focused on the global development alliances that we have in Tunisia with HP, with UNIDO, and with the Italians on the multilateral side, because I think that this is a world issue. People are looking at these countries and recognizing that together we can be helpful, but we have to make sure that we are listening to the people of Tunisia and we are doing what they request.

Senator KAINE. One other question that I think is a complicating fact and I am wondering how USAID would approach it is, in my visit to Israel and to the West Bank the USAID work with Palestinian entrepreneurs on the West Bank was very, very notable, and USAID has a great reputation for that work. The recent announcement that West Bank PLO authorities are working to find a unification with Hamas in Gaza is problematic because USAID and we do not have working relationships with Hamas because of its status as a terrorist organization.

How would you at USAID intend to carry on the ongoing work that has been positive in the West Bank under this scenario and what would your approach be to these unification issues?

Ms. ALEXANDER. USAID has a two-track approach in West Bank-Gaza. One is the budget support that we are working with the Palestinian authorities on and the other is the project activities that we are doing, and that includes institution building. So to the extent that those programs continue, we have high-impact, micro-infrastructure programs that have begun, and this is part of the peace process and the need to make sure that these negotiations continue, because at the end of the day that really is going to be the solution, a two-state solution.

As far as the announcement on the unity government, I think we have seen this before and we are going to watch carefully and see what ends up happening at the end of the day. We will adjust our programs as necessary, but we need to see how this plays out, because at this point it is not set in stone.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Ms. Alexander. I will say the Foreign Relations Committee recently had an opportunity to meet with Foreign Minister Liberman of Israel to talk about these very issues. While expressing a lot of challenges and skepticism about current developments, when we explored the reality of the need for these peace negotiations he stated very plainly that there really is not a solution other than a two-state solution. How we get there and the timing and the circumstances is going to be very, very difficult. But, much as you indicated in your answer, he was very, very plain about that.

Senator Risch.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Alexander, Americans are the most caring, compassionate, humanitarian people on the face of this planet. You will lead the agency that is really the flagship agency of that caring relationship

that Americans have with other human beings on this planet. I am always amazed at what USAID does.

I think the challenge for you is to convince Americans that they are doing this and that they are doing a good job doing this and that they are doing a good job doing this, and that we should feel good about what we are doing in that regard. What USAID does I find to be under the radar as far as Americans are concerned, and yet around the world USAID is regarded so highly because of the humanitarian work that they do. So we wish you well and have every confidence you will do a good job.

Ms. Wells, your challenge is a little different. You are going to one of the countries that is certainly one of our friends in the Middle East. The King comes here regularly and meets with us. We have such a good friend in the King. Indeed, if everyone had, every country in the Middle East, had a leader like King Abdullah, the Middle East would have an entirely different complexion than it does today.

I have every confidence that you will carry America's feelings in that regard. I would just say that it has been printed and, although we cannot talk completely about it in an open setting, but it has been printed at least in the media that there is considerable Jordanian cooperation going on with Israel regarding counterterrorism work. I would hope that you would encourage the two agencies to continue that work. Certainly Jordan needs that with the challenges they have and the kind of immigration that they have had.

So with that, I would kind of like to hear your thoughts as far as the relationship with Jordan and Israel?

Ms. WELLS. Thank you, Senator. Jordan continues to be a leader on the Middle East peace process, both by being only the second Arab state to sign a peace treaty with Israel, but also by King Abdullah's public and frequent exhortations for the region and for the process to move forward. He describes peace as a basic right and a practical need, and he himself has championed the Arab peace initiative as well as worked very closely with Secretary Kerry over the last year in terms of the framework negotiations.

I think what is important about Jordan, irreplaceable really, is how it leads by example, as you mentioned. The fact that Jordanian officials sit down pragmatically with Israeli counterparts to discuss the holy sites in Jerusalem, water, environment, trade, security, the fact that security officials have appropriate relationships with one another, is all extremely important.

As we look ahead, we see new institutional relationships forming, including over energy security and how Israel and Jordan may be able to cooperate in the future on less expensive Mediterranean gas. We see very practical cooperation by King Abdullah in building Palestinian institutions, including the training of 5,600 Palestinian Presidential guards and national security officials.

So I think that, even though sometimes among the Jordanian public support can be tepid for the peace treaty, the kind of leadership we see from King Abdullah is really what we need to see more of in the region. Certainly if I were confirmed I would work to encourage that level of practical daily cooperation.

