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HEARING
NOMINATIONS

Wednesday, June 20, 2007

U.S. SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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NOMINEES

HON. ANNE WOODS PATTERSON, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

HON. NANCY J. POWELL, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO NEPAL

JOSEPH ADAM ERELI, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM
OF BAHRAIN

RICHARD BOYCE NORLAND, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE
REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN

STEPHEN A. SECHE, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF
YEMEN

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WASHINGTON, DC.

1 The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:35 p.m. in Room SD-419, Dirksen
2 Senate Office Building, Hon. John Kerry, presiding.

3 **PRESENT:** Senators Kerry [presiding] and Feingold.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN KERRY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS**

4 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you. We'll come to order. I apologize to everybody
5 for being a little late. We're in the middle of negotiations on the energy bill, that
6 wonderful subject of CAFE standards, which we've been fighting about for as long as
7 I've been here. So we're trying to see if we can get something cooking, and I apologize
8 for that.

9 Thank you all for being here. This hearing is to examine the nominations for
10 ambassador of a number of career foreign service officers: the Honorable Anne Woods
11 Patterson to be Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; the Honorable Nancy
12 Powell, to be Ambassador to Nepal; Mr. Joseph Adam Ereli, to be Ambassador to the
13 Kingdom of Bahrain; Mr. Richard Boyce Norland, to be Ambassador to the Republic of
14 Uzbekistan; and Mr. Stephen A. Seche, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Yemen.

15 I might add, having sat on these hearings for a long time now, it is really both
16 refreshing and enormously reassuring to see so much experience at a time at one time

1 and so many people whose long careers have really I think prepared them all so
2 effectively for these challenging missions. There isn't one mission here that isn't
3 challenging one way or the other.

4 We thank your families also. I certainly personally understand the commitment
5 and sacrifices involved in your service and we're very, very grateful to all of you for
6 that, particularly those of you going to places -- well, almost everywhere nowadays has
7 become more complicated and stressful than it ever used to be, and it takes a real toll in
8 a lot of different ways.

9 So we welcome all of you here and we welcome those of you who have family
10 members who have come to share this hearing with you.

11 Let me just speak individually if I can for a moment. Ms. Patterson, thank you.
12 I'm very glad we had a chance to talk personally. I met with the foreign minister just
13 the day before yesterday and we had a good meeting and discussed some of the
14 subjects that we talked about.

15 The position you've been nominated for, obviously, ambassador to Pakistan, is a
16 central one in terms of our current efforts in struggling with terrorism. Pakistan,
17 needless to say, has been a key ally in the region and in the fight against terrorism. It's
18 one of the most significant complex relationships we have anywhere in the world.
19 Recent developments there are obviously of great concern to many of us on the
20 Committee.

1 Pakistan clearly has many contributions to make in the fight against terrorism
2 and they have also made sacrifices in this effort. But we're also concerned about the
3 current situation in the border region with Afghanistan, and particularly in North
4 Waziristan, where the deal President Musharraf made with local tribal leaders has not
5 worked out, as many predicted, or certainly as well for us or for Pakistan.

6 Al-Qaeda has reportedly established a base of operations there and we know the
7 direct threat that those bases can pose to us and to our allies. Most judgments are that
8 Usama bin Laden and top al-Qaeda leaders are still likely hiding out somewhere in that
9 region. And the Taliban has been using that area as a base from which to launch attacks
10 against coalition forces and the government of Afghanistan.

11 So we need to continue pushing Pakistan to address this problem and show
12 greater accountability for the dollars that we're putting in there.

13 Recent political developments are also troublesome. President Musharraf's
14 refusal so far, though I suspect that this will resolve itself, but the question of his living
15 up to his promise to relinquish his role as the chief of the military, his unwillingness yet,
16 though I think this may also resolve itself, to allow former prime ministers Benazir
17 Bhutto and Nawaf Sharif to return to the country for the upcoming elections, and the
18 arrest of hundreds of political activists from opposition parties, have raised
19 fundamental questions about both the relationship and the future of democracy.

20 The president's dismissal of the chief justice of the Supreme Court resulted in
21 widespread protests and has raised concerns about the rule of law. The temporary

1 crackdown on the media could have a chilling effect on free press in the future. So we
2 need to reinforce our commitment for both democracy, human rights, respect for the
3 rule of law, and find a way somehow -- and this is your task -- to balance all of that with
4 the complicated mutuality that is needed in other endeavors.

5 I know that Deputy Secretary Negroponte and the Assistant Secretary have been
6 in Pakistan recently raising these concerns and I would be interested in hearing your
7 views on them today.

8 Bahrain has long been an ally of the United States. We have had a U.S. naval
9 command there for nearly 60 years. The country now faces many of the challenges that
10 we see unfolding across the region. It has a majority Shia population with Sunni
11 leadership and we know that Iran has attempted to influence, to extend the influence
12 that it's always had there. In fact, if you go back historically to its independence, that
13 independence came about as a result of their efforts to separate themselves from Iran.

14 They have made some significant progress in implementing democratic reforms
15 and respecting freedom of religion, but more remains to be done. Given that their oil
16 reserves will be exhausted in the next 15 years, they needless to say need to diversify
17 their economy, and there are many, many reforms and quite a remarkable level of
18 development taking place there, as we all know. But it's a key as we try to bring
19 stability to a chaotic region.

20 Yemen also presents, similarly, significant challenges for American foreign
21 policy. While it's the only republic in the region, it's also one of the poorest countries in

1 the area, lacking its own oil resources particularly and other resources. And it has a
2 very high population growth. In fact, some have suggested that Yemen is at real risk of
3 becoming a failed state in the next decades.

4 Even now, significant portions of Yemen are outside the control of government
5 and potentially provide a haven for terrorists. We all remember that the USS Cole was
6 attacked in the port of Aden.

7 It is in the interest of both the United States and Yemen that we work together to
8 find sustainable solutions to the challenges that we face.

9 After nearly a decade of civil war and many years of autocratic rule, a place that
10 most people have always thought of as rather peaceful, Nepal, finds itself at a critical
11 point in its history. The United States and the international community need to help
12 Nepal to restore and solidify their democracy. Key to this is moving forward with the
13 process of integrating the Maoist opposition into the political process.

14 Nepal faces a tough road ahead and we obviously need to give them the support
15 they need to succeed. Our ambassador's relationship and leverage in that process will
16 be critical.

17 In Uzbekistan, the most powerful of the Central Asian former Soviet republics,
18 we are faced with deteriorating relations with an increasingly brutal and repressive
19 dictator in Islam Karimov. For a brief period after 9-11, we had a more cooperative
20 relationship with Mr. Karimov, but subsequent human rights violations have led us to
21 sever our military ties.

1 We need to emphasize the need for genuine significant improvement in
2 Uzbekistan's record on human rights, religious rights, press freedoms, NGO rights, and
3 democratic reforms.

4 So it's clear that each of you as ambassadors are going to be facing some very
5 immediate, complicated, and important challenges. And I know the members of this
6 Committee will be interested in how you're going to approach them, but also in the
7 progress as we go along over the next year and a half or more.

8 So we're slightly under the gun here, but I don't think this is going to be a
9 prolonged hearing, the reason being that we have a meeting on Iraq at about 4:00, a
10 little bit after 4:00. So I suspect that it will not push us up against the wall, but I just
11 wanted to sound that note of alarm.

12 So this is the picture. It's an interesting group of places. This is actually
13 enormously challenging when you put it all together, and it's not separate, either. It's
14 all connected and interconnected, which makes it all the much more fascinating in terms
15 of our larger interests and goals.

16 So thank you for being here. Why don't we get into your testimony. If I could
17 ask you each to sort of summarize, and each of your testimonies will be placed in the
18 record in full and then we can have a dialogue, which I think would be helpful.

19 So Ambassador Patterson, if you'd lead off and we'll just run down the line.
20 Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ANNE WOODS PATTERSON, NOMINATED TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN**

1 **MS. PATTERSON:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm honored to be here today as
2 President Bush's nominee for ambassador to Pakistan. I would like to thank the
3 President and Secretary Rice for the confidence they have shown by nominating me to
4 serve in this position. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this Committee and
5 Congress in furthering our goals in Pakistan. Allow me to summarize my written
6 statement.

7 U.S. relations with Pakistan were transformed after the September 11th attacks,
8 when Pakistan made a commitment to stand with us against terrorism and extremism.
9 I endorse the 9-11 Commission's recommendation to comprehensively support the
10 Pakistan government in its struggle against extremists and am ready to assist Pakistan
11 in its plan to enhance internal security, propel democratic reform, and improve relations
12 with its neighbors.

13 The United States must maintain and enhance Pakistan's cooperation in the war
14 on terror and, if confirmed, it will be my most urgent task.

