

**NOMINATIONS OF THE 113TH
CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED THIRTEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—
MAY 7 THROUGH DECEMBER 17, 2013
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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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NOMINATIONS OF LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD, JAMES ENTWISTLE, PATRICIA HASLACH, REUBEN BRIGETY II, STEPHANIE SANDERS SULLIVAN, PATRICK GASPARD

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 2013

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

Hon. Linda Thomas-Greenfield, of Louisiana, to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs
Hon. James F. Entwistle, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Nigeria
Hon. Patricia Marie Haslach, of Oregon, to be Ambassador to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Reuben Earl Brigety II, of Florida, to be Representative of the United States of America to the African Union, with the rank and status of Ambassador
Stephanie Sanders Sullivan, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Congo
Patrick Hubert Gaspard, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:08 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Christopher A. Coons presiding.

Present: Senators Coons, Kaine, Murphy, and Flake.

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

Senator COONS. Good morning. I call this hearing of the African Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to order. I am very pleased to chair this nomination hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations' Committee Subcommittee on African Affairs for Linda Thomas-Greenfield to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; James Entwistle to be Ambassador to Nigeria; Patricia Haslach to be Ambassador to Ethiopia; Reuben Brigety to be the U.S. Representative to the African Union with the rank of Ambassador; Stephanie Sanders Sullivan to be Ambassador to the Republic of Congo; and Patrick Gaspard to be Ambassador to South Africa.

I welcome each of the nominees and their family members who are here to support them. I also welcome and thank my Africa Subcommittee ranking member and colleague, Senator Flake, for his diligence in working and making possible this full agenda of nominees for today.

We are considering nominees today for different diplomatic assignments, each with its own unique characteristics, challenges, and opportunities. Each nominee will also work through many common cross-cutting challenges and opportunities that face the United States in Africa, including vast economic potential, a rapidly growing middle class, challenged democratic institutions, poverty, terrorism, and many more.

The choices made by African leaders, our government, and international partners will chart not only the future course of many African countries, but the role and influence of the United States. At a time when we have impending elections in Mali and Zimbabwe and an upcoming AGOA ministerial, there is so much for us to talk about this morning.

I will dispense with much of my usual opening statement and simply say I am convinced we must deepen, broaden, and sustain United States engagement with the leaders and people of Africa. President Obama's recent trip was a positive demonstration of U.S. commitment and the President's initiatives on trade, energy, young African leaders, and wildlife trafficking have, I think, significant potential that I hope we will soon explore further. But our relationships have to extend broadly, beyond a single Presidential trip, and as the United States works to sustain and broaden our relationships each of you will play a central role in sustaining that.

The nominees before us bring a wealth of foreign policy and public service experience and have served in some of the most challenging diplomatic posts around the world. I am interested in hearing your views on how we can help build strong, enduring partnerships in Africa in support of democracy, security, and prosperity.

Linda Thomas-Greenfield has served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of African Affairs and as Ambassador to Liberia, where I first met her, during an exciting time of transition. Importantly, she has also shown a strong commitment to supporting the professional development of the people of the State Department, its most valuable asset.

Ambassador James Entwistle, who I had the pleasure of meeting when I traveled to Kinshasa earlier this year, is an able and experienced senior diplomatic who would bring lessons learned from places as diverse as Thailand, Kenya, and the Congo to the critically important and challenging task of managing our relations with Nigeria.

Patricia Haslach has worked to promote development, stability, and democracy around the world, including in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Nigeria. Her experience with the Feed the Future program and commitment to women's empowerment would make important contributions to our diplomacy in Ethiopia.

Reuben Brigety has devoted his career to public service. His unique blend of experience in the military, academia, civil society, USAID, and the State Department would in my view be a valuable asset at our mission to the AU.

Stephanie Sullivan has shown a long commitment to Africa from her time as a Peace Corps Volunteer in the DRC to several Foreign Service assignments in the Africa Bureau. She would bring strong managerial skills and relevant experience to Brazzaville.

Patrick Gaspard knows the rough and tumble world of labor relations, community organizing, school reform, and of course politics. These are all critical to understanding South Africa, where he also, I would note, had the honor of meeting Nelson Mandela in 1992 while serving in New York Mayor David Dinkins' office.

I will dispense with the rest of my comments. I very much look forward to hearing from each of the nominees and will now turn to Senator Flake.

Senator FLAKE. I thank the chairman for making this hearing possible, to get through a number of nominees all at once. I enjoyed meeting with each of you in my office in the past weeks. I am convinced that we have the right people for what will be a tough job. As Senator Coons said, and I agree, we ought to broaden and deepen our involvement in Africa. I think we have the right people to do that and look forward to hearing your testimony today.

Thanks.

Senator COONS. I would like to now turn to Senator Nelson to introduce Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield. I will also, when he arrives, be inviting Senator Schumer to say a few words about our nominee for South Africa. Given the demands of Senator Schumer's schedule, he is not able to be here for the second panel. So I would like to invite Senator Nelson, and thank him for his timely arrival, for an introduction of Linda Thomas-Greenfield, who is the nominee for Assistant Secretary.

Senator Nelson.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BILL NELSON,
U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA**

Senator NELSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a privilege for me to return to the committee that I spent six very happy years here and appreciate the dedication that you and Senator Flake are bringing to the Africa Subcommittee of this full committee. It is obvious the devotion that you have, Mr. Chairman, and I want you to know that I appreciate that.

We have a unique, very competent and very qualified candidate, nominee, to be the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, because Ambassador Greenfield has been in the Foreign Service for her adult life. Right now she leads a team of 600 folks who work day and night over in the State Department. She started her career in the Foreign Service back in 1962, and most of that service has been dedicated to policymaking with regard to Africa.

She has served in Jamaica, Nigeria, the Gambia, Kenya, Pakistan, Switzerland, and most recently as U.S. Ambassador to Liberia. It was there that my wife Grace and I got to meet Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, and it was very interesting. In that country there was a woman President, still is, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The U.S. Ambassador was a woman, and that is Linda, and the top USAID representative, a woman, Pam White, who so distinguished herself in USAID that she was asked to be an Ambassador, first

in the Gambia and today—and I will see her in another week and a half—in Haiti.

So you can imagine the kind of quality representation that we had there in this struggling little country that is trying to come out of the chaos that it had in a very tumultuous former regime as the new President, President Sirleaf, is trying to straighten out the country.

Well, we were fortunate to have the quality that we had with Linda. As a result, she has moved up in the State Department and now is awaiting confirmation for this very important post. The post is to strengthen the democracy and the institutions throughout the continent. It fosters economic growth in the continent and it tries to lessen the effects of the armed conflicts in the continent.

So what more can I say, Mr. Chairman, but that I am very privileged to be here to introduce a nominee of such quality, that when quality is staring you in the face you act on it. I want to thank you for this committee's consideration and I look forward to casting my vote on the floor of the Senate when we confirm her.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Senator Nelson. I am grateful for your time and, being mindful of your schedule, invite you to leave whenever is convenient for you.

Before I turn to an opening statement by Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, I am going to encourage Senator Schumer of New York to make an introductory statement of Patrick Gaspard, whom we will consider as part of our second panel, the President's nominee to serve as Ambassador to South Africa.

Senator Schumer.

**STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES SCHUMER,
U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW YORK**

Senator SCHUMER. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First to Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield and to my colleague Bill Nelson, I apologize for the interruption. Thank you for your patience. I will be chairing another committee hearing in a few minutes, but wanted the opportunity to introduce Patrick Gaspard, who will be appearing a little later this morning.

Before doing that, I would like to acknowledge Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield's distinguished diplomatic career serving the United States around the globe. She is an excellent candidate for the position of Assistant Secretary for Africa and I join my colleague and friend Bill Nelson in looking forward to supporting her nomination when it comes before the full Senate, the two of us are not privileged to serve on this committee, where we would cast two votes for you. One in the committee, one on the floor is what I mean.

Anyway, it is my great privilege to introduce Mr. Patrick Gaspard, the nominee to be the next Ambassador to South Africa. Patrick was not born in New York, but, like millions of others through the years, found his way to New York and found in New York his hopes, his dreams, and a place to call home.

Mr. Gaspard's long and distinguished career in public service leaves no doubt he is well qualified to take on this great task that awaits him if he is confirmed to be Ambassador to South Africa.

Patrick was born in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to Haitian parents. Returning to the African Continent will bring Patrick full circle.

His parents—he has an amazing life story. Patrick's parents moved from what was then Zaire from their native Haiti following an appeal from Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba for French-speaking academics of African descent. Patrick then moved with his parents to New York when he was just 3. He grew up on New York City's Upper West Side. He lived there until he was 11, like many Manhattanites migrated to the great, often forgotten outer boroughs. He moved in a fine, beautiful middle class neighborhood that I ride my bicycle through frequently, Saint Alban's in south-east Queens.

He then got into one of New York City's finest public schools, Brooklyn Tech—Go Engineers—before—it was a lot better than Stuyvesant's nickname. They are “The Peg Legs.” Can you believe a team calls itself “The Peg Legs”? Only in New York—before going on to attend another great New York institution, Columbia University.

Patrick worked his way up in New York City politics. He played a key role in helping David Dinkins become New York City's first African American Mayor in what was to become a historic campaign. And, interestingly and relevantly enough, one of his signature achievements working for Mayor Dinkins was spearheading a trip to South Africa for the Mayor's Cabinet members to meet Nelson Mandela in 1992, who 2 years later would go on to become South Africa's first democratically elected President.

He then went on to work for almost a decade as Executive Vice President for Politics and Legislation for 1199, the SEIU United Health Care Workers East labor union. That is the largest local union in America. It is one of the strongest, one of the best organized, one of the most effective. And I say this—I think this is not without exaggeration—it was Patrick and his team that were one of the most effective at building any union organization that I have been familiar with, and they now have over 300,000 members.

In 2004 he became National Field Director for America Coming Together. He overseen a paid staff of 8,000 people dedicated to getting out the vote. He has shown a remarkable dedication and involvement in our country's electoral process, and his efforts to advance the cause of working class families led him to serve in 2006 as the Political Director for SEIU during the national union's very successful efforts that year.

Then-Senator Barack Obama recognized Patrick's talents, tried to lure him away from SEIU to join the campaign. He first resisted. He did not want to leave his family in New York. But he eventually caved and became Political Director for the President's successful 2008 campaign. He was then Director of Political Affairs, 2008, an office I would say needs some filling right now. There is no one there who could fill his shoes. His responsibilities were to provide the President with an accurate assessment of the political dynamic affecting the work of his administration.

He is one of the hardest working people I have ever met. I have worked with him for decades and he just works and works and drives and drives and gets things done. But he is a good listener.

He is a polite and thoughtful fellow, and he has had a great career already.

He became the executive director of the DNC under Chairman, now our colleague, Tim Kaine and Chairman Deborah Wasserman-Schultz.

So, as you can see by his bio, he has dedicated his entire career and political life to helping advance the values of better life and more opportunities for families in America. He will take advantage and enhance our dynamic relationship with South Africa, and he will take it to new heights.

As you all know, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Corker, South Africa is a strategic partner for the United States. Our countries are currently involved in widespread cooperation in health, education, food security, trade, investment, energy, and nonproliferation. There is no one better to help strengthen these bonds than Patrick Gaspard.

So I wholeheartedly endorse his nomination, and again thank you, Madam Ambassador, my colleague Bill, and the committee for their courtesy.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Schumer, for that introduction. We very much look forward to our second panel of nominees. Understanding the Senators' schedules and your impending hearing, I thank you for your testimony here this morning, your introductions, and I would now like to invite Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield to make her opening statement and to introduce any family or friends who may be with you in support today.

Ambassador.

STATEMENT OF HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD, OF LOUISIANA, NOMINATED TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you very much, Chairman Coons. Let me start by thanking Senator Nelson and Senator Schumer for their very generous and kind introduction.

Chairman Coons, Ranking Member Flake, and members of the committee, it is an honor for me to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. I am honored by President Obama's and Senator Kerry's confidence in me and, if confirmed, I hope to work closely with the Congress and particularly with this committee and with you, Senator Coons, and other members to further our partnership with the African people, to nurture our shared values, and to advance U.S. interests in the region.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take the opportunity to introduce my husband, Lafayette, who is sitting behind me, my daughter Lindsay. My son, Deuce, could not be here today, but I can tell you that I would not be here today if it were not for their support over a 31-year career in the Foreign Service, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank them for their support.

If you will permit me, I will submit a longer version of my testimony for the record, but I would like to take the opportunity here to underscore that I have spent the majority of my career in Africa, as you have heard, working on African issues, working on humani-

tarian issues in Africa, and this nomination is really an honor for me.

I come before the committee at a very propitious moment. The President just completed a highly successful trip to Senegal, South Africa, and Tanzania. During that time he announced critical new initiatives and reinforced our efforts to expand economic growth in a mutually beneficial manner, to strengthen democratic institutions, and to invest in the next generation of African leaders.

If confirmed, I am particularly looking forward to the Africa Heads of State summit in Washington in 2014, which will further advance the President's efforts on these critical sets of issues.

Our partnership with the countries and the people of Africa has contributed to real progress, made all the more evident by the strength of our relationships across the continent, from Ghana to Tanzania, from Liberia, where I served as Ambassador, to Namibia. We have been especially encouraged by peaceful transitions between political parties, as we witnessed in Senegal and Zambia recently, and we are now watching closely as the people of Mali and the people of Zimbabwe prepare to head to their polling stations in just a few days for elections that will be critical to the future of their respective countries, but particularly to their people.

In the coming years across the continent, we will have to prioritize our support for critical democracy and governance programs that underpin the success of all other efforts. However, we will also need to continue efforts to encourage American businesses to actively participate in Africa's economic renaissance.

Lack of fiscal transparency and corruption significantly discourage investment. Trade and sustainable economic development will flow where rules are predictable and investment is protected. When the playing field is level, I am confident that American firms can compete successfully with anyone in the world, including China. But ultimately, African governments themselves should drive a hard bargain in the deals that they make with every nation to ensure that they get the best deals for their people and for their future.

To further support U.S. efforts and U.S. trade with Africa, I am looking forward to the upcoming Africa Growth and Opportunity Act trade ministerial in Ethiopia this August and, if confirmed, I hope to work closely with this committee and with you in particular, Senator Coons, and other Members of Congress to pave the way for AGOA's renewal.

As we deepen our partnerships on the continent, our efforts will also stay true to the fact that human rights is a core American value. We will continue to speak out, both in public and in private, when nations stray from their responsibilities to protect their people. We must also remember that from eastern Congo to the Sahel, from Liberia and Somalia to the tensions that are still taking place between Sudan and South Sudan, too many lives have been lost and too many futures have been destroyed.

Violent extremist organizations, some of them affiliated with al-Qaeda, seek to exploit conflicts and weak institutions to expand their reach. In each of these cases, we will continue to work with the African Union as well as other regional and international organizations, allies, and countries themselves to find solutions.

I understand that the opportunities and the challenges in Africa require a comprehensive United States policy, one that takes a holistic approach, is integrative, proactive, and forward-leaning. If confirmed, I will always balance our long-term interests with the near-term and urgent imperatives we face each week.

For far too many years, we have been Africa's partner in times of adversity. While we will continue to support African people in moments of crisis, we will also be Africa's partner in prosperity. Admittedly, this is a big challenge, but I can say if I am confirmed it is one that I very much look forward to pursuing with your help and with the Africa Bureau's enthusiasm and energy.

Before I conclude, I would like to also thank the many friends that I have sitting in the audience who are here to support me today, and if confirmed, Mr. Chairman, I look forward to working with you, members of the committee, and others on the Hill on the challenges and the opportunities that we will face on the continent of Africa in the future.

I am pleased to take your questions. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD

Chairman Coons, Ranking Member Flake, and members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. I am honored by President Obama's and Secretary Kerry's confidence in me and, if confirmed, I hope to work closely with the Congress and with this committee and its members, to further our partnership with the African people and organizations, nurture our shared values, and advance U.S. interests in the region.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take the opportunity to introduce my husband, Lafayette, and our two children, Lindsay and Deuce. I would not be here today if it were not for their support and encouragement over the last 31 years.

My first introduction to Africa occurred in 1964, when I was a mere 12 year old and had the opportunity to meet Peace Corps Volunteers and their African teachers, who were living in my small community in Baker, LA, prior to departing for their assignments in Swaziland and Somalia. From that moment, I knew I wanted to be a Peace Corps Volunteer and I knew I wanted to go to Africa. Unfortunately, I never became a volunteer, something I continue to regret today, but did I get a chance to go to Africa.