Senator RISCH. Well said. I think that probably that is one of the—again, something that is not stressed enough, and that is

what a success story it is, the relationship between Jordan and Israel, and the fact that Jordan leads by example. I think it makes it a lot easier for other Arab countries to deal with Israel when they see how well this relationship has worked between Jordan and Israel.

So I am sure that as you work with them you will carry our message that this is a really, really good thing and we want to see it continue. I know the King has expressed to us over and over again that he wants that relationship with Israel and would like to see all his Arab brothers have the same kind of a relationship with Israel.

So thank you very much and thank all of you for your service to the United States.

Senator Kaine. Senator Rubio.

Senator Rubio. Thank you.

Thank you all for coming here. Congratulations to you and your family, and thank you for your offer to serve the country. For those that are already serving, thank you for that.

My first question is for you, Ms. Alexander. I wanted to ask you a little bit about the recent announcement of a unity government by the Palestinian Authority. Is it your position that this new government as announced as you understand it complies with or satisfies U.S. conditions on aid to the PA?

Ms. Alexander. For starters, thank you, Senator Rubio. Hamas is a terrorist organization and we cannot work with Hamas. As far as the discussion about the unity government, at this point we are waiting to see what ends up forming. We have seen this before and we really have to wait and see how the process works at this point.

Senator Rubio. So obviously then we are waiting to see what it looks like. But is it safe to say in your opinion that Hamas has not adequately recognized the Jewish State of Israel's right to exist and has not adequately accepted all provisions—or all previous Israeli-Palestinian agreements?

Ms. Alexander. Yes, Hamas as currently configured has not.

Senator Rubio. Can you confirm in your consultations with the agency that you are about to head that there will be an immediate cutoff of relevant U.S. assistance unless there is a full compliance with the letter and the spirit of all the provisions in the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act?

Ms. Alexander. I can speak only to what I know at this point, which is the law. And as the law stands we would not be able to apply assistance to that government.

Senator Rubio. Thank you.

Ms. Wells, let me ask you about Jordan for a moment. I think you have touched upon it in your statement, but I wanted to talk briefly about the reform efforts that are occurring within Jordan. Obviously, there is a situation where on the one hand there is the need, I think as recognized by the government, to create more political opening, more space, for all voices to be heard within Jordanian political society. On the other hand, there is the need to provide stability.

We have seen what has happened around the world when these changes are not adequately managed during a pace that is sustainable. In fact, it creates a space for tremendous instability.

How would you assess the pace and the status of those reform efforts as being undertaken in Jordan today by the kingdom?

Ms. WELLS. Thank you. Since King Abdullah came to power in 1999, he has launched a variety of political and economic initiatives. He would be the first to say he was not satisfied with the progress he had been able to achieve. I think what we have seen recently is how the confluence of events have made difficult choices much more possible. The fact that you had the Arab Spring, you had the cutoff of the inexpensive Egyptian gas, and you have the Syrian crisis next door reinforces the imperative for getting ahead of public demands for change, as well as being able to respond to what was an unbearable economic pressure being placed on the government.

So I think we see in three broad areas substantial and noteworthy efforts at reform. On the political side, the King has re-launched a public dialogue on reform. He has led an effort to amend one-third of the constitution. He has created a constitutional court, an Independent Electoral Commission, he has held successful parliamentary elections in January 2013 which outside observers deemed as credible. He has also taken steps to shrink the jurisdiction of the state security courts, and we welcome those initiatives.

On the economic side, we see the same kind of forward-leaning approach. His negotiation of a standby arrangement with the IMF allows Jordan to establish a glide path for removing subsidies that are simply unsustainable. He has eliminated fuel subsidies in 2012 and the electricity company by 2017 will be in a position to have full cost recovery. This is essential when electricity deficits were eating up 6 percent of GDP.

So we are trying to support that. We are working with other donors to support that. It is a critical step and Jordan would be a leader in the region if it achieves those two reforms.

Then just the final element is energy diversification. This is—when they lost the inexpensive Egyptian natural gas after 20 attacks on the pipeline, their energy costs went up to 21 percent of GDP, again unsustainable. So we have worked with Jordan and Jordan has been very forward-leaning in seeking to find less expensive fuels, including through the American company that works with Israel, establishing an LNG terminal, working to expand the mix of solar and wind.

So I think right now as friends of Jordan we need to encourage that approach.

Senator RUBIO. Just one more point I wanted to raise. When we have had this debate here about what to do in Syria, some ask why should we even care about it. One of the arguments I have made, of course, is that our relationship and the cooperation that we get from the King and the Jordanian Government are extraordinary. It is a very important relationship in the region. It is one of the cornerstones of our Middle Eastern policy.