15 Additionally, I am fully committed to encouraging a democratic transition by
16 supporting free and fair elections. The Pakistani people deserve the same right we in the
17 United States enjoy, the right to choose their leaders democratically. But we also know
18 that democracy means more than just holding elections. It means building respect for
19 the rule of law and reinforcing institutions such as a free press that are essential for
20 democracy to flourish. Social and economic development programs play an

1 instrumental part in nurturing democracy and we should step up our efforts to assist
2 the government of Pakistan in bettering the lives of its citizens, particularly in
3 ungoverned parts of the country, so that terrorism and radicalism will not find fertile
4 ground.

5 These goals are not contradictory, but mutually reinforcing. We therefore have
6 to move forward together with the Pakistanis on all fronts simultaneously.

7 Pakistan's contribution to the war on terror has been significant. Since 2001 the
8 Pakistani government has arrested hundreds of terrorist suspects, turning over to the
9 U.S. such senior al-Qaeda figures as Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, Ramzi bin al-Qaeda
10 Shibh, and Abu Zubaida. 85,000 Pakistani forces are stationed on the Aghan border and
11 more than 450 members of Pakistan's security forces have sacrificed their lives in
12 support of anti-terror efforts.

13 We are committed to supporting Pakistan's new strategy in the Federally
14 Administered Tribal Areas with development assistance, appropriate aid to the military
15 and police, and new measures to promote investment.

16 If confirmed, I will work closely with the Department of Defense, the U.S.
17 Congress, and our Pakistani and nongovernmental partners on these and other key
18 issues, such as furthering legal protection for women and ethnic and religious
19 minorities, and combatting child labor and human trafficking. Similarly, I intend to
20 actively pursue our public diplomacy efforts inside Pakistan to ensure that we reach out
21 to Pakistani citizens.

1 Mr. Chairman, Pakistan's good relations with neighboring states are also crucial
2 to its progress toward a stable, peaceful, and prosperous democracy. If confirmed, I
3 will continue to work with the Pakistani government and my colleagues in Embassy
4 Kabul to support efforts to build a stable Afghanistan. The joint statement issued by
5 President Musharraf and President Karzai in Ankara this spring demonstrates growing
6 cooperation between the two countries, but very serious tensions remain.

7 With U.S. assistance, Pakistan is working to secure its border with Afghanistan to
8 prevent the smuggling of arms, terrorists, and illegal drugs which are fueling the
9 Taliban insurgency. The U.S. and NATO must continue to foster expanded Pakistan-
10 Afghanistan bilateral dialogue.

11 On the eastern order, we remain ready to support and assist Pakistan and India's
12 renewed commitment to the Indo-Pakistani reconciliation. We recognize the progress
13 made by the Pakistan government in disabling the A.Q. Khan proliferation network and
14 the steps taken to ensure that such a network cannot be reconstituted. However, we
15 must continue to be vigilant and, if confirmed, I will remain engaged with Pakistan on
16 this vital issue.

17 Mr. Chairman, if confirmed I look forward to working with the Congress as we
18 face the challenge of building a strong strategic partnership with Pakistan that reflects
19 and protects these interests.

20 Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Patterson follows:]

[COMMITTEE INSERT]

1 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you very much, ambassador.

2 Ambassador Powell, a little deja vu for you in all that?

**STATEMENT OF HON. NANCY J. POWELL, NOMINATED
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO NEPAL**

3 **MS. POWELL:** A little bit, sir.

4 Mr. Chairman, I'm deeply honored to be --

5 **SENATOR KERRY:** Tell me which country you're here for?

[Laughter.]

6 **MS. POWELL:** -- as the President's nominee to serve as U.S. ambassador to
7 Nepal. I thank both President Bush and Secretary Rice for their confidence. If
8 confirmed, I will have the privilege of returning to a region that has been the focus of
9 much of my career and to an embassy where I spent my second tour in the foreign
10 service. However, much has changed since then.

11 Nepal is at a critical juncture in its history. Its government and people are
12 simultaneously working to end a devastating decade-long Maoist insurgency and to
13 established sustained, multiparty democracy. They are also struggling to emerge from
14 poverty and to address the issues of discrimination and inequality that have long
15 plagued Nepal. Peace and democracy in Nepal would directly serve U.S. interests in
16 stability and democracy in South Asia.

17 The seven-party alliance and the Maoists, who together comprise the interim
18 government, have agreed to a political road map that, if fully implemented, has the

1 potential to deliver peace and democracy to Nepal. There has been much progress to
2 date, but success is far from assured. Although the Maoists joined the government on
3 April 1, they continue to violate commitments they have made in the course of the
4 peace process. Unrest in the lowlands along the Indian border has further complicated
5 efforts to restore law and order and the authority of the government throughout the
6 country.

7 The security vacuum and the political stalemate precluded free and fair
8 constituent assembly elections from being held this month as originally planned. They
9 are now expected in November or early December. In order to assure these polls are
10 free and fair when they do take place, the government must urgently restore law and
11 order throughout the country, complete the legislative and logistical groundwork for a
12 well administered election, and reach out to disaffected groups to ensure their adequate
13 representation and peaceful participation in the political process.

14 If confirmed, I will continue our active support of Nepali efforts to these ends.

15 Although democracy and stability are among our strongest interests in Nepal,
16 they are far from the only ones. Nepal's magnificent art and architecture, as well as its
17 scenery, continue to make it a favorite destination of American travelers and the
18 provision of services to American citizens is a responsibility that comes ahead of all
19 others. Also, achieving durable solutions for the 108,000 Bhutanese refugees in Nepal
20 continues to be a U.S. priority. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the

1 government of Nepal to implement current plans for a voluntary resettlement program
2 that would accommodate at least 60,000 of these refugees.

3 I will also encourage the government of Nepal to ensure that the rights of all
4 Tibetan refugees resident in or transiting Nepal are respected.

5 There remains room for improvement in Nepal's efforts to prevent and prosecute
6 human trafficking and to ensure its security forces uphold the highest human rights
7 standards. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the government on these issues
8 as well.

9 Foreign assistance is and will continue to be the most useful tool at our disposal
10 to influence developments in Nepal along the full spectrum of our national interests
11 there, from technical support intended to strengthen Nepal's nascent democratic
12 institutions to health programs that improve the daily lives of many Nepalese, as well
13 as humanitarian assistance for refugees and conflict victims and training for Nepal's
14 military that is focused on improving its human rights record and working under
15 civilian authority. Our aid provides a critical programmatic complement to our
16 diplomacy. I take seriously the responsibility to ensure that American taxpayers receive
17 high returns on their investment in Nepal.

18 If confirmed, I look forward to consulting closely with you, Mr. Chairman, all
19 members of the Committee and your staffs throughout my tenure in Nepal. I
20 appreciate the opportunity to speak before the Committee today. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Powell follows:]

[COMMITTEE INSERT]

1 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you very much. We appreciate it.

2 Mr. Joseph Adam Ereli?

**STATEMENT OF JOSEPH ADAM ERELI, NOMINATED
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN**

3 **MR. ERELI:** Thank you, sir. It's an honor to be here, Mr. Chairman. I thank you
4 and the members of the Committee for this opportunity and, if confirmed, I look
5 forward to working closely with you.

6 Mr. Chairman, for over 50 years, as you said in your statement, the Kingdom of
7 Bahrain and its leaders have been strong allies and close friends of the United States in a
8 very dangerous neighborhood. They have stood with us in times of war and in times of
9 peace. Their vision for the future of Bahrain and the region is one that we largely share
10 -- representative democracy, free trade, and security cooperation. My priorities if
11 confirmed as ambassador would be to move our bilateral relationship forward in all
12 three areas.

13 Bahrain is a major non-NATO ally. It hosts the U.S. Fifth Fleet and U.S. Naval
14 Forces Central Command headquarters. It sent air, ground, and naval assets to Kuwait
15 in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom. Its naval vessels are serving beside ours in
16 ongoing maritime operations in the Arabian Gulf.

17 As an ally with a shared security vision for the region, we have an interest in
18 helping Bahrain develop its defense capabilities and ensuring interoperability with our

1 forces. An increasingly aggressive, assertive Iran makes this cooperation all the more
2 important. If confirmed, sir, I will work closely with my Department of Defense
3 colleagues to enhance Bahraini defense capabilities and their cooperation with our
4 forces in confronting regional threats. If confirmed, I will also devote considerable
5 attention to counterterrorism cooperation.

6 The United States and Bahrain have a free trade agreement which entered into
7 force a year ago. It has stimulated economic growth and is a positive model for other
8 countries in the region. If confirmed, I will focus much of my effort on fully exploring
9 the free trade agreement's potential for U.S. investment in Bahrain and two-way trade
10 that benefits both our countries.

11 Another important goal, sir, for the embassy and the United States in the coming
12 years will be to strengthen support for democracy and democratic institutions in
13 Bahrain. Bahrain has had two successful parliamentary elections since 2002. Political
14 tendencies of all stripes have a voice in the affairs of their country. If confirmed, I will
15 work to strengthen political pluralism, civil society, and the rule of law.