I have spent the majority of my career working in Africa and on African issues, including as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration responsible for Africa, as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Africa Bureau responsible for west Africa, as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and as the U.S. Ambassador to Liberia. Most recently in my position as Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources I led a team of 600 employees who managed the Department's 70,000-strong workforce. Ultimately, any organization is only as good as its people. In all my leadership positions, I have sought to better enable our personnel to meet our ambitious foreign policy objectives, to promote strong leadership and accountability, and foster diversity in the workplace. These will continue to be priorities for me, if confirmed. The Bureau of African Affairs is home to approximately 1,100 Foreign Service officers, 76 Civil Servants, and 12,800 locally employed staff who are spread across 50 posts, as well as here in Washington. Entry-level officers are often the backbone of our lightly staffed embassies and many of our desks within the Bureau. If confirmed as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, I will continue my strong professional and personal commitment to the welfare and safety of our people, and to their development through mentorship and my attention to management issues. I am also committed to keeping our people safe and facilities secure. To that end, I will work closely with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security to achieve that goal.

I come before the committee at a very propitious moment. The President just completed a highly successful trip to Senegal, South Africa, and Tanzania during

which he reinforced our efforts to expand economic growth in a mutually beneficial manner, to strengthen democratic institutions, and to invest in African youth as the next generation of African leaders. If confirmed, I particularly look forward to the African Heads of State summit in Washington in 2014, which will further advance the President's efforts on this critical set of issues. The President's trip also extended U.S. engagement on the continent through the unveiling of three critical initiatives. Power Africa aims to increase electricity by at least 20 million new households and commercial entities with on-grid, mini-grid, and off-grid solutions by complementing government resources with private sector commitments. With more than two-thirds of the continent without electricity, this initiative will address Africa's major constraint to economic growth and increased private sector investment. In conjunction with our efforts to expand trade, the President also announced Trade Africa—an initiative that aims to double intraregional trade in the East African Community (EAC), which includes increasing exports to the United States through targeted investments and support to regional governments and institutions. With one in three Africans between the ages of 10 and 24 and approximately 60 percent of the population below the age of 35, the Young African Leaders Initiative helps provide the next generation of male and female leaders with the training and mentoring needed for business and entrepreneurship, civic leadership, and public administration.

Our partnership with the countries and people of Africa has contributed to real progress, made all the more evident by the strength of our relationships across the continent—from Ghana to Tanzania and from Liberia to Namibia. Africa has been too often described as a continent of “emerging” nations. However, given the recent strong economic growth, it is undeniable that a number of the nations on the continent have fully “emerged” and are well on their way toward sustained economic growth with visible and strong democratic institutions. We have been especially encouraged by peaceful transitions between political parties, as we witnessed in Senegal and Zambia. As President Obama has said, “Africa doesn't need strong men, it needs strong institutions,” and this shift is the best guarantee for Africa's future development and stability. This is a trend that the President has emphasized to great effect across Africa, and it is one that I intend to work hard to reinforce and expand, if confirmed. We are watching closely as the people of Mali and Zimbabwe prepare to head to their polling stations in just a few short days for elections that will be critical to the future of their respective nations. Holding credible, democratic elections in Mali is the first step in the nation's return to constitutional order and the establishment of a government with the legitimacy to pursue longer term political and development priorities, including national reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts. In Zimbabwe, we are concerned that elections are moving forward in spite of incomplete reforms and insufficient electoral preparations. Zimbabwe's elections need to be peaceful and credible, and reflective of the will of the people.

In the coming years, across the continent, we will have to prioritize our support for the critical democracy and governance programs that underpin the success of all other efforts—from our investments in global health, to our assistance in the security sector, to our work on advancing women's participation. Democracy and governance have long been—and should remain—a top priority. Without these efforts, progress in other sectors may ultimately be unsustainable.

We are beginning to see visible evidence of parallel gains in economic growth and economic development on the continent. Africa is booming in nearly every sector, from massive energy developments in Mozambique, Tanzania, and Ghana; to the growth of Rwanda and Kenya's information technology sectors; to the thriving auto industry in South Africa. At the same time, we will need to continue efforts to encourage American businesses to actively participate in Africa's economic renaissance. During his address to business leaders in Tanzania, President Obama noted that strengthening good governance is good business as well. Lack of fiscal transparency and corruption significantly discourage investment. The administration is working with countries across Africa to improve governance, enhance open government, and uphold the rule of law. Trade and sustainable economic development will flow where rules are predictable and investment is protected. I believe that these political and economic trends are self-reinforcing and will form one of the principal cornerstones of my personal efforts if confirmed. Our businesses understand the importance of respecting international norms, and I will strive to ensure that U.S. companies operating in Africa are treated fairly and are given every opportunity to compete in the marketplace.

When the playing field is level, I am confident that American firms can compete successfully with anyone in the world, including nations such as China. We do not view U.S. and Chinese engagements in zero-sum terms. Chinese efforts to build

infrastructure and enable economic growth are much needed but we will also continue to encourage China to play a constructive role through activities that are consistent with international norms. Ultimately, African governments should drive a hard bargain in the deals they make with every nation to ensure they are the best for their people and their futures. U.S. businesses add value and our partnerships create broad, sustainable, economic opportunity, making a meaningful difference in people's lives.

To further support U.S.-African trade, we are looking forward to the upcoming African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) Trade Ministerial in Ethiopia this August, and if confirmed, I hope to work closely with Congress to pave the way for AGOA's renewal. Working together alongside our African partners, we will also have to make these trade preferences more effective and ensure that more African goods can compete successfully in the global marketplace. The bulk of our trade is currently with just three countries, South Africa, Nigeria, and Angola, and it must be further broadened. We also continue to support African women entrepreneurs through the African Women Entrepreneurship Program, which identifies and builds networks of women entrepreneurs across sub-Saharan Africa. This program has been instrumental in building the capacity of African women entrepreneurs, who are often agents of change in their communities.

Another part of the challenge ahead will be to maintain our focus on the people of Africa, to listen to their voices, and to include their concerns in our policy deliberations. Our work on HIV/AIDS through PEPFAR is a great example of the new kinds of partnerships we are forming. Thirteen countries have now passed the programmatic "tipping point" where more people are newly receiving treatment than are being newly infected with HIV. And countries such as South Africa and Namibia are increasingly taking on their own epidemics, assuming greater costs and leadership for treatment.

As we deepen our partnerships on the continent, our efforts will also stay true to the fact that human rights is a core American value. Governments that respect human rights, including women's rights, and democratic norms make stronger and more stable partners for economic growth, development, peace, and prosperity. We will continue to support partners who respect these norms, and will continue to speak out, both in public and in private, when nations stray from their responsibility to protect their people's rights. We must continue to strengthen local human rights groups in Africa and engage high-level foreign leaders when we see laws or actions that impinge on the human rights of their citizens—whether it is attempts to restrict the free flow of information or freedom of assembly, obstruct the operations of civil society and local NGOs, or the ways in which countries confront insurgencies that may put civilians at risk.

We will continue to work hard to consolidate democratic progress, economic growth and the security necessary for families to live "normal" lives in peace and freedom. Both instability and insecurity greatly diminish the prospects and aspirations of future generations, and dampen the hopes of too many citizens. While some countries are stable and experiencing economic and social vitality, others remain years and even decades behind owing to conflict. From the eastern Congo to the Sahel, and from Somalia to the tensions that still exist between Sudan and South Sudan, too many lives have been lost and too many others remain under severe threats. Violent extremist organizations, some of them affiliated with al-Qaeda, seek to exploit conflicts and weak institutions to expand their reach. Our efforts to promote stability have also led to the expansion of partnerships focused on responding to transnational threats such as terrorism, drug trafficking, wildlife trafficking, and piracy. Meanwhile U.S. support to critical peacekeeping operations has allowed us to leverage our resources and work multilaterally to encourage peace. In each of these cases we are working with the African Union, as well as other regional and international organizations and the countries themselves to help find solutions. We will continue both our humanitarian efforts on behalf of those living with conflict and our efforts to resolve those conflicts. We also know that for true stability to flourish, we have to push for the full inclusion of women at every step of the process.

I understand that the opportunities and the challenges in Africa require a comprehensive U.S. policy, one that takes a holistic view, is integrative, proactive, and forward-looking. If confirmed, I will always balance our long-term interests with the near-term and urgent imperatives we face each week. I will work to build on the foundation of successes set during President Obama's first term, and clearly articulated in the June 2012 Presidential Policy Directive on sub-Saharan Africa. This will mean working closely with our African partners to strengthen democratic institutions beyond just the need for free, fair and transparent elections. If confirmed, I will strive to also establish environments where new entrepreneurship ecosystems

can flourish, economic opportunities can grow, and comprehensive development frameworks can take root, not only to encourage more trade, investment, and economic growth, but to help reform and create the conditions under which they can thrive. Equally important will be finding sustainable ways to advance peace, security, and stability throughout the region as prerequisites for meeting the aspirations of Africans and Americans alike. I do not mean to sound immodest by raising our expectations and setting very high goals, but for far too many years we have been Africa's partner in times of adversity. While we will continue to support the African people in moments of crisis, we will now also be Africa's partner in times of prosperity. Admittedly this is a big challenge, but, if confirmed, it is one that I very much look forward to pursuing with your help and with the Africa Bureau's enthusiasm and energy.

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

Senator COONS. Well, thank you, Madam Ambassador. We will now begin a round of 7 minutes for questions if we could.

Ambassador, I love the way you concluded your testimony by stating that the United States has long been friends of the people of Africa in adversity, at times of crisis, and we now need to sort of refocus our energies and efforts on how to be good partners and friends in the times that they move toward prosperity as well.

I believe we can and should do much more to promote direct investment and trade with Africa. A number of the initiatives announced by the President have to do with that. What steps can the State Department and our embassies take to strengthen that and do you have the tools and skills amongst the embassies that you need, and if not what more could we do to support that work?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you very, very much for that question. We are working—and I can talk from the vantage point of having just completed my assignment as Director General of the Foreign Service. We have been working to build the economic capacity through econ statecraft in the State Department over the past year. My colleagues and I in HR have worked with the EB Bureau to look at how we can better train and better prepare our economic officers to deal with the investment and commercial climate that they will face in our embassies overseas. I think we have had quite a bit of success in doing that.

But it also requires other entities within the U.S. Government structure to help with that. You and I met earlier and we talked about the lack of presence of commercial officers, and I would like to see more presence of our commercial officers overseas. I think that we have to look broadly at all of our activities, the activities that relate to Treasury, the activities that relate to governance, to help build the capacity of African countries to take advantage of investments, so that they are prepared also to deal with prosperity and not just adversity.

So we still have a lot of work to do, and any help that you can provide in supporting our efforts would be most appreciated.

Senator COONS. I know I and others are eager to work with you on AGOA specifically, but more broadly on how we get an "all of the above" strategy for the Federal Government and its facilitation of the private sector's engagement with Africa. We have got lots of folks, Exim, OPIC, TDA, Commerce among many others, to get in the mix, and USAID is a vital partner as well.

You referenced also the importance of democracy and governance in the portfolio of activities funded by the United States and delivered through State. On the eve of elections in Mali and Zimbabwe,

and given the fragility or the tensions within some of our key allies—Uganda, Ethiopia, Nigeria—how will you advance democratic values? How will our embassies advance democratic values, and how do we manage the tension with our competitors, the Chinese and others, who offer an alternative source of partnership, both diplomatic and economic, that does not raise difficult issues of human rights, of democracy, of press freedom, and others across the continent?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Again, thank you. Thank you for that question. I think it is clear to us that democracy and governance does not end with elections, that we have to be there to continue to support African countries in building the institutions that they need to prosper and succeed in the future.

As the Ambassador to Liberia, I worked very, very closely with the Government of Liberia to help them prepare for not just the election, but prepare for moving their democracy forward to the next level. Our USAID programs that support institutions such as the press, support NGOs, support local college students who are looking to go into politics, helping to build the capacity of them to understand how politics work and how they can succeed in being successful politicians, these are all programs that we have to continue to work on, and the Presidents Initiative on African Leaders I think will contribute to that significantly.

The tensions with China. I think we have a good story to tell. When you talk to African leaders across the board, they appreciate the support that they get from us, even when that support comes with criticism, because they know that our criticism is constructive. And they know that in the final analysis, that what we offer in terms of our own values on human rights is so much better than what they are getting from outside of the United States.

So again, I think I do not see us as competing. I do not even see the Chinese as being an alternative. As I said, African leaders have to strike the best deal that they can strike for their people, and I think they get it. So we just have to do more to help build their capacity, so that they can negotiate in a stronger position with countries that are not raising issues of human rights, as we do on a regular basis.

Senator COONS. I appreciate the sentiment. I do at times think we are in competition, but I do think a primary focus on calling upon African leaders to serve their people, their government, their agenda, I respect and agree with.

As my last question of this round: If you would focus on the President's recent trip, there is a whole series of initiatives. You mentioned the upcoming summit of heads of state. There is also the Young African Leaders initiative, initiatives on energy, on trade, on wildlife trafficking. How do we turn these into broader, more effective, more sustained initiatives, particularly given the many other priorities that various ambassadors will face? How do we make these make a lasting difference?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I think the important key to making these lasting is to get buy-in from the African countries who will benefit from these initiatives. I think we have gone a long way in getting that buy-in. The summit to take place next year will

also give us an opportunity to ensure that we have their support and that we move the agenda forward on these issues.

If confirmed, I will work very, very quickly within the Africa Bureau and within the building, because it is not just an Africa Bureau responsibility to ensure that we have the resources in place to address the initiatives that the President announced when he was in Africa.

Senator COONS. Well, sadly, there are several buildings that are relevant here. One of them is here, and I look forward to working with you to ensure support in this building as well as in that building.

I will turn to Senator Flake. Senator Flake.

Senator FLAKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you for your testimony. There is obviously a lot to do across the continent and you have the benefit or detriment, I guess, to have to answer questions about all of Africa. But with regard to trade for a minute, if you look at the overall trade between the United States and Africa and China and Africa, there is not much difference right now. We are about \$70 billion a year. But Chinese trade has increased substantially over the past decade and we have not.

What can we do, aside from AGOA? And I agree we will work hard to get that reauthorized and go forward. But what specifically can we do aside from AGOA to change that direction?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I think there are two things that we can do. First, on the continent of Africa we need to advocate for American companies and American businesses. We need to push for a level playing field with African countries so American companies can feel comfortable bidding on projects in Africa and investing in Africa.

But the second part of that is also to work with American companies here in the United States to make sure that they are aware of the opportunities in Africa to invest, aware of the opportunities to make profits on the continent of Africa. Africa is booming and we need to make sure that American companies are prepared and knowledgeable about what is available there for them.

I think that AGOA is one part of that. The other part of it is to ensure that we do the kinds of things that my predecessor did. He took a trade mission to Africa. I hope to continue with that kind of initiative in encouraging American companies to look at Africa.

Senator FLAKE. There is no doubt that the United States, because of what we have done particularly with regard to AIDS across the continent, PEPFAR and what-not, is viewed more favorably than we would be otherwise, and our humanitarian assistance, health-related assistance, has been a great boon to our relationship with many countries. There has been some criticism, however, that our aid and overall aid to Africa is tilted too much toward humanitarian or health-related issues and that it ought to be more toward long-term sustainable development and trade. What is your assessment there?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Sir, I think we need to do both. We cannot stop doing humanitarian assistance when people are dying. We cannot pull back on health programs when there are no health programs. So those programs have been very, very im-

portant to the success, our success in Africa, and also helping African countries develop.

At the same time, we have to take a much more long-term view and again help African countries build the capacity so that they can deal with their health initiatives and then we can work with them on building their infrastructure so that they can encourage investments and push for opportunities for their people to move into the middle class so that they no longer need our aid and assistance. That is the ultimate goal.

Senator FLAKE. With regard to elections in Zimbabwe coming up here soon, obviously the neighboring countries, SADC, are involved heavily and a lot of our involvement is through those countries. What can we do and what are we prepared, and are we prepared, for whatever eventuality comes after these elections to move ahead?

Specifically, we have some sanctions that have been imposed. We have relaxed a bit on some of our loans to the development bank and what-not. What is your feeling in terms of our flexibility with regard to sanctions and what can the Congress do to help State respond in a timely fashion to ensure the best outcome that is possible?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you for that question. I look forward to working with you on what is a very, very difficult and important issue for us. The sanctions that we have in place have worked. There are sanctions on individuals and I think we will continue to use those sanctions to ensure that those who are involved in violence, who are blocking Zimbabwe's progress on democracy, feel the response of the U.S. Government, and I think we should continue to use those as we have used them in the past.