You would agree, I think you have already in your statement here today, that the events going on in Syria pose a direct threat to the kingdom, to their ability to continue to be of assistance to us, given the potential that that has to spill over into their own territory if not managed appropriately. So would you agree that as we

view the Syrian conflict we should view it partially through the context of what it would mean to our allies in Jordan?

Ms. WELLS. I agree entirely, Senator. I think from Jordan's perspective Syria is an existential threat. So if you look at our strategy in responding to the crisis, we have moved very aggressively both to provide the humanitarian assistance and economic aid that Jordan needs to weather this and weather the influx of refugees.

At the same time, we have a very aggressive program of mil-mil cooperation, bolstering Jordan's border security, increasing our own bilateral and multilateral training, trying to build the capacity, including through the targeting of foreign fighters, so a broad-based approach to address both the security element as well as the economic element.

Senator RUBIO. Mr. Chairman, I know I am out of time. Can I ask one brief question on The Bahamas?

Senator Kaine. Yes.

Senator RUBIO. Ms. Butts, thanks for being here. Congratulations. I wish you the best on your assignment. It is a part of the country that is very—a part of the world that is very close to my part of the country in Florida.

I did want to ask you, however. There have been reports, and I have seen the videos of some of this, of how Cuban refugees have been forcefully repatriated back to Cuba by the Bahamian Government. We have reached out to their government. They dispute some of those assertions. Nonetheless, we remain very concerned about it.

I would just want to encourage you to work with the Bahamian authorities to ensure that not just Cuban refugees, as well as other refugees, including Haitian refugees and others, are treated appropriately and humanely if in fact they wind up on Bahamian territory. I think it is something that if people saw some of the images that have been put out there of how some of them have been treated by these authorities, they would be very concerned.

Again, we understand the realities of addressing something like this, the costs associated with it. But I would hope that you would use your office and our Embassy to speak out in favor of any vulnerable peoples that may find themselves on their territory. I would encourage you to use your position there to be an advocate for that.

Ms. BUTTS. Thank you, Senator Rubio. I appreciate that encouragement. It is certainly something that is very important to me. It is one of the policy issues that was most attractive about the role in The Bahamas. I have worked on migration issues before. Actually, I worked on migration issues on the Hill both on the Senate side and on the House side.

I have not seen the images. I have certainly heard about some of the allegations with regard to how Cuban refugees have been treated, migrants have been treated in The Bahamas. As I understand it, our State Department has had a number of conversations with the Bahamians. It will be one of my priorities to ensure that all migrants are treated humanely, and I am happy to, if I am confirmed, to have a chance to come back to you, Senator, and to your staff and keep you up to date on the issues.

Again, it is an issue of great importance to me too. Thank you.

Senator RUBIO. Let me just close by saying to all the nominees that I have not been here very long, about 3½ years, but in my short time I have learned that when the committee is not fully manned here with all the members it is usually a good sign for your nominations. So I wish you all the best.

Senator KAINE. Thank you both.

A question about embassy security that I really want to address both to Ms. Wells and Mr. Kelly. One of my first hearings as a member of the committee was a hearing to examine the Accountability Review Board recommendations in the aftermath of the analysis post-Benghazi. Those recommendations are significant and numerous, but I think all who were reviewing the recommendations find the ones that they kind of most lock on, and the ones that I really locked onto were sort of the embassy security challenges.

In the time since then, we have augmented the Marine security guard training program at Quantico to expand the Marine presence at a number of high-threat embassies. The State Department has recently announced moving forward with a FASTC, Foreign Assistance State Training Center, that is a long-desired effort to augment security training for embassy personnel. There are other issues concerning the hiring of the in-country security firms or individuals to assist.

These are issues that I am really passionate about. I just wonder, for both, especially Ms. Wells and Mr. Kelly, if you could talk a little about how you intend to tackle the challenge of keeping your folks safe and secure as you take on posts in a neighborhood of the world that can be pretty challenging?

Mr. KELLY. Thank you very much for your question, Senator Kaine. There is no more important issue for a chief of mission than taking care of your people. It is something that I have lived personally in my own career. My first assignment was in El Salvador during the civil war. We lost many embassy colleagues during my tour there, the years before and after.

In my second tour, in Chile, I survived a terrorist attack against a embassy-related softball team, where a terrorist group put a bomb in a softball bat and killed one of my teammates and injured some of my embassy colleagues.