16 Finally, Mr. Chairman, should I be confirmed I will have no higher priority than
17 the safety and security of the dedicated men and women under my charge, both
18 American and foreign national. They are bravely serving our country in difficult
19 circumstances and I will do everything in my power to see that they have the resources
20 and protection required to accomplish their mission on behalf of the American people.

1 Thank you again, sir, for this opportunity and I'd be pleased to answer any
2 questions you might have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ereli follows:]

[COMMITTEE INSERT]

3 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you very much. We appreciate it.

4 Mr. Norland?

**STATEMENT OF RICHARD BOYCE NORLAND, NOMINATED TO BE
AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN**

5 **MR. NORLAND:** Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to appear before
6 you here today. I am honored that the President has nominated me and I'm thankful to
7 Secretary Rice for recommending me for the position of ambassador to Uzbekistan.
8 Thank you also for the opportunity to introduce my wife, Mary Hartnett, who has made
9 it possible for me to serve for 2 years on an unaccompanied tour in Afghanistan and
10 supported me throughout that, my son Daniel, who has just graduated from Boston
11 University Law School. Our daughter Kate is overseas and can't be here.

12 Senator, thank you also for coming to Kabul, where you will be remembered not
13 only for taking risks and working hard, but also for being the only U.S. Senator to have
14 a snowball fight with the embassy staff.

15 Sir, at the heart of Central Asia, Uzbekistan is a country that presents great --

16 **SENATOR KERRY:** Remember who won?

[Laughter.]

17 **MR. NORLAND:** You were outnumbered.

1 At the heart of Central Asia, Uzbekistan is a country that presents great
2 challenges and great opportunities for the United States. The historical center of the
3 famed Silk Road trade, the seat of the Emperor Tamerlane's empire, a traditional center
4 of Islamic thought, and the core of former Soviet Central Asia, Uzbekistan has
5 developed a very strong identity, which is reflected in its relationships with neighbors
6 and with the United States.

7 Mr. Chairman, as I'm sure the Committee is aware, the close bilateral
8 relationship we once enjoyed with Uzbekistan on security issues, particularly on
9 Afghanistan, has been reduced significantly during the past few years. Concurrently,
10 our concern about the state of democratic development and human rights in
11 Uzbekistan, already great, has steadily increased with every report of actions taken
12 against civil society, including press outlets, human rights activists, and
13 nongovernmental organizations.

14 I strongly believe that, despite the challenges of recent years, the United States
15 can and should seek cooperation with Uzbekistan in areas integral to our common
16 national security interests, particularly the fight against terrorism, the proliferation of
17 weapons of mass destruction, and the narcotics trade.

18 At the same time, Mr. Chairman, the policy which has consistently guided our
19 engagement in Uzbekistan and which will bring true security to both Uzbekistan and
20 the United States is multifaceted and balanced. Along with pursuing security

1 cooperation, we will seek to promote greater respect for human rights and rule of law,
2 real political reform, and the expansion of economic opportunity for Uzbek citizens.

3 Mr. Chairman, if confirmed I look forward to drawing upon my experiences in
4 the former Soviet Union and most recently as deputy chief of mission in neighboring
5 Afghanistan to seek the reinvigoration of meaningful cooperation with the government
6 and the people of Uzbekistan, as was envisaged when we signed the 2002 declaration
7 on the strategic partnership and cooperation framework.

8 If confirmed by the Senate, I will focus on reversing the deteriorating human
9 rights situation in Uzbekistan, including the decline in religious and press freedom.
10 The acknowledged use of torture by the security services, for example, is not only a
11 grave violation of human rights, but also undermines the government and the country's
12 security. We must work with Uzbek authorities to put an end to this awful practice.

13 Although not yet announced, Uzbekistan is likely to hold presidential elections
14 before the end of the year that will determine the next phase of the country's history. If
15 confirmed, I intend to work closely with the government of Uzbekistan and
16 international bodies such as the OSCE to underscore the Uzbek people's right to a free
17 and fair election.

18 Finally, Mr. Chairman, it is crucial that we continue efforts already under way to
19 strengthen economic ties between Uzbekistan, its immediate neighbors, South Asia, and
20 the United States. Uzbekistan can only be as strong and prosperous as the economic
21 opportunities it provides its people and increasing these will only be achieved if the

1 government adopts the difficult changes necessary to attract foreign investment, lower
2 its trade barriers, and participate fully in the world economic community.

3 Mr. Chairman, Uzbekistan and the United States do not enjoy the close
4 partnership we once had, but Uzbekistan's strategic location, importance and potential
5 require that we remain engaged and do our best to return the relationship to where it
6 should be. Working with you and members of this body, along with our dedicated
7 team of American and Uzbekistan professionals on the ground at Embassy Tashkent, I
8 believe we can make progress in securing our interests and encouraging Uzbekistan to
9 realize its full potential.

10 Mr. Chairman, thank you again for this opportunity and I would be pleased to
11 respond to any questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Norland follows:]

[COMMITTEE INSERT]

12 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you very much.

13 Mr. Seche, I'm proud to welcome you via the University of Massachusetts and
14 the Berkshire Eagle.

**STATEMENT OF STEPHEN A. SECHE, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR TO
THE REPUBLIC OF YEMEN**

15 **MR. SECHE:** Thank you, sir.

16 **SENATOR KERRY:** Good to have you here.

17 **MR. SECHE:** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for the
18 opportunity to appear this afternoon. As each of my colleagues have noted, Mr.
19 Chairman, I too am honored to appear before you today as President Bush's nominee to

1 be the next United States ambassador to the Republic of Yemen, and I am grateful for
2 the trust and confidence President Bush and Secretary Rice have placed in me.

3 If confirmed by the Senate, I can assure you that protecting embassy staff and the
4 lives of all Americans in Yemen, as well as American facilities and other interests, will
5 be my top priority.

6 On May 2nd, following their meeting at the White House, President Bush and
7 Yemeni President Saleh each spoke to the strength of the bilateral relationship. At the
8 heart of that relationship is a shared desire to strengthen democracy, counter
9 extremism, and provide economic opportunity and a stable future for the Yemeni
10 people.

11 Yemen and the United States have achieved important successes together in our
12 common effort to eradicate terrorism. Successes to date include joint action against al-
13 Qaeda cells and successful prosecution of the perpetrators of the October 2000 terrorism
14 attack on the USS Cole. This cooperation continues today and strengthening this
15 partnership will be one of my principal priorities if I am confirmed by the Senate.

16 We must be mindful at the same time, as you noted yourself, Senator, that
17 Yemen is one of the world's poorest countries, suffering from high levels of population
18 growth, unemployment, infant mortality, and chronic illiteracy. Over 40 percent of the
19 population lives below the poverty line and nearly 50 percent is under the age of 15. Oil
20 production, which currently comprises two-thirds of government revenue, is expected
21 to decline dramatically during the next 10 years.

1 Our partnership therefore also must include assistance to help Yemen improve
2 the lives of its citizens through comprehensive education, health care, agricultural
3 development, and good governance. Our support for Yemen as it addresses these
4 critical needs will in turn contribute to the advancement of U.S. interests in the country
5 and more broadly in the region.

6 Over the past 18 months, the government of Yemen has undertaken significant
7 democratic reforms. With major support from the United States, Yemen in September
8 2006 conducted presidential and local council elections that were judged to be open and
9 genuinely competitive by international observers. Other significant reforms include
10 passage of a much-needed anti-corruption law, judicial and civil service reforms, and
11 the drafting of a new government procurement law.

12 International donors, led by the Gulf States, responded to these reforms by
13 pledging \$4.7 billion towards Yemen's development in November of 2006. In February
14 of this year, these achievements led to Yemen's reinstatement in the Millennium
15 Challenge Corporation's threshold program.

16 U.S. efforts in support of economic development will focus on combating the
17 corruption endemic to nearly every level of government in Yemen, through technical
18 assistance to both government and NGOs that will encourage transparency and increase
19 the confidence of international investors and donors.

20 Mr. Chairman, over the course of a foreign service career that is now
21 approaching 3 decades and has included assignments in 8 different countries, I have

1 tried to forge relationships that advance American interests by encouraging political
2 stability, economic prosperity, and confidence that the United States can be relied up on
3 as a partner and a friend. Nowhere is this issue of confidence more important today
4 than in the Middle East. I believe that in Yemen, thanks to the persistence and
5 professionalism of colleagues here in Washington and at our embassy in Sana'a, we
6 have made significant strides in recent years towards a relationship that has the
7 potential to serve as a model for the region and the world.

8 Finally, Mr. Chairman, I'd be remiss if I failed to publicly thank my wife Susan,
9 my daughters Kate, Lucy, and Ariel for their love and forbearance in the face of the
10 constant disruptions that they have endured in their own lives as I have pursued my
11 career, and I'm pleased that, with the exception of Ariel, the women in my life are all
12 here with me this afternoon.