We are working with, as you noted, others in the region, with SADC, with the EU, with the AU, to ensure to the extent possible that the election is one that is free and fair. But we are prepared, as other countries are, to call it as we see it. Our Ambassador and his team in Zimbabwe have been actively out in the field and will continue to do that throughout the election process. It is something that—that election is one that we are watching very, very closely and we are preparing ourselves for the responses that will be required should the election not be one that we can accept. From everything we have seen in recent days, we are not convinced that it will be.

Senator FLAKE. Well, thank you. Please come to us if you need more flexibility in that regard to respond appropriately and you think that it is something that Congress needs to move on. I am sure that we will be willing to look at it and work with you on that. So I look forward to that and I look forward to working with you on this and other issues.

Thanks.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. And I thank you.

Senator COONS. Ambassador, I have just a few more questions, if I might. First, following up on your most recent role and assignment, the embassies that we have across the continent range from the very large and very well staffed with many different functions, such as Nairobi, to those that are relatively small, lightly staffed, with relatively junior officers, often in conflict-ridden states. When

I saw you in Liberia, I was struck at how relatively small, compared to the scale of the challenges, our Embassy was there and how highly motivated the folks at the Embassy were.

How will you work to ensure that Africa Bureau, and the Department more broadly, provides the support, the training, the security, to ensure that our diplomats in Africa are able to do their jobs, are able to be out, to engage in countries, able to promote commerce, support democracy, deal with crises and challenges, yet be safe and supported in doing so?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you very much for that question. As the Director General of the Foreign Service, I did get to see up close and very personal the limitations that we have in terms of staffing. We have this huge, huge bulge of entry-level officers who are rising very rapidly through the system, because there is a mid-level gap. What that means is that in most of our embassies, and particularly in Africa, we have our ambassadors, our deputy chiefs of mission, and then a huge group of entry-level officers who need to be mentored and who need strong leadership.

So the important element of this for me is that we provide them with the strong leadership so that they can do the jobs that we have sent them out to do in very, very difficult locations. I think with the six ambassadors that you will be looking at confirming today and other ambassadors we have in the field, we are preparing our ambassadors for those very intense leadership roles.

At the same time, we have to work to get those new officers the training they need to do their jobs. We are getting them the language training. As the Director General, it was rare, if ever, that I approved a language waiver because I know how important it is for our people to go in the field with the language skills that they require. I ensured that people got the training that they required and that we help build the training capacity at our Foreign Service Institute so that we can provide that training to our officers.

That said, it is still going to be very difficult. We are still going to be struggling for a few years to build that capacity. But I think we are moving in the right direction.

Senator COONS. One of the things I am most interested in as it unfolds, working with you on and others, is the Young African Leadership Initiative the President announced. You also referenced the upcoming head of state conference here. Several of the other countries that are principally interested in the African market have been hosting comparable summits for years, both in their countries and on the continent. I have had a number of heads of state comment directly, pointedly, to me that they feel the absence of an American investment in that kind of continent-wide convening.

I have also heard comments from both young and mid-career African leaders of many sectors that they are concerned that the YALI initiative will simply be a semester abroad experience in the United States and will not be Africa-centered and broadly representative of all the different sectors in which young leaders are emerging.

Any comments on how we might succeed by comparison with other countries that have invested very heavily in senior leadership trips to Africa?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I think we do that, sir. We have our visitors programs, but also if we look at the number of senior visitors, particularly members of Congress, who visit Africa on an annual basis, we are not neglecting Africa. We are very, very focused on that relationship.

It is true that we have not had a large summit and I look forward to the one that we are going to have. I think that will advance our agenda quite a bit. But I do not think any African leader can say that we have neglected them in any way, shape, or form.

Secretary Clinton made three trips to Africa. She came to Liberia twice, which is unheard of, during her tenure. Secretary Kerry has already been to Africa and, if I am confirmed as the Assistant Secretary for Africa, he will be going as regularly as I can get him to go, to ensure that there is an understanding that we are committed to the African Continent.

On the Young Africa Leaders Initiative, this did not just start with the President's visit. When I was in Liberia we sent three young Liberian leaders to a youth program organized by the White House about 2½ years ago. Those three individuals have been actively connecting with other youth in Liberia. They have held a number of programs. They have communicated with other youth across Africa. So the initiative did not just start and it did not stop with that first visit of African leaders.

So I think this is just taking it the next step and we will continue to take it further steps. Even if these young people have a semester abroad in the United States, that will impact them for their entire lives. I meet so many senior African leaders who spent a semester in the United States. Many of them I went to college with at the University of Wisconsin, and they are still actively and politically important in their countries, but also have great feelings toward the United States because of those experiences. President Sirleaf is one of them, having spent just 1 year in the United States at the University of Wisconsin.

Senator COONS. Well, as you know, even a semester spent overseas can have a lifetime impact.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes.

Senator COONS. My concern simply is that we craft something that is broad, that is sustainable, and that has mutually reinforcing opportunities on the continent and here. I look forward to working with you to ensure a sustained and high level of enthusiasm and interest.

One of the best things about working on Africa in the Senate is its bipartisan support. This is a continent of concern and engagement that enjoys very broad Republican support as well as Democratic support at a time when we have difficulty agreeing on lots of things. It is a great area of shared interest and shared endeavors. So I look forward to working with you in that.

A last question if I might. I just am personally concerned about Iran's reach across the continent. The immediate past-President, Ahmadinejad, made a number of trips. They have tried with a variety of resources, energy, investment, and so forth, to build partnerships and bridges. Is this of any concern to you? Is it something you have noticed and is it an area that you might follow up on as Assistant Secretary?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, sir. Yes, it is an area that we will follow up on. I think the—and again, this is not my expertise, but, having been in Africa when the President of Iran visited the AU when I was at the AU in 2006 and he gave a speech, my personal opinion is that the impact of that was not particularly rewarding for him. I think African countries are sensible enough to know where their friends are and they know that the United States is a friend, and we will continue to work with them to address those kinds of impacts and concerns.

I certainly look forward to working with you as well as other Members of the Senate and on the Hill on addressing those types of issues.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Ambassador. I very much look forward to working with you as well on assuring a sustained broad relationship of respect, of trust, of friendship, of investment, and of a steady movement towards democracy and prosperity.

Senator Flake, any further questions?

Senator FLAKE. No.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Ambassador.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you.

Senator COONS. I would like to invite our second panel to come before us now.

Thank you. I would like to continue with our second panel. You are seated in a slightly different order than my questions, so forgive me. I will attempt to follow the order that is in front of me and introduce you apparently in order of State Department seniority.

So if I might, I am going to ask you each to make an opening statement and I invite you to make some comments of welcome or appreciation to any family or friends who might be with you. We have got your written statements, but I know we are both interested in hearing your personal inflection and delivery of them as well.

I would like to first invite Ambassador James Entwistle, the nominee to serve in Nigeria. Ambassador Entwistle.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES F. ENTWISTLE, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Thank you very much, and apologies again for that ride in from the Kinshasa Airport, Senator Coons, earlier this year.

Senator COONS. It was wonderful, memorable, and instructive.

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am honored today to appear before you as the President's nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. I would like to thank President Obama and Secretary Kerry for the confidence they have placed in me, and if confirmed I look forward to working with this committee and the rest of the Congress to advance our relationship with Nigeria.

In my 32 years in the U.S. Foreign Service, I have had the privilege of serving in a number of African posts, currently as the U.S. Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I have found all of these assignments richly satisfying in that they presented an opportunity to work on fundamental issues of war and peace, alle-

viating human suffering, promoting democracy and economic growth.

I would also note that my wife and I met and married in west Africa many years ago and thus on a personal level we are very excited to be going back.

Mr. Chairman, I believe strongly that the success of our diplomacy depends on our people and if confirmed my highest priority will be to ensure the safety, security, and well-being of our mission employees and the American community in Nigeria.

Nigeria is a dominant economic force and political leader in west Africa. They have accomplished much in the past 14 years of civilian rule, but prospects are tempered by many challenges, with good governance, civilian security, and accountability the keys to realizing Nigeria's enormous potential.

In 2011 they conducted its most successful and credible elections since the return to multiparty democracy in 1999. We are eager to build on this achievement with the 2015 national elections and we hope to work with our Nigerian friends to make them even more credible and peaceful. If confirmed, I will ensure that we will deploy our resources and engagement in support of an inclusive and transparent electoral process. I will continue focusing United States efforts on partnering with Nigeria to more effectively fight corruption and advance transparent and accountable governance.

Nigeria is the second-largest recipient of American direct private sector investment in Africa, our largest trading partner in Africa, and our largest export market for United States wheat. I am committed to expanding bilateral trade and promoting U.S. investment.

As one of the most influential members of the Economic Community of West African States and with more than 6,000 peacekeepers deployed worldwide, Nigeria has played a key role in helping to resolve major political and security disputes in west African over the years.

Right now Nigeria faces a very real threat from extremist groups, in particular Boko Haram, which has killed hundreds of political and security officials and attacked civilians who have congregated peacefully in mosques, churches, and places of business. If confirmed, I will work with the Nigerian Government to assist security forces to increase public confidence in its efforts to address violence and terrorism, while addressing the legitimate economic needs of communities vulnerable to violent extremism.

United States engagement with the Nigerian Government is done in the context of partnership and reflects the whole of government approach that we encourage the Nigerians to pursue. Our forum for engagement is the U.S.-Nigeria Binational Commission. If confirmed, I am committed to using that body as a mechanism to advance our bilateral dialogue. I will be an active advocate for America as we advance our bilateral relationship with Nigeria and our partnership with the nations of the region.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you very much for this opportunity. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Entwistle follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES F. ENTWISTLE

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am honored today to appear before you as the President's nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. I would like to thank President Obama and Secretary Kerry for the confidence they have placed in me and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and other Members of Congress to advance our relationship with Nigeria. In my 32 years in the U.S. Foreign Service, I have had the privilege of serving in a number of African posts, currently as the U.S. Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I have found all of those assignments richly satisfying in that they presented an opportunity to work on fundamental issues of war and peace, alleviating human suffering, promoting democracy, and economic growth. In my view, nowhere else in the world does the United States have the opportunity to make a positive difference than in Africa, and I am deeply honored to have an opportunity to do just that once again. I would also note that my wife and I met and married in west Africa many years ago and thus on a personal level we are very excited about going back.

Mr. Chairman, I believe strongly that the success of our diplomacy depends on our people, and, if confirmed, I will make it my highest priority to ensure the safety, security, and well-being of our mission employees, and the American community in Nigeria. We have a robust and effective interagency presence in Nigeria, and we are committed to enhancing our engagement in the critically important and predominantly Muslim north.

Nigeria is a dominant economic force and political leader in west Africa. While Nigeria has accomplished much in the past 14 years of civilian rule, its prospects are tempered by many challenges, with good governance, civilian security, and accountability the keys to realizing the country's enormous potential. In 2011, Nigeria conducted its most successful and credible elections since its return to multiparty democracy in 1999, and we are eager to build on this achievement with the 2015 national elections being even more credible and peaceful. If confirmed, I will ensure that we deploy our resources and engagement in support of an inclusive and transparent process. In 2011 Nigeria passed a landmark Freedom of Information Act, allowing citizens to request information from government offices, and in recent years, Nigeria has joined and become compliant with the principles of the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative, providing greater transparency and accountability in the management of the country's natural resources. I will continue focusing U.S. efforts on partnering with Nigeria to develop measures to more effectively fight corruption and advance transparent and accountable governance. Nigeria is the second-largest recipient of American direct private sector investment in Africa, our largest trading partner in Africa, and our largest export market for wheat. I am committed to expanding bilateral trade and promoting U.S. investment in Nigeria as a vehicle for economic growth.

As one of the most influential members of the Economic Community of West African States and with more than 6,000 peacekeepers deployed worldwide, Nigeria has played a key role in helping to resolve major political and security disputes in west Africa from the Liberian and Sierra Leone crises in the 1990s to the political problems in Guinea, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, and Mali. Nigeria faces a real threat from extremist groups, including Boko Haram, which have killed hundreds of political and security officials and attacked civilians who have congregated peacefully in mosques, churches, and places of business. In order for Nigeria to continue to exercise leadership in the region, however, it must address the serious problems of development and security at home, particularly in the north. If confirmed, I will work with the Nigerian Government to assist security forces to increase public confidence in its efforts to address violence and terrorism while addressing the legitimate economic needs of communities vulnerable to violent extremism.

U.S. engagement with the Nigerian Government is done in the context of partnership, and reflects the comprehensive, whole-of-government approach we have asked the Nigerians to pursue. The forum for this engagement is the U.S.-Nigeria Binational Commission. If confirmed, I am committed to using this body as a mechanism to advance our bilateral dialogue. We have a rich agenda with Nigeria, with many challenges and opportunities. If I am confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria, I will be an active advocate for America as we advance our partnership with this strategic African country.

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

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ambassador. I appreciate your service and your willingness to continue your service and to return to west Africa.

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Thank you, sir.

Senator COONS. I would now like to invite Ms. Haslach to make her opening statement, and then we are going to invite each to do a statement in order and then we will do 7-minute rounds of questions.

**STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICIA MARIE HASLACH, OF OREGON,
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC RE-
PUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA**

Ambassador HASLACH. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Flake, and distinguished members of the committee, I am deeply honored to appear before you today to seek confirmation as United States Ambassador to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. I appreciate the confidence that President Obama and Secretary Kerry have shown in me by this nomination.

I would like to say that my family could join me, but unfortunately they were not able to attend. My mother lives in Portland, OR. So I asked my boss, Assistant Secretary Rick Barton from the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, who comes from that other Portland, to come today, and he is behind me, as well as my colleague, Jerry White, Deputy Assistant Secretary in our State Department's newest Bureau.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with the committee, interested members of Congress, and other Americans to represent the United States in Ethiopia. Ethiopia is a vital partner to the United States in the Horn of Africa, sharing our interest in regional stability and strategic objectives. Participation in the African Union's counterterrorism efforts, for example, supports our objectives in the region.

Ethiopia deployed troops in Somalia as well as in Sudan and has been actively involved in facilitating negotiations between the leaders of Sudan and South Sudan in two summits. Ethiopia is also host to refugees in the region.

If confirmed, I intend to build on this partnership. It is in the interest of the United States to promote sustainable economic development and liberalization of the economy in Ethiopia. Prosperity and economic freedom go hand in hand with good governance, rule of law, and respect for human rights. Ethiopia ranks among the 10 fastest-growing economies in the region, averaging 10 percent GDP growth over the past 5 years.

If confirmed, I will work to facilitate economic reforms that could benefit United States trade and investment while improving economic freedom and self-sufficiency for Ethiopians. If confirmed, I will press the Government of Ethiopia to respect the rights of all its citizens regardless of ethni—I cannot pronounce that—clan, political views, or religious affiliation. If confirmed, I will work with the Ethiopian Government to open up the political space and advance reforms that promote freedom of expression, association, and rule of law. America's steadfast commitment to the advancement and protection of human rights and democratic principles around

the world provides hope for many who seek positive change in Ethiopia.

Some recent events are encouraging. On June 2 of this year, for example, 7,000 demonstrators from the Muslim community marched peacefully throughout the capital without government interference. This was the first political demonstration the Ethiopian government officially permitted since 2005.

If confirmed, a major priority will be to ensure that my talented men and women who work for us in Addis Ababa remain safe, as well as the American community.

I am proud to have served my country for a number of years, first with the Foreign Agricultural Service, where Ethiopia was the first country that I ever had the privilege of working on. So I am honored to serve my country and if confirmed I will devote myself to persuading the Ethiopian people and their government that commitment to human rights and liberalization of the economy is in our common future.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to address you. I will leave some time for the questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Haslach follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICIA M. HASLACH

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Corker, and distinguished members of the committee, I am deeply honored to appear before you today to seek confirmation as U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. I appreciate the confidence that President Obama and Secretary Kerry have shown in me by this nomination. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the committee, interested members of Congress, and other Americans to represent the United States in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is a vital partner to the United States in the Horn of Africa, sharing our interest in regional stability and strategic objectives. Participation in the African Union's counterterrorism efforts, for example, supports U.S. objectives in the region. Ethiopia deploys troops alongside the Somali National Army and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), and contributes nearly all of the troops that currently serve as the U.N. Interim Stabilization Force in Abyei (UNISFA). Ethiopia is also active in the Sudanese peace process, having facilitated negotiations between the leaders of Sudan and South Sudan in two summits. If confirmed, I intend to build on this partnership.