So this is an issue that the Foreign Service has been dealing with for many, many years. So it is something that I am going to be very focused on as the chief of mission. Now, we have perhaps an advantageous situation in Djibouti because 2 miles from the Embassy we have more than 4,000 U.S. military personnel and contractors. So I think that our security is in pretty good shape. We have a very robust presence by diplomatic security agents in the Embassy. We also have an almost brand new Embassy compound, which really provides state of the art security conditions for our personnel.

But I think the most important thing that a chief of mission can do is inculcate a culture of security throughout the mission, and that is something that will be important to me every day.

Just another point about the environment that we are operating in now. Another very important aspect of our bilateral relationship with Djibouti is, because our Djiboutian partners provide us with

a platform to have a forward military location in Djibouti, that gives us access to a lot of neighboring countries that are potentially more vulnerable than we are. Our forces operating out of Djibouti were already fairly recently able to go into Juba in South Sudan to provide much-needed security reinforcement to our mission there, and that enabled our mission to stay open.

So it is an issue that is very important and it is something that will be on my mind every single day.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Kelly.

Ms. Wells.

Ms. WELLS. Like Tom, I have also experienced the instability that can take place, whether it was in Tajikistan being evacuated or from Pakistan or the political tensions escalating between India and Pakistan and the effect it has on Foreign Service families and the broader American community. Security would be my number one concern in Amman. It is a family posting. There are 760 official Americans and their family members under chief of mission authority. Given the history of events, the assassination of our USAID officer back in 2002, attacks on hotels in Jordan in 2005, and just the general events in the region, it is impossible to take security for granted.

One of the very first things I would do at post would be to walk the wire with the regional security officer to understand what our strengths and weaknesses are, to go outside the embassy to look at schools and our housing complexes, to have a sense of how the unofficial American community, which numbers 40,000, what challenges they face.

Thankfully, we have a very capable partner with the Jordanians, who provide excellent security support to us. The Embassy is well staffed to oversee our security programs. But this has to be a pre-occupation in this day and age.

Senator KAINE. Thank you.

Ms. Butts, a question about one of the major areas of cooperation between the United States and The Bahamas is in the antidrug effort. I know that The Bahamas has been a good partner. There is a regional initiative including The Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos, that they have been significant players in.

We recently in Armed Services had testimony by General Kelly, the head of SOUTHCOM, who basically was talking about the effect of sequester on drug interdiction efforts by our Nation. He said: "I watch about 75 percent of drugs coming into the United States just go by because I do not have the resources that I would need to stop them." And he estimated that if he did he would make a huge reduction in the amount of drugs that come into the United States.

Talk a bit—we have to resolve these budgetary issues, but what are some opportunities as you look ahead for the United States and The Bahamas to be even better partners on this significant challenge that we face?

Ms. BUTTS. Thank you for your question, Senator Kaine. Certainly the focus of counternarcotics is a large focus of the bilateral relationship with The Bahamas. As you mentioned, Senator, we have the Operation Bahamas, Turks and Caicos, which the acronym is "OPBAT," which has been going on since 1982. It is a part-

nership effort with The Bahamas which focuses on gathering intelligence, which focuses on cooperating in investigations, but also focuses on executing interdictions.

We have seen success since 1982 and we are continuing to see success. Actually, just this past year we have seen an increase, a significant increase actually, in the drugs that we have been able to seize through that operation.

In addition to that, under the Obama administration we actually now have the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative that actually started in 2010. Over the 4-year period we have invested \$263 million. What is interesting about CBSI, Senator, is that actually it is a regionwide initiative. Where OPBAT is focused on The Bahamas, Turks and Caicos, and the United States, CBSI is focused on the entire Caribbean. One of the things that the President wanted to do was to show that you have to have a regionwide focus if we are going to be successful.

So I would say to you, Senator, in addition to the very important joint efforts that we are doing through OPBAT, that we have got to look at the region as a whole in ensuring that we are doing the right level of cooperation, that we are doing the right level of coordination. I think that the President has started that out with the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative, and I hope that we are able to continue that.

Actually, one of the advantages that The Bahamas has in the region is that The Bahamas—we have the Southern Command, obviously, Senator, but The Bahamas is actually organized through the Northern Command. So we have the Northern Command resources, just talking about resources that we can bring to bear to the effort. So we have the Northern Command resources, but we are the beneficiaries of the efforts going on through the Southern Command.

Certainly there is a recognition that we never have as much in terms of resources that we want. But with some of the rethinking and reallocation of resources as a result of pulling out of Iraq and winding down in Afghanistan, with actually hope that there will be some additional resources that might be able to come the way of The Bahamas and of the Caribbean so that we can continue what has been a very strong effort on counternarcotics and counterterrorism efforts.