13 In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to encourage
14 members of Congress and your staff to visit Yemen for a firsthand look at the
15 partnership we are building and to ensure that our efforts on the ground reflect the will
16 of this body and the American people.

17 Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Seche follows:]

[COMMITTEE INSERT]

18 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you very much, Mr. Seche, and thank you for your
19 last comments.

1 I neglected to say, does any other ambassador-designate have family here you
2 want to introduce? Yes, Ambassador Patterson.

3 **MS. PATTERSON:** My husband David.

4 **SENATOR KERRY:** What's that?

5 **MS. PATTERSON:** My husband David.

6 **SENATOR KERRY:** Welcome. Glad to have you here.

7 **MS. PATTERSON:** He's a fellow Foreign Service officer.

8 **SENATOR KERRY:** Terrific.

9 **MR. ERELI:** Sir, my wife Marina and stepdaughter Masha, who are former
10 residents of Brookline, Massachusetts.

11 **SENATOR KERRY:** Terrific judgment.

[Laughter.]

12 **MR. ERELI:** And an employee of Newton Free Library.

13 **SENATOR KERRY:** Beg your pardon?

14 **MR. ERELI:** An employee of Newton Free Library.

15 **SENATOR KERRY:** Terrific.

16 We share an alma mater.

17 **MS. POWELL:** Mr. Chairman, I don't have my immediate family with me today,
18 but I do have members of my Foreign Service family, and I appreciate their support
19 today.

1 **SENATOR KERRY:** Well, that's wonderful. Will they raise their hands? Where
2 are they all? -- well, thank you, all of you. Thank you all for your service.

3 I couldn't help but, when you list those eight countries, and I was looking
4 through all of your curricula, it's just astonishing the span of experience that's sitting
5 here, the numbers of places you all have served, from the Caribbean to Latin America to
6 Canada, Saudi Arabia, Africa. It's really quite staggering. It's a great deal of experience
7 and I hope it's going to be really well put to use.

8 I know that some people in the foreign service can sometimes get a little bit
9 frustrated at the bureaucracy and sometimes the unwillingness of Washington to listen.

10 I'm going to -- you know, I believe these hearings ought to be more than just sort of pro
11 forma. We're going to ask some of the questions we need to about your countries, but I
12 want to draw on a little bit of that experience if I can and ask you to just be candid. And
13 if you say anything too out there, we'll make sure the Secretary doesn't hear about it
14 and we'll still follow through and get this done.

15 Procedurally -- but I really do want to draw on you, because you've been -- you
16 know the street, you know what's happening out there. Sometimes I think that the
17 experience that's on the ground in some of these countries just gets wasted. When I go
18 out and visit, as some of my colleagues on the Committee do, and we sit in the
19 embassies and you listen, it's a great education and you learn so much more than here.
20 I think a lot of that experience sometimes doesn't make it all the way to where it ought
21 to and get listened to enough.

1 So, having said that, let me proceed to ask a few specific questions. Then I want
2 to turn to my colleague and share this, and then I'll come back and perhaps ask some of
3 these others.

4 But just to let you reflect on it a little bit, I really want to talk -- I want to get you
5 beyond your countries. I want you to share -- and it bears on your countries, but I want
6 you to think about and I want you to share with the Committee for the record -- you
7 know, we're really tangled up in Iraq and we're tangled upon the Middle East, and
8 Hamas is stronger and Hezbollah is stronger, and Iran is flexing its muscles. You know,
9 we're sort of on the short end more than we've ever been before or want to be and our
10 leverage and credibility are at risk and at stake.

11 I meet a lot of students nowadays who are traveling abroad and they tell me they
12 tell people they're Canadian, not American. I see some heads nodding out there. I
13 mean, it burns you up and it hurts, but it's a reality that people face. People tell me they
14 flash their American passport, but they put it back in their pocket as fast as they can
15 because they don't want to be identified, and so forth. And for business people it's got
16 to cost nowadays.

17 I want you to share with this Committee, because you've spent a lot of time as
18 junior officers, you've got friends in these countries, you hear what people are thinking
19 and saying, I want you to share with the Committee ultimately, and we'll come back to
20 it, some of the things you think we ought to be doing to restore that confidence and to
21 rebuild our credibility and to address some of these burning issues that are feeding

1 insurgencies and feeding terrorism and allowing extreme radical religious zealots to
2 somehow isolate us in a world where we should be isolating them.

3 I think it's a very, very significant question for all of us to think about. And if we
4 don't draw on your experience, shame on us; we're missing something important here.

5 So that said, let me just turn to a few of these countries and get your views a little
6 bit on it. Why don't I start with you, Mr. Seche, since we just ended with you. Share
7 with us -- first of all, obviously people are concerned about al-Qaeda's operational
8 structure in Yemen. The State Department's annual report suggests that it's been
9 weakened and dispersed. But real concerns remain about the organization's attempts to
10 reconstitute operational cells there, as the State Department says.

11 Can you share with us what the portfolio is that you've been given or as you
12 understand it and what you think you can do to enhance our situation on the ground
13 there?

14 **MR. SECHE:** I'd be happy to try. Thank you very much, Senator. I think that
15 the counterterrorism portfolio, as you rightly point out, is among the most important I
16 will have before me if confirmed by the Senate and if I get to serve as ambassador to
17 Yemen. There is no greater issue and no greater opportunity for cooperation between
18 our two governments than this presents itself. Certainly, thus far we have seen
19 President Saleh commit himself I think quite resolutely to efforts to eradicate terrorism
20 through the arrest of al-Qaeda suspects, through stemming the flow of fighters to Iraq
21 from Yemen, and by arresting the perpetrators of the Cole bombing.

1 So there is some success being done there. There is also at the same time, again
2 as you pointed out and as I tried to address in my statement, some very worrisome
3 political, economic, and social indicators in the country that continue to create
4 conditions that one might easily argue encourage young men to turn to extremism as a
5 way to better their lives and gain goals they may feel otherwise are unattainable.

6 **SENATOR KERRY:** You say you could easily argue it. Is it your judgment that
7 it is or isn't a factor?

8 **MR. SECHE:** In my judgment it is a factor. I certainly think in my experience I
9 have seen these kind of --

10 **SENATOR KERRY:** A significant factor?

11 **MR. SECHE:** Sorry?

12 **SENATOR KERRY:** A significant one?

13 **MR. SECHE:** It depends to some extent on the individual, I think. But I don't
14 think there's any way to argue against the fact --

15 **SENATOR KERRY:** What do you think the other factors are?

16 **MR. SECHE:** I think possibly there may be an argument to be made that there is
17 a cultural element in certain people's lives, there's religious elements in certain people's
18 lives. There are certainly economic aspects of extremism that I think we need to address
19 as well. So I think it's a package, and I think that all of these elements together may
20 create a certain kind of a corrosive mix, and we find this very much in some of the
21 poorer countries in the region, and that is the most worrisome aspect in Yemen, as I say,

1 and one reason why we need to address the internal conditions and make sure that
2 Yemenis can find a road to prosperity and democracy that will give them the confidence
3 that their needs will be met by their government.

4 **SENATOR KERRY:** What can you -- can you share anything with the
5 Committee, do you have any view at this point from a distance, or have you been
6 informed, about the rumors that President Saleh is grooming his son Ahmad for a
7 succession?

8 **MR. SECHE:** I've certainly heard the rumors, and I think that it's important for
9 us as a government and certainly if I am confirmed and go to Yemen that will be one of
10 my first tasks, to try to continue the efforts being made on the ground to ensure that a
11 succession process is in place that will be democratic, that will be transparent, that'll be
12 constitutionally viable, and that will leave the Yemeni people with full confidence that
13 their will has been expressed at the polls.

14 **SENATOR KERRY:** What do you think has been the impact of the increased
15 American aid since the attacks of September 11th?

16 **MR. SECHE:** I think it's had a very positive impact. I think we have focused
17 very smartly on the five governorates where the conditions are least propitious
18 economically and politically and perhaps most volatile, and where the conditions are
19 such that we might see the kind of extremism take root that we're trying to avoid. I
20 think for that reason alone this sharp focus, the effort we've made in health care,
21 education, economic reforms, transparency, anti-corruption, all of these are Yemeni

1 society that need to be addressed, and I think identifying ourselves with these remedial
2 steps is a very positive element in the relationship.

3 **SENATOR KERRY:** What do you think is the top priority in terms of building
4 the relationship and diminishing the impact of radical gains?

5 **MR. SECHE:** I think we need to be seen as being absolutely true to our values. I
6 think this is rule of law, all the constitutional guarantees we take for granted. We need
7 to make sure that around the world people see us and say, yes, America can be trusted,
8 can be relied upon to bring these values to bear in our own societies.