It is in the interest of the United States to promote sustainable economic development and liberalization of the economy in Ethiopia. Prosperity and economic freedom go hand-in-hand with good governance, rule of law, and respect for human rights. Ethiopia ranks among the 10 fastest-growing economies in the world, averaging 10 percent GDP growth over the last 5 years. If confirmed, I will work to facilitate economic reforms that can benefit U.S. trade and investment, while improving economic freedom and self-sufficiency for Ethiopians.

If confirmed, I will press the Government of Ethiopia to respect the rights of all its citizens regardless of ethnicity, clan, political views, or religious affiliation. Politically motivated trials, ongoing tensions between some in the Muslim community and the government, and restrictions on nongovernmental organizations cause serious concern. If confirmed, I will work with the Ethiopian Government to open political space, and advance reforms that promote freedom of expression, association, and rule of law.

If confirmed, I will be committed to promoting our efforts and policy approach on gender-based violence and discrimination against the LGBT community. Domestic violence, especially spousal rape and the lack of legal remedy or support for survivors, are challenging problems of critical focus. Encouragingly, Ethiopia's national prevalence of HIV/AIDS declined to 1.4 percent nationally since the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) began work with Ethiopia in 2005.

America's steadfast commitment to the advancement and protection of human rights and democratic principles around the world provides hope for many who seek positive change in Ethiopia. Although many problems exist and abuses occur, some recent events are encouraging. On June 2 of this year, for example, several thou-

sand demonstrators calling for the release of political prisoners, an end to interference in religious affairs, action on unemployment and corruption, and an end to illegal evictions marched peacefully through the capital, without government interference. This was the first such political demonstration the Ethiopian Government officially permitted since 2005.

If confirmed, a major priority will be to ensure that the talented men and women working for the U.S. mission in Addis Ababa remain safe and have every opportunity to succeed as our representatives to Ethiopia. Of equal importance is the safety of American citizens living and traveling in Ethiopia.

I am proud to have served my country as a Foreign Service officer since 1986, first with the Foreign Agricultural Service and then with the Department of State. I have been honored to serve as U.S. Ambassador twice, first to the Lao People's Democratic Republic, then as U.S. Senior Official for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC). In my current position in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, I have become quite familiar with the challenges the United States faces in the east Africa region. If confirmed, I will devote myself to persuading the Ethiopian people and their government that commitment to human rights, liberalization of the economy, and a transparent, inclusive political process are central to our common future.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to address you. I am prepared to respond to any questions you may have.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much.

I would now like to turn to Mr. Reuben Brigety, nominee for the African Union. Mr. Brigety.

STATEMENT OF REUBEN EARL BRIGETY, II, OF FLORIDA, TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE AFRICAN UNION, WITH THE RANK AND STATUS OF AMBASSADOR

Mr. BRIGETY. Chairman Coons, Ranking Member Flake, members of the committee, good morning. It is a great honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Representative of the United States of America to the African Union, with the rank of Ambassador. I am deeply grateful for the confidence that President Obama and Secretary Kerry have shown in me through this appointment, this nomination.

If I am confirmed by the Senate, my engagement with the African Union, also known as "the AU," will focus on the four themes that encompass President Obama's strategy for sub-Saharan Africa: first, democracy and governance; second, economic growth, trade, and investment; third, peace and security; and fourth, promotion of opportunity and development. If I am confirmed, my tenure will be defined by pursuing and attaining concrete advancements in these four priority areas, and I look forward to working closely with this committee on each.

My earliest exposure to Africa was listening to stories of my father, Dr. Reuben Brigety Senior, about the time he spent in Northern Rhodesia, in what is now Zambia, as a volunteer with Operation Crossroads Africa in 1963. I am pleased that my father is here in the room with us today alongside my mother, Dr. Barbara Brigety. I am also happy to be joined today by my wife, Dr. Leilie Selassie, and our two young sons whom we adore, Roebel, age eight, and Redda, age five, five and three-quarters.

Senator COONS. Let the record reflect that a wave was returned from the chairman to Roebel and Redda.

Mr. BRIGETY. I am also very pleased to be joined by many friends in the hearing room today as well.

My duties in the State Department, as well as my experiences in the U.S. military, the nonprofit sector, and academia, have given me a diverse skill set that is directly relevant to leading the U.S. mission to the AU. From November 2011 until June 2013 I served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of African Affairs. My duties there included supervising the Office of Regional and Security Affairs, which supports our mission to the African Union. In this capacity I became familiar with the issues facing the African Union, the leadership of the AU Commission, and the complexities involved in leading the U.S. mission to the AU.

In addition, I supervised the Office of Southern African Affairs and engaged in democracy and trade promotion activities throughout Africa. In short, I have direct experience in each of the four themes that I hope to advance at the African Union. I am excited at the prospect of assuming this responsibility at such a critical time in the history of the African Union and indeed of the continent.

At the 50th anniversary AU summit in Addis Ababa earlier this year, Secretary Kerry quoted the African proverb, "If you want to go quickly, go alone; but if you want to go far, go together." If confirmed, I will be dedicated to helping the United States and the African Union to go far together, building an Africa that is peaceful, prosperous, and proud.

I look forward to working with this committee and the Congress on these worthy goals. Thank you very much for your attention. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Brigety follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. REUBEN E. BRIGETY II

Chairman Coons, Ranking Member Flake, members of the committee, good morning. It is a great honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the next Representative of the United States of America to the African Union, with the rank of Ambassador. I am deeply grateful for the confidence that President Obama and Secretary Kerry have shown in me through this nomination.

If I am confirmed by the Senate, my engagement with the African Union (also known as the AU) will focus on the four themes that encompass President Obama's strategy for sub-Saharan Africa: (1) democracy and governance; (2) economic growth, trade, and investment; (3) peace and security; and (4) promotion of opportunity and development. If I am confirmed, my tenure will be defined by pursuing and attaining concrete advancements in these four priority areas, and I look forward to working closely with this committee on each.

My earliest exposure to Africa was listening to stories of my father, Dr. Reuben Brigety, Sr., about the time he spent in Northern Rhodesia (in what is now Zambia) as a volunteer with Operation Crossroads Africa in 1963. I am pleased that my father is here in the room with us today, alongside my mother, Dr. Barbara Brigety. I am also happy to be joined today by my wife, Dr. Leelie Selassie, and our two young sons whom we adore: Roebel, age 8, and Redda, age 5.

My duties in the State Department, as well as my experiences in the U.S. military, the nonprofit sector, and academia, have given me a diverse skill set that is directly relevant to leading the U.S. mission to the AU. From November 2011 until June 2013, I served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of African Affairs. My duties there included supervising the Office of Regional and Security Affairs, which supports our mission to the African Union. In this capacity, I became familiar with the issues facing the African Union, the leadership of the AU Commission, and the complexities involved in leading the U.S. mission to the AU. In addition, I supervised the Office of Southern African Affairs and engaged in democracy and trade promotion activities throughout Africa.

From December 2009 until November 2011, I served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, where I supervised U.S. refugee programs in Africa. This role led me to humanitarian crises

across the continent, from Kenya to Ethiopia, and from eastern Congo to western Algeria. These travels showed me in unforgettable detail the human consequences of Africa's conflicts.

In short, I have direct experience in each of the four themes that I hope to advance at the African Union. I am excited at the prospect of assuming this responsibility at such a critical time in the history of the African Union, and indeed of the continent.

The United States remains committed to partnering with the AU and deepening our cooperation to advance our goals on the continent. We continue to work with the AU and support their efforts to resolve conflicts on the continent including Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, and Mali. We will work along with the AU on the priorities they have set for advancing democratic norms, empowering women, and engaging youth. I will also continue our partnership with the AU in its leadership on food security issues and our dialogue on promoting trade and investment across the continent.

At the 50th anniversary AU summit in Addis Ababa earlier this year, Secretary Kerry quoted the African proverb: "If you want to go quickly, go alone. But if you want to go far, go together." If confirmed, I will be dedicated to helping the United States and the African Union to go far together, building an Africa that is peaceful, prosperous, and proud. I look forward to working with this committee, and the Congress, on these worthy goals.

Thank you for your attention. I look forward to your questions.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Brigety.

I would like to invite Stephanie Sanders Sullivan to offer her opening comments and any welcome of friends or supporters in the audience.

Ms. Sullivan.

STATEMENT OF STEPHANIE SANDERS SULLIVAN, OF NEW YORK, TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Ms. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Flake, members of the committee, It is an honor to appear before you today as the President's nominee to serve as Ambassador to the Republic of the Congo. I appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary of State have shown in nominating me for this position. I am also grateful for the consideration of this distinguished committee. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, other members of Congress and staff, to protect and advance American interests in the Congo.

I would like to introduce my husband, John, and our sons, Dan and Scott, who join me here today. John accompanied me to Cameroon and Ghana, also served in the Peace Corps in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and our children have happy memories of our 4 years in Accra.

I have spent nearly half of my 30-year career working on African issues, starting with my service as a Peace Corps Volunteer some 50 miles from Brazzaville, across the Congo River. If confirmed, I look forward to serving in the region again.

The Congo offers many opportunities for positive United States engagement. The country has largely recovered from the 1997 civil war and it is now sub-Saharan Africa's fourth-largest oil exporter. President Sassou Nguesso's development strategy, "Congo Vision 2025," targets 2025 as the year in which the Congo will become an emerging economy.

Our bilateral relationship aims to promote three mutually beneficial goals: first, strengthen democratic institutions; second, promote economic development; and third, improve regional security. The first goal is to strengthen democratic institutions. This in-

cludes the promotion of civil and political rights. The government carried out legislative elections in 2012 in an atmosphere of relative calm. In the runup to Congo's Presidential elections in 2016, the United States is focused on strengthening civil society groups that advocate government accountability and transparency.

If confirmed, Mr. Chairman, I will encourage the Government of the Congo to enhance democratic institutions and continue to implement judicial reforms.

The second goal is to promote economic development. To achieve debt relief, the Congo committed itself to reforms, including more rigorous fiscal discipline. This year Congo was found compliant under the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. However, more remains to be done. If confirmed, I will vigorously encourage improvements to the business climate and support U.S. private sector engagement. I know we have multiple programs for development in the country, including in the health and environmental sectors.

The third goal is to improve regional security. Last year's munitions depot explosions highlighted new opportunities for security cooperation and disaster management. We also aim to further professionalize the Congolese Armed Forces and improve maritime security, which is critical to the Congo's offshore petroleum sector, and antipiracy efforts in the Gulf of Guinea. I note the U.S. Coast Guard has certified the Congo's deep water port under the international port security program.

The Republic of the Congo has begun to play a more active role in facing regional security conflicts, from sending peacekeepers to the Central African Republic and to assuming the rotating presidency of the International Conference on the Great Lakes this fall. These reinforce all of our regional security objectives.

If confirmed, I would enthusiastically pursue my mandate to protect United States citizens and interests in the Congo and enhance our relationship between the two nations and peoples.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before you today and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Sullivan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF STEPHANIE SANDERS SULLIVAN

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the committee, it is a privilege and honor to appear before you this morning as the President's nominee to serve as United States Ambassador to the Republic of the Congo. I appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary of State have shown in nominating me for this position. I am also grateful for the consideration of this distinguished committee. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and other Members of Congress, and congressional staff, to protect and advance American interests in the Republic of the Congo.

If I may, I'd like to introduce my husband John and our sons Dan and Scott, who are here with me today. John accompanied me to both Cameroon and Ghana. Our children have happy memories of our 4 years in Accra. I have spent nearly half of my 30-year career working on African issues, starting with my service as a Peace Corps Volunteer, some 50 miles from Brazzaville, across the river in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If confirmed, I look forward to serving in the region again.

The Republic of the Congo offers many opportunities for positive United States engagement. The country has largely recovered from the 1997 civil war, thanks to rising oil revenues that have funded reconstruction and infrastructure projects. The Republic of the Congo is sub-Saharan Africa's fourth-largest oil exporter. President Sassou-N'Guesso's development strategy known as "Congo Vision 2025" targets 2025 as the year that the Republic of the Congo will become an emerging economy.

Our bilateral relationship with the Republic of the Congo aims to promote three mutually beneficial goals: to strengthen democratic institutions; promote economic development; and improve regional security.

The first goal is to strengthen democratic institutions. This includes the promotion of civil and political rights. The government carried out legislative elections in mid-2012, in an atmosphere of relative calm. In the runup to the Republic of the Congo's Presidential elections in 2016, the United States is focused on strengthening civil society groups that advocate government accountability and transparency. If confirmed, Mr. Chairman, I will encourage the Government of the Republic of the Congo to enhance democratic institutions and continue implementing judicial reforms. We note that recent improvements in the Republic of the Congo's legal framework have resulted in more effective enforcement of laws against human trafficking.

The second goal is to promote economic development. To achieve debt relief, the Government of the Republic of the Congo committed itself to reforms, including changes in government procurement practices, more rigorous fiscal discipline, and more effective budget implementation. This year, the Republic of the Congo was found compliant under the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, representing steps toward transparency in the Republic of the Congo's main revenue source, petroleum. However, more remains to be done. If confirmed, I will vigorously encourage improvements to the business climate and support U.S. private sector engagement.

As a significant contributor to the Global Fund, the United States is working with the Republic of the Congo and other partners to improve the health of the Congolese people, half of whom are under the age of 15.

Sound management of the environment is another important area of partnership. The United States supports several regional environmental initiatives. Enhanced transparency in forest management has forged linkages between climate change mitigation, good governance, and economic development.

The third goal is to improve regional security. The munitions depot explosions in Brazzaville in 2012, which killed more than 200 people, highlighted new opportunities for security cooperation with the United States in disaster management. Our programs aim to further professionalize the Congolese Armed Forces and improve maritime security, which is critical to the Republic of the Congo's offshore petroleum sector and antipiracy efforts in the Gulf of Guinea. Indeed, in 2011, the U.S. Coast Guard certified the deep-water port of Pointe-Noire under the International Port Security Program, as maintaining effective antiterrorism measures.

The Republic of the Congo has begun to play a more active role in a region that faces chronic regional security conflicts. The Republic of the Congo has sent peacekeepers to the Central African Republic and will assume the rotating presidency of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) in the fall of 2013. Talks to resolve the conflict in the eastern DRC have been held under the auspices of the ICGLR. Continued U.S. engagement with the Republic of the Congo on security issues will advance our broader regional goals of promoting peace and stability, countering terrorist groups, and protecting civilians from conflicts.

If confirmed, I would enthusiastically pursue my mandate to protect U.S. citizens and interests in the Republic of the Congo. I would use all our public diplomacy tools to advance our goals of strengthening democratic institutions, promoting economic development, and improving regional security, while enhancing the relationship between our two nations and peoples.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before you today. I look forward, if confirmed, to serving the United States in Brazzaville, the Republic of the Congo. I would be happy to respond to any questions.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Ms. Sullivan.

Last but not least, we would like to turn to Mr. Patrick Gaspard for his opening statement and welcome of any family and friends who might be present.

Mr. Gaspard.

**STATEMENT OF PATRICK HUBERT GASPARD, OF NEW YORK,
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Mr. GASPARD. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Flake, and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President Obama's nominee to serve as the

next United States Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. I am appreciative of the trust placed in me by President Obama and Secretary of State Kerry.

Please allow me to acknowledge and thank my son and daughter, Indigo and Cybele, and my wonderful wife, Raina, who has worked as an educator and who takes to heart our obligation to provide opportunity for all young people. Let me especially thank Senator Schumer for his earlier very kind and generous introduction and for his principled leadership.

South Africa occupies a central place in my political development. My forays into the early antiapartheid movement as an activist and the success of that movement in raising the consciousness of the world gave me an early sense that justice can be attained by ordinary people who labor with aspirational urgency.

I was blessed to travel to South Africa shortly after the release of Nelson Mandela and developed an abiding affection for its spirited people and culture. Should I be confirmed, it will be my great fortune to represent this country in our efforts to partner with the South African government as it strives to improve the economic conditions of its citizens and as it helps to lead global efforts to increase security and prosperity for all.

The President's recent trip to South Africa highlighted opportunities and ongoing challenges. Most importantly, the President expressed the reality that Americans have a shared interest in these outcomes. I am excited to take on this mission at a moment when South Africa is helping to shape a region that is finally close to receiving more foreign investment than foreign aid.

Should this committee recommend my confirmation, my service in government, politics, and the trade union movement will make me a successful envoy at this critical juncture when South Africa is negotiating the relationship between labor and industry while tackling stubborn income disparities.