Senator Kaine. That is one other concern that I know many have, is whether offshore banks in The Bahamas are at all being utilized by criminal networks, whether those are networks that are primarily focused on narcotic activity or other criminal activity. What is the current status of any activity or cooperation between the United States and The Bahamas to try to specify the existence of that problem and hopefully deal with it?

Ms. Wells. There has been a good deal of cooperation, Senator, over the years. Certainly The Bahamians understand the importance of ensuring that their financial services institutions are not being used in ways that are illicit. They have put regulations and reforms in place to address that. So we have some confidence moving forward now and moving forward that the financial services—that the industry in The Bahamas is not trafficking in finances from illegal activities. So we have confidence they have done a very

good job. We work jointly with them in ensuring to provide the support that they need so that they can get their system in place.

So I think we feel confident. There could always be more done and as the chief of mission in Nassau I certainly want to work and coordinate with the Bahamians to ensure that they can continue to do the good work that they are doing.

Senator KAINÉ. Great. Thank you.

Mr. Kelly, one of the things that is interesting, I find interesting, about Djibouti is the degree of foreign military presence. The United States only sort of permanent enduring military facility in southern Africa, and in addition there is a Japanese military presence and a French military presence and also the international antipiracy efforts focusing on the Gulf of Aden are headquartered in Djibouti.

Given your immediate past billet at the State Department, you would seem to be just exactly the right person to help manage that. I know those are primarily mil-to-mil relationships, but talk a little bit about the relationship that you would have as Ambassador in not only interacting with the AFRICOM Joint Command, Horn of Africa Joint Command, but also with the other U.S. allies that have military presence in Djibouti?

Mr. KELLY. Thank you very much for your question, Mr. Chairman. What I have been doing the last 3 years at the Political-Military Bureau is working every day to try to make sure that State Department and Department of Defense are working around the world in sync. We have taken a lot of steps to try to work more efficiently in that regard, including embedding each other's personnel in the other's agency. We now have more than 90 Foreign Service officers working in different military commands and we have doubled the number of uniformed officers over the last couple of years who are working at the State Department.

We have that kind of model that is already functioning in Djibouti. At the CJTF-HOA there is a Senior Foreign Service officer who works as the adviser to the base commander, and then there is also a military liaison officer who works at the Embassy.

It would be my responsibility as chief of mission to make sure that every day we are working together as efficiently as possible, to make sure that our coordinated efforts are advancing all of the very significant interests that we have in Djibouti. As you said, Mr. Senator, we have very considerable security interests there. Djibouti provides us with a platform that we just do not have anywhere else in the entire continent, and it gives us very important strategic access to places like Yemen, which is a country that is plagued by the most active al-Qaeda affiliate in the world right now, as well as al-Shabab in Somalia. So the stakes are indeed very high.

We will also be coordinating with the other military forces that are there, as you mentioned. Camp Lemonnier used to be the overseas base for the French Foreign Legion.

The Foreign Legion is no longer there, but there are still 2,000 regular French troops who are stationed in Djibouti. They are very active. The only Japanese, significant Japanese military presence outside of Japan is at Camp Lemonnier as well.

There is presence by several other foreign military forces, especially navies that are focused on the counterpiracy mission that you described. That is going to be an important part of my job as well and I am looking forward to it.

Thank you.

Senator Kaine. Talk a little bit—Senator Durbin is particularly interested in development issues in Djibouti and I wanted to just ask. In the recent meeting between President Obama and President Guelleh, talk a little bit about economic issues that came up and what you see as some economic opportunities for the United States to interact and assist in the development of this economy. As you point out, only a small percentage of the land is arable land. There are some significant challenges there. How can we through USAID or other strategies be helpful?

Mr. Kelly. Thank you very much, Senator. I am a development economist by training, so I believe very strongly that our strategic partnerships have to be underpinned by partners who govern democratically and openly and who are presiding over prosperous economies. So I think that it is very important that we spend a lot of time making sure that we are bringing all our development assistance resources to bear to make sure that Djibouti continues to grow.

Djibouti faces a number of development challenges. Besides the fact that they basically have to import all of their food, they also face real energy problems. There are blackouts that last for much of the day. Half of the country does not even have access to electricity. There is a very high rate of unemployment, the estimate is about 60 percent of the population, and young Djiboutians, 20 to 24, the unemployment rate is probably above 80 percent.