9 **SENATOR KERRY:** And what do you think is the biggest crow that sticks in
10 their throat with respect to that, and what perception is working against us in your
11 judgment in Yemen?

12 **MR. SECHE:** Well, I suspect that probably, conversely, the fact that there is an
13 erosion of this confidence, there is a sense that we have not really proven to be true to
14 our values in some sense. They look around and they see --

15 **SENATOR KERRY:** Tell me in your judgment, what do you pick up and hear?
16 What is the biggest evidence of that? Is it Guantanamo? Is it Abu Ghraib? Is it Iraq
17 itself? Is it some particular thing, a conglomerate of them?

18 **MR. SECHE:** I think it's a basketful of issues. I think Guantanamo is one that
19 strikes very closely and very personally to many Yemenis, and I think this is something
20 that we need to resolve with as much dispatch as we can. I also think that Iraq, of
21 course, has a very negative influence on people's opinions and perceptions of us, and I

1 think the continued protracted inability to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian issue is another
2 issue that has to be addressed.

3 **SENATOR KERRY:** Share with us just very quickly, and then I'll ask you others,
4 the prospects for improving Yemen's economic situation and this level of poverty?

5 **MR. SECHE:** I think fundamentally what we need to do is address the issue of
6 corruption. I think it's endemic in the government at all levels. I think it's a real
7 impediment to investor and donor confidence. I think that people are using their own
8 ability to get at wealth for their own personal gain. It tends to be a dispiriting element
9 in a society and we need to address that as well.

10 I think we've done very well with the aid we've been able to put in the country in
11 very critical areas to ensure that we try to lift the boat up a little bit so that everybody
12 can come home and float a little bit more safely to harbor.

13 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you.

14 Mr. Norland, did you enjoy Norway?

15 **MR. NORLAND:** I had the great fortune, sir, to be in Tromso, Norway, before
16 anybody ever used the term "American presence post," and it was a one-person post 250
17 miles north of the Arctic Circle, and it was a marvelous experience.

18 **SENATOR KERRY:** It must have been. I hope somebody was there with you.

19 **MR. NORLAND:** My wife and kids.

20 **SENATOR KERRY:** Terrific.

21 **MR. NORLAND:** Yes.

1 **SENATOR KERRY:** Uzbekistan presents one of those tricky balances, as do a
2 couple of the other places you all are going to represent, between advocating for human
3 rights and democracy and the balance of getting day to day cooperation from people to
4 fight terrorism. Give us your assessment of sort of where that balance is and to what
5 degree you judge Uzbekistan is in fact cooperating with our anti-proliferation and anti-
6 terrorism efforts?

7 **MR. NORLAND:** Yes, Senator. I think, sadly, the balance has tilted towards a
8 situation where, given a panoply of interests -- security, economic, cooperation,
9 counternarcotics, human rights -- the human rights part of that equation needs the most
10 attention. We're in a situation where it cannot be business as usual. But I think that one
11 of the ways to approach this is to go back to the idea that we share common interests, to
12 try to persuade the Uzbek government that in fact our interests in stability in the region,
13 in peaceful succession, in resolving security and other issues, these are interests we
14 share in common and it is very much in the Uzbek government's interests to restore its
15 proper standing in the international community with respect to human rights and rule
16 of law.

17 **SENATOR KERRY:** What do you think is the impact of Congress's prohibition
18 on some assistance to Uzbekistan?

19 **MR. NORLAND:** I think that the role that Congress has played in that respect,
20 the role that some of the -- I won't say suspension -- well, suspension or not doing

1 business as usual in terms of some of the Executive Branch activities with Uzbekistan,
2 have gotten their attention. Again, it's regrettable --

3 **SENATOR KERRY:** When you say get their attention, there's still a pretty
4 widespread understanding of torture and abuse and things like that. How do you
5 leverage this sort of level of cooperation we need? If you start to get pushy on one, you
6 could lose the other, can't you?

7 **MR. NORLAND:** You can, but I think there have been a couple of examples
8 recently where the government has taken actions that show that perhaps our approach
9 and condemnation by the international community has an impact. There were a couple
10 of journalists who were first arrested, sentenced to long jail terms. There was an outcry
11 by us, by the EU, and those terms have been suspended and the journalists have been
12 released.

13 Now, granted this was after kind of a show trial type of confession on their part.
14 It's not a solution to the problem. But I think what it sends -- the signal it sends is that
15 they can't be completely oblivious to what we think.

16 **SENATOR KERRY:** Well, I have some more questions I want to get into. But let
17 me let my colleague have an opportunity here, and I thank him for coming around.

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

18 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** Mr. Chairman, thank you. Thank you for holding the
19 hearing.

1 I just have a couple of quick questions, but I congratulate all of you and you're all
2 going to interesting posts. Mr. Chairman, I enjoyed listening to your questioning,
3 particularly with regard to Yemen. It was an interesting conversation.

4 Ms. Patterson, with regard to Pakistan, we had a chance to meet and I just want
5 to follow up a little bit. Given your extensive history working on drug-related issues,
6 I'm interested to hear your thoughts on how to best combat the major drug trafficking
7 problems in Pakistan and along the border countries, especially since opium trafficking
8 may be a major source of revenue, as we know, for many terrorist and insurgent groups
9 operating out of Pakistan or along its borders.

10 **MS. PATTERSON:** Thank you, Senator Feingold. Actually it's a growing
11 problem, and the spillover effect from Afghanistan is not only funding the Taliban, and
12 our intelligence and information on that gets better by the day, but it's also increasing
13 addiction very dramatically in Pakistan. I visited a treatment center run by a very
14 impressive woman up in Peshawar. They had huge numbers of addicts that are not
15 only native Pakistani citizens, but that come out of the refugee camps. There are still
16 two million Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

17 This is a problem that's going to have to have enormous cross-border
18 cooperation. It's going to have to have enormous political will on both sides of the
19 border. The Pakistani army has 85,000 troops on the border. We have -- the bureau I
20 work with now has funded border stations all along the border. That said, it's had little

1 impact on the flow through Pakistan and into Iran, which also has an enormous
2 addiction problem right now.

3 We hope that with this new strategy in the FATA, the one the Pakistani
4 government has put forward and that we will support, that too will have an effect on
5 drug trafficking. But I am certainly not optimistic in the short run, Senator.

6 **SENATOR KERRY:** Can you tell me a little bit about the nature of this opium
7 issue in Pakistan as opposed to Afghanistan?

8 **MS. PATTERSON:** Yes, sir. Pakistan actually has quite a good record against
9 narcotics in terms of treatment and eradication and law enforcement. What's
10 happening now is they're simply being overwhelmed with the flow from Afghanistan
11 and they're not able to interdict it.

12 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** This is opium --

13 **MS. PATTERSON:** Opium.

14 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** -- that's produced in Afghanistan?

15 **MS. PATTERSON:** In Afghanistan.

16 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** And it flows to Pakistan?

17 **MS. PATTERSON:** It flows into Pakistan and a lot of it flows into Iran in the old
18 Turkish Connection root. But Pakistan has done a pretty good job in recent years in
19 controlling its own poppy problem. It just can't now control the flow in from
20 Afghanistan.

21 But the really scary thing from our standpoint is the funding of the Taliban.

1 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** So the poppy production in Afghanistan is much
2 greater than in Pakistan.

3 **MS. PATTERSON:** Vastly greater. I think Pakistan has a thousand hectares of
4 poppy production, which is considered negligible by UN standards.

5 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** Do you believe the drug eradication efforts in
6 Colombia have been effective, and do you intend to implement similar practices in
7 Pakistan?

8 **MS. PATTERSON:** Yes, sir, I do believe they've been effective. And I entirely
9 realize that many in this Congress have a different view. But I firmly believe that if we
10 had not taken this amount of coca in this case, cocaine products, off the market, we
11 would have had a much more difficult problem in this country.

12 When Plan Colombia began, we had so much narcotics coming in that it
13 threatened to swamp our treatment programs with cheap dope. So I believe that the
14 eradication has had an impact. I believe interdiction in Colombia had an impact in its
15 not reaching the streets of the U.S.

16 And no, we have no intention to put in place such a program in Pakistan, nor
17 would it be necessary. They have a very modest program.

18 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** Okay. Do you think Pakistan is on the verge of a state
19 of emergency being declared? And if Musharraf declares a state of emergency, how
20 would we respond? What message is the administration sending with its unwavering
21 support of President Musharraf?

1 **MS. PATTERSON:** Let me address the state of emergency first, Senator. After
2 we spoke I went back and found more detail about this and both the Prime Minister
3 Shaukit Aziz and President Musharraf have said that no state of emergency is intended
4 or planned.

5 I also found the most astonishing statement by Shaukit, that this would be the
6 first time in the history of Pakistan that parliament would ever complete a full term.
7 The administration, rest assured, is sending the right message on this. I would be fairly
8 confident to predict that no state of emergency is going to be imposed. Our policy is to
9 push for free and fair and transparent elections before February of 2008, and if I'm
10 confirmed I will pursue that vigorously.