South Africans are rightly proud of the progress they have made in their two decades of post-apartheid governance. They have tackled innumerable problems with unmatched resolve. The much-documented crisis in HIV, sustainable housing, and widespread poverty have galvanized the nation into noteworthy accomplishments. South Africa is currently administering antiretroviral treatment to a staggering 1.6 million people and the government has risen to take responsibility for PEPFAR care and treatment programs in the next 5 years. Entrenched poverty is a persistent drag, but the country has developed institutions that routinely deliver support grants for children and pensions for millions. There is much that needs improvement, but there is a foundation for lasting change.

The United States has an ongoing vital role to play in President Zuma's efforts to improve the quality of and access to education, the struggle to combat high unemployment, and by extension the epidemic in crime. Beyond our aid, though, our technical assistance is a great contribution, but our greater contribution will be in stimulating private sector investment and trade. This will be a major priority for my mission if I am confirmed.

As we move toward negotiations on the renewal of AGOA, we must work with our South African partners to enact policies that benefit workers and businesses on both sides of the Atlantic. South

Africa has a leadership influence that extends throughout the continent, playing a key role in Madagascar, the DRC, Sudan, South Sudan, and in ensuring that Zimbabwe's upcoming elections are peaceful and credible. We will continue to partner with South Africa on these and many other regional and global issues.

As we take pause collectively and focus on President Mandela's legacy—and he is in all of our hearts right now—it is altogether right to take in the vista of progress, but we must make sure to continue to work closely with South Africa to attain the summit of achievement.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Flake, committee members, thank you for this opportunity to address you. If I am confirmed, I look forward to working with all of you to strengthen this important bilateral relationship.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gaspard follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PATRICK H. GASPARD

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored and humbled to appear before you as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next United States Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. I am deeply appreciative of the trust placed in me by President Obama and Secretary of State Kerry at this critical juncture in our bilateral relationship. Please allow me a pause to acknowledge and thank my son and daughter, Indigo and Cybele, and my wife, Raina, who has worked as an educator and who takes to heart our obligation to provide opportunity for all young people.

South Africa has long occupied a central place in my political development. My forays into the anti-apartheid movement as a young activist and the success of that movement in raising the consciousness of the world gave me an early sense that justice can be attained by ordinary people who labor with aspirational urgency. I was blessed to travel to South Africa shortly after the release of Nelson Mandela and immediately developed an abiding affection for its spirited people and culture. Should I be confirmed, it will be my great fortune to represent the United States in our efforts to partner with the South African Government as it strives to improve the economic conditions of its citizens and as it helps to lead efforts throughout the continent to increase security and prosperity for all.

The President's recent trip to South Africa highlighted opportunities and ongoing challenges. Most importantly, the President expressed the reality that Americans have a shared interest in these outcomes. As I consider the arc of the continent of my birth, I'm excited to take on this mission at a moment when South Africa is helping to shape a region that is finally close to receiving more foreign investment than foreign aid. Should this venerable committee recommend my confirmation, my experiences in government, politics, and the trade union movement will all make me a successful envoy at this transformative crossroads. My management experience and leadership in both grassroots and national politics, my leadership position on the President's Transition Committee and my years as an officer with the largest local union in America, have all equipped me with an appreciation for operational efficacy which is essential for the principal manager of one of the largest missions in Africa. Furthermore, my service at the White House and with the health care workers union allowed me to engage in public policy that had a clear and discernible impact on the lives of average Americans and disadvantaged communities. This knowledge would be employed in my diplomatic career in a country that is negotiating the relationship between labor and industry while tackling stubborn income disparities.

South Africans are rightly proud of the progress they have made in their two decades of post-apartheid governance. They have tackled innumerable problems with unmatched resolve. The much-documented crisis in HIV care, sustainable housing, and widespread poverty have galvanized the nation into noteworthy social accomplishments. South Africa is currently administering antiretroviral treatment to a staggering 1.6 million people. Delivery capacity has been improved to the remotest regions of the country. And the government has risen to take responsibility for PEPFAR care and treatment programs in the next 5 years. On the housing front, the government has built over 3 million homes to provide shelter for over 13 million people. Entrenched poverty is a persistent drag, but the country has developed insti-

tutions that routinely deliver support grants for children and pensions for millions. There is much that needs improvement but there is a foundation for lasting change.

The United States has an ongoing vital role to play in President Zuma's efforts to improve the quality and accessibility of education; the struggle to combat high unemployment and by extension the epidemic in crime; and the challenge of income inequality. Beyond our aid assistance and technical expertise, our greatest contribution will be in stimulating private sector investment and trade. This will be a major priority for my mission if I am confirmed. I am pleased that more than 600 American companies are already based in South Africa and I will work to see that number grow. As we move toward negotiations on the renewal of the African Growth and Opportunity Act we must work with our South African partners to enact policies that benefit workers and businesses on both sides of the Atlantic.

South Africa has a leadership influence that extends throughout the continent, playing a key role in Madagascar, the DRC, Sudan and South Sudan and in ensuring that Zimbabwe's upcoming elections are peaceful and credible. We will continue to partner with South Africa to resolve conflicts, to enhance our counterterrorism cooperation, to encourage nonproliferation, to combat wildlife trafficking, and to facilitate intraregional trade. South Africa's reach is indeed global in scope as they advance policies at the U.N., AU, G20 and the BRICS. As the world has collectively focused on Nelson Mandela's legacy, and he is in all of our hearts right now, it's altogether right to pause to take in the vista of progress but to then determinedly press on knowing the summit is attainable. In that spirit, we must work with South Africa to engage the next generation of leaders as is the focus of President Obama who of course hosted the Young African Leaders Institute in Johannesburg.

Mr. Chairman, committee members, thank you for this opportunity to address you today and thank you for your thoughtful consideration of my nomination. If I am confirmed, I look forward to working with you all to strengthen this important bilateral relationship. I look forward to answering your questions.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Mr. Gaspard.

I will begin now our rounds, several rounds I suspect, of 7 minutes each of questions in succession to our different nominees.

First, I would like to just open by thanking all of your family members, spouses, children, coworkers, colleagues who are present here. I am very conscious that the careers on which you have already dedicated decades of service to this country, often overseas, often in difficult and demanding posts, are possible only because of the support of your families. So I just want to start by thanking your families who have come, and in particular those who are paying rapt attention and behaving very well, Mr. Brigety, in case you had any concern about that. [Laughter.]

If I might start, Ambassador Entwistle, you are choosing to go from one challenging and engaging assignment to another and I appreciate the seasoning and seniority that you will bring to our relations in Nigeria. You served in the DRC during a particularly flawed and difficult Presidential election. As you commented in your opening statement, Nigeria has recently had one of its most successful elections ever and moving toward another round of credible, transparent elections is a vital part of the steady progress toward a sustainable democracy.

What sorts of lessons do you bring from the experience in DRC? What can the United States do to ensure steady progress toward a free and fair electoral system in Nigeria? And how relevant is this in a country that faces many other more fundamental security challenges and economic opportunities?

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Thank you, Senator. Indeed, the elections in the DRC were not what we hoped for. They were not what the Congolese people hoped for. Hindsight is always brilliant. Looking back, I think one of the first lessons would be that, given the size of the country, the lack of infrastructure, all of us in the inter-

national community were focused on getting things ready for the voting process itself, making sure that everyone could vote, put the ballot in the box in every corner of that vast country. With the benefit of hindsight, we should have been more focused on the next step: What happens in the counting centers? Because it is very clear to me that that is where the process fell down, in the counting centers.

The other lesson I would learn, and it is not a particularly original one, is the importance of what we say as the U.S. Government. Looking back, I think we more or less said the right things at the right moments, but I remain very attuned to that. Having the privilege of being the U.S. Ambassador gives you a pedestal from which to speak on these issues.

So as we move forward toward elections in Nigeria, if confirmed, I would take with me a focus on the whole process, not just day one, and be very judicious and put a lot of time and energy into when you speak out in public as the U.S. Ambassador.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ambassador. I am also mindful of the importance of what we say. We do occasionally hold hearings, adopt resolutions, and hope that they are heard in some way. So I look forward to working with you, the Assistant Secretary, and obviously the Secretary to ensure that we are speaking in concert, in harmony rather than in dissonance.

I think in the runup to the election in Zimbabwe, electoral outcomes in Kenya and in Senegal, the American voice has mattered quite a bit. In the last Nigerian elections, the strength of the Electoral Commission was particularly vital and Senator Isakson and I in meeting with the immediate past chair of the Electoral Commission were struck at how successfully they deployed a nationwide network of volunteers to use a text system on cell phones to validate what was being done at polling stations and counting centers. I am hopeful that a comparable system will be in place at this upcoming election.

If I could, I would ask for a comment on that and then one other topic. As to Boko Haram, one of the most striking conversations I had was with the archbishop and the imam of the central mosque in Abuja during a week when there had been a Boko Haram attack, literally 2 days before we arrived and 3 days after we left. It was that archbishop's cathedral that was the focus of a really deadly Christmas Eve attack.

How can we work more effectively to achieve some measure of development and stability in the north and to reduce the tension, and how can we help support the security forces in respecting human rights and in being more effective in combatting Boko Haram?

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Senator, the United States and Nigeria have been friends and partners for a long time and that will continue for a long time. But I think the true test of friendship and partnership are are you there when things are not going well. As you know, they face a serious security issue in the north with Boko Haram.

It seems to me that we need to help them with their security response to Boko Haram. A key aspect of that will be having the kinds of conversations that friends and partners have about appro-

priate conduct of their operations against Boko Haram. We have all seen the disturbing reports of heavy-handedness by the military, and the problem with that and what I look forward to discussing with them if confirmed is making sure that their response does not alienate more people in the north.

So those are the kinds of discussions that we need to have as friends and partners. You put your finger, I think, on another key aspect, which is this is happening in a part of the country that is historically underdeveloped compared to the rest of the country. In preparing for this I was surprised to read that northern Nigeria I think has some of the worst health statistics in all of Africa.

So it is making sure that the security force, which is entirely appropriate—that response does not make things worse rather than better. It is helping them to develop the northern part of their own country. It is helping develop education. It is helping young girls go to school. It is all sorts of things that hopefully will lift up northern Nigeria and now allow Boko Haram and related groups to exploit what is happening in northern Nigeria right now.

Senator COONS. Thank you. I look forward to your leadership on this and to working with you. I think Nigeria is a country, as you mentioned in your opening, of enormous opportunity for us, our largest export market for wheat in Africa, for example, a major source of oil and other petroleum products. But I also think there are real mutual opportunities in manufacturing, in clean energy and sustainability. So I look forward to working with you to find ways to further that.

Senator Flake.

Senator FLAKE. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you all. I want to echo what the chairman said about families. I know it is difficult. I lived about 3 years of my life in southern Africa before any meaningful Internet. I think it is a little easier today, but my guess is—Ms. Sullivan, your family's experience in Accra, when was that?

Ms. SULLIVAN. We were there from 1997 to 2001, sir.

Senator FLAKE. A little more difficult then than it would be now, I assume, with communications and Skype and everything else with the extended family. It does make it easier, but it is still difficult. So I appreciate the sacrifice that you make and your families make. I am glad that they are here, and the extended family and friends as well. It speaks well for all of you to have such good support.

With regard to—let us talk about the Gulf of Guinea, Mr. Entwistle and Ms. Sullivan. Is the United States doing enough in terms of maritime security? You mentioned that the port there is certified. Is that something that has to happen every year? Is that an ongoing effort by governments there, regional organizations? Is the AU sufficiently concerned?

I just want to make sure that we do not get to a situation like we did in the Horn of Africa. Is the United States doing enough? I will speak to those who are representing countries that border the Gulf.

Mr. Entwistle.

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Thank you, Senator. I think we are very involved in this. It has an immediate effect on us because, as we

discussed when I had the privilege of calling on you, we have U.S. oil companies who have offshore platforms. So this is not just a theoretical issue. It is a very real issue for American companies who operate in Nigeria.

We are working with the appropriate Nigerian security forces to improve their offshore response. We have a good bit of success with that, but there is a lot more to do, not just offshore in Nigeria, but throughout the Gulf of Guinea. But my understanding is we are making good progress.

Senator FLAKE. Ms. Sullivan.

Ms. SULLIVAN. We have a very—compared to the size of the mission in Brazzaville—we have a fairly robust engagement with AFRICOM, and regular ship visits, joint exercises with the Congolese navy. I think that the regular visits by the Coast Guard to recertify—I am not quite sure of the exact frequency that that occurs, but I can certainly take that question back and give you a proper answer.

[Ms. Sullivan's written answer to Senator Flake's question follows:]

Thank you for allowing me to add to the comments I made about Congo's contribution to maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea at my July 24 confirmation hearing. The U.S. Maritime Transportation Security Act of 2002 mandates that the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG) evaluate the effectiveness of antiterrorism measures in foreign ports when ships from those ports dock in the United States. In October 2011, the USCG determined Congo was maintaining effective antiterrorism measures in its ports and was in compliance with the International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code. U.S. legislation, the Maritime Transportation Security Act, requires the Coast Guard to visit all countries that trade with the United States on a biennial basis to assess their compliance with the International Maritime Organization's ISPS Code. Concerns about Congolese capacity to maintain a high standard for port security led to follow up visits to the Republic of the Congo.

These visits determined that the Congo was maintaining effective antiterrorism measures in its deepwater ports and was in compliance with the International Ship and Port Security (ISPS) Code. As part of its compliance with the ISPS Code, the Congo is now required to undergo a biennial Country Assessment (CA) of its port security. Previously it was required to undergo an annual CA.

The assessment is only one piece of Coast Guard assistance and engagement with the Republic of the Congo. The improvements Congo-Brazzaville has made to its ports are part of a larger strategy to integrate Congolese maritime operations, to enhance economic development and competitiveness, to improve its ability to control its territorial waters, and to combat piracy along with other countries around the Gulf of Guinea. Congo is an effective regional partner in regard to port security. The Republic of the Congo hosted, with U.S. support, a Regional Port Security Workshop in Pointe Noire that was attended by officials from Gabon, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Benin. Earlier this year, the Republic of the Congo also stood up a maritime operations center in Pointe-Noire. The center is staffed by personnel from countries along the West African Coast under the auspices of the Economic Community of Central African States.

In addition, military-to-military cooperation remains an important point of engagement with the Congolese Government. The Republic of the Congo is active in the Africa Partnership Station (APS), the international maritime security cooperation program led by the U.S. Naval Forces Africa that provides intensive training through multinational joint exercises and hands-on practical courses. Just this year, a Congolese littoral interdiction vessel successfully participated in U.S. Africa Command's exercise that brought allied navies together to train regional forces in coordinating counterpiracy efforts.

The Republic of the Congo remains proactive and attentive to U.S. engagement in all areas of security cooperation. If confirmed, I look forward to working in partnership with the Government of the Republic of the Congo on maritime security issues.

Senator FLAKE. Mr. Brigety, is there a role for the AU in this regard?

Mr. BRIGETY. Senator, thank you for the question. Indeed there is. As you well know, maritime security is a major issue for the continent, not only for the security aspects, but also for the impact on commercial activity.

With regard to the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, as you well know, through a robust international effort in which the United States participated we have essentially reduced that piracy level almost to be negligible. Yet, even as that has happened, the rate of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea has increased. There have been talks between the AU and a variety of other partners, principally NATO and others, to see what more can be done in order to enhance maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea.

I should also say that on the staff of the U.S. mission to the AU is a Navy captain, O6, whose sole job is to advise on maritime security both to the Ambassador and also to the AU. So this will continue to be a great focus of mine if I am confirmed.

Senator FLAKE. Thank you.

Mr. Gaspard, with the Zimbabwe elections coming up, I think South Africa has played a more useful role this time in the leadup to the elections in statements that have been made by the South African Government. What can we do in terms of the mission in the outcome—you will get there after the Zimbabwean elections have happened—to ensure that we can help as much as possible aid that transition to democracy? All of us know that those countries in the region, particularly South Africa, will have the biggest impact on where we go in Zimbabwe. What can we do and how can we help South Africa help Zimbabwe in this regard?

Mr. BRIGETY. Thank you for your question, Senator. As Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield rightly pointed out earlier, we need to make certain that we are doing all that we can to increase capacity between election cycles and to be mindful of transparency issues and democratic capacity issues when elections are not being litigated.