So we need to continue our traditional development focus on basic health and primary education, but I think we have to do more than that. During the May 5 conversation that the President had with the Djiboutian President, we made a commitment to move into other areas that are very important for Djibouti's development.

In the first instance, we are going to work actively in workforce development to try to help Djiboutian authorities develop the skills of the Djiboutian workforce in a way that is relevant to the private sector. Then in the energy sector we are going to work with other donors, including the World Bank, to try to develop Djibouti's considerable geothermal resources to provide them with some national source of energy that can provide them with a more constant source of power, which in turn I think can help them to attract more private investment, especially more foreign investment.

Djibouti has very ambitious development plans. We think that they have a good vision, but they are going to need help from us and from other donors to get it right, to put in force the right regulatory framework. I am looking forward, as somebody who has worked on development for many years, to do that.

Senator Kaine. Excellent.

Ms. Wells, I wanted to ask a similar question about some sort of economic issues, and maybe especially given Jordan—the degree to which the Syrian refugees really stress an economy that already has a lot of stresses. Jordan is one of the most water-poor countries

in the world. The number of Syrian refugees coming into Jordan taxes a system that is already very, very challenged.

I believe that most now see these refugees, not as a short-term presence, but a longer term presence. So some of the strategies that you might use to deal with the refugee population that might just be there for a short period of time—it now becomes more of a development issue, building water systems rather than providing bottled water, just to use an example.

If I am correct about that, that the refugees are not likely to be returning to Syria any time soon, what are some strategies that we should be looking at in tandem with the Jordanian Government to make sure that the number of refugees does not overly tax this economy that can be fairly fragile?

Ms. WELLS. Thank you. I think the first is to step back and to do as you have, which is to recognize the extraordinary burden and the extraordinary generosity that the Jordanians are displaying in hosting the Syrian community, 80 to 85 percent of whom are living in host communities. The Jordanians have opened their schools to Syrian children. They have opened their hospitals to Syrian refugees. In the north we are seeing schools running double shifts, 80 kids to a class. Hospitals are at full capacity and in some instances running out of medicine.

It obviously places a strong burden on the water infrastructure, with Jordan being—I think there are only three countries in the world that have less accessible water than Jordan. So I think the response has to be two-part: one, continuing to respond appropriately to the crisis conditions that Jordan faces; but two, to be nimble in our response and to reprogram and to redeploy assistance as appropriate, which we have begun to do, whether it is by using moneys to renovate and build new schools, directing more moneys to municipal water sources, taking advantage of existing programs, such as the Millennium Challenge Corporation's \$275 million 5-year project to expand water and waste water efficiency, which will touch the lives of three million Jordanians.

So I think in terms of how our aid program is structured for Jordan, we are doing the right things. We are really focused on the resilience that Jordan needs in water, education, sanitation, and health, but to constantly be reassessing what is the burden that is being placed on Jordan and are we responding appropriately.

Our tools do not have to be limited just to assistance. We have a lot of other economic tools at our disposal. We have support for the multilateral programs, like IMF that I have mentioned, coordination with the World Bank and other key donors to make sure we have a consistent and appropriate response. We have a slew of trade mechanisms. Jordan has one of the most open economies in the Middle East, and we can use the free trade agreement, the qualified industrial zones, our bilateral investment treaty, to make sure that we as we build the private sector are also encouraging and helping Jordan achieve the increased growth that it needs.

Then I think energy diversification, so keeping Jordan focused on its own long-term economic sustainability and modernization.

Mr. KELLY. The Jordanian-American Chamber of Commerce paid a visit to us recently here and is very interested in expanding their

ties with American technology and other firms. That is something that I know many of us are interested in working with them on.

The last question I will ask you is about the status of political reforms that are under way in Jordan. Jordan has done a fairly good job of managing different constituencies that in other nations have been harder to manage. The Muslim Brotherhood is a sort of loyal opposition to the monarchy in Jordan and have been treated as a loyal opposition, not marginalized to a degree where they would then seek to engage—not shut out of legitimate political opportunities so that they feel like to be heard they have to carry out illegitimate opportunity.

But talk about sort of ongoing political reform efforts in Jordan and how those are affected by other challenges like the Syrian refugee challenge?

Ms. ALEXANDER. As I mentioned in an earlier answer, there are a variety of political reform initiatives that King Abdullah has taken up in the last 3 years. One of the very important reform initiatives is to take steps to increase the presence and strength of political parties. Jordan is a tribal country, a tribal society, along with a significant Palestinian population. But the Parliament has not reflected, has not really been based on parties. It has been based on tribal leaders and individuals with standing in the community, with one of the sole parties that has a coherent ideology being the Islamic Action Front.