11 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** What about the unwavering support of Musharraf?
12 What kind of message is that sending?

13 **MS. PATTERSON:** President Musharraf has been our friend. He is our friend.
14 He has been in many respects a modernizer in Pakistan, certainly on issues like the
15 economy and on issues like women's rights actually a rather remarkable modernizer. I
16 would not say we have unwavering support for Musharraf. I think we have pushed
17 for elections. We pushed for institutional development in Pakistan. It's up to the
18 electorate to decide the next steps. That's our policy and that's the policy I will pursue if
19 I'm confirmed.

20 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** What about his giving up his leadership of the army?

1 **MS. PATTERSON:** That's up to the people of Pakistan, Senator. And they have
2 -- if elections are free and fair and transparent, they will have several opportunities to
3 address this. Certainly the electors can take this into account when they vote on him,
4 and if they don't like the decision, his decision, they can vote for parties that have a
5 different view.

6 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** But we don't weigh in on the inappropriateness of him
7 being both president and head of the army?

8 **MS. PATTERSON:** Let me state our policy very clearly, Senator. Our policy is
9 to push for a civilian elected government in Pakistan. But the timing of that is up to the
10 Pakistanis.

11 **SENATOR FEINGOLD:** Thank you very much.

12 **SENATOR KERRY:** Thank you very much, Senator Feingold, for an important
13 round of questioning, and we appreciate your participation enormously.

14 I'm going to come back to you in a moment, Ambassador Patterson. Let me just
15 ask Ambassador Powell, if I can. In your judgment, does the interim government have
16 enough legitimacy and lift to be able to pull off the assembly elections?

17 **MS. POWELL:** They appear to be working very hard at making the necessary
18 steps. They've taken a very important one this week in getting new legislation in that
19 determined the kind of elections. They will have a mix of both "first past the post" and
20 proportionate. They have one more piece of legislation they need to pass. They are
21 certainly going to have to do much more on the law and order front in order to ensure

1 that people aren't intimidated, that the campaigns can go forward in a reasonable
2 manner.

3 **SENATOR KERRY:** Assuming they did the law and order front, is it your
4 judgment that the outcome -- and there's I assume to be some kind of international
5 observation for the legitimacy. Let's say it's signed off on. Do you think that internally
6 within the country there will be an acceptance of an outcome?

7 **MS. PATTERSON:** I think that's one of the major questions, particularly with
8 the Nawas Party. They have committed themselves to the parliamentary system --

9 **SENATOR KERRY:** How committed do you judge they really are?

10 **MS. POWELL:** I think we will have a chance to see that. They have not shown
11 100 percent commitment, particularly with the founding of the Young Communist
12 League. Intimidation, extortion, some of the kidnapping has been continuing. This has
13 been recognized both by the U.S. Government representatives, by my predecessor, and
14 also by the prime minister, by other political leaders.

15 **SENATOR KERRY:** So it's your judgment or the State Department's conclusion
16 that the likelihood is they may engage in coercive activities during the election?

17 **MS. POWELL:** That certainly is one of the things that their pattern has shown so
18 far. I believe that the international community, certainly the Nepali government, is
19 going to have to watch this and take steps to stop it.

20 **SENATOR KERRY:** What impact do you believe street demonstrations would
21 have on the election process?

1 **MS. POWELL:** It's had a number of impacts already, certainly a very
2 devastating impact on the economy. They've lost a number of work days. They do
3 intimidate those who are opposed to the Maoist philosophy and this has served to form
4 the debate in certain ways that have not been truly democratic.

5 **SENATOR KERRY:** Do you know, can you comment on what the status of their
6 weapons are at this point?

7 **MS. POWELL:** They turned in approximately 3,000 weapons to the UN. They
8 are under lock and key in the camps. They are monitored by the UN. It is not clear that
9 that is the entire cache, but that has been --

10 **SENATOR KERRY:** Is there any judgment at all about sort of relative quantity?

11 **MS. POWELL:** I don't believe so. It was also matched by a similar quantity from
12 the army being restored. My experience in South Asia is that even if they had locked up
13 all those in their possession, it isn't that difficult to get new ones in the region.

14 **SENATOR KERRY:** Therefore, what judgment, if any, is made about what they
15 might resort to in the event they don't like the outcome of the election?

16 **MS. POWELL:** I think there are two things that we'll need to watch for. One of
17 them is making sure that the elections are as free and fair as they can be, so that there is
18 no reason for groups, whether it's the Maoists or others, to reject the results. The
19 international community is trying to work in a coordinated manner with the
20 government of Nepal to provide expertise, to provide assistance in the logistics and in
21 the legal framework for those elections.

1 There are a number of international bodies, including American ones, that are
2 already committed to providing international observers, training Nepali observers to be
3 in the more remote parts of the country, so that it can be documented on the conduct of
4 the election, on the conduct of the various parties. I think all of those will go a long
5 ways. Strengthening the security forces so that they can deal with occasions of violence
6 on election day, ensure that there is not an outbreak of violence after the elections.

7 **SENATOR KERRY:** What's the anticipated date on the constituent assembly
8 election?

9 **MS. POWELL:** They are talking about a Nepali month in the fall between mid-
10 November and mid-December.

11 **SENATOR KERRY:** Is there a role that the United States and the international
12 community can play that we aren't playing? Is there anything we should be doing in
13 your judgment?

14 **MS. POWELL:** I think we need to continue to work with the United Nations to
15 make sure that the cantonments in which the Maoist fighters have been put are
16 adequately staffed and taken care of. We need to look at what we can do to make sure
17 that the people who are in those camps receive some kind of training that will allow
18 them to rejoin society after having been part of a group that has not encouraged support
19 for democratic ideals.

20 I think those are key areas. Also the very, very important and practical aspects of
21 the elections. They are going to need money. They are going to need logistics. Nepal is

1 not an easy country to move around in, and to get the ballots out, to get the security
2 forces out to the various regions will take a lot of funding and a lot of work on the
3 logistics.

4 **SENATOR KERRY:** Is there a current plan for that?

5 **MS. POWELL:** I believe the UN is working hard on it. We certainly have
6 advisers working with the election commission from IFES and others that the USAID
7 has contracted to support the Nepali efforts.

8 If confirmed, one of my first topics will be to look at our own plans and to see,
9 both for the elections and then what happens the day after the elections. Are we
10 prepared to be able to support the constituent assembly that is elected and how can we
11 best do that?

12 **SENATOR KERRY:** Is there a compromise of some kind that you believe could
13 be attained at the ballot box that would sufficiently vest the Maoists so they don't resort
14 to an armed struggle? I mean, is there some frame of that that you have that you would
15 articulate? Or do you think this has to be simply worked through and see what the
16 outcome is?

17 **MS. POWELL:** I think this one is going to take, first of all, a free and fair election
18 where people have confidence that they have voted for those that they want. There is a
19 certain amount of support for the Maoists and that also needs to be respected in an
20 election.

1 They have committed to this, although there are divisions, we believe, within the
2 Maoists. We need to encourage those that are committed to the democratic process and
3 to make sure that all forms, including the court system, that there are ways to
4 encourage the ethnic groups and the others who feel disadvantaged that they have a
5 role. Right now most of the violence is from those groups rather than from the Maoist
6 groups.

7 **SENATOR KERRY:** What role do you believe India has in this?

8 **MS. POWELL:** They have a very important role to play. There are a large
9 number of Nepali citizens who live and work in India. The border is relatively open.
10 This has provided a free flow of ideas and goods. It's also permitted smuggling and
11 other illegal activities to take place. They have enormous amounts of influence with the
12 various political groups, including the Maoists, over the years. So they will continue to
13 play a very important role.

14 **SENATOR KERRY:** Do you believe that China has any ability to help?

15 **MS. POWELL:** I do. They have, again, a long border with Nepal. They have
16 rejected the idea that these are people that are somehow tied to their former leader and
17 have spoken out in favor of the current peace process. I would hope that they would be
18 engaged in promoting that.

19 **SENATOR KERRY:** I assume this will be task number one for you the minute
20 you set foot there, that you're going to focus on what we can do to be supportive
21 without being viewed as interfering or managing it.

1 **MS. POWELL:** It is. At the same time, I think our assistance and our support
2 has been focused on both the short term, with a very, very heavy focus on the peace
3 process and the elections, but also on our assistance to ensuring that the government
4 can deliver services. We have concentrated over the years particularly on education
5 and health, with the current focus on health, and that very much needs to continue. The
6 average Nepali is struck by poverty, with a lack of opportunity for education. We need
7 to continue to assist the government to address those needs.

8 **SENATOR KERRY:** Is there any other challenge that the Committee ought to be
9 thinking about to be helpful to you?