You are right, Senator, South Africa has played a helpful and useful role of late. Of course, we should all be encouraged by the March referendum in Zimbabwe, which was relatively peaceful and enabled the people of Zimbabwe to go to the polls to vote for term limits and other electoral reforms. Should there be challenges in this upcoming election, I am certain that our Ambassador in Zimbabwe, working with forces there in-country and then partnering, of course, with us in South Africa, will do all we can to elevate any crisis that arise from that outcome and will make absolutely certain that in our conversations with the South African Government we continue to put particular emphasis on rule of law issues in Zimbabwe.

I should note that South Africa has its own economic and political interests in a successful outcome in Zimbabwe. We all of course are aware of some of the turbulence that has taken place along the border with the recent refugee crisis in South Africa. So it is incumbent upon the South African Government to be particularly mindful of outcomes in Zimbabwe.

Senator FLAKE. Thank you.

Ms. Haslach, with regard to—you mentioned our interest in helping the government there increase the political space that is of-

ferred, that people operate under in Ethiopia. How is the United States viewed when we offer advice in that regard? Is it positively or negatively, and if it is negatively what can we do to change that? How are we viewed?

Ambassador HASLACH. Senator, thank you for your question. I think we have a strong relationship with Ethiopia. Coming back to the question that was asked earlier of Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield with regard to China, the example that America sets of our steadfast commitment to the advancement and the protection of human rights, democratic principles around the world, we think that this actually provides hope for the Ethiopian people.

I will certainly raise any issues we have with concern to human rights and governance regularly if confirmed, like Ambassador Booth is currently doing. We were very happy to see that they had a historic peaceful and constitutional transition with the last turnover of power after the death of Prime Minister Meles. We will continue to use our private conversations as well as make public statements when we feel it is necessary to speak out in support of our principles.

We will also use formal mechanisms. We have a bilateral formal working group on democracy and governance issues. And we will use our U.S. assistance programs. Our USAID has a two-pronged approach. One is trying to bring some of these principles into our health, education, and business assistance programs, as well as looking for opportunities with civil society and communities on the ground.

So it will be a multipronged approach, and I expect sometimes the Government of Ethiopia may not be pleased with some of the statements and things that we say. We do not always agree, but we talk to each other. We have a good dialogue. We have a strong relationship.

Thank you.

Senator FLAKE. Thank you. I thank you all, and I appreciate you coming by my office and I enjoyed the private conversation and look forward to working with each of you in your new capacity.

Thank you.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Flake, and thank you for your investment of time and your thoroughness in preparing for this hearing today.

Senator KAINE.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair and members of the committee.

I will begin also with my congratulations to you for your nominations and thank you for your service. I had an opportunity recently to return from a congressional delegation visit to the Middle East and Afghanistan, where I interacted with a lot of our ambassadorial State Department, USAID employees. I am just struck again and again by the challenges of the work, but even the challenges just of physically moving so often, at cost to family. I know there are up sides. I know there are wonderful experiences as well.

But as somebody who has been in public life for 20 years and always lived within a 2½ mile radius of other locations where I have lived, I really honor the incredible sacrifice that the family members make.

I want to offer a special congratulations to my friend, Patrick Gaspard, somebody I really admire greatly. I am very excited to see you on this distinguished panel.

I am not on the Africa Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee; I do not have the expertise that Chris and Jeff have. But I have a passion for your work in a slightly different way. I think it has been an American tradition to have a foreign policy that moves along an east-west axis. We had a foreign policy that was largely focused on Europe. That was then changed to a foreign policy—and even when we were engaged in Africa or, for example, in Latin America, the Monroe Doctrine, it was largely a European foreign policy, with the Southern Hemisphere nations sort of being an afterthought or a theater of operations when the intellectual concern was really Europe.

We then moved to a foreign policy in the aftermath of World War II that was largely focused on the Soviet Union, and again in Africa and Latin America we were engaged, but those engagements were essentially side consequences of a focus on an east-west foreign policy.

We have announced a pivot to Asia that I think is largely a focus on China, again an east-west focus. It is very important that we focus east-west, whether it is the Middle East or China or Europe, but I just have a feeling that the world is going in such a way that America needs a foreign policy that is every bit as much about north-south as it is about east-west.

I am passionate about the Americas, but your work in Africa will involve that same passion of creating a foreign policy in tandem with our President, Secretary of State, Congress that is not about Southern Hemisphere countries as afterthoughts or attachments to an east-west foreign policy, but really respects them for what they are, who they are, and especially what they might be.

So I will just start with that observation and stop. If any of you might have comments on that, I would love to hear it. But I do think we are entering a new phase of our history where having a foreign policy that has a north-south axis would be the right thing for us to do. As people who have devoted a lot of your time to countries on a north-south axis, I would love to hear any comments you might have about that.

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Well, Senator Kaine, thank you. What I find works well where I have the honor of serving now in the Congo and everywhere else I have served, and I think it will be the case in Nigeria as well if confirmed, is that what works very well is just talking about our own experience, our own history, talking about what has gone well for us, what has not gone well, to acknowledge that our own experience of nation-building has been difficult and taken a long time. I find in particular that is something that Africans relate to.

As I get ready for Nigeria, I am struck by the similarities in our history. Both of our nations, as you know, had devastating civil wars. We are both coping with how do you deal with extremist groups that threaten us, but in a way that promotes the rule of law and human rights. We are both looking at how do you extract energy, but in a way that respects the people who live in those regions and the environment.

So I think if we tell our own story, allow Africans to draw the lessons that they wish to from our experience, I think that is an incredibly beneficial approach and I think it generally works very well.

Mr. BRIGETY. Senator, thank you for your comment. If I may add to Ambassador Entwistle's intervention, we have signed a historic agreement with the African Union on February 1 of this year. A memorandum of understanding was signed with the current chairperson of the African Union, Dr. Dlamini Zuma, and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on February 1, elevating the nature of our partnership to that of a strategic partnership with the African Union that will focus on the four broad areas that I articulated in my testimony.

The signature of that memorandum of understanding suggests that we understand as a country the strategic importance of Africa, the strategic importance of the African Union, and that we want to be equal partners in building a continent that is peaceful and prosperous, not only because it is the right thing to do, but also because it is in our interests.

I should also say that there are a number of enormous indicators that I think our public needs to be aware of. Six of the ten fastest growing economies in the world are in Africa. Some 60 percent of the population of the continent is under the age of 30. In many ways it really is the continent of the future, and I think that we are hopeful that a variety of interventions that our government is making will position us well to have a very strong partnership with the continent in the decades to come.

Senator KAINE. Ms. Haslach.

Ambassador HASLACH. Senator Kaine, thank you very much. When I first started working for the Federal Government, I worked on Ethiopia. It was in the mid-eighties during a very bad sub-Saharan drought. I was amazed when I went back when I was working on the Feed the Future Initiative how much progress had been made in the area of agriculture. A lot of that is due to our assistance and our providing help in that area.

We share the same goals that Ethiopia has with regard to development and investment. In fact, in their 5-year development plan, they hope to meet all of the Millennium Challenge goals. They hope to become a middle-income country. I think that is where we really should be focusing a lot of our efforts and energy, and that is an area where I think we can share a lot of our experiences in helping them to open up their economy in so many ways for the prosperity of both Ethiopia as well as Africa as well as the United States.

Thank you.

Senator KAINE. Mr. Gaspard.

Mr. GASPARD. Senator Kaine, if I can, first thank you for your incredibly generous comments at the top, and thank you so much for your continued friendship and your phenomenal leadership.

I think it is incredible actually, Senator, when you consider the arc of very recent history. I can remember not long ago being in Soweto right after President Mandela had been released and observing all of the incredible disparities that existed then and the enormous challenges as South Africans struggled to really have some agency and ownership over their own direction and over their

own democracy. Now today we are having conversations about the ways in which we need to work with our partners in South Africa to overcome some of the disadvantages that American businesses have in trading with South Africa because of their trade partnership with Europe.

So it is incredible to come from a place where people were incredibly disempowered to now being in negotiations with them about increasing access to our markets. So it is an incredible period of transformation. There are remarkable opportunities that yet exist and some enormous challenges.

Earlier, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield noted that it is terribly important that as we continue to do things to encourage trade with Africa that we still continue to appreciate the need for increasing humanitarian capacity. It is exciting that right now the United States military forces are engaged in a humanitarian exercise with the South African military in the eastern Cape right now today to expand South Africa's capacity to help in neighboring states.

So great opportunities exist, and you are absolutely right about the sweep of history and where we are today.

Senator Kaine. Ms. Sullivan—with your permission, Mr. Chair.

Senator Coons. Of course.

Senator Kaine. Thank you.

Ms. Sullivan. If I may, Senator Kaine, thank you for your interest in the relationship between the United States and Africa. I agree with the statements of my colleagues. Also, coming from a perspective of a former Peace Corps Volunteer, I think we can build on the historical and cultural links that have traditionally existed at this moment of confluence with the potential and economic interests that we share with Africa.

I would just like to emphasize that we do have tools at our disposal for enhancing mutual understanding, and exchanges that exist in both the government sector and the private sector really go a long way toward promoting dialogue and partnership and helping establish those links and further deepen our broad relationships with our partners in Africa.

Senator Kaine. Great, thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator Coons. Thank you, Senator Kaine.

Let me, if I could, follow up on something that your exchange with Mr. Gaspard just sort of highlights. You mentioned the eastern Cape exercises today. I have met with Chairperson Dlamini Zuma of the AU. There is a commitment by the AU to create an African Standby Force by 2015. There is deployed today for the first time in the eastern DRC a U.N. mission that has an active mandate—it has been authorized to take proactive military initiative in a way that was lacking previously and that largely led to some of the M23 actions in Goma.

There are, I think, enormous opportunities for us to work to build regional structures, both through the AU and through SADC, the East African Community, ECOWAS and others. And we have seen some success in Somalia, in Cote d'Ivoire, in DRC, in regional engagement by African nations.

How does the United States do a stronger, a better, a more sustained job of partnering with the AU and of partnering with coun-

tries like South Africa, countries like Nigeria, countries like Ethiopia, where we have been supporting training, deployment, resources, in support of peace, security, and stability in Somalia, in DRC, in Mali, and in other places? I think this is literally a question for every member of the panel, please, because I believe Congo Brazzaville is also contributing peacekeeping forces for the first time.

Peacekeeping on the continent, by the continent, led by entities of the continent strikes me as far more desirable than the model that has dominated over recent decades. In the Mali conflict, a timely intervention by the former colonial power may have been necessary, but I hope it is the last time that such an intervention is necessary. And I am hopeful that the African Union will, in fact, stand up an African Standby Force, that South Africa will play a central contributing role, and that Nigeria will be able to continue to play a central role in peacekeeping.

I would be interested in each of you in turn just commenting on how you think the United States can most appropriately support the fielding of an African Standby Force or other regional entity.

Mr. BRIGETY. Senator, thank you for your question. Perhaps I can start by answering from the perspective of the AU. As you correctly noted, the African Standby Force is one of the central pillars of the African peace and security architecture. There are challenges with fielding it. There are two principal challenges as I see it. The first is financial and the second largely has to do with the politics of regional integration on the continent.

The good news with regard to the financial aspect is I think that for the first time ever in its history the African Union actually assessed its own members to help pay for AFISMA, the African Union-led intervention force in Mali, to the tune of some \$50 million, which is significant in terms of demonstrating responsibility of African solutions or at least contributing to it for African peace and security.

Obviously, there will have to be other mechanisms to help pay for this kind of robust, sustained security environment over time. But the African Union understands that and I look forward to working with them in that regard.

Frankly, in my view the issue of regional integration as it relates to peace and security is a much more challenging problem. As you well know, there are essentially five regional standby brigades that are loosely aligned—that are directly aligned to the five regions of Africa, but that are loosely aligned in the various regional economic communities.

This is a problem that, frankly, is for the AU and for Africans to solve. We have something of a role to play both in terms of how we just engage and talk with our partners at the AU. As you also know, the current incumbent, our current Ambassador to the AU, is also duly accredited to the U.N. Economic Commission of Africa, which has as part of its mandate supporting regional integration in Africa. If I am confirmed, I anticipate that Secretary Kerry will also accredit me to the UNECA, and that I will be working very closely with UNECA to help support broadly this issue of regional integration, which not only has implications, frankly, for security,

but also for all the other economic issues that we have been talking about.

We have had successes in terms of our bilateral assistance in supporting peacekeeping operations through the ACOTA program, a program which I help supervise in my current capacity as the Deputy Assistant Secretary. But clearly the vision, as you correctly noted, that we have and that indeed Africans have for themselves is to increasingly take responsibility for their own security, and we are looking forward to helping them do that.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator COONS. Ambassador Entwistle, as you take that up I am interested in ACOTA and human rights training in particular in the context of peacekeeping. Clearly, our training in Mali perhaps failed to fully reinforce the idea of respect for civilian control of military forces. But we are not responsible for everything that happens everywhere in the world.

Ambassador.

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. I agree completely with Ambassador Brigety's comments. I think to me we need to help this process happen, and the way we do that is through training. I think one of the things that we as Americans can be very proud of is the quality of military training we provide. I think we need to do that to help build up African capabilities to handle their own security crises.

In particular, I am thinking of what we call professional military education, leadership training that involves training on rule of law and leadership and respect for human rights when dealing with civilians in conflict situations. I think within the embrace of our Leahy vetting requirements we need to push it and do as much as we can to help the Africans do better. I believe in that very sincerely.

As I noted in my testimony, the Nigerians have a proud history of working through ECOWAS on various crises in West Africa. They are deployed around the world in other peacekeeping operations. I think to the extent that the situation at home permits them to do that we need to encourage them to keep up that proud history.

Senator COONS. I agree.

Ms. Haslach, Ethiopia has played a central role in bringing stability to Somalia. Yet there remain some real challenges, both internal to Ethiopia and in its region. How do you think we can work in support of Ethiopia and the AU while still respecting human rights?

Ambassador HASLACH. Senator, thank you very much, and thank you for noting Ethiopia's role. They currently deploy troops alongside the Somali National Army and the African Union mission in Somalia, and they contribute nearly all of the troops that currently serve as the U.N. Interim Stabilization Force in Abiye and they were also involved in Darfur.

I echo what my colleague James Entwistle was saying with regard to the positive impacts of our professional training and would urge that we continue to fund those types of training. Ethiopia has well-respected military troops and they have actually contributed quite positively in these engagements. So I think continuing to rec-

ognize the positive role that our professional training, training in the areas of human rights, very critical for our peacekeeping forces, that they be trained in that, and that we continue to provide our support to that, and of course working our support to the African Union as it attempts to set up its own peacekeeping force.

Senator COONS. Ethiopia has been particularly constructive in the Sudan-South Sudan conflict.

Ambassador HASLACH. Yes.

Senator COONS. And regionally, our hope is to continue to support them.

Ambassador HASLACH. Thank you.

Senator COONS. Ms. Sullivan, what makes it possible for the Republic of Congo to contribute to peacekeeping forces and what more could we do in the region to help integrate them into a regional security structure?

Ms. SULLIVAN. Thank you, Senator, for your interest. I would note that Congo has a relatively modest-sized military. I do not expect that they will be enormous contributors in the future. But I think that there is a growing interest and will toward contributing positively to the regional security situation.

There is always the threat of refugee inflows on one side of the border or another. I will note that as political chief in Accra, Ghana, we did a lot of military training, and what I really appreciated about the U.S. training at the time for peacekeepers across the continent was the doctrine that we were trying to harmonize for different countries so that they were not all developing their own ways of doing things and then when put all together, kind of like an all-star soccer team brought in for the championship, doing things different ways and not playing on the same page.

We also trained and equipped for interoperability as well. We all know the down side of radios with frequencies that are incompatible. So some of these fundamental things are areas I think that we can from a broad regional perspective contribute, as well as working with some of our other like-minded partners who are also working in the professional development and capacity-building.

Senator COONS. I agree, Ms. Sullivan. In my last visit, my visit to Bamako in Mali, I met with a variety of the international military leaders, Nigerian, Indian, and others, and was struck by the challenge they faced in assembling the AFISMA force from seven different nations of different languages, different military traditions, different skill sets.

Mr. GASPARD, I am most optimistic about the United States-South Africa relationship. South Africa really can, and should be, a significant leader on the continent in terms of peace and security, stability, democracy. Yet there remain tensions in our relationship that I trace back to our being, some of America, being on the wrong side of the liberation struggle. I am very optimistic that your personal experience and your commitment to strengthening this relationship can help move it, accelerate its steady movement forward.

How do you view the task of strengthening United States-South Africa ties and its possibility for taking a real leadership role in the AU?