So if you look back at Jordan's elections, until the Islamic Action Front began to boycott the elections they were the single most important party. So some of the reforms that have been taken recently have been to give Jordan simply one man, two votes. You can place one vote, which people presume will go to somebody in your community or a tribal leader, but a second vote is for a national list. We see this as a very positive development and beginning to encourage the formation of other parties.

I agree with your assessment that King Abdullah has ably managed the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood. They are a legitimate, as he puts it, part of the Jordanian social fabric. They have been around since the 1940s, recognized by the government. They became a political party in 1992. They never established a militant wing and they have never called for the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy.

So to create a culture where there is consensus, where there is give and take, where all of these parties participate in the elections, I think is a goal. If you look at the parliamentary elections that took place in January 2013, they were judged by many outside observers as being both credible and an improvement on previous elections.

So again, as friends of Jordan I think we want to continue to encourage those kinds of forward-leaning reforms.

Senator KAINE. You mentioned a comment that I just want to underline, which was a comment about the generosity of Jordanians, Turks, Lebanon in particular in dealing with Syrian refugees. The scope of it is just staggering. I know the figures best probably in Lebanon because of my recent visit there, but the number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon is now the equivalent of one out

of four Lebanon native population. And they have arrived within a space of about three years.

So if you were to think in the United States, if we suddenly had 75 million war refugees show up over a 3-year period, you got to look yourself in the mirror and say, would we be as generous? I bring that point up because sometimes we think of this region as a region of troubles and strife and folks doing horrible things and a lot of atrocities, and there certainly are. We also need to think of it as a region where neighbors do some pretty incredible things.

And the Governments of Turkey and Jordan and Lebanon are pretty different. They are all stressed in their own way, some resource, some with leadership challenges. And yet in each of these nations there has been an extraordinary degree of sacrifice really, to run double shifts in schools, to in a water-poor nation provide water for refugees.

Now, the United States is the single largest funder of assistance to Syrian refugees who have fled borders to other countries, and that is something that we can do and we should do and hopefully we can do more. But it is important to shine a spotlight on what Jordan and again Lebanon and Turkey especially are doing in the midst of this very difficult situation. I am glad you brought that up.

I want to thank you all for this, for the hearing today, for your willingness to serve, and your forthright and thoughtful answers.

I will leave the hearing open officially. If any members of the committee desire to submit questions in writing, I will leave the record open until Thursday at 5 o'clock for those questions to be submitted, and if they are I will trust that you will respond as promptly as you reasonably can.

With that, the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:42 p.m. the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSE OF ALICE G. WELLS TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. The pressures from the Syrian humanitarian crisis on the Government of Jordan and many sectors of its society remain enormous. On April 3, 2014, the Senate passed S. Res. 384, calling on the President to develop and submit to Congress a comprehensive strategy to address the Syrian humanitarian crisis. The strategy is to be submitted within 90 days of the resolution's passage, or by early July.

◆ If confirmed, what are your objectives for the strategy, and what is the status of the administration's progress in developing and completing it?

Answer. The U.S. Government's Syria policy is guided by six overarching interests—countering violent extremism and preventing the growth of terrorist safe havens, avoiding the collapse of the Syrian state, preventing the transfer or use of chemical weapons, supporting Syria's neighbors, alleviating the humanitarian suffering, and fostering a political transition.

The United States is taking steps to ensure that our humanitarian and development efforts across the region complement and reinforce those of our partners, neighboring countries, international humanitarian organizations, and other donors. Of the roughly \$1.7 billion in humanitarian assistance that the United States is providing to respond to the crisis in Syria, more than \$268 million is distributed through international organizations and nongovernmental organizations operating in Jordan (Migration and Refugee Assistance, International Disaster Assistance, and Food for Peace (Title II) funding).

Our funding and programs are geared to support both immediate needs and longer term programming. To the maximum extent possible, we seek to have governments and civil society take ownership of programs with continued and robust international support. The United States has been supporting the United Nations efforts to develop a Comprehensive Regional Strategic Framework (CRSF). The goal of the CRSF, which was just released on May 8, is to coordinate humanitarian, development, and macrofiscal interventions to meet immediate protection and assistance needs; build the resilience of households, communities and systems; strengthen host-country leadership; and support regional stability. We support the U.N.'s effort to build coherence between traditional humanitarian and development responses through the CRSF. Donor coordination tools such as the CRSF and the National Resilience Plan/Host Community Support Platform in Jordan are useful for making the best use of limited U.S. Government resources during a time of budget constraints and several large-scale crises occurring at one time.