10 **MS. POWELL:** I think the Nepalis in particular need to continue to look at
11 trafficking. We have had a very, very positive response, I believe, on the offer to resettle
12 some of the Bhutanese refugees, who have been in camps for 17 years, as a
13 humanitarian gesture. We're going to continue to have to look at how to do that. It is
14 not easy to implement. But we will continue to work on those issues as well.

15 **SENATOR KERRY:** Well, we wish you well in that.

16 What about the strife in Terai?

17 **MS. POWELL:** I think the security forces have not been deployed in a manner to
18 assist the government in ensuring that there is law and order. There are a number of
19 groups who have taken the position that the way to get the government's attention is to
20 take to the street, to commit violent acts. This needs to be addressed in a way that they
21 can have their grievances heard. There is a roundtable planned with the new minister

1 for reconstruction and they will be -- I think this is something that we need to
2 encourage, that they address these needs, these grievances, more energetically and
3 more quickly, so that they don't feel the need to go to the streets.

4 **SENATOR KERRY:** Well, I may come back and follow up on a couple of those.
5 But let me just ask Joseph Adam Ereli a couple of things if I can.

6 How would you describe the relationship right now between Bahrain, the Shiite
7 community in Bahrain, and Iran?

8 **MR. ERELI:** I think there are similarities and differences. Obviously, the
9 similarities of the coreligionists. But there are Shia who look to Qum for guidance in
10 Iran, there are Shia -- in Bahrain there are Shia who look to Qum for guidance. There
11 are Shia who look to Najaf for guidance. So it would be a mistake to assume just
12 because they're Shia they share a sympathy and allegiance to Iran.

13 I think you need to look, one needs to look beyond the surface religious
14 affiliation and dig a little deeper to see where -- how people think and where their
15 allegiances lie. But I think, going beyond that, obviously Bahrain finds itself on the
16 same religious fault line that Iraq does. It goes north to southeast to west, and Bahrain
17 is squarely at the epicenter of it.

18 Having said that, Bahrain has a long history of peaceful coexistence between
19 religious communities.

20 **SENATOR KERRY:** Are there any signs now of the kind of sectarian divisions
21 growing?

1 **MR. ERELI:** Excuse me, sir?

2 **SENATOR KERRY:** Are there any signs now of the spillover of the Iraqi divide,
3 that sectarian violence spilling into Bahrain?

4 **MR. ERELI:** Not really.

5 **SENATOR KERRY:** Or any Sunni-Shia --

6 **MR. ERELI:** Obviously, people are thinking about it and people are watching for
7 it. But I have not in my consultations and my discussions heard anybody suggest that
8 the kind of sectarian strife we're seeing in Iraq is spilling over into Bahrain.

9 **SENATOR KERRY:** What level of middle class refugeeism is taking place in
10 Bahrain out of Iraq?

11 **MR. ERELI:** Not the way, for instance, in Jordan.

12 I would make an important -- I would make one point, sir, is that the Bahraini
13 leadership has been pretty far-sighted in this in the sense that they have proactively
14 incorporated or included prominent Shia into the cabinet. There are five Shia cabinet
15 ministers in Bahrain, thereby giving that community, as I said in my opening statement,
16 a voice in the affairs of their country. That's an important step and I think one that
17 recognizes and puts its finger ahead of time on the issue that you raise in your question.

18 **SENATOR KERRY:** What do you see as your biggest challenge?

19 **MR. ERELI:** There are several, sir. Number one, I think when you talked about
20 what can we do to restore confidence in a region and a world that is looking to America
21 for I think consistency and leadership is -- and this is very true in the Gulf and

1 especially true in Bahrain -- we have to stand by our friends. It's not -- in these
2 dangerous neighborhoods, being friends with the United States entails risks. And
3 Bahrain has been one of the most steadfast and forward-leaning friends of the United
4 States. It's not without risk, both domestically as well as with very big and brutal
5 neighbors.

6 So we need to stand by, we need to stand by our friends. We need to, as I said
7 before, promote interoperability, promote cooperation with Bahrain in our regional
8 efforts, both confronting Iran as well as promoting regional security cooperation with
9 the other members of the GCC. That will serve as a strong signal to other states that
10 there's a payoff to being a friend of the United States, that it's in their interest and it's in
11 our mutual interest. I think that serves American national interests over the long run.

12 Democratic development, human rights, sir, is a ball you can never take your eye
13 off of. I think what we see in Bahrain as well as other countries in the region is that
14 democratic development is not constant, it is not linear. There are setbacks. Even
15 though a country can be committed to reform and political pluralism and respect for the
16 rights of its citizens, there are always challenges to that commitment. There's always
17 backsliding. As ambassador if confirmed, I would keep my eye on that ball. I would be
18 engaged with the government constantly to help them move forward in the way that
19 they have outlined. And I think, sir, the case of NDI is a good example of that.

20 **SENATOR KERRY:** Just a few more questions if we can. Ambassador
21 Patterson, what do you make of the dustup with the chief justice in Pakistan?

1 **MS. PATTERSON:** That is before the -- the supreme court of Pakistan is
2 reviewing that case right now. I think everyone would say that the acting chief justice is
3 an honorable individual known for his integrity. The Supreme Court itself is well
4 respected. They're going to review his reinstatement on a variety of substantive and
5 procedural grounds, and the government has said that they will stand by that decision.

6 On the issue itself, obviously it was most unfortunate. Certainly the violence that
7 was associated with it is to be deplored. But it is before the courts of Pakistan now and
8 they have a long and distinguished history.

9 **SENATOR KERRY:** And you're -- by way of saying you have confidence that
10 they'll resolve this appropriately?

11 **MS. PATTERSON:** Yes, we're confident, and we're confident that the
12 government will stand behind the decision. Like courts everywhere else, it's hard to
13 predict when they might make a decision.

14 **SENATOR KERRY:** Do you base that at all on any reporting from Under
15 Secretary Negroponete in his visit, or Deputy Secretary?

16 **MS. PATTERSON:** Certainly from his -- I think the government's made public
17 statements to that effect, and we've had quite a string of high-level visitors there, and
18 the embassy's reporting.

19 **SENATOR KERRY:** And that comes from that?

20 **MS. PATTERSON:** Yes, sir.

1 **SENATOR KERRY:** Now, what is your assessment of the al-Qaeda presence in
2 the tribal areas?

3 **MS. PATTERSON:** My assessment, sir, is that it's very alarming. When you've
4 asked my colleagues here about their highest priority that has to be my highest priority,
5 to do everything we possibly can to prevent an attack on either the United States or
6 allied countries from that. But it is alarming.

7 I think reconstitution or resurgence might be too strong a word, but they
8 certainly are operating from Pakistan. And they operate across, fairly freely in a cross-
9 border way, too.

10 **SENATOR KERRY:** When I was in Kabul, I got a mouthful from President
11 Karzai about his view of what's happening there. Then obviously when I met with
12 Musharraf I got the counter-mouthful. I gather the meeting between the two of them
13 was not a good meeting on any interpretive level. So we have a difficulty on this, in this
14 relationship. It's hard to get control of that border under those circumstances, isn't it?

15 **MS. PATTERSON:** It's extremely difficult, sir.

16 **SENATOR KERRY:** It sounds to me like a Taliban-al-Qaeda dream.

17 **MS. PATTERSON:** It's extremely difficult, not only because of the terrain,
18 which is terrible, but also, and terribly difficult to control, but also, yes, because of the
19 relationships. But we're working on that. And we're working on enhanced cross-
20 border cooperation. Our embassies cooperate.

1 I think the Pakistanis and the Afghans work better on the operational level than
2 you might suspect. As we developed this new strategy, it will do things like put in
3 place intelligence centers that can fuse the information that becomes available on the
4 border. So we have some plans that I think are fairly convincing and impressive.

5 **SENATOR KERRY:** I was going to ask you what steps you thought we could
6 take in order to try to improve the situation. I trust those plans are in the making now?

7 **MS. PATTERSON:** Yes, sir, they're actually quite well developed, and they
8 build on --

9 **SENATOR KERRY:** Are they public in any way.

10 **MS. PATTERSON:** No. Certainly we can provide a briefing for you and your
11 staff. I wouldn't call them public, but they're certainly available.

12 **SENATOR KERRY:** Well, it's something we obviously want to try to follow up
13 on. I don't think we need to explore it in a public session right now.

14 Maybe I'll ask two questions, if you would, quickly. Kashmir, India -- how do
15 you interpret the current state of that dialogue? There's been a lot of talk and a lot of
16 discussion about, gee, things are great and they're good, but on the other hand nothing's
17 been resolved fundamentally. And there seems to be just sort of this continued idea of
18 talk. Now, talk's better than what we had. I'm not dismissing it.