Mr. GASPARD. Senator, thank you for the question and for your insights on this issue. You are right that we should be encouraged

by South Africa's ability to play an incredibly helpful role in this regard. But we should note that there are some capacity challenges that exist in the country. While South Africa may have one of the largest and best prepared militaries on the continent, of late there has been some shrinkage because the country has rightly needed to focus resources on education, health care, and other infrastructure issues.

We should also note that the South African military was certainly impacted by the high rates of HIV infection in its ranks. That being said, they continue to be an important partner on counterterrorism cooperation in the continent and they have been a true leader in encouraging nonproliferation and we should all be encouraged by the exercises that I noted today in the eastern Cape working alongside the U.S. Government.

I should also note, just to echo some of what some of my fellow nominees have said on the question of technical support, in addition to the direct technical support we have extended to the South African military, our technical support to the South African policing forces is also essential in giving South Africa the capacity to extend its reach throughout the continent.

Regrettably, the South African military has had to really be flexible in its mission because of a lack of capacity with internal policing. That is improving, with our help. I am looking forward to working with our regional security officer in South Africa and of course with AFRICOM on these issues.

Senator COONS. Thank you. I think this is an area of broad and sustained interest by members of this committee and by the leaders both within AFRICOM and within State and USAID, and I look forward to working with all of you on this in the months and years ahead.

Senator Flake.

Senator FLAKE. I am good.

Senator COONS. Senator Kaine.

Senator Kaine. Just very briefly, on South Africa, Mr. Gaspard, you mentioned nonproliferation. One of the areas where I think South Africa can play a wonderful leadership role and would encourage you to work on this in tandem with our own interests is in the nonproliferation area. I think it is the case that there have only been three nations who have gone down the path toward developing nuclear weapons and then decided, you know what, we do not need nuclear weapons to have the right kind of future for our nation—Libya, South Africa, and Brazil. At least those are the ones that are publicly known. There might have been others who made those decisions privately.

But I think that decision—we were moving toward a nuclear weapons future, but then we realized for the good of our Nation we could accomplish the right objectives without nuclear weapons—in a world where we are really wrestling here with Iran and with North Korea and potentially others, I think there is a wonderful leadership opportunity for South Africa to play in that message. So since you mentioned nonproliferation, I just thought I would underline that and put an exclamation point on it.

The second thing I would like to say, and again just sort of a general question to all of you, is—and many of you touched on the

evolution of thinking about international development from an aid perspective to promotion of trade. I think it was President Nixon who took out of USAID the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. At the time, maybe in the 1960s, aid was what do we grant, what do we give. There was a realization that, well, maybe we can through entrepreneurship and the involvement of the private sector promote development and trade as well. OPIC was split out of USAID, and that was a prescient move because it seems like that is the way most international development has gone. Within a generation we have gone from international development being sort of 80-percent governmental moneys industry 20-percent companies or NGOs to the reverse. It is about 80-percent companies and NGO now.

I would just like to have each of your sort of perspectives. Some of you have addressed it briefly, but your perspectives in your own role about international development, broadly defined, and how you would hope to bring the partnerships of today's international development to bear in the missions that you will pursue.

Mr. BRIGETY. Senator, thank you very much for your question. I will begin if I may. I am convinced that the next historical phase in Africa's development is private sector-led economic growth. We in the United States have the most dynamic private sector in the world. The challenge, frankly, is getting them to show up in Africa.

OPIC plays clearly a role in that. I can tell you, every time I go to the continent I am surprised by how eager African business leaders, African political leaders are for American companies to show up. If I am confirmed, I will work very closely with my colleagues in the Department of Commerce, in OPIC, USTR, USTDA, et cetera, to try to see what more we can do to use U.S.-AU as a platform to encourage American businesses to show up and to engage in this important epic of Africa's growth.

Senator KAINE. Great. Thank you.

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. Senator, I feel that in our development activities these are things we can be incredibly proud of, like PEPFAR and things like that.

Senator KAINE. Absolutely.

Ambassador ENTWISTLE. But I feel very strongly that everything we do, every development activity, has to have a component of building up the host country's ability to do it themselves. For example, a health project should contain a component of building up the health ministry and the health infrastructure.

So in my current job and if confirmed in Nigeria that is going to be an issue for me, is looking at everything we are doing and asking the tough questions to find out, to be blunt, are we working ourselves out of a job, as we should be, quite frankly? So thank you.

Ambassador HASLACH. I agree with both of my colleagues, but I would just also add, Senator, I view this sort of as a multiplier effect, where we plant the seed with Feed the Future and then there is a private sector component that comes in behind that and really has the resources and works locally with local companies to really make this sustainable.

I think the same will go with our new initiative Power Africa, where we sort of hope to light the fire there a little bit. But really

the focus on Power Africa is on the private sector and using the tools, OPIC, EXIM, TDA, the ones that were mentioned prior to that. So I see—there is plenty of room out there for everybody. But the government, our role is sort of promoting this, and then the private sector joining us as partners. I think it works really well and partners with local business and local communities.

Senator KAINE. Ms. Sullivan.

Ms. SULLIVAN. I would add that the prospect of U.S. investment is a real incentive for improving the local business climate, because the private sector companies are going to vote with their feet, and if there is opportunity and a level playing field and money to be made that will help everyone American companies will come. If not, the opposite would happen.

Senator KAINE. Mr. Gaspard.

Mr. GASPARD. Senator, I would just add that we should appreciate that there is mutual benefit in encouraging this kind of investment. Senator Corker in many instances has rightly pointed out that we need to find ways in which we can grow American jobs by investing in increased entrepreneurship and trade with Africa. Very recently Eximbank moved significant resources to a company that is building a railroad in South Africa, and fortunately for us workers in States like Indiana and Michigan have benefited in that one instance. So we need to encourage more activity along those lines and recognize our common interest in those outcomes.

Senator KAINE. Great. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

If I might just follow up on my previous line of conversation with several of you. There is a longstanding partnership program between the U.S. National Guard of specific States and specific countries. I do find in some countries that it has allowed for a long-term training relationship that has been effective with a number of countries. It is something I have advocated for us to broaden and strengthen within the National Guard Bureau in the countries where I have visited. I have also had an opportunity to talk to the State adjutant.

One of the differences of having a long-term National Guard to national military relationship is that, unlike other commands, they do not rotate every 2 years. You can build a long-term relationship with a homestate National Guard that actually is sustained over a decade or more. And the National Guard typically directly understands the civilian military role and is often involved in things like disaster recovery, youth training, and housing issues, that regular armed forces are not. So just a small point on that.

If I might, Ms. Haslach, just to follow up on the questions about Ethiopia and development: Feed the Future strikes me as an initiative of enormous potential and breadth. I was encouraged to hear that on your return to Ethiopia you were struck at just how much progress had been made in terms of resiliency, in terms of the strength of the smallholder farmers across Ethiopia.

What else do you think we can be doing to help strengthen the role of the private sector and to help strengthen the partnership that will sustain this initiative and really bring to an end the cycles of famine in the Horn?

Ambassador HASLACH. I think there are two areas that I was involved with. One has been working with them on improving the quality of the seeds. Again, that is where our private sector is very, very active. I am really pleased that they are also not following the path of some countries by prohibiting certain types of seeds to be used. Again, that is one area.

The other is in the area of moving beyond just growing the food. It is processing the food, working with the private sector in the next stage of processing and improving the market, the farm to market access, as well as improving regional trade between Ethiopia and its countries. That is an area that I think we can give a little bit more focus and attention to.

Thank you.

Senator COONS. Thank you for that followup.

If I might, Ms. Sullivan, I just have one other question if I could about Congo. The President has been a somewhat autocratic ruler, but the country is relatively stable, and it has been a constructive player in what has otherwise been a fairly volatile region. Under the constitution, if I understand correctly, he is not eligible to run for reelection in 2016. But we have seen in other countries across the continent—Senegal might come to mind—a challenge where there is an effort to amend the constitution to allow another term or to sort of steer succession.

How do you think you will promote the twin goals of democracy and stability in this particularly challenging environment?

Ms. SULLIVAN. Senator, you have raised one of the key issues that, if confirmed, I will certainly focus on. I think that it is not only the external perspectives, but clearly the internal perspectives. We have talked about country ownership as it relates to development. The same is true for democratization.

So one of the things that the Embassy has been doing and I will continue to work on if confirmed is building up the capacity of the civil society organizations that are focused on issues of accountability to the people and transparency in government operations.

I think that the Congo has a really great opportunity in 2016 to show and start establishing a legacy of smooth transitions. It is only really come out of the civil war in the last decade or so and ever since independence in 1960 had a bit of a turbulent past. I think people are interested in stability. I think we can continue to work with all of our partners within the government and the private sector and our like-minded colleagues in the diplomatic corps as well to help the Congolese realize what an opportunity they have in 2016 to start that tradition of a smooth democratic transition.

Thank you.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ms. Sullivan. I suspect, as Ambassador Entwistle testified, one of our broader challenges is being engaged in elections up to and then following on the day of election. One of the challenges I know the Assistant Secretary and I will work on is the relative scale of resources for democracy and governance, which is a very small portion of our total budget.

We are facing other critical issues. One of them, Mr. Gaspard, as you well know, is the historic investment by the United States through PEPFAR in dealing with what is one of the greatest global

pandemics. We have really turned a corner in terms of our relationship with South Africa and country ownership for funding and sustainment of PEPFAR. But in a very vigorous series of discussions I had in South Africa both in Soweto and in Cape Town with legislators, with advocates, with providers, and with the Health Minister, the trajectory of the United States-South African partnership and PEPFAR will require I think your close attention and will demand some active engagement.

How do you see the path forward? How will we ensure successful transition in terms of full ownership of PEPFAR from the United States to South Africa, and how do we persuade the South Africans that we are not abandoning this core commitment of the United States? That we intend to remain a strategic partner in the fight against HIV-AIDS.

Mr. GASPARD. Senator, thank you for this question about a core pillar of the South Africa mission going forward. We should be encouraged by the progress that has been made in South Africa on the question of country ownership of the PEPFAR program. We are well on track to be able to meet the goals, the ambitious goals that were laid out for our 2017 drawdown and for South Africa's increased investment in this realm.

There continue to be, of course, some very, very real challenges, particularly as it relates to deficits in personnel in South Africa. There are some real shortages of social workers, front-line nurses who can administer these programs, and there is a need for more technicians as we transfer support from NGOs directly into the government health sector. In some of the most remote regions of the country, there are still some challenges in getting antiretroviral medications to those who are in need.

So real progress has been made, but there is a real challenge before us that I know that we will be able to meet.

I should also note that when you consider that 60 percent of new infections in the country are focused on women and girls, there is something that we need to do in particular to make certain that women are receiving not only the aid that they need, but that they are playing a vital leadership role in this transition because they are most impacted by the outcomes.

Senator COONS. There are, as you well know, Mr. Gaspard, there are enormous challenges and opportunities here. I am particularly excited about the skills and strengths you bring from your 1199 union years to understanding the delivery of health care and the development of a whole new cadre of health care workers.

There is also across the continent, but in particular in this context, real challenges of gender-based violence as a mechanism of transmission and real challenges in terms of cultural sensitivity and our investment in delivering the kind of rule of law and accountability systems that allow for respect and protection of women that I think are a critical next step in the work against HIV-AIDS in South Africa. And I am eager to work with you and support you in any way I can because these are quite difficult conversations, but ones that must be had, investments that we need to make.

A last question for you, if I might, Mr. Gaspard. In my last trip to South Africa, every conversation with a South African official began and ended with AGOA. It was the one thing they wanted to

know that we would work steadfastly toward. Senator Isakson, who is now in the Finance Committee, is passionate and determined to help this happen. Congresswoman Karen Bass has been quite engaged in it.

But as we visited several facilities in South Africa, the sort of core question was, has South Africa outgrown AGOA? The luxury car market—South Africa takes better and broader use of AGOA than any other country. My hope would be that we would seriously consider its scope and whether there are ways that it can be tweaked or retooled so that it will be as effective as possible in opening and sustaining a very real and enduring relationship.

Most of AGOA has really had an impact just in textiles and apparel. In South Africa it is everything from steel to citrus to wine to luxury automobiles, and it is literally billions of dollars a year in trade into the United States market, which I think is tremendous.

SASOL also recently made a direct investment in Louisiana in the United States, and I think we are at a critical moment, as you observed—I had great conversations with the Minister of Trade about this—that we can really talk about a mutual relationship.

How do you think AGOA ought to be rebalanced or reconsidered in light of South Africa's growth and progress and in light of the opportunities across the continent and in all the other countries to which there are nominees sitting with you today?

Mr. GASPARD. Senator, thank you for the question. My conversations with you about this issue and conversations with Congresswoman Karen Bass have done much to inform my thinking on AGOA. I think, as you rightly noted, there are many questions about whether or not South Africa should continue to benefit from this program. I think it is important for all of us to appreciate that South Africa continues to be really two countries, two dichotomous countries. We have got one South Africa that of course is an important leader, not only in sub-Saharan Africa, but as a member of the BRIC's leads in trade on the continent and is a place that many would like to go to continue to conduct business.

We should also appreciate that South Africa also right now has a formal unemployment number of roughly 25 percent of the population. That number doubles when you consider youth unemployment, and there are many new university graduates in South Africa who are seriously challenged to find opportunities to employ their new skills.

In the decade since AGOA passed, there are roughly 70,000 jobs in South Africa that can be attributed directly to AGOA trade and countless others that have benefited from collateral trade. However, there is just so much more that needs to be done in order to close the income disparities in that country.

I know that in your conversations with the Minister of Trade in South Africa you noted some of the ways in which American companies are currently disadvantaged in trade with South Africa, and I think that as we have the conversation about AGOA renewal it is tremendously important that we make clear that there is a need for those on both sides of the Atlantic to benefit going forward.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

As I have had conversations with United States business leaders who are investing in South Africa, one just last week. I have urged them to take the model of skills transfer, technology transfer, and investment. Not a mercantilist approach to seeking a market but a mutuality approach that begins with here are ways that we will invest in and help grow the future and potential of South Africa.

I have just three more brief observations I will make. Do you have more questions, Senator Kaine?

Senator Kaine. No, thank you.

Senator COONS. First, generally the Millennium Challenge Corporation—I have visited projects and sites across a number of countries—we have not touched on at great length here today, but I have found to be a compelling vehicle for long-term engagement, particularly in countries—you mentioned in Ethiopia—where there is real alignment between development goals and our objectives. I hope that each of you will find a way to work, if appropriate, if relevant, with the MCC as another tool in our toolkit.

When we raised human rights issues, whether it is journalistic freedom or the transition to democracy, we sometimes ruffle feathers. Ambassador Entwistle, as you go to Nigeria I have particular concern for an anti-LGBT bill that has been taken up and considered in the Parliament and that may move to the President. I am hopeful that you will be mindful of a strong commitment to human rights on the part of the United States and in particular to respect for people of all sexual orientations.

I had a particularly compelling recent visit with a Zimbabwean woman who has sought asylum in the United States after being horribly tortured in Zimbabwe simply for who she loves. So I think that is an important piece of our human rights agenda in Africa.

Then last, Mr. Gaspard, just a reflection that I think was encouraging. In meeting with South African parliamentarians, I was struck at how many other countries had recently sent delegations to South Africa as a place from which to learn about reconciliation. A team of Iraqis from Iraq's national assembly had just left and were looking to South Africa as a model for how possibly Kurds, Sunnis, and Shia could learn to live together in Iraq.

This is a continent of enormous opportunity and enormous challenges. I am grateful for each of you for your willingness, for your family's willingness, to continue in your careers in public service, and I very much look forward to visiting you in your respective countries in the months and years ahead.

Senator Kaine, any further questions?

Senator Kaine. No, thank you.

Senator COONS. With that, I would like to thank each of the nominees today. I look forward to voting for your confirmation both in the committee and on the floor. It is my hope that we will accomplish this swiftly. I am very conscious of the pressure on families and the beginning of school years and the need to make transitions and so forth.

Any members who were not able to attend today I will ask to submit any questions for the record by the close of business today so that we can conclude this record in a timely fashion and move toward a business meeting next week.

With that, with my appreciation to my colleagues who joined me today, this hearing is hereby adjourned.

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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSE OF HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. The President's recent trip to Africa was well-received for the new and expanded initiatives he announced, including the new Power Africa and Trade Africa Initiatives, an expansion of the Young African Leaders Initiative, and the initiation of an annual summit-level meeting among the United States and African countries. These initiatives build on the legacy of prior administrations with the introduction of PEPFAR, AGOA, the MCC, and other initiatives.