Jordan has an important role to play in identifying the areas where we can best help them, and we will actively seek Jordan's counsel. With regard to Jordan, my primary role will be to focus on the interests that facilitate its security and assist Jordan in its efforts to help alleviate the humanitarian suffering.

Our policies for the specific objectives of alleviating the humanitarian suffering and supporting Jordan's security are well developed, and I would seek to build on them. They include continuing robust humanitarian and economic assistance for Jordan, furthering the Jordan Border Security Project, pursuing and capitalizing on opportunities for military training exercises like Eager Lion, continuing and developing contingency planning and defensive assets in Jordan, increasing cooperation on countering the flow of foreign fighters, and, in light of the extraordinary refugee flows into Jordan, continuing and expanding our extensive cooperation to provide cross-border humanitarian assistance and nonlethal assistance.

RESPONSE OF ALICE G. WELLS TO QUESTION
SUBMITTED BY SENATOR BOB CORKER

Question. In FY 2012, Jordan received \$20 million in USAID sustainable WASH funding, which is nearly 5 percent of USAID's total sustainable WASH budget. The 2013 Paul Simon Water for the Poor Act's Report to Congress states that in FY 2012 "more than 1.7 million people in Jordan received improved water service through USAID-funded construction of pumping stations and water conveyance systems. An additional 8,750 plus people now receive improved access to drinking water.

- ◆ Since Jordan has 96 percent access to safe water, can you please describe what specific communities USAID WASH funds currently target?
- ◆ What populations are represented in the 1.7 million and 8,750 figures, and what is the definition of "improved water service" versus "now receive improved access" used in the annual report to Congress?
- ◆ What proportion of WASH funds are supporting Syrian refugees and what kind of WASH programs are being directed to assistance Syrian refugees?
- ◆ If confirmed, what do you believe are the United States Government's priorities for WASH funding in Jordan? And how can these funds be leveraged to bring first time access to safe water and sanitation to poor and vulnerable communities?

Answer. Jordan has access to safe water because of its piping network, but this does not mean that the pipes are always full of water. In fact, Jordan's water distribution system is by and large discontinuous and rationed. In the northern governorates, water comes only once every 2 weeks for a few hours at a time, so households are largely dependent on water stored in cisterns and tanks. On average, the wastewater network is much less widespread, with approximately 65 percent of coverage across the country.

The "1.7 million population" refers to those served by the Zaatri pump station and the 48 km-long Zatari-Hofa pipeline, which will serve the 1.7 million residents of Jordan's four northern governorates, Ajloun, Irbid, Mafraq, and Jerash. We are uncertain to what the statement "an additional 8,750-plus people now receive improved access to drinking water"; refers to, however, the impact of our projects in improving access to drinking water in the north alone would account for far broader access to drinking water than that figure: A 20-percent immediate increase in access was anticipated at the startup of the Zaatri pump station, which would amount to approximately 340,000 people receiving improved access to drinking water for this project alone.

The Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM), manages the U.S. assistance to Syrian refugees in Jordanian refugee camps, and

USAID directs its assistance to Jordanians and Syrians living in Jordanian host communities. It is estimated that 85 percent of Syrian refugees are living outside of the refugee camps. UNHCR and other relief organizations are keeping comprehensive records and maps detailing percentages of Syrian refugees residing in host communities throughout Jordan, and USAID Mission Amman is currently working to develop ways to better quantify the benefits of our water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) programs for Syrian refugees receiving this assistance. Considering that water pipelines and wastewater treatment plants benefit all people in Jordan, including Syrians, we can conclude that our assistance is benefiting millions of people.

There are many things Jordan can do to improve water resource management. There is a great need for Jordan to continue improving water policies, tighten up its water system by reducing leaks and theft, and increasing its ability to recover its costs by improved billing procedures. Our USAID mission can help by supporting the Jordanian utility companies, such as the Yarmouk Water Company, in a similar manner that we helped the Aqaba Water Company and will soon be engaging Miyahuna, the Water Utility for Amman. The Ministry of Water and Irrigation has been asked to increase water tariffs and recover more costs as a condition of loan guarantees from the U.S. They also need to continue to find ways to decrease water use in the agricultural sector and better protect their aquifers, while dealing with the high concentration of Syrian refugees living with no access to wastewater treatment networks, particularly in the north of the country, where wastewater network coverage represents only 35–40 percent of households.