19 But do you see any notion, any sense that they really could get a resolution on
20 Kashmir?

1 **MS. PATTERSON:** I think, Senator, Mr. Chairman, I think relations are better
2 than they have been in years. This dialogue has continued. As you pointed out, at least
3 it's not a hot situation right now. When I was talking to members of the Committee
4 staff in preparation for this hearing, they suggested, and I would tend to agree, that we,
5 the United States Government, have been distracted -- not distracted -- have been very
6 active elsewhere in the region, and that we might offer to play a more active role in that.
7 I certainly took that on board.

8 **SENATOR KERRY:** Finally, how do you interpret the radical Islamic movement
9 in Pakistan and the balance between the scope that President Musharraf has to kind of
10 deal with that and the street, maintain the independence and sovereignty of his
11 administration and the country, and still be our close ally in the war on terror?

12 **MS. PATTERSON:** Mr. Chairman, the sort of radical extremist or even the very
13 conservative religious parties -- and the two are of course not necessarily the same --
14 they've not had a historically important role in Pakistan. They've never had more than
15 10 or 11 percent of the vote. I think what is alarming is the increase in Islamic
16 extremism in the Northwest Frontier Province and in the FATA. There seems to be
17 some impression that these people live very collegially with the tribes up there. That's
18 not the case either. These tribal leaders have been killed by the hundreds. People have
19 been intimidated and threatened. And as you know, there have been multiple
20 assassination attempts against government -- not only the president, but a wide range of
21 ministers, including the minister of interior.

1 So yes, it's a serious problem, but not one that I think cannot be controlled. In
2 other words, Pakistan -- and President Musharraf talks very eloquently about this in his
3 book. Pakistan largely speaking is a moderate and tolerant Islamic country.

4 **SENATOR KERRY:** Well, Islam honestly speaking is a moderate and tolerant
5 religion. But it's been pretty effectively hijacked around a number of different
6 distortions. But -- well, let me ask you -- we've got about 5 minutes to sort of explore
7 what I left out in the beginning. I'd just like each of you to share with me your
8 experience. You're about to be ambassador of the United States in a relatively troubled
9 arena. You're going to have unprecedented levels of security. Your embassy personnel
10 are working in barricaded fortresses and will have huge levels of security.

11 What's your readout on sort of what we need to do as a country to improve your
12 ability to live, to represent us in a different status, to be in a different place in these
13 relationships? Anybody want to take that first? I'm going to ask each of you, so
14 nobody's going to get off the hook. But share your experience. What do we need to do?
15 What do you think would make the most difference? Is it simply solving Iraq? Is it
16 bigger than Iraq? Is it something we're not doing well in terms of multilateralism,
17 diplomacy overall? Is there a multiple message?

18 Give me, what's your gut tell you when you go home at night some day after
19 getting a cable from the State Department and you pound the wall and say, they don't
20 understand? What do you think we ought to do? Mr. Norland?

1 **MR. NORLAND:** Well, maybe I'll speak as somebody whose father was in the
2 Foreign Service and who grew up living partly overseas. I would say that there's both a
3 policy function, but also kind of an ironic function of modern life that's at play here.
4 We're under the illusion that in the age of the Internet and of jet travel that we
5 understand the world better than we actually do. There really is no substitute, as you're
6 suggesting in your question, for actually being on the ground and living with people in
7 a foreign country, getting to know them, establishing family relationships that last
8 maybe longer than just that tour.

9 I think one of the challenges we have, as you suggested, is to overcome the
10 security and other barriers that exist and really penetrate these societies and establish
11 long-term relationships, both as diplomats, also through graduate student exchange
12 programs and other kinds of exchange programs.

13 From a policy perspective, as a policy function, I think as was said earlier,
14 addressing the Israeli-Palestinian issue and applying perhaps a little more focus to
15 multilateral diplomacy would probably also help restore our standing in the world.

16 **MR. SECHE:** If I might follow up, and if Dick hadn't said it so well I would say
17 exactly what he has just said. I think there's something important here. There will
18 always be policies that create neuralgia between us and other peoples around the
19 world. We will never avoid those kinds of controversies and disappointments. It may
20 be Iraq, it may be something else tomorrow. We have to understand that and at that
21 level where human interaction becomes the key to convincing people they can come

1 back to a level of trust and confidence in us, that's where I think we need to do this.
2 That is public diplomacy. That is relationships among people that will let us relate to
3 them as individuals and convey to them what our values and our principles are. I think
4 there are a lot of common bonds that can be forged in that manner.

5 **SENATOR KERRY:** Anybody else want to add? Yes, Ambassador Powell.

6 **MS. POWELL:** I would add to that that it needs to work both ways. We need to
7 be welcoming also of our foreign friends and find ways to process their visits to the
8 United States. Particularly, I hope for education. I think the universities and the
9 schools in America have been a tremendous area for improving understanding of
10 America, for having people understand that, and I would hope that we can continue to
11 do that, while at the same time we protect our borders and make them secure.

12 I'm facing a situation in which the Peace Corps has had to terminate its program
13 in Nepal. I truly believe the Peace Corps has had a tremendous influence around the
14 world and would encourage additional programs like that where possible.

15 **MR. ERELI:** Sir, I come from a background in public affairs and public
16 diplomacy and have spent a lot of time talking to people in the region for a number of
17 years. One of the constant refrains you hear is: You know, it's not that we don't like
18 America; it's we don't like its policies. Frankly, I've been hearing that refrain for 20
19 years.

20 I think what's incumbent upon us as representatives of the United States is to
21 represent and advocate and promote the values that have made this country the

1 greatest country in the world. It is those values, sir, that the people of the region in
2 every region I've been in largely share with us and largely seek to emulate. It's when
3 they see us as somehow betraying those values or falling short of those values that we
4 come in for the greatest criticism.

5 So the task before us is to try to establish the mutual understanding and the
6 relationships and the policy convergences that are based on values of freedom, of
7 equality, of opportunity, and of the rule of law, and at the same time square them with
8 what's going on in the world. That's not always an easy thing to do, but that's why we
9 get paid the big bucks.

10 The other point I would make is I would echo something that my current boss,
11 Under Secretary Hughes, talks about quite often, which is the diplomacy of deeds. That
12 is that the United States does an awful lot of good for the world that goes unrecognized.

13 Our support, the President's support for AIDS funding; the actions we're taking on
14 malaria; what we devote to educational exchanges and educational opportunities.

15 These are acts that improve people's lives in a material way.

16 Nothing helped us more, sir, than when we flew aid to the people of Pakistan
17 after that earthquake. You saw a notable jump in attitudes towards the United States. I
18 would just underscore the importance of the diplomacy of deeds and the importance of
19 doing concrete things to improve people's lives that again provide material support and
20 material expression to our values as a Nation.

1 **SENATOR KERRY:** Ambassador Patterson, you get a by because I've just been
2 given a message I've got an emergency meeting here on CAFE that I've got to get to
3 right away.

4 But I need to ask each and every one of you, is there any reason, is there anything
5 that would act as a potential conflict of interest in the performance of your
6 responsibilities as an ambassador that we should be aware of? Ambassador Patterson?

7 **MS. PATTERSON:** No, Mr. Chairman.

8 **SENATOR KERRY:** Ambassador Powell?

9 **MS. POWELL:** No, sir.

10 **SENATOR KERRY:** Mr. Erelí?

11 **MR. ERELI:** No, sir.

12 **SENATOR KERRY:** Mr. Norland?

13 **MR. NORLAND:** No, sir.

14 **SENATOR KERRY:** Mr. Seche?

15 **MR. SECHE:** No, sir.

16 **SENATOR KERRY:** And is there any holding, asset or interest that any of you
17 have that would potentially pose a conflict of interest in the performance of your
18 responsibilities? Ambassador Patterson?

19 **MS. PATTERSON:** No, sir.

20 **SENATOR KERRY:** Ambassador Powell?

21 **MS. POWELL:** No, Mr. Chairman.

1 **SENATOR KERRY:** Mr. Erelí?

2 **MR. ERELI:** No, sir.

3 **SENATOR KERRY:** Mr. Norland?

4 **MR. NORLAND:** No, sir.

5 **SENATOR KERRY:** Mr. Seche?

6 **MR. SECHE:** None whatsoever.

7 **SENATOR KERRY:** Great.

8 Well, again let me repeat what I said at the outset: a tremendous amount of
9 experience. You are all of you superbly qualified to go out there and undertake these
10 responsibilities. We're going to try -- I'm going to leave the record open until Monday
11 only because I want to move, if we can, Wednesday or Thursday to a business meeting,
12 which should allow us to have a vote on the floor of the Senate either Thursday night or
13 Friday to get you all out there, which we need to do, particularly before we break for
14 the Fourth of July recess, so you can all take the "if I am confirmed" out of your
15 repertoire and get ready to be confirmed and go to work.

16 We appreciate it again and look forward to seeing some of you, anyway. I'm not
17 sure I'll get everywhere that you are, but I look forward to getting out there some time.
18 Good luck. God bless. Thank you.

19 We stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:00 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]