- In what ways is Africa strategically important for the United States, and is the level of our engagement sufficient relative to its strategic importance? What can the United States do to improve our engagement with Africa?

Answer. Dramatic changes that have taken place in sub-Saharan Africa over the past decade make the continent ever more important to the United States. Some of the fastest-growing economies in the world are on the continent—a growth that reflects an increasingly vibrant private sector, improved business climate, and expanded opportunities for U.S. trade and job creation. There has also been great progress in governance and democratization, though remaining challenges require our continued engagement. Africa's security is increasingly linked to global and U.S. national security. We and the international community continue to be required to assist Africans in countering terrorism and drug, human, and wildlife trafficking that grows in ungoverned spaces on the continent. By the same token, with our and others' help, African nations have increased their capability to end conflicts and preserve peace in Africa and beyond with their militaries.

As I indicated in my testimony, our engagement in Africa must proactively and comprehensively address these opportunities and challenges. The President's 2012 Presidential Policy Directive and our many initiatives designed to spur economic growth, combined with the African Leaders summit announced during the President's recent trip, certainly reflect a heightened engagement with the continent. If confirmed, I look forward to working with African nations to use these initiatives to strengthen democratic institutions and foster sustained equitable economic growth. Also, if confirmed, I will ensure that the resources of the Bureau of African Affairs are dedicated to an enhanced, holistic engagement with Africa.

RESPONSE OF HON. JAMES F. ENTWISTLE TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Boko Haram is growing increasingly active with a rising number of attacks against state and civilian targets. Attacks now occur almost daily in north-east Nigeria and have increased in reach and lethality beyond this region. The bombing of the U.N. building in Abuja on August 24, 2011, represented a shift from an exclusively domestic focus to international targets.

- How would you characterize the Nigerian Government's response to Boko Haram? What approach would you take to help address the problem and strengthen America's relationship with Nigeria on security issues?

Answer. As the Secretary of State stated in May, "We are deeply concerned by credible allegations that Nigerian security forces are committing gross human rights violations, which, in turn, only escalate the violence and fuel extremism. The United States condemns Boko Haram's campaign of terror in the strongest terms. We urge Nigeria's security forces to apply disciplined use of force in all operations, protect civilians in any security response, and respect human rights and the rule of law." As part of this effort, it is vital to protect civilian populations and respect Nigeria's human rights obligations; to reestablish public trust with local communities; and to improve the professionalism of the security services.

If confirmed, I will continue to convey our concerns that a heavy-handed approach is counterproductive to addressing the threat posed by Boko Haram, and urge the Nigerian Government to address drivers of conflict, including poverty, food insecurity, disenfranchisement, lack of quality government services, and frustration with

corruption and poor governance. The State Department and USAID will continue to assist these efforts.

RESPONSE OF HON. PATRICIA MARIE HASLACH TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR ROBERT MENEDEZ

Question. Human Rights groups continue to characterize Ethiopia by its restrictive environment for political opposition groups, media, and civil society. Several pieces of legislation, such as the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, and the Charities and Societies Proclamation have institutionalized the government's grip on dissenting views. Successive U.S. administrations have committed to advancing human rights and democracy in Ethiopia, yet it's not clear what initiatives are in place to address these.

- How will you deliver the message that an open democratic environment ultimately promotes stability and prosperity, and by extension its partnership with the United States?

Answer. Ethiopia is an important partner in the Horn of Africa and one of the United States priority countries on the continent. Our partnership allows us to raise democracy and human rights concerns frankly and honestly. One of the key ways we express concerns, including on the restrictive environment for political opposition, the media, and nongovernmental organizations, is through a formal bilateral dialogue on democracy, governance, and human right messages. Three such dialogues have occurred since we began the process in 2011. Along with providing an opportunity to discuss concerns, the dialogue allows us to identify constructive opportunities to work toward improving the environment. I will seek to schedule the next dialogue early in my tenure as Ambassador, if confirmed. Though much of our engagement with the government is private, we also publicly demonstrate support for civil society. Our statements in reaction to the verdicts and sentences in Ethiopia's high-profile terrorism cases involving journalists and the political opposition are examples of this. Equally important was our notable presence at the trials. As I did during my previous ambassadorial appointments and if confirmed, I will deliver the tough human rights messages both privately and publicly, because, as Secretary Kerry has stated, "we believe very deeply that where people can exercise their rights and where there is an ability to have a strong democracy, the economy is stronger, the relationship with the government is stronger, people do better."

RESPONSE OF STEPHANIE SANDERS SULLIVAN TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR ROBERT MENEDEZ

Question. The United States has supported capacity-building initiatives for the Armed Forces of the Republic of Congo for several years. The goal is to professionalize the Congolese military, which in turn contributes troops to regional peace-keeping missions. As we have seen in Mali and the Democratic Republic of Congo, U.S.-trained forces do not always have a healthy respect for civilian oversight, or for human rights of the general population.

- Can you explain the types of U.S. assistance to the Armed Forces of the Republic of Congo, and the regional security interest that serves? How are we ensuring that the troops we train will continue to serve in the interests of the Congolese people?

Answer. Military capacity-building is one of the key points of engagement between the United States and the Republic of the Congo. The U.S. Mission in Brazzaville has a strong engagement with AFRICOM, especially in relation to the Embassy's size. The Republic of the Congo benefits from approximately \$100,000 annually in International Military Education and Training (IMET), which is managed by the U.S. Office of Security Cooperation at the U.S. Embassy in Kinshasa with the assistance of Embassy Brazzaville personnel. A key component of almost all IMET training is the reinforcement of human rights norms and civilian control of the armed forces.

Two other programs that directly impact the Congolese people are the Humanitarian Mine Action (HMA) training as well as the Defense Institute for Medical Operations (DIMO). HMA is designed to train a cadre of Congolese officials how to identify and make safe unexploded ordnance. This training is especially relevant in the wake of the deadly munitions depot explosion that occurred in Brazzaville on March 4, 2012, resulting in hundreds of deaths and the destruction of thousands of homes. With a professional unit of Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) technicians at its disposal, the GOC will be better able to eradicate any unsafe munitions,

as well as better understand how to store munitions and to avoid further injury to the civilian population.

DIMO is an ongoing project that trains Congolese military officials in a wide range of medical related topics, from trauma nursing to disaster response. This training has a direct impact on the citizens of the ROC because the Congolese military routinely provides a variety of medical care to the civilian population. The military hospital in Brazzaville, which is one of two public hospitals in the capital, provides 24-hour emergency care to civilians. Additionally, the GOC periodically erects field hospitals throughout the Congo with the intent of serving the local population. These field hospitals provide free care and medicine to hundreds of civilians a day in the area to which they are deployed.

The Republic of the Congo has a modestly sized military of around 8,000, and is currently contributing 350 troops to the peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic. The United States sees this deployment as a positive step in the ROC's efforts to bolster regional engagement and stability. The Congo is also playing a major role in regional maritime security in the petroleum-rich region of the Gulf of Guinea. Earlier this year, the Congo established a maritime operations center in Pointe-Noire. The center is staffed by personnel from countries along the West African Coast under the auspices of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

In all our military cooperation and assistance activities, we seek to instill higher professional standards in the forces with whom we work, so that there is a stronger commitment to serving civil society and complying with international human rights norms. We also provide joint training and common standards to strengthen interoperability so that forces of varying abilities from different countries are able to function cooperatively.

RESPONSE OF PATRICK HUBERT GASPARD TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. After Zimbabwe's disputed 2008 election, former South African President Thabo Mbeki, acting through the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), was able to secure an agreement between President Robert Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai. South Africa subsequently assumed the role of overseeing its implementation.

- How would you characterize South Africa's role in overseeing the Global Political Agreement in Zimbabwe, particularly under the stewardship of President Zuma?

Answer. President Zuma has played a critical role in pursuing political reform in Zimbabwe. He and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) want Zimbabwe's elections to go well. South Africa's goal has been a stable, peaceful, democratic Zimbabwe that reflects the will of its people and provides for a prosperous future. South African mediation helped pull Zimbabwe back from the brink of political and economic collapse and was instrumental in establishing a government of national unity. It also helped sustain the long and difficult process of developing Zimbabwe's new constitution.

South Africa has taken its facilitation role seriously, applying steady pressure on all parties to implement the roadmap in the face of political setbacks and protracted delays. While there has been real progress in Zimbabwe, such as the recent adoption of a new constitution, there is wide concern that few of the agreed-upon media, security sector and electoral reforms have been fully implemented. We are especially concerned that the rush to an election on July 31 may not have provided sufficient time for voter education and registration and review of voters' rolls, putting the credibility of the outcome at risk.

The large team of election observers fielded by SADC will play a critical role in verifying the credibility of the upcoming election and its conformance with internationally accepted electoral standards. Given the exclusion of most other international election observers, the presence of SADC and African Union observers is doubly important to deter political intimidation, vote rigging and violence, which would undermine the credibility of the election and 5 years of work by South Africa and SADC.

RESPONSE OF DR. REUBEN EARL BRIGETY II TO QUESTION SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. In May, the African Union marked 50 years since the founding of its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU). How operationally effective are the main institutions of the AU, in particular the AU Commission and the Peace and Security Council? What main institutional challenges does the AU face, and in what ways could the United States more effectively help the AU build its capacity, particularly in partnership with other donors?

Answer. The AU's ability to positively shape the African continent has developed dramatically in the past decade, as evidenced by such initiatives as the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the AU High-level Implementation Panel's mediation of conflict between Sudan and South Sudan. However, significant capacity challenges still exist: the AU sometimes encounters funding shortfalls, and it does not yet have the capacity to absorb all of the funding it does receive due to understaffing.

African Union Commission (AUC) Chairperson Dlamini-Zuma has made strengthening the AUC's capacity and reforming its operations key priorities. She has welcomed assistance from her home country South Africa and other AU Member States, and international partners including the United States in providing staffing, staff funding, and training. The AU is currently exploring alternative sources of financing, including possible continental taxes on air travel or on insurance policies, but in the near future, the AU budget is likely to be predominantly drawn from Member States' dues and contributions from international partners.

In FY 2012, the U.S. Government funded seven technical staff positions in the AU and held three innovative training sessions for five AUC departments interested in cross-department cooperation on trade in services. The United States and AU are exploring a number of areas under which the two sides can cooperate on our mutual goals of economic development, strengthening governance, and promoting peace and security on the African Continent, which are outlined in the U.S.-AU Memorandum of Understanding signed by Former Secretary of State Clinton and Chairperson Dlamini-Zuma on February 1, 2013.

RESPONSES OF HON. JAMES F. ENTWISTLE TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. What is the reason behind the administration's hesitation to designate Boko Haram a foreign terrorist organization? In addition, is it not a policy anomaly that the leaders responsible for the organization's current ethos have been designated terrorists, but the organization they lead has not?

Answer. The Department does not comment on deliberations related to Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) designations, but we can provide you a classified briefing on this issue. As you note, we have designated a number of Boko Haram's senior commanders as Specially Designated Global Terrorists, shining a light on their horrific acts and cutting off their access to the U.S. financial system. The State Department has also offered Rewards for Justice for select members of Boko Haram that have ties to Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. The designations of individuals and organizations for terrorism, while frequently overlapping, are made separately.

Question. Is there a certain threshold of terrorist activities that Boko Haram must commit before the entire organization is designated? If, so what is that threshold?

Answer. The Department does not comment on deliberations related to Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) designations, but we can provide you a classified briefing on this issue. We are constantly assessing the nature of Boko Haram and those who claim to be its adherents. There is an ongoing, active process to review U.S. efforts to counter the threat posed by Boko Haram, including the appropriateness and effectiveness of specific terrorism designations. This process includes regular high-level dialogue with the Nigerian Government about its strategy toward Boko Haram and specific areas of U.S. assistance.

Question. What work is the administration engaged in regarding the prevention of child marriage in Nigeria? In particular, how do you plan to address the issue considering a girl under 18 who is married is considered an adult?

Answer. A recent vote in the Nigeria's legislature to change the age at which a Nigerian citizen may renounce his or her citizenship was erroneously reported as the Nigerian Senate voting to legalize underage marriage. To date, there are no laws in Nigeria that say girls under 18, if married, are considered adults. Embassy officials regularly meet National Assembly members, local officials and leaders of

nongovernmental organizations to discuss all human rights matters, including women and children's rights. If confirmed, I will continue to work with Nigerian officials to address these important issues.

RESPONSES OF HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
SENATOR RICHARD J. DURBIN

Question. Last winter, I authored an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) that requires the State Department and the Treasury Department to impose visa bans and asset freezes on anyone found to be supporting the M23 rebel group operating in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). There have been multiple, public records, including from the U.N. Group of Experts and Human Rights Watch, that state that the M23 rebels receive support from officials in the Rwandan Government. A similar statement was issued from the State Department's spokesperson herself on July 23, 2013, and the same statement was issued during the fighting in Goma in late 2012.

- Who from the names listed in Group of Experts report of 2012, the more recent Group of Experts interim report released earlier this month, or from any other source has been subject to a U.S. visa ban?

Answer. Under Executive Order (EO) 13413, the Department of Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) designated Bosco Ntaganda on April 28, 2010; Sultani Makenga on November 13, 2012; Myamuro Ngaruye Baudoin and Innocent Kaina on December 18, 2012; and Jean-Marie Runiga and Eric Badege on January 3, 2013. We continually assess available information regarding individuals who may meet the criteria in EO 13413. Individuals designated by OFAC under EO 13413 are also subject to visa restrictions under Presidential Proclamation 8693. As for any action taken with regard to a visa application for an alien who has been so designated, the confidentiality provisions of section 222(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act would apply.

Question. My understanding is that as of this month, no individuals were yet subject to this visa ban (nor have any waivers been invoked)—at least 6 months since enactment of the bill. If correct, why is that the case and how does State justify this significant discrepancy?

Answer. More generally, we are continuing to collect information and assess whether additional individuals should be subject to a U.S. visa ban or other sanctions. Additionally, consistent with section 1284 of the NDAA for fiscal year 2013, the Department has taken steps to watch-list individuals involved in or who have provided support to the M23 rebel group or its predecessor the National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP) in our consular lookout database, Consular Lookout and Support System (CLASS.) We have taken action to ensure that individuals designated by OFAC will be identified in visa screening. We consider the U.N. Group of Experts report along with other available information when making determinations about watch-listing individuals who may be involved with the M23. Again, the confidentiality provisions of section 222(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act would apply to any individual visa record.

The State Department pursues these efforts as part of its broader work, in concert with interagency partners, to advance peace and security in the DRC. The Department has informed your staff that we will discuss these developments with your office in the near future.

TEXT OF AMENDMENT

SEC. 1284. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO SUPPORT FOR THE REBEL GROUP KNOWN AS M23.

(a) Blocking of Assets—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) or Executive Order 13413 (74 Fed. Reg. 64105; relating to blocking property of certain persons contributing to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo), block and prohibit all transactions in all property and interests in property of a person described in subsection (c) if such property and interests in property are in the United States, come within the United States, or are or come within the possession or control of a United States person.

(2) EXCEPTION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The requirement to block and prohibit all transactions in all property and interests in property under paragraph (1) shall not include the authority to impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

(B) GOOD DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘good’ has the meaning given that term in section 16 of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. App. 2415) (as continued in effect pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.)).

(b) VISA BAN.—The Secretary of State shall deny a visa to, and the Secretary of Homeland Security shall exclude from the United States, any alien who is a person described in subsection (c).

(c) PERSONS DESCRIBED.—A person described in this subsection is a person that the President determines provides, on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, significant financial, material, or technological support to M23.

(d) WAIVER.—The President may waive the application of this section with respect to a person if the President determines and reports to the appropriate congressional committees that the waiver is in the national interest of the United States.

(e) TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS.—Sanctions imposed under this section may terminate 15 days after the date on which the President determines and reports to the appropriate congressional committees that the person covered by such determination has terminated the provision of significant financial, material, and technological support to M23.

(f) TERMINATION OF SECTION.—This section shall terminate on the date that is 15 days after the date on which the President determines and reports to the appropriate congressional committees that M23 is no longer a significant threat to peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

(g) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—The term ‘appropriate congressional committees’ means—

(A) the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate; and

(B) the Committee on Financial Services, the Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

(2) M23.—The term ‘M23’ refers to the rebel group known as M23 operating in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that derives its name from the March 23, 2009, agreement between the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the National Congress for the Defense of the People (or any successor group).

(3) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term ‘United States person’ means—

(A) an individual who is a United States citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence to the United States; or

(B) an entity organized under the laws of the United States or of any jurisdiction within the United States.